

ORIGINAL SCIENTIFIC PAPER

Does Politics Matter in the Conduct of Fiscal Policy? Political Determinants of the Fiscal Sustainability: Evidence from Seven Individual Central and Eastern European Countries (CEEC)*

Srdjan Redžepagić and Matthieu Llorca**

Summary: This paper aims at assessing the fiscal sustainability and its political determinants in seven Central and Eastern European Countries (CEEC), namely Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Slovenia, Slovakia and the Czech Republic. First, using the recent sustainability approach of Bohn (1998) based on fiscal reaction function, econometric findings using Ordinary Least Squares (OLS) reveal a positive response of the primary surplus to changes in debt in several countries. In other words, fiscal policy is sustainable in Baltic countries, Slovenia and Slovakia, but not in Poland and in the Czech Republic. Second, by introducing political dummy variables, we test the electoral budget cycle and the partisan cycle theories. We find the presence of electoral and partisan cycle in Poland but not in the rest of our countries.

Key words: Fiscal reaction function, Public debt sustainability, Political budget cycles, Time series.

JEL: E62, H62, P16

Introduction

Since May 1, 2004, the EU New Member States (NMS)¹ are classified as “member states with derogation” which means that those countries are expected to comply with the Stability and Growth Pact (SGP) limits for government budget deficit of 3% of Gross Domestic Product (GDP) and government debt of 60% of GDP. Moreover, the fiscal situation has to be judged as sustainable in the me-

* Preliminary version of this article is presented at the PPF Final Symposium “La consolidation du changement institutionnel”, in University of Paris 1 Panthéon Sorbonne, October 4-5, 2007.

** Institute of Economic Sciences, Belgrade and University of Nice Sophia-Antipolis, CEMAFI: sredzepagic@gmail.com (Srdan Redžepagić); Assistant-professor at the University of Burgundy, LEG/CEMF: matthieullorca@yahoo.fr (Matthieu Llorca) *Received: 21 October 2007.*

¹Malta and Cyprus also joined EU on May 1 2004 but are not considered here as we focus on CEEC.

dium term. This is a new situation for the NMS given that prior to accession their fiscal situation was not the subject of regular and binding surveillance.

Indeed, empirical literature on public debt sustainability in transition countries gained in importance (see Llorca and Redžepagić, 2007² for a survey) due notably to the EU enlargement process (negotiations for EU membership in 1999, then EU enlargement in May 2004) and to the European Monetary Union (EMU) perspective (Buiter, 2004). Moreover, EU process induces a slow but real improvement of the quality and the accessibility of the data.

However, as Balassone and Franco (2000) rightly put it, there are serious difficulties in both the analytical and operational definition of sustainability. There is no consensus in the economic theory regarding the conditions for sustainability. We must distinguish between three existing empirical approaches in the literature (Llorca, 2007) to assess the sustainability of fiscal policy: (i) the *present-value method* which examines the sustainability issue during broader periods, studying the integration and co-integration properties of the relevant budget variables and departing directly from the transversality condition of the present value budget constraint; (ii) the *accounting method* which investigates whether public finances, in a year-by-year basis, are sustainable; and (iii) the *normative approach*, developed by Blanchard *et al.* (1990), aiming at evaluating how far has fiscal policy departed from sustainability in a year-by-year basis through sustainability indicators

Thus, the most common empirical approach in the literature to test fiscal policy sustainability is the present-value method with influential papers such as Hamilton and Flavin (1986), Trehan and Walsh (1988, 1991) or Quintos (1995). However, this part of the literature ignore that the discount factor may be correlated with the primary surplus and debt. That is why, we adopt the methodology developed by Bohn (1995, 1998 and 2004) who proposes a convenient framework to assess fiscal sustainability. He focuses on the response of the primary surplus to accumulated public debt that would guarantee fiscal sustainability as a test for sustainability.

Most of the empirical studies estimating the reaction of the primary surplus to debt levels focused on the American case and other industrial countries³. However, very few papers (Neck and Getzner, [2001]; Haber and Neck [2006] for the case of Austria; De Haan, Sturm and de Groot [2004] for the case of the Netherlands; Berenger and Llorca [2007] for the case of six developed countries⁴) have enriching the Bohn's fiscal sustainability model with political vari-

²We assess the sustainability of fiscal policies in a panel of eight EU New Member States, namely Bulgaria, Czech Republic, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Slovakia and Slovenia by using the present-value method. The estimation results show that fiscal policies in these countries are sustainable in the long term.

³See Berenger and Llorca (2007) for a survey.

⁴France, Germany, Greece, Italy, the United Kingdom and the United States.

ables, whereas it is of particular interest to explore the politico-economic determinants for the growth of the central government's debt. Indeed, theoretical arguments taken from "political business cycle" theories (Nordhaus, 1975), such as the electoral and partisan cycle can explain the development of public debt. Moreover, such political issues are important for new EU countries facing fiscal challenges to join the EMU in the future.

As a result, the main purpose of this article is to assess first the fiscal sustainability in seven individual CEEC (Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Slovakia, Slovenia and the Czech Republic) in line with the recent literature on fiscal reaction functions developed by Bohn. Second, we combine it with the investigation of the political potential determinants of fiscal sustainability in each country by introducing political variables such as the ideologies of political parties and political electoral cycles, taking the primary surplus as the variable to be explained.

The paper is organised as follows: section 2 examines the theoretical framework, namely the Bohn's fiscal sustainability model and the introduction of political variables. Section 3 describes the sample and data, and reports the econometric findings. Section 4 concludes the study.

1. Theoretical Framework

Bohn (1995, 1998 and 2004) emits two important critics against the present-value approach⁵:

Firstly, this approach has imposed some simplifying and arbitrary conditions by assuming the economic environment as exogenous and constant which can be appropriate only under determinist circumstances and are hardly held in a stochastic environment. Indeed, tests of the transversality condition have commonly been based on the choice of the real return of debt as discount factor. Thus, the transversality condition would require an economic environment of dynamic efficiency.

Secondly, Bohn questioned the validity of cointegration tests as they require restrictive assumptions about the stochastic process driving fiscal policy and ignore that the discount factor may be correlated with the debt and primary budget surplus. Therefore, econometric tests for stationary are not appropriate to provide convincing evidence for sustainability.

As a result, in order to circumvent these drawbacks, Bohn (1998) has proposed a more flexible test to assess sustainability than does the present-value approach as it does not demand any assumptions on the real rates of interest, growth rates and uncertainty.

⁵See Ehrhart and Llorca (2007) for a detailed description of the present-value approach.

The strategy consists in investigating whether a government acts to increase surpluses in response to increases in government debt in order to ensure long term government solvency. Bohn (2004) proved that such a corrective action would satisfy the transversality condition in a stochastic setting.

The test⁶ suggests running the following regression:

$$s_t = \rho d_{t-1} + \alpha_0 + AZ_t + \varepsilon_t \quad (1)$$

where s_t denotes the primary surplus to GDP and d_t is the debt to GDP ratio respectively.

Z_t is a vector which consists of variables which are assumed to affect the primary surplus, namely the level of temporary government spending and a business cycle indicator, $GVAR$ and $YVAR$, respectively. Thus, the possible counter cyclical effect of the budget surplus is captured by the business cycle variable $YVAR$. The coefficient of $YVAR$ is expected to be negative, as an increase in the output gap is accompanied by an increase in the budget deficit. For the same reason, the coefficient on temporary government spending $GVAR$ is also expected to be negative.

Thus, fiscal policy can be shown to be sustainable if in equation (1), ρ is positive and sufficiently large, meaning that fiscal policy makers react to a high stock of debt at the beginning of period t by increasing the primary surplus (or reducing the primary deficit) in period t . This means that government acts to reduce the exponential growth of its debt by a factor r which is sufficient to fulfil the intertemporal budget constraint.

We propose to extend the basic Bohn model for the determination of government fiscal policy to include political determinants of fiscal policy. Such political factors are related to the “political budget cycle” theories. Among this large literature⁷, we focus on the electoral and partisan cycles on budget deficits.

Thus, the **theory of budget electoral cycle**, developed first by Nordhaus (1975) and Tufte (1978) predicts that politicians, motivated by their re-election, take advantage of voters’ myopia (i.e. fiscal illusion), so that deficits are higher immediately before elections than at other moments of the electoral cycle.

Moreover, according to the **theory of the partisan cycle** (exposed by Hibbs, 1977), politicians want to be elected in order to implement their preferred economic policy. As a result, fiscal policies are more expansionist when the government is dominated by the left. Left-wing parties favour government inter-

⁶The background of this specification is the neoclassical theory of tax-smoothing (Barro, 1979)

⁷See Corsetti and Roubini (1992), Alesina and Perotti (1994), and Imbeau and Chenard (2002) for a theoretical literature on the political economy of the budget deficit.

vention (i.e. public expenditure) and deficits; whereas right-wing (or conservative) parties favour less expenditure and a lower deficit

Overall, the literature shows that budgetary performances are affected by electoral cycles but not by partisan cycles (see Berenger and Llorca, 2007 for a survey).

Finally, among the empirical literature about political factors in CEEC, we can refer to the following studies:

- Csontos et al. (1998) has shown, the fiscal illusion where voters are not aware of the costs of public services and the taxes they pay, is very persistent in Hungary.
- Hallerberg and Vinhas de Souza (2000) look for evidence of opportunistic political cycles in the CEECs. They find that governments operating under fixed exchange rate regime pursue fiscal expansions during election years. Thus, they confirm that the NEW-8's governments acted very much like their OECD counterparts, and, where possible, manipulated the economy before elections.
- Berger, Kopits, and Szekely (2004) look for any deviation in the CEE fiscal policies from what could be expected from the standard empirical factors influencing deficits and debt. They find that a political-economic bargaining position prior to EMU entry seems to tilt the larger CEE countries more to profligate policies, whereas the smaller countries are more conservative since they lack a bargaining position.
- Finally, the study of Schneider and Zapal (2005) do not reveal the existence of statistically significant electoral cycles for 2001-2003.

2.1 Empirical Investigation

2.1 Sample and Data

Appendix A describes the sources, the definitions of the data. The political determinants of the fiscal sustainability are assessed for seven CEEC⁸, namely Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Slovakia, Slovenia, and the Czech Republic. We use quarterly data collected from Eurostat. The sample covers the period 1999:1-2006:1 for all countries. We use following economic variables: the primary budget balance, the gross public debt and the temporary government spending⁹. All the previous variables are measured in terms of their ratio to

⁸We cannot include the case of Hungary in our sample of EU NMS due to the unavailability of the quarterly Eurostat data for the countries.

⁹We use GVAR (i.e. the temporary government spending) instead of YVAR (the output gap) due to the difficulties to estimate it in the case of CEEC.

nominal GDP. Moreover, they are quarterly seasonally-adjusted by using the Tramo/Seats method¹⁰ (Gómez and Maravall, 1996).

Finally, we integrate political variables such as the election year and the ideology of political parties to respectively test for political business cycle and partisan effects. Appendix B describes the political evolution in each country; the political variables are extracted from *Europe-Politique*¹¹ and *Perspective-Université de Sherbrooke*¹².

2.2 Empirical Results

All the regressions use Ordinary Least Squares (OLS) with heteroskedastic-consistent standard errors and we include an autoregressive term for the case of Lithuania, Slovakia and the Czech Republic in order to remove serial correlation of the residuals (Cochrane-Orcutt procedure).

Besides, the regression includes the lagged primary budgetary surplus $S_{\text{prim}}(-1)$ in order to take into account the inertial process typically associated with fiscal policy.

Finally, we test the eventual influence of an electoral cycle by using the dummy variable ELEC (=1 for the election year). Then, we examine the effects of political ideology by introducing the dummy variable PART (=1 when left-wing parties governs) in country where a change of government political orientation occurred during the last decade (this was the case in Lithuania and in Poland, see Appendix B).

The findings are summed-up in the table 1, 2 and 3.

Table 1. Fiscal sustainability and influence of political variables in Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania

	Estonia	Latvia	Lithuania
Constant	-5,06**	-5,04*	-5,63*
$S_{\text{prim}}(-1)$	0,19*	0,75**	0,36*
Debt (-1)	0,31**	0,12*	0,09*
$GVAR_t$	-0,78**	-1,18**	-0,95**
ELEC	-0,07	-0,11	0,15
PART			0,25
AR(1)			0,57**
Adjusted R ²	0,76	0,69	0,74
DW	1,79	1,82	1,78

¹⁰TRAMO, « Time Series Regression with ARIMA Noise, Missing Observations and Outliers », and SEATS 'Signal Extraction in ARIMA Time Series ».

¹¹Available online at <http://www.europe-politique.eu/vie-politique.html>

¹²Available online at <http://worldperspective.usherbrooke.ca/bilan/>

Notes: (1) Dependent variable is the primary surplus, ratio to GDP. (2) $S_{prim}(-1)$ is the lagged primary budget balance; $Debt(-1)$ is the lagged public debt; $GVAR_t$ is the temporary government expenditure; $ELEC$ is the dummy political variable corresponding to the election year; $PART$ is the dummy political variable corresponding to the left-wing parties at the head of government. (3) See appendix B for the government political orientation in each country. (4) OLS estimations with robust standard error, (**) 1 % confidence interval; (*) 5 % confidence interval; (°) 10 % confidence interval. (5) The estimation and the calculation of the previous panel procedures were carried out in E-views version 5.1.

As indicated in table 1, the coefficient on the lagged debt-income ratio, for the Baltic States, is positive (he has the expected sign) and statistically significant indicating the absence of a mean-reverting process in the series. As a result, the positive response of the primary surplus to changes in debt shows that fiscal policy in the three Baltic States is satisfying the intertemporal budget constraint. However, estimations show no significant influence of the political variables tested in Baltic States.

Table 2. Fiscal sustainability and influence of political variables in Poland and Slovenia

	Slovenia	Poland
Constant	-2,35*	-2,65
$S_{prim}(-1)$	0,25*	0,42*
Debt (-1)	-0,03	0,06*
$GVAR_t$	-0,73*	-1,56**
ELEC	-0,28*	-0,14
PART	0,62*	
Adjusted R ²	0,84	0,75
DW	1,82	1,86

Notes: See table 1.

According to the sign of the coefficient of $Debt(-1)$, it appears that public debt is sustainable in Slovenia but not in Poland. Moreover, estimations in table 4 display partisan and electoral effects in Poland, so that such political factors are one of the determinants of the fiscal unsustainability in this country.

Table 3. Fiscal sustainability and Influence of political variables in the Czech Republic and Slovakia

	The Czech Republic	Slovakia
Constant	-1,35	-3,02**
$S_{prim}(-1)$	0,46**	0,33*
Debt (-1)	-0,05	0,03*
$GVAR_t$	-0,66**	-0,71**
ELEC	-0,25	0,14

AR(1)	0,53*	0,65*
Adjusted R ²	0,79	0,82
DW	1,75	1,85

Notes: See table 1.

Finally, we find that public debt is sustainable in Slovakia but not in the Czech Republic; whereas the political variable (ELEC) is not significant.

Conclusion

If we comment our different results for each country, it appears first that by using fiscal reaction function, fiscal policy is sustainable in the Baltic States, Slovakia and Slovenia, but not for Poland and the Czech Republic. It can be interesting to compare such results obtained via the Bohn's fiscal reaction function with the findings that we obtained by using the present-value approach in a panel perspective (Llorca and Redzepagic, 2007). The results in these two approaches seems coherent with on the one hand the existence of fiscal sustainability in a panel perspective in the present-value framework and on the other hand a fiscal policy sustainable in Baltic states, Slovenia and Slovakia.

Second, we find budget electoral cycle and partisan effects in Poland but not in the rest of our countries. We can notice that such political influence of fiscal unsustainability appears in a big country such as Poland and not in small countries such as Baltic states or Slovenia. Moreover, the political influence in Poland seems to follow some European cases due to political structure in this country with a clear opposition between left and right wing parties since 1997 (see Appendix B).

Acknowledgments

The authors wish to thank the participants who made helpful remarks and suggestions in a presentation given at the PPF Final Symposium "La consolidation du changement institutionnel", at the University of Paris 1 Panthéon Sorbonne, October 4-5, 2007.

References

- Alesina, A. and Perotti, R., 1995, "The political economy of budget deficits", *IMF Staff Papers*, 42 (1), 1-31.
- Balassone, F. and Franco D., 2000, "Assessing fiscal sustainability: a review of methods with a view to EMU in Banca d'Italia", "*Fiscal sustainability*" essays presented at the Bank of Italy workshop held in Perugia, January 20-22.

- Barro, R., 1979, "On the determination of public debt", *Journal of Political Economy*, 87, 940-71.
- Berenger, V. and Llorca, M., 2007, "Political determinants of the fiscal sustainability: evidence from six developed individual countries", Working Paper presented at the AFSE Conference in Paris, September, 21, 2007; and in the 2007 Labsi International Conference "Political Economy and Public Choice: Theory and Experiments", University of Siena, September 27-29, 2007.
- Berger, H., Kopits, G. and Szekely, I. 2004, "Fiscal indulgence in Central Europe: Loss of the external anchor", *IMF Working Papers*, n° 04/62.
- Bohn, H., 1995, "The sustainability of budget deficits in a stochastic economy", *Journal of Money, Credit and Banking*, 27, 257-71.
- Bohn, H., 1998, "The behaviour of U.S. public debt and deficits", *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 113 (3), 949-963.
- Bohn, H., 2004, "The sustainability of fiscal policy in the United States", *CESifo Working Paper* n° 1446.
- Blanchard, O., Chouraqi J-C., Hagemann R.P. and Sator N., 1990, "The sustainability of fiscal policy: new answers to an old question", *OECD Economic Studies*, 15, 7-36.
- Buiter, W., 2004, "To Purgatory and Beyond: When and How Should the Accession Countries from Central and Eastern Europe Become Full Members of EMU?", *Discussion Paper* 4342, Centre for Economic Policy Research, London.
- Corsetti, G. and Roubini, N. 1992, "Tax Smoothing Discretion Versus Balanced Budget Rules in the Presence of Politically Motivated Fiscal Deficits: The Design of Optimal Fiscal Rules for Europe After 1992", CEPR.
- Csontos, L., Kornai, J. & György Toth, I., 1998, "Tax Awareness and Reform of the Welfare State: Hungarian Survey Results", *Economics of Transition*, 6, 2, pp. 287-312.
- Ehrhart, C., and Llorca, M., 2007, "The sustainability of fiscal policy: evidence from a panel of six South-mediterranean countries", *Applied Economic Letters*, 2007 vol.15, Issue 14.
- Gómez, V. and Maravall, A., 1996, "Programs TRAMO and SEATS, Instructions for the User", (with some updates). Working Paper 9628, Research Department, Banco de Espana.
- Haan de, J., Sturm, J-E and de Groot, O., 2004, "Policy adjustments and sustainability of public finances in the Netherlands" presented at the European Public Choice Society Annual Conference, university of Durham, March 31- April 3, 2005.
- Haber, G. and Neck, R., 2006, "Sustainability of Austrian public debt: a political economy perspective", *CESifo Working Paper*, n°1816.
- Hallerberg, M. and Vinhas de Souza, L., 2000, "The political business cycles of EU accession countries", *Tinbergen Institute Discussion Papers*, n° 00-085/2.
- Hamilton, J.D., and Flavin, M.A. 1986, "On the limitation of government borrowing: a framework for empirical testing", *American Economic Review*, 76, 808-19.
- Hibbs, D., 1977, "Political parties and Macroeconomic Policy", *American Political Science Review*, December, 1467-87.
- Imbeau, L.M., and Chenard, K., 2002, "The political economy of public deficits: a review essay", *Cahiers du CAPP*.

- Llorca, M., 2007, “An assessment of US fiscal sustainability: findings from present-value and accounting approaches”, forthcoming in *INFER Perspective Research*, LIG, Berlin, 17 pages.
- Llorca, M., and Redzepagic, S., 2007, “The sustainability of fiscal policy: evidence from a panel of eight EU new member states”, Working Paper presented at the International Conference “Contemporary Challenges of Theory and Practice in Economics” in University of Belgrade, September 26-29, 2007.
- Neck, R., and Getzner, M., 2001, “Politico-economic determinants of public debt growth: a case study for Austria”, *Public Choice*, 109, 243-68.
- Nordhaus, W.D., 1975, “The Political Business Cycle”, *The Review of Economic Studies*, 42 (1) (129), 169-190.
- Quintos, C.E., 1995, “Sustainability of the Deficit Process with Structural Shifts”, *Journal of Business and Economics Statistics*, 13, 409-17.
- Schneider, O. and Zapàl, J., 2005, “Fiscal policy in New EU Member States- Go East, Prudent Man!”, CESifo Working Paper No. 1486, Munich.
- Trehan, B., and Walsh, C.E., 1988, “Common Trends, Inter-temporal Budget Balance and Revenue Smoothing”, *Journal of Economic Dynamics and Control*, 12, 425-44.
- Trehan, B. and Walsh, C.E., 1991, “Testing Inter-temporal Budget Constraint: Theory and Applications to US Federal Budget and Current Account Deficit”, *Journal of Money, Credit and Banking*, 23, 206-23.
- Tufte, E., 1978, *Political control of the Economy*, Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Appendix A: Data sources and definitions

Variable	Definition	Source
Primary budget balance S_{prim}	Government net borrowing or net lending excluding interest payments on consolidated government liabilities as a percentage of the GDP.	Eurostat
Debt ratio Debt	Gross public debt.	<i>Idem</i>
Temporary government spending $GVAR_t$	Government expenditures net of interest payments smoothed by Hodrick-Prescott filter ($\lambda=100$)	<i>Idem</i>
Output Gap $YVAR_t$	The output gap is measured as the percentage difference between actual GDP in constant prices, and estimated potential GDP. The latter is estimated using a production function approach taking into account the capital stock, changes in labour supply, factor productivity and underlying non-accelerating wage rates of unemployment or the NAWRU.	<i>Idem</i>
Ideology of Political parties PART	Left-wing parties in government	Perspective- Université de Sherbrooke and Europe-Politique

Election year ELEC	The election year	<i>Idem</i>
------------------------------	-------------------	-------------

Appendix B: Political orientation of governments (1999:1-2006:1)

<i>Country and Date</i>	<i>Direction of movement</i>	<i>Explanation</i>
Estonia 03/1999 (to 01/2002) 04/2003 (to 04/2005)	Center-Right Right	Coalition between EM, EI and ER ¹³ Coalition between Eesti-maaRahvaliit, Res Publica and ER
Latvia 10/1998 10/2002 (to 03/2004)	Center-Right Right	Coalition between TB-LNNK and LC Coalition between TB-LNNK, JL, LPP,ZZS ¹⁴
Lithuania 10/2000 (to 07/2001) 10/2004	Center-Right Left	Coalition between LCS, LLS, MKDS, NS, LLRA ¹⁵ Coalition between VNDPS, NS, DP, LSDP ¹⁶
Poland 10/1997 09/2001 09/2005	Right Left Right	Coalition between ZChN, PChD, RdR, PC, SKL, RS-AWS, UW ¹⁷ Coalition between PSL, SLD, UP ¹⁸ PiS ¹⁹

¹³Respectively Erakond Mõõdukad (EM), Erakond Isamaaliit (EI) and Eesti Reformierakond (ER)

¹⁴"Tēvzemei un Brīvībai" - Latvijas Nacionālās Neatkarības Kustība (TB-LNNK), Jaunais Laiks (JL), Latvijas Pirmā Partija (LPP), and Zaļo un Zemnieku Savienība (ZZS)

¹⁵Lietuvos Centro Sąjunga (LCS), Lietuvos Liberalu Sąjunga (LLS), Moderniųjų Krikščionių Demokratų Sąjunga (MKDS), Naujoji Sąjunga - Socialliberalai (NS) and Lietuvos Lenkų Rinkimų Akcija (LLRA)

¹⁶Valstiečių ir Naujosios Demokratijos Partijų Sąjunga (VNDPS), Naujoji Sąjunga - Socialliberalai (NS), Darbo Partija (DP), and Lietuvos Sociāldemokrātu Partija (LSDP)

¹⁷Zjednoczenie Chrześcijańsko-Narodowe (ZChN), Partia Chrześcijańskich Demokratów (PChD), Ruch dla Rzeczypospolitej (RdR), Porozumienia Centrum (PC), Stronnictwo Konserwatywno Ludowe (SKL), Ruch Społeczny Akcji Wyborczej Solidarność (RS-AWS), and l'Unia Wolności (UW, Union pour la liberté)

¹⁸Polskie Stronnictwo Ludowe (PSL), Sojusz Lewicy Demokratycznej (SLD), and Unia Pracy (UP)

¹⁹Prawo i Sprawiedliwość (PiS)

Slovakia 10/1998	Unspecified	Coalition between MKP-SMK, DS, SDKÚ, KDH, SDL', SOP ²⁰
10/2002	Right	Coalition between MKP-SMK, SDKÚ, KDH, ANO (Aliancia Nového Občana)
Slovenia 10/2000	Left	Coalition between SLS, DeSUS, LDS, ZLSD ²¹
10/2004	Left	Coalition between DeSUS, LDS, ZLSD
The Czech Republic 06/1998	Left	Česká Strana Sociálně Demokratická (ČSSD)
06/2002	Unspecified	Coalition between ČSSD, US-DEU and KDU- ČSL ²²

Source: Europe-Politique and Perspective-Université de Sherbrooke

"

"

"

"

²⁰Magyar Koalíció Pártja - Strana Madarskej Koalicie (MKP-SMK), Demokratická Strana (DS), Slovenská Demokratická a Kresťanská Únia (SDKÚ), Kresťansko Demokratické Hnutie (KDH), Strana Demokratickej Ľavice (SDL), and Strana Občianskeho Porozumenia (SOP).

²¹Slovenska Ljudska Stranka (SLS), Demokratična Stranka Upokojeencev Slovenije (DeSUS), Liberalna Demokracija Slovenije (LDS), and Združena Lista Socialnih Demokratov (ZLSD)

²²Respectively Unie Svobody - Demokratická Unie (US-DEU) and Křesťanská a Demokratická Unie - Československou Strana Lidová (KDU-ČSL)