

Country: China

Year: 1945

Leader: Chen Gongbo

Ideology: right

Description: DPI identifies KMT's ideology as rightist. World Statesmen (2020) identifies Chen's party as KMT-WC, and KMT's ideology as rightist, writing "22 Mar 1944 - 16 Aug 1945 Chen Gongbo (Ch'en Kung-po) (b. 1892 - d. 1946) KMT-WC" and "KMT = Zhongguo Guomindang/Chung-kuo Kuo-min Tang (Chinese National People's Party" and "Kuomintang", Chinese nationalist, republican, conservative, anti-Communist, from 1 Jun 1931 state party, 23 Aug 1912-Nov 1913, re-formed.10 Oct 1919)." In the Global Party Survey 2019, 14 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of Chinese Nationalist Party (KMT) as 6.0.

Years: 1946 - 1948

Leader: Chiang Kai-shek

Ideology: right

Description: DPI identifies KMT's ideology as rightist. CHISOLS identifies party affiliation as KMT. Manzano (2017) identifies ideology as rightist. In the Global Party Survey 2019, 14 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of Chinese Nationalist Party (KMT) as 6.0. World Statesmen (2020) identifies Chiang's party as KMT, and KMT's ideology as rightist, writing "1 Aug 1943 - 20 May 1948 Jiang Zhongzheng "Chiang Kai-shek" (s.a.) KMT/Mil" and "KMT = Zhongguo Guomindang/Chung-kuo Kuo-min Tang (Chinese National People's Party" and "Kuomintang", Chinese nationalist, republican, conservative, anti-Communist, from 1 Jun 1931 state party, 23 Aug 1912-Nov 1913, re-formed.10 Oct 1919)."

Years: 1949 – 1975

Leader: Mao Tse-Tung

Ideology: left

Description: HoG does not identify party ideology. CHISOLS identifies party affiliation as Communist Party of China (CPC/CCP). Manzano (2017) identifies Mao Zedong as left. DPI identifies CPC's ideology as left. The Political Handbook (2013) elaborates, writing "The Communist-ruled People's Republic of China (PRC) controls the Chinese mainland, including Manchuria, Inner Mongolia, Sinkiang (Chinese Turkestan), Tibet, Hong Kong, and Macao.", and the Political Handbook (2012) elaborates, "The sixth plenary session, held September 24–26,

2001, focused on party-building, including improved leadership, governance, and anticorruption efforts in the context of “Marxism-Leninism, Mao Zedong Thought, and Deng Xiaoping Theory.” Perspective monde (2020) identifies Mao’s ideology as leftist, writing “Mao Zedong | 1949 (1 octobre) | 1959 (27 avril) | Parti communiste chinois | [...] | Gauche communiste.” Lentz (1994) identifies Mao's ideology as leftist, writing "He formed a Communist government in southeastern China with the assistance of Soviet-trained party leaders..." World Statesmen (2020) identifies Mao's party as CPC, and CPC's ideology as leftist, writing "1 Oct 1949 - 27 Sep 1954 Mao Zedong (s.a.) CPC" and "CPC = Zhongguo Gongchandang (Communist Party of China, communist, authoritarian, Chinese nationalist, Marxist-Leninist, state party from 1 Oct 1949, est.23 Jul 1921)." In V-Party (2020), 5 experts identify leader party’s ideology as “Far-left” (-3.538) in 1975.

Years: 1976 - 1979

Leader: Hua Guofeng

Ideology: left

Description: HoG does not identify party ideology. CHISOLS identifies party affiliation as Communist Party of China (CPC/CPP). Manzano (2017) identifies Hua Guofeng as left. DPI identifies CPC’s ideology as left. The Political Handbook (2013) elaborates, writing “The Communist-ruled People’s Republic of China (PRC) controls the Chinese mainland, including Manchuria, Inner Mongolia, Sinkiang (Chinese Turkestan), Tibet, Hong Kong, and Macao.”, and the Political Handbook (2012) elaborates, “The sixth plenary session, held September 24–26, 2001, focused on party-building, including improved leadership, governance, and anticorruption efforts in the context of “Marxism-Leninism, Mao Zedong Thought, and Deng Xiaoping Theory.” Perspective monde (2020) identifies Hua’s ideology as leftist, writing “Hua Guofeng | 1976 (4 février) | 1980 (10 septembre) | Parti communiste chinois | [...] | Gauche communiste.” World Statesmen (2020) identifies Hua's party as CPC, and CPC's ideology as leftist, writing "2 Feb 1976 - 10 Sep 1980 Hua Guofeng (acting to 7 Apr 1976) (s.a.) CPC" and "CPC = Zhongguo Gongchandang (Communist Party of China, communist, authoritarian, Chinese nationalist, Marxist-Leninist, state party from 1 Oct 1949, est.23 Jul 1921)." In V-Party (2020), 5 experts identify leader party’s ideology as “Far-left” (-3.538) in 1975 and as “Left” (-2.14) in 1978.

Years: 1980 - 1996

Leader: Deng Xiaoping

Ideology: left

Description: HoG does not identify party ideology. CHISOLS identifies party affiliation as Communist Party of China (CPC/CPP). Manzano (2017) identifies Deng Xiaoping as left. DPI identifies CPC's ideology as left. The Political Handbook (2013) elaborates, writing "The Communist-ruled People's Republic of China (PRC) controls the Chinese mainland, including Manchuria, Inner Mongolia, Sinkiang (Chinese Turkestan), Tibet, Hong Kong, and Macao.", and the Political Handbook (2012) elaborates, "The sixth plenary session, held September 24–26, 2001, focused on party-building, including improved leadership, governance, and anticorruption efforts in the context of "Marxism-Leninism, Mao Zedong Thought, and Deng Xiaoping Theory." Lentz (1994) identifies Deng's ideology as leftist, writing "Deng returned to China in 1926 and became active in the Communist movement." In V-Party (2020), 5 experts identify leader party's ideology as "Left" (-2.14) in 1978, as "Center-left" (-1.343) in 1984, as "Center-left" (-1.136) in 1988, and as "Center-left" (-0.478) in 1994.

Years: 1997 - 2002

Leader: Jiang Zemin

Ideology: left

Description: HoG does not identify party ideology. CHISOLS identifies party affiliation as Communist Party of China (CPC/CPP). *Political Handbook of the World* (2015: 283) identifies affiliation as Communist Party of China (CPC/CCP): "Immediately after the Soviet leader's departure, martial law was declared in the capital, although it was not until the early morning of June 4, with hard-liners having assumed control of the CCP Politburo, that the military was ordered to disburse the demonstrators in an action that reportedly resulted in several thousand deaths. On June 24 General Secretary Zhao Ziyang was formally purged and replaced by the Shanghai party chief, JIANG Zemin." Manzano (2017) identifies Jiang Zemin as left. DPI identifies ideology of CPC as left. The Political Handbook (2013) elaborates, writing "The Communist-ruled People's Republic of China (PRC) controls the Chinese mainland, including Manchuria, Inner Mongolia, Sinkiang (Chinese Turkestan), Tibet, Hong Kong, and Macao.", and the Political Handbook (2012) elaborates, "The sixth plenary session, held September 24–26, 2001, focused on party-building, including improved leadership, governance, and anticorruption efforts in the context of "Marxism-Leninism, Mao Zedong Thought, and Deng Xiaoping Theory." Perspective monde (2020) identifies Jiang's ideology as leftist, writing "Jiang Zemin | 1993 (27 mars) | 2003 (15 mars) | Parti communiste chinois | [...] | Gauche communiste." World Statesmen (2020) identifies Jiang's party as CPC, and CPC's ideology as leftist, writing "27 Mar 1993 - 15 Mar 2003 Jiang Zemin (s.a.) CPC" and "CPC = Zhongguo Gongchandang (Communist Party of China, communist, authoritarian, Chinese nationalist,

Marxist-Leninist, state party from 1 Oct 1949, est.23 Jul 1921)." In V-Party (2020), 5 experts identify leader party's ideology as "Center" (0.301) in 1998 with "Virtually no visible disagreement". Ortiz de Zárate (2003b) writes "Leader linked to capitalist reforms in Shanghai... In those years, Jiang was considered one of the main promoters and planners of the Shenzhen Special Economic Zone (SEZ)... Created in August 1980, Shenzhen has been the first, largest and most successful "performance island", true laboratories of liberal capitalism and showcases of the Denghust market reforms... Jiang, unlike the defenestrated Hu and Zhao, did seem to perfectly understand the teaching of the Little Helmsman, synthesized in the formula of a broad restructuring and economic liberalization without the slightest undermining of political orthodoxy... For Jiang, "socialism with Chinese characteristics" consisted of "sharing the resources derived from the market economy and applying the socialist principle of social protection and the improvement of the worker's situation. The other characteristic was that "public ownership, which is part of the Chinese tradition, will continue to prevail". He continued, paraphrasing his mentor: "Our policy consists of one central task, economic development, and two basic pillars, socialism with Chinese characteristics and the continuity of gaige and kaifeng. Economic development is based on respect for the four cardinal principles: following the path of socialism, maintaining the dictatorship of the proletariat, entrusting leadership to the Communist Party and remaining faithful to Marxism-Leninism and the thought of Mao Zedong." Wang and Zheng (2003) write "Jiang Zemin... in future, as the party steps up its process of metamorphosis and evolves into a kind of social democratic party, he will still be favorably judged by history for leading the way for such a transformation." Lam (1999) writes "Jiang drew the line between "learning from the West" and "all-out Westernization". "When we are learning from and copying the good things of capitalist countries, we must not belittle ourselves," he said at an internal meeting in 1996. "We must not lose confidence in socialism" and "Neo-conservative leaders such as Jiang kicked off a "spiritual civilization" campaign to resuscitate interest in Marxism". Kuhn (2004) writes ""We should persist in taking the Chinese-style socialist road," Jiang said in January 1987, "break away from traditional economic modes without ever returning to the capitalist road, and adopt a clear-cut stand against bourgeois liberalization. However, we may study and assimilate the positive elements of a capitalist economy.""

Years: 2003 - 2011

Leader: Hu Jintao

Ideology: left

Description: CHISOLS identifies party affiliation as Communist Party of China (CPC/CP) from 2003 to 2008. Manzano (2017) identifies ideology as leftist. DPI identifies ideology of CPC as left. The Political Handbook (2013) elaborates, writing “The Communist-ruled People’s Republic of China (PRC) controls the Chinese mainland, including Manchuria, Inner Mongolia, Sinkiang (Chinese Turkestan), Tibet, Hong Kong, and Macao.”, and the Political Handbook (2012) elaborates, “The sixth plenary session, held September 24–26, 2001, focused on party-building, including improved leadership, governance, and anticorruption efforts in the context of “Marxism-Leninism, Mao Zedong Thought, and Deng Xiaoping Theory.” Perspective monde (2020) identifies Hu’s ideology as leftist, writing “Hu Jintao | 2003 (15 mars) | 2008 (15 mars) | Parti communiste chinois | [...] | Gauche communiste.” World Statesmen (2020) identifies Hu's party as CPC, and CPC's ideology as leftist, writing "15 Mar 2003 - 14 Mar 2013 Hu Jintao (s.a.) CPC" and "CPC = Zhongguo Gongchandang (Communist Party of China, communist, authoritarian, Chinese nationalist, Marxist-Leninist, state party from 1 Oct 1949, est.23 Jul 1921)." In V-Party (2020), 5 experts identify leader party’s ideology as “Center” (0.123) in 2003 with “Virtually no visible disagreement” and as “Center” (0.009) in 2008 with “Virtually no visible disagreement”. Ortiz de Zárate (2003a) writes “International commentators portrayed Hu as a reformer and as the least like a conservative, but more because of the cast of leaders with whom he had been associated, all of whom were clearly liberal in economic matters, than because of his own credentials in this respect, since to date he had limited himself to obeying what his superiors told him to do. There was no lack of opinion that, as a result of this discreet character and reluctance to take particular political positions, Hu's attributed reformism was, to say the least, somewhat blurred. In 1993, only two years after he had entered it as a student, Hu assumed the leadership of the Central School of the party, an institution with a reputation for arbitrariness in the debates on communist ideology and which now became a propagandist of dengueism... In the weeks prior to the Congress Hu issued sparse communiqués appealing to maintain and reinforce the dengueist theory of socialism with Chinese characteristics and to implement Jiang's theory of the triple representativeness of the party. Two visions, the second emanating from the first, which, incidentally, barely mask the gradual abandonment of Marxist praxis”.

Years: 2012 - 2020

Leader: Xi Jinping

Ideology: left

Description: DPI identifies ideology of CPC as left. CHISOLS identifies Jinping’s party affiliation as Communist Party of China (CPC/CP). The Political Handbook (2013) elaborates, writing “The Communist-ruled People’s Republic of China

(PRC) controls the Chinese mainland, including Manchuria, Inner Mongolia, Sinkiang (Chinese Turkestan), Tibet, Hong Kong, and Macao.”, and the Political Handbook (2012) elaborates, “The sixth plenary session, held September 24–26, 2001, focused on party-building, including improved leadership, governance, and anticorruption efforts in the context of “Marxism-Leninism, Mao Zedong Thought, and Deng Xiaoping Theory.” Perspective monde (2020) identifies Xi’s ideology as leftist, writing “Xi Jinping | 2013 (14 mars) | Parti communiste chinois | [...] | Gauche communiste.” World Statesmen (2020) identifies Xi's party as CPC, and CPC's ideology as leftist, writing "14 Mar 2013 - Xi Jinping (s.a.) CPC" and "CPC = Zhongguo Gongchandang (Communist Party of China, communist, authoritarian, Chinese nationalist, Marxist-Leninist, state party from 1 Oct 1949, est.23 Jul 1921)." In V-Party (2020), 5 experts identify leader party’s ideology as “Center” (-0.351) in 2013 with “Virtually no visible disagreement”. Ortiz de Zárate (2012) writes “Xi is portrayed as a technocrat forged in the denghist school, inventor of a model of state capitalism that leaves no room for political openness, the so-called "socialism with Chinese characteristics"... A moderate conservative, pragmatic, cautious, open to the West, familiar with the business world and with a somewhat more casual style than his corseted predecessor, Hu -as correct as he was parsimonious-, Xi would come to represent a line of continuity and orthodoxy that is imposed on those nostalgic for traditional communism and those who sympathize with democratic reforms, although the adoption of social democratic mechanisms to remedy the flagrant social inequalities, assumed by the Party, is becoming peremptory... As governor of Fujian, Xi accelerated the development of the market economy in the coastal province and strove to attract Taiwanese investment... In the five years he ruled Zhejiang, Xi oversaw the economic development of the province... In addition to his full identification with the officially so-called socialist market economy... The run-up to the 18th CPC Congress, which was to raise the fifth generation of Chinese leaders (after those represented by Mao, Deng, Jiang and Hu)... were shrouded in a... background sea of social and economic concerns: those derived from the tremendous imbalances and flagrant abuses generated by a model of unbridled growth based on foreign trade and which, except for the baton of the State, presented characteristics of Manchesterian capitalism.” Financial Times (2021) writes “President Xi Jinping has called for stronger “regulation of high incomes” in the latest sign that a 10-month campaign targeting China’s largest technology companies is rapidly expanding to encompass broader social goals. State media reported that a meeting of the Chinese Communist party’s Central Financial and Economic Affairs Commission on Tuesday, chaired by Xi, had emphasised the need to “regulate excessively high incomes and encourage high-income groups and enterprises to return more to society”. Kynge (2021) writes “At the 19th CCP Congress in 2017,

Xi announced a change in the party's "principal contradiction" — the philosophy that guides all its endeavours. The previous philosophy, set in 1981, emphasised acceleration of economic growth. Since 2017, the party has put the focus on reducing inequalities that threaten to undermine its legitimacy and improving the quality of people's lives".

#### References:

- "China: People's Republic Of." In *Political Handbook of the World 2015*, edited by Thomas Lansford, 282-91. Washington, DC: CQ Press, 2015.
- Financial Times. 2021. China's Xi calls for wealth redistribution and clampdown on high incomes. <https://www.ft.com/content/87c3aa02-f970-48c8-b795-82768c9f7634> (last accessed September 14, 2021).
- Kuhn, Robert Lawrence. *The Man Who Changed China: The Life and Legacy of Jiang Zemin*. New York: Crown Publishers, 2004.
- Kynge, James. Xi Jinping takes aim at the gross inequalities of China's 'gilded age.' <https://www.ft.com/content/8761f611-5619-4c2d-8627-577ba9359cd4> (last accessed September 14, 2021).
- Lam, Willy Wo-Lap. *The Era of Jiang Zemin*. Singapore ; New York: Prentice Hall, 1999.
- Manzano, Dulce. 2017. *Bringing Down the Educational Wall: Political Regimes, Ideology, and the Expansion of Education*. Cambridge.
- Ortiz de Zárate, Roberto, ed. "Hu Jintao." CIDOB. Last modified March 30, 2003a. Accessed February 25, 2021.  
[https://www.cidob.org/en/biografias\\_lideres\\_politicos\\_only\\_in\\_spanish/asia/china\\_republica\\_popular/hu\\_jintao](https://www.cidob.org/en/biografias_lideres_politicos_only_in_spanish/asia/china_republica_popular/hu_jintao).
- Ortiz de Zárate, Roberto, ed. "Jiang Zemin." CIDOB. Last modified April 1, 2003b. Accessed February 25, 2021.  
[https://www.cidob.org/en/biografias\\_lideres\\_politicos\\_only\\_in\\_spanish/asia/china\\_republica\\_popular/jiang\\_zemin](https://www.cidob.org/en/biografias_lideres_politicos_only_in_spanish/asia/china_republica_popular/jiang_zemin).
- Ortiz de Zárate, Roberto, ed. "Xi Jinping." CIDOB. Last modified December 1, 2012. Accessed February 25, 2021.  
[https://www.cidob.org/en/biografias\\_lideres\\_politicos\\_only\\_in\\_spanish/asia/china\\_republica\\_popular/xi\\_jinping](https://www.cidob.org/en/biografias_lideres_politicos_only_in_spanish/asia/china_republica_popular/xi_jinping).
- Perspective monde. 2019. *Various entries*.  
<http://perspective.usherbrooke.ca/bilan/servlet/BMGvt?codePays=AFG&ani=1945&moi=1&anf=2019&mof=7>
- Wang Gungwu and Zheng Yongnian --, et al. *Damage Control: The Chinese Communist Party in the Jiang Zemin Era*. Singapore: Eastern Universities Press, 2003.