

Country: Russia

Years: 1945-1952

Head of government: Josef Vissarionovich Stalin

Ideology: left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies party as AUCP, or Communist Party. Encyclopedia Britannica (2018) identifies the Communist Party's ideology as leftist: "A few months after coming to power the new Russian regime initiated a series of unprecedented measures intended to destroy all vestiges of private property and inaugurate a centralized communist economy." Manzano (2017) identifies ideology as leftist. Perspective Monde (2019) identifies Stalin's ideology as leftist. Lentz (1994: 781) identifies Stalin's ideology as leftist, writing "Stalin subsequently supported Lenin and the Bolsheviks" and that he "was active in the October Revolution that resulted in the Communists taking over the government". In V-Party (2020), 6 experts identify head of government party's ideology as "Far-left" (-4.214) in 1970.

Years: 1953-1954

Head of government: Georgy Maksimilianovich Malenkov

Ideology: left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies party as CPSU. DPI identifies CPSU's ideology as leftist. Political Handbook of the World (2015: 1214) does not provide any information on the CPSU's ideology. Perspective Monde (2019) identifies Malenkov's ideology as leftist. In V-Party (2020), 6 experts identify head of government party's ideology as "Far-left" (-4.214) in 1970.

Years: 1955-1957

Head of government: Nikolay Aleksandrovich Bulganin

Ideology: left

Description: World Statesmen (2020), Perspective Monde (2020), and Lentz (1994) identify Nikita Sergeyevich Khrushchev instead of Nikolay Aleksandrovich Bulganin as head of government on 31 December, 1958. HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies party as CPSU. DPI identifies CPSU's ideology as leftist. Political Handbook of the World (2015: 1214) does not provide any information on the CPSU's ideology. Perspective Monde (2019) identifies Bulganin's ideology as leftist. In V-Party (2020), 6 experts identify head of government party's ideology as "Far-left" (-4.214) in 1970.

Years: 1958-1963

Head of government: Nikita Sergeyevich Khrushchev

Ideology: left

Description: World Statesmen (2020), Perspective Monde (2020), and Lentz (1994) identify Nikita Sergeyevich Khrushchev instead of Nikolay Aleksandrovich Bulganin as head of government on 31 December, 1958. HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies party as CPSU. DPI identifies CPSU's ideology as leftist. Political Handbook of the World (2015: 1214) does not provide any information on the CPSU's ideology. Manzano (2017) identifies ideology as leftist. Perspective Monde (2019) identifies Khrushchev's ideology as leftist. Lentz (1994: 782) identifies Khrushchev's ideology as leftist, writing that "after the Bolshevik Revolution, Khrushchev joined the Communist party and fought in the Red Army". In V-Party (2020), 6 experts identify head of government party's ideology as "Far-left" (-4.214) in 1970.

Years: 1964-1979

Head of government: Aleksey Nikolayevich Kosygin

Ideology: left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies party as CPSU. DPI identifies CPSU's ideology as leftist. Political Handbook of the World (2015: 1214) does not provide any information on the CPSU's ideology. Perspective Monde (2019) identifies Kosygin's ideology as leftist. Lentz (1994: 792) writes that "Kosygin attempted to reform the Soviet economy by advocating for decentralization and an increased production of consumer goods". In V-Party (2020), 6 experts identify head of government party's ideology as "Far-left" (-4.214) in 1970, "Far-left" (-4.214) in 1974, and "Far-left" (-4.214) in 1979.

Years: 1980-1984

Head of government: Nikolay Aleksandrovich Tikhonov

Ideology: left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies party as CPSU. DPI identifies CPSU's ideology as leftist. Political Handbook of the World (2015: 1214) does not provide any information on the CPSU's ideology. Perspective Monde (2019) identifies Tikhonov's ideology as leftist. In V-Party (2020), 6 experts identify head of government party's ideology as "Far-left" (-4.214) in 1979 and "Far-left" (-4.214) in 1984.

Years: 1985-1990

Head of government: Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov

Ideology: left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies party as CPSU. DPI identifies CPSU's ideology as leftist. Political Handbook of the World (2015:

1214) does not provide any information on the CPSU's ideology. Perspective Monde (2019) identifies Ryzhkov's ideology as leftist. In V-Party (2020), 6 experts identify head of government party's ideology as "Far-left" (-4.214) in 1984 and "Far-left" (-4.214) in 1989.

Year: 1991

Head of government: Ivan Stepanovich Silayev

Ideology: leftist

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. Perspective monde (2019) identifies Silayev's party affiliation as the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU). Perspective monde (2019) further identifies ideology as leftist. Perspective Monde (2019) identifies Silayev's ideology as leftist.

Years: 1992-1997

Head of government: Viktor Stepanovich Chernomyrdin

Ideology: rightist

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. Oversloot and Verheul (2006: 395) identify Chernomyrdin's party as Nash-Dom Rossiya: "In preparation for the December 1995 State Duma elections a new electoral vehicle for the party of power was set up: Our Home Is Russia (*Nash Dom–Rossiya: NDR*). This movement, launched in May 1995, was headed by Viktor Chernomyrdin." DPI identifies NDR as rightist. Political Handbook of the World (2015: 1214) elaborates, writing that "the launching of the center-right Our Home is Russia (NDR) formation as the "government" party and concurrent moves to form a center-left opposition bloc were seen as an attempt by the political establishment to create a two-party system that would exclude from power the ultranationalists on the far right and the revived Communists on the reactionary left". Perspective Monde (2019) identifies Chernomyrdin's ideology as rightist. In V-Party (2020), 6 experts identify head of government party's ideology as "Center" (0.396) in 1995 and "Center" (-0.348) in 1999. In V-Party (2020), 6 experts identify head of government party's cohesion as "Some visible disagreement" in 1995 and in 1999.

Years: 1998

Head of government: Yevgeny Maksimovich Primakov

Ideology: leftist

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. Dash (1999: 1494) writes of Primakov that "he was of course a communist; but who was not in those days? What remarkably singled out Primakov as a final choice in the Duma was his middle path, the approach of a centrist". Millar

(2004: 1223) identifies Primakov's later party affiliation as Fatherland – All Russia (*Otechestvo–Vsyā Rossiya*—OVR), writing that Yeltsin “dismissed Primakov in May 1999 in favor of Interior Minister Sergey Stepashin. In reply, Primakov accepted the leadership of the “Fatherland – All Russia” bloc to oppose Yeltsin's forces”. Enikipolov et al. (2011: 3257) identify OVR's ideology as centrist, writing that “the most popular party at the official launch of the election campaign in October 1999 was the opposition party called OVR, which had a centrist ideology”. Political Handbook of the World (2015: 1214) writes that “of the four most important groups active in September 2000, only the Communist Party of the Russian Federation (KPRF) predated 1998, the other three being the Putin-backed Unity, the left-centrist Fatherland, and the right-centrist Union of Right Forces”. In V-Party (2020), 6 experts identify head of government party's ideology as “center” (-0.348) in 1999. In V-Party (2020), 6 experts identify head of government party's cohesion as “some visible disagreement” in 1999.

Years: 1999

Head of government: Vladimir Vladimirovich Putin

Ideology: rightist

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies Putin as non-party. Manzano (2017) identifies Putin's ideology as rightist. Perspective Monde (2019) identifies Putin's ideology as rightist.

Years: 2000-2003

Head of government: Mikhail Mikhailovich Kasyanov

Ideology: right

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. Roger (2003: 285) identifies Kasyanov as non-party, writing that “Kasyanov is not affiliated with any political party, although there have been persistent rumors about his connections with various business ‘oligarchs’”. Saunders and Strukov (2010: 299) identifies Kasyanov's party affiliation as the People's Democratic Union and The Other Russia Coalition, writing that “Kasyanov established the People's Democratic Union as a vehicle for his ambitions; the group also joined The Other Russia Coalition”. Saunders and Strukov (2010: 433) also identifies The Other Russia as rightist, writing that it is “an umbrella organization that includes a variety of liberal and extreme right-wing political parties and organizations”. Rulers (2019) writes that “Kasyanov was said to oppose Putin's views on economic development of the country”. Clark (2009: 343) identifies Kasyanov as a “self-described liberal”. *The New York Times* (2000) identifies Kasyanov as rightist, writing that “President Vladimir V. Putin named as prime minister today a chief foreign-debt negotiator and a liberal economics expert” and

that Kasyanov “worked at the old Soviet central planning committee before switching, with the government, to a free-market economic philosophy after the Soviet Union died in 1991”. BBC News (2000) confirms Kasyanov to be rightist, writing that “Russia's new acting Prime Minister, Mikhail Kasyanov, is a liberal economist and a technocrat with a good reputation among Western investors.” Aslund (2010: 56) writes that “the December 2003 parliamentary elections had solidified Putin’s power. His party, United Russia, won a majority of its own seats, and the liberal parties and most of the independents lost theirs. Since United Russia could rule without opposition, the parliament no longer felt the need to push for a liberal agenda in general and WTO accession in particular. Furthermore, Putin dismissed his prime minister, Kasyanov, and replaced him with Fradkov.” Aslund (2010: 353) further writes that “Prime Minister Mikhail Kasyanov (2000—2004) was also supportive [of ascension to the WTO]”. Myers (2015) writes that “Boris Nemtsov ... tried to persuade Kasyanov to run as the candidate representing the country’s economic liberals, but Kasyanov dared not seriously consider challenging his boss.”

Years: 2004-2006

Head of government: Mikhail Yefimovich Fradkov

Ideology: right

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. World Statesmen (2019) identifies Fradkov’s party affiliation as non-party. Jeffries (2016: 149) describes Fradkov as a “low-profile technocrat” who “held a number of mostly economic portfolios” and writes that “analysts described him as a competent non-political figure”. Rulers (2019) writes that “many said that Fradkov proved to be the most colorless and uninfluential prime minister after 1991. He was completely overshadowed by Putin”. Although Darden (2009: 154) identifies Fradkov as rightist, writing that “Oleg Davydov, an integralist, was ousted as minister of foreign economic relations in April 1997 and replaced by Mikhail Fradkov, a liberal who had been Russia’s representative to the GATT/WTO,” Aslund (2010: 352) argues that “Mikhail Fradkov was never a liberal.” Ivlev (2012) writes that “Alexei Kudrin was generally more influential than Prime Minister Mikhail Fradkov, who was merely a figurehead.” Voice of America (2009) writes that “As prime minister, Mr. Fradkov will be responsible for shaping economic policy, but he has given little indication of his views, other than to echo President Putin's calls for broader economic reform. ... Mr. Fradkov has described his new role as one of a technocrat. And analysts say he is likely to see his job as largely implementing President Putin's policies.” Based on Putin’s ideology, we therefore code Fradkov as rightist.

Year: 2007

Head of government: Viktor Alekseyevich Zubkov

Ideology: centrist

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. Roberts (2012: 230) identifies Zubkov's party affiliation as United Russia (*Edinaya Rossiya*), writing that "as of September 2010, First Deputy Prime Minister, Viktor Zubkov, who previously held a leadership position in United Russia's Higher Council, sits on the board of Gazprom". DPI identifies United Russia's ideology as centrist. Political Handbook of the World (2015: 1215) elaborates, writing that "[United Russia] espouses "social conservatism"—a blend of market economics, promotion of the middle class, nationalism, and support for social order and stability. There has, however, been tension between the party's more rightist market forces and those committed to a more "social orientation," some of whom strongly objected to a Putin initiative that replaced guaranteed social service benefits with cash payments". In the Global Party Survey 2019, 16 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of United Russia (ER) as 3.5. Rohrschneider and Whitefield (2009) identify United Russia's oppose-support market score as 5 and its support-oppose welfare score as approximately 4.5 on scales from 1-7. Saunders and Strukov (2010: 603) identifies United Russia as centrist, writing that "the platform is centrist, conservative, and patriotic," that "United Russia opposes radicalism on the right and left," and that "it supports anti-corruption measures, increased military spending, improved social welfare, streamlining of government functions, and the elevation of Russia's standing as a world power." Hass (2003: 1138) writes that "with the emergence of Putin, the centrist juggernaut United Russia has come to dominate the political scene to the detriment of right-wing and left-wing parties. This move to the center is less a sign of emerging political moderation among the population—nationalist pride persists, as does some desire for welfare support—than it is a sign of the increasing power of the Kremlin and Putin's technocratic, less ideological stance." Sakwa (2013: 43) writes that "the genesis of the party of power also affected its lack of ideology ... UR openly and deliberately manifested its loyalty to Russia's political regime and Putin personally, while its position on major policy issues remained vague and indefinite." They also write that "it is located near the zero point on the left-right continuum between pro-statist and pro-market parties". Winning (2013) writes that "the ruling United Russia party has founded a "liberal" platform calling for a major overhaul of the party in light of heightened political competition. ... The party published a manifesto late Monday positing that it alone could solve the country's most pressing social and economic problems, arguing that the state should play a guiding role in the economy and calling on national media to focus on unifying the population. ... Independent analysts said the manifesto's overriding aim was to discredit Kremlin critics, and they described its

vision for Russia's future as broadly conservative.” Remington (2015: 176) writes that “United Russia considers itself to be centrist. ... At the same time, it does have a programmatic tendency. Sometimes it calls itself ‘right-centrist,’ because it supports market-oriented and pro-business policies, such as cutting taxes and reducing regulation. Often it calls its philosophy ‘social conservatism.’ Voters see the party as positioned on the right side of the spectrum – three quarters of citizens believe that United Russia wants to ‘continue and deepen market reforms.’” In V-Party (2020), 6 experts identify head of government party's ideology as “Center” (0.215) in 2007.

Years: 2008-2011

Head of government: Vladimir Vladimirovich Putin

Ideology: rightist

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. Turner (2012: 1031) identifies Putin's party affiliation as United Russia (*Edinaya Rossiya*), writing that Putin “stepped down as leader of United Russia ahead of being sworn in as president in May 2012”. DPI identifies United Russia as centrist. Political Handbook of the World (2015: 1215) elaborates, writing that “[United Russia] espouses “social conservatism”—a blend of market economics, promotion of the middle class, nationalism, and support for social order and stability. There has, however, been tension between the party's more rightist market forces and those committed to a more “social orientation,” some of whom strongly objected to a Putin initiative that replaced guaranteed social service benefits with cash payments”. Manzano (2017) identifies Putin's ideology as rightist. Perspective Monde (2019) identifies Putin's ideology as rightist. In the Global Party Survey 2019, 16 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of United Russia (ER) as 3.5. Rohrschneider and Whitefield (2009) identify United Russia's oppose-support market score as 5 and its support-oppose welfare score as approximately 4.5 on scales from 1-7. In V-Party (2020), 6 experts identify head of government party's ideology as “Center” (0.215) in 2007 and “Center” (0.215) in 2011. In V-Party (2020), 6 experts identify head of government party's cohesion as “negligible visible disagreement” in 2007 and “virtually no visible disagreement” in 2011.

Years: 2012-2019

Head of government: Dmitry Anatolyevich Medvedev

Ideology: rightist

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. Political Handbook (2018: 1210) identifies Medvedev's party affiliation as United Russia (*Edinaya Rossiya*), writing that “Medvedev would stand on the United Russia ticket in the December parliamentary elections and

would likely be prime minister”. Manzano (2017) identifies Medvedev’s ideology as rightist. In the Global Party Survey 2019, 16 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of United Russia (ER) as 3.5. Rohrschneider and Whitefield (2009) identify United Russia’s oppose-support market score as 5 and its support-oppose welfare score as approximately 4.5 on scales from 1-7. In V-Party (2020), 6 experts identify head of government party’s ideology as “Center” (0.215) in 2011 and “Center” (0.041) in 2016. In V-Party (2020), 6 experts identify head of government party’s cohesion as “virtually no visible disagreement” (-0.348) in 2011 and 2016. Ortiz de Zarate (2020) writes “[in 2004, Medvedev] would represent a certain pro-business and cosmopolitan liberalism out of tune with the suspicious *siloviki*,” or, “representaría un cierto liberalismo proempresarial y cosmopolita mal sintonizado con los recelosos *siloviki*.” Zarate also writes, “[Medvedev] was committed to safeguarding freedom ‘in all its forms: personal freedoms, economic freedom and finally, freedom of expression,’” or, “estaba comprometido con la salvaguardia de la libertad “en todas sus formas: libertades personales, libertad económica y, finalmente, la libertad de expression.” DPI identifies United Russia as centrist.

Years: 2020

Leader: Mikhail Vladimirovich Mishustin

Ideology:

Description: Varieties of Democracy identify his party ideology as “none.” Ortiz de Zarate (2020) states, “Mishustin’s profile, emerged from anonymity for most of his own countrymen, admits few nuances and is even typical of many of the current generation of Kremlin servants: he is a technocrat with no party affiliation or known political ambitions,” or, “El perfil de Mishustin, surgido del anonimato para la mayoría de sus propios paisanos, admite pocos matices y hasta resulta típico de mucha de la actual generación de servidores del Kremlin: se trata un tecnócrata sin filiación partidista ni ambiciones políticas conocidas.” EFE News Services (2020) states that Mishustin, ““has pledged a series of economic reforms aimed at bolstering the Russian economy, including lifting restrictions on infrastructure affecting the transport sector, boosting trust between business and authorities” and that “an important policy will be to start removing barriers to business.”

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