

TRANSFORMATION OF THE UKRAINIAN PARTY SYSTEM AFTER THE REVOLUTION OF DIGNITY IN 2013

The article analyses the impact of the events of 2010-2015 on the party system of Ukraine. The recent years have been showing establishment, collapse and formation of a new party authority. It researches the main aspects causing the collapse of a «party authority», early parliamentary elections and the rule of new party elite in Verkhovna Rada. It also examines distinctive features of the transitional party systems in the post-Soviet countries on the example of Ukraine.

Key words: *political party, the post-Soviet space, democracy, political regime, transformation, public policy, government*

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ТРАНСФОРМАЦІЯ ПАРТІЙНОЇ СИСТЕМИ УКРАЇНИ ПІСЛЯ РЕВОЛЮЦІЇ ГІДНОСТІ 2013 РОКУ

Аналізується вплив подій, що відбулись протягом 2010-2015 рр., на партійну систему України. Розглядається утворення, занепад та створення нової партійної влади протягом останніх років. Аналізуються основні чинники, що привели до занепаду «партії влади», позачергових парламентських виборів та формування нової партійної еліти у Верховній Раді. Розглядаються також особливості перехідних партійних систем в пострадянських державах на прикладі України.

Ключові слова: *політична партія, пострадянський простір, демократія, політичний режим, трансформація, публічна політика, державна влада*

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ТРАНСФОРМАЦИЯ ПАРТИЙНОЙ СИСТЕМЫ УКРАИНЫ ПОСЛЕ РЕВОЛЮЦИИ ДОСТОИНСТВА 2013 ГОДА

Анализируется влияние событий, произошедших в течение 2010-2015 гг., на партийную систему Украины. Рассматривается образование, упадок и создание новой партийной власти в течение последних лет. Анализируются основные факторы, которые привели к упадку «партии власти», на внеочередных парламентских выборах и формирование новой партийной элиты в Верховной Раде. Рассматриваются также особенности переходных партийных систем в постсоветских государствах на примере Украины.

Ключевые слова: *политическая партия, постсоветское пространство, демократия, политический режим, трансформация, публичная политика, государственная власть*

Development of political parties is one of the most important conditions for political regime transformation. Political parties are an integral element of any modern democratic society, which makes a basis for the openness of state authority. Parties aggregate interests of different groups of population and provide their participation in the process of making policy

decisions. Being a connecting link between voters and their representatives in power structures, parties give voters an opportunity to evaluate implemented policy by voting at elections, contributing to increase of transparency and governmental responsibility. In new democracies establishment of a party system can become an important factor defining governmental characteristics and ways of further political development. That is why examination of political parties in countries experiencing the period of transformation

acquires not only theoretical, but practical meaning as well.

One of the distinctive features of transitional party systems in post-Soviet countries arousing a strong interest of local and foreign authors was a phenomenon of so called «parties of power» – political organizations established by the executive authority for participation in parliamentary elections. «Parties of power» became an integral characteristic of political landscape of Russia, Ukraine and other countries of former USSR. Most researches find similar party formations a sign of disturbed democratic transformation, maintenance of authoritative practices of government legitimation, obstacles to representation of interests of population, development of effective party system and civil society.

Foreign and local researches, such as E. Biuell, R. Hanter, L. Diamond, K. Janda, M. Duverger, S. Lipset, R. Кас, P. Meir, R. Michels, A. Fisun, M. Ostrohorskyi, S. Rokkan, S. Zaslavskyi, Yu. Korhuniuk, A. Kulyk, R. Matveev, Yu. Nikiiforov, S. Radkevych, K. Kholodkovskyi made a serious contribution to development of partology and this issue. They constitute general-purpose works, which contain thorough analysis of party origin and development, in terms of different methodological approaches analyzing types of parties and party systems, their dependence on the nature of political regimes, revealing organizational issues of party construction, legal regulation and financial and economic activity of parties.

Evolution of a party system of Ukraine can be divided into four stages, at the end of which the party system became completely different from the original one. They are: 1990-1995 (formation of multiplicity of parties); 1996-1999 (formation of a system of polarized pluralism); 2000-2004 (transfer to the system of moderate pluralism); 2005 – February 2010 (stabilization of the system of moderate pluralism) [1].

A critical point in the contemporary history of Ukraine was massive protests of citizens against criminal authoritarian regime of V. Yanukovich, which is known as Revolution of dignity, with its epicentre – Maydan. These events were extremely different in terms of their degree and consequences – from making a final geopolitical choice by Ukraine, the beginning practical realization of the focus on European integration through reforming all spheres of social life – to military aggression from Russia, several thousands of victims, loss of the part of

economy and national territory. As soon as ex-president of Ukraine V. Yanukovich escaped to Russia, Constitution of Ukraine was renewed as in force in 2004. All higher state institutions were updated as well. The new President and Verkhovna Rada obtained legitimation through special elections, and the Cabinet of Ministers approved its new members. It was the beginning of reformation of constitutional principles of authority organization, which relates to its various branches and levels. The party system of Ukraine, which is an important element of the whole political system, was significantly changes as well. Political parties that prior to Maydan were a part of pro-presidential coalition were eliminated from the government and political stage (Party of regions, communist party of Ukraine). Political force representing new government was re-structured. Indeed, at the beginning of the campaign for special elections to Verkhovna Rada on October 25, 2014 the pro-European part of political spectrum was represented by «old» parties («Batkivshchyna», «Svoboda»), parties established as a result of separation or merger («Narodnyi front», «Petro Poroshenko's Block», «Samopomich» association), and parties established at the time of Maydan («Right sector»). Post-electoral period was characterized by tough struggle not only between new pro-government force and opposition, but also competition and conflicts between political force that during November 2014 – February 2014 was a «single front». Rapid changes in political party sector caused disorientation of electoral preferences among citizens, especially among those, who didn't find equivalents for their usual party preferences among new parties. Some «political niches» remain available and new party structures can occupy them. This all means that the party system of Ukraine is in the process of transformation, and this process will probably last at least until the next parliamentary elections (scheduled). Additionally, development of Ukraine as a democratic, European country requires effective and representative political system, which is impossible without functional, institutionalized political parties.

The starting point for the party stage formation in 2010-2013 is the second round of elections of the president of Ukraine and victory of V. Yanukovich. The process of formation of new political parties continued: during 2010-2011 – over 25. According to the Ministry of Justice, as of November 2012, there were 200

political parties registered in Ukraine. However, most of them were only formal, as before [2].

Almost all newly created parties carrying on active business has leadership abilities (in particular, such parties as «Sylna Ukraïna» of S. Tigipko, «Front Zmin» of A. Yatseniuk, «UDAR» of V. Klychko, «Gromadianska posytsiia» of A. Grytsenko). «Samopomich» (A. Sadovyi) and «Oleg Liashko's Radykalna partiia» were created a bit later. This stage also included formation of parties based on citizens' initiative («Demokratychnyi alians»). The period from 2010 to 2013 includes two election campaigns: government elections of 2010 and parliamentary elections of 2012. The new Law of Ukraine «On elections of Verkhovna Rada deputies of the Autonomous Republic of Crimea, local councils and rural, settlement, city mayors» substituted proportional system of elections to local councils with the mixed one, and eliminated electoral blocks from the list of electoral subjects [3]. The purpose of this was to provide domination of pro-government political force within the local government. Elections themselves were conducted under conditions of massive use of administrative resource in favor of the Party of regions, pressure on opposition and participation restriction of its representatives in elections using judicial authorities as well [4]. Results of elections showed that the government managed to reach the desired goal. In particular, 39.39% of deputies and over 55% of deputies including «political satellites» («Sylna Ukraïna», KPU, «Narodna partiia») were selected from the Party of regions at the elections to different councils carried out according to party lists. As a comparison: the top political opposition force – All-Ukrainian association «Batkivshchyna» brought 16.34% of deputies according to party lists, other opposition parties (All-Ukrainian association «Svoboda», «Nasha Ukraïna» – 4.47% and 3.26% accordingly) [5].

The process of elections of 2012 was characterized by the stable government formation of legal framework favorable for pro-government force and candidates, massive use of administrative resource, bribery of voters, direct falsification of the results, with the participation of judges and law-enforcement authorities as well [6].

Later, all efforts of V. Yanukovich rule was aimed at its maximum centralization, gaining full control over the judicial branch, local authorities and concentration of authoritative powers within the President. For example, in October 2013 Verkhovna Rada pre-approved the presidential draft modifications to the

Constitution, which intensified dependence of judicial power on the President [7]. The adopted Law «On All-Ukrainian referendum» was supposed to contribute to realization of different constitutional government innovations [8]. In October 2013 changes were made to the legislation, which could prevent participation of the top-rated opposition candidate – V. Klychko in scheduled presidential elections of 2015 [9]. Financing of power structures was significantly increased, except for army, where representatives of Donetsk region were massively appointed to administrative posts. The final stage in this process was a decision made by M. Azarov's administration concerning the shutdown of the process of European integration [10] and violent forceful break-up of peaceful protest actions at Maydan Nezalezhnosti in Kyiv, which was the beginning of massive opposition (known as the Revolution of Dignity) of citizens to V. Yanukovich regime.

So, during 2010-2012 the party system bore the marks of the system of moderate pluralism with the polarization tendency, as a result of ideological distance increase between extreme parties (according to elections, they were KPU and All-Ukrainian association «Svoboda»). However, the maximum concentration of power, which is actually held by one political force – Party of regions (representatives of which held all highest posts in Ukraine), control of «the party of power» over the judicial branch and law-enforcement system, use of «the government machine» and criminal structures for pressure on political opposition, civil society and regular citizens dissatisfied with the government (including physical pressure), proved existence of a clearly expressed tendency to party system evolution towards the system with «the unipole party».

The party system of Ukraine has been experiencing transformation from the beginning of 2014, the period of Maydan activation and radicalization, and until now. Refusal of V. Yanukovich and his administration from European integration, break-up of peaceful Maydan on the night from 29th to 30th of November 2013, large-scale protest actions that started in Kyiv and spread across most regions of Ukraine led to significant changes into the party system. At the beginning of the stage the party system was quite the same comparing to the results of elections of 2012. Active reformatting of a party space (creation of new parties, separation and merger) took several stages: in the process of events at Maydan and upon their completion; in the process of election

campaigns of 2014; in 2015 taking into consideration preparation to local elections. As of March 2015 there were 262 political parties in Ukraine, however, in 2014 there were only 39 of them, and as from the beginning of 2015 – 27 [11]. Political reformatting of Parliament, known as formation of “European choice” coalition, occurred as a result of government change. The coalition included 250 deputies – members of UDAR factions, «Batkivshchyna», «Svoboda», and newly created deputy groups «Economic development» and «Sovereign European Ukraine». According to the Constitution of Ukraine, O. Turchynov, one of the leaders of «Batkivshchyna» became the Head of Verkhovna Rada and the acting president of Ukraine. The new composition of the Cabinet of Ministers included representatives of parties – members of coalition and Maydan activists. In particular, «the head of Maydan», Ye. Nyshchuk was appointed the minister of culture, D. Bulatov, one of the leaders of «Automaydan» was appointed the minister of youth and sports, T. Chornovol, a famous social activist and journalist was appointed the representative person for anti-corruption issues. Representatives of «UDAR» party refused to join the Government, because of position of a party leader, V. Klychko as a future presidential candidate. A. Yatseniuk (at the time – representative of «Batkivshchyna») became the Head of the Government. Major changes have been made to the management of law-enforcement authorities and power structures, local state administrations. For the purposes of stabilization of the situation in East regions, the government applied an unconventional approach: representatives of a large business, I. Kolomoiskyi and S. Taruta were appointed heads of Dnipropetrovsk and Donetsk regional state administrations. Verkhovna Rada made a decision to conduct special elections of the president of Ukraine, local elections in Kyiv and many other cities and regions on May 25, 2014 [12].

Pre-term elections for Verkhovna Rada in 2014 were conducted according to the election law of 2011, with the majority-proportional election system in the ratio of 50/50 and 5% electoral threshold. Elections were not conducted in the AR of Crimea and within the territories of Donetsk and Luhansk regions controlled by terrorists. In single-mandate constituencies elections were conducted in 198 out of 225 districts, and about 30.5 mln. voters were added to the list [4]. The important feature of elections was double reformatting of a

political party field: the first one – after Maydan victory and collapse of V. Yanukovich rule; the second one – according to the results of special presidential elections. Following the results of these processes, only two parties out of five having factions in applicable Verkhovna Rada (Party of regions, «Batkivshchyna», «UDAR» and KPU) took part in a new election campaign. They are KPU and All-Ukrainian association «Svoboda». In total, the number of parties forming the lists for participation in elections based on party lists was 29 (21 – during the previous elections) [4]. The main candidates for being a part of the Parliament were parties supporting Maydan or created by politicians that were actively involved in it: «Petro Poroshenko’s Block», All-Ukrainian association «Batkivshchyna», All-Ukrainian association «Svoboda», party «Gromadianska posytsiia», «Narodnyi front», party «Samopomich» association».

The former pro-government camp was represented by «Sylna Ukrajina» and «Opozytsiyni block» that were created as a result of Party of region disintegration, and their political satellite – KPU. An apparent favorite at the beginning of the campaign was Petro Poroshenko’s Block, with 38% of voters ready to vote among those intended to take part in elections [5].

The principal goals of the campaign were: peace restoration, country defense; keeping economic situation, struggle with economic crisis; reforming, realization of European choice; government renewal (lustration), anti-corruption. So, the main trends in the process of formation of electoral lists were involvement of «new faces» – participants of ATO, public activists, volunteers, journalists. The election campaign was mainly conducted in the form of advertising in electronic media due to its shortened time limits. The leading forces were spending lots of money on external advertising and printed production. Less attention was paid to communication with voters – mass actions, regional trips etc. Parties having candidates from the government in the passable lists, used this for creating informative purposes. As was mentioned before, 29 parties took part in elections according to party lists. Electoral threshold was cleared by six parties: five of them represented a new government – «Petro Poroshenko’s Block», «Narodnyi front», «Samopomich» association, «Oleg Liashko’s Radykalna partiia», All-Ukrainian association «Batkivshchyna», one of them represented the previous one («Opozytsiyni block»). The majority of candidates selected in single-

mandate constituencies were recommended by pro-government political forces or supported by them. The results of voting according to party lists were unexpected. The main surprise was results of such parties as «Narodnyi front», «Petro Poroshenko's Block» and «Samopomich». «Narodnyi front» initially held the fourth place, but later it took the leading position with 22% of support. To the contrary, «Petro Poroshenko's Block» lost almost half of its starting rating and finished up in the second place. «Samopomich» managed to rise from unpassable position (up to 2%) to the third place (over 10% of votes of electors) [5]. Coalition of deputy factions was created on November 27, 2014 in Verkhovna Rada of the VIII convocation. It included 302 people's deputies out of 422 selected ones – members of factions of pro-government political parties and non-affiliated deputies. The rest of deputies belong to the faction «Opozytsiyni block» (40 persons), two deputy groups (19 persons in each) or considered non-affiliated (42 persons).

Nowadays, the party system in Ukraine may include up to 10 political parties, which are represented in Verkhovna Rada or which have can influence the political process. Medium and small parties continue coexisting within the system. The system remains to be two-pole. One pole is represented by parties of parliamentary coalition (pro-European), another one (which became less significant) – by «Opozytsiyni block». The level of representation of extreme right-wing political force in Parliament became lower and «traditional» left-wing parties are not represented at all. The main dividing lines in the party system are between pro-government coalition and opposition, first of all, based on the attitude to the conflict in Donbas, governmental actions directed against FIG, which supports opposition.

There is also some tension inside the ruling coalition, which is explained by different level of party readiness to bear solidary responsibility for socially unpopular consequences of social and economic policies of the Government.

At the beginning of 2014, the main social division defining the line of interparty delimitation was sociocultural one, which at the end of the same year gave place to the socioeconomic one in terms of relevancy. The most relevant problematic points of the party system nowadays are, first of all, socioeconomic point and regime support. In general, the party system of Ukraine kept features of the moderate pluralism. However, an active formation process of new party projects,

dynamic changes in the support of parliamentary parties, possible reformatting of parliamentary coalition and Government, next local and maybe early parliamentary elections – these factors allow making the conclusion that the evolution process of the party system continues, but the system itself hasn't reached the established form yet [13].

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ТЕОРИЯ ГОЛОСУВАННЯ ЯК МІЖДИСЦИПЛІНАРНИЙ ДОСЛІДНИЦЬКИЙ НАПРЯМ: ПОЛІТОЛОГІЧНИЙ ВИМІР

Розглядається теорія голосування як міждисциплінарний напрям, проблемне поле якого відноситься, зокрема, й до політичної науки. Визначається категорія «голосування» та її сутнісні атрибути, аналізується політична інституціоналізація цієї практики та її подальша еволюція. В рамках сучасної теорії голосування виокремлюється 6 методологічних підходів – математичний, політико-економічний, політико-компаративістський, соціологічний, електорально-просторовий та правовий; розкриваються базові принципи та специфіка цих дослідницьких традицій.

Ключові слова: теорія голосування, електоральний простір, парадокси голосування, виборчі системи, стратегічна поведінка, кількісні методи.

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ТЕОРИЯ ГОЛОСОВАНИЯ КАК МЕЖДИСЦИПЛИНАРНОЕ ИССЛЕДОВАТЕЛЬСКОЕ НАПРАВЛЕНИЕ: ПОЛИТОЛОГИЧЕСКОЕ ИЗМЕРЕНИЕ

Рассматривается теория голосования как междисциплинарное направление, проблемное поле которого относится, в том числе, к политической науке. Определяется категория «голосования» и ее сущностные атрибуты, анализируется политическая институционализация этой практики и ее дальнейшая эволюция. В рамках современной теории голосования выделяются 6 методологических подходов – математический, политико-экономический, политико-компаративистский, социологический, электорально-пространственный и правовой; раскрываются базовые принципы и специфика этих исследовательских традиций.

Ключевые слова: теория голосования, электоральное пространство, парадоксы голосования, избирательные системы, стратегическое поведение, количественные методы.