

ПОЛІТОЛОГІЯ

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«EUROMAIDAN» AS A FACTOR OF THE PARTY SYSTEM TRANSFORMATION IN UKRAINE

Abstract. The article is devoted to the influence of «Euromaidan» on transformation of Ukraine party system. Key parameters of changes affecting the party system are described.

Keywords: party, party system, Euromaidan, typology of party systems.

The events of 2013-2014, called «Euromaidan» or «Revolution of dignity» had a significant impact on Ukraine. Almost all areas of state governance and direction of the political process experienced changes. Although the reforms of the prosecution, the judiciary and other are criticized, but nobody talks about no changes. The criticism concerns the depth, the globality and irreversibility of reforms. The party system in Ukraine demonstrates the greatest achievements according these indicators. The changes that took place within it are deep and global, so that determines the attention to it by Ukrainian researchers, especially after the parliament elections. We believe that the main factor in this transformation is «Euromaidan» because the purpose of this article is to study the causes and results of influence of «Euromaidan» on the party system in Ukraine.

Events of this magnitude could not stay away from scientists and researchers spotlight. Influence of «Euromaidan» on the party system in Ukraine has been studied in the works of scholars such as V. Vysotsky, V. Zubar, A. F.Kolodiy, V. Krivoshein, M. Morar, Yu. Ostapets, S. Rutar, Yu. Yakimenko, etc. Virtually all researchers recognize the existence of this effect, the cost is only in its form and extent. However, the most convincing evidence of changes in the party system is the result of the parliamentary elections and opinion polls. After the elections of October 26, 2014 the following new political party passed the Ukrainian Parliament: «Narodnyy Front», «Bloc of Petro Poroshenko», «Samopomich», «Opposition bloc», Radical Party of Oleg Lyashko. On the preliminary list of parliamentary parties remained only «Batkivshchyna». And also the party and ideological preferences of citizens were changed, as shown by the monitoring data of the annual Institute of Sociology of NAS of Ukraine (Table 1) [1, p. 451; 2, p. 4].

Table 1
The commitment of the citizens of Ukraine to political movements
in 2000, 2013 and 2014 (%)

Adherence to the political trends	2000	2013	2014
Communist	15,5	11,3	4,1
Socialist	5,6	6,3	9,1
Social democratic	7,8	9,9	9,8
Liberal	1,0	1,6	2,5
Christian democratic	2,3	2,8	3,6

National democratic	7,5	9,7	14,1
Nationalist	2,3	3,6	4,7
Do not support any	13,2	13,8	11,3
Undecided	17,8	14,8	14,4
Do not understand the political doctrines and trends	24,9	23,6	23,6

During the year the number of supporters of communist ideology were sharply reduced. At the same time the number of supporters of the national-democratic ideology was increased. Despite these significant changes, we cannot talk about the full implementation of the slogans and ideals of Euromaidan. Although the list of parties in parliament has changed, but the principles of their activity remained unchanged. They traditionally operated primarily as lobbyists of various business groups) primarily engaged in promoting the narrow interests of the «oligarchs» in the legislative process. As a result, many laws shall be taken not in the public interest and for the benefit Ukrainian tycoons. Appointments to ministries and civil service are made not by the criteria of professionalism and political beliefs as a personal card and loyalty. Euromaidan created the opportunity to restart Ukraine's party system, but society this possibility is not used.

Or used only partially. Analyzing the transformation of the party system of Ukraine V. Yakimenko said that the sixth stage of its transformation began in 2014 [3]. And it continues to this day.

Speaking of Euromaidan and its importance for Ukraine's party system we have to mention the expectations of its impact on party structures. It was expected that it will become an example of social self-organization for the new party structures. It was expected that patterns of self-organization, solidarity and horizontal linkages have the ability to reappear in the new parties. But members of «Revolution of dignity» failed to create a qualitatively new and effective party. On the basis of public organizations and movements (formal and informal) that took part in the protests there were formed new political parties. The most telling example of this is the party «Praviy Sektor», «Syla lyudey» and «Svoboda.» However, they did not demonstrate efficacy during the race and represented in parliament only by individual deputies.

«Samopomich» is difficult to call a project related to «Revolution of dignity», although it appeared afterwards, however, and its leaders and its public program contained no direct reference to «Euromaidan.»

Yu. Yakimenko said that one of the main outcomes «after Maidan» period of the evolution of the party system are:

- Exit to the political arena of «new» parties (created during the protests and after their completion - «Block Poroshenko», «Narodnyy Front» «Samopomich»), the decline in support for the «old» parties (including pro-regime - union «Batkivshchyna», «Svoboda» and) relatively new «(«UDAR»);

- The creation of parties on the basis of civil society, the incorporation of the most active civil society in the party;

- Emerging trend of the party formation that aspire for the role of «new» by oligarchic groups - the local perspective and based on the possibility of holding early parliamentary elections [3].

However, «Petro Poroshenko Bloc» and the «Narodnyy Front» is new only in their timing, they almost completely reproduce the structural features of the parties that existed in before-Maidan period. Similarly, before the elections based on parties that were discredited or were not sufficiently known, there were new party projects: «Za Edynu Ukrainu», Narodna Samooborona - Nasha Ukraina, the Yulia Tymoshenko Bloc, «Ne tak!». In fact we can say that in Ukraine before any parliamentary elections list of the main contenders for victory is updated by their rebranding. Therefore, the emergence of «Block Poroshenko», «Narodnyy Front» and «Samopomich» we can possible link with parliamentary elections than the «Revolution of dignity».

As for the formation of parties on the basis of civil society, they were ineffective and none of them could use the credit of trust, which had «Euromaidan» activists. The reason was mentioned as the most active incorporation of civil society in the party, and that the only party that would claim an inheritance of «Euromaidan» has not been created. There were attempts to create a national movement, which was originally named «Narodne obyednannia Maidan» and later renamed as «Vseukrayinske obyednannia Maidan», but it was not converted to the corresponding political party.

S. Rutar makes the deplorable conclusion that «the Maidan was not institutionalized during the revolution into a powerful social movement, which later was transformed into a political party» [4, s.278], for the following reasons:

1) The main opposition parliamentary forces deliberately hampered this process during the revolution, trying to subdue some fragments of the revolutionary forces.

2) Maidan united representatives of different ideological currents ranging from liberal to nationalist-democratic, against a single enemy with the disappearance of which this unity has weakened.

3) Representatives of Maidan attended the ATO and had to withdraw from participation in the formation of parties.

4) The part of Maidan-participants, realizing that within the existing election rules one can not win, «dissolved» in the lists of various political forces.

5) The old political elite, partially integrating into their structures new politicians - the carriers of true democratic values, regained control over the formation of parties.

Regarding of such a point as emerging trend of the formation of parties that aspire for the role of «new» oligarchic groups - it is associated with those losses that were experienced by former ruling party - the Party of Regions and its satellite - CPU. The latter, like the other parties with the communist ideology, was banned.

«Party of Regions» although was not banned, but lost a significant number of supporters. The presidential elections, that preceded parliamentary elections, played a negative role for «Party of Regions». They failed to put a single candidate. From among the Party of Regions came five candidates, and it suffered a split by supporting a party related to M. Dobkin, rather than the rating Tshipko.

Downgrade of the Party of Regions and its successor, «the Opposition bloc» led to the formation of new political project, claiming its the electorate, particularly the party «Vidrodzhennia».

Perhaps the most notable achievement of «Euromaidan» was the change of agenda on foreign policy of Ukrainian political parties. Disputes between pro-European and pro-Russian course went to the past actually. Notable from both campaign promises alone with actions is the pro-European direction of the parliamentary political parties that formed the coalition in the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine.

Speaking generally about the changes in the party system we have to mention P. Meir, who tried to identify different types, respectively - highlight certain criteria that make it possible to determine when the party system is transformed. He said changes in the party system occur when the party system is transformed from one class or type to another [5, p. 52]. The problem of this approach is the difficulty of attributing specific party systems to certain types and diversity of existing classifications and typologies of party systems - to change the type of system on the basis of one of them necessarily be considered a change in terms of another. Therefore, an important issue is the choice of the typology of party systems. With this in mind, P. Meir offers separate changes in terms of their significance, highlighting the ones that really affect the essence of the party system. The research of changes of party systems should focus on what defines a system in the first place - the scheme of interaction between the parties. Other changes, electoral, ideological, organizational, are important aspects of changes in political parties, but indicators of changes in the party system, they are only when they are relevant to the scheme of interaction between the parties, which describes the system,

that are «systemic relevance» [5 , p.75]. Changing party system involves changing the direction of inter-party competition or the government - as a result of other changes - ideological, electoral and others.

From this perspective Ukrainian party system has changed as the party composition of the government changed along with the boundary line between the ruling party (coalition) and opposition in the party system, a new alignment of forces. The party system in Ukraine remained bipolar as before the «Euromaidan.» Unlike last time, when there are two roughly equal «camp» parties in the party system (shareware, pro-Russian and pro-European), after the elections in 2014 a fundamentally different situation has developed. Public support for pro-European parties was significantly increased (parties that supported the Maidan), while decreased concerning parties that support pro-Russian orientation.

One pole is now represented by pro-European coalition parties, the other - «Opposition bloc». The level of representation of far right political parties in Parliament has declined significantly, the Left parties are not represented at all.

The main lines of division in the party system are held between the ruling coalition and the opposition, primarily based on the attitude to the conflict in the Donbass and the social and economic policy, and foreign policy orientations. The main differences that distinguished programs of opposition parties were related to the approaches of conflict resolution (a requirement of peaceful way, disarm volunteer battalions as «illegal armed formations»), denial of lustration, maintaining neutral status, the special status of the Russian language. Pro-European are parties more focused on securing victory in the conflict, supporting the Army and other military units, members of ATO, the abolition of non-aligned status and accession to NATO. Radical party resorted to anti-Russian rhetoric.

Jean Blondel offers as parameters changes in the party system the next: the number of parties; their strength; place in the ideological spectrum; nature of the organization; the nature of leadership; the nature of the support. According to this author, «in the context of western liberal democracies analysis can be limited by the first three characteristics» [6].

Mogens Pedersen similarly characterizes changes in the party system proposes considering three levels: the functioning of Parliament and the Government; party organization; electorate. Changing party system, according to M. Pedersen, can be defined as the total change in the patterns of interaction and competition as on these three levels, and between them [7]. The researcher proposes to determine the format of the party system based on the number of parties that compete in elections and the distribution of votes between them. M. Pedersen puts into use the term «electoral volatility», which refers to changes in the party system, due to changes in the voting.

The structure of the party system in Ukraine at this stage include the 10-12 political parties represented in Parliament or have the opportunity to influence the political process. As to the nature of their organization, the change of party structures developed in the field came to the party which is inherent in «virtualisation» of political parties, media dominance of technology, lack of organizational structures in the regions (especially - in the «new» parties). In 2014, due to active processes of transformation of political parties and the extraordinary nature of the parliamentary elections a situation where some of the future members of the parliamentary campaign created shortly before or even immediately prior to the election and the beginning of the campaign were not full of party structures in the regions - they replaced local headquarters . Thus, the parties - the future winners of the election were created just before the start of the election process: BPP - 27 August 2014. «Narodnyy Front» - 10 September 2014.

New political parties in Ukraine are leadership-type, “personalized” organizations, their ideology weight decreased in their activity, program-ideological principles were simplified. The reasons for this trend were the development and the role politics played

in the «Euromaidan» and presidential elections before parliamentary. Presidential elections in Ukraine provided the individual competition between candidates and were exactly the race of leaders, individuals, and not the party structures. A manifestation of this trend was the direct use of surnames as brands of leading parties (among the winners of elections in 2014 there were two such parties - «Petro Poroshenko Bloc» and the Radical Party Oleg Lyashko).

Conclusions. «Euromaidan» was the impetus for changes in the party system in Ukraine. Although expectations for changes were not implemented in full, but there was a transformation of the party consist in government, has changed the boundary line between the ruling party (coalition) and opposition, parliamentary parties' place in the ideological spectrum; the nature of their organization. The active process of formation of new political projects, dynamic changes in support of the parliamentary parties, possible reformation of the parliamentary coalition and the government, following local, and it is possible that the early parliamentary elections - all this leads to the conclusion that the evolution of the party system at this stage continues and the system has not yet acquired the settled look.

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«Евромайдан» как фактор трансформации партийной системы Украины.

Аннотация. *Статья посвящена исследованию влияния «Евромайдана» на трансформацию партийной системы Украины. Описаны основные параметры изменений, которые произошли в партийной системе.*

Ключевые слова: *партия, партийная система, Евромайдан, типология партийных систем.*

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«Євромайдан» як фактор трансформації партійної системи України .

Анотація. *Статтю присвячено впливу «Євромайдану» на трансформацію партійної системи України. Описано основні параметри змін, яких зазнала партійна система.*

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