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The Multi-Party System in Ukraine

Peter J. Potichnyi

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Die vorliegende Arbeit ist aus einem Forschungsauftrag des Bundesinstituts für ostwissenschaftliche und internationale Studien hervorgegangen.

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Das Mehrparteiensystem in der Ukraine

Bericht des BIOst Nr. 3/1992

Kurzfassung

Der vorliegende Bericht beschreibt die Entwicklung des Mehrparteiensystems in der Ukraine.

Diese Entwicklung kann in fünf Perioden gegliedert werden. Die erste Periode umfaßt die Jahre 1987-1988, die zweite 1989 und die ersten drei Monate von 1990. Die dritte Periode erstreckt sich über die Monate März bis Dezember 1990, die vierte umfaßt Januar bis August 1991 und die fünfte die Zeit nach dem Staatsstreich.

In der ersten Periode wurde versucht, ein breites Forum der demokratischen Kräfte zu organisieren. Charakteristisch für diesen Zeitraum war das Aufkommen von politischen Clubs und der Volksfront, die ihrerseits eine Basis für die Entstehung politischer Parteien bildeten. Ein sehr bedeutender Faktor in dieser Entwicklung war die Ukrainische Helsinki Union (UHS), deren Aktivität typisch politischer Art war. In diesem Kontext muß die Bildung der Ukrainischen Demokratischen Union (UDS) erwähnt werden, deren Wurzeln auf den Ukrainischen Kulturologischen Club (UKK) zurückgehen. Auch die Aktivitäten von verschiedenen Organisationen, wie die Volksunion (Spilky) zur Unterstützung der Perestrojka in Vinnica, Chmelnycky usw. sind ebenfalls sehr wichtig. Die erste Periode endet im Herbst 1988 mit einem Beschluß des Schriftstellerverbandes, die Volksbewegung der Ukraine für die Perestrojka - bekannt als RUCH - zu gründen.

Für die zweite Periode war die Gründung von RUCH und die praktische Legalisierung des politischen Pluralismus charakteristisch. RUCH als Institution wurde in der Zeit vom 8. bis 10. September 1989 gegründet. Ivan Drach wurde sein Vorsitzender, während Mykhailo Horyn', einer der Führer der Ukrainischen Helsinki Union (UHS), das Sekretariat übernahm. Von Anfang an vereinigte der RUCH in seinen Reihen Personen der verschiedensten politischen Überzeugungen, von Kommunisten bis zu Mitgliedern der UHS. Deshalb war es natürlich, daß sehr schnell in seinen Reihen verschiedene politische Richtungen zutage traten, die der Bildung verschiedener politischer Parteien Antrieb gaben.

Im Herbst 1989 wurde der Versuch unternommen, eine Grüne Partei (PZU) zu gründen und kurze Zeit davor entstand in Riga, Lettland, teilweise auf der Basis der Ukrainischen Demokratischen Union (UDS) die Ukrainische Volksdemokratische Liga (UNDL). Schließlich wurde im Oktober 1989 in Lemberg die Ukrainische Nationale Partei gegründet, eine der radikalsten in der

Ukraine. Die zweite Periode endet mit den Wahlen vom März 1990, in denen der RUCH mit Hilfe des Demokratischen Blocks, der zu diesem Zweck gegründet wurde, eine bedeutende Zahl von Abgeordneten im Obersten Sowjet (Verchovna Rada) gewinnen und die Narodna Rada als eine Oppositionsgruppe zur herrschenden kommunistischen Partei der Ukraine (KPU) gründen konnte.

In der dritten Periode vollzogen sich weitere Differenzierungen der verschiedenen Gruppen innerhalb des RUCH, und gleichzeitig entstanden neue Parteien in der Gesellschaft. Obwohl der RUCH nicht in eine politische Partei umgewandelt wurde, entstand aus seiner Mitte die Demokratische Partei der Ukraine (DPU), während auf der Basis der UHS die Ukrainische Republikanische Partei gegründet wurde.

Für die vierte Periode war das Aufkommen einer großen Zahl politischer Parteien und Gruppen charakteristisch. Während dieser Zeit entstanden die All-Ukrainische Politische Union "Staatliche Unabhängigkeit der Ukraine" (DSU), die Ukrainische Christliche Demokratische Partei (UKhDP), die Sozial-Demokratische Partei der Ukraine (SDPU), die Vereinigte Sozial-Demokratische Partei der Ukraine (OSDPU), die Ukrainische Demokratische Bauernpartei (USelDP), die Ukrainische Volksdemokratische Partei (UNDP), die Volkspartei der Ukraine (NPU), die Grüne Partei der Ukraine (PZU), die Liberale Demokratische Partei der Ukraine (LDPU), die Demokratische Partei der Ukraine (DPU), die Partei der Demokratischen Wiedergeburt der Ukraine (PDVU), die Ukrainische Liberale Demokratische Union (ULDS), die Konföderation der Anarchisten der Ukraine (KAU), die Partei der Slawischen Wiedergeburt (PSV) und die Marxistische Partei der Ukraine (MAU). In den letzten Monaten tauchte auch eine monarchistische Gruppierung auf, die den Anspruch von König Olel'ko II. (Prinz d'Anjou) auf den Kiever Thron unterstützt. In der Ukraine gibt es auch Zweige von Parteien, die außerhalb der ukrainischen Grenzen entstanden sind.

In der fünften Periode ist nach dem Staatsstreich die Schwächung der KPU deutlich spürbar, und aufgrund dessen wurde ein gewisses politisches Gleichgewicht innerhalb des Landes möglich.

Wie aus dieser kurzen Zusammenfassung hervorgeht, setzt sich der Prozeß der Gründung von Parteien und Gruppen schnell fort und umfaßt das ganze politische Spektrum politischer Überzeugungen von Anarchisten, Sozialisten, Sozial-Demokraten, "Grünen", Liberalen, Bauern und Christlichen Demokraten bis zu Monarchisten. Im Gegensatz zu Rußland gibt es in der Ukraine keine politischen Gruppierungen faschistischer oder neofaschistischer Überzeugung. Man muß jedoch hinzufügen, daß sich der konservative Flügel der KPU in seinem Dogmatismus und seinen Organisationsformen nicht sehr von den traditionellen faschistischen Formierungen unterscheidet.

Die Einstellung dieser Parteien zum Status der Ukraine als ein Staat ist ebenfalls unterschiedlich. Die KPU mit ihren Satelliten hat bis vor kurzem die Schaffung einer erneuerten Union unterstützt, sie gehörte also zu den Föderalisten. Die OSDP, die LDPU und die PDVU können als Befürworter einer Konföderation eingeordnet werden. Die meisten anderen Parteien sind Befürworter einer völligen Unabhängigkeit der Ukraine. Doch auch hier lassen sich zwei Untergruppen unterscheiden. Erstere strebt nach Unabhängigkeit über den parlamentarischen Kampf und die bestehenden politischen Institutionen. Die SDPU, die DPU, die URP und die UKhDP gehören zu dieser Gruppe. Letztere erkennt die Legitimität der bestehenden politischen Strukturen nicht an und betrachtet den Unionsvertrag von 1922 als illegal. Diese Parteien, wie z.B. die UNP, die UNDP, USelDP und einige andere, sind Mitglieder der Ukrainischen Interparteilichen Assemblée (UMA).

Nach dem Staatsstreich und nach der Unabhängigkeitserklärung der Ukraine am 24. August 1991 haben sich die Positionen der Parteien bezüglich dieser entscheidenden Frage beträchtlich geändert. Die KPU mußte nicht nur ihre Tätigkeit einstellen, sondern sie hatte auch einen beträchtlichen Mitgliederverlust zu verzeichnen. Ihre Befürwortung der Unabhängigkeit schien nicht, dazu angetan zu sein, ihr aus der Krise zu helfen. Ebenso wie die anderen Gruppen und Parteien, haben die Befürworter der konföderativen Lösung ebenfalls eine beträchtliche Umorientierung ihrer Ansichten vorgenommen. Heute sind sie im Lager der Befürworter der Unabhängigkeit angesiedelt. Es ist natürlich durchaus möglich, daß ihre Einstellung zur Wirtschaftsunion unter den Nachfolgestaaten der ehemaligen UdSSR und zu den bestehenden politischen Institutionen in der Ukraine sie weiterhin von den Parteien, die Mitglieder der UMA sind, trennen wird.

Die neuen Parteien sind im allgemeinen ziemlich schwache Organisationen. Viele können wegen der geringen Mitgliederzahl nicht offiziell registriert werden. Erst seit kurzem können diese Gruppen durch die Änderung der Gesetze, die den Parteien eine Registrierung erlaubt, wenn sie mindestens 300 Mitglieder haben, hoffen, offiziell anerkannt zu werden.

Es ist schwierig, die Zukunft vorherzusagen, doch ein gewisser Zusammenschluß dieser Parteien zu Blöcken, wie z.B. ein linker sozial-demokratischer und ein rechter liberal-demokratischer Block, um das Land zu regieren, ist durchaus denkbar. Die Präsidentschaftswahlen, die für den 1. Dezember 1991 angesetzt sind, werden ein guter Indikator dafür sein, ob solch ein Konsens möglich ist.

The Creation of the Multi-Party System in Ukraine

The creation of the multi-party system in Ukraine is a very recent phenomenon which began with the formation of RUKH and in some cases earlier. This process did not come easily. It was preceded by a controlled "glasnost'" and pluralism in the media, and then followed by the creation of political clubs and informal associations, by People's Fronts, and finally by parties.

It should also be remembered that as late as December 1989 the conservative majority in the Supreme Soviet of the USSR was not willing to place on the agenda of the Second Congress of the People's Deputies of the USSR the question of the removal of Article 6 from the USSR Constitution, an article which protected the leading role of the CPSU in Soviet society. Eventually, in February 1990 the question was placed on the agenda, and only in March the Third Extraordinary Congress of People's Deputies of the USSR did change the Article 6 of the USSR Constitution. This decision formally divested the CPSU of its monopolistic position and thus opened the door for the multi-party system in the USSR.

In Ukraine this process was even longer. The Communist Party of Ukraine (KPU) led by Volodymyr Shcherbyts'kyi and his very conservative supporters resisted all changes. His departure from the scene brought about some changes. Still, the First Session of the newly elected Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine, as the Parliament is called, which completed its work in July 1990, failed to deal with the question of party monopoly. Only under pressure from demo-

cratic forces and workers and student strikes, that brought about the fall of the Ukrainian Government of Masol in October 1990, did the Second Session finally remove the Article 6 from the Ukrainian Constitution.

There are roughly five periods in the development of the multi-party system in Ukraine.

The first period covers the years 1987-1988, the second, 1989 and the first three months of 1990, the third from the elections in Ukraine in March 1990 to the end of 1990, the fourth from the end of 1990 to August 19, 1991, and the fifth from the coup d'etat to the present.

The Ukrainian Helsinki Union (Ukrains'ka helsins'ka spilka - UHS), which in the years 1976-1988 acted primarily as an organization for defense of human rights, published its "Declaration of Principles" in June 1988. In the words of its head, Levko Luk'ianenko, this declaration, as well as the activity, clearly showed it to be a "typically political" group. It should, therefore, be regarded as the first political party.

The second group which began political activity in 1988 was the Ukrainian Democratic Union (Ukrains'ka demokratychna spilka - UDS), which arose on the foundations of the Ukrainian Culturological Club (Ukrains'kyi kul'turolohichnyi klub - UKK), that came into being in the fall of 1987. The UDS, however, did not last as a unified group for very long.

Throughout the year 1988 in Ukraine the idea of a broadly

based democratic movement takes a very firm root. At first there were attempts to organize a "Democratic Front". Mass demonstrations in L'viv during July and August with the participation of a broad political spectrum, from the Komsomol to the Ukrainian Helsinki Union, in the fierce opposition of the Communist Party (KPU), did not lead to the creation of such a broadly based democratic movement. Other attempts, such as the "People's Union for the Support of Reconstruction" in Kiev, or the "People's Front for the Support of Reconstruction" in Vinnytsia and Khmelnyts'kyi oblasti met similar fate. The experience of these attempts was not lost, however. In the fall of 1988 the idea of the "People's Front of Ukraine for Reconstruction" (Narodnyi rukh Ukrainy za perebudovu) was taken up by the Writers' Union of Ukraine in Kiev, in February 1989 its Draft Programme was published and, finally, the founding congress of the organization popularly known as the "RUKH" took place in September 1989.

During its first period of development the "RUKH" unified people of all persuasions, from communists to members of the UHS. This period was characterized by feelings of unity and consolidation in the struggle for national, spiritual, economic, and political Renaissance of Ukraine. Later on when the election campaign for the Verkhovna Rada began, again largely on the initiative of "RUKH" such organizations as the UHS, "Memorial", Taras Shevchenko Association of Ukrainian Language, Association "Green World", and some others, established a coordinating group called "Democratic

Bloc of Ukraine", which issued its own Declaration and a Programme and in March 1990 succeeded in electing one fourth of the deputies to Verkhovna Rada (for analysis of elections, see: Peter J. Potichnyj, "Elections in Ukraine", Berichte des BIOst, 36-1990).

It is worthwhile to point out, however, that not all opposition forces came together in the Democratic Bloc. For example the Ukrainian People's Democratic League (Ukrains'ka narodno-demokratychna liga - UNDL), the Union of Independent Ukrainian Youth (Spilka nezalezhnoi ukrains'koi molodi - SNUM), and the Ukrainian National Party (Ukrains'ka natsional'na partiia - UNP), came out with their own programmes, while the last group decided to boycott the elections altogether.

The March 1990 elections to Verkhovna Rada mark the beginning of the third period in the growth of political parties. The process of political differentiation continued apace and the need for political parties, with clearly identifiable rules and programmes became widely recognized. There were even suggestions that the "RUKH" itself be transformed into a political party. In the end these proposals were put aside and it was decided that the "RUKH" should continue to remain an umbrella organization whose task would be to provide unity for various political and social groupings that were working for an independent Ukrainian state. (Narodna Hazeta-No.3,1990).

At the March session of the Great Council of RUKH in Khust where this decision was made, Dmytro Pavlychko and Ivan Drach,

both prominent members of "RUKH", declared their break with the KPU and announced an intention to organize a Democratic Party. It should be pointed out, however, that from the beginning the RUKH was a composite of various potential political parties.

In March we also see the formation of the Ukrainian Peasant Democratic Party (Ukrains'ka selians'ko-demokratychna partiia - USelDP). Ihor Iukhnovs'kyi, later the head of the Narodna Rada, the opposition bloc within the Ukrainian Parliament, was its founder.

On March 17, 1990 the theoretical conference of the UHS recommended that it transforms itself into a political party. On March 18 the All-Ukrainian Coordinating Council of the UHS called the Congress for April 29-30 at which the UHS transformed itself into the Ukrainian Republican Party (Ukrains'ka respublikans'ka partiia - URP).

Approximately at the same time within the KPU a faction was formed which called itself a "Democratic Platform". Its first republican conference took place in March 1990. On June 3 in Radians'ka Ukraina a Draft of the "Unified Platform for the XXVIII CPSU Congress" was published by the "Ukrainian Demofaction". Although it was much less radical than the All-Union Demoplatform it was not acceptable for the KPU conservatives. As result the supporters of the Platform decided to break with the KPU, to form a new party called Party of Democratic Renaissance of Ukraine (Partiia demokratychnoho vidrozhennia Ukrainy - PDVU), and to

join the opposition Narodna Rada within the Ukrainian Parliament.

In April the Ukrainian Christian Democratic Party (Ukrains'ka khrystians'ko-demokratychna partiia - UKhDP) came into being. Thus between the spring and the fall of 1990 we see the creation of the multi-party system in Ukraine. During this time the founding congresses of Social Democrats, Peasant Democrats, People's Democrats, People's Party, the "Greens", Party of Democratic Renaissance of Ukraine, and Democratic Party took place.

However, already at the beginning of November the political situation in Ukraine became rather complicated. The conservative majority in Verkhovna Rada, the so-called group of 239, decided to counterattack. The vice-chairman of the Ukrainian Republican Party, and deputy to Verkhovna Rada, Stepan Khmara became a victim of a provocation, was divested of his parliamentary immunity, and arrested. At the same time the group of 239 changed the rules of parliamentary procedure thus making the Verkhovna Rada a political tool in their hands. This maneuver caught the opposition by surprise and put it on a defensive. After the attempted coup, the situation in Verkhovna Rada has changed radically. The dominant communist bloc has been dissolved and the position of Narodna Rada considerably strengthened. Mr. Stepan Khmara was exonerated and his parliamentary immunity was reinstated.

Classificatory scheme.

One way to classify the existing parties is by their stand on the question of the statehood for Ukraine. Such an approach would produce three general categories: the federalists, the confederalists and the proponents of independence.

1. The federalists. To this group belong those political parties and organizations that would like to see Ukraine a member of the "renewed federation". They include the "Union of Workers for Socialist Reconstruction" (Spilka trudiashchykh za sotsialistychnu perebudovu - STSP), which came into being at the founding congress in Kiev on 24 February 1990, on the initiative of the Communist Party of Ukraine. The Communist Party of Ukraine (KPU) is also for federal solution, although its XXVIII Congress in a declaration "Pro prohramni pryntsypy diial'nosti Komunistychnoi partii Ukrainy", did not reject outright the possibility of a confederal structure for the future Soviet Union. The confederation line, however, did not become dominant in subsequent activities of the KPU and the August 1991 events clearly show that the leadership was supporting the coup.
2. The confederalists. The parties and organizations of this orientation stand for the state sovereignty of Ukraine but do not reject the creation of a military-political union with other republics. The Unified Social-Democratic Party of Ukraine (Ob'iednana sotsial-demokratychna partiia Ukrainy - OSDPU), the Liberal-Democratic Party of Ukraine (Liberal'no-

demokratychna partiia Ukrainy - LDPU), and the Party of Democratic Renaissance of Ukraine (Partiia demokratychnoho vidrozhennia Ukrainy - PDVU) belong to this category.

3. Proponents of independence. This category contains two main subcategories.

The first unites those parties that struggle for Ukraine's independence strictly by parliamentary means. They are: the Social-Democratic Party of Ukraine (Sotsial-demokratychna partiia Ukrainy - SDPU); the Democratic Party of Ukraine (Demokratychna partiia Ukrainy - DPU); the Ukrainian Republican Party (Ukrains'ka respublikans'ka partiia - URP); and the Ukrainian Christian Democratic Party (Ukrains'ka khrystyians'ko-demokratychna partiia - UKhDP).

The second, does not recognize the legitimacy of the existing organs of power, and considers them imposed on Ukraine by a foreign military and by a Union Treaty of December 30, 1922. These parties and organizations are striving to renew Ukraine's statehood by means of the alternative structures of power. With this purpose in mind on July 1, 1990 in Kiev they have created the Ukrainian Interparty Assembly (Ukrains'ka Mizhpartiina Asambleia - UMA). The Ukrainian National Party (Ukrains'ka natsional'na partiia - UNP), the Ukrainian People's Democratic Party (Ukrains'ka narodno-demokratychna partiia - UNDP), the Ukrainian Peasant Democratic Party (Ukrains'ka selians'ko-demokratychna partiia - USelDP) as well as other groups and organizations became

members of the Assembly.

This situation did change drastically after the August coup. The federalists were clearly placed on the defensive not only in Ukraine, but in the USSR as a whole. The KPU whose leadership supported the coup is in disarray and facing a very difficult future. It is more than likely that many will leave its ranks altogether, while others might try to distance themselves from the "imperial wing of the party" by forming a "national Ukrainian group", which supports the recently proclaimed Independence of Ukraine.

The differences between confederalists and the proponents of independence have also become much less clear in the aftermath of the coup, especially among those who support parliamentary road to independence. For the more radical wing the parliamentary solutions could be acceptable probably only after new elections in Ukraine. The forthcoming Referendum on Independence and the elections of the President in December, will serve as the major realignment of political forces in Ukraine.

Still another classificatory scheme would group the parties according to their stand on the future economic system in Ukraine. Here also three main categories come to mind which could be labelled either as proponents of a liberal, social democratic, or a communist point of view.

1. The liberals. The parties and groups in this category stand for minimal social guarantees during period of transition to conditions of the free market economy, and for private ownership of the means of production. These parties are: the Liberal Democratic Party of Ukraine (Liberal'no-demokratychna partiia Ukrainy - LDPU), the Ukrainian National Party (Ukrains'ka natsional'na partiia - UNP), the Ukrainian People's Democratic Party (Ukrains'ka narodno-demokratychna partiia - UNDP), the Ukrainian Republican Party (Ukrains'ka respublikans'ka partiia - URP), the Ukrainian Peasant Democratic Party (Ukrains'ka selians'ko-demokratychna partiia - USelDP), the Ukrainian Christian Democratic Party (Ukrains'ka khrystiians'ko-demokratychna partiia - UKhDP), and the Social Democratic Party of Ukraine (Sotsial-demokratychna partiia Ukrainy - SDPU).
2. The social democrats. These parties support a regulated market economy and the guarantee by the state of all forms of ownership of the means of production. They are: the United Social Democratic Party of Ukraine (Ob'iednana sotsial-demokratychna partiia Ukrainy - OSDPU), the Democratic Party of Ukraine (Demokratychna partiia Ukrainy - DPU), the Party of Democratic Renaissance of Ukraine (Partiia demokratychnoho vidrodzhennia Ukrainy - PDVU).
3. The communists. They stand for a state regulated economy and the priority of state ownership of the means of production.

The Communist Party of Ukraine (Komunistychna partiia Ukrainy - KPU), and its satellites the Union of Workers for Socialist Reconstruction (Spilka trudiashchykh za sotsialistychnu perebudovu - STSP), and the Ukrainian Peasant Union (Ukrains'ka selians'ka spilka - USS), support this point of view.

The Green Party of Ukraine (Partiia zelenykh Ukrainy - PZU), and the ecological association "Zelenyi svit" (The Green World) encompass the views of the first two categories, the liberals and the social democrats. The PZU stands for a "social solidarity", but within the democratic traditions. It emphasises the need for a profound global humanism, democracy, morality, and individual independence, or the principles which are enshrined in all religious and philosophical doctrines.

As far as the political system is concerned both the liberal and the social democratic groupings support the multi-party, parliamentary system, with some differences among them on the proposed office of the President. The communists continue to support the existing Soviet system. While the Greens, on the other hand, tend to stand somewhat apart from all of the above-mentioned groupings.

Prior to the coup, the KPU was the strongest political force in Ukraine. The other parties were numerically weak, lacked a solid material basis, and operated on a basis of very general programmatic statements. This condition prevented them from acting as an alternative to the KPU. In the coup's aftermath the situa-

tion is more even because of the KPU's demise. However, a true system of pluralism, in which the political rule is being realized by the governing and the opposition parties, that are capable of balancing each other with the help of other social organizations, is not as yet a reality in Ukraine. Most of the existing parties had not the opportunity to test their voter strength and only full-fledged parliamentary elections will give them the chance to vie for popular support. There are indications already that in time some consolidation of the existing parties will take place. Such a possibility is the coming together of the Democratic Party of Ukraine and the Party of Democratic Renaissance. Some splinter groups of the former KPU, especially its "Ukrainian national wing", may very well align themselves with the DPU and the PDVU, who harbour in their ranks many ex-communists. Should this come to pass, this centrist, social democratic grouping, which has substantial support in all areas of Ukraine (strongest in East and South) and among various social strata, might emerge as an important political force.

The liberals, led by the URP, might also be able to form a broad alliance which in its ideological proclivities would be slightly right of the centre and which could balance the influence of the social democrats. This alliance whose popular support is mostly in Central-Western Ukraine might be difficult but not impossible to maintain. It should not be excluded that some elements of the UMA might also join the liberal bloc in the future.

The Origins of the Parties and Some of Their Most Prominent Leaders.

In 1990 and 1991 several new parties have entered the political stage in Ukraine. It is worthwhile, therefore, to provide some general information on their origins, their ideological proclivities, and some of their leaders.

1. The Ukrainian National Party (UNP) came into being on October 21, 1989 in L'viv. It is one of the most radical among the parties. In January 1990 in Iurmala, Latvia it initiated a theoretical conference on the statehood of Ukraine. The participants at this conference were UHS, RUKH, UNDL, "Memorial", T.H.Shevchenko Ukrainian Language Society as well as the representatives of the People's Fronts of Latvia, Georgia, and Lithuania. The resolution which was adopted at this conference declared that Ukraine has self-determined itself in January 1918 when in the face of Soviet aggression it declared its independence and when in January 22, 1919 it declared itself a unified republic, having joined the Ukrainian People's Republic and the Western Ukrainian People's Republic into one state.

During the elections to Verkhovna Rada the UNP was practically alone in boycotting the elections.

On April 7, 1990 in L'viv the Second (Extraordinary) Congress

(Nadzvychainyi zbir) of UNP took place. The Congress was attended by 17 delegates representing around 100 party members.

The goal of the party is the renewal, in its ethnographic borders, of the Ukrainian People's Republic, which was declared an independent state by the Central Rada in January 1918. According to the party leadership, a democracy can exist if there is private property, citizens have the right to bear arms, and the political pluralism prevails.

The party rejects parliamentary struggle at this time and declared all the existing organs of power as illegitimate. The party is a member of the Ukrainian Interparty Assembly (UMA) which came into being on July 1, 1990, and the party leader Hryhorii Prykhod'ko is the chairman of the UMA's National Council (National'na Rada).

The party is active in the registration drive of the citizens of the Ukrainian People's Republic. It also created a youth sector called "Sich". The honorary member of the party is Iurii Shukhevych, the son of Gen. Roman Shukhevych, the Commander-in-Chief of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), and a political prisoner of many years.

The party publishes a journal Ukrains'kyi chas, and the newspapers Klych natsii and Visnyk UNP.

The head of the party is Hryhorii Prykhod'ko, a former political prisoner, and the head of Interparty Assembly (UMA). The Secretary of the party is Sofiia Kalynovs'ka.

For party Programme and Rules see: Oleksa V. Haran', Ed., Ukraina Bahatopartiina: Prohramni Dokumenty Novykh Partii. [Biblioteka Zhurnalu "Pamiatky Ukrainy", Knyha 9 /Male Pidpriumstvo "Pamiatky Ukrainy", Arkheografichna Komisiia AN URSS, Instytut Istorii Ukrainy AN URSS]. Kiev, 1991, pp. 29-32; Anatolii H. Sliusarenko and Mykola V. Tomenko, Novi Politychni Partii Ukrainy. Kiev, Tovarystvo "Znannia" URSS, Seriia Chas i Suspil'stvo, No. 12, 1990, pp. 30-31.

2. The All-Ukrainian political association, The State Independence of Ukraine (Vseukrains'ke politychne ob'iednannia, Derzhavna samostiinist' Ukrainy - DSU). The First Congress of the DSU took place in L'viv on April 8, 1990. This is an avowedly nationalist organization, whose goal is an independent Ukrainian state, but one which respects the UN Declaration of Human Rights, and other international treaties that support social, political, economic, and cultural rights of individuals and nations. This association is one that permits local organizations to be set up in Ukraine and beyond its borders.

The association considers as its ideological precursors M. Mikhnovs'kyi, D. Dontsov, Ie. Konovalets', S. Bandera, R. Shukhevych and Ia. Stets'ko. It views the existing communist system as criminal and as a foreign occupation and is especially suspicious of Russian imperialist motives with regard to Ukraine. It supports a Free Russian state on its own ethnographic territory and calls for good relations with all neighbouring states. But it also calls for a professional army which could guarantee a proper defense of the Ukrainian state. The

Centre of the association is the city of L'viv.

For party Programme and Rules of the association see:
Oleksa V. Haran', Op. cit., pp. 33-41.

3. The Ukrainian Christian Democratic Party (UKhDP) adopted its Rules at the Second Congress in L'viv, which took place on April 22-23, 1990. The new party was organized on the basis of the Ukrainian Christian Democratic Forum that came into being in 1988 and contributed a great deal in the legalization effort of the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church (Ukrainian Catholic Church in union with Rome).

The Rules of this organization declared it to be an "independent political party, whose activity is based on humanist christian, democratic principles and which has in mind the interests of the entire Ukrainian people". It supports a parliamentary activity in combination with a social initiative and desires a sovereign democratic Ukrainian state based on a European model. The Communist party should be divested of all privileges and its leaders should be brought before the tribunal for its criminal activities. The party has some 2000 members, most of them in Western Ukraine.

Its publications include Voskresinnia (in Ivano-Frankivs'ke) and Hromada (in Kiev).

The leader of the party is Vasyl' Sichko. He was born in 1957 in Magadan in a family of political prisoners. His father was a member of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) and of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA). Upon the return of the family to Ukraine he studied at the Faculty of Journalism at Kiev State

University, from which he was ejected for publishing an illegal student journal. From 1978 he was very active in the human rights movement in Ukraine. He was sentenced to 6 years for having organized in 1978 an illegal meeting at a grave of the modern composer Volodymyr Ivasiuk, who allegedly was murdered by the KGB. Released in 1985 he returned home and became active in the Ukrainian Helsinki Union (UHS). In 1988 he organized the Ukrainian Christian Democratic Front.

Telephone in Kiev: 550-73-72.

For party Programme and Rules see: Oleksa V. Haran', Op. cit., pp. 42-61; Anatolii H. Sliusarenko and Mykola V. Tomenko, Op. cit., pp. 41-44.

4. The Ukrainian Republican Party has its origin in 1976 when the Ukrainian civic group in support of Helsinki Agreement was organized as an unofficial human rights defense organization. This was one of the first dissident organizations in Ukraine whose members were severely repressed and jailed by the communist authorities. It renewed its activities only in 1988 under the name of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union (UHS). This organization played a very important part in the organizational activities of the RUKH. For example Mykhailo Horyn', Secretary of the UHS was elected at the founding congress of RUKH, the Head of RUKH Secretariat. In addition several leaders and members of the UHS became members of the Grand Council of RUKH. Out of 11 Secretaries of RUKH, 7 were members of the UHS.

In time the question arose of transforming the UHS into a political party. This matter was discussed at the theoretical conference on March 17-18, 1990 of the First Coordinating Council of the UHS at the Kiev Polytechnical Institute. By unanimous vote a resolution was passed that the UHS be dissolved and that a founding congress of the new party be held in April 1990.

On April 29-30, 1990 in Kiev the founding congress of the party took place and out of the four variants it chose the Ukrainian Republican Party as its name. Before dissolution the UHS had 2300 members. However, only about 2000 members of the UHS entered the new party. The reason for this were disagreements about the Programme and the Rules of the party.

The congress elected Levko Luk'ianenko the head of the party, and Stepan Khmara and Hryhorii Hrebeniuk as his deputies.

During the electoral campaign the URP did join the "Democratic Bloc", and together with the RUKH, the Greens, the "Memorial", and others contributed to a substantial number of opposition deputies in the Verkhovna Rada. The Parliamentary faction of the URP has 11 members.

At the II Congress the URP reported 8881 members. [Nashe Slovo, No.25, 1991].

The party is legally registered.

The party organ is Holos vidrodzhennia.

The head of the party is Levko Hryhorovych Luk'ianenko. He was born in Khrypivtsi in Chernihiv oblast'. In 1958 he completed

the Juridical Faculty of the Moscow State University. In 1958-59 he organized the Ukrainian Workers' and Peasants' Union, and for this he was arrested and in 1961 condemned to death. This sentence was commuted to 15 years. In 1976 he was released and settled in Chernihiv. When in November 1976 the Ukrainian Group in Support of Helsinki Agreements came into being he was one of its members. The repressions against this group began in February 1977 and Luk'ianenko was arrested once more and sentenced to another 10 years and 5 years exile. Released in 1988, he became politically active again, and was elected deputy to Verkhovna Rada in 1990.

Telephone in Kiev: 27-27-200.

For party Programme and Rules see: Oleksa V. Haran', Op. cit., pp. 62-71; Anatolii H. Sliusarenko and Mykola V. Tomenko, Op. cit., pp. 33-36.

5. The Social Democratic Party of Ukraine. On February 9, 1990 a working session of the Social Democrats of Ukraine decided to organize an All-Ukrainian Conference to consider possibilities of development for social democracy in the republic. Such a conference took place on March 23-24, 1990, at which it was decided to organize a party, and an Organizing Committee was set up with Andrii Nosenko at its head with a task of calling the founding congress of the party. The founding congress was held on May 25-27, 1990 in Kiev. Immediately disagreements arose on a number of issues (sovereignty for Ukraine, the national question, condemnation of Leninism, the usage by communists of the label "democratic

socialists" and other ideological problems) and two factions came into being referring to themselves as either "social democrats" or "democratic socialists". Some 58 out of 85 delegates decided to form a separate party and called it the Social Democratic Party of Ukraine (SDPU).

In a "Declaration to Citizens of Ukraine" the SDPU declared itself in support of the sovereign Ukrainian state and of the RUKH and other democratic parties in Ukraine.

It publishes The Social Democrat of Ukraine as an information bulletin.

The leaders of the party are Andrii Pavlyshyn, a deputy to L'viv City Council, who is the head of the Party Council, and Andrii Nosenko, a deputy to a Raion Council in Kiev, who is the head of the party.

Telephone in Kiev: 295-07-84.

For party Programme and Rules see: Oleksa V. Haran', Op. cit., pp. 72-91; Anatolii H. Sliusarenko and Mykola V. Tomenko, Op. cit., pp. 24-26.

6. The United Social Democratic Party of Ukraine (OSDPU) came into being on May 27, 1990 when it formed a separate faction at the meeting of the Social Democrats. It differs in various questions with the SDPU, and unlike the latter wishes to become a member of the Socialist International and fully supports its Frankfurt Declaration of 1951 and its Stockholm Declaration of 1989.

The OSDPU numbers about 1000 members.

For party Programme and Rules see: Oleksa V. Haran', Op. cit., pp. 92-95; Anatolii H. Sliusarenko and Mykola V. Tomenko, Op. cit., pp. 18-19.

7. The Ukrainian Peasant Democratic Party (USelDP) was officially organized on June 9, 1990. Prior to this date, in March 1990 the newspaper Literaturna Ukraina published a Declaration of the Initiative Group calling for the creation of the Ukrainian Peasant Democratic Party, which was signed among others by Academician Ihor R. Iukhnovs'kyi. On April 28, 1990, in L'viv a founding conference of USelDP was held and a regional organization established. Similar regional conferences were to be held in Cherkasy and Kiev oblasti on June 9, 1990. However, on June 8, 1990 the newspaper Sil's'ki visti published a Draft Programme and Rules of the projected political organization called the Ukrainian Peasant Union (Ukrains'ka selians'ka spilka - USS). From its declaration and the names of the organizers it became clear that the USS was conceived as a rival group which was to be under full control of the Communist Party of Ukraine. In view of this development, on June 9, 1990, in Kiev, some 106 delegates which represented 11 oblasti of Ukraine declared themselves the Founding Congress of the USelDP, and adopted the Programme and the Rules of the new party.

In the meantime this party became a member of the Ukrainian Interparty Assembly (UMA), and offered its help in registering for the citizenship of the Ukrainian People's Republic, and work for

the creation of alternative structure of power in the republic.

Already at its founding congress the party had some 6000 members, and it is one of the parties which has a tremendous potential for growth.

Its central organ is "Zemlia i volia"

The leaders of the party are: writer S. Plachynda, director of the collective farm V. Shcherbyna, journalist H. Kryvoruchko, and director of the trade enterprise R. Kuz'mych.

[Lit.Ukr., 31.V.1990].

For party Programme and Rules see: Oleksa V. Haran', Op. cit., pp. 96-109; Anatolii H. Sliusarenko and Mykola V. Tomenko, Op. cit., pp. 38-40.

8. The Ukrainian People's Democratic Party (UNDP). In June 1989 a founding conference of the Ukrainian People's Democratic League took place. From the beginning the party declared itself as a radical group. It called for a struggle with the "monopolistic, ruling, and exploiting class - the party-state apparatus, and for the economic, political, and cultural independence of Ukraine". During the election campaign it called for the "rady (Soviets) without communists" as the only way to achieve freedom from the CPSU and from Moscow.
On June 16-17, 1990 in Kiev a founding congress was convened with 36 delegates representing 347 registered members of the League from 11 cities. The congress declared the formation of the party.

The goal of the party is the renaissance and development of an independent, democratic, lawful Ukrainian state. The congress stated that the Treaty of 1922 which created the USSR was illegal because it was signed by an occupationist government of Ukraine which destroyed the legitimate government of the Central Rada. Therefore, "the UNDP views the possible renewal of this treaty as the continuation of an aggression against Ukraine and its people."

The party is a member of the Ukrainian Interparty Assembly (UMA) and advocates calling of a National Congress or a Constituent Assembly of Ukraine on a multi-party basis.

The leadership of the party consists of O. Bondarenko (Luhans'ke), T. Solovko (Luts'ke), A. Kyreiev, and Ie. Chernyshov (Kiev).

The party organ is a publication Nezalezhnist'.

Telephones in Kiev: 488-14-91 and 263-86-32.

For party Programme and Rules see: Oleksa V. Haran', Op. cit., pp. 110-135; Anatolii H. Sliusarenko and Mykola V. Tomenko, Op. cit., pp. 27-29; Nezalezhnist', No. 5, 1991.

9. The People's Party of Ukraine (Narodnaia Partiia Ukrainy - NPU) was organized at the founding congress in Dnipropetrovs'ke on September 22-23, 1990. The organizational work in the preparation of the congress was carried out by the deputy of Verkhovna Rada from Dnipropetrovs'ke, Leopold Taburians'kyi.

The party does not exclude a possibility of a new treaty between the republics although in the declaration at the congress a

full state independence for Ukraine was stated. The party also does not exclude a possibility of placing the CPSU on trial for its criminal activities, although not all communists were to be treated in this fashion.

The party declared itself in support of those who are least protected in society. It calls for establishment of "people's enterprises" by way of cooperatives, small enterprises etc. with the profit from these enterprises redistributed for the support of the poor and unprotected.

The II Congress of the party took place on December 15-16, 1990 in Dnipropetrovs'ke. At that time the party numbered 515 members of which 230 worked at the cooperative "Olimp" in that city.

For party Programme and Rules see: Oleksa V. Haran', Op. cit., pp. 136-137.

10. The Green Party (PZU) came officially into being on September 28-30, 1990 in Kiev when 106 delegates from most of the regions of Ukraine adopted the name of the party and the Programme and Rules.

In actual fact the beginnings of the party can be traced to the All-Ukrainian Congress of the ecological association "Zelenyi svit" (Green World) which met in Kiev in October 1989.

Although its concerns were primarily ecological in nature the association was quite active politically and during the election campaign it joined the "Democratic Bloc" and tried to field its own candidates. The Electoral Commissions, however, were quite hostile to the organization and did not register many of the can-

didates. Nevertheless the association was able to elect 10 deputies to Verkhovna Rada and some 43 to various Oblasti Councils.

On March 23, 1990 in Kiev an Initiative Group met at which time a Draft Programme and Rules of the party were discussed and a Coordinating Council was formed. What is interesting, however, is that the association "Green World" continues to exist, while the party is to undertake political, parliamentary means for dealing with pressing ecological problems.

Organ of the party is the newspaper Zelenyi svit (No.1 came out in April 1990).

The party is legally registered.

The head of the party is Iurii Mykolaiovych Shcherbak. He was born in 1934 in Kiev. He graduated from the Kiev Medical Institute and is Doctor of Medical Sciences. He is also a well-known writer and political activist. He is also a Deputy to the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Telephone in Kiev: 295-26-75.

For party Programme and Rules see: Oleksa V. Haran', Op. cit., pp. 138-148; Anatolii H. Sliusarenko and Mykola V. Tomenko, Op. cit., pp. 20-22.

11. The Liberal Democratic Party of Ukraine (LDPU). In its Declaration of May 1990 [Sotsial Demokrat, No. 3, 1990], the Liberal Democrats stated that "the stormy development of the national movement in Ukraine helps in the activization of democratic forces. The main goal of this movement is the state

independence of Ukraine".

On June 30, 1990 in the Club "Planeta" of the Kiev State University a Liberal Democratic conference took place, in which 10 deputies of Kiev City Council as well as those of Kharkiv, Rivne, Bila Tserkva and other cities took part. This conference called itself the Founding Conference for the Kiev Liberal Democratic Association. The Organizational Committee was also established to bring about the First Congress of the party.

However, due to disagreements about the organizational forms of the future party a split occurred in the Organizational Committee, and on November 24, 1990 at the First Congress a section of the delegates who supported one faction declared the establishment of the Liberal Democratic Party of Ukraine.

The leader of the party is Ievhen Rylieiev, who is the head of the republic association "Vyborets'", and a member of the editorial board of the newspaper Polslova.

Telephone Polslova in Kiev: 229-28-17.

For party Programme and Rules see: Oleksa V. Haran', Op. cit., pp. 149-161; Anatolii H. Sliusarenko and Mykola V. Tomenko, Op. cit., pp. 15-16; Polslova, No.11, July, 1990.

12. The Party of Democratic Renaissance of Ukraine (DPVU). The first republic conference of the "Democratic Platform of KPU" took place in March 1990. At the second All-Union conference of the "Democratic Platform of CPSU", on June 16-17, 1990 it was decided to elect the delegates to the XXVIIIth CPSU Congress. A Platform demanded that the CPSU rejected monopoly of a

single ideology, rejected Communism as a party goal, transformed itself into an organization of a parliamentary type, and recognized the right of factions within its structure. In short it called for a rejection of the Leninist type party.

On July 14, 1990 a part of the "Democratic Platform" declared themselves no longer members of the CPSU and called for the creation of a new party.

In a post-Congress meeting in Kiev a joint meeting of the Coordinating Council of the party clubs in Ukraine, the deputies to Ukrainian Verkhovna Rada organized into a "Democratic Platform of KPU" (41 members), and the delegates to the XXVIII Congress of the KPU and CPSU who supported the "Democratic Platform", called for the creation of a new party and gave all supporters of the "Democratic Platform" within KPU until November 1, 1990 to make up their mind on the idea of a new party and to organize regional meetings during September and October in preparation for the First Congress of the new party. The Organizational Committee which was set up at this meeting began to prepare a programme in which it was declared that the new party will be a parliamentary party of a left orientation and although not a communist party, neither will it be an anticommunist one. It declared itself ready to work with all democratic forces.

The party supported the miners' strikes. It also called for nationalization of illegally acquired property of the CPSU and the KPU, including the means of mass communication, the liquidation of

party organs within the armed forces, the KGB, the courts, the procurature, and the organs of the state administration. It requested that the party committees not be granted official status within the enterprises and organizations with the right to decide the question of cadres, or to exercise control over the administration, and issue opinions for employees.

On December 1-2, 1990 in Kiev, the congress of the Ukrainian Party of Democratic Agreement (Ukrains'ka partiia demokratychnoi zhody - UPDZ) was held with 324 delegates from all regions of Ukraine which represented 2340 party members. The congress decided to rename the party into the Party of Democratic Renaissance of Ukraine -PDVU. Co-chairmen of the party became the Vice-President of the Chairman of Verkhovna Rada Volodymyr Griniiov, the head of the Permanent Commission of the Verkhovna Rada O. Iemets', Deputy of the Verkhovna Rada V. Filenko, and scientists M. Popovych, and V. Khmel'ko, both from Kiev, Serhii Lylyk from L'viv and O. Bazyliuk from Donets'ke.

The parliamentary faction of the PDVU has 22 deputies.

The information biulletin of the party is the newspaper Demokratychnyi vybir. Telephone for contact in Kiev is: 441-92-22.

For party Programme and Rules see: Oleksa V. Haran', Op. cit., pp. 162-172; Anatolii H. Sliusarenko and Mykola V. Tomenko, Op. cit., pp. 13-14.

13. The Democratic Party of Ukraine (DPU). It has its origin in the RUKH. During the pre-election activities and in connection with the formation of new political organizations and

parties, on March 8, 1990 a declaration was published in Lit-eratura Ukraina entitled "To Members of RUKH and all Citizens of Ukraine" with a call to convene an extraordinary congress of the movement and to transform it into a party which would struggle for "a real and final independence of Ukraine". The Great Council of RUKH at its Fourth Session which met in Khust was to decide on this question. One day before the session 22 leaders of RUKH, members of the CPSU, signed a "Declaration of Conscience" (Zaiava sovisti), and left the Communist Party. The Great Council decided not to transform the RUKH into a political party. At the Session, however, the People's Deputy of the USSR, Dmytro Pavlychko announced that an Initiative Committee for the creation of the Democratic Party is in existence. The first session of the Organizational Committee of the Ukrainian Democratic Party (the first variant of its name) was held in Kiev April 25, 1990. At this session in addition to city of Kiev, and Kiev oblast', 8 other regions of Ukraine were also represented. At this meeting the main programmatic principles were discussed, such as the creation of sovereign Ukrainian Republic within the European Commonwealth, divesting the state of property, privatization, decisive introduction of market economy, creation in Ukraine of its own currency and credit system, opening of free economic zones, etc. On May 14, 1990 in Kiev one more meeting of the Initiative

Committee took place at which a Manifesto written by Iurii Badzio, a former political prisoner was adopted. Subsequently some 20 People's Deputies of the USSR and of Ukraine signed the Manifesto. At this meeting it was decided also to transform the group into an Organizational Committee charged with the responsibility of convening the First Congress of the Democratic Party of Ukraine - DPU. The head of the committee became Dmytro Pavlychko, and his deputies, Iurii Badzio, and Vitalii Donchyk.

On September 28, 1990 in Terebovlia the Rules of the party were adopted that were binding until the founding congress. Taking into consideration the adoption of the Rules, and the fact that the Manifesto proclaimed earlier (Literaturna Ukraina, May 31, 1990), became its programme, it was decided to consider September 28, 1990 as the founding meeting of the DPU.

On December 15-16, 1990, at the Kiev Institute of National Economy, the First Congress of the party took place, at which 522 delegates from all oblasti of the republic represented 2753 members of the party. The First Congress ratified the programmatic documents of the party and elected the National Council.

The Head of the DPU became Iurii Vasyliovych Badzio. The leader of the Parliamentary Faction (some 25 deputies, all of whom became members of the National Council), became Dmytro Pavlychko.

The information voice of the party is the newspaper Volia (until August 1990-Holos).

The Head of the DPU, Mr. Iurii V. Badzio was born in 1936. He

graduated from the Faculty of Philology of Uzhgorod University, and completed "Aspirantura" of its Institute of Literature. For his human rights activities he was sentenced to 7 years in the Gulag and 5 years of exile. He was released in December 1988.

Telephone of the party in Kiev: 293-10-56 (between 6:30 p.m. to 9:00 p.m.)

For party Programme and Rules see: Oleksa V. Haran', Op. cit., pp. 173-183; Anatolii H. Sliusarenko and Mykola V. Tomenko, Op. cit., pp. 9-11; Literaturna Ukraina, May 31, 1990.

14. The Ukrainian Liberal Democratic Union (Ukrains'ka liberal'no-demokratychna spilka - ULDS), has its beginning in the Kiev Liberal Democratic Union (KLDS) that was formed on June 30, 1990, and prior to that in the People's Union in Support of Reconstruction (NSSP) which came into being in the summer of 1988 and the Association "Vyborets'".

In the fall of 1990 two orientations developed in the group. One of them composed primarily of former members of NSSP and the L'viv Tovarystvo "Lev" decided not to form a party but a Ukrainian Liberal Democratic Union (ULDS), which would unite in its ranks various organizations which support the principles of liberal democracy.

The other faction, among them members of the Association "Vyborets'" opted for the party and organized the Liberal Democratic Party of Ukraine (LDPU).

For ULDS Manifesto see: Oleksa V. Haran', Op. cit., pp. 190-192.

15. The Republican Party of Ukraine (Respublikans'ka partiia Ukrainy - RPU) came into being on April 3, 1990. Its founding congress was called "Soym". The Programme is not published but according to party leaders the main planks deal with organizational structure of the Ukrainian Parliament. The Parliament would have two chambers, "Kozats'ka rada" and "Starshyns'ka rada". The first would be composed of delegates from the cossack organizations which are being reborn. The second would have delegations from all strata of Ukrainian population. One of the goals is the formation of a national bourgeoisie.

It appears to be a rather small group.

The party is mentioned in: Oleksa V. Haran', Op. cit., p. 14.

16. The Party of Slavic Renaissance (Partiia slovians'koho vidrodzhennia - PSS). At the Second Session of the Ukrainian Interparty Assembly (UMA) in October 1990 the representatives of this party joined the UMA. The party advocates creation of the Organization of Slavic Nations, which would unite on parity basis, all free and independent Slavic states, among them Ukraine, republics of Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia, European Russia and the land association of Luzhician Sorbs. The telephone contact in Kiev is 552-40-39.

The party is mentioned in: Oleksa V. Haran', Op. cit., p. 21; Anatolii H. Sliusarenko and Mykola V. Tomenko, Op. cit., p. 47.

17. The Confederation of Anarchists of Ukraine (Konfederatsiia anarkhivistiv Ukrainy - KAU) was created in Kharkiv, on May 1, 1990. It unites Anarcho-Syndicalists (majority), and Anarcho-Communists, Anarcho-Individualists, Anarcho-Pacifists, Anarcho-Makhnovites, and Biocosmists. The Anarcho-Sindicalists seceded from RUKH because of disagreements concerning the national question in Ukraine. V. Grinioy was at first associated with them.

The origins of this grouping are in the Konfederatsiia Anarkho-Sindikalistov (KAS), the All-Union association which was organized in Moscow, in May 1989.

The Nabat, the organ of Anarcho-Sindicalists is being published in Kharkiv, where the Information Centre of KAU is also located.

For the Programme of the Confederation see: Oleksa V. Haran', Op. cit., pp. 184-189.

18. The Party of Constitutional Democrats (Cadets - Kadety - KD), is the All-Union party which was organized in Moscow, in May 1990. In Ukraine its strongest groups are in Zaporizhzhia and Odessa.

The party is for the break up of the empire, private property, and the right of all republics to create their own independent states if the people so desire, although it supports a federation created on voluntary basis.

The party is mentioned in: Oleksa V. Haran', Op. cit., p. 20.

19. The Marxist Party of Ukraine.

Telephone in Kiev: 263-83-76.

There is no information about this party. It is mentioned in: Anatolii H. Sliusarenko and Mykola V. Tomenko, Op. cit., p. 47.

20. The Alliance of Socialist, Workers, and Left Forces of Ukraine for People's Self-rule (Al'ians sotsialistychnykh, robitnychykh i livykh syl Ukrainy za narodne samovriaduvannia - Al'ians lifykh - AL), or Left Alliance, came into being when several attempts to organize a Socialist Workers' Party of Left Forces did not materialize. Its founding congress was to take place in 1991.

The Alliance is mentioned in : Oleksa V. Haran', Op. cit. p. 26.

21. The Communist Party of Ukraine (Komunistychna Partiiia Ukrainy - KPU). Even though the KPU was in a state of crisis it continued to be a dominant party in Ukraine. In June, 1990 it had over 3 million members and controlled 85 per cent of deputies in Verkhovna Rada. Stanislav Hurenko, the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the KPU in his report to the XXVIII Congress of the KPU in Kiev (December, 1990), indicated that some 220,000 members left the party in 1990. However, some 38,000 did join the party during the same period.

The leadership of the party in Ukraine was and is very conservative and is not able to find wide support among the people. The Union of Workers of Ukraine for a Socialist Reconstruction,

and the Ukrainian Peasant Union, two satellites of the KPU are not capable of attracting popular support.

Prior to the coup the party controlled the so-called "Group of 239" in Verkhovna Rada, yet from time to time even this conservative grouping was not capable of acting together. The party deputies did support The Declaration of State Sovereignty for Ukraine, yet it changed the procedures in Ukrainian Parliament in order to render the democratic opposition almost totally ineffective. On August 24, 1991 the communist deputies in Verkhovna Rada did support the Declaration of Independence. And, as a result of the coup, a large group of communist deputies (some 40 individuals) led by Mykola Shkaraban decided to leave the ranks of the KPU. Shortly thereafter Oleksander Moroz, the leader of the KPU majority, blaming the high party leadership for complicity in the coup, declared the "Communist Bloc" (Group 239) dissolved and all communist deputies released from party discipline.

Leonid Kravchuk, former secretary of the party responsible for ideology, is today the Chairman of Verkhovna Rada. He proved himself, on the whole, a capable politician with a great deal of appropriate political timing. Having opposed, although not very decisively, the coup, he left the membership of the CC KPU, and later, the party itself, and sided with the democratic opposition in pushing through the Declaration of Independence. His role in Moscow in support of Gorbachev-Yeltsin arrangements for the transitional period received general recognition in Western Coun-

tries. At home, in Ukraine, he was severely criticized for having signed an agreement which, by keeping the Soviet Union "half-alive", is contrary to national interests of Ukraine. Having undergone the ideological conversion, Mr. L. Kravchuk continues to be viewed as the most serious candidate for the Ukrainian President.

Peter J. Potichnyj

The Multi-Party System in Ukraine

Bericht des BIOst Nr. 3/1992

Summary

This report describes the development of the multi-party system in Ukraine.

This development can be divided into five periods. The first period encompasses the years 1987 - 1988. The second, 1989 and the first three months of 1990. The third period covers the months of March - December, 1990. The fourth, January - August, 1991, and the fifth, the time after the coup d'état.

In the first period attempts were made to organize a broad forum of democratic forces. This period was characterized by the mushrooming of political clubs and of people's front, which in turn provided a basis for the formation of political parties. A very important factor in this development was the Ukrainian Helsinki Union (UHS), whose activity was typically political in nature. In this connection, the formation of the Ukrainian Democratic Union (UDS) should be mentioned, whose roots can be traced to the Ukrainian Culturological Club (UKK). As well the activities of various organizations such as People's Unions (Spilky) in Support of Reconstruction in Vinnytsia, Khmel'nyts'ke etc. are also important. The first period comes to an end in the fall of 1988, with a decision of the Writers Union of Ukraine to create the Peoples Movement of Ukraine for Reconstruction known as the RUKH.

The second period is characterized by the formation of the RUKH and by virtual legalization of political pluralism in Ukraine. The RUKH as an institution came into being on 8-10 September 1989. Ivan Drach became its head, while Mykhailo Horyn', one of the leaders of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union (UHS) took charge of the Secretariat. From the very beginning the RUKH united within its ranks individuals of various political persuasions from communists to members of the UHS. It was natural, therefore, that quite soon, within its ranks we saw appearance of various political tendencies which gave impetus for the formation of several political parties.

In the fall of 1989 attempts were made to create the Green Party (PZU), and somewhat earlier, in Riga, Latvia, partially on the foundation of the Ukrainian Democratic Union (UDS), the Ukrainian People's Democratic League (UNDL) came into being. Finally, in October 1989, in L'viv, the Ukrainian National Party was founded, one of the most radical in Ukraine. The second period ends with the elections of March 1990, in which the RUKH with the help of the Democratic Bloc that was set up for this purpose, was able to win a significant number of deputies to Verkhovna Rada and to cre-

ate the Narodna Rada as an opposition group to the ruling Communist Party of Ukraine (KPU).

In the third period, further differentiation of various groups within the RUKH took place, and at the same time new parties made their appearance in society. Even though the RUKH was not transformed into a political party, out of its midst there appeared the Democratic Party of Ukraine (DPU), while on the basis of the UHS, the Ukrainian Republican Party was formed.

The fourth period was characterized by the appearance of a large number of political parties and groups. During this time came into being the All-Ukrainian Political Union "State Independence of Ukraine" (DSU), the Ukrainian Christian Democratic Party (UKhDP), the Social Democratic Party of Ukraine (SDPU), the Unified Social Democratic Party of Ukraine (OSDPU), the Ukrainian Peasant Democratic Party (USelDP), the Ukrainian People's Democratic Party (UNDP), People's Party of Ukraine (NPU), the Green Party of Ukraine (PZU), the Liberal Democratic Party of Ukraine (LDPU), the Democratic Party of Ukraine (DPU), the Party of Democratic Rebirth of Ukraine (PDVU), the Ukrainian Liberal Democratic Union (ULDS), the Confederation of the Anarchists of Ukraine (KAU), the Party of Slavic Rebirth (PSV), the Marxist Party of Ukraine (MAU). In the last few months there appeared even a monarchist grouping that supports the claim to the Kievan throne of the King Olel'ko II (Prince d'Anjou). In Ukraine also exist branches of the parties that were created beyond its borders.

In the fifth period, after the coup d'état, the weakening of the KPU is quite noticeable and therefore, establishment of a certain political balance within the country became possible.

As is clear from this brief résumé, a process of the creation of parties and groups continues to advance rapidly, and encompasses a full political array of political persuasions from anarchists, socialists, social democrats, "greens", liberals, peasant and christian democrats, to monarchists. In Ukraine, unlike in Russia we do not have political groupings of fascist or neo-fascist persuasion. One should add, however, that the conservative wing of the KPU, in its dogmatism and organizational undertakings does not differ much from the traditional fascist formations.

The attitude of these parties to the status of Ukraine as a state also varies. The KPU with its satellites, until the very recent time supported the creation of a renewed union, which places it among the federalists. The OSDP, the LDPU, and the PDVU could be classified as supporters of the confederation. Most of the other parties are supporters of the full independence for Ukraine, however, even here, two subgroups can be identified. One of these groups strives for the independence via the parliamentary struggle, and the existing political institutions. The SDPU, the DPU, the URP, the UKhDP belong to this group. The second, does not recognize the legitimacy of the existing political structures and considers the Union Treaty of 1922 as illegal. These parties, like

for example, the UNP, the UNDP, USelDP, and some others are members of the Ukrainian Interparty Assembly (UMA).

After the coup d'état, and after the proclamation of Ukraine's independence on 24 August 1991, the positions of the parties on this crucial question have shifted considerably. The KPU not only has been suspended in its activities, but experienced considerable loss of membership. Its support of independence did not appear to help it out of its crisis. Among other groups and parties, the supporters of the confederal solution have also undergone considerable reorientation in their views. Today they find themselves in the camp of the supporters of independence. It is, of course, entirely possible, that their attitude with regard to the economic Union among the successor states of the former USSR, and with regard to existing political institutions in Ukraine, will continue to separate them from the parties which are members of the UMA.

The new parties, generally speaking, are rather feeble organizations. Many of them, primarily because of small membership, were not able to obtain official registration. Only recently, with a change in the legislation, which permits the parties to register if they have no less than 300 members, can these groups hope to obtain official standing.

It is difficult to predict the future, but some consolidation of these parties into blocs, such as a left social democratic and a right liberal democratic, for the purpose of governing the country is entirely probable. The presidential elections which are scheduled for December 1, 1991, should provide a good indication whether such a consensus is possible.

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