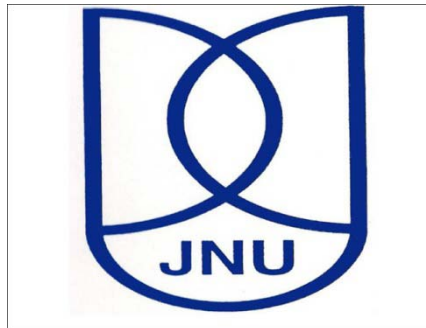


**MULTI-PARTY SYSTEM AND DEMOCRATISATION IN
RUSSIA, 1991-2000**

Dissertation submitted to the Jawaharlal Nehru University in partial fulfillment of
the requirements for the award of the degree of

MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY

VISHAL KUMAR BASWAL



RUSSIAN AND CENTRAL ASIAN STUDIES

CENTRE FOR RUSSIAN AND CENTRAL ASIAN STUDIES

School of International Studies

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU UNIVERSITY

NEW DELHI-110067



JAWAHARLAL NEHRU UNIVERSITY

Centre for Russian and Central Asian Studies

School of International Studies

New Delhi-110067

Tel: (O) +91-11-2670 4363

Fax: (+91)-11-2674 1586, 2586

Email: crcasjnu@gmail.com

Date:

DECLARATION

I declare that the dissertation entitled "MULTI-PARTY SYSTEM AND DEMOCRATISATION IN RUSSIA, 1991-2000" submitted by me in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the award of the degree of Master of Philosophy in Jawaharlal Nehru University is my own work. The dissertation has not been submitted for any other degree of this University or any other University.

Vishal Kumar Haswal

CERTIFICATE

We recommend that this dissertation be placed before the examiners for the evaluation.

Prof. Archana Upadhyay

(CHAIRPERSON, CRCAS)

Prof. Phool Badan

(SUPERVISOR)

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

First and foremost, I would like to give a deep sense of sincere regards and thanks to my supervisor, **Prof. Phool Badan**, who has always encouraged me and supported me for giving shape to my research work. Without his important suggestions and directions, I would not have been able to articulate my thoughts more meaningfully. I am grateful to all the faculty members at the **Centre for Russian and Central Asian Studies** who have always guided me invaluablely.

Many special thanks to **Prof. Sanjay Pandey, Dr. Tahir Asghar and Dr. Rajan Kumar** for their constant support and assistance and the valuable advice and direction who have shaped my views profoundly.

I am especially grateful to my **Mother** and my **Father** for their constant support and who have encouraged me throughout my entire student life and for their blessings and love that has kept me going to where I am today. I am especially grateful to all my **maternal uncles** who have been my biggest source of inspiration to pursue this field of study. Loving thanks to my **sister Arti** and **brothers Sandeep and Montoo** for absolute faith in my potential and dedication towards my work; which played a crucial role in increasing my confidence. I would express my gratitude especially to **Abhishek Yadav** for his constant guidance, support, and various translations from different languages and suggestions throughout my entire dissertation.

I express my gratitude to the student community of JNU who always make the campus both intellectually and politically vibrant. I would like to give thanks to all my friends and seniors who constantly provided me with support while writing my dissertation. Special thanks to **Avinash Kumar Gupta, Birendra Bhaiya, Jason Wahlang, Karan Kumar, Marie Pegu, Narendra Bhaiya**. Their valuable time and support cannot be ignored.

I am thankful to all the staff of the Russian and Central Asian Studies and the JNU Library and the library of the Russian and Central Asian Studies School of International Studies JNU. I am especially thankful to **Dr. Bishwanath Thakur** the librarian in the Library of the Russian and Central Asian Studies. I would like to thank the entire office staff of the School of International Studies for fulfilling academic and my official requirement on time.

Vishal Kumar Baswal

CONTENTS

	Page No
Abbreviation	i
Chapter -1: Introduction: Conceptual Framework	1-21
Chapter -2: History of Political Parties in Russia	22-40
Chapter -3: Emergence of Multi-Party System in Russia	41-56
Chapter -4: Multi-Party System and Democratisation in Russia	57-76
Chapter-5: Conclusion	77-85
Bibliography:	86-94

Dedicated to
My Loving Parents

Abbreviations

CDP	Constitutional Democratic Party
CPSU	Communist Party of Soviet Union
FSOC	Federation of Socialist Social Clubs
KPRF	Communist Party of the Russian Federation
OHR	Our Home is Russia
PL	Party List
PSR	Socialist Revolutionary Party
RSLDP	Russian Socialist Labour Democratic Party
SDPR	Socialist Democratic Party of Russia
SMD	Single Member Districts
URP	The Union of the Russian People
USSR	The Union of Soviet Socialist Republic

Chapter-1

Introduction: Conceptual Framework

**“A party of order or stability and party of progress or reform are both
necessary elements of a healthy state of political life.”**

John Stuart Mill, On Liberty, 1859

Political parties are an important form of social organisation. They should not be confused with groups, federations, and associations. A well-known definition of political parties has been given by political scientist Anthony Downs, who wrote: “a political party is a term of men seeking to control the governing apparatus by gaining office in a duly constituted election” (Hofmeister and Grabow 2011: 11). Another scholar who also has given a definition of political parties is Giovanni Sartori; has defined the party as “any political group identified by an official label that presents at elections and is capable of placing through the election, candidates for public office”. Duverger defined parties as (1) having "their primary goal the conquest of power" and (2) drawing "their support from a large base" in contrast to pressure groups, which "represent a limited number with a private interest" (Janda 1970: 90). Michael Schumpeter assumes that “a party is a group whose members propose to act in concert in the competitive struggle for political power” (Schonfeld R. 1983: 478). Burk’s understood party as, “Party is a body of men united, promoting their collective activities the national interest, upon some particular belief in which they are all agreed” (Sartori 2005: 8). Thus, these definitions show some differences in the understanding of political parties. All political parties’ focuses on the participation in elections and the interest to gain public offices and votes. These are some necessary elements that characterise political parties.

Political parties must meet some criteria. These are following:

- (1) A party works to influence the formation of public opinion and goals to have a common political impact.
- (2) A party is a group of citizens holding individual membership and shall have minimum members so that the effectiveness of its targets and prospects of success still clear.

- (3) It is necessary for a successful party to show the desire to take participation in the political representation of the citizens at the time of elections.
- (4) A party should be an autonomous and stable organisation; it shall not be established at the time of election and for elections.
- (5) A party must be willing to present in public (Hofmeister and Grabow 2011: 12).

A political party does not essentially need merely to win a seat in parliament, but it has to clear all the requirements. In simple words, parties can be defined as a stable group of peoples that are based on free membership and a programme and which come through the way of elections, a politically effective stand of the country with their group of leaders to advice for resolving major issues and problems. The competition among political parties is the tool to gain political authority, and the whole party is ultimately subject to this goal. Opposition political parties play an important role in a democratic system as “watchdog” of state policy and as a political option in future.

A party system is an important feature of democratic politics. If there are no political parties, it means there is no democracy. In spite of the corrosion of the influence of political parties in older democracies and problems in forming new political parties in new democracies, theorist remains have the same opinion that political parties and party system are essential problems for the performance of the representative state. In liberal democracies, political parties do various responsibilities at the time of the election. They present voters with a different choice, be they ideological, social and ethnic. After election parties represent the interest of constituents (for which they have been chosen) in the formulation of state policy. Successful parties must be capable of controlling the formation of the vote and after that must win representation within the country for formulating policy making.

Different criteria can classify party system. Most important is that we can differentiate party system by how many parties’ contests in an election, one-party, two-party and multi-party. In a single party system only one party contests. There is no political opposition party. There is no place for competition that is why one party system defined by the repression of political contest and democratic freedom. On the other hand in two party system, only two parties’ contests for election and other small parties’ plays a role of subordination of those parties. The multi-party system means where more than one party exists. There is full competition among the parties. The

occurrence of two party systems and the multi-party system can be established by various factors such as political conventions, the origin of political institutions, and the social and economic condition of a country, the background of regional and ethnic identity in a particular country.

Classification of Political Parties by Certain Criteria

Parties can be differentiated by different criteria, for example, their level of organisation, their social and political agendas or goals, the social classes for those parties works, their view on the political system.

Some parties can be differentiated by their name which often shows unique social and political goals.

Political Parties based on Organisations

Electorate Parties: These types of parties do not give value to gaining membership. These parties appear in the elections after that they disappear. Duverger who wrote the book called “political parties: their organisation and activity in the modern state”, called these parties as cadre political party.¹ There are three types of the party in the broader class of ‘electoral parties’, the basic elements of which are comparable to those upon which Angelo Panebianco formed his notion of the “electoral-professional party”. Political Parties related to this group are organisationally thin, maintaining a comparatively emaciated existence. At the time of the election, however, these political parties jump into battle to make what is explicitly their most important task, the carry out the campaign. They use ‘modern’ means for the campaign (discussion on television channels and advertisement for their party), and they depend deeply on professionals who can skillfully conduct such campaigns. The individual charisma of the party’s candidates is a significant standard for selection at the cost of other considerations, such as contribution to the party.

Membership Parties: these parties focus on increasing members of the party. Membership parties appear at the time of election as well as in general also. Duverger called these parties as a

¹ Cadre Political Parties are those parties which seek to gain more membership and they appear at the time of election and after election they do not work as political parties.

“mass political party”.² The mass-based party came as a sign of the political mobilisation of the working group in many European polities. Organisationally, it is characterised by a great base of dues-paying members who continue energetic in party issues even at the time of elections. To propagate the party’s thought and generate an energetic membership structure of the party, the party seeks to infiltrate into some areas of society.

Political Parties based on Social and Political Issues

Classification of social and political issues of parties tells us about those parties which focus on social and political changes in the given democratic arrange and political parties which seek transformation by radical, extremist and revolutionary means. The first group is composed of conservative, liberal, Christian democratic, social democratic and also parties that define themselves by religion. These parties are not extremists. The second group represents mainly extreme rightist and leftist parties.

Conservative Parties: Conservative Parties believe in status quo, they do not believe in changes, innovations for example change about the thinking and role of family(for example same marriage sex, exogamous marriage), and modern lifestyle. Traditional values, ideas, and principle are important for conservative parties.

Liberal Parties: liberal parties mainly focus on the individual. Liberal political parties’ emphasises the rights of freedom of individual and democratic character of the Constitution. From an economic point of view, they believe in *laissez faire* doctrine. They are devoted to the liberal market economy.

Social Democratic Parties: this type of parties emerged due to close relation to the part of farmer and labour movement. Such parties considered as egalitarian parties because they focus on social equality, eradication of private property, group have power over the means of production, and command economy means the economy will run by the state.

Socialist Parties: Socialist parties are different from social democratic parties because socialist party’s means are more radical to achieving goals than Socialist Democratic Party.

² Opposite to cadre political parties, mass political parties as name suggests that it is mass party, these parties appears after election also and these parties are very active parties.

Parties Defined by Religion: these parties are a special form of parties that are characterised by their social, political goals. Throughout the world, various parties are more or less based on religions, for example, Christian Democratic Party, Islamic and Hindu parties. These parties establish their functions on the values and standard of their religion.

All these things can lead to differences in the political functions and political goals of such parties. Does it depend on how parties behave with a particular religion? , what is their stand on individual human rights, and political freedom and democracy. For instance, European Christian democratic parties focus on individual freedom, social equality, and justice, etc.

Extreme Right-Wing Parties: these parties more nationalist parties in nature because they preach nationalistic ideologies. These parties support a particular religious ideology. They have a different opinion regarding various religions. For example in India, we have BJP. Macridis, who defines right-wing extremism as an “ideology [that] revolves around the same old staples: racism, xenophobia, and nationalism” and Backes and Jesse, who define it as “a collective term for anti-democratic dispositions and attempts that are traditionally positioned at the extreme right of the left-right spectre”. Many scholars have given their definition of right wing extremism, Only five features are common in right-wing extremism’s definition, these are nationalism, racism, xenophobia, anti-democracy and the strong state.

Even though “right-wing extremism” is the mainly generally used term for the political parties under study here, alternatives are being used. On the one hand, terms that were used to express right-wing extremist parties of the first and second wave are still used today. The term extreme right party was used for neo-Nazism and neo-Fascism parties (Mudde 2009: 11).

Extreme Left-Wing Parties: such political parties support to proletariat class of society such farmer and labour. They focus on social equality, according to them dictatorship of proletariats³ is only the way to abolish private property and the capitalist system. They believe in predetermination of history.

Classification of Political Parties based on Social Group

³ Dictatorship of proletariat: the concept dictatorship of proletariat is borrowed from Marxist ideology, according to them after ending of capitalist system there would be rule of proletariat class (labour, farmers and other social workers).

Parties conforming to the System: this type of political parties believes in gradual reforms. These political parties believe the system in which parties are more energetic.

Parties Opposed to the Political System: these parties do not believe in existing political system. They do not accept fundamental principles of their political system. They want to transform in a current political system and pursue with aggressive programmatic proposals.

Democracy

Although the term democracy used in English in the sixteenth century from the French word *Democratie*, its emergence is Greek. The term democracy is derived from the word *Demokratia*. It made from two different meanings first is *demos* which means people and second is *Kratos* means the rule.

Democracy is a form of government in which people rule. It is against the monarchical and autocratic rule. Democracy has different dimensions. There is no consensus about democracy's definition among the scholars. The democratic form of government is one aspect which allows for the participation of people through the electoral process.

According to Robert Dahl, "the democratic ideal is based on two dimensions: political participation and political contestation" (Dahl 1971: 4). Political participation means great participation of people in the election. Elections should be free and fair elections, after the announcement of the winner in the elections power should transfer one individual to another, these criteria will work at all levels local, state and national level. One more concept which used by Robert Dahl is political contestation: contestation defines as the will of people. It refers to the power of criticism of people if they feel that system is not working according to their genuine aspirations then they have the power to criticise the government through freedom of speech and expressions. People should have right to converse in decision making policy. A Democratic form of government that focuses on electoral freedom and civil rights are assumed as liberal democracies.

There are numerous characteristics of democracy each characteristic has its advantages and disadvantages.

Types of Democracy

The large classification that scholars create between democracies is based on the way of the function of representative government. There are two types of democracy one is direct democracy or classical democracy and another is representative democracy

Direct Democracy: direct democracy refers to an ideal type of democracy because power is in the hand of the individual. Decision-making power is also in the hand of people; the decision takes the people. Whole people come together at a place, discuss an issue and take a decision. Each person is equal; each person has right to discuss in the decision-making process. All these things seem better in a theoretical manner but not in a practical manner. Historically this type of democracy was useful because there were small communities. Small communities practised direct democracy because it was in favour of small communities. But now as countries extended their size and scope this type of democracy is not possible because people cannot come at a particular place to discuss a particular issue and also this type of democracy is very expensive. For example, America, India or other such democratic countries implemented thousand of laws this was not possible to come together and discuss law and then take any decision. It was not possible in a direct democracy it would be very difficult.

Representative Democracy: the second important type of democracy is a representative democracy. In this system, people elect an individual or a group of the member, and that group represents the demands of people. Elected person or group works on behalf of people. For example, U.S. has several constituencies each constituency has two senators as a representative in the Senate on the other hand in the lower house which is a house of representative the number of candidates which represents particular constituency appointed by the population size of each state. This is the case with India also people elect a member of Lok Sabha that represents the aspirations of the people. If citizens of the particular constituency are satisfied with a candidate who elected last time, people can elect that candidate second time also. The representative should work in favour of the wishes of the constituency, even when things are going wrong in favour of representative. This model is known as “Delegate Model.” On the other hand in their life politicians faces many difficulties because of various types of debate. They understand the situations of their constituencies that is why politicians are capable for give them the advantage of doubt. This model called as “Trustee Model.”

System of Democracy

There are two sub-dimensions of the representative democracy first is the parliamentary system and second is Presidential type of democracy

The Parliamentary System

The parliamentary system has emerged in Britain. The parliamentary system is different from the Presidential system because of the power; the power is in the hand of the legislative branch. The party which has the largest number of seat elects their head of government. For example, in India largest number winning party elects their prime minister. The same case is also with Britain. Germany also elects their Chancellor by this method. The Chancellor is similar to the Prime Minister. The Presidential system is also different from the head of government and head of state point of view. Parliamentary system has one characteristic that it has head of government and head of state, for example, we have prime minister who is head of government and President who is head of state,

Similarly, in Britain, prime minister is head of government and Crown is head of state that is responsible for international treaties and ceremonial works, on the other hand, head of government works as an administrator. The prime minister does all the administrative works. The head of government checks on the legislative process and policy-making agendas.

Another characteristic of the parliamentary system is, if no one has a majority in the election then the largest winning party has an alternative to forming a government and choose their Prime Minister. The negative point about the parliamentary form of government is that coalition system creates a problem in the parliamentary system. Many political parties contests for election and winning party chooses their prime minister if no one has the majority of seats then it creates problems because after that few parties form a coalition government. These parties keep various opinion in other words they are different to each other in ideology. That is why when they form a coalition they do not reach the powerful conclusion. The varsity of opinion creates a problem.

The Presidential System

The presidential system is less stable than a parliamentary system. Although Parliamentary democracy also has its negative points, it is more stable than presidential democracy. An example of a presidential form of government is the United States of America.

The President is head of government as well as head of state. As head of the government President runs the government means the President does all the administrative works, and as the head of the state president represents their country in international affairs, the President is commander in chief of the national armed forces. The presidential system is based on separation of power. The legislature checks the budget, approves appointments to the cabinet positions and ratifies foreign treaties which have done by the executive. Unlike in parliamentary system, ministers are not responsible to the legislature. In the presidential form of democracy, the minister is responsible to the president only. The Congress has no power to remove the president through a “vote of confidence”⁴ on the other hand President has no power to dissolve Congress. The main feature of presidential democracy is veto power of President. To make law both houses must pass a law bill by 2/3 majority after the passing of the bill by both houses bill goes to the President, President approves it if the President is not satisfied with the bill than the President has the power to veto. The veto power of the President is a debatable topic because, presidents-elect by the people of the particular country and when the President goes against the wills of people, it undermines the spirit of democracy.

One more veto of the President which enhances the power of the President is line item veto; this veto permits the President to remove the parts of the law. Both types of vetoes are hardly used.

Liberal Democracy: Liberal democracy is similar to protective democracy. Classical democracy⁵ is about equality where people have equal rights such as casting a vote. But opposite of that liberal democracy is about protection of individual rights and liberties because in this type of

⁴ Vote of Confidence: “**this is** procedure which used by members of a legislature to remove a government from office. To be successful, the way or procedure, which does not apply to the removal of heads of government in presidential and semi-presidential forms of government, typically requires a majority of members of legislature to disapprove of the state’s actions, in other words it is called vote of no confidence”.

⁵In ancient Athens, “democracy was based essentially on a social contract, where citizens decided collectively on all significant issues that concerned their city. It was classical democracy or direct democracy”.

democracy people are not equal. In the middle and early modern age, there was an autocratic rule where people did not have any rights and liberties. Due to this people thought about an institution like state.

John Locke is known for a prominent speaker of liberal democracy. He talks about individual rights and liberties. He mainly focuses on the right to property. In addition to John Locke, there was three more supporters of liberal democracy Jermy Bentham, James Mill, and John Stuart Mill. All these three figures talk about liberal democracy in which they give importance to the utility. Mills talks about right to speech and expression and right to form an association.

An important characteristic of liberal democracy is that it talks about protecting the rights and liberties of the individual. It also talks about the distribution of power among a legislature, executive, and judiciary⁶ and from an economic point of liberal democracy focuses on free market competition.

Liberal democracy is based on minimal state concept. Minimal state means is that state has certain limitation. The state has created for certain works. According to advocates of liberal democracy, the state works for the protection of individual, equality, and maintenance of security. It is a police state.

Developmental Democracy: J.S.Mill is the main advocate of developmental democracy. Developmental democracy is about progressive ideas. Democracy is not only about protection. It is also about self-development of men and development of individual capacities. J.S.Mill talks about the two elements of development, moral self-development, and development of men's capacities. Developmental Democracy talks about a representative form of government. Mill argued that without representative government moral self-development is not possible, in a representative form of government individual can find a way to develop their capacities. He can develop their rights and liberties. For the development, mill assumes the state as an essential instrument that is why he supports to the intervention of the state. According to J.S.Mill without the intervention of the state, some people cannot take advantage of welfare works because they

⁶ Legislature is responsible for making laws, executive is responsible for implementing laws and judiciary is responsible for explain rules and laws

are not equal to other peoples. J.S.Mill is not denied the intervention of the state. He states that state must intervene in society if there is need of state for the deprived group.

For the intervention of state J.S.Mill distinct self-regarding works and other regarding works. He says that person has freedom for his work if does not harm others. On another hand, if harms to another person then the state has right to intervene to protect the rights of that person.

There are some features of developmental democracy:

- (1) Representative form of government is the main characteristic of developmental democracy.
- (2) Checks and balance mean one organ controls to another and vice of verse.
- (3) The rule of law means no one is above the law.
- (4) Separation of power, powers are divided into different sections such as legislature for making laws, an executive for implementing laws and judiciary for an explanation of these laws.
- (5) And Protection of human rights

Cosmopolitan Democracy: although the term democracy uses for a form of government, of a particular country. But cosmopolitan democracy is different it talks about democracy at the global level. Cosmopolitan democracy is not the exclusive idea. It is the inclusive idea of democracy. Because as we know that the world is changing day by day and one state depends on another state that is why it is not the only state which can survive alone. It has to bring together other states also for survival. Cosmopolitan Democracy has two aspects one is about the state, and another is about the world. At the state level, cosmopolitan democracy talks about certain requirements of particular state and global level it talks about global politics, economy, and culture.

The question emerges about the origin of cosmopolitan democracy, in the contemporary world. Many democracies are not functioning in a right direction even they are a democratic country. Violation of human rights are taking place, rights and liberties of men's are under threat, lack of proper measure for protecting the rights of a human. Because of these reasons, there is need the establishment of the global institution.

Globalisation and Multinational companies are playing greater role policy making of the state. The state is becoming subordinate to these MNCs. The state is not sovereign. These are the reasons by which erosion of democracy is taking place so; realisation of democratic institutions at international level took place due to these reasons.

There are some needs to establish cosmopolitan democracy:

- (1) The active role of all the states, especially major powers.
- (2) Reforms in international organisation particularly in Security Council. Permanent membership of India, Japan, Brazil, and Germany should be given.
- (3) There is a need to the replacement of some provisions in the charter.
- (4) Establishment of global parliament
- (5) The military body should be there for the settlement of disputes which are related to the military.

Pluralist Democracy: Pluralist democracy is also known as Polyarchal democracy. Robert Dahl is the main advocate of pluralist democracy. He has used this term called Polyarchal democracy for pluralist democracy. In who governs? Dahl asserts that “the social structure gave new haven an oligarchical government throughout the nineteenth century, but in the twentieth-century ethnic politics broke the oligarchy. In the 1950s ethnic politics yielded to the politics of shared benefits and collective benefits, power became decentralised, and pluralist democracy resulted” (Burtenshaw 1968: 578). Pluralist democracy is about the rules of various groups and organisations. Advocates of pluralist democracy assert that these groups and organisations have direct influence in public policy. Pluralist democracy assumes that churches, associations, political organisations and special interest groups play an important role in politics. The definition of polyarchal democracy includes: “every member of society expresses a preference through voting, all votes are weighted the same, the preference with the majority wins, the opportunity to submit alternatives, all individuals possess the same information about alternative preferences, the winning preferences should be implemented or inducted requiring the losing preference to be removed, orders of elected officials are executed and that all inter-election decisions should follow this characteristic” (Dahl 2006: 67). Robert Dahl divided the voting system into three phases to define polarchy.

Deliberative Democracy: as the name suggests that deliberative democracy is about deliberation. Before reaching a particular decision, deliberation is an important aspect of the right decision. Exchange of ideas is a more important thing in a deliberative democracy. Deliberation is an essential precondition for the legitimate political decisions. Instead of thinking the political decision as the aggregate of citizen's priorities, deliberative democracy asserts that citizens should look at political decisions through cause, the collection of competing arguments, and opinions. In other words, priorities of citizens should be shaped by exchange of ideas or discussion in advance of decision-making, rather than by self-interest. Deliberative democracy is not about only decision making it is also about quality of decision making. Deliberative democracy is not based on biases, private concern; it is based on better logics by which advantage of people can take concern.

Two major philosophers are related to deliberative democracy, one is John Rawls, and another is Jurgen Habermas (Held 2006: 239). Rawls has talked about the use of reasons for securing the framework of just society. According to Rawls through reasons political society becomes fair, and all the participants get equal rights in the society. Reasons mean is that take a right decision and to show the value of mutual respect. On another hand, Jurgen Habermas talks about the procedure, according to him reasons are important, but there should be fair procedures and clear communication for strong decisions. These fair procedures give legitimacy to outcomes.

There are some characteristics of deliberative democracy which are given below:

- (1) Issues should be discussed publicly, public participation is important and discussion also.
- (2) Reasons should be accessible
- (3) The process of decision making should be binding. It is useful for decision.
- (4) Continuation of the debate is the fourth characteristic of deliberative democracy. There is no possibility that one decision can be justified for future, because of this deliberative democracy allows for debate and discussion. One person can criticise previous decision and move ahead by that criticism.

Party System and Democracy

Without parties, democracy is not possible. In a democracy political party plays a role in connecting society and state. Party gives political leadership without which modern democracy cannot work. In a time of change, political leadership should be responsible and transparent for peoples. Every political party is responsible for work to interest of the people.

In a democracy, by and large, citizens should participate in political activities. However, in direct democracy each individual participates in political activities. It is not possible in modern democracy. That is why a today's democracy needs Institutions, NGOs, Intergovernmental Organisation and Pressure Group ⁷that represent the aspiration and the benefits of the citizens. Specifically, the political parties bring such a representative function. They give a chance citizen to influence politics and political decision making. Political parties are essential instrument and institution of politics. If any party wants to participate successfully in the election, it has to be the voice of large sector of society. Unions, Social Organisation's initiatives concentrate on the very limited area. Opposite of this political parties are expected to take a stand on all those issues and questions that are related to peoples.

The question arises that does multi-party system leads democracy? Although the concept of the party system and democracy is mentioned above yet for the knowledge, brief definitions of the multiparty system and democracy have given by scholars. It's known the fact that there is no consensus among scholars about democracy. Nevertheless, "a particular model or form of democracy has come to dominate thinking on the matter; to the extent that, many in the West treat it as the only feasible or meaningful form of democracy. This is a liberal democracy" (Heywood 2004: 226). Liberal democracy means rights of political participation, social rights, and economic rights.

The concept of the multi-party system is also important. According to Hague and Harrop, "in the multi-party system, the legislature comprises several minority parties, resulting in coalitions or less often minority government by leading party" (Hague and Harrop 2005: 195). In other words

⁷ A **pressure groups: a pressure groups** can be defined as an organised **group** that does not keep their candidates for election, but seeks to impact state policy

or simple words, the multi-party system is about more than one party where more than one party exists.

The larger the representation, the better is the opinions of citizens input and the more chances for country to become democratic. Taking the multi-party system as an important element of democracy it could be found that in multi-party system leaders represents interests of people but it is not the case in one party system and two party systems. It is a well-known fact that various options or alternatives increase the scope for a particular task. It applies to the multi-party system also, because in multi-party system different political parties' contests in the election. They have different ideologies, so different-different ideologies represent different-different groups of people. On the other hand in one party system or two party systems scope is very narrow. Representation of people is one of the most important aspects of democracy. We can find it by a multi-party system.

Multi-Party System and Democracy in Russia

Throughout the history of Russia, Russia was under the rule of one person that was Tzar. After the USSR leader's Dictatorship came into existence. So, although political parties were there, they were suppressed. Existence of many parties there was lack power among the parties except CPSU. CPSU was more powerful than other parties. Besides, there was lack of experience about the democracy. There was no relationship between party and voters. In other words, the word 'party' was only related to CPSU. So, from a democracy point of view, Russia was a democratic country. After the formation of the Soviet Union and Russia, this country has gone through various phases of democracy. From disintegration of Soviet Union, Russia came into transition phase where all the aspects of communism were removed. Leaders of the country tried to the liberalised country. Gorbachev was the main figure in liberalised to the country. Gorbachev has adopted two policies for that, Perestroika and Glasnost.⁸ Gorbachev has allowed the multi-party system, freedom of speech and expression. He has talked about common European home. The economy was no more in the hand of state earlier this system called as command economy⁹ now

⁸ "perestroika" ("restructuring") and "glasnost" ("openness") introduced profound transformation in economic sphere, domestic arena and international relations

⁹ Command economy: "system of economy in which the means of production are publicly owned and economy is controlled by a state that sets quantitative production goals and assigns raw materials to productive enterprises".

privatisation¹⁰ has taken place. All these characteristics come under the democracy that is why Russia's this period was considered as a transition period. From transition period to till now, Russia has experienced many things. Russia is going through a democratic phase that is why many scholars used the different-different term for democracy of Russia, For example, managed democracy, pseudo democracy, sovereign democracy and liberal democracy.

Managed Democracy: “By managed democracy, we understand, a political system in which emphasis is placed on political stability, elections are held, but results are more or less foreordained, and serious political challenges to executive power are either absent or muted” (Wegren and Konitzer 2007: 1025). Managed Democracy is where authorities arrange the elections according to them and result as well. Managed democracy has two elements. The first is the police which is responsible for security, courts, election commission and second is media to modify opinions and events. Managed democracy seems like democracy with control over society.

There are some characteristics of managed democracy which are given below:

- (1) Strong power in the hand of president and weak institutions
- (2) Control over media by the state
- (3) Elite decides their decision by controlling election
- (4) Effectiveness is less and inefficiency is more

Managed democracy is bad not only for society in which we are living but also for the political system. Although election takes place in this kind of system but decision goes in the hand of elites, and they decide what they want. So in practice, there is no sense for election. “Managed democracy is not stable in its present form. It is a transitional stage between the disorganised democratic model of the Boris Yeltsin period and a more dictatorial model. Yeltsin's democracy gave extensive liberty to weak state governors, allowing governors to rule like medieval princes and making Russia a “federation of tyrannies” (Petrov 2005: 183). Mainly this term managed

¹⁰ Privatisation: “it is the exercise of shifting ownership of a business, enterprise, agency, public service from the public sector to the private sector, either to a business that operates for profit or to a nonprofit organisation. It may also mean the state outsourcing of services or functions to private agencies, for example, revenue collection, law enforcement, and prison management”.

democracy has known for Putin's democracy in Russia because today President is a more powerful figure in Russia than others. Although Russia is a federal state, it is in theory but not in practice. For example, Governors are not elected but appointed. The absence of election at the regional level not only narrows the scope of democratic processes but decreases the value of regional economies by turning governors into officials, loyal to the Kremlin.

Sovereign Democracy: the term sovereign democracy introduced by Vladislav Surkov in 2006. He defined sovereign democracy as “a society where the political leaders, their power, authorities, and results are decided by a diverse Russian state for the purpose of gaining material welfare, liberty, and equality for all citizens, social organisation and nationalities by the people that established it.”

The concept Sovereign democracy has some main components which are following:

- (1) Sovereignty means no intervention from the west world
- (2) Delegitimize western liberal democracy
- (3) Self-rule of Russian citizens by Russian values
- (4) Justify the ideology of Putin's regime

Mainly this term sovereign democracy is associated with Putin's regime. In sovereign democracy leaders' seems like they are a supporter of democratic values but in practical they legitimise things which are wrong with the people. That is why many scholars say that the term sovereign democracy is more theoretical than practical. Scholars also used the term pseudo democracy for Russian democracy. Over the few years, Putin is trying to replace sovereign democracy with an approach of politics that allows no competition and diversity in government. There are few examples which show that Putin is replacing sovereign democracy. In 2011 Putin allowed United Russia to increase its seats in parliament through wide falsification despite the fact that party had no popularity. Its popularity was shrinking. In the same year, Putin announced that Medvedev would not be the president of Russia because his tenure is completed. He, Putin, would be the president of Russia. The immediate result of Putin's announcement to make himself the only figure of importance in Russia and to make permanent dominance of United Russia came as an anti-government protest in 2011-2012.

Vladislav Surkov said that we want to be a free nation among other free nations and cooperate with them by fair laws not be managed from foreign. Vladislav Sorkov's characterization of political system fits with one of the important themes of Putin's time in power: protect Russia and its interest from western interference, but in practice, sovereign democracy was not about protecting Russia, it was about protected Russian state and protecting people those who were in power. Putin's sixth attend to the Federal Assembly on 25 April 2005 came after "orange revolution" in Ukraine, and his dialogue took on the "democratisation of democracy" challenge directly. He insisted that the underpinning of democracy was the main concern for Russia: "The main political-ideological task is the progress of Russia as a free, democratic country." Political liberty, he insisted, "is not just essential but economically beneficial." He took issue with the political culture approach, which referred that the Russian people were somehow not matched to a democratic state, the rule of law, and the fundamental values of civil society: "I would like to bring those who think like that back to political reality. Without freedom and democracy, there can be no order, no stability, and no sustainable economic policies" (Sakwa 2012: 20).

Pseudo-Democracy: the term pseudo democracy refers to a system in which democratic processes exist on papers but provide no real opportunity for democratic transfer of power. In practice pseudo-democratic leaders who rule the country leverage, a dangerous mixture of patriotism and paranoia to centralise power in the hand of the single leader. The spread of pseudo-democratic ideas and values is important for autocrats to justify their rule with the support of strong leaders.

After Constitution of 1993, Boris Yeltsin took power in his hand, and he became power and parliament became weak. From that point of time President does what he wants. The Same thing is happening with Vladimir Putin also. Today President of Russia is more powerful than other political institutions in Russia. It is similar to illiberal democracy where control over many things exists. Russia holds elections as the way seize power, but they are accused of having undemocratic works such as control over media, the interference of executive in the jurisdiction of the legislature and judiciary. These practices branded by scholars as "Pseudo Democracy."

Liberal Democracy: many people think that Russia is not a liberal democracy, it is a communist country. But the reality is that Russia is no more communist country according to McFaul

Russian democracy is ideal type of democracy rather than least standard of electoral democracy. However, liberal democracy has some criteria by which we could measure Russian regime. First is the control of government by elected officials; the military is subordinate to the state. Second is right to form group and party. The third is right to practice culture. These principles exist in Russia. Elected civilian officials control the Russian government. Also, different political parties and groups are allowed to participate in the election. Various ethnic and cultural groups can express their view to promoting their culture. Although we can see some criteria of liberal democracy but always with some expectations which give rights, not to all people. The October 1993 event and the December 1993 elections gave a signal to liberal democracy in Russia. Numerous liberal leaders assumed that Russian liberal democracy gained crucial victory as an outcome of the October 1993 elections. From history to up to now it is a well-known fact that Charismatic leader plays an important job in Russian Federation. The success of the Liberal Democratic Party in 1993 came due to a charismatic leader, Vladimir Zhirinovskiy. He had broadly used political demagoguery and appealed to emotions instead of logical arguments. After that liberal Democrat in Russia were depended on Yeltsin's Presidential status and personal charisma. This argument does not support the fact that Russia is a liberal democracy. Lack of legitimacy is one important issue with Russia's democracy. Repetition Western liberal thoughts, democratic Constitutions and other laws only could not establish the rule of law when people do not think them as legal. The political clashes between the President, Parliament and vice-President-which were resolved by anti-Constitutional ways in October 1993 – are an example of the frail legality of the rule of law and the democratic type of state.

The scenario for strong liberal and democratic order in Russia depends on liberal and rational ideas. Right now, Russia's authoritarian thoughts are strong, and charismatic politicians are significant. The rule of law does not matter.

As far as Russia is concerned from the party point of view, party development is far away to influences voter choice in several elections. But not in all elections and in an election in which party play a major role, they do not play a role in shaping vote. After that, political parties infiltrated very restricted areas of the Russian state. One sector in which parties have triumphed in playing a major role in contending in the election is in the house of parliament which is lower house of State Duma. Opposite of this in other parts of Russian government such as

administration of president, the federal form of government, the federal council, regional chief of administration and regional parliaments, parties do not play role in structuring votes.

There are various ways to measure party development as Michael McFaul suggests the membership of the party, partisanship in society, the influence of parties on policy outcomes, and degree of party representation in the state. First, “the most general approach simply counts the membership of party as an indicator of party organisation. From this perspective in Russia, the communist party of Russian Federation looks like a strong organisation with a membership of approximately 500,000. The CRPF’s 500,000 membership is an only tiny fraction of the membership of Communist Party of Soviet Union in 1991” (McFaul 2000: 4). Therefore, numbers do not matter in influencing the policy outcomes and the potential for development in future.

Many Russian political scholars have the same opinion that Liberal Democratic of Russia which was the party of Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, was second largest party and also better organized party in Russian Federation. In spite of these things the party has lost its admired hold in every parliamentary election in the 1990s, for example in 1993 party gained 23 percent votes, 11 percent in 1995 election and 6 percent in 1999 election. In contrary to that, Unity Party which was established only one week before the election of 1999. This party did not have greater membership and it gained many votes.

Second, approach to evaluate the party development in Russia is partisanship in society.

Third, by the policy implication of parties, strength of a party can be examined. Small membership of parties takes advantage of knowledgeable persons. On the other hand, the large party does not have the expertise, because these differences smaller parties play a major role in influencing development policies.

Fourth, approach to measuring party development is the electoral success and after winning the election degree of party representation in the state.

Mostly Russia’s experience with all these factors is negative. There are some reasons that why not party development took place in Russia? The reasons of party weakness in Russia are numerous and diverse which is following:

- (1) Seven decades of one party’s rule emerged as a negative sign to the Russian “party” politics and society.

- (2) After the disintegration of Soviet Union, Russian politicians and citizens had a negative reaction to parties. One example is Yeltsin; Yeltsin did not join any political party after quitting his party in 1990.
- (3) Another reason for the lack of party development is a lack of democratic development instead of democratic development they invited to the autocratic rule of leaders.
- (4) The fourth reason is the scale of socio-economic transformation in Russia. Russia's poorly defined socio-economic cleavages in Russian society also a reason of lack of party development. Transition phase has changed all structure of society by which political parties have faced many problems.
- (5) Last and final reason of lack of party development is domination of single person, while historically Russia was under a single person, after that indirectly, today also Russia is under one person's domination, for example, President of Russian Federation has more power than other parts of the government.

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Review of literature is the literature studied or reviewed on the proposed research. It will help finding out answers to many questions regarding the research work. This will help in both analytical and descriptive review of the study. The review of literature is divided into four parts: First- conceptualizing multiparty system and democracy, second- history of multiparty system and democracy in Russia, Third- emergence of democratic institution in Russia, Fourth- Problems and prospects

Theories of Democracy and Political Party

The term democracy, derived from classical Greek, means rule by the people demos (people) and Kratos (rule or power). From the beginning, it has been a contested concept, arising, historically from struggles against the despotic or oligarchic rule and social injustice. Democracy is a complex concept; there is no consensus among the scholars about the concept of democracy. In spite of this, there are certain criteria to measure democracy. Democracy is a concept with a variety of potential meanings, and it is not simple to grasp or define (Dolton J. 2007). There are different types of democracy such as participatory democracy, social democracy, liberal democracy, sovereign democracy and managed democracy. Participatory democracy placed

emphasis on the direct and active participation of all citizens and their political equality. Liberal democracy is about limited government, the rule of law, political rights and freedom, common citizenship, equality under the law, social inclusion, accountable governance, free and fair elections and widespread participation. The prospects of liberal democracy understood as a political morality and as a system of representational institutions operating within a constitutional framework of civil liberties (Dworkin 1978). The debate on the social democratisation of capitalism has naturally centered on equality, either in terms of the distributive end-result, or in terms of the institutional commitments of welfare states, such as universalism, solidarity, the generosity of social rights, and their capacity to "de-commodify" workers (Esping-Andersen 1990).

On the other hand if talk about political parties, Parties resolve collective action and social choice problems in legislative decision-making (Aldrich 1995). They serve as heuristic devices and bundle policy dimensions for voters who lack the time or inclination to learn about every issue and every candidate (Downs 1957). Parties can, therefore, be understood as permanent associations of citizens that are based on free membership and a program, and which are anxious to occupy through the path of elections, the politically decisive positions of the country with their team of leaders, to materialize suggestions for resolving outstanding problems

Both the concept of multiparty system and democracy are related to each other. Political parties promote to representative democracy. It also encourages to political participation of peoples. Political parties play a fundamental role in the representative political systems of democracy. They connect civil and political society, advance the perceived interests of individuals, groups, and social strata while aiming consciously to develop these constituencies and provide a link between society and the state, espousing the claims of the one and enforcing the rules of the other (Riggs 2005).

History of Political Parties in Russia

If we want to know about the Democratic successful of the particular country, it is important that we have to look at the history of that particular country. As far Russia is the concern. Initially, Russia was ruled by czars. There was no democracy. Vladimir Lenin and his communist party organized the October Revolution in 1917 and established the world's first communist state,

which survived until the USSR's abolition at the end of 1991 (Service, 2009). One of the obstacles for Russia's successful transition to democracy was the weak political culture. Throughout its history, Russia has almost always been under "one person" rule: before the formation of Soviet Union this person was tsar; after the formation of Soviet Union the dictatorship of the party leader was established. So, in general, even if political parties existed, they were usually suppressed, i.e. had no real power (except from CPSU which was subordinate to the party leader/dictator). Moreover, there was no experience of democratic elections as well as party competition, nor has the Russian political system inherited strong party-voter relationships – "the very concept of 'party' was strong, negatively, associated with...CPSU" (Malachova 2012). The Russian paradox is that the political parties which emerged in late nineteenth century and early-twentieth century Russia, on the eve of the coming Revolution, failed to flourish and eventually shut down after 1917 to make way for the one-party monopoly (Zlobin 1992). It was Gorbachev who encouraged to multiparty system and democracy. Political competition among the political parties is one element of democracy which was not in the country before 1990s. As we know that before the 1990s, the Communist Party was the only political party which ruled the country. There were other incidents which show that due to an emergence of various organizations, parties the democratic process started in the country. (Macfaul 1992). Schedler argues that by identifying antidemocratic behavior amongst political elites, the analyst can ascertain the degree of consolidation, and the likelihood of "democratic-continuity". He contends that "if political actors engage in antidemocratic action, democracy is in trouble; [by contrast] democracy appears to be safe if all players conform to the basic rules of the democratic game" (Schedler 2001).

Emergence of Political Parties in Russia

The emergence of party system has four phases. First, the various informal organizations came into existence during perestroika time. The second stage of development political parties was the constitutional crisis between August 1991 and October 1993, when presidency and parliament wanted to show supreme to each other. Richard Sakwa called this stage as "Phoney Democracy" because of an absence of elections and the fight for political power between elite factions. Third, inaugurated by the dissolution of the Old Russian legislature and the events of 3-4 October 1993. This phase lasting up to Yeltsin's resignation in December 1999 was considered by a

contradictory dual adaption. Fourth, this period is known for Putin's presidency which has started from 2000. During the period, the role of political parties formalized and the policy process broadened. In the 1990s Russia became caught up in multiple processes of accelerated transition focusing on changes in politics, economics, national identity, and culture. The attempt to change everything simultaneously provoked numerous contradictions. The mere presence of numerous political parties and a democratic constitution are no guarantee of democratic practices. In the 1990s, after the Soviet bloc disappeared and the Soviet Union itself fragmented the leaders of many states that had been under the communist rule announced that they were determined to institutionalize the principles of democracy (Evans 2011). Democracy can only with difficulty be 'built from the roof down' but requires elements of a civic culture like toleration and restraint in society to allow the growth of democracy from below (Sakwa 2002). With consolidation, "democracy becomes routinized and deeply internalised in social, institutional, and psychological life" (Linz 1996,). Thus we cannot say that Russia was a democratic state at that time. That was the transition period in which we have seen numerous attempts to establish a democracy for example Gorbachev's reform programmed, the establishment of 1993 Constitution, Amendment of the 6th article of the Soviet Constitution gave the right to form the political party. As a result monopoly of the communist party of Soviet Union also came to an end.

Multi-Party System and Democratisation in Russia

In the early and mid-1990s when some scholars were debating the possible differences between earlier transitions to democracy and the path lay ahead for the post-communist states of Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union those who had specialized in the study of communist regimes warned that the post-communist states would need to carry out radical economic and social change as well as sweeping political transformation (Bunce 1995). The phenomenon was followed by the emergence of the democratic Russia political movement a quasi-party that supplied active assistance for Boris Yeltsin's victory in the presidential election in the Russian republic of the USSR in 1991 (Sakwa 2008).

Political parties are built when voters, candidates, and politician have an interest in trading their future autonomy for electoral and governing resources. This insight forged the approach of many scholars who studied Russia's party development. Together they reveal that between 1993 and

1999 very few actors were willing to make this trade even those politicians and voters who joined parties often acted against party interest, by defining within a legislative session within the campaign period, by investing party resources in personal campaign, by stumping against the party message, or by engaging in split ticket voting (Gill 2012). Leadership was another challenge that time because everyone was trying to gain political interest rather than to attach the civil society. There was no link between civil society and political parties that are why that could not guarantee success to establish the multi-party system. Many parties emerged during elections time which another weakness of party system of Russia in the 1990s. The term "party" goes back to the Latin *partio*, which means to divide, which is what parties have done. But the society has not stopped progressing. Since political parties continue to survive, the question remains: Is there a future for Russian political parties? (Zlobin 1992). Russian democracy is not consolidated, and it fails to satisfy both the positive and negative conceptualisation of the term. From the perspective of elite behavior, there was a lack of "democratic consensus" (Gray 2014).

Definition, Rationale and Scope of Study

A multi-party system is one of the most important features of democracy and political structure. To understand the democracy, political structure is more important in which multiparty system works. When more than two parties exist in particular country, then it can be said that multi-party system exists there. But regarding Russia, there were various parties which were suppressed by the monopoly of Communist Party of Soviet Union. So it cannot be concluded that there was democracy because still there was monopoly of one party. Although multiparty system is the essential element of democracy in spite of that, we cannot say that multiparty system leads to democracy especially in context of Russia. The period 1991-2000 is significant because it was the period in which Russian party system emerged and it was the period of democratic transition. The rationale of the proposed research is to find out how Russian Federation tried to establish a multi-party system during the 1990s which led to creation of democratic political culture. Further study will also highlight the role of leadership to promote multiparty system and democracy in Russia.

The scope of study is to know about the political aspect of the country in which multi-party system works. During 1990s multi-party system in Russia got strengthened. The study would focus on that period and also people participation in political activity at that point in time.

Democratic aspect of the country would be decided by success of multiparty system. Challenges in front of Russian Federation to establish the multi-party system and democratic political system during the 1990s would also be a part of the proposed study.

Objectives of the Study

The objectives of the research are to know about the multiparty system and democracy in particular period. How Russian Federation has gone through the different phase of emergence of democracy? This can be stated in the form of following specific objectives.

- To analyse the history of political parties of Russia.
- To study about the electoral process in election and other political activities
- To assess the transparency in democratic political institutions in Russia
- To study the laws of Russian Federation for political parties, media, election, etc.
- To study the role of leadership in Russia
- To study multiparty system of Russia during the decade of 1990
- To assess the successes and failure of multiparty system and democracy during the 1990s
- To analyse the role of political parties in the creation of democratic political system in Russia during the 1990s

Research Questions

- What are the advantages of the multi-party system and its impact on democracy?
- Does multiparty system lead to deepening of democracy?
- What is the multiparty system in the context of Russian Federation?
- What are the differences between earlier party system and today's party system?
- What is the level of public participation in the democracy of Russia?
- How transparency can be ensured in the election process of Russia?
- Up to what extent, Yeltsin had succeeded in promoting democracy and multiparty system in Russia?
- What were the challenges to establishing multiparty system and democracy in Russia during the 1990s?

1.9 Hypotheses: Following are the hypotheses of the study

- The emergence of multi-party system has underpinned the foundation of democracy in Russia
- Strong presidency and elite leadership of the political parties have negatively influenced the democratic process and have weakened the party system in Russia

Research Methodology

The study is based on historical, analytical and descriptive methods of research. The study of the research focuses on critical analysis of the multiparty system and democracy in Russia. The research is based on both primary and secondary sources. Primary sources include government documents, laws, speeches, acts, constitution, official media briefings and political parties official documents. Secondary sources are books, articles published in edited volume, research journal, and newspapers. The deductive method has been used during the course of study. There are two variables one is independent, and another is dependent variable. In first hypotheses, an independent variable is a multi-party system which is cause and has lead to democracy which is effect. In Second hypotheses independent variable is strong presidency and elite leadership of political parties, and dependent variable is, negatively influenced democracy and multi-party system.

Scheme of the Research

1. Introduction: Conceptual Framework

This chapter introduces the subject. In addition to this, the chapter emphasizes some theories/concept of democracy and party system and their applicability into Russian political system. The chapter also deals with the research design as well as review of the literature.

2. History of Political Parties in Russia

This chapter shed light on the history of political parties in Russia. The chapter covers the transition period in which party system and democracy were taking shape. It was the transition period. This chapter also tells about the leadership of Russian Federation at that point of time.

3. Emergence of Political Parties in Russia

This chapter highlights the emergence of political parties in Russia that how party system came into existence in Russia.

4. Multiparty System and Democratisation

This chapter analyzes the multiparty system and democratic political system in Russia from 1991 to 2000.

5. Conclusion

In the end, the researcher has sum up the entire research work and findings have drawn form the study. It also includes the observation and conclusion derived from research.

Chapter-2

History of Political Parties in Russia

“A party is the vanguard of a class, and its duty is to lead the masses and not merely to reflect the average political level of masses.”

“Vladimir Lenin, Speech on the Agrarian Question, November 14, 1917.”

From development and progress point of view, Russia was lagging behind from other European countries. Tsar rule was responsible for their reform drought where Russia did not experience many changes. Although there were few efforts to implement reforms and westernisation the state was failed to achieve them. Thus backwardness is a general term to emphasise Russia in the latter half of the 19th century. A few certain reforms were implemented, the Tsarist Russia made some considerable industrial development, but these reforms were not enough for the people's desires. And many people were feeling sick and tired due to weak political and economic policies of Russia. That is why all these things opened the curtain for the revolutionaries.

The two important groups (Slavophil and Narodniki) started radical transformation during the time of Alexander II. According to Slavophiles Russia belongs different identity which derived from Slav origins. This identity differs from the states of Western Europe. The Russian spirit has been noticed by the Slavophil, in the faithfulness and kindness of a peasant section that were living near the orthodox church of Russia. The brutal realities are isolated by this means. Autocratic Tzar was responsible for security from these brutal realities. This Tzar was appointed by god for this purpose of security. Peasant commune were also respected by Narodniki but for other reasons. The Narodniki borrowed word Narodniki from the word Narod which means people. Thus, it translates as Populists. Due to movements of communism in Western Europe, they believed in Marx's theories. They assumed that Marx's theories were a model for appropriate Russia. Somewhere else it could be important that for attain a revolution, go through a period of development of capitalism, but in rural or agrarian Russia, they predict for regular development from peasant to achieve the final goal of socialism. There was a movement in the 1860s called Khozhdenie v Narod means “going to the people.” In this movement young scholars and students went different-different parts of the country and they worked for instructions and revolution or change. They have used peasant's dress. The peasants are puzzled,

and the violators were simply recognised; arrests and trials follow. The more severe sections within the Narodniki responded with the act of violence, adapted by Zemlya y Volya (Land of Freedom), a society established in 1876. After this, an essential cell, Narodnaya Volya (People's Freedom) came into existence. Their illustrious victim was the Tsar himself, Alexander II, killed in 1881 in St. Petersburg. The task of violent extremism resulted as the end of the Russia's greater period of change. The last two decades of the nineteenth century were evident of political movements in Russia which were carried by universities and societies. One group, in particular, proves of lasting importance.

Party development in Russia reflected that of other European countries but lagged remarkably behind it in the years up to the First World War. Under the detailed rules and regulations that were issued after 1905 revolution, all organisations and groups were strictly limited in their area, scope and performance; they could not exist if their goals and objectives were judged to represent a risk to public morals, and the police could close meetings of the parties at any time if they appeared likely to represent one section of community. Parties had reasonably a small number of members under these situations—no more than 0.5 percent of the population before the First World War, and up to 1.5 percent at the time of the months leading up to the October Revolution. In spite of these limitations, more than 40 parties were active in throughout the country in the early years of the century (Webb and White 2007: 21). The political left, organised in the Russian Social Democratic Workers' Party, was a member of the Second International and participated in its regular congresses in other European countries. The Bolshevik revolution (1917) brought these early developments of parties to an end and came as the dominance of the single party. Formally, there was no limitation on the creation of parties; the Bolsheviks were in alliance with the radical Left Socialist Revolutionaries for few months after the revolution, and other parties sustained a de facto existence until the mid-1920s. But relatively soon, the limitations of political contestation started to be narrowed: groups were banned in the Bolshevik Party in 1921, and opposition leaders were marginalised. According to the new orthodoxy, the workers had a single interest; that single interest was expressed through the Communist Party, which had a distinctive understanding of the laws of social development; and with the formation of public possession or ownership of productive resources there was no social basis for the political divisions that were to be found in liberal countries. The Communist Party was one of the USSR's numerous 'voluntary associations', under the legislation of 1932, although it was

already dominant. The 1936 Constitution spelt out its function more fully when, for the first time, it approved the party as the ‘vanguard of the toilers’ and the ‘leading core of all organisations’. The Constitution of 1977, adopted at the time of Leonid Brezhnev’s leadership, made still more widespread provision for the party’s political dominance when it defined the Communist Party in its sixth article as the “leading and guiding force of Soviet society [and] the nucleus of its political system” (Webb and White 2007: 22).

Before the establishment of various parties in 1898 and after 1898, there were various efforts by which many parties emerged. Plekhanov established the Liberation of Labour League in 1870, thus starting the Marxist phase there. That was the situation when the labour class was taking shape. The last ten years of the nineteenth century brought about a change in socio-economic relations with the emancipation of the serfs and fast growth towards monopoly capitalism.

At the end of the century, the labour class was considerable and high enough. At the effort of Lenin and his colleagues like Martov and Axelrod, the Russian Social Democratic Labour Party (RSDLP) was founded in 1898. It was Marxist Party, while it did not conform to the organisational shape.

Russian Social Democratic Labor Party

For all the weak social, political and economic policies Tsar was responsible, and people were against these policies. As a result, they started to create groups, organisations and associations against Tsarist regime. Peoples of these organisations were called as revolutionaries. To represent demands of the people a Socialist Political Party came into existence in 1898. This party brought all these groups together. This party named the Russian Social Democratic Labour Party in the same year in Minsk. Also, Russian Socialist Democratic Party held its first congress meeting with some smaller Socialist Democratic Groups. Unfortunately, the Tsarist secret police arrested many members of the Congress. The Tsar made reforms impossible, and all parties were banned to maintain his power. In spite of these things members of the parties never lost their hope. After arresting of members many efforts of reforms, have noticed such as party published a paper called Iskra and one more paper which was published by Lenin in 1902 was What Is to Be Done?. In this paper, Lenin appealed to professional and devoted revolutionaries to provide as vanguards and establish a party to direct the efforts of the working class.

To protect any penetration of the party carried out by the secret police (Okhrana), Lenin appealed for “democratic centralism”. In this regime, the power was in the hands of elite people and debate was allowed; but if once a decision is made, each one should be faithful to that cause. After a few years of always being chased around by the police, the party tried to reunite.

The Second Congress meeting of the RSDLP held in 1903 and marked the grand division of the party into two sections, one group was the Bolsheviks, and another was the Mensheviks. Two of the party's major leaders, Vladimir Lenin and Julius Martov, disputed over various things and ended up most important the Bolshevik and Menshevik ¹division, respectively.

Split of Russian Socialist Democratic Labour Party (RSDLP)

One of the principal causes for the Russian Socialist Democratic Labour Party splitting was over the way in which problems would be discussed. Lenin had an idea that party should run by a central committee. This committee will take all the decisions. This is known as democratic centralism. Many opponents of Lenin said that it would encourage to a dictatorship being established and that could be risky to the state as well as the party. However, his opponents, eminent was Plekhanov, thought that there should be the participation of party members in policy making. Lenin also believed that there should be the participation of professional revolutionaries only. On the other hand, Plekhanov believed that party should allow anyone who wishes to join it.

There was no consensus between both the parties on the issue of readiness of Russian revolution and leading role in this revolution. The Bolsheviks assumed that bourgeoisie and proletarian phases of the revolution would be merged into one while Mensheviks thought that proletarians are not in a situation that they could revolt.

The Mensheviks considered that, for the states to be active, they would need to help with other parties and the trade unions to get adequate wages and right conditions for the labour class. On the other hand, Lenin wanted to treat the workers even worse and did not want to co-operate with the existing parties. He wanted workers conditions as it is, because, these circumstances would encourage to proletariats for revolution.

¹ Bolsheviks and Mensheviks: Bolsheviks and Mensheviks are Russian words, here Bolsheviks means is majority and Mensheviks means minority

Both parties got their significant support from labour class. However, the Bolsheviks wanted to attract the younger people and militant workers who had discipline and quite easy slogans. The Mensheviks wanted to invite professional leaders. They also attracted non-Russians such as Jews and Georgians.

In the second Congress, Plekhanov was defeated by Lenin. Now members of Lenin's side forced to the party to decide whose idea is better Plekhanov who wanted to broad-based party or Lenin who wanted to professional leadership. Plekhanov's members were called as Mensheviks, and Lenin's Members were called as Bolsheviks.

Socialist Revolutionary Party (PSR)

The Socialist Revolutionary Party was formed in 1901. The primary objective was the party to integrate and unite the several local socialist revolutionary organisations. In simple words, it can be said that the overall party wanted to unite all the groups that were against the Tsarist system. The Socialist Revolutionary Party's ideology was different from Marxist ideology² in this sense that this party talks about revolution through peasantry groups. It had little interest in world revolution. On the other hand, Marxist ideology believed that revolution would come through industrial proletariat. The Socialist Revolutionary concentrate was instead in Russia, mainly on the peasantry. Agrarian policies and land reforms were the strength of SR policy. Its members have focused on policies such as land socialisation, equal distribution of land. Especially those land which was occupied by Tsar and his Nobels. The Socialist Revolutionaries boycotted the first state Duma in 1906, in spite of that they had 34 party candidates elected as deputies. They took part in the next Duma election in 1907 but once more boycotted the third and four Dumas, because in the rise of Stolypin's electoral supports.

Party was in favour of the rural peasants. Party did not favour only peasants but proletariats as well. There was a difference between Bolsheviks and Socialist Revolutionaries parties on the issue of land. Bolsheviks believed nationalisation of land, but the PSR believed in the socialisation of land which supported to peasants. On the downside, the party's plan for revolution

² Marxism is a philosophy that describes the result of capitalism on working class such as labours and farmers. Marxism emphasizes that struggle between proletariats and capitalists define the establishment of the state, and the capitalists seek to gain control of the means of production from the "masses".

was to a certain extent aggressive. During initial years of the 1900s, the Socialist Revolutionaries were modest more than a terrorist gang. At this time Socialist Revolutionaries members were involved in more than 2000 killings, including the abhorrent police chief von Plehve (July 1904) and Grand Duke Sergei Alexandrovich, who was the brother-in-law of Tsar (February 1905). These assassinations drew people awareness but modest support for the Socialist Revolutionaries members. After 1905 revolution party's structure has changed, Now party became an as moderate party or legitimate party.

The size of the PSR was its strong point, but unfortunately, it became a weakness of the party. With such a huge organisation and multiplicity of positions, the Socialist Revolutionary Party struggled with party integrity and solidity. Wings of the party were not agree over the issues such as, whether to contest for Duma, whether to support or oppose the war, issue of Provisional Government. There were different opinions as it was a party of various groups. The one group differed from other which can be seen in their activities one of the party's factions, which was moderate known as Right Revolutionaries, was formed by Victor Chernov, who later became a minister in the Provisional Government. It's radical wing, was referred to as the Left Socialist Revolutionaries, were established by Maria Spiridonova, who was a former revolutionary and assassinated a Tsarist official. One more group which was associated with Socialist Revolutionaries was Trudoviks, Alexander Kerensky became a first socialist minister in provisional government from Trudoviks. After 1905 these rupture in the Socialist Revolutionary party spread further, mainly over a disagreement about the war, and by late 1917 the party was permanently divided. In spite of this fractures in the party, the party supported peasants peoples and got a slight majority in the constituent assembly in November 1917. The Socialist Revolutionaries Party (PSR) was the only fundamental radical party to deal with the issues of Russian peasants and was the only party with a history of demonstration in the villages, especially in the first revolution of 1905–7, but also in the 1907–14 phases. It was supported by the rural intelligentsia of teachers, academicians, and zemstvo activists. These things provided party's direct link with rural life.

The PSR's problems were developed by three reasons.

First, the strength and pace of expansion of the party, their group membership was enormous and fast and far-off outpaced other parties.

Secondly, the Socialist Revolutionary Party (PSR) won the massive support in the countryside, where it was not easy to establish organisational network than in urban areas.

Finally, the party's loose attitude permitted and encouraged the intensification of views within the party. This promoted factionalism³ and distorted understandings of what being a member of the Socialist Revolutionary Party (PSR) entailed.

Lenin (Bolsheviks) against Martov (Mensheviks)

Lenin has an idea of "Democratic Centralism," and he was in favour of lesser groups including professional activists and non-party restriction of membership of the party. One more difference between Lenin and Martov was that Lenin wanted to have a quick revolution, on the other hand, Martov believes that revolution will come gradually as Marx believed. He highlighted the point that there was the absence of capitalism. He assumed that before capitalism how can we bring the revolution. Martov assumed that there must be capitalism before the proletariat revolution. Lenin's majority party means Bolsheviks and Martov party was Mensheviks which means minority party. Although both parties were reunited in 1906, they had differences until Bolsheviks became a separate party in 1912. The Bolsheviks, the mainly revolutionary of the three communist parties, stood on a continual call for the pulling out of Russia from the world war, workers control of factories, land for the farmers – and "all power to the soviets"⁴ (political organisations) to implement those demands. In November 1917 the Bolshevik Party held power in Russia. Initially, it was not a legal organisation of a few thousand working classes, some dozen specialised revolutionaries, and an educated leadership. (Katz 1956: 237) By November 1917 Bolsheviks became victorious, and they received majoritarian support in Petrograd and Moscow Soviets. Numbers of organisations passed a resolution in throughout the Russia for transfer of "power to the Soviets". Sensing the chance, in November the Bolshevik party organised a capture of power in the name of the Petrograd organisation. Same thing happened

³ Factionalism: A political faction is an organisation of peoples, for example political party, labour union, or other organisation with a general political goal. A faction may include fragmented sub-factions, "political parties within a party," which may be described to as power groups.

⁴ "Soviets are kind of organisations; the soviet first appeared during the St. Petersburg instability of 1905, when leaders who were representing to striking workers, acting under socialist leadership established the organisation of Workers' Deputies to help revolutionary activities".

with Moscow Soviet. A gathering of organisations from throughout the Russia assembled in Petrograd and named a new Bolshevik government. Taking authority and holding onto it were two distinct issues. At the beginning regulating merely the important cities, the Bolshevik party faced opposition by the followers of the old government, who received few troops and materials from the leading Western countries. In spite of this, “the Bolsheviks small base of support in the country, they were able to establish a Red Army which routed their opponents and won control of most of the former Russian Empire by the end of 1920. In 1922 the new regime formed the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics” (Kotz M. and Weir 2007: 18). From the starting point, Bolshevik rule took an unkind and dictatorial form. In principles, political power was in the hands of Soviets. But in reality, all power was in the hands of Communist Party. The Soviets (political organisations) became rubber stamps for policies determined on by the CPSU members. The Communist Party described themselves as a vanguard of the workers and peasants, and the party soon started to outlaw political opposition. Initially, other left-wing parties were allowed to perform activities as a party, but after few years all these parties were banned.

Russo-Japanese War of 1904-1905

In 1904, Nicholas 2nd faced his first, foremost test in foreign affairs when his country went to war with Japan. It was war mainly of Russia’s making. The Russian Government had three important objectives.

- (1) To practice an expansionist policy in the Far East, to make up for what it saw as its relative collapse in Europe
- (2) To acquire an ice-free port, something for which Russia had yearned for centuries, all its main ports being unfeasible in the winter months
- (3) To divert attention from Russia's domestic troubles by rallying the country in patriotic struggle

The Russians looked on Japan as a lesser state and no match for themselves. They assumed an easy victory. Pretexts for War were not complex to find. Territorial conflicts between Russia and Japan over Korea and Manchuria were longstanding. In 1904, the Russian Government curtly denied Japanese proposals for the settlement of dispute of the two centuries rival claims to

Korea. The Japanese force and navy were far better ready and equipped than the Russian army and war series of remarkable victories over them. For Russia, the war was a tale of confusion and disaster. After an extensive siege, Port Arthur fell to Japan in January 1905. The after that the Japanese exploited their benefits by seizing the major Manchurian town of modern. The Russo-Japanese War was a great tragedy for Russia. During Russo-Japanese war, Russia was not so strong. In spite of this Tsars were continued to think that the country was secure and stable. Russia thought that they would win easily against Japan and attacked Japan in 1904. But the result was different as Japan defeated Russia.

Consequence on Political Parties

Due to Russo-Japanese war people such as peasant, farmer and workers were in trouble. They were not happy; there was instability. Russia's defeat in Russo-Japanese war in 1904 has encouraged instability in the Russian society, which resulted in the revolution of 1905. After the revolution of 1905, the newly emerged groups expressed their ideas and views. Some political parties also appeared which was not there before 1905 revolution.

The Year 1905

By the end of 1905, Russia formed various important parties achieving political reforms. In February the Russian Tsar directed the respite of laws regarding censorship, publication and association. This effort encouraged the people in making political agendas, publications and political meetings. Consequently, groups gained liberty to form political parties and draft party manifestos. One thing must be clear that all the Russian political parties were not a Marxist party. Some of the parties were in favour of establishing a liberal democratic political system, strengthened by a Constitution, a constituent assembly and individual rights and liberty. Others believed that promises which were made in October Constitution also known as October Manifesto went far enough.

The Russian Revolution of 1905

After the Russo-Japanese war, a revolution occurred suddenly. Georgy Gapon, formed a group sand made some demands such as elected Parliament, freedom of speech, and other natural rights. Instead of showing loyalty towards people, Tsar ordered the guard to fire into crowds of

peoples; many people were killed in this firing. After this socialist groups spread throughout the country, many people went on strike; liberal people demanded a constituent assembly. To calm down these revolts, the Tsar established first Duma, yet to for workers and peasants, this was not enough. Strikes were sustained until the Tsar was persuaded by his advisors to sign the October Manifesto. This manifesto promised freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom to form an assembly, freedom of worship, and giving the power to make a law to elected Duma. In given situation, it can be said that Russia became Constitutional monarch at least on paper. Thus, the 1905 revolution provided an opportunity to form parties in Russia.

Constitutional Democratic Party

The Constitutional Democratic Party which was established at the time of Russian Revolution (1905) was mainly a liberal party. This was the period when Tsar Nicholas was forced to give fundamental rights to people. These rights were provided in the October manifesto. The members of the party were known as the kadets. The founder of the Kadets or Constitutional Democratic Party was Pavel Milyukov. He was an academician, historian and active Russian reformist since 1870s. Many Kadet members gained experience with Zemstva. Zemstva was a council which operated in the last decades of Tsarism. Kadets were supported by the professors and lawyers, and members of the Zemstvo. Most Kadets supported the development, on the basis of British style development. In this system, the Tsar was head of the state, but his political authority was restricted by the Constitution and Constituent Assembly. The Kadets also introduced Western-style civil rights and liberties such as equality before the law, right to vote for men and women, right to free education, official recognition of trade unions and right to strike. Kadets liberal and democratic policies have made them accepted in the towns. In the aftermath of 1905 Revolution, they received 37 per cent of the urban votes in elections for the State Duma.

The Constitutional Democratic Party was demanding of the right to vote and a Constituent Assembly for making a Constitution and the formation of country's government. In 1906, First State Duma elections took place in which the Kadets gained 30 percent of the seats, and they made a coalition with the Trudoviks, to establish a majority. However, this first achievement has been converted into failure because government dissolved the Duma. The members of the

Constitutional Democratic Party were banned from participation in the election of Duma and in Duma itself. Finally, the Kadets, who were not in favour of establishing a Constitutional Monarchy, now they began to support it. Thus, Kadets neglected their activist ambitions.

Kadests programmes

- (1) An all-Russian Constituent Assembly
- (2) Total equality and civil rights for all people
- (3) The abolition of censorship
- (4) The elimination of the mortgage repayment on land
- (5) The recognition of the Trade Union and rights to strike
- (6) The introduction of universal, free right to education (Llewellyn 2014)

The Octobrists Party

The Octobrist Party was formed in October 1905. The Octobrists Party was similar to Constitutional Democratic Party. The Octobrists borrowed their name from the October Manifesto. October manifesto was a kind of Constitution which was made for the solution of Russia's problems. This party was created during the October Manifesto⁵. The Octobrists were more conservative than Kadets. They were in favour of the Tsarist regime. It was a centrist party. It was not a revolutionary party. It meant, it was not a left wing party or not a right wing party. From the beginning, the Octobrists supported the Constitutional monarchy, while the Kadets were not clear about their ideas, but they believed in the concept of Constitutional monarchy. The Octobrists emphasised the need of a Parliament, and also state has power over it. The Octobrists agreed upon the October Manifesto because Nicholas 2nd agreed on huge participation of members in Duma.

⁵ October Manifesto: Russian October Manifesto, (Oct. 30, 1905), in Russia's history, document issued by the Nicholas II that in effect shown the end of autocracy in Russia and ushered in an era of constitutional monarchy.

In the first and second elections of Duma, the Octobrists Party's performance was not well. Other groups that were associated with Octobrists Party also did not do well. But in this election Kadets received majority for Parliament. But before the Third State Duma, the laws were changed for Parliament election. These laws were in favour of Octobrists. They were a success in making the largest group in Parliament (Duma). The Octobrists became the biggest party in the Third Duma (1907-1912). Octobrists also supported Russia's attempts which had been taken in the first world war. Various Octobrist members held some leading government posts at the time of war and the Dual Power of 1917. Possibly the most eminent member was Mikhail Rodzianko, who was chairman of the Duma and was the central figure in persuading Nicholas second to resign in March 1917. However, the party could not take any benefit of its majority in Duma, because it had no influence in politics and society. As a result, the Octobrist party split.

The Trudoviks

The Trudoviks known as the Labor Group was a moderate labour party. The Trudoviks Party was small party comparatively to large revolutionary groups. It was the party of workers. Although the party did not have many members, it was succeeded in both first, and second Duma. Party had only hundreds of members who came after 1905 revolution. Because of these successes party survived as a small, popular party that was different from the other groups.

The Union of the Russian People

All the parties that mentioned above were against the Tsarist regime. The URP was the single party who supported to the Tsarist government. This revolutionary party was formed in St. Petersburg as a part of the anti-Semitic conservative movement. The Union of the Russian People founded on 22 October 1905 by Dubrovin who was the first chairman of URP. The awareness of the requirement for a party which could argue against the opponent and however build up a accepted demand, a party which would be liberated of an upper-class and would offer the independence as playing the role of stabiliser in the political sphere this understanding, and the continuation of a few centers of famous conservatism, led in October 1905 to the establishment of the URP. "It was to become the most successful, the most numerous, the noisiest, intransigent, extremist and, withal, the mainly important of the Russian right-wing parties" (Rogger 1964: 399). For some years it dominated till its end of the political spectrum,

and URP became synonymous of Right Wing. The URP faced vigorous spilt with its language and behaviours that were considered as defenders of autocracy, orthodoxy, and nationality. The movement has been considered as a Russian fascism, a predecessor of fascism, and as a Russian model of National Socialism, while during its own time it was understood as an uprising of response and a rebellion from the right which imitated to work on traditional principles.

Although URP claimed to be a party as an expression of aspirations of people, demand, a way of life, but it was a party as a conservative type. It was not a result of crisis of civilization that will fulfill a particular political act. Many Russians were not in favour to discard an experiment which did not experience in past. They did not realize that they needed to replacement values and principles by which Europe was governed almost a century. They were still, for the most part, prepared to consider as attractive and advantageous for Russia what Germany and Italy would a decade hold responsible for their struggles. They still assumed complete disruption was not result to their difficulties; change was the response of that. In such a circumstance, the URP could not speak for youth against age, for a new order against an old system which had shown its failings and deserved only to be swept away. Unable to be carried the wave of a future which they could not yet perceive, the men of the URP were destined to contend in the political sphere on the similar terms as other parties, and in that competition, URP could by no means be victorious. The middle class which might have looked to them as their protector next to peasant and proletarian demands was in Russia neither adequately several nor appropriately apprehensive of pressure from that way to oppose significant concessions and to turn for assist to the extreme Right. These movements supported the autocratic rule, and they were against the revolutionary causes. Due to internal disputes, this party broke down into a smaller type of organisation. At the time of the Russian Revolution of 1917, all groups and movements such as Black Hundreds movements and other movements were banned.

Assesment of these Political Parties

All political parties except the Union of the Russian People had one common objective to overthrow the Tsar. However, due to different parties and different ideologies but a common goal, a split took place in parties, for example, Bolsheviks and Mensheviks, left wing party and right wing party, and moderate ideology versus radical ideology within the Social Revolutionaries. In circumstances where there several different groups with different ideas and

no dominant party, the people can not come together, and thus, the Revolution of 1905 was failed.

The First World War cited an extraordinary damage on Russia's financial system and society. We can notice the war as the interim Government's midwife, but also its executioner. After contributed to collapse of the Tsarist regime, there was a big challenge for the provisional government because of First World War. "The war's consequences for Russia were immense and profound. Mass warfare demanded complete mobilisation, industrial men and economy as well. Peter Gatrell estimates that 12 percent of Russia's population, or 17.5 million people, were displaced by the war. This displacement of population caused unprecedented population movement placed unprecedented damage on the economy and society" (Sarah 2007: 10). The government gave arms and equipment and training to the army. It was also a need for a government that they provide subsidies to them and their family also. Many male workers have lost their life in the First World War. Their family was depended on their labour. The families of the workers were in the disastrous condition.

First World War affected many civilians, and people have gone away from their homeland. These refugees placed further force on transport, on provisioning and the state's infrastructure. Socially, the war was politicising, causing common working class, army and farmers to redefine their relationship with the government. Russia's financial system turned into the breakdown in 1917. Exports of commodities were almost halted, both by the need to mobilise industry into military production and by the trouble of trade routes. The balance of trade was not in favour of Russia; it was collapsed from the internal and external point of view. By 1915–16, four-fifths of state spending was enclosed by the deficit. This part mainly worsened in 1917. It is simple not to remember that the short-term Government's policy options were severely tapered by the financial crisis it presided over. This economic disaster manifested itself cruelly in common people's lives. As the state printed extra money to cover the shortage crisis, price rises surged out of control. One economist said that prices of commodities five times more in 1917 than it was in 1913. Ordinary people found themselves as unable to get necessary goods. Common Russians were politicised, empowered and full of expectation by the February revolution. In the disastrous economic situation, their hopes were unrealisable. Common citizen became more and more disturbed and angry as their needs were not fulfilled.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU)

In 1912, the Bolshevik faction broke out from Socialist Democratic Labour Party, and it became party itself. Bolshevik formed by Lenin which based on Leninism-Marxism ideology⁶. The Bolsheviks party was a most powerful party. It led the successful in October Revolution and established a socialist government in the country. Eventually, the Bolsheviks changed their party's name from Bolsheviks to Communist Party of Soviet Union, and this party continued till disintegration of Soviet Union (1991). In the mid-nineteenth century, there was no place for the Tsarist rule.

In practice, there were four dimensions to the party's function in the politico-administrative system: decision-making, verification, implementation and staffing (Gill 1994: 4). The party's decision-making function was exercised at all levels of the party, from national organisations to the productive enterprise. It comprised of party bodies discussing and resolving the most significant questions that arose affecting the field with which each particular party body was concerned: then Politburo at the national level discussed and addressed questions concerning the USSR as a whole, while the local enterprise organisation discussed problems and issues related to that enterprise. These decisions were not made in segregation from the society within which the party comes: various sectors of society had informal representation in the party elements discussing these issues, and those parts or organs had to interact with other bodies which claimed some competence in this sphere.

The second dimension of party function was the verification of implementation. This too stemmed in part from party leaders' disbelief of the reliability and faithfulness of those officials in the administrative system whose work it was to implement the decisions formed by the leaders. Party organisations at all levels were therefore instructed, as one of their continuing concerns, to ensure that those decisions were carried out. The most important means whereby this was to be gained was the task of party leaders who were subject to party regulation in the implementing bodies. From this perspective, verification was not something outside to the

⁶ Marxism-Leninism: "The term Marxism-Leninism emerged from Karl Marx and Lenin. It is an ideology which combines both Marx and Lenin and this ideology generally defined as Lenin's variation of the Marxist idea. Initially the name of this ideology was proposed by the Joseph Stalin after the death of Lenin and was aimed to draw clear distinction between Marxism and the revolutionary actions of Bolsheviks".

administrative process. It was to be conducted by people who were a member of the administrative structure but who were functioning under the spur of party discipline. The third dimension of the party's function in the administrative structure was that of implementation. In the beginning, the means of the party was to give the great direction to policy and verify that the policy was implemented, but not become in the real implementation itself. But this difference could not be maintained. Showing the disorganised times of the initial years of Soviet power, institutional ambiguities and the expansive opinions of their functions possessed by lots of party leaders, it became natural for party organs to become directly involved in the implementation of decisions.

The fourth aspect of the party's function in the administrative system was staffing. Through the system of the Nomenklatura, the party had the capability and capacity to fill by appointment all responsible positions in state and another system. This means that the identity of all significant personnel (both administrative and legislative) in the state area was decided in party fora. All chief state officers, as well as many people filling common positions, were, also party members and subject to party obligations. The control thus exercised over staffing decisions was the main mechanism for the projection of party control across all levels of the state structure, and was the primary instrument through which the party exercised its other role noted above (Gill 1994: 5).

During the late 1980s which were the time of Gorbachev reforms, saw the ending of Communist monopoly and origin of an informal and then an organised opposition. The first broad competitive elections came into notice in 1989, with a preference for candidates in most seats if not so far choices of parties. Then in February 1990, the Communist Party agreed to give up its leading role, and the Constitution was amended later. In October 1990 a newly emerged law 'on public organisations' provided a legitimate basis for multiparty society, although it was one of which the Communist Party of Soviet Union (CPSU) remained the important basis of political authority. The failure of a coup in August 1991 resulted in the suspension, and the banning of the party entirely and then in December 1991, the state itself collapsed into fifteen independent republics. The Constitution of the Russian Federation, which was the largest of these successor republics, included a formal commitment to 'ideological diversity' and 'multiparty politics', provided the Constitutional order was respected and that no attempt was made to incite social, racial, national, or religious hatred (Art. 13). The new Russian federation, evidently, would be multiparty state: but what kind of multiparty politics still uncertain and, indeed, remained does.

The elections of December 1993, when the Constitution was adopted, were the first times to take place on an officially multiparty basis.

2.6.1 Collapse of CPSU Party

The coup was not the cause of the collapse of the party; it was only immediate trigger. The reasons for the collapse were noticed in the party's role over the previous six years, and in specific in its failure to answer to the changing nature of the difficulties confronting it. A most important part of the party's trouble was the way in which the main arena of political activity transformed from one in which the party was organisationally leading to one in which the party became only one among some players. It was the turn from bureaucratic politics to the politics of the streets that outflanked the party. The beginning of the public sphere of politics, first through the reforms of glasnost and the origin of public policy debate, then through the emergence of electoral politics, the independent political activity of the organisation, and the development of high state bodies, projected the party into a sphere in which it was not accustomed to working. For the first time since 1918, it had to confront for massive support against rivals whose major plank was opposition to the communists. It had to shift itself from a governing party into one which could appeal successfully for massive support. In this endeavour, it was seriously handicapped by the legacy the Gorbachev-led party inherited. The difficulty for the party was that it had to run by offering enhanced advantages in the future, an assurance which to have any reliability required the masses to forget about the past. In an immediate sense, what the party had to live down was the duty for presiding over the drift into a societal dispute that in the second half of the 1980s it sought to remedy. Party had controlled over the country for more than seventy years; there was no path that they could deny responsibility for the tremendous gap between assurance and fulfilment that the ordinary Soviet people lived in everyday life. Furthermore as the promised economic development in the late 1980s did not take place, the government's failure to produce the socio-economic goods became even more manifest. The past policy of misconduct could not be evaded; it was reflected in the situations in which society wallowed. But in addition to this one problem for the party was that the policy of Glasnost, this policy described the negative points of Soviet history. Once the administrative role party had been lost, joining the party was no longer a requirement promotion. It was usual for members of this sort to go away, but there were missing because of their displeasure with the development of

party compromise nature of the fresh Party Rules, and the Programmatic announcement not satisfies such reformist party members (Ogushi 2007: 729). The failure of the party was thus a failure of organisational adaptability, albeit in a very unsociable environment. Under hit from a changing societal sphere, the party was not able to generate the changes in its culture, organisation and processes which would have improved it to adapt readily to these difficulties. Lacking successful leadership, its internal processes hamstrung, irreparably divided on policy issues, and under powerful attack from without, the political party as an administrative structure could not survive. Unable to operate in the old way, it could not adjust to the new.

Chapter-3

Emergence of Multi-Party System in Russia

“The morality of a political party must grow out of the conscience and the participation of the voters”.

Eleanor Roosevelt, Autobiography

Political parties play a major role in the representative political system. They unite civil society and political society, advance the apparent benefits of individuals, organisation and groups while aiming to create these constituencies offer a connection between society and government, espousing the claims of individual and enforcing the regulations of the others.

Russia’s move to democracy has been restricted by the emergence of the dysfunctional and strongly unbalanced party system. Russia’s political party system can be examined by the fact that leaders of Russia are motivated by two factors those leaders who are already in power, they want to maintain it and other leaders those who did not have power, are making efforts to obtain the political office. These factors impacted negatively to Russian political party formation.

In March 1990, the third of USSR’s People’s Deputies Congress amended Article 6 of the Soviet Union Constitution, abolishing the political monopoly of CPSU’s power and now Article 51 of the Consitution of the Soviet Union, declared that Soviet citizens’ had right to set up political parties (Sheitser 2009: 39). The registration of newly emerged parties and existing parties including CPSU(Communist Party Of Soviet Union) started on this basis in 1991. Twenty-five political parties had been registered by 1992, although many parties did not have more than 100 members if put them together. The new Constitution made clear that post-communist Russia was firmly devoted to political multiplicity and a multi-party system, subject only to the requirement that parties and associations cease from the use of force and from incitement to social, ethnic strife; the same principles were stated in a new law on public groups and organisations, approved by the Duma in April 1995, pending the adoption of a special law on parties themselves (White 2011: 30). The transformation from a one-party to a multi-party system is not a new phenomenon. Readings of similar transformations in other countries give a general framework against which the Russian experience can be measured. The process of party system formation can typically be divided into four main periods. Competitive elections understood as for party expansion and this single ground the initials election or newly elections are measured to be so crucial in transition to democracy. In Russia’s case, however, the first spirited election held in March for the USSR’s congress of people’s deputies. These elections

were part of the Gorbachev reforms before the disintegration of Soviet Union. Political parties were restricted to participating in the election of 1989. Except for communist party, no other parties were allowed to participate in the election. Although the primary electoral resources were there to the reformer, were their reputations as reformers, a lot of established effective support in the form of endorsement of their contention made by one of the many reform movements.

The powerful movement was the Democratic Russia which was led by Gorbachev. The matter of 1989 movement was reform. But this did not contribute to the creation of party system formation since numerous of the reforms candidates were still members of the communist party.

In 1991, at the time of first Russian Presidential election, in spite of the reality that the Democratic Russia constituted his whole campaign organisation candidate Yeltsin betrayed the movement through actions that ran oppose to its objectives. The campaign was weakened by Yeltsin's policy of increasing his authority to the abandon of institution formation of a building (Riggs And Schraeder 2005: 267).

The process of party system development can be divided into four points which are given below:

Reaction to the old regime: This may coincide with liberalisation, during which restrictions on the development and growth of civil society are lifted. It is typical to find a broad alliance of movements opposed to the old regime. 'Antipolitical' associations characterised by unclear programmes, a loose organisational structure predominate. The political division is along an antisystem versus pro-system axis, and the goal is a representation, not power.

Centrifugal activities: ¹After the fall of the dictatorial regime, the political alliance is restructured, since the opposition loses the only common factor uniting it. Typically, the number of political groups comes, but most have no sufficient infrastructure, and the coming elections test their organisational abilities. This stage and the next stage take place in the transition period of transformation, the period between two stages consolidated regimes.

Divisions, fusion and births: The new elections define the first party system. After that, political alliances are shaped by transformation issues. This phase is characterised by coalition-making and -breaking, and political parties' forms and disappear regularly. This is due in part to the non-institutionalized character of the party system since there are no major costs attached to splitting from a fledgeling organisation (Hutcheson 2003: 11).

¹ Centrifugal activities: centrifugal activities are those activities that divide the country. Centrifugal means something which is related to distance between two things, one thing is going away from another thing.

Consolidation: Eventually, a stable pattern of inter-party relationships comes. In many parts of East-Central Europe, and mainly in Russia, the crystallisation of party support based on societal cleavages may still not clear in the future.

Using this framework, derived from democratic transition ²theory, it can be applied to Russia. It traces developments from the collapse of the USSR and the elections to the Soviet and Russian Congress of People's Deputies in 1989–90, through the first election to the State Duma in December 1993, and the evolution of the party system in the wake of the second and third Duma elections in 1995 and 1999.

Emergence of Various Groups and Formation of Party System

Unlike many other countries that have passed through transitions to democracy, the Soviet Union also has gone through a transition phase; the Soviet Union did not only focus on political reform (from dictatorship to democracy) but also economic transformation (Centrally Command Economy to Liberal Economy³) and decolonisation all at the same time. Of 1987, after longstanding criminal sanctions against "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda" were relaxed. Gorbachev appealed to all the people of the Soviet Union to discuss the various issues and questions. These people were journalist, academicians. People established political discussion groups, including Club Perestroika, Obshchina means commune and the Federation of Socialist Social Clubs. These club has raised and discussed various issues like the issue of bureaucratic reforms, the relation between a command economy and liberal economy, the role of the church in communist society, Soviet union's relations with western countries. These functions acquired a new attention at the time of Nineteenth Conference in June 1988. With Gorbachev's desire and support from some of the many liberal Komsomol(clubs) and Communist Party district branches, these informal clubs started weekly discussions about the theses proposed for adoption at the upcoming conference. After May-June 1988 various clubs combined to establish the Moscow People's Front, inspired by Estonian People's Front, to harmonise informal activities.

² Democratic transition: democratic transition means transformation from one phase to another phase, as Russia has gone through from one party system to multi party system.

³ Command economy: command economy means where state controls all the mode of production.

Liberal economy: liberal economy means where state do not have any control over the mode of produitiom.

At this time, the people's fronts in Moscow and elsewhere were not yet critical of the fundamental principles of Gorbachev's policy of perestroika. At its first organisational meeting, the Moscow People's Front passed a highly contested resolution supporting democratic socialism. Although old revolutionary slogans such as "All Power to the Soviets" and "Land for the Peasants" were there as an obvious affront to the *nomenklatura*, the 1989 Moscow People's Front Charter still declared "respect for ideals of peace, free democracy, and socialism." At this point, the people's fronts were concerned with supporting reform, however vaguely defined, then with directly questioning the merits of socialism (Mcfaul 1992: 27).

Different Phases of Party Development in Brief

First Phase (1985-91)

This is the early stage of the Russian transformation. During Mikhail Gorbachev's period in office (1985–91) as general secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) and, after that, also as executive President of the USSR, Gorbachev's policies of perestroika ('restructuring') and glasnost ('openness') allowed a more free discourse to develop. Initially, these activities and programmes were assumed as a means of increasing responsibility and attacking the planned economy. The authoritarian system ⁴was trapped by liberalisation. So Gorbachev became isolated between conservatives and reformers. This phase has known for the creation of informal groups by which political parties emerged. Informal groups and club started their discussion on social issues. They were not formal.

The Second Phase (1991-1993)

The phase was characterised by a unique type of dual power in which a Presidential apparatus was superimposed on the parliamentary system, with little coordination between the two. Parties were left hanging in the air with a little constructive goal (Sakwa 2008: 132). In late September 1993, Yeltsin disbanded the parliament in a move which he approved to be in breach of the Constitution. His 'victory.' in early October set the scene for the country's first post-Soviet election in December of the same year, its first completely open election since 1917.

⁴ Authoritarian system: authoritarian system is about state control over the political aspect, on the other hand totalitarian system is different from authoritarian system, it is about state control over all the aspect for example, social, economy and culture.

The election of new state Duma could be considered as the ‘founding’ election and was arguably to some extent delayed culmination of the previous period of party building, institutionalising pre-existing political groupings. Essentially, it split the 450-member State Duma into two halves, with 225 members to be elected from federal party lists, and the remainder by simple plurality in each of 225 single-member districts (SMD) ⁵constituencies.

Indeed, there were some elements of filtering in the electoral process, as is often the case in a newly election: of the thirty-five organisations which had the right to collect signatures, twenty-one used it. Thirteen blocs were registered and eight surmounted the 5 percent limitation necessary for representation in the party list section of the vote. While being still a comparatively high number, it at least allowed a more meaningful analysis of the emerging party system than the 457 movements which had been there three years before.

The Third Phase (1994-2000)

In this period a new generation of parties emerged, most of which drew their roots from earlier stages but adapted to the dramatically changed political environment. In Russia, the phase following the 1993 election witnessed numerous developments. A more intensive effort was made between the 1993 and 1995 elections to establish a two-party system from above, based on ‘parties of power’ divided into two side centre-left and centre-right wings. The centre-right movement was Our Home is Russia, which was formed, by the Prime Minister, Viktor Chernomyrdin; the centre-left was headed by the speaker of the State Duma, Ivan Rybkin. “Indeed, not only has post-communist Russia failed to develop a flourishing multiparty system in the immediate aftermath of the collapse of the USSR, but it has also eventually led to a ‘mono-centric’ system” (Gel’man 2006: 546). “As a result, two main features of the post-1991 Russian state can be considered as relevant to this issue: Presidential that the 1993 Constitution stands out, but which can also be viewed as part of the ‘patrimonial communist legacy’, the notion developed by Kitschelt” (Hale 2006: 24). “Indeed, the 1993 Constitution gives a vast power to the President. To initiate with, the government selection being handled at the same time by a dominant President and a mainly weak State Duma, a room between the representative system of parties and the decision making process arises” (Sakwa 2008: 132). And in spite of this, political

⁵ “To become an SMD candidate, a person must gain the signatures of 1% of the voters in that constituency. The organisational membership of a party can be evaluated by its ability to put contesters on the SMD ballot. The SMD is an electoral system in which more than one candidate becomes representatives for office”.

parties be likely to be attractive when they give three main components: "representation and transparency"; "electoral demands for partisan constituencies" and a "basis for structuring the political choice in the competition of benefits in the political sphere" (Riggs And Schraeder 2005: 265).

Causes those were responsible for the non-creation of political parties in Russia.

- (1) **Superimposing of the Presidential System:** after formation of the Constitution of 1993 President became more dominant. There was a conflict between President and Parliament. The role of parties became less. Politics became the place of technocratic elites. The ill-defined Constitution of 1993 necessarily transferred a Constitutionally weak Presidential executive onto what had been a parliamentary system giving neither institution power over the other but granting some executive function to both, thereby to supporting the parliament to believe that it also, held executive power. The result of these circumstances was that the Russia first true political contest took place in October 1993, not through elections but conflicts, violence and Yeltsin's victory over the Supreme Soviet gave him the opportunity to strengthen his presidency with the new Constitution.
- (2) **Domination of Elite Leaders:** this is the fact that in 1993 election, a lot of the unimportant parties were not success to survive or that were merely six parliamentary parties. For a democratic country, this is effective number but no unfair number. At this time, party system became a system of elites leaders. Ther was no interaction between civil society and leaders. Russian politics was becoming restricted to private.
- (3) **A Coalition of Parties:** for 1995 elections it has been noted that parties started a new meeting of negotiation between parties of comparable inclination. The most important component of these activities was that all these efforts failed. On the right, Vladimir Zhirinovsky rejected the will of many small nationalities parties to look for a coalition with his Liberal Democratic Party of Russia, on the left, it was Communist Party of the Russian Federation (KPRF) that approached to Agrarian Party for making an alliance, but Agrarian Party also rejected the demand. The need for the alliance is the greatest thing for democracy, but nothing came efficiently by these efforts.
- (4) **Transition Period's Experience:** the experience of the transition period of Russia was not so good. Suddenly going into to new system is not so easy to sustain for a long time. It happened with Russia. Russia had command economy system means the state-

controlled the system. There was the centralised system. After Gorbachev's reforms, Russia has been changed in a day. Now Russia was no more communist state. Gorbachev introduced to numerous reforms for examples freedom of speech and expression, right to form an association, creation of the multi-party system, etc. when these reforms came into force it was not easy for Russia that it could build parties or association, it takes a lot of time. Another important is that when Gorbachev gave freedom to speech and expression to Russian people, then people started questioned Gorbachev itself. From these reasons also Russia was not successful in making multi-party system.

- (5) **Russia was not Democratic:** from history, Russia was under the rule of one person(Tsar). After the disintegration of Soviet, Union President had become powerful so, there was the tendency of the authoritarian system which is against the democracy. Russia had no experience of democracy. Due to no experience of democracy, Russia still is under the domination of one person that is President of the Russian Federation. This kind of system restricts the formation of the multi-party system.
- (6) **Socio-Economic Transformation:** after more than seventy years of rule of the communist party, a socio-economic transformation took place. When reforms took place for socio-economic transformation people were affected negatively by these reforms. They did not want to change when they have realised that this system is giving them panic situation during this time they wanted to status quo. If wants to change any system it takes a lot of time. It is not like that it can change in day or month. Also when we talk about transformation, it means that going one system to another system, this period between of one system to another system changes slowly-slowly.
- (7) **Parties and Voters Relationship:** Russian political system did not have inherited strong relationship- the notion of the party was related to CPSU.

Some Parties which were Formed in the 1990s

Democratic Platform (The Republican Party): The first movement for establishing a mass opposition party came from within the CPSU, whose liberal group formed the Democratic Platform (DemPlatforma). Although it originated as a club of young communist intellectuals led by Vladimir Lysenko and Igor Chubais, the notion of a liberal platform within the Party soon attracted such well-known figures as Yeltsin, Popov, Nikolai Travkin, and Vyacheslav

Shostakovsky. Because affiliation with Journal of Democracy DemPlatforma did not require liberals within the CPSU to jeopardise their Party membership, the organisation was able to garner over a million CPSU supporters only two months after holding its first congress in January 1990.

The Russian Social Democratic Party: Russia's Social Democratic Association became the Social Democratic Party of Russia in May 1990. Unlike Travkin's party, this association of young intellectuals committed vast energy to the production of a 100-page party program. While sympathetic to the objectives of West European social democracy, the SDPR recognised that Russia first had to undergo a major transformation to capitalism before social welfare programmes could be implemented.

Communist Party of the Russian Federation

The Communist Party emerged as a successor of CPSU in 1993. The Communist Party was not an anti-regime party in the post-Soviet Union, but it has competed in all new Russia's election as an instrument of bringing alternative from within the new political sphere. For example, Zyuganov fought a well spirited election against Boris Yeltsin and Vladimir Putin in 1996 and 2000 respectively, and party member Yury Maslyukov was fixed for the post of first vice premier of the economy during the time of Yevgenii Primakov's premiership in 1998-1999. In many elections, the Communist Party of Soviet Union has raised numerous issues such as state integration, local self-government, government duties, and control of the state on strategic sectors, social welfare, and the integration of Russia, Ukraine and Belarus.

Liberal Democratic Party of Russia

A nationalist leader of Soviet Union, Vladimir Zhirinovsky, established a party called Liberal Democratic Party of Russia in 1990. Zhirinovsky's Liberal Democratic Party was successful to collect more than 5% of the vote on the party ballot in all the three parliamentary elections. "Moreover, to the shock of different observers both in Russia and out of Russia, in 1993 the Liberal Democratic Party won the huge number of votes (22.92%) among the 13 parties on the Party list (PL) ballot"⁶(Sheitser 2009: 42). Liberal Democratic Party of Russia has raised numerous issues in many campaigns such as the elimination of self-government for independent

⁶ The PL ballot is method of election which is based on proportional representation. In PL system numerous candidates are elected by the distributions to an electoral list.

regions, Orthodox religion as authorised religion, revival of the state-controlled sector, restriction on the foreign ownership of land, free medical care, etc.

Yabloko & Union of Right Forces

(a) Yabloko

A reform-oriented economist, Grigory Yavlinsky formed a party called Yabloko in 1993. Yavlinsky was well known for his criticism of Yeltsin regime, in throughout the 1990s. In spite of his position as an influenced leader from reform point of view and liberal, Yavlinsky was not in favour of economic therapy, and privatisation. These reforms were advocated by Yegor Gaidar and Anatoli Chubais, and they also pursued to Yavlinsky, but he was not in favour of these reforms. Yavlinsky assumed it an error to the old nomenklatura in power.

(B) The Union of Right Force

The godfather of Russia's privatisation programme, Anatoli Chubais found The 'Union of Right Forces' which was a liberal coalition, in 1999. The 'Union of Right Forces' coming out and electoral activity played a role in protecting liberal voice in Russian politics. In simple words, in spite of the unhappiness of peoples about their practice of democracy in a country, many Russians, consider that the nation must develop the liberal economy and stay to the main beliefs of electoral democracy.

The Governors' Blocs

Fatherland-All Russia

Some governors blocs were formed in political sphere during 1998 and 1999. The first bloc "Fatherland" was found by Moscow mayor Luzhkov in December 1998. This bloc was formed to sustain Yuri Luzhkov's Presidential campaign the coming year. "All Russia" was established by Tatarstan President Mintimer Shaimev and Vladimir Yakovlev in April 1999. Ultimately, in August 1999 the, 'Fatherland-All Russia' came out as alliance of Lyzhkov ("Fatherland"), and Shaimiev/Yakovlev ("All Russia"), with Lyzhkov and former Prime Minister Primakov as its leaders.

Pro-Kremlin Party of Powers

Unity

The minister of emergencies Sergei Shoigu formed a party called The Unity just before two months of the election in October 1999. This party was formed in response to "Fatherland-All Russia". The Unity Party was not considered as ruling party in western sense till it was not the

party of Boris Yeltsin. Nonetheless, as Boris Gryzlov, the chief of Unity in the third Duma afterwards admitted, Unity members assumed themselves as composing a de facto ruling bloc, and the mark helped them in the election. In 2002 Unity Party replaced its name from Unity to “United Russia”, and Putin supported Unity Party again in 2003 Parliamentary election. These are parties that emerged in the 1990s which show that it is enough to have six or seven parties for a multi-party system and democratic country. While parties many parties and blocs emerged in the 1990s, on the one hand, it shows that future is unpredictable from a multi-party system point of view, on the other hand, it also shows that it was strengthening the democracy of the country.

Causes of the emergence of Russian multi-party system

(1) The Disintegration of Russia: before the disintegration of Russia ruled by single party system (CPSU). There was authoritarian kind of system in which people had very limited freedom. There was no competition among parties. With the collapse of Soviet Union world also was changing, throughout the world liberalism was holding the ground. That is why now Russia was no far away. Gorbachev introduced some reforms in Russia one of them was a multi-party system. People wanted more representation which was not in the single party system. If there are more parties representation will increase so, due to this reason multi-party system took place in Russia.

(2) Origin of Three Established Parties: in spite of harsh analysis of the dysfunctionality of Russia's electoral system, Russia has established three constant political parties. In spite of the different-different crises in the 1990s, all these three parties have managed to continue to exist in the political sphere, In all three parliamentary elections which were held in new Russia. All the three parties the Communist Party, Yabloko, and Liberal Democratic Party got more than five percent vote on the Party List ballot. All these three parties were from three ideology left, right and nationalist. These three parties have enjoyed stability. Under the leadership of Zhuganov, Yavlinski and Zhirinovskiy, All these three parties, Communist Party, Yabloko and Liberal Democratic Party respectively, have worked with their foundation in the 1990s. All these three leaders have participated in both 1996 and 2000 Presidential elections. Due to this reason also Russia was on the path of building multi-party system.

(3) Political Consensus among the Leaders: despite huge political difficulties in Russia during 1990s strong development toward political consensus took place as Giovanni Sartori says that centripetal process ⁷to political consensus, this situation came to Russia, Sartori says that once moderate pluralism takes place, it leads to the stable party system. For instance, many Russian blocs were agreed on numerous reforms. These reforms were persecuted by Yeltsin and Gaidar in 1991. In simple words, there was a consensus among parties on issues and policies, which Richard Sakwa called “Moscow Consensus.” All these things suggest that to some extent political consolidation was taking place in these ten years.

(4) Policy Cooperation Between President and Duma: as a consequence of political moderation among Russia’s major political blocs, relations between the third Duma and the Putin administration are to some extent better than those under Yeltsin in first and second Duma both parties Yabloko and Communist Party opposed the Yeltsin in third Duma. These blocs have not sought any problems with the President.

(5) 1993 Constitution: The 1993 Constitution established two other principles that are fundamental to the operation of Russian parties. Firstly, it provided a principle for a legislature with relatively little control over the conduct of government. Under the 1993 Constitution, the prime minister surrenders his powers to a newly elected President, not to a newly elected parliament. The government as a whole was necessary to be non-party, under the legislation on state service that applied until 2003, and it need not command the confidence of a parliamentary majority, although the President can dismiss it at any time. Deputies have some sanctions at their disposal: they can refuse to accept the President’s nominee as prime minister, and they can vote no confidence in the government as a whole (Webb and White 2007: 23)

The second crucial change that was introduced by the 1993 Constitution was an enhancement in the powers of the President. President has more powers than other bodies of government.

Nature of Russian Party System During the 1990s

Vladimir Gel’man talks about the nature of party system in the 1990s in post-communist Russia. Firstly he says that Russia's party system was highly fragmented because all segment of Russia's electoral markets were oversupplied. Second, the intense level of electoral volatility

⁷ Centripetal process: centripetal process is opposite of the centrifugal process, centripetal process unites the country. It is about integrity, consensus and unity.

demonstrated high elasticity in voter demands notwithstanding some trends towards the establishment of clear party identification. Third, non-partisan leaders played a major role in national and especially sub-national electoral markets. For these causes, Russia's party system is rightly regarded as unconsolidated. Vladimir Gel'man said in his article called from 'feckless pluralism' to 'dominant power politics'? The transformation of Russia's party system the developmental trends in Russia's party system as similar as the swing of the pendulum. Gel'man differentiates two concepts hybrid regime (feckless pluralism) and dominant power politics, in the hybrid regime, the political regime is greatly competitive, but its institutions are not efficient, highly lack mass support, the regime id highly unstable. On the other hand in dominant power politics, political competition is very low, and ruling groups allows open electoral as long as it is not against the actors, while the election is unfair. So according to Vladimir Gel'man, Russia's party system in the 1990s was feckless pluralism, but it replaced by dominant power politics. Although the effect of the electoral system on the Russian party system at the time of parliamentary elections between 1993 nd 1999 was far removed from theoretical aspirations, the institutional impact of Presidential and federalism after explained the trend in the Russian party system. The path that political parties both major and minor adopted, have appeared or disappeared between elections is a clear indication of under institutionalism of Russia's party. Kenneth Wilson used the term for Russian party system, as floating party system. According to him party system in the 1990s was underdeveloped. Although parties were there elites people have controlled them.

Consequences of the Emergence of the Multi-Party System

Possibly the most significant outcome of the Russia's party system is that parties are significantly restricted in their capability to meet their main goals. These goals are: to win elections to get power by which they can increase their interest for constituents, the power to make strategies resides largely in a nonpartisan presidency, Not the party constituted legislature. Yeltsin's private preference to avoid party connection has become a benefit to the holder of a unitary office in a multiparty system.

After various reforms, people assumed that the result of institutional changes such as the law on the creation of political parties, acceleration of coalition government would create a diminish in party division and explosive electoral nature in Russia's party system. But Hyper fragmentation

and high competition in Russia's electoral market has decreased and it replaced by a monopoly of the ruling elites. Russia's ruling groups mean elite people, has become a dominant figure in the country's politics and the political regime has become mono-centric. "After a rule of one party system, the party system has changed to Hyper Fragmentation and Great Volatility and then to Hypo-Fragmentation and relatively high volatility against the background of the monopoly held by the party of power. This pendulum-like swings can be emphasised within the framework of hybrid regimes, which is different from democracy and non-democratic regimes". (Gel'man 2006: 549). Although formally the presidency under Yeltsin received several powers, its authority and powers were fragmented. The several political parties did not still attach to a viable multi-party system, in brief, an adapted bureaucratic politics form applies to new Russia.

The dispute between system and regime was between formal and informal political relationships, between law and politics, and between the institutionalisation and personalisation of political authority. In regime politics, personalised leadership inhibits the development of institutions. Behind the formal frontage of democratic politics at the stage of the state, the state conducts itself free from real democratic accountability and popular oversight. If under the Soviet system a 'party-state' had emerged, where the CPSU exercised leadership and prevented the state from gaining political autonomy, then we can describe the system that emerged in the post-communist era as a 'regime-state', where the regime focused on the presidency exerts extra-Constitutional authority over the political system as represented in the institutions of the state. Political practices that were once associated with 'the Party' are now exercised by 'the regime'. The result is the continued debilitation of the state, unable to assert the principles of the Constitutional autonomy of the state *vis-à-vis* the regime. (Sakwa 2008: 448) Russia's floating party system also affected negatively to representation system. Representation is one of the important functions of political parties. For one thing, a large number of parties have participated in the 1990s they have produced a highly disproportional election result. For example, "in 1995 only four parties out of 43 parties received 5% of the vote on the ballot paper, 5% of the vote is a requirement to enter in parliament it means that 49.53% of those who voted in the PR (Proportional Representation) section of the election received no representation in the Duma" (Newton and Tomson 2010: 140). The emergence of the multi-party system did little to Russia because of interest of the individual. Due to personal interest, the democratic process gets affected.

Multi-Party System and Democracy

Crowds defying tanks made for a brilliant climax to this struggle, but the political institutions and culture that strengthen democracy are still not in place. First, the democratic governmental structure still's hard to define. Over the past two decades of revolutionary change, parliaments, presidencies, and mayoralities have been established, reformed, and removed for short-term political ends, instead of serving as the bases upon which to make a stable arena for "normal" politics. Before the coup, divisions between the executive and legislative organs of government were just starting to be articulated. Elections for a Russian President and mayors in Leningrad which is now St. Petersburg and Moscow in June initiate this process by creating executives elected directly by the people. At the time, Democratic reformers argued that powerful and independent executives were important to wrest administrative power away from the Communist Party. After the end of the Communist Party in August, however, many Democrats began to see the consolidation of executive power as a challenge to the democratic system. Feeding these fears, both Gavriil Popov of Moscow and Anatoly Sobchak of St. Petersburg has called for the temporary dissolution of their respective cities' legislative organs, while Yeltsin has assumed almost only responsibility for governing Russia. Without an independent judiciary, these newly powerful executives could easily assume dictatorial power. Under a "good Tsar" like Yeltsin, authoritarian structures may help Russia survives a difficult transitional period." But what if Yeltsin's successor is not so benevolently inclined? (Mcfaul1992: 36). In addition to lacking checks and balances within its government, Russia still does not have powerful democratic institutions outside the state. The new political parties and movements are young, fragile, and divided. Kenneth Wilson has highlighted important concepts regarding Russian democracy. He still assumes that Russia remains are on the path of democracy. He says that Russia has parties but do not have a consolidated party system. According to him, it is much harder to know, the nature of the connection between a consolidated party system and democracy. Kenneth William says that it is one thing to say parties are important for democracy and on the other hand to say that institutionalised party system is important for democracy. Many scholars assume that democracy can work without institutionalised party system and there is evidence also, where democracy works without institutionalised party system. But its absence can affect the quality of democracy as it happened with Russia in the 1990s.

A weakly institutionalised party system, a badly organised civil society, an unsuccessful state, and commitment to the rule of law comprise a real list of institutional changes in Russia's new democratic polity. Even if a huge progress over Soviet communism, the Russian system that has consolidated since 1993 do not match from liberal democracy. These institutional changes, in turn, have destabilised attitudinal support for democracy within Russia.

O' Donnell has used the term delegative democracy ⁸for Russian democracy. He says that in delegative democracy whoever wins the election to the presidency is thereby allowed to govern, controlled merely by the facts of existing power relations and by a Constitutionally restriction of office.

The eradication of the political monopoly of the CPSU in Russia was not replaced by the multi-party system as such but by a regime system in which power was concentrated in the hands of executive authority in a troubled relationship with legislative power, popular movements and substantial social interests. The pluralism of the system is not in doubt; what is questionable is the degree to which open democratic forms of adjudicating benefits have been institutionalised. The factors which restrict the expansion of a multi-party system are not essentially the same as those which hinder the development of a functioning democratic system, but one way or another the fate of democracy depends on the unity of the new political forces into the system of government.

State Duma is the only area over which parties have the power to control. It is also one of the slightest dominate institutions in the system. The presence of a Presidential form of government is not enough for explaining a weak party system emergence in Russia. Over all, established democracies which have Presidential system, they also have severe party system. Russia is required to either clear up the Presidential system and develop a multi-party system or create a two-party Presidential system with the end of proportional representation in Duma. Anastasija Malachova says that "The Establishment of political culture in Russia is an on-going process which, has a good correlation with the level of democracy. According to him the weak political culture negatively contributes to the democratisation process. Undeveloped political culture, even under multipartyism, is a barrier to democracy" (Malachova 2012). One more reason for the negative development of Russia is corruption which brought down the development of Russia.

⁸ delegative democracy: delegative democracy is a type of democratic control whereby an electorate vests voting authority in delegates rather than in representatives.

Parties' fraction into different-different groups and "self-centered motives" on a large scale leads to high corruption. One cause is that parties look for "personal gain through corrupt practices". an additional reason is fragile and weak developed political tradition, which was the case in Russia.

Russia's transition period to democracy is the good example which shows that the multi-party system merely does not make sure "more" democracy. The example evidently shows that there are several elements behind the multi-party system which influence the process of democratisation. Moreover, Anastasija Malachova said that he agrees with Riggs and Schraeder on the fact that "until the party system re-establishes its relations with society and the incentives of party elite behaviour are shaped by the need to encourage societal benefits rather than their own, Russia's party system will keep on to be dysfunctional in the ongoing process of democratisation" (Malachova 2012).

Chapter-4

Multiparty System and Democratisation

“Countries should not become fit for democracy but fit through democracy.”

(Amartya Sen)

In spite of all difficulties and problems that political parties have to face, one thing is clear that without political parties, democracy cannot survive. In a democracy, the parties remain significant establishing relation between government and society. But they have to settle the social changes and innovation so as to confirm they are not put away by them. The establishment of political ideas and harmony in a mass democracy are an eternally hard, somewhat unrewarding and continually scarce process involving the dull daily life of committees, commissions and assemblies. The development of ideas, consent building and state for the interest of the entire society cannot avoid the parties, but can merely engage them. It is true that for the political change people's campaign and social activities are important and also opposition and criticism, but ultimately these activities depend on political parties to hold the accountability in the long term. The parties are the ones that thus have to look the population at constant intervals in the background of elections.

Parties are also important because they play the role of leadership without which contemporary democracy is not possible. Political leadership is required to be liable and transparent for the people and linked to the benefits and aspirations of the people, especially at the time of transformation. As Konrad Adenauer, the first Chancellor of Germany after the Second World War has said: “Each political party exists for the interest of the citizen and not for itself. Political parties, their members and politicians are therefore more than ever required to face this responsibility” (Hofmeister and Gramow 2011: 91). The erstwhile Soviet Union disintegrated in December 1991. As a result, the fifteen new nation states emerged as sovereign states on the political map of the world. Russia was one of them. In the aftermath of the collapse of the Soviet system, transition started in Russia in many ways for example from the political point of view Russia was trying to become democratic while economically it was making efforts to establish the liberal market economy in the country. Geographically, Russia had never existed in its present borders, and civilisational Russia was joining various international communities. The attempt to change everything simultaneously provoked numerous contradictions.

Democratisation¹, for example, formation of representative government on the basis of popular sovereignty and the rule of law, while the difficulty of economic modernisation posed a rather different set of problems– liberalisation, stable property rights, the deteriorating of Soviet welfarism, market prices for public goods – whose resolution at times appeared mismatched with democratisation; while the demands of state-building came into disagreement with the principles of national self-determination. The Bismarckian Second Reich in Germany at the end of the nineteenth century had been a Rechtsstaat (law-based state) rather than a democracy, and post-communist Russia assumed aspects of such an ‘illiberal’ democracy². Moore defines democracy as: “a long and undoubtedly unfinished struggle to do three closely related things: 1) to check arbitrary rulers, 2) to change arbitrary rules with just and rational ones and 3) to obtain a share of the underlying population in the making of rules”.

In the 1990s Russia only imperfectly achieved these objectives for a variety of reasons. Political demobilisation and problems in structuring political associations were one factor, the hesitant development of democratic state institutions another, while leadership factors were perhaps determining. At the same time, Russia appeared to be a pre-state society in which a pre-political society lived according to its logic and internal structures. Society seemed to force its laws on the regime, rather than the other way round; while the state once more, as so generally in Russia’s past, gradually more divorced itself from civil society (Sakwa 2008: 464). One of the most acute observers of the development of democratic states, Alexis de Tocqueville, argued that “the political institutions of America reflected the strength and philosophy of the people. Democracy is both a system of state and a way of life, and it is not clear how democratic institutions could be grafted on to a society whose traditions were antithetical to democratic norms and values”. The only occurrence of various parties and a democratic Constitution are no guarantees of democratic existence. Democracy can only with complexity be “built from the roof down” but requires

¹ “Democratisation is one of the most significant concepts and trends in contemporary political science, one whose importance is just beginning to be understood by conflict-resolution practitioners. On one hand, it is a relatively easy concept, since democratisation is simply the formation of a democratic political state”.

²An illiberal democracy is a governing system in which, although elections held, peoples are cut off from knowledge about the actions of those who serves actual power because of the absence of people’s freedom. It is not a "free society".

features of a civic manner like toleration and self-possession in society to agree to the expansion of democracy from below. Tocqueville had warned against ‘democratic despotism’³, although he insisted on the need to establish a social state in which attractive values would sustain a ‘free social state’. He noted in “Democracy in America” that “In America, free mores have established the political institutions freely; in France, it is up to the free political institutions to create the mores”. In Russia, also, the political institutions of post-communism were faced with the difficulty of creating the social foundation on which they could rest. Democracy, in other words, had to create the conditions for its existence.

Party System and Democratisation during Gorbachev’s Period

Democratisation is a process of which Russia has experienced some democratic phenomenon. This process of democratisation has begun before the disintegration of Soviet Union. Democratisation took several years it was not created in a day or year. Gorbachev reforms are significant from a democracy point of view. Informal political organisations started to emerge in Russia in the spring of 1987 after removal of sanctions against "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda" were relaxed (MacFaul 1992: 26). Taking their cue from Gorbachev's call for open political discussion, young leaders of the establishment intelligentsia--academicians, journalists, and low-ranking Communist functionaries established political debate organisations and groups, including Club Perestroika⁴, Obshchina and the Federation of Socialist Social Clubs (FSOK). Their discussions addressed the question of bureaucratic reform, the relationship between centralised planning and the market, the activity of the church in a socialist society, and Soviet interaction with the West. Encouragement and logistical help from some of the liberal Komsomol (organisation) and Communist Party district branches, these informal groups started weekly discussions about the theses proposed for adoption at the upcoming conference. The March 1989 elections for the Soviet Union Congress of People's Deputies provided a great

³ Alexis de Tocqueville says what type of tyranny would come to America: it would be considerably mild, retain some of the “external forms of liberty”, but the citizen would react like timid “animals” and the state would function like their guide.

⁴ Perestroika, (“restructuring”) programme began in the Soviet Union by Gorbachev in the middle of 1980 to reshape Soviet Union’s economic and political strategy. The idea was to connect with western countries and increase their trade and business.

catalyst for grassroots politics, Gorbachev and his reform group within the Communist Party of Soviet Union (CPSU) leadership promoted informal political activity as instruments to help elect reform-minded Communist deputies to the People's Congress. All these activities have encouraged to the establishment of party system as well as democracy in Russia.

Gorbachev felt difficulties during the campaign of democratisation political institutions in Soviet Union. Freedom of speech could constantly be qualified, and economic reform could for all time be repeated – as far as the leadership kept political authority in its hand. However, the real democratisation of political institutions could deteriorate the leadership's hold on power, with unforeseeable results. Actual democratisation might release the path for power to pass to organisations with several objectives from those of Gorbachev and his leaders. Why did Gorbachev choose this difficult path? It seems that three causes prodded the leadership forward. First, far from the thought that socialism and democracy were mismatched, Gorbachev and his supporters assumed that socialism could arrive at its full potential merely through democratisation. Gorbachev says the absence of democracy as having been the big barrier to successful socialist expansion in the past. He argued that “only through the regular progress of the democratic forms inherent in socialism and through the development of self-government can we make progress in production, science and technology, culture and art, and in all social areas.” Second, the leadership had a more practical basis for pressing forward with democratisation in 1988. As fight mounted to their programme of socio-economic change from parts of the bureaucracy Gorbachev, in fact, said that democratisation was the path to break this struggle and prevent perestroika from being limited in its tracks. Since perestroika would benefit common Soviet peoples, they had to be activated to overcome the battle to transition. Democratisation would sanction the mass to push to one side the battle to socio-economic change. Also, Gorbachev says that “democratisation is also the important guarantee that the current processes are irreversible”. Third, with the benefit of hindsight, it seems that Gorbachev and his team came to view democracy as an aim in itself. They appeared to view it as a goal virtually like in importance to their custom objective of establishing socialism. “The core of perestroika lies in the fact that it integrates socialism with democracy”, Gorbachev wrote (Kotz and Weir 2007: 93). The good society must be socialist and democratic. They would shortly face the challenge of tension between those two objectives, as democratisation opened the way for the pro-capitalist alliance to contend for power.

Democracy and Party System during Transition Phase

It was not possible to create independent, autonomous organisations, associations in Soviet Russia. That is a further cause for allowing for the system to be undemocratic: whereas the availability of independent groups is a quality of democracy. Soviet peoples were left without the right to practice and support their interest without intervention from the political authorities. The successful performance of citizens' associations depends on the organisational skills, skills of influence and advocacy, aptitudes for a politician and similar characteristics of those who take the lead, and philosophy of value for a system of behaviour and desire to delegate authority on the side of all members of society. "The former system did not promote these qualities: all who were concerned with the public life were co-opted and, as it were, licensed by the political authorities, and the majorities were members of the single party. In brief, the political culture that encouraged the communist system to work is not suitable for sustaining a democratic process" (Hill 1997: 87). Nevertheless, during the period of perestroika and glasnost, the citizens of Russia, as well as other republics of the Soviet Union, established ability for knowledge that encouraged them to make successful use of some of the means given them under democratisation.

The political system was characterised by the following features.

First, although formally the presidency under Boris Yeltsin gained massive control, its influence and authority were fragmented; the Presidential system was victim to factionalism and contending for policy lobbies. Under Putin, the presidency sought to the revival of its self-sufficiency whereas at the same time differentiating the state from the economy and unmediated social pressure. **Second**, the fragmented environment of the political system allowed the 'authority' and political ministries, the mere bodies with the bureaucratic muscle; to develop and follow their issues and policies, generally in a challenge to legitimately proclaimed policy. **Third**, the state was somewhat marginalised, worried highly with the economy. **Fourth**, Parliament came as an efficient legislative body; its political impact was not strong because the power had been transferred to the powerful presidency and the state. Regarding principal-agent theory, the responsibility of the agent ("the executive authority") to the principal ("the sovereign people's representatives in parliament") was strangely weak. **Fifth**, the various political parties did not yet attach to a practical multi-party system. In brief, an adapted bureaucratic politics model apparently applies to new Russia. Democratisation is defined as the expansion of mass

democracy through active citizen role. The little expansion of popular representation in Russia and the restricted reach of parties means that, while formally a democracy, the value of democratic life in Russia still diminish. The communicative tasks between government and society are pleased more by the media, different lobbying organisations and by Presidential agents than by political parties. Parties are an instrument of the attempt to institutionalise the different interests of civil society, but Russia's fragmented political pluralism allows parties only erratically to achieve this function. No well-organised system exist to direct admired feelings into legislative issues, or then to support parliamentary politics in society. The creation of a structured party system is repressed by the inherent failing of Russian civil society, by the institutional structure of the state, and by the frequent breakdown of the authorised order to protect the autonomy of social advantages. While Putin's reforms of the party system sought to overcome the atomization of the Russian party system, it failed effectively to ensure the autonomy of the representative government. Some of the cruder forms of the antagonism between government and society ended with the disintegration of the Soviet system, but the sound between power and the person remained. A structured party system is a necessary feature in a pluralist democracy⁵, but only the basics of such a system have emerged in post-communist Russia. Party development and democratisation can be divided into a different period.

The year of 1993 became a milestone in the establishment of a multi-party system in Russia. The authorities, within a period of many months, organised elections to a new kind of parliament, the State Duma. They also quickly made a new Constitution in 1993 and adopted it through a plebiscite, which coincided in time with the election of a parliament. The law, which became valuable in May 1995, created the legal notion "political public association." It set criteria for registering the organisations and made conditions for their participation in politics in the event of threats to the state's unity and integrity (Shveitser 2009: 41). 1993, 1995, and 1999 elections to the parliament suggest definite, relatively tangible tendencies of voters' electoral behaviour. The volatility of the internal political and socioeconomic condition of the 1990s, coupled with a tentative and changeable foreign policy, had clear influence upon the slow progress of political parties in Russia.

⁵ A **pluralist democracy** refers to a political system in which many centre of power exists. Democracies as pluralist is about to allow freedom of organisation, association and group. However, pluralism can exist without democracy.

Boris Yeltsin and Democratisation

Even if some people might not agree, it is understandable that some democracy developed in Russia after the disintegration of Soviet Union in 1991. While not displaying the large framework and norms characteristic of a mature "liberal democracy,"⁶ the Russian government that put down roots under Boris Yeltsin during 1990s has different elements of an "electoral democracy."⁷ Especially after the ratification of Yeltsin's Super-Presidential Constitution in 1993, "mass-based interest groups" were allocated to the fringes; pluralist advantage intermediation became feeble, personal liberties started to be reduced by illogical exercises, and institutions that could have supported to restore the unstable-parliament, the party system, the judiciary-lost power and autonomy. Nonetheless, the Russian regime and Russian civil society displayed characteristics of democratic expansion. Elections took place under a set of norms and rules recognised by all. The consequences of these elections were not completely certain beforehand, and no power intervened after Election Day to repeal the result of the voting. The playing area for candidates in elections was by no means equal and has gradually become less so. However, the rulers of Russia were selected in competitive elections. The state that emerged during the 1990s was qualitatively distinct from the communist state and Tsarist dictatorships (Colton and Mcfaul 2003: 2). Many scholars claim that at the time of Yeltsin's presidency, a democratic change took place in Russia. Despite the weakness of the middle class, power discrete among the regions, demoralised and separated bureaucracy, and power-wielding structures a transition to democracy took place in Russia. When major leaders agreed to share set of rules and norms in the organisation of political behaviour, the successful transition took place in Russia. Such a transition is deemed successful, when satisfactory agreement has been reached about political actions to establish an elected government, when a government comes to power that is the explicit consequence of an open and accepted vote, when this government de facto has the power to create new polices, and when the executive, legislative, and judicial power, created by the new democracy, does not have to divide power with other agencies de jure. People of

⁶ A liberal democracy is a type of representative democracy in which free and fair election takes place. The important characteristic of liberal democracy is that all adult peoples have right to vote irrespective of their race, gender, language.

⁷ Electoral Democracy: A system of state at the level of nation-state, an instrument for the citizen to elect their leaders and (if they want) to change their leaders in continue, sensible, free and fair elections.

Russia elected representatives to State Duma in December 1993 and next time in 1995. State Duma is lower house of Parliament. After the election of State Duma Russian peoples elected a President as head of the state in the first Presidential election. “The 1995 parliamentary elections and 1996 presidential elections were inspected by law, held as scheduled, took place with only negligible fraud, and did not challenge the Constitution ratified in 1993. Two-thirds of the electorate participated, and all main political actors recognised the legality of the results” (Shinar 2012: 56).

As far as Yeltsin's contribution to promoting democracy is concerned, Valerie Bunce tried to answer this question. According to Yeltsin’s critics, Russia is a country that is corrupt and restricted in its capacity to acquire resources, draw out compliance, and meet its financial obligations, and it is a democracy that lacks accountability⁸ and transparency⁹. What is implied in these critiques is that Yeltsin should have made other options that supported the government, democracy, and capitalism, rather than discouragement them? But this raises the question: Were these alternatives successfully available for Yeltsin? Due to the failing of Russian national identity and the dynamics of the disintegration of the Soviet Union, there was much less public consensus and also cooperation among the elites about either the regime. In spite of this perspective, these views by Yeltsin's critics, he should be given credit for his activities. According to McFaul, “Yeltsin surely deserves credit for the monumental achievement. On his watch, the communist party of the Soviet state was destroyed, the biggest empire on earth was peacefully dismantled, and electoral democracy was introduced into a state with a thousand-year history of autocratic rule” (McFaul 2000: 42). After Yeltsin's death, Sergey Kara-Murza, wrote in an EJ.ru obituary, that Yeltsin's Russia was “a country which had independent television and no political prisoners, a country where opposition political parties flourished and where the P President could put down himself with drunken tricks but did not silence critics or send goons to crush peaceful demonstration and take over TV stations” (Young 2007). Likewise, Garry Kasparov, the world highest-ranking chess player from 1986 to 2005 until his retirement,

⁸ Accountability: “procedures requiring officials and those who seek to influence them to follow established rules defining acceptable processes and outcomes and to demonstrate that they have followed those procedures”.

⁹ Transparency: “official business conducted in such a way that substantive and procedural information is available to, and broadly understandable by, people and groups in society, subject to reasonable limits protecting security and privacy”.

maintained: “Between the end of the communist rule and the crackdown under President Putin, there was a phase of an actual democracy. It was short, and it was flawed, but it could have served as a foundation upon which to establish” (Kasparov 2007: 114). The triple problem of dismantling an empire, changing a centralised state system into a liberal market economy, and creating a democratic polity on the ruins of a communist dictatorship would have besieged even the American founding fathers. Yeltsin and his allies created numerous critical mistakes, but they made them under extremely difficult situations. In his book about Yeltsin, life, Timothy Colton writes: “As a democratizer, he is in the company of Nelson Mandela, Lech Walesa, Mikhail Gorbachev and Vaclav Havel. He deserves it, even if his blind spots and faults are taken into account” (Keller 2008).

The Clinton administration described repetitively that Boris Yeltsin was in favour of democratic reforms and open market and they also said that this men show the way to Russia to become a democratic nation. According to the administration Communist Party and nationalist leader like Vladimir Zhirinovskiy was threat to the transformations which were introduced by Boris Yeltsin. (Evans 2011: 43). Through knowledge of perception it could be realize that the real quality of the transformations that were introduced by the Yeltsin leadership was extremely mixed. On the one side, Yeltsin wanted to preventing the Communists from coming to power again; he allowed freedom of expression; he allowed quik development in various parties those were working in Russia; he also promised reforms in economic sphere. In their totality, though, the transformations that took place under the Yeltsin offered a very diverse picture. In a different sphere, there was a huge gap between Yeltsin’s statements on basic principles and the changes that initiated in perform while he was President of Russia. To have access to from the language of the Soviet Marxists, in Yeltsin's legacy there was an absence of integrity of theory and reality. After 1991 the Yeltsin leadership consciously dispirited the mobilisation of Russian peoples for organised political activities other than voting in elections and Yeltsin’s lieutenants were unsuccessful in receiving support from peoples in parliamentary elections. Relying deeply on dominance by the system of the presidency and making deals with the oligarchs (Business Men) and governors, Yeltsin sought to initiate change roughly completely from the top down. And in spite of that, as Steven Fish has highlighted, in every post-communist state “where democratisation did not take place or was initiated and then reversed, a top-down dynamic has been at work”. Fish adds that “strong, autonomous societal groups and networks may not for all

time be democracy's allies, but their absence is almost for all time democracy's enemy". In Russia, establishing democratic institutions was impeded. The country, which fairly collapsed and was partly destroyed, was not recovered. Yeltsin formed neither democratic institutions that could help in economic change nor institutions to support the liberal market economic and the social security system. Tremendously painful economic changes, which were not accompanied by any social agreement and were not supported socially or politically, fell upon the undefended population. (Melville 1999: 179)

Assessment of Democratic Consolidation in Russia

Positive Aspect

(a) Appearance of the Three Well-Known Political Parties

Russia created three stable political parties during 1990s, the time when many people criticized Russia's weak electoral system and it has managed several ups and down at this time. All these three parties the Communist Party, Yabloko and Liberal Democratic Party got more than 5% vote on the Party List ballot in three Parliamentary elections of new Russia. Furthermore, these political parties represent the "left, right, and nationalist wings of Russia's political field respectively" and enjoy a comparatively established electoral base. For example, the Communist Party was in favour of permanent incomes, on the other hand, Yabloko wanted to incomes above the average. Moreover, all these three parties have worked from their foundation in the 1900s under the leadership of Zhuganov, Yavlinsky and Zhirinovsiky. All these three leaders have participated in 1996 and 2000 Presidential elections, and have come to know that about parties relations with the people, the relationship between Parliament and executive, strategy for shaping public views. Therefore, it could be said that Russia was on the right path of established party system development.

(b) Moderation in the Understanding of Leaders

In spite of political instability in Russia during the 1990s, extensive development towards political consensus has started. As Giovanni Sartori says, "this trend has become a centripetal process¹⁰ toward the re-establishment of political consensus, moving away from extreme pluralism toward liberal pluralism, operating on a three to four political party basis. Sartori

¹⁰ Centripetal process: centripetal process is opposite of the centrifugal process, centripetal process unites the country. It is about integrity, consensus and unity.

argues that once moderate pluralism is formed, orderly change become more likely and the party system can perform its organised and integrative works". In Russia during 1990s many groups are "red or brown" were not against the reforms which were introduced by Boris Yeltsin and Gaidar in 1991. Likewise, the liberals and reformers did not refuse for the requirement of national issues. In simple words, during that time there was a consensus among the parties as well as leaders. Richard Sakwa called it the "Moscow consensus"¹¹. This shows political consolidation over the one decade in Russia.

(c) Mutual Understanding between President and Duma

After political consensus among the leaders and parties, the relationship between President and third Duma became far good than the era of Yeltsin. While during first and second Duma both parties Yabloko and the Communist Party opposed to Yeltsin. However, these parties did not want to incite either Putin or executive in third Duma. Indeed first time in ten years main legislative bill have been adopted which suggest about the strengthening of democracy in Russia.

Negative Aspect

In spite of positive aspect for democratic consolidation about Russia's party system; there are many challenges and difficulties to establishing democracy and multi-party system some example has given below which highlights some negative aspect of Russia's democratic consolidation.

(a) Unreasonable Campaign

Many Western scholars observed that Russia's state television always encouraged pro-Kremlin Unity parties and discouraged to its opposition political parties by negative campaigning. Indeed, in the autumn of 1999, when then the Prime Minister Putin's character was firmly linked with "Unity", on television Putin said that he would vote for Unity party "as a private citizen." In the meantime, depending on the region, the election was held with less than full obedience to democratic way. For example, in Tatarstan, efforts to trick voters into helping particular leaders were noted by various Western scholars. Even few Russian scholars noted "the supremacy of local political barons," which tends to become heads of the local economic mafia. Several

¹¹ "Moscow Consensus", "a shared view among elites of how post-Soviet states should be governed and what a modern government should look like. This gives leaders in the region an ordinary language and a general perspective of world that makes it complex for outsiders — particularly those with liberal philosophy — to gain much traction".

authors emphasised the impact of businessman and absence of responsibility at the regional level politics.

(b) Spontaneous Emergence of Political Parties

Three political parties (“Unity”, “Fatherland-All Russia” and “Union of Right Forces”) among six parties emerged before one month of the election. These parties passed more than five percent vote in 1999. Most important is that these parties got ranked second, third, and fourth respectively in Duma election. After this, it could be said that Russia’s parties formed around the experienced figure. For further understanding, study suggests that these political actors were Kremlin’s favourites. The “Fatherland-All Russia” was formed by Lyzhkov and Primakov in 1999. This party was noticed as real ruling party till 1999 when Prime Minister Putin and Kremlin helped to formed “Unity Party”, and Putin also said that the “Fatherland-All Russia” Party is a major opponent of “Unity Party”. One more party Union of Right Forces formed by the blessing of Kremlin and headed by Kirienko. “All five of Yeltsin's former prime ministers were elected to the current Duma, including Gaidar (Union of Right Forces), Chemomyrdin (Our Home is Russia), Kirienko (Union of Right Forces), Primakov (Fatherland-All Russia), and Stepashin (Yabloko)”. With mainly of Russia's parties being founded around well-known figures. During elections, politicians were not able to interact with civil society, especially in the countryside. This shows that Russian party system does not moderately go with the notion of democratic consolidation¹²

(c) Lack of Real Ruling Party

During Yeltsin time, it has been noted that there was a lack of a legitimate ruling party. To be sure, there were two ruling parties “Russia’s Choice” which was formed by Gaidar in 1993 and “Our Home is Russia” formed by that time Prime Minister Chemomyrdin in 1995. Gaidar’s party got more than five percent vote on Party List Ballot in first new Russia election in 1993. But with the decline of Guider’s status, it support also declined. “Our Home to Russia Party” also performed well as ruling party in second Duma under the leadership of Chemomyrdin. However, after removed to Chemomyrdin as head of the party, this party continued to decline. Consequentially it received only 1.2 percent of the vote in 1999. In spite of his opportunistic use

¹² Democratic consolidation: people continue in supporting a democratic system in spite of failure of particular government, to meet their aspirations. Then it is democracy consolidation.

of political parties of his premiers, Yeltsin by no means spoke any strong commitment to any specific party, as an alternative to seeing himself as a father to the country.

While several scholars believe that the continuation of numerous competing political parties as the foundation for democracy, the Russia is not able to establish a representative form of the system yet. It is true that in spite of multi-party system election and development of various political parties in the 1990s, Russia did form actual pluralism. All these developments have to be analysed within the circumstances of the attempt which had made after the decline of authoritarian government to become a democratic country. It is, thus, the creation of wrong institutional structure in this post-communist framework, as well as the development of “oligarchical capitalism,” consequential from transitional changes, which are measured as the important reasons for the incompetence of the Russian party system (KML, Amendine). Russia’s transition also has influenced- both positively and negatively to the development of party system. In pluralist democracies, parties provide a significant representative form of system in problematic democratic societies. It also provides societal benefits and represents these benefits within the state. In Russia, however, political parties to date have played just an unimportant role in concentration intermediation between state and society. Without powerful political parties, the state will in no way face actual opposition. Some consolidation of Russia's party system has taken place which is given below:

Most importantly the proportional representation side of Russia’s diverse electoral system supported to motivate the emergence of interest-based, ideological parties within the parliament. Russia’s multi-party system has been consolidated after three parliamentary elections in the 1990s. This foundation is about four parties The Communist Party of Russia, Yabloko, The Liberal Democratic Party of Russia and Union of Right Forces. These four parties share many attributes easily recognised in parliamentary parties in another political system. **First**, all political parties took part in all the parliamentary election in the 1990s. **Second**, all four political parties have enough understood political commitment and well-known politicians. **Third**, three of the four parties won the approximately same proportion of the vote in 1999 election that they had received in 1995.

Although parties play a significant role in the weak Duma, they have yet to penetrate the executive branch at any level, the strongest political offices in Russia. Parties also play virtually

no role in the federation council. The reasons for party failure in Russia are numerous and many. Due to these reasons, Russia has faced several challenges in developing party system in Russia.

(1) Seventy years of communist party domination emerged as a powerful result within Russian society for party politics. After left the party in 1990, Yeltsin declared that he will not join any party, and several in Russia sympathised with his pledge. Before this Russia had no experience of party culture. The Soviet system established vast quantities of social and organisational capital. In fact, groups and channels created in the Soviet era- be they party “cells”, “Komsomol” networks continue to determine the source of the biggest organisation in the new Russia, including first party, Communist Party of Russia. In spite of all this, these things became as a hurdle to than facilitator of masses party development. After all, these organisations provide to control people, atomise society and dispirit participation in true politics.

(2) The second hurdle to party development is concerned with the scale of social and economic reform in the Russian Federation. In Russia between 1990 and 1997, political conditions and electoral options polarised into two wings, those for reform and those who were against the change. More traditional cleavages that differentiate the contours of the established party system in other countries possibly have started to develop now that this polarisation has begun to recede, and party identification has increased.

The long experience of authoritarian ¹³past and a formless new Russian society cannot be responsible totally for weak party development in Russia today. The decision which has taken by political actors at the time of transition phase also restricted the subsequent rise of a party system. The first and foremost strategic move of result for party development was the development of the Presidential system.

(3) The third transition factor that has restricted the development of effective party system has been the particular organisation of Russia's new “economic society”. Yeltsin’s economic reforms have spawned the creation of a special kind of capitalism called oligarchic capitalism that has shaped interest articulation within the society. A connected

¹³ Authoritarianism is a type of regime characterised by powerful central authority and restricted political liberties. Personal liberties are subordinate to the government and there is no constitutional transparency under an authoritarian government.

centralised oligarch group familiarly if not parasitically tied to the government means that interest articulation has been subjugated by large businesses that have not had to rely on political parties to stand for its interests.

In brief, an emerging party system has developed in Russia, by a proportional factor of the parliamentary electoral system, but this system was split “Moscow-centric” and thus peripheral to the group and articulation of interest in Russian in a political system like Presidential system. (Macfaul 2001: 319) Weak party system of Russia can be attributed in part to the protracted and confrontational mode of transition, one that parliamentary system, convened a real founding election, or succeeded in fostering a more successful market transformation- might have created a more consolidated and consequential party system.

Transitions to Democracy and Democratisation of Russia

Transition and Consolidation can be considered as two different concepts of the democratisation process. Within this context, change refers to a period which starts with the breakdown of the old authoritarian regime and ends with the formation of a comparatively stable political system. Consolidation, however, is rather different from transition because it regarded as an achievement of a change in attitudes and considerable support for the new system, which needs a relatively longer period. The goal of these two aspects is also different. The former aims at the establishment of a new regime, whereas the latter objective at stability and the perpetuation of the created system (Hatipoglu 1998:1). There are many significant determinants of successful democratic transitions. Some major determinants are social and economic factors for example wealth, ethnic contours; factors of the transition, institutional choices (first of all Constitutional and electoral) as well as external factors (borders with neighbouring democratic countries and foreign support for the establishment of democracy) (Hafner and Fink 2009: 1604). One of the most analysed clusters of determinants is the cluster of social and economic determinants, including wealth, on the one side; the economy affects the decay of the earlier government. While, on the contrary, economic growth encourages the capability of the new system and scarcity and economic inactivity are not encouraging of democratisation and the development of democracy.

Ethnic Structure: by arithmetic analysis of the transition to democracy a thesis has been created that a homogenous ethnic contour promotes to successful transformation and strong democracy.

Civil Society: Civil society determinants have its own importance which is found in literature recently. An open and active civil society that takes part in public policy construction is more and more described as part of the significant domestic factors helping democracy.

The Uniqueness of the Transition in Liberalisation Phase: a particular element of slow change to democracy is the liberalisation phase, which occurs before a decision on a transition of the political system.

Constitutional Choices: in the political science literature Constitutional options are understood to be essential political factors for successful democratisation. Parliamentary and Presidential systems are two systems which come under healthy democracy.

Electoral System: there are some practical findings more political parties represented in the parliament and larger possibility of establishing a two-party system where the system is non-proportional in other words, proportional systems are supposed to be systems causing not as much deformation of electoral consequences than other systems, and they force parties to cooperate with each other and build a consensual political customs more encouraging of democratic expansions than majoritarian domination.

External Factors: having a boundary with a democratic state has been statically demonstrated to be a constructive element for democratic developments.

All these determinants can be used for Russian system also. A specific characteristic of Russia's democratic transformation is the "polyethnic composition" of the Soviet Union and Russia and the increase of the centrifugal forces¹⁴ of nationalism under the catchphrase of democracy. At the time of progressive collapse of the Soviet Union national and patriotic thoughts were used to offer meaning and essence to the programme of anticommunism. However, in the post-communist perspective, the reasonable aspiration for national revival began to realise forms incompatible with democracy. Nationalism understood the element of freely ethnocentric and imperial forms (Melville 1999: 175). With the collapse of the Soviet regime, the economic stagnation, and the beginning of market economy reforms, This nascent Soviet "old middle class" was washed away as society divides into two sides- a part of mass poverty and a narrow section of wealth with socially vague factors among them. As for a "new middle class," it has not remained came in Russia. As a result, the issue of determining a sufficient mass social structure

¹⁴ Centrifugal activities: centrifugal activities are those activities that divide the country. Centrifugal means something which is related to distance between two things, one thing is going away from another thing.

of democracy, based on private property link as opposed to attitudes toward the government, remains unsettled in post-communist Russian Federation. Russia's political institutions and people freedoms are certainties not perfect in different ways. Comparative to that under Yeltsin, the condition under Putin has deteriorated noticeably and could get worse further. However, Western critics of Russia's institutions in the last two decades have been disgustingly overblown. "Russia's politics have been among the most democratic in the region. The defects of the country's democracy resemble those established in most of the other middle-income countries" (Shleifer and Triesman 2005: 163). Russia's electoral system has also tended to act in opposition to the expansion of political parties throughout the country. Sartori has emphasised the electoral system as the mainly appropriate manipulative means of politics, as Robert Moser assumes, "if this is true, then decisions involving the arrangement of the electoral system of new democracies in the post-communist world are among the most significant decisions leaders of these new states will create". Russia's choice of electoral arrangement for the national parliament has performed in opposition to the development of a real national party system (Moser 1997: 284). In the Duma, there is a mixed electoral system. Half the party members are elected by proportional representation using a PL system, and half by a "first past the post system," in SMD. The first past the post electoral system in SMD is also a frequent system for elections at the regional level. In elections to the SMD, the "first past the post" system has undoubtedly benefited local notables contesting as independents, over and above the less popular competitors of national political parties. Indeed, the majority of the candidates contesting in the SMD for national elections contest as independent candidates. Independent candidates won many seats in the 1993 Duma elections and came in second to the Communists in 1995 and 1999. Furthermore, Richard Sakwa says that "the party list system which was intended to support consolidate Russia's party system, in practice, developed the fragmentation of the party system". The 1995 electoral rules, by allowing just twelve Moscow leaders on the PL, promoted those lower down the list to break away and establish their electoral groups.

There are two important approaches to explain democratisation of Russia. One is about the rejection of cultural explanation. This method uses the customary Orthodox vision of the Russian political tradition, According to which Russia's dictatorial cultural custom rejects liberal democracy. The second method is very basic and underdeveloped since it is static by definition and does not permit any essential transformation of political custom. The very reality that in

some states liberal democracy has finally stabilised shows that preexisting culture is not a deterministic element but can importantly transform over time. This does not mean that beliefs do not play an important role in each particular phase. As Harry Diamond put it “whether changing or stable, political culture does shape and restrict the possibilities for democracy. Nevertheless one finds attempts to theorise about Russian democratisation without taking the cultural aspect.”

Michael McFaul talks about Russia's democratisation, Michael McFaul sees Russia as nation that has finished its change to electoral democracy, where all significant political figures have “agreed to a new, albeit minimal set of norms and rules of political competition in which popular elections were identified as the only legal instrument to political power.” In McFaul analysis, McFaul combines two approaches. According to one approach “the rational choice” theory, the political development is decided by persons who make a coherent decision, pursuing their benefits and increasing their projected utility. Accordingly, political evolution is seen as a conflict between the two wings: supporters of development and supporters of the ancient state. Occasionally these two wings came to an agreement on a new set of rules deciding political behaviour. In that case, the transition goes on succeeds. In other cases, they do not reach any consensus then transit fails. The second approach is given by the contemporary studies of changes which define circumstances under which good change is possible: “the narrower the contested issue of change, more likely that consensus will build.”

McFaul divides the Russian transformation into three phases. First two efforts of transition were failed: “one finished in the putsch in August 1991 and the disintegration of Soviet Union; the next, in the armed dispute between the President and the Supreme Soviet in 1993. In both incidents, agreement over new norms and regulations was not reached, parts were not discussed, and political actors went outside of the existing rules of the game to pursue their advantages”. At the time of the third phase, the various problems on the programme for transition importantly narrowed. The issue of state autonomy, borders, and redistribution of assets had already been solved, and the just essential outstanding challenge was to seek a stability of political power. Thus, in McFaul's perspective, this challenge was settled much more quickly: the powerful actor imposed an explicit set of new regulations and codified them in the new Constitution of Russian Federation 1993. The allocation of power between actors changed the balance of power was identified by all important actors, and the person of new laws and regulations, Boris Yeltsin even

though to a restricted extent, submitted to a self-binding mechanism made to the new institutional order.

Although several Russian political analysts and leaders, both in discourse and in theoretical writings, call for the separation of power, the rule of law, these democratic ideas have not so far formed Russian political culture in the new Russia. These concepts, adopted from western pre-revolutionary Russian discourse, are seen in Russia today as means of gaining a great political objective: a perfect and just and legitimate society that would give success for all. If these means do not show the way for legitimate society, they may be changed by more efficient ones. In this mean, the rule of law, rights of individual and Constitutional powers of several organs of government. Although supposed to be necessary and attractive are esteemed less than political objectives (Lukin 1999: 97).

Assessment of Russian Party System and Democratisation

Different-different scholars have given their opinion about the multi-party system and democratisation in Russia. Super-Presidentialism, a weak party system, an inadequately organised civil society, an unsuccessful state, and a gradually growing commitment to the rule of law comprise a severe list of institutional flaws in the new democratic polity of Russia. In the 1996 and 2000 Presidential elections, the state and its economic allies wielded massive power in weakening the opposition and supporting those already in power. A similar narrative of regime strength and societal weakness has created in elections for regional executives. Elections to the most significant offices have become less competitive, not more (McFaul 2001: 335). Vladimir Shveister uses the term “hot autumn” for the period of 1993; he said this period became a milestone in the development of a multi-party system in Russia. A broad part of Russia’s political elite regarded the chaotic multiparty system of the 1990s as a result of unresolved problems of different kinds (Shveitser 2009: 44). Richard Sakwa also described Russia’s party system and democratisation in his book called *Politics and Society in Russia*; he says that In the 1990s Russia experienced numerous changes in politics, economics, national identity and culture. The Russian Federation, while in some ways the successor to the Russian Empire and the Soviet Union, differed from its predecessors politically (in trying establishment of to democracy), economically (in trying to Command Economy to Market Economy),

geographically (Russia had never existed in its present borders) and civilisational (joining the international community).

According to Richard Rose and colleagues says that Russia had a 'floating party system', where political parties came and went and thus repressed stable party identification as electors were forced to become 'floating voters' (Sakwa 2008: 145). Stephen White used the term "Client Party System" for Russia's party system. Political parties in contemporary Russia function within what is possibly a uniquely adverse milieu. The vast practice of misrule by the CPSU was hardly an support to the formation of the multi-party system for which the 1993 Constitution provided; certainly it seemed almost to have discredited the very word 'party', as appeared to be implied by the way in which so several Russian political parties found other labels with which they could explain themselves (Webb and White 2007: 49).

Chapter-5

Conclusion

The erstwhile Soviet Union disintegrated in December 1991. As a result, Russia emerged as a successor of the former USSR. If we look at the history of Russia, the country was always ruled by a strong ruler. During the Tsarist period, the country was ruled by the Tsar and political parties were not allowed to run except a brief period before the revolution. Prior to the revolution, there were political parties but they were not functioning freely and elections for Duma were not held in a democratic way.

In October 1917, The Socialist Revolution took place in Russia. Soon after the revolution, Bolshevik Party came into power in Russia. Before the revolution, Lenin promised for the democratisation of the political system. But after revolution promise was never kept. In other words it can be said that Bolshevik did not allow opposition political party to function in the former Soviet Union. There was single party system. There were no democratic elections and all the decisions were taken on the basis of intense debate and discussion at every level in the party, which is known as democratic centralism.

In 1991, Soviet system collapsed. Consequently, the leadership in Russia established a democratic political system by allowing the formation of the multi-party political system, holding democratic elections at fixed intervals, establishing the rule of law, separation of power, independent and powerful judiciary and relatively free circulation of media in the Russian Federation. Political parties are focusing on self-centered motives of the elite leaders. There are very few grounds for the establishment of the coalition which had complicated the process of democratisation in Russia.

First hypotheses of the dissertation is multi-party system leads to democracy, as Anastasija Malachova says in her article called “does a multi-party system lead to more democracy,” that “the case of Russia during the transition period to democracy is the right example illustrating that the multi-party system solely does not ensure democracy”. There are other factors too which promote the process of democratisation. Established democracy depends on the continuation of a profound framework, including not only contending parties, autonomous mass media, and safeguard for citizen rights but also-on a high level-supportive economic and social institution. In

many countries that have created successful change from dictatorship to democracy in recent decades, huge parts of that infrastructure had come into being as a consequence of slow economic and social transitions before the old authoritarian state entered its last years.

Riggs and Schraeder also say that “until the party system re-establish its relation with civil society and the incentives of party elite attitude are shaped by the need to encourage societal benefits instead of their own, Russia’s party system will keep on to be dysfunctional in the ongoing democratisation process”. Transparency, party competition and electoral system are also essential elements for establishment democracy. Taking all these factors into account, it could be said that the mere continuation of the multi-party system does not promote democracy. There are lots of factors behind the multi-party system which shapes the level of democracy in the country. For the multi-party system to show the way for democracy, there should be a high political society in the particular state, real combination potential. Political parties may have a different ideology to each other, but they should have common political objectives and principles. Political parties should not function and merely by self-centeredness but should be a sign of the aspirations and demands of the constituency. With the electoral system, accountability, and party competition multi-party system influence the level of democracy. The successful combination of all these elements leads to democracy.

Although people have obviously more freedom of speech and group than during the Soviet period, examples of citizens making successful political protests are comparatively restricted in Russia. Political parties have been mainly co-opted through media and elite operation to serve as support for those already in power. The Russian state still suffers from difficulties of a lack of transparency, corruption, and an absence of the rule of law. Parliament remains comparatively ineffective in the face of a Constitutional structure that supports the power of the President over that of the legislature. Russia's party system in the 1990s established numerous unique features in contrast to post-communist party systems in Eastern Europe. First, Russia's party system was highly fractured, because every segment of markets was over-supplied. Second, the extremely great level of electoral instability confirmed high flexibility in elector aspirations. Third, independent leaders who possessed resources other than party also played a crucial role in national and particularly sub-national electoral politics. For these causes, Russia's party system is acceptably considered as fragmented and undeveloped. In Russia, access to superior ranks is received by being co-opted by those dominate the highest position in the government bodies,

probably but not essentially after a period of ‘outplacement’ in party rank possibly attached with the association of the legislative body of state via the “party of power”. The system is, therefore, is not transparent with political conflicts out behind closed doors. There is no actual responsibility as political parties are not able to play the role of actual opposition in standard democratic states.

Michael McFaul and Sarah Mendelson one of the view that elections had become “the only legitimate instrument to power in post-Soviet Russia,” and added, “The emergence of electoral democracy, however weak and flawed, must be recognised as a revolutionary achievement”. After all, post-Soviet Russia had held its founding competitive election for its parliament in December 1993, in which a huge number of political parties supported candidates.

If one competitive election is a sign of a breakthrough to democracy, then Russia should have made a well beginning to democracy by the time the votes from its first multiparty election were counted. And yet, despite the fact that numerous political parties contested in parliamentary elections in the post-soviet Russia in 1993, 1995, 1999, and elections for the presidency took place in the post-communist period in 1996, 2000, (with real competition in 1996 and some competition in 2000). Russia has turned toward better totalitarianism for the duration of the last various years. The collapse in political pluralism is reflected in the reality that in election outcome the ruling “United Russia Party” has improved its strengths.

Elections at different stages are held as electoral democracy in Russia virtually every time, but their political culture is still post-totalitarian. The elections do not form a new, successful system of state based on the rule of law and separation of powers, but are used by several clans in their fight for power and even by criminal groups to escape justice. Therefore, as McFaul says that, “the condition in Russia is an irreversible victory of democracy. The country’s political culture has not changed, and the absence of actual liberal reforms does not augur such a transition. The today’s balance of power, which came as consequence of the imposition of the will of one of the groups over others, is not based on new, fixed rules of the game that are accepted by all”. A new Russian President can disregard some necessities of the Boris Yeltsin Constitution. Therefore, Steven Fish’s argument that several institutions in Russian political system, including democracy itself, live by default, “less because they act effectively than because no feasible options seem to be at hand, or because the available options do not enjoy the backing of forces that have enough power and resolve to alter the status quo,” appears to be a sufficient explanation of the

circumstance. With the provocation of the economic stagnation, options will unavoidably become more popular and the will to modify the today's balance will become powerful.

Corruption was another reason which discouraged the development of democracy in the Russian Federation. The larger party division and the more self-interest aspirations political parties have, the stronger the possibility of corruption. One cause is that political parties seek personal motive through dishonest activities. In the 1990s there was a widespread crime in Russia which was linked to corruption. The bribery of officials was said to be common, specifically early in the 1990s, as many people argued that the only way to achieve something done by an official was to pay a bribe.

The second hypothesis is Strong presidency and elite leadership of the political parties have negatively influenced the democratic process and have weakened the party system in Russia. As widely recognised, Boris Yeltsin played a fundamental role in the emergence of democracy in Russia, in spite of this, a lot of his tasks, opening in 1993, would appear to have compromised the democratic programme as well as economic change and state ability. Moreover, given his assurance to the recentralisation of the Russian government Yeltsin's heir Vladimir Putin, could be assumed as a less changeable and therefore, potentially a more alarming power against democratic politics. As McFaul shows, Russia inherited at its rebirth as a state in 1991 a comprehensive array of "significant impediments to democratic consolidation from the Soviet era, including unclear Constitutional rules, a weak regime, a failing economy, a lack of political parties and almost no rule of law." In contrast to Portugal, political leadership choices in Russia-particularly President Boris Yeltsin's significant decision to reschedule Constitutional reform and founding elections-further confused these inherited problems. Only with the implementation of a new Constitution in 1993 and the successive holding of legislative, Presidential, and then regional elections have the political framework of democracy started to set. As McFaul describes, the new Constitutional structure is defective in significant respects, but it at least suggests institutional powers and provides a framework in which elections can become institutionalised, and political parties can initiate to take shape. Thus while democracy still endangered, Russia may now have a opportunity to make development toward consolidation if it can meet the other problems that McFaul identifies: establishing a regime that can control crime and corruption while generating new social classes and civil society groups that are autonomous of the state and capable of articulating and aggregating their interests. These acts need further

development in market reforms to form the economic foundations for a contemporary system of interests and interest intermediation. But all of this hinges, finally, on the creation of a "rule-of-law state." Yeltsin's series of non-decisions concerning political reform after the Soviet Union disintegration and the resulting Constitutional crises in 1992 and 1993 impeded the emergence of other elements of a consolidated democracy. First, Russia's political society disgustingly decayed in two-year period. Before August 1991, political parties had already started to proliferate. The socioeconomic organisation of the Soviet system inhibited the progress of interest-based, ideological parties; only after the creation of markets and private property could political parties develop different social bases and represent articulated material interests. Additionally, Russia's mode of transition disadvantaged party development. The period leading up to the coup in August 1991 accorded political space to only two groups—the status quo (Gorbachev, the Soviet state, and the "communists") and opponents of the status quo (Yeltsin, Democratic Russia, and the "Democrats"). Before August 1991, new political parties realised the restrictions of this division and joined one group or the other, but all democratically oriented political parties expected and prepared for the end of this polarised transition period and the starting of multiparty consolidation.

During his time as President, Boris Yeltsin denied joining a political party. Though this may have achieved his goal of remaining above party politics, in the conflictual milieu of the 1990s it did not create him appear as a non-partisan actor, above politics. Instead, it suggested that political parties were not crucial figures in the political system and that the most well-known political actor had no need of group with them, and thereby failed to give a boost to their progress.

Yeltsin was all a master leader, pursuing numerous policies, often mutually exclusive, simultaneously, and playing off organisations and institutions against each other. For most of his rule, Yeltsin's appointments were planned combinations to keep a balance pivoted on himself. Yeltsinism, like the state that it led, looked in two ways at once: forwards towards democracy, international cooperation and a less bureaucratized and market economy, while at the same time it inherited, and indeed not only perpetuated but also reinforced, many elements of the past – the occurrence of bureaucratic unpredictability in politics and the economy, hasty anti-Westernism, persistent patron-client relations rather than meritocracy, and extensive corruption. This was the

legacy facing Putin, and although he sustained numerous features of the regime politics typical of the Yeltsin period, he subjected that government to necessary change.

By postponing elections and unsuccessful to ratify a new Constitution, Yeltsin further delayed the establishment of new political institutions in Russia. The immediate result of the delay was an armed conflict between the President and the Congress of People's Deputies. More indirect but long term impacts included a Constitution that provided for broad Presidential control and was almost immune to amendment; a weak and fragmented party system; the depoliticisation of civic organisations; little growth on creating the rule of law; and a decline in widespread support for the democracy. In spite of these weaknesses in Russia's democratic transition, Russia has made significant progress toward democracy since December 1993. While flawed, Russia's ratified Constitution is better than no Constitution at all. Political Parties are weak but still, have played a key role in Russian politics since December 1993 than they played before. Perhaps most crucial, all-important political actors have accepted elections as the only way to achieve power in Russia. This taking of elections and the Constitution as the rules of the game suggests that Russia is not always intended to be a quasi-authoritarian, quasi-democratic state. If Russia can emerge from economic depression and political instability with a more diverse socio-economic structure and interest-based political parties, the essential democratic institutions first established at the end of 1993 may provide the situations for democratic restoration in Russia in the future.

Yeltsin effectively made a Presidential administration through which he could both concentrate power and exercise power independently of the other bodies of the political structure. This became a very strong institution, outside the political control of other political figures and answerable merely to the President.

The revolution of Russia's party system from "feckless pluralism" to "dominant power politics" has challenged the political change in Russia, which exchanged one difficult condition for another. In the 1990s, the division and volatility of the party system developed key roadblocks to the establishment of a competent political market. Political parties were not successful to connect elites and masses, to stand for society's benefits, to execute on the level of decision-making, and to make available government liability. Political parties are by no means completely independent actors, let alone core players, in Russia's political system. Their power for capturing the state is quite limited. The power-holders, on the other hand, have the potential for curtailing, manipulating and establishing political parties. "The existing political party and political system

have served the party of power so far. It is not a multi-party system, but there is certainly a system discernible, with rather specific elements that will become lasting traits if they do not tamper with too much". The Constitution created a Presidential rule by giving way the President extensive authorities to overcome, and even ignore, the federal assembly including rule by decree. There seems no party foundation for holding the office wielding the lion's share of government power responsible. On the other hand, the Parliament, which is constituted along party lines, has less capability to proactively establish and execute policy. The federal assembly is not completely without power. One of the principal sources of the federal assembly's power is the necessity that the President's budget must be passed by the federal assembly. Because of the attentiveness of supremacy in the presidency, the character of it has become supreme to the nature of the polity.

The media might have important means to on administrative power, but possession was increasingly in the hands of Kremlin-friendly oligarchs. The judiciary is "independent" and unchallengeable according to the 1993 Constitution of the Russian Federation. For example, Article 10 declares that "The state authority in the Russian Federation shall be exercised by its division into legislative, executive and judicial power. The bodies of legislative, executive and judicial power shall be independent" (Constitution of Russian Federation). However, the Constitutional court functioned with controlling the activities of the executive, was appointed on the nomination of the President himself.

One more factor that emphasises the Russia's party system is the electoral system which, for the most component, contributes less in the direction of party system establishment. Again, the situations of the origin of the Russia played a crucial role. In this situation, the lack of a newly election represented the last chance. It is likely that, had he selected to do so, Yeltsin could have mobilised the pro-reform supporters among elites and the voters to establish a party under his leadership. Russia's political elites demonstrate slight tendency to place the health of their democracy ahead of their self-centered motives. Elites work has been slowly-slowly, but steadily; discourage institutional features essential to party system formation and the development of democratisation in Russia.

As both hypotheses of this dissertation are evident, first hypotheses explain that all the factors such as competitive election, media's role, accountability and electoral process, are essential to promoting democracy. All these factors also described above in the context of Russia. Although

the multi-party system is one of the main features for promoting democracy besides this, for developing democracy, other features are also essential.

And second hypotheses are about the role of leadership and President. Obviously, Presidential system, as well as leadership, influenced Russian political system during the 1990s. This research focuses more on Yeltsin era as above has been emphasised that Yeltsin impacted more Russian political system negatively as well as positively. After the establishment of Constitution of Russian Federation President's powers has increased. During the period of 1990s crime and corruption also increased, fragmentation of party, self-interest politics took place in Russia. Yeltsin did not join any party during his presidency. And positively, Yeltsin encouraged a multi-party system in Russia by implementing the Constitution of 1993. He promoted international cooperation and also played important role in the formation of market economy although it was not a success.

In many newly emerging democratic countries, even after the political transformation phase, the spirited elections have not importantly established an extensive value for freedom, the rule of law. In the case of Russian Federation, electoral democracy has undoubtedly been a significant outcome. In addition, with some reservations, a type of "proto-multiparty system" can be envisioned in which the left party is controlled by the communists, the centre is controlled by "Unity party" and the "Fatherland-All Russia Party," and the right is occupied by "Yabloko" and the "Union of Right Force". Russia's contemporary political system has numerous attributes of an unconsolidated democracy and lacks the apparent characteristics of a real liberal democracy. Certainly, the rapid and immediate rise of Unity party (now United Russia), the "Fatherland-All Russia" and the "Union of Right Forces" shows that Russia's party system is still weak party system.

The fragility of civil and political society obstructs the establishment and success of a party system and the range of institutions that create contemporary "representative democracy". In spite of these things, the final lesson from Russian understanding is that the means of social renaissance and the will for political revival, though much marked by incompetent, corrupt and self-interested elites, cannot be held back indefinitely. Politics have returned to the state and are taking on more and more structured forms and the harsh experience of the communist rule and the decades of post-communist transition express that lasting solution to the country's myriad difficulties can only be found in the area of democratic politics.

Bibliography

(* Indicates primary sources)

Anderson, Richard D. (2010), "When the Center Can Hold: The Primacy of Politics in Shaping Russian Democracy," *Communist and Post-Communist Studies*, 43(4): 397-408.

Azizian, Rouben (2000), "Russia's Staged Democracy," *New Zealand International Review*, 25(2): 25-47.

Bunce, Valeriez (2003), "Rethinking Recent Democratisation: Lesson from the Post-Communist Experience," *World Politics*, 55(2): 167-192.

Bowring, B. (2011), *The Electoral System of the Russian Federation*, London: Policy Department for External Policies.

Burtenshaw, Claude T, (1968), "The Political Theory of Pluralist Democracy," *The Western Political Quarterly*," 21(4): 577-587.

Chung, Eunsook (2003), "A Democratic Consolidation Debate: Russia's Proto-Multi party System", Accessed at 3rd february 2017, URL:https://www.google.co.in/search?q=A+DEMOCRATIC+CONSOLIDATION+DEBATE%3A+RUSSIA%27S+PROTOMULTIPARTY+SYSTEM&gs_l=serp.3..30i10k1.2201071.2202750.0.2204392.20.7.0.0.0.0.362.499.0j1j0j1.2.0....0...1c.1.64.serp..18.2.497...0j0i67k1.urxW1FI3eQg

Colton, Timothy J. and Mcfaul, Michael (2003), "Russian Democracy under Putin," *Problems of Post-Communism*, 50(4): 1-16.

*Constitution of Russian Federation (1993), Government of Russia.

Dahl, Robert A, (1971), *Polarchy: Participation and Opposition*, New Haven: Yale University Press.

Dahl, Robert A. (2006) *A Preface to Democratic Theory*, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

De Bardeleben, John (2008), "Russia's Duma Election and Practice of Russian Democracy," *International Journal*, 63(2): 275-290.

Diamond, Larry and Gunther, Richard (2001), *Political Parties and Democracy*, Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press.

Encyclopedia of Russian History, Encyclopedia.Com [Online Web] Accessed 17th February 2017 URL:<http://www.encyclopedia.com/history/modern-europe/russian-soviet-and-cis-history/duma>.

Evans, Alferd B. (2011), "The Failure of democratisation in Russia: A Comparative Perspective," *Journal of Eurasian Studies*, 2(1): 40-51.

Fish, M.Steven (2005), *Democracy Derailed in Russia: The Failure of Open Politics*, New York: Cambridge University Press.

Garcelon, Marc (2005), *Revolutionary Passage from Post-Soviet Russia, 1985-2000*, Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Gel'man, Vladimir (2006), "From 'feckless pluralism' to 'dominant power politics'? The transformation of Russia's party system," *Democratisation*, 13(4): 545-561.

Gel'Man, Vladimir (2008), "Party Politics in Russia: From Competition to Hierarchy," *Europe-Asia Studies*, 60(6): 913-930.

Gibson, James L. (1998), "Putting up With Fellow Russians: An Analysis of Political Tolerance in the Fledgling Russian Democracy," *Political Research Quarterly*, 51(1): 37-68.

Gill, Graeme (1994), *The Collapse of a Single Party System*, Great Britain: Cambridge University Press.

Gill, Graeme and Young, James (2012), *Routledge Handbook of Russian Politics and Society*, New York: Routledge.

Hafner, Danica Fink and Fink, Mitja Hafner (2009), "The Determinants of the Success of Transition to Democracy," *Europe-Asia Studies*, 61(9): 1603-1623.

- Hague, Rod and Harrop, Martin (2005), *Comparative Government and Politics*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Hale, Henry E. (2006), *Why Not Parties in Russia?: Democracy, Federalism, and the state*, New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Hatipoglu, Esra (1998), "The Democratisation Process in Russia," *Journal of International Affairs*, 3(2): 1-12.
- Held, David (2006), *Models of Democracy*, Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Heywood, Andrew (2004), *Political Theory: An Introduction*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Hill, Ronald J. (1997), "*Parties and Public Organisations*," in Stephen White, Alex Pravda, Zvi Gitelman (eds.) *Developments in Russian Politics 4*, London: Macmillan Press Ltd.
- Hofmeister, Wilhelm and Grabow, Karsten (2011), *Political Parties: Functions and Organization in Democratic Societies*, Singapore: Konrad Adenauer Stiftung.
- Horton, Scott (2008), Harper Magazine, [Online Web] Accessed at 1 February 2017 URL: <https://harpers.org/blog/2008/12/schumpeter-on-political-parties/>.
- Hug, Simon (2001), *Interest, Identities, and Institutions in Comparative Politics*, Michigan: The University of Michigan Press.
- Hutcheson, Derek s. (2003), *Political Parties in the Russian Region*, London and New York: Routledge Curzon.
- Janda, Kenneth (1970), "A *Conceptual Framework for the Comparative Analysis of Political Parties*," in Harry Eckstein and Ted Robert Gurr (eds.) *Sage Professional Papers in Comparative Politics*, California: Sage Publication.
- Kasparov, Garry (2007), "Another Russia's Battling KGB," *Journal of Democracy*, 18(2): 114-119.

Katz, Zev (1956), "Party-Political Education in Soviet Russia 1918-1935," *Soviet Studies*, 7(3): 237- 247.

Keller, Bill (2008) Book Review: Timothy Colton's "Yeltsin: A Life," *The New York Times*, [Online Web] Accessed 20th May 2017 URL:<http://www.nytimes.com/2008/05/08/arts/08iht-07keller.12688027.html>.

Khan, Jeffrey (2002), *Federalism, Democratization, and the Rule of Law in Russia*, New York: Oxford University Press.

KML, Amendine, "Multi-Party System in Russia: Success and Failure," Accessed 27th March 2017, [Online Web] URL:https://www.academia.edu/17509712/Multiparty_system_in_Russia_successes_and_failus.

Kotz, David M. and Weir, Fred (2007), *Russia's Path from Gorbachev to Putin*, New York: Routledge.

*Law of the Russian Federation on Mass Media, No. 2124-of December 27, 1991, accessed at URL: http://www.policy.hu/myagmar/Russian_Mass_Media_Law_I.PDF.

Llewellyn, Jennifer (2014), *Other Russian Political Parties*, at Alpha History [Online Web] Accessed 22nd March 2017 URL: <http://alphahistory.com/russianrevolution/other-russian-political-parties>.

Lukin, Alexendar (1999), "Electoral Democracy or Electoral Clanism? Russian Democratization and Theories of Transition," *Demokratizatsiya*, 7 (1): 93-110.

Malachova, Anastasija (2012), "Does a Multi-Party System Lead to More Democracy", [Online Web] Accessed 15th June 2017 URL: <http://www.e-ir.info/2012/11/21/does-a-multi-party-system-lead-to-more-democracy/>.

Mcfaul, Micheal (1992), "Russia's Emerging Political Parties", *Journal of Democracy*, 3(1): 25-40.

McFaul, Michael (2000), “*Party Formation and Non-Formation*”, Paper presented on 12th may 2000 at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Massachusetts Avenue, N.W: Washington.

McFaul, Michael (2000), “Yeltsin’s Legacy,” *Wilson Quarterly*, 24(2): 42-58.

Macfaul, Michael (2001), *Russia’s Unfinished Revolution: Political Change from Gorbachev to Putin*, New York: Cornell University Press.

Melville, Andrei (1999), “Russia in the 1990s: Democratisation Post-Communism or Something else”? *Demokratizatsiya*, 7(2): 165-187.

Mendelson, Sarah E. (2001), "Democracy Assistance and Political Transition in Russia", *International Security*, 25(4): 68-10.

Moser, Robert G., “The Impact of Parliamentary Electoral Systems in Russia,” *Post-Soviet Affairs*, 1997, 13(3): 284-302.

Mudde, CAS (2009), *The Ideology of the Extreme Right*, New York: Manchester University Press.

Newton, Julie and Tomson, William (2010), *Institutions: Ideas, and Leadership in Russian Politics*, UK: Palgrave Macmillan.

Ogushi, Atsushi (2007) “Why did CPSU Reform Fail? The 28th Party Congress Reconsidered,” *Europe-Asia Studies*, 59(5): 709-733.

Oversloot, Hans and Verheul, Ruben (2006), “Managing Democracy: Political Parties and the State in Russia,” *Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics*, 22(3): 383-405.

Pammett, Jon H. (1999), "Elections and Democracy in Russia," *Communist and Post-Communist Studies*, 32(1): 45-60.

Petrov, Nikolai (2005), “From Managed Democracy to Sovereign Democracy” [Online Web] Accessed 24th February 2017
URL:https://Swww2.gwu.edu/~ieresgwu/assets/docs/ponars/pm_0396.pdf.

*Report on democracy in Russia, [Online Web] accessed 12th April 2017 URL: <https://freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-press/2015/russia>.

Riggs, Jonathan w. And Schraeder, Peter J. (2005), "Russia's Political Party System as an Impediment to Democratization", *Demokratizatsiya*, 13(1): 265-293.

Robinson, Neil (1998), "Classifying Russia's Party System: The Problem of Relevance in a Time of Impediment to Democratization", *Demokratizatsiya*, 12(2): 265-293.

Robinson, Neil (2000), *Institutions and Political Change in Russia*, Great Britain: Macmillan Press.

Robinson, Neil (2003), "The Politics of Russia's Partial Democracy", *Political Studies Review*, 1 (2): 149-166.

Rogger, Hans, (1964), "Was There a Russian Fascism? The Union of Russian People," *The Journal of Modern History*, 36(4): 398-415.

*Russian Federation Federal Law on Political Parties (2001), Government of Russia.

*Russian Laws on Elections in Russia, [Online Web] 9th April 2017 Accessed URL: <http://www.democracy.ru/english/library/laws/>.

Russian Revolution: 1905-1917, [Online Web], accessed 13th February 2017 URL: <http://funfront.net/hist/russia/revo1917.htm>.

Sakwa, Richard (2005), "Perestroika and Challenge of Democracy in Russia," *Demokrazatsiya*, 13(2): 255-275.

Sakwa, Richard (2008), *Politics and Society in Russia*, Uk: Routledge.

Sakwa, Richard (2012), "Sovereignty and Democracy: Constructions and Contradictions in Russia and Beyond," *Regional Studies of Russia, Eastern Europe and Central Asia*, 1(1): 3-27.

Sarah, Badcock (2007), *Politics and the People in Revolutionary Russia*, New York: Cambridge University Press.

Sartori, Giovanni (2005), *Parties and Party System: A Framework for Analysis*, U.K: Cambridge University Press.

Schonfeld, William R. (1983), "Political Parties: The Functional Approach and the Structural Alternative," *Comparative Politics*, 15(4): 477-499.

Sheitser, Vladimir (2009) "Power and Parties in Post-Soviet Russia", *Russia in Global Affairs*, 7(2): 37-48.

Shinar, Chaim (2012), "*The Oligarchs and Democratisation in Russia during Yeltsin's Presidency 1991-1999*," Master Thesis, Israel: Israeli Open University.

Shleifer, Andrei and Triesman, denial (2005), "A Normal Country: Russia after Communism," *Journal of Economic Perspective*, 19(1): 151-174.

Shveitser, Vladimir (2009), "Power and Parties in Post-Soviet Russia," *Russia in Global Affairs*, 7(2): 37-48.

Stephen, White (2007), "*Russia's Client Party System*", in Webb, Paul and White, Stephen (eds.) *Party Politics in New Democracies*, New York: Oxford University Press.

*The Laws on Judiciary in Russia, The Laws of the Russian Federation no. 3132-1 of June 26, 1992, on the Status of Judges in the Russian Federation Accessed at URL: <http://www.legislationline.org/documents/action/popup/id/4369>.

Trochev, Alexei (2004), "Less Democracy, More Courts: Puzzle of Judicial Review," *Law and Society Review*, 38(3): 513-548.

Upadhyay, Archana (2000), *Emergence of the Multi-Party System in the Russian Federation*, Michigan: South Asian Publishers.

Webb, Paul and White, Stephen, (2007), *Party Politics in New Democracies*, New York: Oxford Press.

Wegren, Stephen K. and Konitzer, Andrew (2007), "Prospect for Managed Democracy in Russia," *Europe-Asia Studies*, 59(6): 1025-1047.

White, Stephen (2011), *Understanding Russian Politics*, UK: Cambridge University Press.

*Yeltsin, Boris (1992), “*There Will Be No More Lies*” gave speech on 17 June 1992 at Russia on Joint Meeting of Congress.

Young, Cathy (2007), “The Good Czar,” Reason.Com, [Online: Web] accessed 5 April 2017
URL: <http://reason.com/archives/2007/06/06/the-good-czar>.

Zlobin, Vasily I. (1992), "Is There Any Hope for Russian Political Parties?" *Demokratizatsiya*, 1 (4): 22-30.