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**PREREQUISITES AND FEATURES OF THE CHANGE OF GOVERNMENT
IN UKRAINE AND THE BALTIC COUNTRIES:
POLITICAL AND HISTORICAL ASPEKT (1990 – 2004)**

Abstract. The purpose of the research is to study the process of power change as a result of parliamentary and presidential elections in Ukraine and the Baltic countries under the influence of the consequences of unpopular reforms in the social and economic sphere during the first decade of their independence. The research methodology is in the use of various tools to achieve the goal. It includes: historical and comparative comparison of election results in the studied countries to determine their political features in the transition period; dynamics, with the help of which the quantitative and

qualitative political changes in these countries during the first decade of independence were considered; synchronous, which was used to analyze the results of elections in the studied countries in parallel, in the same period; political analysis, which contributed to a clear understanding of the party architecture in the parliaments and the peculiarities of the formation of the executive power in the specified countries. **The scientific novelty** is that for the first time in the scientific discourse, the results of the elections in Ukraine and the Baltic states in the first decade of independence are determined through the prism of support for right and center-right, as well as left and center-left parties after they carried out reforms in transit conditions. **The Conclusions.** In the study, it was determined that in the Ukrainian political model, according to which the president had the key right to form the government, politicians of the left segment, criticizing the actions of the head of state, in the conditions of transition from a planned to a market economy, received the majority of mandates, both according to the majority component, and later according to the lists of political parties. In Latvia and Estonia, electoral sympathies were the opposite of Ukrainian, because in these countries the voters were inclined to support right-wing and center-right politicians who, under parliamentary forms of government, formed governments that carried out more effectively the transition of their countries to the market. The Lithuanian experience of the change of power in the 1990s is special, because in each subsequent election the opposition won, which was more reminiscent of a kind of "electoral pendulum".

Key words: center-left, center-right, party, elections, transit, president.

ПЕРЕДУМОВИ ТА ОСОБЛИВОСТІ ЗМІНЮВАНОСТІ ВЛАДИ В УКРАЇНІ І КРАЇНАХ БАЛТІЇ: ПОЛІТИКО-ІСТОРИЧНИЙ АСПЕКТ (1990 – 2004)

Анотація. Метою статті є дослідження процесу змінюваності влади в результаті парламентських та президентських виборів в Україні і країнах Балтії під впливом наслідків від непопулярних реформ у соціально-економічній сфері протягом десятиліття їх незалежності. **Методологія** дослідження полягає у використанні різного інструментарію для досягнення мети. До нього відноситься: історико-компаративне зіставлення результатів виборів у досліджуваних країнах для визначення їх політичних особливостей в перехідний період; динаміки, за допомогою якого було розглянуто кількісні та якісні політичні зміни у цих країнах протягом першого десятиліття незалежності; синхронний, який використовувався для аналізу результатів виборів у досліджуваних країнах паралельно, в один й той самий період; політологічного аналізу, який сприяв чіткому розумінню партійної архітектури у парламентах і особливостей формування виконавчої влади у зазначених країнах. **Наукова новизна** полягає у тому, що вперше в науковому дискурсі визначено результати виборів в Україні і країнах Балтії у перше десятиліття незалежності через призму підтримки правих і правоцентристських, а також лівих і лівоцентристських партій після проведення ними реформ в умовах транзиту. **Висновки.** У дослідженні визначено, що в українській політичній моделі, згідно якої президент мав ключове право на формування уряду, політики лівого сегменту, критикуючи дії глави держави в умовах переходу від планової до ринкової економіки, отримували більшість мандатів, як за мажоритарною складовою, а згодом і за списками політичних партій. У Латвії та Естонії, електоральні симпатії були протилежними українським, адже у цих країнах виборці схилилися до підтримки саме правих і правоцентристських політиків, котрі в умовах парламентських форми правління формували уряди, які здійснювали більш ефективно перехід своїх країн до ринку. Литовський досвід змінюваності влади у 1990-х роках є особливим, адже на кожних наступних виборах перемога діставалася опозиції, що більше нагадувало своєрідний "електоральний маятник".

Ключові слова: лівоцентристи, правоцентристи, партія, вибори, транзит, президент.

The Problem Statement. The events of August 1991 in Moscow contributed to the declaration of independence by the parliaments of Ukraine and the Baltic states. This process took place thanks to the active activity of political power of the right spectrum in the parliaments of the studied republics. Since the representatives of this national-democratic direction in Ukraine and the Baltic countries received their mandates as deputies as a result of the March elections of 1990, they now have the opportunity to become active participants

in political life already at the institutional level. It was thanks to their active activities that Ukraine and the Baltic countries (Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia) declared their independence, which was recognized at the international level in 1991. Since it was the political power of the right spectrum that ruled the state-building processes, then, having received the levers of power, they tried to implement a course to build a democratic and the rule of law and market economy. However, the lack of experience and difficult conditions for the transition from the plan to the market were evident. Therefore, as a result of such management activities, the countries received a certain economic “shock” (especially in the form of high inflation), later the elite itself felt it in the electoral plane, in particular during the next parliamentary elections. Accordingly, the electorate associated failures in the economy with the activities of right-wing politicians in power, who could not cope with the situation in the first period of independence, as a result of which their country experienced a significant crisis. This contributed to the fact that the political emphasis in some countries shifted to the left opposition, which in the crisis criticized the unpopular and risky decisions and actions of the governments, which were formed by the politicians of the right spectrum.

Analysis of Sources and Recent Research. The socio-political process in the conditions of the formation of independent Ukraine in the first post-Soviet period became the object of research attention of Professor O. Boyko (Boyko, 2021). Historian V. Holovko (Holovko, 2016). Scientist R. Ofitsynskyi (Ofitsynskyi, 2006) carried out a thorough scientific study of the state-building process in Ukraine based on the materials of Western periodicals. The Lithuanian period of state formation in the first decade of restored independence was reflected in the scientific work of Lithuanian professors M. Tamoshaitys, A. Bumblauskas, A. Eidintas, and A. Kulakauskas (Istoriia, 2018). Latvian historians D. Bleyere, I. Batulis, A. Zunda, A. Stranga, and I. Feldmanis were engaged in researching the problems of restoration and formation of the Republic of Latvia in the latest period of history (Istoriia, 2005). Estonian state formation in a wide range of regulatory and legal frameworks, both domestic and foreign, was reflected in the activities of T. Karyakhyarm and A. Adamson (Karyakhyarm & Adamson, 2008).

The purpose of the research is to study the process of power change as a result of parliamentary and presidential elections in Ukraine and the Baltic countries under the influence of the consequences of unpopular reforms in the social and economic sphere during the first decade of their independence.

The Result of the Research. In the political and legal dimension, Ukraine in the 1990’s represented a post-Soviet republic of a mixed type (presidential-parliamentary variety). In Ukraine, there is a president elected by the people for a term of 5 years and a parliament (the Supreme Council of Ukraine) for a term of 4 years (Konstytutsiia, 1996). The constitutional composition of the legislative body is 450 people’s deputies. The government is formed by the President based on the submission of ministerial candidates by the Prime Minister. The latter is also approved by the President with the consent of the Parliament.

The weakening of the center in Moscow, in connection with the failed coup attempt in August 1991, contributed to the fact that the Verkhovna Rada, with the active activity of national-democratic power in the parliament, as well as the support of Speaker L. Kravchuk, on August 24, 1991, adopted the Act declaration of independence of Ukraine. During the national referendum on December 1, 1991, 90.32% of Ukrainians supported the Declaration of Independence Act (Visnyk, 2012) and it was from this time that Ukraine began to be recognized by other countries of the world. Also on the same day, 61.59% of voters supported the acting Speaker of the Parliament L. Kravchuk as the first President of Ukraine (Visnyk, 2012).

Having acquired the main attributes of the state, Ukraine did not embark on rapid and radical reforms in the social and economic sphere (the so-called “shock therapy”). The authorities of that time could not dare to further disturb the already impoverished people. According to the State Statistics Service of Ukraine, inflation (as of 1993) reached a record value in domestic practice – 10,256% (Indeksy, 2019). The country was in a deep crisis, from which it was necessary to get out as soon as possible.

During the first three years of independence, the domestic political community also failed to form a new Constitution, which would contain the foundations of the state system, the main rights and duties of all participants in public life, as well as establish and regulate the activities of the main institutions of power. The voter in the uncertain “rules of the game” did not have a clear understanding of who is responsible for such a crisis state of affairs (the parliament or the president). The Verkhovna Rada, elected in March 1990, with a communist majority, blamed President L. Kravchuk for such a crisis, and he, in turn, blamed the parliament (Ukraina, 2007, p. 951). All this contributed to mistrust not only of the state-makers, especially the representatives of the right-wing political camp, who stood near the origins of independence, but also of the authorities in general. Under such circumstances, in 1994, the parliament and the president were forced to hold early parliamentary and presidential elections.

In 1994, during the first parliamentary elections during the years of Ukraine’s independence, people’s deputies were elected under the majoritarian electoral system. Out of 450 seats in the parliament, only 338 were filled, and later by-elections were held in other single-mandate constituencies (Visnyk, 2012). Representatives of left (in particular, communist) political views won the largest number of representative mandates in the parliament (85, and later another 5 mandates). There was also significant support from the center-left parties: the Peasants’ Party of Ukraine (19 seats), the Socialist Party of Ukraine (14 seats), the Labor Party (5 seats), and the Social Democratic Party of Ukraine (2 seats). Right-wing parties received: People’s Movement of Ukraine – 20 seats, Ukrainian Republican Party – 9 seats, Congress of Ukrainian Nationalists – 5 seats, Ukrainian Conservative Republican Party – 2 seats (Visnyk, 2012). Proportionally, the leftists and center-leftists had 41%, and the rightists and right-centers had 12% (See Chart 1).

In connection with the active state-building activities of the right-wing and center-right power, which were in the minority in the parliament, as well as due to failures in the implementation of economic and social policy, they, together with the current President L. Kravchuk, took upon themselves all the electoral negativity (despite the fact that the inflation rate decreased significantly, but it was still high in 1994 – 401% (Indexy, 1994)).

President L. Kravchuk lost the 1994 elections to the former Prime Minister of Ukraine L. Kuchma, receiving support in the second round of 52.14% of the vote (Visnyk, 2012). However, the responsibility for failures in reforming the economy now rests on the shoulders of President L. Kuchma and the government formed by him (especially in the conditions of the 1995-1996 annual Constitutional Treaty agreed between the president and the parliament).

On June 28, 1996, the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine adopted the Constitution. Under this form of government (presidential-parliamentary), the architecture of factions of political parties in the parliament does not play a key role in the formation and functioning of the executive power in Ukraine. According to this model, the Parliament must give its consent to the appointment of the Prime Minister by a majority of votes. At the same time, the President can independently dismiss the Prime Minister, who, together with the government, is responsible to the Head of State (Konstytutsiia, 1996). That is, under such a political

system, the victory of left-wing parties in parliament does not mean the formation of a correspondingly left-wing government (the same applies to right-wing parties).

The first regular parliamentary elections in Ukraine in 1998 were held under a new, mixed (majoritarian-proportional) system. The largest number of seats in the Verkhovna Rada of the third convocation of the parliament are again won by the left: the Communist Party of Ukraine (123 seats), the united block of the Socialist Party of Ukraine with the Peasant Party of Ukraine (34 seats), the Progressive Socialist Party (16 seats) and the Social Democratic Party of Ukraine (united) (17 mandates). The right-wing People’s Movement of Ukraine party receives only 46 mandates (Visnyk, 2012) (See Chart 1). Despite this, in the conditions of a mixed form of government, the current Prime Minister V. Pustovoitenko remains in his position, because he was appointed by President L. Kuchma. The latter, after the end of the five-year term in 1999, will be re-elected as the President of Ukraine for 5 years.

The next parliamentary elections in Ukraine in 2002 were also held under the majority-proportional (mixed) system. Although these elections removed the Communist Party of Ukraine from first place, which this time received half as many mandates as in the 1998 elections (65 instead of 123), nevertheless, the left and center-left parties together received the majority of votes in the parliament. In particular, left-wing parties won seats in the parliament: the Socialist Party of Ukraine – 22, the Social Democratic Party of Ukraine (United) – 27. Of the right-wing parties, the center-right Viktor Yushchenko Bloc “Our Ukraine” received the most votes (112 seats) in these elections (Visnyk, 2012) (See Chart 1).

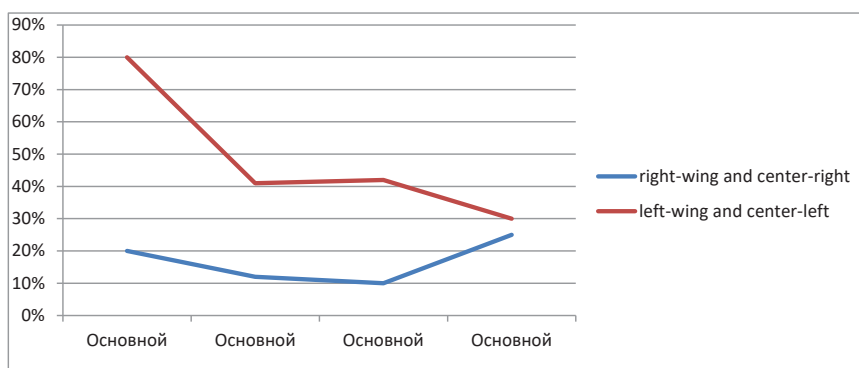


Chart 1. Election results of right-wing and center-right parties, as well as left-wing and center-left parties in Ukraine (1990 – 2006)

So, the Ukrainian practice of forming parliamentary architecture in the 1990s depended on many factors: political and legal foundations, in particular, the constitutional features of the form of state government, the electoral system, institutional (president, parliament, government) and political responsibility for the state of affairs in the country. However, if right-wing politicians were able to achieve the emergence of an independent state of Ukraine even during the existence of the USSR, they did not have the opportunity to restructure the economy and resolve crises, because they never constituted a majority in the parliament or in the government. The electorate, during the parliamentary elections of the first decade of independence, increasingly supported the left power, which they associated as socially oriented and “not involved” in the crisis phenomena in the Ukrainian economy of the

transition period. The main responsibility for such a crisis situation in the economy should have been borne more by the President, who forms the government, than by the Parliament. Upon coming to power, President L. Kuchma received the necessary powers to resolve the crisis situation, and along with them, greater responsibility.

According to the Constitution adopted on October 25, 1992, Lithuania is a presidential-parliamentary republic. The Parliament of Lithuania is the Seimas, which consists of 141 deputies who are elected by citizens for four years (Konstytučiai, 1992). The Prime Minister, with the support of the Seimas, is appointed and dismissed by the President. The government is formed by the Prime Minister and approved by the President. That is, the Lithuanian and Ukrainian versions of the form of state government of that period were very similar.

As a result of the first free elections, in the last Lithuanian parliament during the Soviet era (1990), representatives of the right-wing state-restoring party Sajūdis won a convincing victory, receiving 96 out of 133 mandates (Istoriia, 2018, p. 370) and forming their government. V. Landsbergis, one of the leaders and activists of this party, becomes the speaker of the parliament. During the first meeting (March 11, 1990), the speaker raised questions about the restoration of the statehood of the Republic of Lithuania and received the absolute support of the deputies (124 out of 133 votes) (Istoriia, 2018, p. 370).

The main opponents of Sajūdis were the left – the Communist Party of Lithuania (independent) (later to be called the Democratic Labor Party of Lithuania – DPPL) led by its leader A. Brazauskas. The party will get the second result with the number of 46 mandates (17 of which will later be supporters of Sajūdis) (See Chart 2). Later, by the surname of these two leaders-competitors of polar ideologies, their supporters will be called among the people, who will be divided into the so-called “Brazauskas” and “Landsbergists” (Istoriia, 2018, p. 380).

As a result of the victory in the elections, the representatives of Sajūdis, led by its speaker in the parliament V. Landsbergis, began to actively introduce new laws, resolutions, acts that should contribute to the transition of the country to the conditions of a market economy, democracy, rule of law, etc. These reforms later lead to the so-called of “shock therapy”, because under the new government, the Soviet-communist system that had existed for fifty years was radically changed and a new (civilized, democratic) one was created. The introduction of radical methods that led to a certain “shock” in the economy (inflation was a record at that time was 382% (Indeks, 1992), which had corresponding negative consequences in the social sphere, and therefore in the electoral mood. Therefore, during the parliamentary In the 1992 elections, Sajūdis significantly lost his support and gave way to the so-called “sovereign communists” and their new party, the Democratic Party of Labor of Lithuania (DPPL) led by the leader A. Brazauskas. The latter won almost 44% in this election race voter support (73 seats out of 141 seats in parliament) (Rinkimų, 1992), which allows them to form a government on their own. Sajūdis, in a bloc with other right-wing parties, receives only 21% during these elections, which entitles them to only 30 seats in the Sejm In general, according to the results of these elections, the left and center-left parties gained more than 50% of support, while the right-wing and center-right parties received 41% (see Chart 2).

It was due to the implementation of unpopular steps to reform the country, only in the first two years of restored independence, that the number of representatives of the right-wing Sajūdis decreased in the next convocation of the parliament (compared to the previous one) from 91 deputies to 30, and the left-wing Democratic Labor Party of Lithuania (former sovereign communists) increased by this time its corps from 29 to 73 mandates. In this regard, Lithuanian historians note: “... a large part of the Lithuanian population for the failures... blamed the then

head of the Supreme Council of Lithuania V. Landsbergis, although the difficulties were simply a consequence of the destruction of the old economy” (Istoriia, 2018, p. 383).

It would be appropriate to note that against the background of voters’ loss of trust in the right-wing power, the first presidential elections took place in 1993, during which the leader of the ruling Democratic Labor Party of Lithuania A. Brazauskas won a convincing victory in the first round (60%) (The Elections, 1993). In the period from 1993 to 1996, the left-centers, led by their leader, President A. Brazauskas, have all the power in Lithuania (both in the parliament and in the government, as well as their president).

Inability to cope with the situation in the economy during the crisis (inflation in 1996 was 23% (Riven, 1996), the center-left government, with all its fullness, loses its positions due to the defeat in the parliamentary elections of 1996. Accordingly, former members of the center-right movement Sąjūdis from V. Landsbergis, under the new name “Union of the Fatherland – Lithuanian Conservatives”, wins the parliament with an indicator of 29.8% (getting 70 out of 141 mandates) (Rinkimų, 1996). The center-left Democratic Labor Party of Lithuania wins only 12 out of 141 seats in the Seimas. In general, the right-wing and center-right parties gained 47% of support in the elections, and the left-wing and center-left – 21% (See Chart 2). The government is formed by the “Union of the Fatherland – Lithuanian Conservatives” in a coalition with the right-wing “Lithuanian Christian Democratic Party” (86 out of 141 seats in the parliament).

During the presidential race (second round on January 5, 1998), A. Brazauskas was replaced by an independent candidate – V. Adamkus, defeating his competitor A. Paulauskas with 49.96% (2-ojo rinkimų, 1998). In 2002, the main opponent of V. Adamkus, R. Paksas, became the President, who received 54.71% of the votes (Results, 2002). As a result of early elections in 2004 (after the impeachment of R. Paksas), V. Adamkus, who won the most votes (51.89%) returned to the post of President of Lithuania (Elections, 2004).

In 2000, the left-centers, led by former president A. Brazauskas, created an inter-party coalition called the “Social-Democratic Coalition of Algirdas Brazauskas” and received 31% of the vote and occupied the most seats in the parliament among other parties (51 mandates) (Voting, 2000). By uniting with other factions of the left and center-left direction, they form a coalition government. In total, all the left and center-left parties in the parliament win 52% of the seats, while the right-wing and center-right parties only get 21%. (See Chart 2).

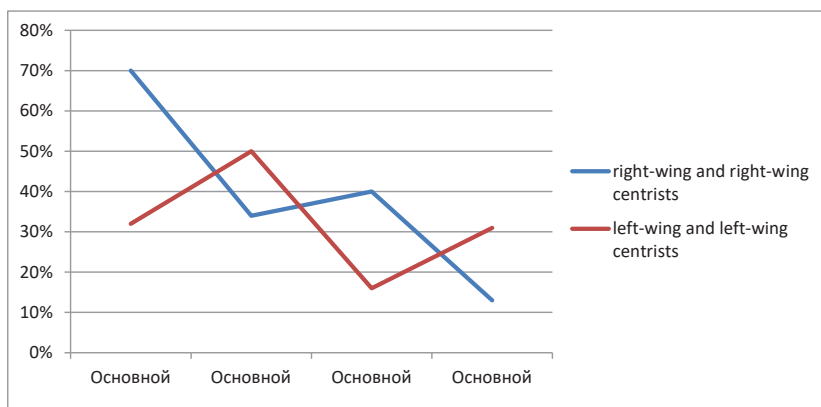


Chart 2. The results of elections and the rule of right-wing and right-wing centrists, as well as left-wing and left-wing centrists in Lithuania (1990 – 2004)

Thus, during this period the political situation in Lithuania was characterized by the polarity of sympathies on the part of the electorate at each subsequent election in connection with the current government's implementation of necessary, but unpopular reforms in transit conditions.

Considering the experience of the Latvian government architecture, it is worth noting that in this country, at the legislative level, a proportional electoral system was introduced with a 4% passing barrier in the period from 1992 to 1995 and a 5% barrier from 1995 to now (Istoriia, 2005, p. 420). To form a government, party factions need to form a coalition with other political power in order to have the majority of votes in the parliament. The Parliament of Latvia is the Sejm, which consists of 100 deputies and has terms of four years each (Constitution, 1993). That is, according to the Constitution adopted on July 6, 1993, Latvia can be characterized as a parliamentary republic.

H. Ulmanis was elected the first President of Latvia in 1993 (1993 presidential). He was in this position for two terms, until 1999. In the same year, the Parliament of Latvia elected V. Vike-Freiberg as the new President, who also held this position for two terms (until 2007) (1993 presidential).

At the first elections to the Diet during the period of restored independence in 1993, only 8 out of 23 parties passed the 4% barrier (Istoriia, 2005, p. 420); in 1995, the barrier, which had already been changed to 5%, was overcome – 9 out of 19 parties; in 1998, 6 out of 21 parties entered the parliament; 2002 – 6 out of 20 (Istoriia, 2005, p. 422).

Since the greatest progress in state reconstruction processes was made at the end of the 80's – beginning 90's of the 20th century. Carried out by the center-right People's Front of Latvia (NFL), then, having achieved its main goal (restoring the country's independence), it gave impetus to the development of a multi-party system (Istoriia, 2005, p. 428).

During the first free parliamentary elections in 1990, the center-right People's Front of Latvia won 68% of the seats in parliament, while its main left-wing rival, the Communist Party of Latvia, won 21% (Nohlen & Stöver, 2010). As noted by Latvian historians, later part of the People's Front turned into a political party, which in the 1993 parliamentary elections was renamed the Christian People's Party, as well as the Movement for the National Independence of Latvia (RNNL), which received significant support in the elections to the Fifth Seimas. of the total number, these parties received more than 20% of the votes in the parliament during the 1993 elections (Parliamentary Chamber, 1993). However, the victory was for the Latvian Way party. It was the center-right Latvian Way party that was one of the most popular political power in Latvia in the 1990s, which was directly related to the formation of the executive power and its leaders headed governments (1993 – 1994; 1994 – 1995; 1998 – 1999; 2000 – 2002). Yes, this party as a result of the elections to the Fifth Seimas in 1993, it received 32.4% of voters' support; before the Sixth Seimas in 1995 – 14.7%; before the 1998 Seimas – 18.1%, and before the Eighth Seimas in 2002, this party did not pass at all, receiving 4.9% of voter support (Latvian). As we can see, the drop in the rating of the most influential center-right party in Latvia in the mid-1990s was significant (from 32.4% in 1993 to 4.8% in 2002) (see Chart 3).

The drop in the ratings of right-wing and center-right power in the first decade of independence can be explained by unpopular, but quite necessary for the country's life, steps in the transition to democracy, a market economy, a new system of taxation, privatization, etc. As a result of the first period of reforms, inflation in Latvia was: 272% in 1991, 1051% in 1992, 209% in 1993, and 119% in 1994. (Istoriia, 2005, p. 452). That is, the government was able to carry out the necessary reforms relatively quickly, in particular – to put the country on the

market rails and in the 1993 election year to “pay off” the galloping inflation to a level lower than the 1991 rate. However, the unsolved nature of a number of socio-economic problems in the 1990s by Latvia’s ruling elite led to alternative ideas for resolving the existing crises, and accordingly to the emergence of political power that defended them, being in the opposition.

So, during this period, populist politicians appeared in whom the people saw a kind of “saviors”. The most significant political power of the populist direction were the People’s Movement for Latvia and the Latvian Unity Party. Having received the support of the electorate in the elections, these political power could not fulfill their promises regarding the successful solution of urgent problems in the economic and other spheres, and therefore were forced to leave the parliamentary level (Istoriia, 2005, p. 428).

A separate group in the Latvian party-political spectrum consisted of left-centers, in particular, social democrats, who advocated the creation of institutions that should regulate the market, and also insisted on preventing the privatization of large state-owned enterprises and demanded the introduction of a progressive tax rate. The parties of this direction, which in 1995 overcame the 5% barrier to the parliament, were as follows: Socialist Party of Latvia (5.6%), Party of People’s Consent (5.6%). In the following elections in 1998, such parties were: Party of People’s Accord (14.2%), Latvian Social Democratic Labor Party (12.9%) (Mednis, 2007). In 2002, the pro-Russian alliance of the Party of People’s Accord and the Socialist Party, which after the merger began to be called “For Human Rights”, won 19% of the seats (see Chart 3). Among the parties of the left direction, the most pro-Moscow was the Socialist Party of Latvia, led by the leader of the former communists A. Rubiks, which insisted on strengthening ties with the Russian Federation and the CIS and against the course towards NATO and the EU, as well as solving the problem of non-citizens of this country (Istoriia, 2005, p. 429).

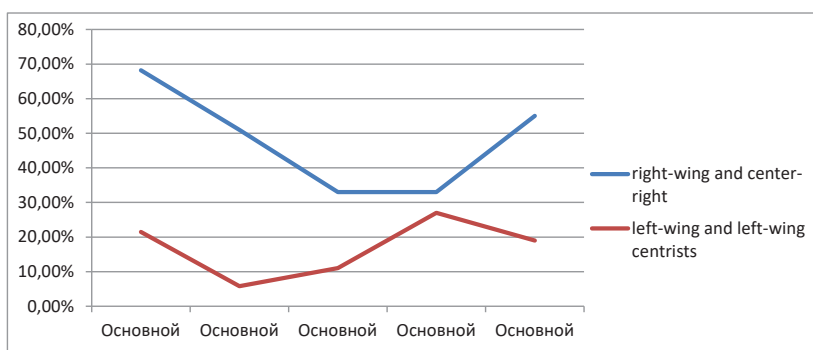


Chart 3. The results of the elections and the rule of the right and center-right parties, as well as the left and center-left parties in Latvia (1990 – 2006)

Thus, the center-right parties that carried out the state-building process in Latvia in the 1990s, although they gradually lost their popularity among voters due to unpopular reforms (in the form of “shock therapy”), they were still in power and moved the country towards the market and democracy. The center-left (in particular, pro-Russian) power of Latvia actively acted in the electoral field, mostly with populist slogans, and gradually gained support for their course among voters dissatisfied with the government’s policies.

According to the Constitution adopted on June 28, 1992, the Estonian model is a parliamentary republic. The president is elected by members of the parliament (Riigikogu),

whose term of office is four years. The constitutional composition of the parliament is 101 deputies. The prime minister is appointed by the president with the support of the parliament, and ministers are appointed by the head of the government. The president is elected by the parliament (Konstytutsiia, 2015).

During the elections to the last Soviet parliament in 1990, the right-wing People's Front won the most votes (40.95%), while the left-wing Communist Party of Estonia – Free Estonia won 25.71% of voter support (Nohlen & Stöver, 2010, p. 574) (See Chart 4).

As a result of the first parliamentary elections under the restored independence of Estonia in 1992, the right-wing party “Motherland” won the majority of votes (22%, which is 29 seats) (Vybory v Riigikogu, 1992) and in a coalition with the Estonian National Independence Party, which allowed them to form a government led by M. Laar. In general, the right and center-right received 44% during the 1992 elections, while the center-left party “Moderates” received only 12% (see Chart 4). The implementation of reforms by the center-right coalition together with its government in the direction of privatization, democratization, liberalization, etc., had certain “side effects” in the socio-economic sphere, which were reflected in the rating of these political power.

In the same year, presidential elections were held in the Estonian Parliament, in which the right-wing activist L. Meri, who held this position twice (until 2001), won. In 1992, he received 26.1% of the vote (Vybory v Riigikogu, 1992), and in 1996 – 52% (Vybory Prezidenta Respubliki, 1996). Despite the fact that the situation in the economy is gradually improving (in particular, if the inflation in 1994 was 47.7%, then in 1995 it was 29% (Infiatsiia, 1995), the voter of the troubles in the economy relied on the current government, not on the positive process in transit conditions.

In the parliamentary elections of 1995, the current government was defeated, and the Coalition Party won with 32.2% of the votes and received 41 out of 101 seats in the parliament (Vybory v Riigikogu, 1995). Having united with the third-ranked Center Party of Estonia (14.2%, which is 16 seats) (See Chart 4), they form a government led by T. Vähi. In six months, the ruling party replaces its coalition ally with the second-ranked faction of the Reform Party of Estonia and keeps the current prime minister in office. The consumer price index (inflation) begins to improve significantly (if it was 29% in 1995, it significantly decreased to 3.1% by 1999 (Inflation, 1999)).

Already in the next parliamentary elections in 1999, the former coalition ally, the Center Party of Estonia, won the most votes with 23.4% (28 seats in the parliament) (Vybory v Riigikogu, 1999), but it failed to find coalition allies to form a government. The government is formed by the right-wing party “Isamaaliit” (16.1% – 18 seats), the Reform Party of Estonia (15.9% – 18 seats) and the Moderate People's Party (15.2% – 17 seats), led by the former prime minister by Minister M. Laar (Vybory v Riigikogu, 1999).

President L. Meri was replaced by A. Ruytel in the 2001 elections, receiving 186 votes of parliament members in the second round on September 21 (Vybory Prezidenta Respubliki, 2001).

In 2003, during the parliamentary elections, the Center Party of Estonia received the majority of votes for the second time in a row (25.4% – 28 seats), but it again remained outside the coalition for the formation of the government. The government is once again formed by the parties that took the second, third and fourth places. These are the right-wing party Res Publica, which received 24.6% of the vote (28 seats), the Reform Party of Estonia 17.7% (19 seats) and the Estonian People's Union – 13% (13 seats) (Vybory v Riigikogu, 2003). (See Chart 4), which united in a parliamentary coalition and formed a government headed by Y. Parts.

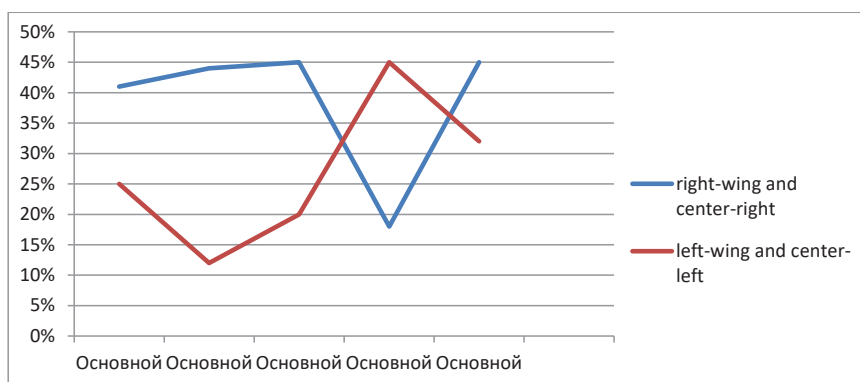


Chart 4. Election results and governance of right-wing and center-right parties, as well as left-wing and center-left parties in Estonia (1990 – 2007)

Thus, in contrast to their Baltic counterparts, the people of Estonia were the most consistent in supporting their center-right politicians, because everyone was convinced of the creation and implementation of unpopular but much-needed reforms for the country. Despite the fact that as a result of the results of the 1999 elections, although the right-wing power did not receive the first place according to the proportional component, they were able to form their coalition with the centrists and, accordingly, a united government.

The Conclusions. Thus, the representatives of the right-wing political power, who proclaimed the restoration of the independence of their states (Ukraine and the Baltic states) in the first years of their power, gradually lost the trust of voters due to the implementation of necessary, but unpopular reforms. Such changes inevitably caused crises in the economy, social sphere, etc., which were natural in nature during the transition from the planned system to the market system, from autocracy to democracy.

Ukrainian historical practice shows that in the first decade of independence, the left and center-left parties held the majority of parliamentary seats. However, taking into account the peculiarities of the presidential-parliamentary form of government in Ukraine, the parliamentary political architecture did not have a decisive influence on the implementation of certain reforms, because the government was pro-presidential. Accordingly, it allowed the parliamentary majority to constantly criticize the president and his government for reforming the economy and, thanks to this, to find constant support from the impoverished electorate in the next elections. Support for the right-wing and center-right parties was less and less during the first decade of independence, because the voter was more in need of solving socio-economic problems than cultural-national ones, and also linked state-building processes with existing crises.

Although the Lithuanian model of government is similar to the Ukrainian one, the president, when forming the government, is more dependent on the coalition of deputy factions in the parliament. The transition to rapid reform of the economy in the form of “shock therapy” had electoral consequences for right-wing politicians during the 1992 elections, but the state-building potential of the left-wing winners had a positive effect on the economy. Having received the trust of the voters (in 1992 in the parliament and in 1993 in the president), they squandered it, which was reflected in the victory of the right in 1996. However, in 2000, the center-left again won the majority in the parliament. That is, such an “electoral pendulum” in terms of political sympathies is characteristic of Lithuania in this

period, which is connected with the polarity of ideas and ways of solving socio-economic problems in the conditions of the transition period.

For the Latvian and Estonian model of the parliamentary republic, in terms of the formation of the executive power, the coalition of deputy factions in the parliament is important. Both in Estonia and Latvia, during the first decade of restored independence, the majority of votes in the parliaments were won by right-wing and right-wing centrists (who left the People's Fronts), who joined a coalition with the centrists and formed governments and elected the president. It was the politicians of this spectrum, even despite the crisis phenomena in the socio-economic sphere in the conditions of the transition to the market, who were able to retain the support of voters and form and exercise power in the first decade of restored independence.

In general, both the Ukrainian and the Baltic practices of the party architecture of the parliament give reasons to believe that voters, already after the exit of the countries from “shock therapy” in the mid-90’s of the 20th century, increasingly began to prefer the parties of the center. Despite this, in contrast to the Ukrainian version, in the parliamentary coalitions of the Baltic countries (especially in Latvia and Estonia), left-centers and right-centers could already coexist together, because each had a common goal – the development of a sovereign, democratic and legal European state with a market economy.

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