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THE THIRD WAVE DEMOCRATIZATION OF THE POLITICAL SYSTEM IN RUSSIA

Abstract

The main research objective of the article entitled: "The Third wave democratization of the Political System in Russia" was to assess the nature of the democratization of Russia's political system in the period 1985-2000. The authors analyze the selected period of the transformation in Russia based on the concept of S. Huntington, which is considered as the most adequate theory of democratization. Authors attempted to answer following questions: What changes occurred during the "Perestroika" process initiated by M. Gorbachev - unsuccessful liberalization for Soviet Russia and "started" the Third wave of democratization of the Russian Federation. Secondly, what was the specificity of the democratization of the political system during the presidency of Boris Yeltsin. And lastly when the retreat from democratization began in Russia. Those analysis seems quite sensible since it can explain the reasons for the retreat from democracy during the presidency of V. Putin and the construction of an authoritarian state in Russia in the 21st century. To verify the hypotheses and answer the research questions the classic method for the

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social sciences has been chosen (the decision-making, systemic, and case study methods).

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INTRODUCTION - “THIRD WAVE OF DEMOCRATIZATION” – THEORETICAL OVERVIEW

One of the most recent theories explaining the democratization process belongs to Samuel Huntington’s conception. His theory of “waves of democratization” presented in 1991 suggests that democracy spreads in waves that affect different countries at different times in history. Therefore it can be compared to ocean waves that are unstable, changeable as the processes of spread of democracy. Exploring the series of crossings and transitions from non-democratic regimes to democracies, he suggests that a “wave” of democratization is “a series of transitions from non-democratic to democratic regimes occurring during a certain historical period and when the number of such transitions far exceeds the number of crossings in the opposite direction during the same period.” (Huntington 1995, p.26.). Huntington argues that the establishment of democracy does not necessarily lead to its consolidation and that after every wave of democratization, there is a wave of retreat from democracy. This theory is more reasonable compared to other democratization theories.

The study’s research problem is to determine the character of democratization in the Russian Federation at the end of the 20th century within the framework of Huntington’s conception. The authors analyze political transformations and achievements in Russian democratization in the 20th century and attempt to answer research questions about the changes that occurred during the “perestroika” liberalization, the specificity of democratization during Boris Yeltsin’s presidency, and when the retreat from democratization began in Russia. Classic social science methods, including decision-making, systems, and case studies, were used to validate hypotheses and answer research questions. The subject of the study has many scientific works, studies, and articles by prominent politology, sociology, and international relations scientists.

THE LIBERALIZATION OF MIKHAIL GORBACHEV

The process of democratization of the Russian Federation began while the USSR was still in its final period of existence, known as Perestroika (from Russian -Перестройка.) After the death of Konstantin Chernenko on March 10, 1985, Mikhail Gorbachev was elected as General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. After being elected as the Gorbachev introduced broad economic and political reforms to revive the country's economy, including glasnost (Russian - Гласность) „without which political democracy and creativity of the masses are not possible” (Gorbachev 1987, p.30), or openness in 1986. This policy gave citizens the right to speak the truth without fear of consequences and access trusted information about the country's present and past. The media played a significant role in this policy, with hundreds of new newspapers and magazines appearing, and censorship reduced. In 1986, the management of most of the creative unions that had been functioning so far (the Filmmakers' Union, the Writers' Union, etc.) was changed. On September 4, 1986, censorship was reduced, and on September 25, 1986, a special resolution of the CPSU Central Committee decided to stop jamming the broadcasts of many foreign radio stations, among them „The Voice of America”, „BBC”. In many editorial offices, the chief editors changed. In 1986, previously banned literary works began to be published in print. During this time, alternative writing and literary associations were formed. The magazines „Novy Mir”, „Ogonyok”, „Znamia”, „Oktyabr” the newspapers „Moskovskie Novosti”, „Argumenty i Fakty” became the arena of heated discussions in society, writing about 214 perestroika processes, exposing corruption schemes or supporting the reform course (Witenko 2013, c.213). Similar messages were transmitted by state television channels, mainly at night: „Vzglyad”, „Do i posle polunoczi” „600 sekund” etc.). In 1987, the first non-state television associations appeared, such as: “NIKA-TV” i ATV. (Witenko 2013, c.214). In 1988 Gorbachev also initiated the process of rehabilitating victims of the Stalinist regime and dissidents, including Andrei Sakharov, scientist, who joined active social activities after being restored from exile. As a result of the work of a special commission, 844,740 people were rehabilitated (Bojko 2011, p.549). Not only the borders of the USSR are slowly being opened, but gates of prisons, special camps, and psychiatric hospitals. Over time, glasnost (read: transformation efforts) has transformed into freedom of speech, which

is one of the fundamental freedoms guaranteed to man by a democratic state. In June 1990, the law "On the press and other mass media", has been established on the prohibition of censorship and freedom of the media (Law of the USSR of 12.06.1990, No. 1552-I).

The processes of democratization became irreversible after the 19th Conference of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, held in June and July 1988, where for the first time the people's deputies freely expressed their views and criticized the leadership party. On Gorbachev's initiative, the delegates approved political reform and introduced constitutional amendments to the USSR Constitution (1977). It was decided to conduct alternative elections of deputies to councils (in Russian -Советы) at all levels. Each citizen could be a candidate. The Congress of People's Deputies of the USSR has been formed. Deputies were elected freely in a secret voting for a 5-year period. From its members, the Supreme Council of the USSR has been elected (in Russian -Верховный Совет СССР/i.e., the permanent parliament). Similar state structures were created in republics (Law of the USSR of December 1, 1988, No. 9853-XI). However, one-third of all mandates were guaranteed to Communist Party members, and Communists reserved the right to hold other positions. Boris Yeltsin, Andrei Sakharov, Yuri Afanasiev other supporters of radical reforms were elected to the parliament, forming a democratic opposition formation in June 1989 - the Interregional Group of Deputies (in Russian- МДГ - Межрегиональная депутатская группа). They demanded the conclusion of a new union agreement, the democratization of the electoral system, the adoption of a new property law, economic reforms, and the elimination of Article 6 of the USSR Constitution. On February 7, the Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union voted to remove the words about the leading role of the party from the article (Law of the USSR of March 14, 1990, No. 1360-I).

In fact, from that moment on, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union lost its monopoly, and a multi-party system was legalized in the USSR. As part of the political reform at the initiative of M. Gorbachev, the post of President of the Soviet Union was created in March 1990 to maintain its leadership position in the society. As Russian scholars Igor Kliamkin and Lilia Shevtsova have rightly pointed out, the introduction of the office of president into the USSR's political system was not only completely innovative, but revolutionary. However, it is Russian nature, for which power is completely embodied in one person. The president,

according to the new law, was the head of state (Art. 127), elected for a 5-year term, but could serve only two terms in office (127.1). With a relatively large spectrum of competences, the president had to be elected by the citizens of the USSR by direct and secret voting, but as an exception, the first election of the president of the USSR was held in an indirect form, elected by the Congress of People's Deputies. Michail Gorbachev was elected. The presidential system was introduced into the political system of the USSR, so the political forms of the state did not change (Kliamkin, Szewcowa 2009, p.199-200). It is significant to note that at this time were formed opposition parties, such as: „Democratic Union”, „Democratic Party of Russia”, „Liberal-Democratic Party of USSR”. In 1988-1989, the country had about 50 political parties (Zhukov 2006, p.37).

At their extremes turned out the pro-communist „The United Front of Workers” and bloc „Democratic Russia”. A huge number of political parties and social organizations took anti-communist and anti-socialist positions, reflecting people's dissatisfaction, pointing out government's inability to stop economic decline and plummeting living (Ladychenko, Zablocki 2011, p.164-165). „Difficult” economic situation and the failure of the M. Gorbachev administration to reform the economic system only increased tensions. In March 1990, elections were held to the First Congress of People's Deputies of the RFSSR. 148 of the 1,068 seats won the opposition bloc „Democratic Russia”. A significant number of deputies who did not belong to this formation were ready to cooperate with the bloc. At the same time, elections were held to local councils and to the Republican Supreme Councils. In the Baltic Republics, in Georgia, Armenia and Moldova, representatives of the national Movements gained a permanent majority. In April, Gavriil Popov was elected chairman of the Moscow City Council, and Anatoly Sobchak was elected chairman of the Leningrad City Council. On May 29, 1990, the First Congress of People's Deputies of the RFSSR elected Boris Yeltsin as chairman of Parliament of the RFSSR. Success in the election meant that democrats came to power in the RFSSR, Lithuania, Moscow, and Leningrad. On June 12, 1990, with 907 votes in favor and only 13 votes against, the 1st Congress of People's Deputies of the RFSSR adopted the „Declaration on State Sovereignty of the RFSSR” (Declaration on the State Sovereignty of the RSFSR of 12.06.1990). In the spring and summer of 1990, other Soviet republics also adopted declarations of state sovereignty, which M. Gorbachev called the “parade of sovereignty” because the center, as well as himself, did not want to cede power.

The socio-economic crisis, the “parade of sovereignty” and ethnic conflicts in the republics clearly indicated the need to develop and conclude a new Union treaty on the redistribution of powers between the republics and the center. On March 17, 1991, a referendum on the further fate of the USSR was held in 9 republics, including the RSFSR. 3/4 of the voters voted in favor of preserving a renewed union, and the referendum was followed by the so-called “Novo-Gariev process” - negotiations between the leaders of the 9 republics, including Russia, and USSR President M. Gorbachev about a new union treaty. The treaty was tentatively scheduled to be signed on August 20, 1991. This was Gorbachev’s last attempt at a compromise in reaching an agreement between the union republics and the center. On June 12, 1991, Boris Yeltsin was elected as the first president of the RSFSR, receiving 57% of the vote in the first round (Zhukov 2006, p.52). Intentions to reform the USSR forced opponents of the new federation to act and they attempted a coup on August 19, 1991. After blocking and depriving M. Gorbachev of telephone communications at his Crimean residence in Foros, a group of top officials announced the formation of the State Emergency Committee (in Russian-Государственный комитет по чрезвычайному положению - ГКЧП), consisting of 8 people, including Vice President of USSR Grigory Yanayev, Prime Minister Viktor Pavlov, Chairman of KGB Vladimir Kryukhkov, Defense Minister Dmitry Yazov, Interior Minister Boris Pugo and others. The committee declared its intention to restore order in the state and prevent the collapse of the USSR. Accordingly, political parties, social organizations and mass movements were suspended, and rallies, demonstrations and strikes were banned.

The rebels’ determination was by no means supported by action. The troops brought to the streets had no clear task, besides that they did not want to fight against their own people. The rebels immediately met with opposition from the leadership of the RFSR led by President Boris Yeltsin. In defense of democracy, tens of thousands of Moscow residents stepped forward, and in some other cities of the USSR, residents also took to the streets. The putsch was defeated (Zhukov 2006, p.58-59). From August 23 to September 1, 1991, Estonia, Latvia, Ukraine, Moldova, Kyrgyzstan, Azerbaijan, and Uzbekistan declared independence. It became clear that a new union treaty would not be signed. An important step toward democratization became the decision on decommunization in Russia. On November 6, 1991, RSFSR President Boris Yeltsin issued a decree banning the Communist Party and the Communist Party of

the RSFSR from the republic's territory (Decree of the President of the RSFSR No. 169 of November 6, 1991). It was openly admitted that „*the ruling structures of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union exercised their own dictatorship, creating at the expense of the state a wealth base for unlimited power.*” On December 8, 1991, in Belovezhskaya Pushcha, representatives of Ukraine (L. Kravchuk), Belarus (S. Shushkevich) and Russia (B. Yeltsin) adopted a declaration that „the USSR as a subject of international law and geopolitical reality ceases to exist”.

At the same time, they signed the Agreement on the Establishment of the Union of Independent States. And on December 25, 1991, Mikhail Gorbachev resigned from his post as president of the USSR, which marked the end of the history of the Soviet empire. The attempt at liberalization ended in failure. The collapse of the Eastern Bloc and the USSR, according to Samuel Huntington, was one of the most important events of the Third Wave of democratization. He defined the type of transition that took place in Soviet Russia as *Transformation*. In the process of regime change, the primary role was played by the power elite (the entire Politburo), among which a group of reformers (M Gorbachev and his closest supporters) gained leadership. After the failed attempt at liberalization of the system, the reformers in power appealed to the legitimacy of the past. On the other hand, it is significant to note the co-optation to power of representatives of the opposition. The process of transition to a democratic regime was peaceful (except for local conflicts with ethno-national background but not political) and evolutionary. The effects of Perestroika brought disappointment not only to the initiators, but also to the addressees of the corrective measures in the face of the extremely ideologized and unstable situation of the time (Olędzka 2014, p.131-143).

BORIS YELTSIN - THE MOST IMPORTANT PERIOD OF THE DEMOCRATIZATION OF RUSSIA

After Russia became a sovereign state, various institutions were democratized, and the 1978 Constitution of Russia introduced the presidency, a bicameral parliament, and a Constitutional Tribunal. The electoral system took on the characteristics of a democratic system, the range of powers of the local government bodies was expanded (Zhukov 2006, p.94). After the resignation of USSR President M. Gorbachev in December 1991, B. Yeltsin, the first president of the Russian Federation,

officially took power. He, however, decided not to hold elections to councils at all levels and thus prevented the immediate democratization of the entire society. In many regions, former Communist Party functionaries still had real power. After establishing a consensus with the elites, Yeltsin initiated economic reforms, including shock therapy, which led to the closure of non-competitive factories, unemployment, and growing social tensions. Russia in this regard was not an exception, a similar situation was in all the countries of Central and Eastern Europe that began the transition in 1989-1991. The formation of Russian statehood was significantly hampered by the conflict of legislative and executive powers, strengthened by the lack of a constitution. B. Yeltsin preferred the presidential form of government, while opposition representatives and deputies of other parties supported the parliamentary form.

The struggle for power between the parliamentary and presidential forms of government continued until the spring 1993. The parliament of the Russian Federation, headed by Ruslan Hasbulatov, increasingly interfered in executive affairs, demanding the resignation of B. Yeltsin. In April of that year, a referendum was held in which Yeltsin was supported by 58.7% of voters (The results of the referendum held on April 25, 1993). However, the confrontation continued. The opposition organized mass rallies and demonstrations. On May 1, 1993, armed clashes took place in Moscow between the opposition and the militia. Heavy fighting continued throughout the summer. On September 21, 1993, B. Yeltsin issued Decree "About Staged Constitutional Reform" (Decree of the President of the Russian Federation No. 1400 of September 21, 1993), with which he announced the dissolution of parliament and the referendum on a new constitution on December 12, 1993, as well as elections to a new bicameral parliament - the Federal Assembly (State Duma and Federation Council, in Russian- Федеральное Собрание из двух палат: Государственная Дума и Совет Федерации). Since the president's decree was contrary to the current Constitution, deputies rejected the legal way of carrying out reforms. On the night of September 23, 1993, the Special Congress of People's Deputies declared Yeltsin's actions a coup and appointed Vice President Aleksandr Ruckoj (who would temporarily act as president).

The creation of paramilitary formations began immediately, and ammunition began to be brought to the parliament building. Attempts to resolve the situation peacefully failed. As a result, about 150 people were killed (Hołubko 2020, s. 19-36). However, in the end, supporters of B. Yeltsin's policies achieved victory. This showed that in the Russian

Federation there was further a clear personalization of political power or more precisely, state power (Olędzka 2014, p.136-137). In accordance with the president's decisions, elections to the Russian parliament and a referendum on a new constitution were held. On December 12, 1993, a nationwide referendum adopted the New Constitution, which set the democratic direction of the state and approved a democratic system, but with extensive presidential powers. Therefore, this system is often referred to as a „super-presidential“ system. The adoption of the Constitution was of great importance for the democratization of the Russian Federation and was an important event for the further fate of the state, finally eliminated the ideologization of state power, abolished the entire system of the Soviet totalitarian regime. Also, the Supreme Council and lower-level councils were abolished. Thus, 1993 became the year of the final institutional de-sovietization of Russia (Zhukov 2006, p.94-95).

In the years 1991-1993 significant controversies grew between the regional and federal authorities. The threat of Russia's breakup intensified throughout 1992. At that time such regions as: Tatarstan, Bashkortostan, Yakutia, Udmurtia, Novosibirsk, and the Tumen stopped paying taxes to the state. Individual regional leaders proposed to turn Russia into a confederation. Under the circumstances, in September 1991, armed formations headed by General Dzhokhar Dudayevy dissolved the Parliament of the Chechen-Ingush Republic and announced its separation from Russia. The Russian government didn't take immediate action. Only in late 1992, when the conflict escalated, The Russian president began to deliberately protect the integrity of the state. As a result, on May 31, 1992, most of the Federation's subjects (except for Tatarstan and Chechnya) signed a new federation treaty that strengthened the rights and powers of the Republics, which stemmed decentralization tendencies (Federal Treaty of March 31, 1992).

The weakness of the federation authorities forced it to sign special bilateral treaties with federation subjects. Bilateral treaties were concluded in 1994-95 between the center and Tatarstan (Treaty between the Russian Federation and the Republic of Tatarstan of February 15, 1994), Yakutia (Treaty between the Russian Federation and the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia) of 29.06.1995) on special economic rights within the Federation. Also, during this period, more than 20 treaties were concluded with national autonomies. Such a long process of creating the national-state structure of Russia was because the legislative bodies of the republics and regions differed in legal status, level of competence, responsibility

to the population. The process was limited to the redistribution of powers and revenues between the center and the regions.

The exception was the republic of Chechnya, which declared its independence from Russia in 1991. There, a regime headed by General Dzhokhar Dudaev, who was elected president of the republic, was solidified, which was not accepted by the Kremlin authorities, which did not recognize this and supported the pro-Russian anti-Dudaev opposition. From March to November 1994, Dzhohar Dudayev succeeded in effectively dismantling the opposition Chechen Republic Temporary Assembly and eventually establishing his regime in the entire „Independent Republic of Ichkeria”. In response, on December 11, 1994, Russian President Boris Yeltsin signed a decree to conduct a military operation in the Chechen Republic (Decree of the President of the Russian Federation No. 2137 of November 30, 1994). On the night of December 31 of the same year, the troops launched an invasion of Chechnya’s capital, Grozny. Thousands of civilians were killed after a week-long series of massive air raids and missile and artillery fire. D. Dudayev skillfully manipulated the national feelings of Chechens, portrayed Russia as the enemy of the entire Chechen nation. He managed to win the support of the previously neutral population and became a national hero.

A special operation by federal troops turned into a bloody prolonged war. The hostilities caused numerous casualties among the Russian military and the civilian population of Chechnya. The war lasted until 1996-the new leadership of the self-proclaimed republic (D. Dudayev was killed in April 1996) agreed to a peace agreement (Khasavyurt Agreements of August 31, 1996), which provided for a cessation of hostilities, the withdrawal of Russian troops from the republic’s territory and the holding of elections for a Chechen president. However, peace has not been established in this republic and armed clashes continue. Despite of determined efforts, Russia has not succeeded in incorporating Chechnya into the Russian Federation. The issue of Chechnya’s status, according to the agreement, was to be resolved by concluding an agreement on mutual relations no later than December 31, 2001. In January 1997, Aslan Maskhadov was elected the new president of the republics, but de facto real power belonged to field commanders. Chechnya’s economy was criminalized, and the region destroyed by the war were not rebuilt. Wahhabism (a branch of Sunni Islam) was spreading rapidly in the republic. It is worth to mention that Chechnya’s independence created the conditions for further conflicts in the Caucasus (Witenko 2013, p.223).

One of the effects of the transformation, which distinguished Russia from other Central and Eastern European countries, was the emergence of a new social class - "oligarchs." "Oligarch" is a representative of financial or financial-industrial groups playing a significant political and economic role, often having mass media or their own political party/formation. (Zhukov 2006, p.92). The impulse for the emergence of a new social caste in Russia was the privatization of large state-owned enterprises, carried out in undisclosed circumstances. The most lucrative companies of the country became the objects of this privatization: Mikhail Khodorkovsky acquired Yukos, Boris Berezovsky acquired Sibneft, Vladimir Potanin and Mikhail Prokhorov acquired Norilsk Nickel. President B. Yeltsin, on the other hand, built his position as the supreme arbiter cleverly manipulating the interests of individual „clans” and „oligarchic groups”. Close ties with the central government ensured the stability of these groups’ survival and development. The role of patron in this arrangement fell to state structures, which in various ways supported and stimulated the formation of financial and industrial groups (Bartnicki 2016, p.286-87).

On December 17, 1995, elections to the State Duma were held, resulting in the Communist Party taking the first place. The Communists expertly used the difficult political and economic situation to discredit the policies of the president and his team. The strongest criticism was of the economic failures of the reformers and the significant decline in living standards. In the presidential election, the main opponent for Boris Yeltsin was Gennady Zyuganov, a candidate from the Communist Party. Seeking support ahead of the upcoming elections, Boris Yeltsin began behind-the-scenes games with various political forces and the opposition, but also with oligarchs. In exchange for their help, representatives of regional and financial elites obtained extensive political and economic concessions from the president. Moreover, at this point the elites felt that they could be independent of the authorities and the president personally (Bartnicki 2016, p.287). The election, which was held in two rounds, ended with the victory of Boris Yeltsin (Resolution of the CEC of the RF, June 20, 1996, No 105/825-II). Thus began a process of gradual transformation of the distribution of power, during which the political and economic autonomy of various interest groups, and financial oligarchs was strengthened (Bartnicki 2016, p.288). Financial groups had ceased to be obedient clients of the state administration and began to dictate their own terms. „Mixed” interest groups also appeared at this time, uniting influential representatives of state structures and „sharks” of Russian business.

In August 1999, several groups of Chechen fighters and foreign mercenaries invaded the territory of the Republic of Dagestan and declared their intention to create an Islamic State to unite Dagestan and Chechnya, resulting in fighting with the Russian army. For the new Prime Minister Vladimir Putin, the Chechen issue came to the front. In September of that year, several civilian buildings were blown up in Buynaysk, Moscow and Volgodonsk. Hundreds of civilians - children, women, the elderly were victims. The Russian government, having accused Chechen militants of terrorist attacks, decided to conduct an anti-terrorist operation in the North Caucasus and sent regular troops and Interior Ministry units to Chechnya, where in late 1999, federal troops took control of most of the republic's territory. The anti-terrorist operation led to a radical change in the political situation in Russia. For the first time after the collapse of the USSR, a national consensus began to form based on protecting the integrity and security of the country (Lewandowski 2013, p.339).

In December 1999 parliamentary elections, based on a new federal law "On the Election of Deputies to the State Duma of the Federal Assembly of the Russian Federation" (June 24, 1999), the Communist Party won the most votes. Once again, the Communist Party of the Russian Federation won the most votes, with 24.29% of the vote, (followed by the pro-government bloc "Jedinstvo" - 23.32%, the movement "Otechestvo – Vsia Rosiya" - 13.33%, which represented regional elites. Such parties as the Soyuz Right Sil (SPS), the Zhirinovskogo Bloc, and the "Yabloko" Association gained less than 9% for each) (Results of the elections to the State Duma on December 19, 1999).

The third term of the State Duma was more right-wing than the previous one, reflecting a shift toward stability and civil consensus (Zhukov 2006 p.127-128). Radicalism, extremism, opposition, and revolutionary sentiments were dismissed by most voters. For the first time in all the years of reform, there were favorable conditions for constructive interaction between the executive and legislative branches. In the Duma, the number of deputies in opposition to the president has decreased significantly (Lewandowski 2013, p.341), and the rating of public confidence in the Prime Minister has risen to an unprecedented level - more than 60%. On December 31, 1999, B. Yeltsin announced his voluntary early resignation from the presidential post and entrusted the performance of presidential duties to Prime Minister V. Putin.

Today, in retrospect, Boris Yeltsin's presidency is assessed ambiguously, although positive assessments can be observed, negative

opinions still prevail, averse to the policies he implemented. In 2000, Russia had a real chance to enter the next stage - the stage of strengthening democracy and overcoming the age-old problem of "tsar and slave." However, the gradual socio-political reform initiated by the new president V. Putin (who was elected head of state in democratic elections in 2000) showed the opposite movement - a gradual shift away from democracy began. Even when D. Medvedev was president, V. Putin remained a key and central figure in the state, serving as prime minister. The current political system of the Russian Federation is classified as authoritarianism, based on super-presidential power and the cult of Putin's personality. The chances of initiating a democratic transition soon are assessed as slim, and the scenario of such events is unimaginable.

CONCLUSION

The analyzed political changes taking place in Russia, imposed by the elites on the Russian people sufficiently prove Samuel Huntington's thesis about the changeability and short-lived nature of democracy and democratization. The liberalization initiated by M. Gorbachev's Perestroika program ended in failure for undemocratic Soviet Russia and "started" the Third Wave of democratization of the largest country in the world, the Russian Federation. During the presidency of B. Yeltsin much was done to establish a viable democratic regime, despite serious obstacles. The greatest achievement of this period was the adoption of a new democratic Constitution as well as the relative stabilization of the political situation at the end of the 20th century. This period should be considered as the most important and successful period on the way to democracy in Russia. It is also important because in the excrescences of this period are hidden the key reasons for the failure of democracy. In 2000 Russian elites and societies showed the opposite movement: a gradually shifting away from democracy.

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ТРЕЋИ ТАЛАС ДЕМОКРАТИЗАЦИЈЕ ПОЛИТИЧКОГ СИСТЕМА У РУСИЈИ

Апстракт

Главни истраживачки циљ чланка под насловом: „Трећи талас демократизације политичког система у Русији“ био је да се процени природа демократизације руског политичког система у периоду 1985-2000. Аутори анализирају одабрани период трансформације у Русији на основу концепта С. Хантингтона, који се сматра најадекватнијом теоријом демократизације. Аутори су покушали да одговоре на следећа питања: Какве су се промене десиле током процеса „Перестројке“ који је покренуо М. Горбачов – неуспешна либерализација за Совјетску Русију и како је „започет“ Трећи талас демократизације Руске Федерације. Друго, у чему је била специфичност демократизације политичког система за време председниковања Бориса Јељцина. И на крају, када је у Русији почело повлачење од демократизације. Ова анализа делује сасвим разумно јер може објаснити разлоге повлачења од демократије за време председниковања В. Путина и изградње ауторитарне државе у Русији у 21. веку. У циљу провере хипотеза и одговора на истраживачка питања изабрана је класична метода за друштвене науке (методе одлучивања, системске методе и методе студије случаја).

Кључне речи: Русија, демократизација, Семјуел Хантингтон, трећи талас демократизације.
