

FACTIONALISM AND RUSSIAN POLITICS

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Tables for paper presented to the CEELBAS Public Policy Conference, 'Russia Beyond 2008', St Antony's College, Oxford, 15 December 2007

Table 1 Parties with the right to participate in the elections

	Name of party (listed in order of decreasing membership)	Leader
1	United Russia (UR)	Boris Gryzlov
2	Just Russia (JR)	Sergei Mironov
3	Communist Party of the Russian Federation (CPRF)	Gennady Zyuganov
4	Agrarian Party of Russia (APR)	Vladimir Plotnikov
5	Liberal Democratic Party of Russia (LDPR)	LDPR
6	Democratic Party of Russia (DPR)	Andrei Bogdanov
7	Patriots of Russia	Gennady Semigin
8	Union of Right Forces (SPS)	Nikita Belykh
9	Yabloko	Grigory Yavlinsky
10	Civic Force	Alexander Ryavkin
11	Party of Social Justice	Alexei Podberëzkin
	Party of Russian Rebirth (1)	Gennady Seleznev
	Socialist United Party of Russia (2)	Vasily Shestakov
	Party of Unity and Concord (PRES) (3)	Sazhi Umalatova
	People's Union (3)	Sergei Baburin
	Russian Green Party (3)	Anatoly Panfilov

Notes:

(1) On 26 January 2007 a party congress decided to rename the party Patriotic Forces: For the Homeland!, but the change was not approved by the Federal Registration Service. In the event Rebirth of Russia ran with Gennady Semigin's Patriots of Russia.

(2) The party reformed as a non-governmental organisation.

(3) Parties denied registration to fight the election because of problems with their applications.

Source: http://www.cikrf.ru/elect_duma/politpart/party_tabl.jsp, from Federal Registration Service data, 15 August 2007; *Moscow Times*, 29 October 2007, p. 3.

Table 2 State Duma election of 2 December 2007

	Name of party	Percentage vote	Votes (mln)	Seats
1	United Russia (UR)	64.30	44.71	315
2	Communist Party of the Russian Federation (CPRF)	11.57	8.05	57
3	Liberal Democratic Party of Russia (LDPR)	8.14	5.66	40
4	Just Russia (JR)	7.74	5.38	38
	Sub-total	91.75	63.8	450
Seven percent representation threshold				
5	Agrarian Party of Russia (APR)	2.30	1.60	-
6	Yabloko	1.59	1.11	-
7	Civic Force	1.05	0.73	-
8	Union of Right Forces (SPS)	0.96	0.67	-
9	Patriots of Russia	0.89	0.62	-
10	Party of Social Justice	0.22	0.15	-
11	Democratic Party of Russia	0.13	0.13	-
	Sub-total	7.14	5.01	-
	TOTAL	100 (rounded)	68.81	450
	Number of registered voters	109,145,517		
	Number of valid votes		68,777,136	
	Number of spoilt ballots		759,929	
	Turnout	69,537,065 (64.1%)		

Sources: Central Electoral Commission: http://www.cikrf.ru/eng/elect_duma/results/index.jsp;
http://www.vybory.izbirkom.ru/region/region/izbirkom?action=show&root=1&tvd=100100021960186&vrn=100100021960181®ion=0&global=1&sub_region=0&prver=0&pronetvd=null&vi_bid=100100021960186&type=233

Table 3 Vote distribution between major parties (PR vote), 1993-2007

	1993	1995	1999	2003	2007
Turnout (percent)	54.8	64.4	61.7	55.7	64.1
The 'against all' vote	4.22	2.77	3.30	4.70	n.a
<i>Five elections</i>					
Communist Party (CPRF)	11.6	22.3	24.3	12.6	11.6
Liberal Democratic Party (LDPR)	21.4	11.2	6.0	11.5	8.1
Yabloko	7.3	6.9	5.9	4.3	1.59
<i>Four elections</i>					
Agrarian Party	7.4	3.8	n.a	3.6	2.3
<i>Three elections</i>					
Women of Russia	7.6	4.6	2.0	n.a	n.a
Union of Right Forces (SPS)	n.a	n.a	8.5	4.0	0.96
<i>Two elections</i>					
Russia's Choice	14.5	3.9	n.a	n.a	n.a
Russian Unity and Concord (PRES)	6.3	0.4	n.a	n.a	n.a
Cedar	0.7	1.4	n.a	n.a	n.a
Our Home Is Russia	n.a.	10.1	1.2	n.a	n.a
Communist Workers for Russia	n.a	4.5	2.2	n.a	n.a
Congress of Russian Communities (KRO)	n.a	4.3	0.6	n.a	n.a
United Russia (Unity + OVR)	n.a	n.a	(see Edinstvo)	37.6	64.3
<i>One election</i>					
Democratic Party of Russia (DPR)	5.1	n.a	n.a	n.a	n.a
Edinstvo (Unity)	n.a	n.a	23.3	n.a	(see UR)
Fatherland - All Russia (OVR)	n.a	n.a	13.3	(see UR)	(see UR)
Rodina (Motherland)	n.a	n.a	n.a	9.0	(see JR)
Social Justice Party	n.a	n.a	n.a	3.1	n.a
Party of Russia's Rebirth	n.a	n.a	n.a	1.9	(see Patriots of Russia)
People's Party	n.a	n.a	n.a	1.2	n.a
Just Russia (JR)	n.a	n.a	n.a	n.a	7.74
Civic Force	n.a	n.a	n.a	n.a	1.05
Patriots of Russia	n.a	n.a	n.a	n.a	0.89
Party of Social Justice	n.a	n.a	n.a	n.a	0.22
Democratic Party	n.a	n.a	n.a	n.a	0.13
<i>Other parties/against all/invalid</i>					
TOTAL (%)	100	100	100	100	100

Sources: Adapted from Richard Rose, Neil Munro and Stephen White, 'Voting in a Floating Party System: the 1999 Duma Election', *Europe-Asia Studies*, Vol. 53, No. 3, May 2001, pp. 419-43, at p. 424; with 2003 data from *Vybory deputatov gosudarstvennoi dumy federal'nogo sobraniya Rossiiskoi Federatsii 2003: elektoral'naya statistika*, Central Electoral Commission (Moscow, Ves' Mir, 2004), pp. 29, 141, 192; and 2007 data from <http://www.vybory.izbirkom.ru/>.

Table 4 Secular trends in party list voting

	1993	1995		1999		2003		2007	
	Per cent total	Per cent total	Change on previous election	Per cent total	Change on previous election	Per cent total	Change on previous election	Per cent total	Change on previous election
Communists (parties)	20.3 (2)	30.6 (3)	+10.3 (+1)	28.1 (5)	-2.5 (+2)	19.3 (3)	-8.8 (-2)	11.57 (1)	-7.73 (-2)
Centrists (parties)	23.1 (5)	24.8 (13)	-1.7 (+8)	41.9 (9)	+17.1 (-4)	41.1 (5)	-0.8 (-4)	74.47 (4)	+33.37 (+4)
Democrats Reformers (parties)	27.3 (3)	16.1 (11)	-11.2 (+8)	15.0 (3)	-1.1 (-8)	8.5 (3)	-6.5 (no change)	3.6 (3)	-4.9 (no change)
National Patriots (parties)	22.8 (1)	21.8 (9)	-1.0 (+8)	7.4 (5)	-14.4 (-4)	23.0 (8)	+15.8 (+3)	9.25 (3)	-13.75 (-5)
Against all	4.2	2.8	-1.4	3.3	+0.5	4.7	+1.4	n.a	n.a
Turnout	54.8	64.4	+9.6	61.9	-2.5	55.7	-6.2	64.1	+8.4

Sources: Yitzhak Brudny, 'Continuity or Change in Russian Electoral Patterns? The December 1999 – March 2000 Election Cycle', in Archie Brown (ed.), *Contemporary Russian Politics: A Reader* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2001), p. 164; Viktor Sheinis, 'Vyборы i politicheskoe razvitiye', in M. McFaul, N. Petrov and A. Ryabov (eds), *Rossiya v izbiratel'nom tsikle 1999-2000 godov* (Moscow, Gendal'f and Moscow Carnegie Center, 2000), pp. 385-6; Yusup Abdurakhmanov, 'Ideological Orientations of the Russian Electorate in Duma Elections', *Perspectives on European Politics and Society*, Vol. 6, No. 2, 2004, pp. 209-37, at p. 220; materials from Central Election Commission 2003 and 2007.

Note: The ideological groups are collated as follows (main parties only):

Communists: Communist Party of the Russian Federation (CPRF); Agrarian Party of Russia (APR) until 2003; Communists – Toiling Russia – For the Soviet Union!; Russian Party of Pensioners and Party of Social Justice.

Centrists: Women of Russia; Party of Russian Unity and Concord (PRES); Democratic Party of Russia (DPR); Party of Workers' Self-Management; Our Home is Russia (NDR); Unity/Medved ; Fatherland – All Russia (OVR); United Russia; Just Russia; Agrarian Party (in 2007); Democratic Party.

Democrats Reformers: Russia's Choice; Democratic Choice of Russia (DVR); Russian Movement for Democratic Reforms; Russian Constitutional Democratic Party; Union of Right Forces (SPS); Yabloko; Civic Force.

National Patriots: Liberal Democratic Party of Russia (LDPR); Congress of Russian Communities (KRO); Rodina (Popular Patriotic Union); Patriots of Russia; Party of Social Justice.