

## APPENDIX A

# Coding Issue Position of Ukrainian Parties, 2012–2014

*Nika Palaguta*

This appendix describes a schema for coding the issue positions of Ukrainian political parties of the Parliamentary Elections of 2012 and the Extraordinary Parliamentary Elections of 2014.

## METHODOLOGY

According to the Ukrainian State Registration Service (USRS), between 1990 and 2015 there were 242 registered political parties in Ukraine. Not all of them took part in the parliamentary elections of 2012 and 2014. In the report of the Central Election Commission, in 2012 there are electoral results for 21 parties, although 87 parties were indicated as having participated in those elections. Among the 21 parties that were registered as having participated, 13 did not cross the threshold of one percent<sup>1</sup>. As a result of the elections, five parties crossed the threshold: (i) the Communist Party of Ukraine, (ii) VO “Svoboda” (the All-Ukrainian Union “Svoboda”), (iii) “UDAR” Vitalii Klichko’s party (Ukrainian Democratic Alliance for Reforms), (iv) VO “Bat`kivshchyna” (the All-Ukrainian Union “Fatherland”), and (v) the Party of the Regions (CEC 2012).

<sup>1</sup> In 2011, the threshold to enter the Parliament was raised from three to five percent and the electoral system was changed to a proportional majoritarian system: 50 percent of members of the Parliament were to be elected within the list of the party and 50 percent were to be selected in single-seat electoral districts (Law № 4061-VI).

As for the early parliamentary elections of 2014, the legislation stayed the same. The Central Election Commission's (CEC) report indicates 52 parties having taken part in the elections, among which 29 have results published by the CEC. There were six parties that crossed the five percent threshold: (i) (Narodnyi Front (the People's front), (ii) Petro Poroshenko's Bloc, (iii) the Opposition bloc, (iv) the "Samopomich" Union, (v) Oleg Lyashko's Radical Party, and (vi) VO "Bat`kivshchyna" (the All-Ukrainian Union "Fatherland").

For my coding scheme, I chose parties based on whether they met or were near the threshold. Some were influential in the past ("Nasha Ukraina"), some hoped to be more successful (Nataliya Korolevskaya's Party "Ukraina Vpered", "Sylna Ukraina", Gromadyanska Posyztziya (Anatolii Gritsenko)), and some became internationally known ("Pravyi Sector").

The information on the ideological stances of the political parties was obtained mainly from their official webpages and programme documents. In some cases the information was taken from other publicly available sources (e.g. YouTube). The resources contain parties' programmes, manifestoes, statements, constitution projects, leaflets, local newspapers, propagandistic materials, and party members' speeches.

I examined Ukrainian political parties for the presence of 27 different characteristics:

### 1) **Foreign Relations.**

This was indicated as present (+) when a party declared that it has a position. For example, the CPU declared that it is in favor of Customs Union with Russia, Belarus and Kazakhstan, but the Opposition bloc does not declare its position so clearly (-), as it tends to develop relationships with all neighbors but mentions them only as mediators in resolving a military conflict. In contrast, UDAR insists that Ukraine abandons its unaligned status, but also thinks it should keep the broadest external relations possible, indicating the names of the countries and preferable strategic partners; thus it manifests a presence of affiliation.

### 2) **Attitude towards European Union**, 3) **Attitude towards USA**, 4) **Attitude towards Russia**, and 5) **Attitude towards NATO.**

The attitude was regarded as positive (+) when a party called for especially close co-operation with a particular country or alliance. (For instance,

Gromadyanska Posytyziya (Anatolii Gritsenko) calls for a military alliance, especially with the USA and Great Britain; or VO “Bat`kivshchyna”, which insists in Ukraine becoming a member of NATO; the Petro Poroshenko’s Bloc manifests for Ukraine entering the EU. The Oleg Lyashko’s Radical party position is clearly anti-Russian and he is in favor of association agreement with the EU, but generally the programme of the party is based on proclamations rather than on a consistent plan of actions; thus the majority of question of external relations are not specified (n/s)). If a party is against a close relationship with a country or an alliance (e.g. the CPU and an association agreement with the EU or NATO membership) I attributed a negative sign (-).

**6) Attitude towards Customs Union with Russia, Belarus, Kazakhstan and 7) Association Agreement with the EU.**

Theoretically a clear support of any of them excludes the support of another union, though logical inconsistencies can occur. Sometimes the parties did not mention one of the unions in their manifestoes at all. In this case, a “not specified” (n/s) sign was attributed.

**8) Federalization and 9) Centralization.**

Generally if a party supports one of these concepts of state building it rejects the other one (eg. the CPU clearly states it is in favor of federalization if needed and VO “Svoboda” obviously supports centralization, especially concentration of power in the hands of the President). There are interim variants, such as decentralization, and some parties may not support centralization and federalization equally; thus they have the (-) sign in both.

**10) Freedom and Human Rights and 11) Democracy.**

Practically all Ukrainian political parties advocate for human rights protection and democracy in their programme documents (+), except for far-right parties, as VO “Svoboda” or “Pravyvy Sector”. They have a negative sign (-). Oleg Lyashko’s party does not pay attention to the problems of human rights or democracy that is why it has an (n/s) sign.

**12) Corruption.**

Since no party is pro-corruption, the (-) sign was attributed to those parties that mentioned the need to fight the corruption.

### 13) **Nationalism.**

A (+) sign was attributed to those parties that insist on a state grounded in national principle: Those are VO “Svoboda”, “Pravy Sector”, the “Samopomich” Union, Oleg Lyashko’s Radical party and Nasha Ukraina. All of them, except for Nasha Ukraina, are recognized as right wing or right wing populist parties. They largely refer to the notion of “nation” in their programmes. Nasha Ukraina refers to the importance of nation building in the second chapter of its programme. The rest of the parties have (-) sign as according to their programmes they do not consider nation building to be equal to state building or do not refer to the notion of “nation” at all.

### 14) **Marxism.**

Only CPU supported Marxism (+).

### 15) **Protection of Minorities.**

A party was attributed (+) if it clearly stated that it is in favor of protection of minorities. For instance, Petro Poroshenko’s Bloc in the first part of its programme pays attention to protection of the minorities (+). Oleg Lyashko’s Radical party does not touch upon this question (-). VO “Svoboda” and “Pravy Sector” have a mixed positive/negative sign (+/-) because they agree to protect the minorities, but only if they support their ideas.

### 16) **Liberal/Conservative.**

Conservative parties favor traditional morality, Ukrainian ethnic values, minimum government intervention, organic rather than evolutionary changes, and private ownership. Liberal parties favor civil and political liberties, individualism, and a state regulated system of social security.

### 17) **Free market** and 18) **Protectionism.**

Practically no party is against the free market. Only parties that support protectionism and government control over the market as a whole or its parts have a negative (-) sign. Those are VO “Svoboda” and “Pravy Sector”, which think the state has to control key industries and give preference to Ukrainian producers.

**19) Protection of Workers; 20) Protection of Farmers; 21) Protection of the Middle Class; and 22) Support for big business.**

I attributed a (+) sign when a party stated that it supports one or another social group. For example, the CPU advocates protection of workers and is against protection of big business, and mainly it is about full employment and progressive taxation. VO “Svoboda” prefers to protect farmers by giving them subsidies, and VO “Bat`kivshchyna” also suggests protecting small and medium business by subsidies as well as by introducing a luxury tax.

**23) Science and technological advance; 24) Expansion of Education and 25) Cultural development.**

Though they might have different visions of scientific and cultural progress, all the parties that mention those criteria are in favor of them.

**26) Traditional Morality**

Traditional morality includes a support for the nuclear family that consists of a man and a woman, a ban on abortions, domination of men over women, religiousness, and attachment to traditions. The parties that have (+) sign are the above-mentioned right wing parties (VO “Svoboda”, “Pravy Sector”, the “Samopomich” Union, Nasha Ukraina) and the CPU.

**27) Multiculturalism.**

This is clearly not supported only by radical right, mainly VO “Svoboda” and “Pravy Sector, who seek to impose “national values.”

*Abbreviations and Signs*

**+** : a party demonstrates clear positive attitude to the category, or it can be concluded to be so with regard to statements indirectly connected to the category;

**-** : a party demonstrates clear negative attitude to the category, or it can be concluded to be so with regard to statements indirectly connected to the category;

**n/s** : an attitude to the category is not specified;

**VO** : Vseukrainske Ob`ednannia – All- Ukrainian Union

Table A1. List of parties that entered the Parliament or were close to entering the Parliament after the elections of 2012 and their ideological views

Party name/ Ideology	Communist Party 13,8%	VO "Svoboda" 10,44%	"Udar" Party of Vitalii Klichko 13,96%	VO "Bat'kivshchyna" 25,54%	Party of Regions 30%	Nasha Ukraina 1,11%	Nataliya Korolevskaya's Party "Ukraina Vpered" 1,58%	Oleg Lyashko's Radical Party 1,08%
<b>Politics</b>								
Foreign Relations affiliation (present/absent)	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+
Attitude towards European Union	n/s	-	+	+	+	+	n/s	+
Attitude towards USA	-	+	+	+	+	+	n/s	n/s
Attitude towards Russia	+	-	+	-	+	+	n/s	-
Attitude towards NATO	-	+	+	+	+/-	+	n/s	n/s
Attitude towards Customs Union with Russia, Belarus, Kazakhstan	+	-	n/s	-	n/s	n/s	n/s	-
Association Agreement with the EU	-	+	+	+	+	n/s	n/s	+
Federalization	+	-	-	-	-	-	n/s	-
Centralization	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	+
Freedom and human Rights	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	n/s

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Democracy	+	-	+	liberal	+	liberal	+	liberal	+	n/s
Corruption	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
Nationalism	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+
Marxism	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Protection of minorities	+	+/-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
Liberal/Conservative	conservative	conservative	liberal	liberal	liberal	liberal	conservative	liberal	liberal	populist
<b>Economics</b>										
Free market	-	+/-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	n/s
Protectionism	+	+	-	-	for agriculture only	-	-	-	-	+
Protection of Workers	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
Protection of Farmers	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Protection of Middle class	+	n/s	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	n/s
Support of big business	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Science and technological advance	+	n/s	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	n/s
<b>Culture and education</b>										
Education Expansion	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	n/s
Cultural development	+	n/s	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	n/s
Traditional Morality	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	n/s
Multiculturalism	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	n/s

Table A2. List of parties that entered the Parliament or were close to entering the Parliament after the elections of 2014 and their ideological views

Party name/ Ideology	Petro Poroshenko's Bloc 21,82%	Narodnyi Front 22,14%	Opposition bloc 9,43%	"Samopomich" Union 10,97%	"Sylna Ukraina" 3,11%	Gromadyanska Posyziya (Anatolii Gritsenko) 3,10%	Pravyi Sector 1,8%
<b>Politics</b>							
Foreign Relations affiliation (present/absent)	+	+	-	+	+	+	+
Attitude towards European Union	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Attitude towards USA	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Attitude towards Russia	+	-	+	-	-	-	-
Attitude towards NATO	n/s	+	-	n/s	n/s	+	-
Attitude towards Customs Union with Russia, Belarus, Kazakhstan	-	-	n/s	n/s	n/s	n/s	-
Association Agreement with the EU	+	+	+	n/s	+/-	+	+/-
Federalization	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Centralization	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Freedom and human Rights	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
Democracy	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
Corruption	-	-	-	-	-	-	-



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Nationalism	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	+
Marxism	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Protection of minorities	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+/-
Liberal/Conservative	liberal	liberal	liberal	liberal	liberal	liberal	conservative	liberal	liberal	liberal	conservative
<b>Economics</b>											
Free market	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
Protectionism	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Protection of Workers	+	n/s	n/s	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
Protection of Farmers	-	n/s	n/s	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
Protection of Middle class	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Support of big business	-	n/s	n/s	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Science and technological advance	+	+	+	+	+	+	n/s	+	+	+	+
<b>Culture and education</b>											
Education Expansion	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
Cultural development	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
Traditional Morality	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+
Multiculturalism	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-

The following describes each political party and the sources of their party ideology.

### **The Communist party of Ukraine (CPU)**

Website: [kpu.ua](http://kpu.ua)

The programme of the CPU opens up with the Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels slogan “Workers of the world, unite!” This indicates their ideological affiliation with Marxism. The party regards itself as a direct follower of the Communist party that existed in the USSR and earlier.

The CPU’s stated mission is “...to save the Ukrainian people from physical extinction, intellectual and moral degeneration.” The programme emphasizes aligning Ukraine with Russia rather than with other post-Soviet republics. It blames the fall of the Soviet Regime on an increase of delinquency and epidemics. The CPU is against Ukraine becoming a member of NATO or any other military bloc. It favors a revision of conditions for participation in the World Trade Organization and other international trade and non-trade organizations and associations, except for the CIS and the Customs Union with Russia, Belarus and Kazakhstan, which it is much in favor of.

The CPU is in favor of democracy and internationalization and proclaims a need for taking into account the interests of all groups of people. It rails against nationalism, xenophobia, authoritarianism, and censorship. It is against language discrimination and favors two (Ukrainian and Russian) official languages. The party strongly opposes any kinds of separatism, but favors federalization if needed (CPU, programme). In its project of improvements to be constitution the party suggest substituting the word “federal” the word to the word “unitary” in phrase “Ukraine is a unitary state” (CPU, Constitutional amendments). The CPU is a secular party, but it is against any type of discrimination on the grounds of religion or worldview.

In the economic sphere the party claims to support the idea of a state planned economy, nationalization of industries and lands (which cannot be sold to foreigners), intrastate investments in modernization, innovations and energy saving technologies, state regulated alcohol production, subsidies to state-owned agriculture, return of capital assets kept abroad and a ban on credits from international financial organizations on “discriminatory conditions.” The CPU does not call

for elimination of private property or capitalism through violence, but considers it necessary for constructing a communist state and expects it to be done through an outpouring of popular will.

As for the social sphere, the party emphasizes the need for full employment, establishment of a real living wage and providing workers with this wage, progressive taxation, state regulated prices, free medical care and education, state financed construction for poor and young families, social protection, differentiated pensions, high standards of ecological protection (CPU, programme).

As for the cultural sphere, the CPU attends to youth development and maintaining historical memory. It particularly opposes vandalism of monuments to Lenin and advocates criminal prosecution for the promotion of fascism (although the document does not specify the exact forms of promotion of fascism then should be regarded as criminal) (CPU, programme).

The CPU has several newspapers which are issued in different regions: “Communist” [komunist.com.ua](http://komunist.com.ua), “Rabochaia Gazeta” [rg.kiev.ua](http://rg.kiev.ua), “Kievskii Vestnik” [kyiv-vestnik.com.ua](http://kyiv-vestnik.com.ua), “Novaya Volna” [nw.komsomolua.org](http://nw.komsomolua.org), “Vremya.ua” [vremia.ua](http://vremia.ua), “Communist Donbassa” [kd.at.ua](http://kd.at.ua), “Sovetskaya Luganschina’” [lugkpu.info](http://lugkpu.info), “Pravda Prichernomorya” [obkom.odessa.ua](http://obkom.odessa.ua) (CPU, Official webpage).

### **VO “Svoboda” (The All-Ukrainian Union “Svoboda”)**

Website: [svoboda.org.ua](http://svoboda.org.ua)

The aim of VO “Svoboda” is “building a strong Ukrainian state on the grounds of social and national justice.” Primarily the programme pays attention to the power elite. The main idea here is lustration: to ban all officials who had connections to the former Soviet system from occupying state positions. The party also suggest introducing a “nationality” section in the Ukrainian passport and criminal responsibility for any manifestation of anti-Ukrainian sentiments (the programme does not specify these sentiments specifically). “Svoboda” suggests that Ukrainian citizenship must be granted only to those who were born in Ukraine or are ethnically Ukrainian (VO “Svoboda.” programme, part 1). The party wishes to establish a reciprocal visa regime with foreign countries and also to break off the readmission agreement with the EU (VO “Svoboda,” programme, part 4). It wishes to monitor

foreign students who arrive in the country, mainly to prevent them from staying longer than allowed by the contract with their education establishment. The party suggests abandonment of following foreign educational traditions, mainly the Bologna Process, (VO “Svoboda,” programme, part 5) but several articles later in the document suggest extending co-operation with foreign scientists. The document suggests introducing equal representation of Ukrainians and minorities in executive power (VO “Svoboda”, programme, part 1).

“Svoboda” promotes protectionism in education, labor, trade, media, and agriculture. “Svoboda” favors state ownership of land and key industrial facilities. It argues against selling land to foreigners and proportional taxation. It encourages additional taxation on alcohol, tobacco and Genetically Modified Organisms (GMOs). In the social sphere “Svoboda” pays a lot of attention to protection of farmers, but it also mentions protection of the middle class in one article (VO “Svoboda,” programme, part 2).

The party suggests subsidizing education and scientific research, as well as a search for alternative sources of energy and energy diversification (VO “Svoboda,” programme, part 2). It advocates the creation of a Ukrainian computer operational system (OS) and enforced installation of it on all government computers (VO “Svoboda,” programme, part 5).

They pay a lot of attention to historical memory. “Svoboda” insists on declassifying the archives of KGB agents. It insists on a revival of investigation into Holodomor, as well as on introduction of criminal responsibility for denial of Holodomor as genocide of Ukrainians. It demands compensation from the Russian Federation, recognitions of members of the OUN-UPA as heroes, to cancel all Soviet holidays, and destruction of the Soviet monuments (VO “Svoboda”, programme, part 6).

Most controversial in the programme are the articles 31 (I), 3 (III), 8(III), 10(IV), 21(V) and 9(VII). The first states the need to allow all people (mentally sane and with a clean record) to carry guns and edged weapon (VO “Svoboda,” programme, part 1), the second proclaims bans on abortion and the third suggest introduction of criminal responsibility for promotion of drugs and of “sexual perversions” (VO “Svoboda,” programme, part 3). None of these notions are specified. The fourth suggests a ban on adoption of Ukrainian children by

foreigners (VO “Svoboda,” programme, part 4) and the fifth is censorship (VO “Svoboda,” programme, part 5). The last one insists on restoration of Ukraine’s nuclear status. The party favors Ukrainian military co-operation with Europe, Great Britain and the USA. “Svoboda” wants to make the Russian military leave Ukrainian territory and to make Ukraine leave all organizations that can be regarded as initiated by Russia (VO “Svoboda,” programme, part 7).

In general, according to programme documents, the main ideologies of the party seem to be nationalism and protectionism. In spite of that, “Svoboda” actively advocates an association agreement with the EU and for Europeanization of the country.

“Svoboda” also has a project for their own Constitution. This constitution is even more controversial than the programme. The project barely touches upon basic human rights and it opens with the suggestion of a return to the death penalty. They advocate the creation of an Academy of Ukrainian Language for purification of the language. Nobody can intrude into personal life except in the cases of immoral activity, which are not specified. The power of the president is much extended in comparison with the current Constitution: they nominate ministers, the government of the main bodies of power, and prosecutors (VO “Svoboda,” Project of Constitution).

### **VO “Bat`kivshchyna” (All-Ukrainian Union “Fatherland”)**

Website: [batkivshchyna.com.ua](http://batkivshchyna.com.ua)

The current party programme states its aim as being to establish peace, but “not to give up any piece of Ukrainian land;” it wants to improve the economic situation, to fight corruption, to introduce new procedures of lustration, and to build a strong army. According to the party’s manifesto, it has a strong will to build a democratic, European country.

“Bat`kivshchyna” states the urgent need to stop the war (by winning it). In order to do so, it wants to rely on international organizations and international law. The party claims that it is the only one to have sufficient connections with Western countries on the highest level that are helping it to promote Ukrainian interests abroad. “Bat`kivshchyna” also strongly insists on Ukraine becoming a NATO member, having joint trainings with militaries of European nations, and strongly opposes any negotiations with representatives of the so

called “DNR” and “LNR”: Donetsk National Republic and Luhansk National Republic, which are representatives of governing bodies of the territories in Eastern Ukraine, where the military conflict takes place. It proclaims a need to reform the army and to introduce Martial Law in occupied territories.

The party argues that corruption has to be eliminated and high European standards of governance have to be followed. In order to achieve these standards, the party suggests to introduction of an anti-corruption bureau, reduction of the number of government officials and the nationalization of the property of those officials who are corrupt, and imposing the highest possible fines for bribes. “Bat`kivshchyna” proclaims the need for lustration, especially of those officials who collaborated with the Yanukovich regime. The party is in not favor of legal immunity for the President, members of the Parliament and judges; it seeks introduction of an impeachment procedure.

The party insists on introducing and engaging the representatives of the civil society in state governance. It also advocates a need to improve monitoring of human rights. It insists on keeping Ukrainian as the only official language.

In the social and economic sphere, the party wants to introduce a luxury tax, to increase fines for workers’ discrimination, mainly fines for not paying workers in due time, to review calculations for pensions, and to keep an eye on non-discrimination of disabled people and youth (VO “Bat`kivshchyna,” programme). “Bat`kivshchyna” suggest protecting small and medium business, as well as the farmers; it also advocates rules under which the farmers would not be able to sell their lands to anyone but the state. The party insists on decentralization so that taxes are used for local needs.

The party has become significantly smaller since 2012 because some major political figures left it before the Parliamentary elections of 2014.

### **Oleg Lyashko’s Radical Party**

Website: [liashko.ua](http://liashko.ua)

Between the elections in 2012 and 2014, Oleg Lyashko significantly raised the number of his deputies in Parliament. This is mostly due to massive media promotion campaign, the main instruments of which were numerous videos of “interrogations of separatists” and

“participation” in anti-terrorist operations in eastern Ukraine (e.g. Oleg Lyashko, website video) According to these videos he is a brave warrior and uncompromising fighter against terrorism and anti-Ukrainian activity.

The program of Oleg Lyashko’s Radical Party states as its main goals the “creation of the society of equal opportunities and welfare” as well as victory in war. It proclaims the need for urgent “de-separatisation,” by which it means getting rid of all separatists and their oligarchic sponsors, whose property has to be nationalized. The party suggests nationalization of the property of those who are proved to be guilty of taking bribes. Lyashko also calls for the return of the nuclear status of the country.

In the economic sphere, Lyashko insists on reforming industry in order to sell not raw materials, but goods. He also suggests providing people with credits for small and medium business for 10 years, simplified accountability procedures, low taxes for small and medium business, high taxes for oligarchs, support for less-well-off sections of society and 10 times more government spending for medical care.

In external relations, Lyashko’s party favors the association agreement with the EU, but it suggests demanding that Ukraine is freed from 75 percent of its external debts (on the grounds that they were taken by dishonest officials) and, as a response to aggression, to free Ukraine from all debts to Russia unilaterally.

Generally, the program of the party seems not to contain proclamations without substantive policies. Lyashko wants to introduce a ban on land selling, a ban on land sales to foreign residents, and state controlled land rent. Human rights protection is limited to Ukrainians (Oleg Lyashko’s Radical Party, programme). Many characteristics in the table are not specified for Oleg Lyashko’s the party because they are not specified in the party’s programme and proclamations.

### **“UDAR” Vitalii Klichko`s party (the Ukrainian Democratic Alliance for Reforms)**

Website: [klichko.org](http://klichko.org)

Programme documents of “UDAR” are detailed and vast. Generally the programme refers to liberal, democratic values, civil society development and public political participation. The programme opens with the statement that the Ukrainian state has to be built not on the

principle of state compulsion, but on the principle of citizen's independence and free democratic expression of popular will. The party aims for the rule of law, respect for human rights, and public needs and interests. It is in favor of integration into international society, pays attention to such problems as ecological protection, protection of minorities, public representation. The party proclaims a need for educational expansion, professional mobility, and a broad worldview.

In order to achieve those goals, state governance should be reformed. More political power should be given to local communities. A proportional system of voting with open lists of candidates should be introduced. Public access to information and the possibility to unite into groups and organizations freely has to be guaranteed, and the state can only control this right without directly interfering in the life of civil society. "UDAR" also suggests introducing a procedure of public voting for decisions that touch upon the society and certain groups in the society. The mechanism of such a system is not explained. It advocates for a public internet referenda. Transparency and accountability of the government will be guaranteed through public access to information about state expenses and incomes. They advocate government financing of political parties, mainly the parties in the Parliament and those parties, which lack one percent or less to enter the Parliament. "UDAR" also insists on limiting deputies' immunity, rigorous control of the personal voting of deputies (each MP votes only once for each law, him/herself), decentralization, judicial reform, as well as the reform of the public prosecutor's office and the military sector.

As for economic issues, the party addresses elimination of corruption. A market economy has to be achieved by facilitating the procedures for business registration, fiscal police reform, tax system reform, by punishing unfair competition, and introducing state subsidies for education, infrastructure and science. "UDAR" insists that only individuals, citizens of Ukraine can be owners of agricultural lands. In continuation "UDAR" emphasizes the need for judicial reform to provide the country with a fair and transparent judicial system.

The party also touches upon social development: state subsidies that already exist should be decreased. The pension system has to be reformed and to become a system of individual savings, guaranteed by the state. A lot of attention is paid to the development of the civil society, which should be secured and encouraged by the government



by material and non-material means. The programme also discusses the problems and the ways of solving of gender issues, the low birth rate, disabled people' employment issues, medical care problems, and non-discrimination on cultural or ethnic grounds.

“UDAR” insists that Ukraine has to build healthy relations with all its neighbors, it especially stresses the importance of the relations with the UN, the European Council, the EU, NATO, the OSCE, the Russian Federation, the CIS, the USA, Turkey, China, India, and Brazil (“UDAR” Vitalii Klichko`s party, programme).

### **Party of Regions**

Website: [partyofregions.ua](http://partyofregions.ua)

The Party of the Regions positioned itself as a party with extensive political experience. It claimed that its goals were in line with internationally recognized aims, such as democracy and equal representation of all regions in central government. It stood for principles of local and regional democracy and political transparency as well as for creation of a favorable environment for regional developments. The party emphasized the importance of creating a strong civil society, increasing youth participation, and the role of women in public life. It also insisted on providing good living conditions for war and labor veterans. The party said that the political process in Ukraine should have had a consistent strategy and that “democracy, freedom, rule of law, economic development are part and parcel of this strategy and patriotism, statehood, spirituality and pragmatism are the basis of it.” The party stands for a strong state, and political culture, effective and honest government, constitutional order, settlement of social issues, for civil rights and freedoms, stable development of the country, a historic perspective, a high level of education, culture and healthcare, and social benefits.

A main target is European living standards in Ukraine. It was much in favor of joining the European Union, but it also insisted on keeping good relationships with the CIS and especially the Russian Federation. It was in favor of making Russian an official second language of the state.

As for civil rights, the Party of the Regions aimed to strengthen the judicial system and to make it more efficient in protecting individual rights of citizens and their property. The party wanted to keep the

nonaligned status of Ukraine and thinks that membership in NATO and any other military organizations has to be decided by referendum.

The Party of the regions paid a lot of attention to economic development of the country. It wanted to force economic growth, to promote an effective budget policy, to create a favorable environment for entrepreneurship, and agricultural development, and an accurate and balanced external policy. The party aimed to create a favorable environment for small and medium businesses, but it also wants to support big export-oriented business. Party of Regions encouraged innovations and investments, low taxes, adoption of a long-term industrial and infrastructure strategy, scientific modifications, creation of technology towns, energy efficiency and diversification, development of unconventional sources of energy, subsidies for coal mines, and improvements of nuclear plants.

As for social policy, the Party of the Regions paid attention to the pension system (it also suggested creating a voluntarily pension insurance system), the creation of a programme for family protection, encouragement of educational initiatives, 50 percent of state guaranteed jobs for young specialists, accommodation subsidies for young families, healthy lifestyle propaganda, and reform of the medical care system. The Party of the Regions claimed it would create a flexible educational system, suitable for contemporary demands, increase funding for education and improvement of its quality. It promised subventions for culture and sport (Party of the Regions, Programme).

### **Nasha Ukraina**

Website: [razom.org.ua](http://razom.org.ua)

Nasha Ukraina positioned itself as a new European force. It was led by President (2005-2010) Viktor Yushchenko. The party claims that the main instruments it has are democratic institutions and civil society.

There are several priorities for the party. Social priorities are grounded on equality of people and their rights and equal access of everyone to information, education, the labor market, and financial resources. The party sees medical care, the fight against diseases and promotion of high standards of child care as crucial.

Nasha Ukraina considers it important to revive economic and political co-operation in the country, to achieve government transparency,

to build a strong state based on the rule of law, to achieve decentralization, and to integrate into European security programmes.

As for economic issues, the party thinks that the reform of education is needed in order that new specialists would meet market demands, thereby also creating fast technological advance. It insists on liquidation of subsidies for certain business (but it does not state which), on tax free regime for innovative businesses, a simplified tax system for small and medium businesses, energy efficient technologies, and agricultural advance.

A part of the programme is dedicated to the importance of the Ukrainian national idea. It also seeks for support of the Church. It recognizes the Ukrainian language as the only state language, but wants to protect foreign dialects.

Another part is dedicated to mechanisms to achieve these aims. This includes, first of all, building strong relations of co-operation between the President, the Cabinet of Ministers, the Parliament and civil society. The party promises to provide everyone with equal rights in the political process as well as to engage media and other communication tools (Nasha Ukraina, programme). As for the rest of the programme it can be characterized as general and not touching deeply upon any issue.

### **Natalya Korolevskaya's Party "Ukraina Vpered"**

Website: [ukraina-vpered.com](http://ukraina-vpered.com)

The key message of the party is the need for economic development. It seeks young and energetic voters as the programme highlights that during the years of independence, the parties changed, but the politicians did not, and that it is time for the young generation to appear.

Primarily, the party programme suggests that relatively fast and profound reform should be carried out in industry. Korolevskaya insists on state subsidies for national industry, especially for technical restructuring and implementation of new technologies. The party suggests offering special credit lines for investment oriented businesses, improving conditions for small and medium businesses, and establishing state support for export expansion. The programme indicates that the party is in favor of computerization of bureaucracy and of diminishing the number of officials, instituting a very simple tax system, and defending private property.

A lot of attention is paid to revival of and state support for strategic sectors of the economy: aircraft building, shipbuilding, machine building, among others. It also insists on creation of technological parks, educational advance and a favorable environment for foreign industries to locate in the country. Korolevskaya intends to build a strong agricultural sector, to construct powerful infrastructure, to decentralize the budget and to improve industrial life in small cities.

In the social sphere, the party aims to improve the level of education (special stress is put on computer education) and to bring it in line with market demands, to create large quantities of cultural centers, libraries and gyms, and free medical care for the underprivileged population (Nataliya Korolevskaya's Party "Ukraina Vpered", programme).

### **Narodnyi Front (The People's front)**

Website: [nfront.org.ua](http://nfront.org.ua)

Narodnyi Front is a party created in 2014. The head of the political council is Arseniy Yatsenyuk, the Prime Minister of Ukraine until Spring 2016. The main goal is Europeanization. The party thinks that the aims for the government should be: protection from foreign military threats, protection of civil freedoms and rights, and promotion of European social standards. Reforms grounded in the Association Agreement with the EU are the main instruments for achieving those goals.

The first chapter of the programme is dedicated to security, in which the party primarily means military security and security of borders. Narodnyi Front considers this aim to be achieved by allying with NATO, creation of a national security strategy, military reform and rearmament and social guarantees for soldiers.

The party wants to build modern democratic state with the rule of law. The priorities are measures to prevent usurpation of power, clear division of branches of power, strong civil society, decentralization, creation of an anti-corruption institution, and reform of the police and judicial system.

As for the economic sphere, Narodnyi Front stresses as key points the end of monopolies and liberalization of business activities. It also states that the middle class has to become the basis for the Ukrainian economy and Ukrainian agricultural products have to become leaders

on the international market. Ukraine has to diversify its energy resources, to create an energy partnership with the EU, to substitute imported gas with its own gas, and to build an efficient energy system.

As for the social sphere, the party suggests encouraging charity programmes and insists that business circles have to take part in them. It recognizes that the country is in a difficult condition, but nevertheless it is against social programs for underprivileged groups of the population. It encourages use of new technologies and educational advance. The party also pays attention to media development and reforms in education and healthcare.

The last part of the programme touches upon zones of military conflict. Narodnyi Front considers it necessary to engage international society in reconstruction. It sees it as an opportunity to build a new infrastructure and industry (Narodnyi Front, Programme).

### **Petro Poroshenko's Bloc**

Website: [solydarnist.org](http://solydarnist.org)

The party emerged on the basis of a previously existing party "Solidarnost." It does not have a very specific ideology. This is a secular, centrist party, in favor of reforms, democracy, human rights and the rule of law. It proclaims a need for transparency and public control. The party states that there is also a need for transformations in different spheres of public life. The parliamentary-presidential form of governance has to be improved. The principle of political responsibility should be regarded as very important. The party promotes decentralization in contrast to federalization. Its programme says that the country has to be a unitary state with one state language, but the specificity of every region should be taken into the account. In addition the protection of private life and freedom from any kind of repressions are regarded as important. The programme also emphasizes protection of minorities, especially Crimean Tatars.

In external policy, the party advocates entering the European Union as a main goal. It is in favor of a free market, but emphasizes the need for improvement in the work of the anti-monopoly committee. It also suggests establishing a decent system of social protection and reform of the police and court system. As for corruption, the party thinks that rejection of bribe-taking should become a national idea.

To build a new strong army, the party promises heavily increased material assistance to the military and reform; this will, according to the party, guarantee the safety of the Ukrainian people (Petro Poroshenko's Bloc, official website, programme).

### **The Opposition bloc**

Website: [opposition.org.ua](http://opposition.org.ua)

The Opposition bloc emerged from the Party of Regions. As it was created in 2014, its rhetoric is in line with the current political situation in the country. The Opposition bloc proclaims an urgent need to stop the war and to find a compromise. They claim their goals to be: realization of a truce plan, which would include representatives from all Ukrainian regions; investigation of deaths in the Maidan and Odessa, and an amnesty for citizens who did not commit serious crimes; activation of negotiations with Russia, with participation of the European Union and the USA; disarmament of all illegal paramilitary groups and modernization of the army; social protection for those who took part in the anti-terrorist operation, and protection of the right to vote for citizens of the East and Crimea to vote.

The Opposition bloc calls for stability and moderation. It proclaims that rights of the citizen have to be protected regardless of region, religion, native language or world view. The bloc is in favor of decentralization of the country and for a plan for the reconstruction of the Donbass. It argues for introduction criminal liability for "fomentation of interregional hostility." The Opposition bloc wants to introduce the notion of a minority language for the places where minorities live. It proclaims a need to stop political repression and to reform the police and judicial system.

As for the economy, the Opposition bloc wants to improve the investment climate, to introduce indexation of pensions and salaries indexation according to the level of inflation, to stop inflation at a maximum level of 5 percent (the period is not indicated), lower the taxes for small and medium businesses, to provide state support for national industries, to have a policy of stable currency, to make steps towards energy efficiency, to exempt businesses in zones of military conflict from taxes, to introduce medical insurance, to introduce social protection for the underprivileged population, and social help

for young families and internally displaced people, to provide graduates from technical schools with first jobs, to increase the number of gyms, sport sections, and activity centers for young people. It argues for a nonaligned status for Ukraine (Opposition bloc, programme).

### **“Samopomich” Union**

Website: [samopomich.ua](http://samopomich.ua)

The contemporary “Samopomich” Union is also a creation of the 2014 parliament election. It proclaims that the members of the party are Ukrainians with no regard for their ethnicity and that the Ukrainian nation is a nation of peace. It also states that the duty of every Ukrainian is to protect the integrity of the country. The Parliament, the President and Cabinet of Ministers should co-operate “to form a new war doctrine.” It suggests production of a “proactive state information policy,” to support citizens who “protect the freedom of Ukrainians and the territorial integrity of Ukraine,” and to revoke the nonaligned status of the country.

“Samopomich” suggests decentralization of political power and tax collection, introduction of municipal police and creation of work opportunities.

The Union wants lustration, ending of deputy’s immunity, co-operation between government and civil society, improvement of administrative procedures for businesses and citizens, creation of a special institution for investigation of corruption, reform of the police, the judicial, and the public prosecutor’s office, instituting an effective anti-monopoly policy, and economic deregulation. It also suggests developing economic knowledge and bring the business and educational spheres closer together.

The program makes some unclear statements: it suggests development of highly technological machinery and the processing industry, which will be export and import substitution oriented, to create technological parks, modernization funds, to develop telecommunications, but also says that the Ukrainian economy may develop by export of raw materials. Or it states, for example, that Ukraine is a peaceful country, but insists that it has to participate in the into international fight for natural resources. The character of the fight is not clarified (“Samopomich” Union, programme).

“Samopomich” has a manifesto that contains ideological orientations. According to the manifesto, the members of the party share the following values: the importance of having a mission in life, the necessity of faith, love for neighbors, search for the truth, etc. A person, according to the manifesto, has to feel that they are a part of something bigger, has to act for something that has an aim, and to learn from good deeds. It says that the “Samopomich” Union brings the principles of Christian morality and common sense (“Samopomich” Union, official webpage, manifesto).

### **Gromadyanska Posytziya (Anatolii Gritsenko) (the Citizen’s position)**

Website: [parlament2014.grytsenko.com.ua](http://parlament2014.grytsenko.com.ua)

The head of the party, Anatolii Gritsenko, was from 2005 to 2007 the Minister of Defense of Ukraine (Gromadyanska Posytziya). Gromadyanska Posytziya works together with the Democratic Alliance party and the civil initiatives “Chesno” and “Reanimatsyni paket reform” (“Reanimation reforms package”). Its image is based on the alliance of young civil activists and an experienced leader.

According to the programme, the party has three main goals to achieve: safety, justice and renovation. By safety the party means not only military safety, but also safety of property, health security, human rights, freedom of expression, and ecological security. The party says that alliance with NATO, membership of the EU and bilateral alliances with the USA and Great Britain are all important for achieving those goals. Citizen must be protected according to EU safety standards. The party advocates for improvements in the military sector, mainly in the army, in the military industry, and cybersecurity. It is also in favor of safety for businesses, ecological security, and energy independence.

In the sphere of justice, Gromadyanska Posytziya pays most attention to transparency. It insists on disclosure of information on government expenses and financing of political parties. It insists on judicial reform, equal educational opportunities, a guaranteed health care package, social policy for military personnel, social help for disabled people, and state controlled prices for medications.

Gromadyanska Posytziya insists on lustration, decentralization, ratification of an association agreement, abolition of the fiscal police,



deregulation for small and medium business, and simplified administrative services (Gromadyanska Posytziya, programme).

### “Sylna Ukraina”

Website: [silnaukraina.com](http://silnaukraina.com)

“Sylna Ukraina” is led by Sergey Tigipko, a former member of the Party of the Regions and a politician with a long political history. It is a moderate party without clear affiliation. It advocates peaceful regulation of the military conflict. It calls for multilateral peaceful negotiations, with UN participation, elections in the Donbass with the participation of international organizations. The party proposes budget formation, tax rate regulation, and police appointments in all regions. External policy, national security, and defense are to be governed by the central government. “Sylna Ukraina” insists on creation of a strong army, with high salaries for military personnel.

In the economic sector, the party suggests promoting the agricultural sector and machinery and metallurgy industries with government support, improving Ukraine’s internal market, opening new markets to Western countries, limiting raw materials export, import restrictions, industrial modernization, duties on raw materials, corruption control with civil society engagement, deregulation of the economy, and improvement of the investment climate. No comments about WTO rules are made.

As for the social sphere, the party insists on active National Bank intervention to support the national currency and a substantial increase in salaries and pensions, social help for young families, state-controlled prices for housing services, and discount credits for small and medium businesses. Despite the attractiveness of the plan, the party does not state any clear methods for its realization (“Sylna Ukraina,” programme).

### Pravy Sector

Website: [pravysektor.info](http://pravysektor.info)

Pravy Sector is an ultranationalist, religiously oriented party with Dmitrij Yarosh as a head of the party. The programme of the party is quite large, but optimistic. Pravy Sector sees only three problems in Ukraine: (1) Absence of a national ideology of state building; (2) The bases for state building are “borrowed doctrines but not the idea of

statehood of the Ukrainian nation – not the Ukrainian national idea;” and (3) the national will does not control politicians.

The main motto of the party is “God! Ukraine! Freedom!” The party believes that the the road to God lies through the Fatherland; thus, the protection of the Fatherland is a way to God, and the realization of God’s will. Pravyi Sector openly proclaims Ukrainian nationalism as their ideology.

As for other nations, there are three options: (1) The party is friendly to foreigners who also fight for a Ukrainian national state; (2) Tolerance of foreigners who agree with the aims of the party; (3) Hostility to those who impede Ukrainian national state creation.

Pravyi Sector proclaims as harmful: imperialism, chauvinism, communism, Nazism, xenophobia, anti-Semitism, cosmopolitanism, globalism, pseudo nationalism, and everything that impedes Ukrainian state creation.

Pravyi Sector considers the nation-state as a goal for all Ukrainians, where every citizen’s deeds are assessed according to what they did for the nation. The aim of internal policy is consolidation of citizens under the idea of nation; external policy has to remain nonaligned because the policy of alliances is misleading – it complies only with state security, not national security or security of the nation. The answer to economic, and social problems and problems in the agricultural sector can be solved only by the creation of a nation-state. The education system has to breed nationally conscientious citizens willing to sacrifice for the nation. Culture has to “produce spiritual immunity to alien cultural imperialism,” because youngsters fall victim to “instilled and cultivated perversions: drug addiction, alcoholism, dissoluteness, homosexuality, violence, lack of spirituality, lack of national idea, political indifference.” Pravyi Sector highlights the need to control the information flow. It also wants to help Crimean Tatars (but only on Ukrainian territory, if they support national Ukrainian idea, only as a form of autonomy). In external policy, the party picked Poland, Lithuania, Sweden, Turkey and Georgia as partners. In addition, Pravyi Sector suggests the creation of a national church that leads people to God as God himself wanted, and “not giving an opportunity for occupation forces and their heirs, who are often obviously Satan’s helpers, to change them.” Pravyi Sector intends to continue a revolutionary fight until the nation state is created.

In social policy, the party is in favor of lustration on different levels, reform of the police, judicial system, the customs service, and the military, the right to carry firearms, creation of an anti-corruption committee, decrease in the number of government officials, protection of national business, energy independence, land ownership only for Ukrainians, big infrastructure projects, foreign investments, a simplified tax system, state controlled strategic industries, state intervention in the into economy, abolition of corruption, decentralization, agricultural modernization, big investments in education (but the party mentions only school education as free), social protection for teachers, support for high-tech, free non-commercial medicine, European standards of ecological protection, visa regime cancellation, and revival of co-operation with Western countries with a prejudice against Russia (Pravy Sector, programme).

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