UNIVERZA V LJUBLJANI
FAKULTETA ZA DRUŽBENE VEDE

Ignas Simanavičius

Razvoj strankarskega sistema v Republiki Litvi

Development of the party system of the Republic of Lithuania

Magistrsko delo

Ljubljana, 2015

UNIVERZA V LJUBLJANI
FAKULTETA ZA DRUŽBENE VEDE

Ignas Simanavičius

Mentor: red. prof. dr. Bogomil Ferfila

Razvoj strankarskega sistema v Republiki Litvi

Development of the party system of the Republic of Lithuania

Magistrsko delo

Ljubljana, 2015

Development of the party system of the Republic of Lithuania

The main objective of the master's thesis is to explore the development of the party system in the Republic of Lithuania since the end of the eighties onwards. Using the baseline literature and the principal sources is reviewed, what importance to the creation of today's Lithuanian multi-party system has had the establishment of democracy and national independence. In this paper are discussed the stages of development, which were important for the development of the party system of Lithuania, namely: the crisis of the system until the transitional period, the confrontation, the reform of the party system, the consolidation, the destabilization of the system.

Key wors: political system, party system, movement 'Sąjūdis', consolidation of democracy.

Razvoj strankarskega sistema v Republiki Litvi

Glavni cilj magistrskega dela je raziskovati razvoj strankarskega sistema v Republiki Litvi od konca osemdesetih let naprej. S pomočjo izhodiščne literature in temeljnih virov je v nalogi pregledano, kakšen pomen za oblikovanje današnjega večstrankarskega litovskega sistema je imela vzpostavitev demokracije in državne neodvisnosti. Obravnavane so stopnje razvoja, ki so bile pomembne za razvoj strankarskega sistema države, in sicer: kriza sistema do tranziskega obdobja, konfrontacija, reforma strankarskega sistema, konsolidacija, destabilizacija sistema.

Ključne besede: politični sistem,strankarski sistem, gibanje »Sąjūdis«, konsolidazija demokracije.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 The topic description

In the post-communist democracies the creation of the political parties was held with almost no civil society, and this is exactly the opposite than in Western Europe. The relative political vacuum that emerged after the collapse of the communist regime, was influenced by the fact that the fragmented party systems have become the norm of political life of most new democracies (Rose and Munro 2011, 36). Political parties are the main component of democratization in the sense that those policy makers who can create, retain, express and enhances the approaches, are related to the righteousness or unrighteousness of the regime (Morlino 1995, 315).

Political parties in political system occupy a special place as an intermediary between society and political institutions. For this reason, the analysis of political parties of the new post-communist democracies is very complicated.Activities and influence of political parties are related to the common development of institutional democracy and historical roots of political parties. For example, in Lithuania, as in other Central and Eastern European countries, political parties and party systems since 1990 are still developing and dynamically changing.

In Lithuania, the structure of the State's party system was formed in 1988-1991, during the Lithuanian liberation movement Sąjūdis. The first Lithuanian political parties after the independence of Lithuania in 1990 were more or less in ideological conformity with political parties of Western democracies. Already in 1990, when the establishment of new parties was in the process, the basic structure of party systems that were characteristic for the older Western democracies was introduced also in Lithuania.

The first political parties after the independence of the Republic of Lithuania in 1990 can be classified into historical, ex-communist, parties, emerged from the Lithuanian liberation movement Sąjūdis and new parties. Party pluralism in the country matured gradually. Single-party communist system, which has existed for a long time, only gradually became a democratic multi-party system. The transition to a new phase in the development of political parties was held gradually and in the phase of consolidation since 1992 the Lithuanian political parties have established sufficiently mature parliamentary legislation, created an ideological identity and developed their voters. The development of party pluralism associated with increase of social mobility and the parallel changes in the structure of society. The structure of the middle class has changed rapidly, a number of new

social groups such as entrepreneurs and unemployed occurred. New social groups only after some time have expressed their interests through political organizations.

The general objective of my master's thesis is to explore the development of the party system in the Republic of Lithuania since the end of the eighties onwards. In my thesis I will examine, what importance has had the restoration of democracy and national independence for the creation of today's multi-party system in Lithuania. I will analyze the levels of development, which were important for the development of the Lithuanian party system, as follows: the crises of the system until the transitional period; the confrontation; the reform of the party system; consolidation; destabilization after 2000. At the beginning of the independent period of the Republic of Lithuania there was the bipolar party system, created on the basis of the largest left-wing and right-wing parties at that time. However, before every parliamentary elections the new parties have been formed, which also contributed to the development of a new party system.

1.2 Methodology

1) Literature review

In my thesis I will use the interpretation of primary and secondary source materials for a historical and comparative analysis. Using these methods I will obtain the information from books, articles and documents, which will be appropriately interpreted in the context of the set theme.

2) Comparative analysis of the party system

Comparative study of the party system in Lithuania involves the comprehensive study of the party building problematic in the light of its historical context. One of the most important aspects that presents a theoretical value for the study is quantitative characteristic of the party system, as well as the formation and development of the party-ideological spectrum. Dwelling on the conditions of the party system development, it is also important to take into account the principles and norms of political power exercising, which were forming and developing in parallel with the party system of Lithuania. In particular, this applies to the form of government, enshrined in the Constitution of the Republic of Lithuania, as well as the electoral system and the overall specificity of the current political regime.

The comparative analysis will be divided into periods, as follows:

a) Transition period - from 1988 to 1991, during the Lithuanian liberation movement Sąjūdis.
b) Democratic consolidation – since the Constitution of the Republic of Lithuania in 1992.
c) Destabilization of the party system - apparent since 2000.

2 PARTY SYSTEMS IN MODERN DEMOCRACIES

2.1 The functions of political parties in democratic systems

First of all, what the political party is? Etymologically the term 'party' derives from the archaic French verb 'partir', which means 'divide', or from the Latin noun 'pars', which means 'part'. There is no single definition of a political party in political science. The definitions depended on the historical and cultural environment.

Political parties could be defined as "permanent associations of citizens that are based on free membership and a program, and which are anxious to occupy through the path of elections, the politically decisive positions of the country with their team of leaders, in order to materialize suggestions for resolving outstanding problems" (Hofmeister and Grabow 2011). To generalize, the political parties in our days are defined as formal civil organizations, acting in public life, which represent specific professional and ideological interests in today's rule of law, and their objective is to take part in the elections, win them and form the government.

From each political party is expected that it will contribute to the policy, performed by the government. With the assistance of the parties the approach to the country's economical, social or foreign policy is being formed. Each party has its own program, which provides the basic measures, which help them to seek their main objectives and tasks.

Today's democratic politics is unimaginable without political parties. Political parties, party government and the party system are the axioms of democracy in our days. According to Jean Blondel, "the parties are one of the recent institutions of political life". (Blondel 1969, 221).

The concept of political party is linked historically. The idea of the party is multiple and has developed because of the political, economical and legal changes in societies. Max Weber was one of the first political sociologists, who draw attention to the historicity of the parties. The first modern parties as organizations have occurred in the first half and middle of the 19th century (1828 – Democrats of the United Nations, 1854 – the Republican Party, 1832 – the Conservative Party of England, 1867 – the Liberal Party of England). But the concept of the modern party is connected to emergence of the massive parties. A massive party on the basis of the general definition is the political organization, which operates under the circumstances of mass cooperation in politics, and its functions, according to Mair (1990, 1), are:

1) The concept of electoral alternative;

2) Political integration and mobilization of citizens;

3) Aggregation of different interests;

4) Formation of public policy.

There are common characteristics that define and describe the venue of the parties in new democracies, namely:

1) Too wide choice of parties in the political arena, when there is almost no restrictions on participation in elections. For example, in 2003 42 parties were officially registered in Lithuania.

2) Strong competition between the parties, when in the parliamentary elections attends more than ten parties. This competition is additionally encouraged by the proportional electoral rules, that allow to get at least one or two positions for an average fifteen parties in countries of Central and Eastern Europe.

3) No existence of dominant parties in the political arena and their permanent changes, when for example even the largest parties collect on average only 31,5 votes.

4) Ideological inconsistency of parties, when for example the Conservative Party have slogans, which are typical for the Socialist Party, and vice versa.

One of the characteristics of political parties is the fact that they represent particular interests. To solve the problems in a society and to make political compromises is possible only if the political parties act in accordance with the democratic principles, which are provided in the Constitution of democratic country. This can be achieved only when parties cooperate together and respect each other's interests. In order to properly participate in political life, and thus contribute to strengthening democracy, political parties have to carry out certain assignments, which in political science are called 'functions'. (Hofmeister and Grabow 2011).

According to Dalton and Martin (2001, 3-18), functions of political parties are as follows:

- Political parties express the expectations of the society, formulate social interests, form and make political opinions;
- Political parties select and prepare individuals for the upcoming elections and promote the political personnel;

- Political parties prepare and improve their political programs. In order to ensure, that the political program is relevant, the political party constantly updates it adapt to the latest political tendencies and actualities;
- Each political party must make a bridge between the citizens of the country and the political system. To achieve this, the political parties tries to incorporate the participation of the citizens, join the party and expand the process of socialization;
- Political parties are involved to the process of the organizing the government as they are participating in the elections and gets the important positions. In normal democracies, the representatives of the government are coming from the political parties.
- Political parties have also the function of legitimating. The parties constantly trying to seek for connection between the political life and society, between social groups and political system.

One of the key functions of political parties is the formation of the public opinion and representation in political decision-making process. The members and representatives of political parties in the state institutions must contribute to the political decision-making and seek, that these decisions would be made properly. Political parties have to adequately express their functions and programs. This is especially important so that citizens of the country would be properly politically oriented.

One of the most important functions of the parties is the party program making. The political program is an advertising face of each party. By studying the programs of political parties citizens generate an impression of particular party and are looking for appropriate solutions, which they consider to be fairest. In that way each program of the party has an impact on citizens' opinion of the adequate party. Usually the most important questions for every citizen are related to the social problems. Therefore the potential voters in the party programs are generally looking for the answer, in what way each party provide to solve these social problems.

In order to organize the political duties properly, one of the main functions of oppositional parties is to offer alternative solutions for the positional parties and the government, not only criticize them, which often occurs in current democracies. All the functions must be carried out properly and responsibly. Only in this way the political parties successfully contribute to the democratic political governing.

2.2 Formation of party systems and their functions

The classic typology of party systems is that of Sartori (1976), which distinguishes amongst two party systems, moderate pluralism, polarized pluralism, and predominant-party systems. According to different ways of party system descriptions, political scientists cannot find the equal criteria for typology of those systems. The initial postwar classification of party systems relied in whole or in part on quantitative measures of size and relative size. First there was Duverger's (1954) distinction between two party and multiparty systems. This was made more elaborate by Blondel, who suggested four categories: two-party systems (two-party share of 90 percent or more); three-party systems, which in fact are more strictly two-and-a-half-party systems (two-party vote share between 75 and 80 percent); multiparty systems with a dominant party (dominant party obtaining about 40 percent of the votes and generally about twice as much as the second party); multiparty systems without a dominant party (Blondel 1968, 180-203).

The most widespread distribution of party systems is its division into three major groups:

1) Single-party system, when it is only one political party in the country's political life. For example, the former Soviet Union, former Albania or some of the current countries in Africa.

2) Two-party system, which does not mean that the country has only two political parties. The two-party system can also exist, when there are several parties in the country, but the other parties cannot prevent the most influential political parties to operate. Furthermore, none of the two most influential parties the coalition with the third parties is unnecessary, because in winning the election the winner receives an absolute majority of votes. Obvious examples are the United States or the United Kingdom, where any third party cannot prejudge the election fight results of the Republicans or Democrats, Conservatives or Labours.

3) Multiparty system, when in the struggle for political power are involved more than two parties. This system has a lot of modifications.

On the basis of the arguments of Hans Daalder, there are three main factors, which determine the configuration of the party systems, namely: the consolidation of responsible government of elected representatives; implementation of universal right to vote; compliance of industrialization and urbanization. Hans Daalder pointed out three different methods of the development of the party systems, namely:

-Following the first method the party system of the United States of America was formed. According to this system the responsible government and the wide voting rights was established before the industrialization and urbanization started. In view of these circumstances, the political parties in America were able to incorporate new voters, but no influential socialist party appeared.

- Following the second method the party system of the United Kingdom was formed. According to this method, the electoral institutions of the government and industrialization appeared faster than the gradual implementation of universal right to vote. The movement of workers in the early 20th century, which was a result of the Industrial Revolution, was the basis of the Labor Party.

- Following the third method the party system in Germany was formed. According to this method, the industrialization and the development of voting right appeared faster than the creation of a central representative government. Due to this reason, the working class was included into the autocratic political system and the Socialist Party, which represented the interest of the workers, has become the party of the revolution and had a limited influence in the political system (Rose and Munro 2003, 36).

The original and quite detailed characteristic of party systems provides Sartori (1976), who emits even seven types of party systems:

1) Single-party system;
2) Multiparty as hegemonic party system. In the countries of this system there is more than one political party, but a crucial role plays only the dominant party. In such a system the dominant party does not feel the competition for political power, because it always remains the crucial political force. In this case the mentioned multiparty system is only a modernized version of the single-party system.
3) Multiparty as predominant party system (Japan, India). A key feature of this system is that despite the presence of several parties one of them is always more influential, having more chances to win the competitive elections. The main difference from the hegemonic party system in that the dominant party has no dominative status as possibility to stay in power in all conditions. This system is not a modernized version of the one-party system, but a special form of multiparty system.
4) Two-party system (USA, United Kingdom, Canada).
5) System of limited pluralism (Belgium, the former Federal Republic of Germany). The most important feature of this system is that the fight for the political power is going between three to five partiesand none of them are unable to form a government. In such a situation

the government can be only coalition. Consequently the parties, seeking the coalition, must show some restraint in their electoral programs as well as in elections.

6) System of extreme pluralism (Italy, the Netherlands, Finland). In these countries there is a great number of competing parties and the extreme polarization of parties, when for political power are fighting both positional and oppositional parties.

7) Atomised system (Malaysia). The main feature of this system is that there are a huge number of parties so that they no longer play any role in country's political life.

In allocation of party systems, the political scientists of the various strands have no common opinion in evaluating those systems. An absolute majority of the political scientists agrees on evaluating of single-party and multiparty as hegemonic party system, because they are typical for dictatorships. In evaluating the advantages of two-party and multiparty systems the opinions of political scientists differ. Earlier mentioned Sartori (1976) promotes the moderate pluralism. The proponents of two-party system argue that such a system is more stable, it more clearly reflects the results of the competitive struggle. Furthermore, the responsibility for the implementation of election promises of the election winning party is stronger in two-party system.

2.3 Formation of party systems in post-communist European countries

The formation of party systems in post-communist European countries is most closely related to the collapse of the one-party totalitarian regime, which has demanded many changes and challenges. The post-communist party organization and conduction differs from the old democracies, where the political system has developed in a more liberal way. These differences were influenced by the fact, that in the countries, which had longstanding traditions of democracy, the citizens were involved in the political process. This process in the post-communist countries was significantly slower and more carefully. When democratization reached Eastern Europe, its citizens were already mobilized and politicized. In researching the party systems in the post-communist European countries, the most researches release the instability of the party structure and a quite large competition between the parties.

In examination the characteristics of the post-communist party systems it is worth to research the Central and Eastern European countries separately. In these countries the party systems have developed specifically. Mair (1998, 178) points at the absence of civic society. For many years in

Central and Eastern Europe existed communist regime prohibited any self-expression. Such a system has gradually led to resistance movements.

Changes in economical systems took place at the same time as the changes in political systems. In advance democracies such changes tooks place over a long period, while in the post-communist countries it had to take place during a relatively short period of time. Furthermore, the party systems in the post-communist countries has not developed over a long period of democratization, but they began to develop only after the process of the political system democratization has started. According to these reasons, some deviations from traditional norms have become characteristic for the post-communist political systems. Over the past decades many attempts to explain those reasons have appeared. One of the most analysed characteristics is the institutionalization of party systems. The institutionalization has a decisive influence on the operation of the party system, because it is related to the stability of functioning of the system and its vision in the future (Jurek 2010).

The collapse of the communism and the hegemonic party system left the extremely fragmented and competitive structure of the political forces, which till the phase of the democratic consolidation failed to gain a greater structural stability. So from the beginning of the transition to democracy in Central and Eastern Europe there were some problems in classification of the political forces and parties.

To the question of how to classify the post-communist parties, the literature of political science answers in three ways. First, the research of the post-communist parties and politics under the traditional Western left-right ideological scheme is entirely or almost impossible (Lieven 1994, 215).

Secondly, in Lithuania and other post-communist Eastern and Central European countries politicians and voters rapidly fragmented into traditional democratic European political currents (Clemens 1991, 178-179).

Thirdly, the traditional typology does not have to be clearly copied, although parties in Eastern and Central Europe created a pro-European ideological outside and they are poorly based on the social dividing lines, which are typical in the West, they are characterized by the so-called "cultural policies" and the logic of "values war" (Agh 1994, 235-236).

The classification of post-communist parties as mentioned before is correct, if they are applied statically, i.e. looking at only one phase of transformation. During the reform period of post-communist systems, the contours of the traditional left-right ideological spectrum revealed. At the

beginning the political parties among their voters expected general support, but they did not orientate to different social groups and their interests. During the period of democratic consolidation the party system gradually stabilized.

But even in researches about the period of democratic consolidation is necessary to take into account the following factors (Krupavičius 1996, 63):

1) Absence of traditions of the long term competitive party system;
2) Structural change of social dividing lines in post-communist transformation;
3) The nature of transformation in a particular country.

3 DEVELOPMENT OF THE PARTY SYSTEM OF THE REPUBLIC OF LITHUANIA

3.1 The basic characteristics of Lithuanian political system

According to the explanation of its constitutional court Lithuania is a democratic parliamentary republic with elements of a semi-presidential republic. This means the Lithuanian parliament Seimas is the most powerful institution and the government is selected by the parliament. Seimas is elected by two different systems: 70 seats elected by proportional representation akin to the Italian system and remaining 71 are elected in separate constituences similarly to the British or US parliament (Politics and Law of Lithuania).

President

As stated in the Constitution of the Republic of Lithuania, the President is the Head of State. The powers and responsibilities of the President of the Republic are clearly defined in the Constitution. One of the major powers is that the President of the Republic is responsible for foreign policy and conducts it together with the Government. In accordance with the cases stated in the Constitution the President can also dissolve the Parliament. The President is the Chief Commander of the Armed Forces of the State and the Head of the National Defense Council. To sum up, the powers of the President is rather symbolic. The President is mostly responsible for the Country's Foreign and Defense policy (Lietuvos Respublikos Konstitucija 1993).

The President of the Republic of Lithuania is elected directly for a five-year period. The duties of the same President can be carried out for a maximum two consecutive terms. The President with the approval of the Parliament, appoints the Prime Minister. With the approval of the Prime Minister, President appoints also the Cabinet of the Ministers. Moreover, the President appoints other senior officials, like for example judges of all courts.

Due to the fact, that the President is responsible for the Foreign and Defense Policy of the country, it can be said that Lithuania is a semi-presidential republic. Some scientists, who want to emphasize, that the powers of the President in Lithuania is more symbolic than in some other countries, use the term 'parliamentary-presidential' republic. In this way the role of the parliament as an institution is more explicit in the governing of the country.

The functions and duties of the President accordint to the Constitution of the Republic of Lithuania:

- The new elected President begins to manage his obligations the following day after the completion of the mandate of the earlier one.
- The President can not be the member of the Lithuanian Parliament Seimas.
- Can not manage any other obligations or receive any other salary, except a specified one for the President of the Republic and the salary for the creative work.
- Solves the main issues of foreign policy and, together with the Government of the Republic, leads the foreign policy.
- Signs international agreements by the side of the Republic of Lithuania and submits them to the ratification process to Seimas.
- Under the provision of the Government appoints and disclaimes the diplomatic representatives of the Republic of Lithuania in foreign countries and international organizations.
- Provides the highest diplomatic ranks and special titles.
- With confirmation of the Seimas appoints the Prime Minister and entrust him to form a government and approve the composition of the government.
- With confirmation of the Seimas dismiss the Prime Minister.
- Accepts the returned powers of the Government after the election of the new Seimas and entrust to perform the obligations until the new government is formed.
- Under the provision of the Prime Minister appoints and dismisses the ministers.
- According to specified order appoints and dismisses public officials, which is provided by law.
- Confers the highest military ranks.
- In accordance with the law publishes the urgent cases.
- Prepare the annual reports on the internal and external policy of the Republic of Lithuania.
- Calls regular and early parliamentary elections.
- In accordance with the law confers citizenship of the Republic of Lithuania.
- Confers state awards.
- Decides on clemency.
- President of the Republic has his residency. Funding for the President and his residency is determined by law.

Prime Minister

The Prime Minister of the Republic of Lithuania is the head of the government. The Prime Minister is appointed by the President of State with the approval of the parliament. After the appointment the

Prime Minister forms the Council of Ministers, which is currently composed of 13 Ministers. The main functions of the Prime Minister are defined in the Constitution of the Republic of Lithuania. The Prime Minister is responsible for the execution of the adopted laws and resolutions of the parliament, supervises the activities of the diplomatic missions in foreign countries and international institutions, is responsible for the activities of the Council of Ministers, performs other functions according to the Constitution (Lietuvos Respublikos Konstitucija 1993).

Council of Ministers

Currently the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Lithuania consists of 13 Ministers. The new elected Prime Minister proposes the Ministers and those candidatures are approved by the President of State. Each Minister is responsible for his Ministry. Each Ministry is directly responsible to the Government of the Republic.

Currently in Lithuania there are the following Ministries: Ministry of Environment, Ministry of Energy, Ministry of Finance, Ministry of National Defence, Ministry of Culture, Ministry of Social Security and Labour, Ministry of Transport and Communications, Ministry of Health, Ministry of Education and Science, Ministry of Justice, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of Economy, Ministry of the Interior, Ministry of Agriculture (Government of the Republic of Lithuania).

Legislative branch

The official title of the Lithuanian parliament is the Seimas of the Republic of Lithuania. The Seimas consists of 141 members and is elected for four-year mandate. Seventy one members of the Seimas are elected in single-member districts. The rest seventy members are elected in multi-member districts according to the lists of political parties. The member of the Seimas can be a person not younger than 25 years old.

According to the Seimas of the Republic of Lithuania, the main powers of this institution shall be to:

- approve and issue the laws, verify the changes in the Constitution of the Republic;
- approve or reject the candidature of the Prime Minister, proposed by the President of the Republic;
- consider and approve the program of the Government and supervise its policies;
- approve the State Budget and supervise the state tawes;
- announce the presidential and municipal elections;

- ratify the international agreements and treeaties and perform other assigned issues of the foreign policy (Seimas of the Republic of Lithuania).

The newly approved Seimas elects the members to different committees. Each committee carries out the assigned tasks and objectives. The powers and duties of each member of the Seimas are clearly defined in the Statute of the Seimas. The Statute of the Seimas also defines the activities of each unit of the Seimas – the activities of the committees, different departments, Board of the Seimas, the Parliamentary groups. The members of the Seimas are participating in the Seimas sessions, vote for the proposed legislation. The Parliamentary groups prepare the work programs, coordinate and organize the duties and activities of the Seimas. (Seimas of the Republic of Lithuania).

Judicial branch

The Constitutional Court of the Republic of Lithuania consists of nine judges. The judges of the Constitutional Court are appointed by the Seimas for the single nine-year term. Three candidates are presented by the President of the Republic, three candidates are presented by the Chairman of the Seimas and three candidates are presented by the Chairman of the Supreme Court.

The activities of the Constitutional Court are regulated by the Law on the Constitutional Court. The Constitutional Court started its activities in 1993. In 1997 the Constitutional Court of the Republic of Lithuania was admitted to Full Membership in the Conference of the European Constitutional Courts (Constitutional Court of the Republic of Lithuania).

3.2 Lithuania's membership in International Organizations

Lithuania and European Union

The official relations between Lithuania and the European Union began in 27 August 1991, when other countries recognized the independence of Lithuania. It was the beginning of development of economic and political relations between countries.

One of the most important steps in relations between Lithuania and European Community was signing the Free Trade Agreement in 18 July 1994. Under this Agreement was provided, that the European Union and Lithuania will gradually establish a free trade area in a transition period, which began in 1995 and lasted for 6 years. Under the Agreement, the European Union committed to

abolish customs duties and other quantitative restrictions. Meanwhile Lithuania committed to gradually reduce import duties and increase quotas for exports to the European Union. This Agreement later became the part of the European Contract, which was signed in 12 June 1995 by Lithuania and European Community and which entered into force in 1998. This Contract recognized the Lithuanian aspiration to become the member of the European Union and paved the way to prepare for the accession.

Lithuanian preparation for accession to the European Union began already in 1996, when the National Law Harmonization program was adopted. This program provided not only short-term, but also long-term preparations for membership: programs of internal reforms, approval of the administrative capacity, draft legislative acts.

Accession negotiations were formally competed in 12-13 December 2002 in the European Council, which took place in Copenhagen. In 16 April 2003 in Athens was signed the Accession treaty by the Prime Minister of Lithuania Algirdas Brazauskas and the Foreign Minister Antanas Valionis.

Lithuanian citizens in a referendum, held in 10-11 May 2003, endorsed the Lithuania's accession to the European Union (for the membership voted 91,07 percent of all voters).

In 1 May 2004 Lithuania became one of the 25 full-fledged European Union Member States, together with nine other countries – the Czech Republic, Estonia, Cyprus, Latvia, Malta, Poland, Slovakia, Slovenia and Hungary (Lithuanian European Commission).

In the second half of 2013 Lithuania hold the Presidency of the Council of the European Union. Lithuania was the first of the three Baltic States to hold the Presidency since joining the European Union (Wikipedia).

The main priorities of Lithuanian Presidency in 2013 were:

- Generalization of the Multiannual Financial Framework, stimulation of further initiative of the economic policy, aspiration for the financial stability;
- Resolving issues of the energy security, further development of the energy infrastructure, strengthening of the common external energy policy of the European Union;
- Actuation of support of the European Union for the promotion of cooperation in the Baltic region strategy;

-        Promote the contribution of the European Union to the Eastern Partnership program by implementation of reforms and seeking the common agreements between the Eastern Partnership countries and the European Union.

-        Effective protection of the external borders of European Union and assurance of the effective anti-smuggling measures (Lithuanian Presidency).

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Lithuania hosted approx. 200 Presidency events in the Lithuanian capital Vilnius. The main highlights included such events like the high-level Eastern Partnership summit and the ICT 2013 conference and exhibition.

Other International Organizations

Table 3.1: Lithuania's Membership in International Organizations

International Organization	Membership since
Organization of Security and Cooperation in Europe	10 September 1991
United Nations	17 September 1991
International Civil Aviation Organization	27 September 1991
International Labor Organization	4 October 1991
United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO)	7 October 1991
International Telecommunications Union	12 October 1991
International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property	21 October 1991
Interpol	4 November 1991
Food and Agricultural Organization	9 November 1991
World Health Organization	25 November 1991
International Standardization Organization	1 January 1992
Universal Postal Union	10 January 1992
European Bank for Reconstruction and Development	30 January 1992
Council of the Baltic Sea States	5 March 1992
World Organization of Animal Health	21 April 1992
International Monetary Fund	29 April 1992
World Intellectual Property Organization	30 April 1992
World Customs Organization	18 June 1992
European Civil Aviation Conference	2 July 1992

World Meteorological Organization	3 July 1992
International Bank for Reconstruction and Development	6 July 1992
International Centre for Settlement of Investment Disputes	5 August 1992
International Financial Corporation	15 January 1993
Council of Europe	14 May 1993
Multilateral Investment Guarantee Agency	8 June 1993
International Atomic Energy Agency	18 November 1993
International Organization of Legal Metrology	1 January 1994
Baltic Council of Ministers	13 June 1994
International Transport Forum	27 December 1994
Euro-Asian Cooperation of National Metrology Institutions	1 January 1995
Intergovernmental Organization of International Carriage by Rail	1 November 1995
International Organization for Migration	28 November 1995
International Maritime Organization	7 December 1995
Organization for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons	15 May 1998
Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty Organization	7 February 2000
World Tourism Organization	12 May 2001
World Trade Organization	31 May 2001
The Hague Conference on Private International Law	23 October 2001
North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)	29 March 2004
European Union	1 May 2004
European Patent Office	1 December 2004
European Organization for the Exploitation of Meteorological Satellites	7 November 2005
International Council for the Exploration of the Sea	31 May 2006
European Centre for Medium-Range Weather Forecasts	20 November 2006
International Institute for the Unification of Private Law	1 January 2007
International Renewable Energy Agency	1 March 2011

| International Development Association | 23 September 2011 |
| International Anti-Corruption Academy | 21 May 2013 |

Source: Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Lithuania.

3.3 Historian roots of Lithuanian political parties

The first beginnings of political parties in Lithuania appeared at the end of the 19[th]century, when the movement 'Aušra' was formed (under the name of the published newspaper 'Aušra', which means 'dawn'). The members of the movement 'Aušra' focused the right-wing and the left-wing intellectuals, as well as the first issues of the newspaper 'Aušra' supported the clergy. There was no sharp political divide between right ones and left ones at that time. The main purpose of the members of 'Aušra' was to educate the national consciousness of Lithuanian citizens and encourage resist tsarist oppression. The first issue of the newspaper appeared in 1883. The newspaper 'Aušra' was published in Prussia, while in Lithuania, which belonged to Tsarist Russia, was distributed illegally. Over time the political differentiation between the members of 'Aušra' strengthened, and eventually they went their separate ways. In 1888 the left wing created the newspaper 'Varpas'[1] while the right wing with the Catholics created the newspaper 'Šviesa'[2].After while the Catholics separated and started to publish their newspaper 'Lithuanian and Samogitian region review'. All of these movements acted illegally until 1905.

The main goals of all those movements were to remind Lithuanians their honorable history, educate Lithuanian farmers, interfere the russification of Lithuanian nation, fight for the return of the Lithuanian press and its distribution (Vincas Kudirka ir 'Varpas').

The first political parties in Lithuania were established in the late 19th century and early 20th century. In 1896 the first political organization was founded – the Social Democratic Party of Lithuania (LSDP). In 1902 was established the Lithuanian Democratic Party (LDP), in 1905 were founded the Christian Democratic Party of Lithuania (LKDP) and the Lithuanian Farmers's Union (LVS) (Krupavičius 1996, 12).

The first political partiesrepresented the different currents of the national movements in the society of that time.Activity of the parties has accelerated the differentiation of public opinion and strengthened political ideologies – nationalism, christian democracy, liberal and socialist thoughts.

---

[1] „The bell" in English language.
[2]"The light" in English language.

We must admit that the political parties, which were established until the Declaration of Independence of the Lithuanian state (in the period from 1896 to 1918), were operating in the non-systematic political arena and could not create a single and functional mechanism of the party system. According to the Lithuanian historian A. Šapoka, the leaders of the Lithuanian parties of that time were »the generals without an army, which had neither organized departments, nor measures to expand the ideas and expectations« (Šapoka 1989, 519).

Table 3.2: Political parties in Lithuania, 1919-1920

Name of the party	Membership
Christian Democratic Bloc:	
Lithuanian Christian Democratic Party	28000
Labor Federation	15000
Farmers's Union	4000
Peasants Peoples Alliance:	
Lithuanian Socialist People Democratic Party	33000
Lithuanian Peasants Party	No data
Lithuanian Social Democratic Party	3000
Lithuanian National Progress Party	13000
Lithuanian Farmers' Party	No data

Source: Krupavičius (1998, 3).

The parties at that time have identified only the initial principles of the programs of their activities and their identity was very poor. For this reason the second period of development of the parties has followed, which had significant changes in the description of the parties, rearrangement of leaders, redistribution of powers and distribution of party organizations.

Shortly after the establishment, the Lithuanian Democratic Party split because of desagreements between the leaders due to tactics and strategy of the party. At the beginning the radical left part separated and in 1905 the Lithuanian Farmers' Union was founded. Later, in 1917, the Socialist People's Party was founded, which was ideologically close to the Lithuanian Democratic Party. Afterthat the right-wing members separated from the Socialist People's Party and established the Lithuanian Socialist People's Democratic Party.

In the period of classical parliamentarism in 1920-1926, the system of two-party blocks showed. On the one side of the party system the Christian Democratic Party of Lithuania dominated, on the

other side the Lithuanian Farmers' Union and the Social Democratic Party of Lithuania had the greatest influence.

The constitutional structure of state institutions, which was established by the party system, as well as the proportional electoral system have created favorable conditions for political parties to become imortant players in the political life. On the other hand, unlimited parliamentarism launched a permanent instability of government, tension or even crisis in relations of the Parliament and Government. For this reason, some political leaders promoted an alternative of non-democratic government, making it a favorable political situation in Europe at that time.

The weakness of the traditions of party democracy, uncompromising competition of political leaders, the inability to reach an agreement – all of this was associated with dissatisfaction of certain part of society. It was the reasen of appearence of unfavorable conditions for activities of the parties and it was the advantage of some political leaders. After the coup d'état on 17 December 1926 in Lithuania was introduced the governance of President Antanas Smetona. This governance is described as a moderate authoritarian regime, which is characterized by ignoring the rule of law, rejection of democratic principes of government, restrictions on the human rights and freedom, limiting the activities of democratic institutions, among which were also the political parties. On 4 April 1927 the activities of the Parliament were suspended.

After 17 December 1926 the important role of the regime at that time played the army. The growth of the influence of the army, which was typical for dictatorships, occurred in Lithuania. Despite the often declared apolitical believes, the military together with political police and the National Union, became one of the most prominent players of Lithuanian political life of Smetona. The military became a sort of privileged caste. There was 21 general in Lithuania in 1940. Disproportionate growth of the influence of the military was also associated with military financing, which accounted for a quarter of the state budget and it was more than education and healthcare altogether (Truska 2007, 17).

In a period of 1927-1935 the Lithuanian party system has ceased to function. In 1936 the Minister of the Interior banned the activities of all political parties except the Lithuanian National Union, for which belonged the President Antanas Smetona. Therefore since 1936 the single-party system began to form in Lithuania. In that time the press censorship, which defended the interests of the government, increased significantly. The censors of the Ministry of Defence performed the preventive press censorship. The press was also controlled by the county commandants, Ministry of Internal Affairs and the press offices of political police (Truska 2007, 20).

On the other hand, for Lithuania in time of Smetona the racizm was not obviously characteristic. Ethnic minorities maintained relatively wide cultural autonomy, which was often understood as guarantor of the President. In 1937-1938 there were 17 Jewish, 3 Polish, 2 German, 1 Russian and 1 Latvian gymnasium and progymnasium in Lithuania. Among the 18800 pupils of all secondary schools 76,6 percent were Lithuanians (Lithuanians accounted for about 85 percent of all Lithuanian population), 17,6 percent were Jews (the were 6-7 percent of Jews among all the inhabitants), 2,5 percent were Poles, 1,5 percent – Germans, 1,4 percent – Russians, 0,4 percent – other nationalities. In contrast to the fascits regimes, the Nationalists in Lithuania tolarated the freedomof cultural expression.

In 1939-1940 the occupation of Lithuania suspended the development of the statehood. The principles of the totalitarian Soviet regime required to change the political system. All over only the totalitarian communist ideology was recognized. In 1940 the Constitution of the Socialist State of Lithuania introduced the exceptional role of the Lithuanian Communist Party. Despite the fact that the Lithuanian Communist Party has never been actual and popular institution, it became the only legal political organization at that time and the functioning of all other parties was prohibited.

After the annexation of Lithuania, when a single-party dictatorship was introduced, the political parties were able to continue their activities only in emigration. That way chosen quite many politicians, leaders of the parties, who were forced to remove from Lithuania and start their political activities abroad.

3.4 The transformation of post-Soviet party system

The post-communist transformation is a complex occurrence, which has happened in three areas at once – in politics, which means the political and institutional development of democracy; in economics, when the administrative bureaucratic economy is changed by the market economy and in society, when the new autonomous and pluralistic civil society is being formed.

Since 1987 Lithuanian people at numerous mass meetings, press, public events increasingly required to restore the political, personal rights and freedoms and to give the economical, social, cultural freedom and autonomy for Lithuania.

On June 3, 1988, when the liberation movement Sąjūdis was created, the fight for freedom gained more focused and organized character. The ambitious of autonomy turned into requirements for sovereignty, which meant nothing else but a political autonomy.

In a revival period was imperatively required to adopt the laws, according to which had to be changed the juridical regulation of economic and social relations in Lithuania. This meant the new opportunities of professional juridical activities and its importance in resurgent Lithuania. Most of Lithuanian lawyers supported democratic changes and participated in the creation of new laws.

It should be noted that the government functioning mechanism has changed. The party monocracy lost its former powers and the most important decision started to be making in the Supreme Council. The Supreme Council gradually became the center of the fatal decision making. There were some innovative characteristics, which reminded the functioning of traditional parliament. Through the elected representatives of Sąjūdis the most important social problems were discussed and the Supreme Council was requested to deal with them. Due to such democratic changes the rules, dictated by the USSR, were less taken into account. The content of duties of the Supreme Council and its lawyers had changed. There was so called 'war of the laws', like resistance to legal order, which was forcibly imposed to Lithuania.

After the adoption of the Lithuanian restoration Act and the Provisional Basic Law by the Supreme Council, Lithuanian Parliament had to create a new organizational structure of the state immediately. It was necessary to reorganize the work organization of the Supreme Council, form a system of legal norms, form the government identify its activities.

The first parties (apart from the Lithuanian Communist Party) emerged in post-Soviet Lithuania in 1989. Most of these new organizations claimed to be the descendants of pre-war Lithuanian parties (Social Democrats and Christian Democrats). In fact, however, the continuity is only symbolic because the leaders, the organization and the electorate of the parties have changed beyond recognition. The first free elections to the Supreme Soviet of Lithuania in 1990 were dominated by Sąjūdis and the Lithuanian Communist Party. Most candidates of new parties, as well as some reform-orientated Communist Party members and independents, were supported by the Sąjūdis. In the elections, Sąjūdis candidates won the absolute majority and formed the government. Soon after the declaration of independence, the huge economic problems of the country and internal political disagreements disrupted the unity of the Sąjūdis and the Supreme Soviet. This invoked the second wave of creating parties, mainly on the basis of parliamentary groups. Finally, the fragmentation of the Supreme Soviet had become so high that it had to dissolve itself and to declare early elections.

Before the elections, an agreement on a new Constitution and a new electoral law was reached among the main political forces. As a compromise, a semi-presidential institutional design with a directly elected, though rather weak president, was adopted. Furthermore, a mixed electoral system combining single-member districts and multi-member districts was introduced. Under the law, 71 members of the Seimas (the parliament of Lithuania) are elected in single-member districts by a majority system and 70 members are elected by proportional representation. This kind of a mixed system was in fact favourable to the largest parties, as was the national threshold of 4 per cent, which was later increased to five.

The parliamentary elections of 1992 and the presidential elections of 1993 were successful for the ex-communist Lithuanian Democratic Labour Party (LDDP). By gaining about 43 per cent of the votes in multi-member districts, the LDDP won the absolute majority of seats in parliament and could form a single-party government. Moreover, the leader of the party, Algirdas Brazauskas, won the presidential elections.

Sąjūdis (later reorganized into the Homeland Union/Lithuanian Conservatives) remained the second largest party in the parliament, despite the defeat, and returned to power in 1996 by winning 70 seats in the parliament. Rather than forming a single-party government, the Conservatives created a governing coalition with the Christian Democrats, often regarded as the 'younger sister' of the Homeland Union. The Democratic Labour Party and Social Democrats formed a leftist opposition.

3.5 Lithuanian political parties since 2000

Since the restoration of independence two main parties dominate in Lithuanian political arena – the Social Democratic Party (a mix of former communists and the social democrats), and the Homeland Union, which was formed mostly from the liberation movement 'Sąjūdis'. Those parties receives from ten to thirty percent of the votes in every elections.

From 2000 the Liberals contributed to the dominance of the above-mentioned parties. They usually receives from ten to fifteen percent of the votes in each elections, but mostly in the larger cities. The Social Democratic Party, the Homeland Union and the Liberals we could call the 'traditional parties'. Those 'traditional parties' altogether receive about fifty five percent of the votes in every elections.

There are also the other political parties, whose leaders are some famous or well known persons. Those parties we could call the 'personal' ones. For example, the party Order and Justice and his leader Rolandas Paksas, who removed from the post of the president by the impeachment process. The other example is Mr. Viktoras Uspaskich, the businessman from Russia etc.

When people vote for those kind of 'personal' parties, the leader is more important than the party ideology. So when the popularity of those leaders significantly decreases, the importance of those parties is also disappearing. Some of those parties exist several cadencies, while the others are eliminated immediately after the fall of the popularity.

The division between the 'traditional parties' and 'personal parties' is so popular in Lithuania like the division between the left and the right-wing parties or the liberal and conservative parties (Politics and Law of Lithuania). The supporters of traditional parties call their opponents as the populists, while the supporters of personal parties call the traditional ones as the supporters of corruption.

We could find some radical parties in Lithuania, too. But unlike in the West countries, the radical parties are not popular. These parties get some votes only from a few municipalities of the country.

There are also the Russian and Polish minority parties. The parties of the Russian minorities are not very popular. More votes are collected by the Polish minority parties, especially in the south-eastern municipalities, where is the largest Polish speaking population in Lithuania. These parties receive from three to seven votes in every elections.

In 1996-2000 Seimas elections the Lithuanian Central Union as a separate independent political force, participated the first time. Although this party in that period first time participated as an independent political force and won 13 mandates, Lithuanian Central Union can be considered as a party, which was formed under the ideology of 'Sąjūdis'. Later on the Lithuanian Central Union merged with the Modern Christian Democrats and the Liberals and formed the Liberal and Center Union.

Characteristics of Lithuania's multi-party system particularly began to emerge before parliamentary elections of 2000-2004. These elections were undoubtedly successful for the newcomer of Lithuanian political arena – New Union (Social Liberals). This party in 2000-2004 term of the Seimas had even 29 seats. After the elections the New Union (Social Liberals), together with the Liberal Union of Lithuania, Lithuanian Centre Union Lithuanian Modern Christian Democratic

Union created the New Policy coalition and formed the Government, while the leader of the New Union (Social Liberals) Artūras Paulauskas became a Chairman of the Parliament.

The elections to 2000-2004 term of the Seimas were very successful also to the Lithuanian Liberal Union, managed by Rolandas Paksas. The Lithuanian Liberal Union after those elections became the second largest party in the Seimas. However, the Lithuanian Liberal Union is considered as the old-time in Lithuanian political arena, because it was founded on the basis of 'Sąjūdis'.

In 2004, A. Krupavičius and A. Lukošaitis stated 6 parties (the Lithuanian Democratic Labor Party, the Homeland Union (Lithuanian Conservatives), the Lithuanian Christian Democratic Party, and the New Union (Social Liberals), the Lithuanian Liberal Union, the Lithuanian Center Union) could be treated as parties capable of participating and shaping government policy. In the latest years some of the smaller parties suspended their activities. The larger parties did not avoid some structural changes. Moreover, some new parties were established, like for example the Party of Law and Order, the Labor Party or the National Revival Party. The largest and the most influential parties like the Social Democratic Party of Lithuania and the Homeland Union, also change some of their structure and ideology (Krupavičius and Lukošaitis 2004, 308).

In the elections to 2004-2008 term of the Seimas the newcomer in politics Labor Party won even 39 mandates. The phenomenon of the political newcomer Labor Party was perhaps the most significant after the restoration of Lithuanian independence. After the elections the leader and chairman of the Labor Party became a Minister of Economy.

In the Seimas elections of 2008 the newly founded Lithuanian Liberal Movement won 11 mandates. In the electoral list of this party could be seen the names of numerous famous politicians. This political newcomer tried to create an image of a purely liberal political party. Party electoral list was led by the known politicians of the country, who have already been the members of the Parliament.

In the elections to the 2008-2012 term of the Seimas the other phenomenon occurred, when another newcomer, the National Resurrection Party, was founded. This political newcomer, founded from the second time (there was too little of delegates in the first founding congress), just a few months before the parliamentary elections. This party was led by the representative of the entertainment industry and the show word Arūnas Valinskas. The National Resurrection Party won 16 mandates. After forming the coalition with the Homeland Union (Lithuanian Christian Democrats), the Lithuanian Liberal Movement and the Liberal and Centre Union, the party received not only a several ministries, but also the position of the chairman of the Seimas. After the Seimas elections of

2008-2012 there were numerous headlines and reports in media about the occurrence of the show world in politics, while the politic experts argued that before every elections to the Seimas the new political forces normally occur.

After the last parliamentary elections, which were held in 2012, the following political parties have the representatives in the Seimas: the Lithuanian Social Democratic Party, the Homeland Union-Lithuanian Christian Democrats, the Labor Party, the Party Order and Justice, the Liberal Movement of the Republic of Lithuania, the Lithuanian Polish Electoral Action, the Way of Courage, the Lithuanian Peasant and Greens Union. In 2014 the Lithuanian Polish Electoral Action withdrew from the governing coalition (Seimas of the Republic of Lithuania).

Currently in the Seimas are the following factions: the faction of the Lithuanian Social Democratic Party, the faction of the Homeland Union-Lithuanian Christian Democrats, the faction of the Labor Party, the factions of the Party Order and Justice, the faction of the Liberal Movement and the faction of the Polish Electoral Action.

Table 3.3: Currently registered parties in Lithuania

Name of the party	Date of registration
Lithuanian Social Democratic Party	17 January 1990
Lithuanian Humanist Party	1 June 1990
Lithuanian Green Party	1 August 1990
Republican Party	6 February 1991
Party of National Progress	21 June 1994
Party Young Lithuania	2006
Lithuanian Freedom Union	13 September 1994
Lithuanian Polish Electoral Action	21 October 1994
Russian Union of Lithuania	28 December 1995
Lithuanian Social Justice Union	29 April 1996
Lithuanian Reform Party	24 June 1996
Civil Democratic Party	2006
Lithuanian Social Democratic Union	27 December 1999
Christian Party	29 March 2010
Lithuanian Peasant and Greens Union	2005
Party 'Order and Justice'	2006

Republican League	23 September 2002
Political Party 'Russian Alliance'	16 October 2002
Lithuanian Christian Democratic Party	28 January 2003
National Party Lithuanian Road	23 June 2003
Liberal and Centre Union	26 June 2003
Lithuanian Centre Party	4 July 2003
Labor Party	25 November 2003
Liberals Movement of the Republic of Lithuania	2006
Small and Medium Business Party	2006
Lithuanian Pensioners's Party	12 June 2007
Homeland Union – Lithuanian Christian Democrats	8 April 2004
Samogitian Party	13 February 2009
Political Party 'Trade Union Center'	No data
Socialist Nation Front	1 July 2008
Lithuanian Nation Party	No data
Lithuanian Green Party	11 May 2011
Political Party 'Union Yes'	19 November 2011
Nationalists Union	17 December 2011
Political Party 'Courage Path'	19 March 2012
Lithuanian People's Party	4 April 2012
Democratic Party of Labor and Unity	2012
Party of Emigrants	28 June 2012

Source: Wikipedia.

4 THE COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF CHARACTERISTICS OF THE PARTY SYSTEM OF THE REPUBLIC OF LITHUANIA

4.1 Characteristics of the party system in the transition period from 1988 to 1991, during the Lithuanian liberation movement Sąjūdis

In Lithuania the post-communist transformation began with the crisis in the pre-transition period. It was expressed in 1987-1988 during the reconstruction policy of Mikhail Gorbachov, which was the experiment to liberalize the communist system 'from the top'. But even the liberalization of communist system in the pre-transition period in the former Soviet Union was only partial. The main features of the liberalization both the individual and the group freedoms and rights. For the individuals the rights for free movement, speaking, undertaking or the right to protest must be guaranteed. For the groups and different organizations must be also granted the right for free self-expression, free communication, mutual cooperation, healthy competition, the right to join other organizations etc. (O'Donnel and Schmitter 1991, 7). But during the pre-transition period quite a lot of rights and freedoms mentioned above were not available yet.

Practically during 1987-1988 these elements of liberalization policy were implemented only partly, because the radical opposition groups had limited possibilities for free actions.

Political struggle during this period concentrated on the problem of determining the limits of liberalization. On the other hand, liberalization has led to the emergence of new independent interest groups, as follows: the Green Movement, the creative unions of artists, writers, composers, associations, the mass media.

From a conceptual point of view, the transition from liberalization to democratization represents the consolidation of political equality to all citizens of the state. According to O'Donnel and Schmitter (1991, 9-10), there are two political elements, which are crucially important for the democracy:

1) The restriction of the competition of political parties and proper choice of the voters;
2) Appropriate decision-making mechanism and consultations with potential partners, the responsibility of the political parties to their voters.

The historical basis for the formation of the modern party system in Lithuania has become the Lithuanian liberation movement 'Sąjūdis', formed in the late 80s of the last century. Initially, this movement was created as a 'Movement in Support of Perestroika'. Later the basis for unity was the commitment to the country's independence from the Soviet Union. At the same time, from the very beginning 'Sąjūdis' was rather patchy in the political and ideological context association. After reaching the intended target, the unifying basis disappeared, and the conditions for the formation of the multiparty system with differentiated ideological orientation were created in the independent Lithuania.

Lithuanian 'Sąjūdis' in 1988, as a massive opposition movement, partly took over the territorial and productive principle from the structure of previously existed LCP (the Communist Party of Lithuania). But some elements according to Krupavičius (1996, 67), were quite different from the structure of previous LCP, as follows:

- Strong elite group, which was called Initiative Group at first, later it became the Council of Lithuanian Parliament (Seimas).
- Influential sections, which were created by a territorial principle of cities and districts.
- In contrast to LCP, 'Sąjūdis' has never had a mechanism of fixed membership.
- 'Sąjūdis' until the beginning of its fragmentation even did not have sufficient indications as a permanent organization. In 1988 the Movement did not even sought to gain the majority in the legislative authority, because its purpose was wider – political and economic changes and the Restoration of Lithuanian State. Surely, in the period of 1988-1999 'Sąjūdis' had the elements of eclectic elite, mass and total party, but it remained as an open political movement.

In 1989-1990 independent LCP gradually transformed into a territorial party. In 1990 'Sąjūdis' completely abandoned the industrial-organization principle, since the new Parties Law legitimated only territorial model.

The most important organizational issues of the 'Sąjūdis' were taken by the Council of this movement. The communication in other sections of this movement was held informally and fragmentary. The massive protest actions, which were organized by the 'Sąjūdis', were carried out on the basis of the experience of the Polish movement 'Solidarity'. The nationalists and liberals, the social democrats and conservatives, the moderates and radicals – all these ideologically opposite groups came together due to the ideas of 'Sąjūdis'. All these groups were united by the main ideas

of the movement – independence of the country, economical independence, democracy. There were no contradictions in the society for those ideas (Krupavičius 1996, 40).

In 1989 the Social Democratic Party (founded in 19th century), the Christian Democratic Party (founded in the beginning of 20th century) and the Lithuanian Communist Party (which changed the name to the Lithuanian Democratic Labor Party), already proceeded. These parties are also the most important parties in today's Lithuania. In the early nineties the Center Union and the Homeland Union (Lithuanian Conservatives) were also founded.

Party pluralism in the transition period turned into a recognized fact of political life in Lithuania. At the end of 1989 in Lithuania there were five political parties, four women organizations, sixteen ethnic minority societies, thirteen youth associations, etc.

Due to party fragmentation direct party influence increased in the new democracy.

Since the end of 1988 an increasing impact on Lithuanian society have gained radical groups of independence, like Lithuanian freedom league, Lithuanian democratic party, party 'Young Lithuania', Union of Lithuanian independence. It was an undoubted radicalization of the part of society. Radical unions were critically disposed to respect of 'Sąjūdis'. W. C. Clemens reasonably claimed that one of the major weaknesses of the Baltic reformists was a huge mutual intolerance, when moderates were considered as collaborators by radicals and radicals were considered as naive and fools by moderates (Clemens 1991, 119).

Gradual radicalization of 'Sąjūdis' was not a spontanous process, but a conscious decision to form a stable social base for future elections and maintain the leadership role between new political forces.

In 1990 the Constituent elections were held. The elections took place in circumstances of low structured political competition and in the political vocabulary dominated slogans of macro political choice: independence and democracy. 'Sąjūdis' obtained an absolute majority (70 %) in the Reconstituent Seimas and ensured total domination of independent forces against just several Soviet loyalists.

On 11 March 1990, when Reconstituent Seimas proclaimed the Act of Independence, the phase of post-communist confrontation ended and Lithuania has entered into period of system or macro reforms. The period of establishment of institutional democracy and market economy has started.

The formal party structure reorganization according to the Western European model of territorial divisions was held very rapidly. According to Krupavičius, in 1990 almost all Lithuanian parties recorded traditional structural units in their statutes, as follows (Krupavičius 1996, 68):

- territorial divisions;
- conference or congress;
- Executive Committee or the Board;
- Party Board;
- Leadership authority.

In the beginning of Lithuanian independence from 1990 almost all political parties were quite weak, except the Lithuanian Democratic Labor Party. Even the Parliament of the country from the restoration of independence in 1990 till 1992 was not arranged following the party basis. Only gradually introduced proportional system in accordance with the electoral law has contributed to strengthen the activities of other parties. Due to this system and the reduction of the influence of 'Sąjūdis' the other parties emerged, which had the impact for the further development of the Lithuanian party system.

Concurrently the former Communist Party of the Lithuanian Soviet Republic was transformed into the Lithuanian Democratic Labor Party, which retained its popularity and in 2001 merged with the Social Democratic Party of Lithuania, taking the name of the last. During the first years of independence Lithuanian party system has been characterized by a relatively large level of division and polarization. It was reflected also in the priorities of the parties and in the voting results.

Gradually the parliamentary coalition policy became an integral feature of the Lithuanian party life. According to the characteristics and criteria of Sartori, J. Blondel, A. Slaroff and other authors, in a period from 1990 to 1992 two-party system existed in Lithuania, from 1992 to 2000 the party system was characteristic to polarized pluralism with the dominant party, from 2000 to 2008 the multi-party system was formed. Later on the features of extreme pluralism appeared.

Table 4.1: Political Composition and Factions in 1990-1992

Party	*Number of Members of Parliament in March, 1990*	*Faction*	*Number of Members of Parliament in November, 1992*
Sąjūdis*	96	Centre	20
Green Party	4	LDLP (Lithuanian Democratic Labor Party)	9
LSDP (Lithuanian Social Democratic Party)	9	Polish Union	8
LDP (Lithuanian Democratic Party)	3	United faction of Sąjūdis	14
LChDP (Lithuanian Christian Democratic Party)	2	Nationalists	9
Independent LCP (Lithuanian Communist Party)*	46	Moderate	18
CPSU (Communist Party of the Soviet Union)	6	Liberal	9
		National Progress	9
		Sąjūdis Unity	11
		Independents	31
Total:	140		138

Source: Lukošaitis (1997, 9-10)

*Part of the Independent LCP (Lithuanian Communist Party) members were supported by the 'Sąjūdis', and it is why the total number of Members of Parliament from these organizations is higher than overall number of seats in the Constituent Parliament.

4.2 Characteristics of the party system in a period of democratic consolidation since the Constitution of the Republic of Lithuania in 1992

The phase of democratic consolidation represents the end of the process of internal institutionalization of political parties. At this stage, parties are formed as an autonomous institute of democratic political system and a multi-party system created.

At the stage of democratic consolidation, all post-communist parties acquired functions, which are typical for a democratic regime. Furthermore, parties also established relatively stable functional relations with other subjects of political system. Parties became the base of forming of parliaments, their members formed governments and higher bureaucracy and they all together created and completed country's political elite.

The departure in the consolidation of the democracy phase was represented by the adoption of the Constitution of Lithuania in 1992. By adopting a new Constitution and creating the political stability the activities of the traditional political institutions as legislature, executive, judicial branches have been clearly defined. Political parties became the independent bodies in organizing the democratic politics. The consolidation of democracy had the influence to the relations between parties and their activities. These relations were associated with increased mutual cooperation between parties and their competition. This kind of cooperation and competition had a positive effect to the stabilization of activities of most of the political parties. The way of cooperation was useful mostly for the bigger parties, because the smaller ones had more individual problems to solve if they wanted to stay in political game.

In Lithuania's 1992 Constitution political parties are mentioned only twice. Article 35 states that "citizens have a right freely to unite themselves into communities, political parties and associations, if their goals are not contradicting the Constitution and Lithuania's laws" (Lietuvos Respublikos Konstitucija 1993, 22). The same article remarks that formation and activities of political parties are regulated by other laws. Article 83 of the Constitution refers to political parties rather negatively: "person, who is elected President of Republic, must cancel his activities in political parties and political organizations until a new electoral campaign for President of the Republic" (Lietuvos Respublikos Konstitucija 1993, 51).

Apart from these brief references to political parties, the Constitution clearly pointed out some guarantees, for example, the guarantee for political self-expression. The freedom of thought, the right to privacy, the equal treatment before the law, the right to vote, the right to representation and

many other rights were clearly defined in the Constitution. To sum up, the adopted Constitution separated the independence of the group or the person from the influence of political institutions.

Since the establishing of Constitution, there were some extremely sharp debates over a profile of an electoral system, especially in the year 1992. According to Krupavičius, the priority of the right-wing part of the 'Sąjūdis' was the majority system, and the left-wing parties hoped to gain an advantage from the proportional electoral system. Both representatives of left-wing and right-wing parties expected, that the electoral systems they have represented would allow them to protect their seats in the parliament and to reduce the opportunities for small parties to get to the parliament (Krupavičius 1998, 13).

There were many debates on the question which electoral system should be chosen in Lithuania – the majority or proportional one. On July 1992 a mixed majority-proportional electoral system was presented in Lithuania. It was like the political compromise.

The first parliamentary factions were established in the Supreme Council in early 1990s. In 1992 there were nine parliamentary factions: Centre, Lithuanian Democratic Labor Party, Polish Union, United faction of 'Sąjūdis', Nationalists, Moderate, Liberal, National Progress, 'Sąjūdis' Unity (See Table 4.1.1). All of those factions, except the Polish Union and the Lithuanian Democratic Labor Party, were established on the basis of 'Sąjūdis'. Most of these factions could not be described as the parliamentary parties due to following reasons: the weaknesses of the interfaces in the organizational structure of the same faction, internal disagreements between the members of the factions, different expectations of the members and disagreements over the program of the same faction. It can stated that these disagreements were resolved after the first multi-party elections, held in 1992. Since these elections the Lithuanian parliament 'Seimas' was formed on the parliamentary parties' basis.

According to the Statute of Lithuania's Seimas, parliamentary factions perform the following formal functions:

- Prepare the agenda of meetings and sessions of the Seimas;
- Submit candidates for membership in parliamentary committees, departments, commissions or in the Board of the Seimas;
- Provide solutions and draft proposals;
- The representatives of the parliamentary opposition can offer the alternative program of the government (Lietuvos Respublikos Seimo Statutas 1994, 7).

As noted by Krupavičius, the functions and activities of the parliamentary factions have changed the pre-existed nature of work of the Lithuanian Seimas. Some of these changes could be described in a following way:

- The representation of the units and departments of the Seimas was divided by the parliamentary factions;
- The main and the most important discussions took place between and inside the parliamentary factions. Due to this reason the sessions of the Seimas received less attention;
- Due to the reasons mentioned above, the role of the political groups in the parliament, as well as the role of the parliamentary factions in the Seimas has significantly increased. (Krupavičius 1998, 17).

Taking into account the statistics of the European countries during the period of transition to democracy, the percentage of the population, which has joined the political parties, was quite low. In a period of democratic consolidation the number of party membership has significantly increased. In the beginning of the period of democratic consolidation in Lithuania in 1992, the political parties increased gradually. As provides Krupavičius, in 1993 only 1,3 percent of all registered voters were the members of political parties. In the end of 1996 this number has more than doubled, as it reached 2,8 of the voters (Krupavičius 1998, 19).

Despite the fact that the number of political parties and the members of the parliament was gradually increasing, the number of voters since 1992 started to decrease. This decline was particularly pronounced during the period from 1992 to 1996, between the parliamentary elections. During this period the number of voters decreased by 23 percent. After this significant decline of the voters there were many debates, in which the potential reasons due to these changes were discussed. The most important reasons given were the characteristics of the multiparty systems in the country, a sudden rise of the number of political parties, for which the voters could not properly decided. To generalize, the most important reason for declining the voters was associated with the adoption of a new electoral system in a democratic society.

Taking into account the structural organization of the political parties, it can be said that in the first years of independence Lithuanian structure has rapidly gained the features, which were characteristic for the Western Europe. For the most political parties was characteristic the administrative-territorial division in accordance with the concentrated activities of that parties within the country. In 1993 the largest political parties in Lithuania founded specialized and independent sections of youth and women.

Political parties in accordance with the principle of representative democracy are defined as the authorities, which are responsible for government policy. Jean Blondel points out that "the articulation between governments and the parties that support them is one of the key mechanisms, if not the key mechanism, enabling democratic politics to operate, and it is therefore essential that this articulation function efficiently" (Blondel 1995, 127). The relations between the political parties and the government could be depended or independent. Blondel offered the other definition as these relations could be *autonomous* or *interdependent.* (Blondel 1995, 131). According to him, there are 3 types of party-government relationship, as follows:

a) Autonomous government. In this case the political parties have more symbolic role to perform in the government and do not have much influence (for example, the USA);

b) Government, which is dependent on the political parties (for example, coalitional cabinets in Belgium, Netherlands);

c) Political Parties, which are dependent on the government (For example, France, the UK).

What model is the closest to Lithuania's experience? According to the researches of the political scientists, in order to define the relationship between country and the government in Lithuania, some important aspects should be taken into account. The mixed presidential-parliamentary system, which is defined in the Constitution of Lithuania, influences the fact, that the President is independent from the political party. This means that in the cases provided the cabinet can respond to the instructions of the President without taking into account the opinion of the majority of the parliament. Despite that, the ministers are appointed by the governing coalition party. The relations between the parties and the government in Lithuania could be defined as political ones, which depend on the influence of the party in the parliament and relationship of the governing party with coalition.

Under the G. Sartori's criteria for calculating the significant parties (Sartori 1976), in a period of 1992-1996 (after the short dominance of 'Sąjūdis' in 1990-1992), five significant parties has established itself in Lithuanian party system: Homeland Union (Lithuanian Conservatives), Lithuanian Christian Democrats (LKDP), Lithuanian Centre Union (LCS), Lithuanian Social Democratic Party (LSDP) and Lithuanian Democratic Labour Party (LDDP).

According to Jūratė Novagrockienė, the essential tendencies of the party system, typical to the period between 1992 and 1996, was a decrease in the party system polarization and an increase in its fragmentation (Novagrockienė 2000). First of all, the fragmentation encouraged voting volatility. On the other hand, it did not affect the fragmentation of Seimas. However, the interrelation of

voting volatility and party fragmentation caused a continuous increase in the percentages of unrepresented votes. In 1996 almost 36 percent of the votes were cast for the parties which failed to overcome the 5 percent threshold. A continuous increase in the party supply in this election managed to some extent satisfy the demand of the undecided voters.

Table 4.2: Organizational Features of Lithuanian Political Parties, 1993-1997

Party	Foun-ding year	Membership:		No. of Members of Parliament:		Leader	No. of candidates:	
		1993	1996	1995	1997		1992	1996
Alliance of Ethnic Minorities	1996	-	800	-	-	R. Litvinovič	-	22
Centre Union	1993	400	1500	2	13	R. Ozolas	37	81
Christian Democratic Party	1992	-	1300	1	1	K. Bobelis	31	25
Freedom League	1978	-	400	-	-	A. Terleckas	21	23
Freedom Union	1992	500	1000	-	-	V. Šustauskas	20	24
Green Party	1989	400	400	-	-	R. Astrauskas	98	-
Homeland Union	1993	13000	16000	23	70	V. Landsbergis	98	114
Independence Party	1990	400	300	1	-	V. Šapalas	58	-
Lithuanian Christian Democratic Party	1904	8000	10500	10	16	A.Saudargas	107	86
Lithuanian Democratic Labor Party	1990	9000	10000	70	12	Č. Juršėnas	71	105
Lithuanian Democratic Party	1902	1000	2000	4	2	S. Pečeliūnas	107	94
Liberal Union	1990	500	1000	-	1	E. Gentvilas	38	41
Lithuanian Nationalist Union	1924	1500	3000	2	1	R. Smetona	58	94
Lithuanian Social Democratic Party	1896	600	1500	7	12	A. Sakalas	70	95
National Party "Young Lithuania"	1927	600	1000	-	1	S. Buškevičius	31	35
Party of National Progress	1916	500	800	-	-	E. Klumbys	53	22
Party of Economy	1996	-	1500	-	-	K. Šeputis	-	93

Party of Life's Logic	1996	-	700	-	-	V. Bernatonis	-	32
Peasants Party	1922	1000	7000	1	1	A. Vaižmužis	-	58
People Party	1996	-	400	-	-	V. Lazinka	-	22
Polish Election Action	1994	700	1000	1	1	J. Senkevič	25	29
Republican Party	1922	no data	2000	-	-	K. Petraitis	-	51
Revival Party	1993	-	400	-	-	J. Ramanauskas	-	-
Russians Union	1995	-	500	-	-	S. Dmitrijevas	-	24
Socialist Party	1995	300	800	-	-	A. Visockas	-	32
Union of ex-Political Prisoners and Deportees	1991	80000	60000	5	1	B. Gajauskas	107	38
Party of Social Justice	1996	-	2000	-	-	K. Jocius	-	28
Women Party	1995	-	2000	-	1	K. Prunskienė	-	67

Source: Krupavičius (1998, 20)

4.3 Characteristics of the party system in a period of destabilization since 2000

The parliamentary elections of 2000 were a turning point in the development of Lithuania's party system. The combined number of seats of the Homeland Union and the Democratic Labor Party decreased from 72.5 in 1992 to 42.6 in 2000 (Jurkynas 2003), while the newcomers, the New Union (Social Liberals) and the Liberal Union, received almost 45 per cent of the seats in parliament. Moreover, the Lithuanian Christian Democratic Party and the Centre Union failed to cross the threshold and get seats in the multi-member districts.

Table 4.3: The results of the Parliamentary Elections in 2000

Coalition	Party	Proportional votes		Seats		
		Votes	%	Proportional	Constituency	Total
Social-Democratic Coalition	Lithuanian Democratic Labor Party	457294	31,08	12	14	26
	Lithuanian Social Democratic Party			12	7	19
	Lithuanian Union of the Russians			3	-	3
	New Democracy Party			1	2	3
New Union (Social Liberals)		288895	19,64	17	11	28
Liberal Union of Lithuania		253823	17,25	15	18	33
Homeland Union – Lithuanian Conservatives		126850	8,62	8	1	9

Christian Democratic Union	61583	4,19	-	1	1
Lithuanian Peasants Party	60040	4,08	-	4	4
Lithuanian Christian Democratic Party	45227	3,07	-	2	2
Lithuanian Centre Union	42030	2,86	-	2	2
Union of Moderate Conservatives	29615	2,01	-	1	1
Electoral Action of Poles in Lithuania	28641	1,95	-	2	2
Lithuanian People's Union "For Just Lithuania"	21583	1,47	-	-	-
Lithuanian Liberty Union	18622	1,27	-	1	1
Union of "Young Lithuania", New Nationalists and Political Prisoners	16941	1,15	-	1	1
Lithuanian Nationalist Union — Lithuanian Nationalists Union	12884	0,88	-	-	-
Lithuanian Nationalist Union — Lithuanian Liberty League			-	-	-
Lithuanian Party "Social Democracy – 2000"	7219	0,49	-	-	-
Independents	-	-	-	3	3
Invalid/blank votes	68496	-	-	-	-
Total	**1539743**	**100**	**70**	**71**	**141**
Registered voters	2626321	58,6	-	-	-

Source: Nohlen and Stöver (2010, 1216)

Before the elections in 2000 some prominent representatives of the Homeland Union, among them former Prime Minister of Lithuania Rolandas Paksas left the Homeland Union and joined the Liberal Union. This, among other reasons, boosted the support for the party (Adomėnas 2005, 54). The other newcomer, the New Union (Social Liberals), was a totally new party, established by the celebrity attorney Artūras Paulauskas, who participated in the presidential election campaign in 1997. The New Union (Social Liberals) focused their campaign on social security and rural protection programmes by attacking the economical policy of the established parties. The success of the party was explained by the populist pragmatic approach to politics (Adomėnas 2005, 60) and the "Robin Hood effect" of party leader Paulauskas (Degutis 2000, 10).

When the Liberal Union and the New Union (Social Liberals) appeared in a political arena, it became clear that most of the members of these parties do not have enough experience in political institutions. So according to those reasons it can be said, that during the period from 2000 to 2004 due to the new composition of political parties the new period has started. This new period represented a new political style and points of view, which were different from the previously existed regimes. The new centre-block parties the Liberal Union and the New Union (Social

Liberals) established a government coalition, but it fell after nine months due to personal conflicts within the coalition. After that the Social Democrats formed a majority government together with the New Union (Social Liberals) (NS-S), which lasted until 2004.

All party factions were reorganized towards the parliamentary elections, held in 2004. Parties, which were running under the Social Democratic Coalition, were merged under the new name – Lithuanian Social Democratic Party (LSDP). In the parliamentary elections in 2000 the Christian Democrats and the Union of Political Prisoners and Deportees suffered a defeat. After such a loss these parties have formed a new right-wing party – Homeland Union, which consisted of the Conservatives, Political Prisoners and Deportees and Christian Democrats. These years were also unsuccessful for the Liberal Union, which was divided due to internal conflicts of this party. After that the Liberal Union, the Centre Union and the Modern Christian Democrats formed the new centre-block party – the Liberal and Centre Union.

The results of the parliamentary elections in 2004 presented the further destabilization of the Lithuanian party system. The Lithuanian Social Democratic Party and the New Union (Social Liberals) in 2000 got fifty percent, in the elections in 2004 received just above twenty percent. The two new parties showed successful results – the Labor Party (DP) and the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) received together around forty percent of the votes. DP won the elections, being the largest party with around thirty percent of the votes. This party was established by Lithuania's richest businessman, Viktor Uspaskich, a former NS-S representative. DP was founded only eight months before the European Parliament elections. The other newcomer, LDP, was a result of the different splinter groups within the Liberal Union. Following the resignation as the Prime Minister in 2001 and due to the breakdown of the Liberal Union-New Union government, Rolandas Paksas broke with the Liberal Union and formed LDP (Adomėnas 2005, 54). After winning the presidential elections in 2003, Paksas was impeached and removed from office as President for violating the Lithuanian constitution and his oath of office. Supporters of Paksas joined LDP and the party received just above ten percent of the votes.

The Homeland Union lost the election receiving only nine seats after the unfortunate story of the privatization of the oil company 'Mažeikių nafta'[3].

The disparity between losers and winners of the transition from communism became more and more evident in the Lithuanian society. The polarization was expressed with a more radical approach and

---

[3]'Mažeikių nafta', the largest company in Lithuania, was sold by the Conservative government to the American company 'Williams International".

46

rhetoric during the election campaign in 2000, which opened the room for new political contenders, who confronted the political heritage and economical policy of the established politicians (Degutis 2000, 6).

Table 4.4: The results of the Parliamentary Elections in 2004

Coalition	Party	Proportional			Constituency			Total seats
		Votes	%	Seats	Votes	%	Seats	
Lithuanian Labor Party		340035	28,4	22	-	21,4	17	39
Working for Lithuania	Lithuanian Social Democratic Party	246852	20,7	16	-	17,6	15	20
	New Union (Social Liberals)							11
Homeland Union (Lithuanian Conservatives)		176409	14.8	11	-	14,4	14	25
For the Order and Justice	Liberal Democratic Party	135807	11,3	9	-	8,4	1	10
	Lithuanian People's Union "For a Fair Lithuania"							
Liberal and Centre Union		109872	9,2	7	-	12,4	11	18
Peasants and New Democratic Party Union	Lithuanian Peasants Party	78902	6,6	5	-	7,7	5	10
	New Democracy Party							
Electoral Action of Poles in Lithuania		45302	3,8	0	-	4,5	2	2
Christian Conservative Social Union		23426	1,9	0	-	1,9	0	0
Lithuanian Christian Democrats		16362	1,4	0	-	2,5	0	0
National Centre Party		5989	0,5	0	-	-	0	0
Republican Party		4326	0,4	0	-	-	0	0
Union of Lithuanian Socialists		3977	0,3	0	-	-	0	0
Lithuanian Liberty Union		3337	0,3	0	-	0,2	0	0
National Party "Lithuanian Road"		2577	0,2	0	-	0,5	0	0
Lithuanian Nationalist Union		2482	0,2	0	-	-	0	0
"Young Lithuania"		-	-	-	-	0,2	0	0
Lithuanian Russian Union		-	-	-	-	0,2	0	0
Independents		-	-	-	-	-	6	6
Invalid/blank votes		32998	-	-	67149	-	-	-
Total		**1228653**	**100**	**70**	**1227648**	**100**	**71**	**141**
Registered voters/turnout		2666196	46,1	-	2666199	46,1	-	-

Source: Central Electoral Committee of the Republic of Lithuania.

4.4 Discussion of results of the analysis

• The roots of the Lithuanian party system can be traced back to the Lithuanian 'Singing revolution' of 1988-1991. The longstanding monopoly of the Lithuanian Communist Party was broken in 1988 when the Lithuanian liberation movement Sąjūdis was formed. It was a broad umbrella-type organization which played a crucial role in the process of democratic transformation in Lithuania and which later gave birth to several influential Lithuanian parties. The main ideological adversary of Sąjūdis was the Lithuanian Communist Party (later transformed into the Lithuanian Democratic Labor Party), even though the positions of the two forces were quite similar.

During the first free elections in 1990 both Sąjūdis and the Lithuanian Communist Party were in favour of more political and economic sovereignty for Lithuania. After the declaration of independence on 11 March 1990, the main division between the two political forces was regarding the question of the speed at which economic and political reforms should be introduced. The Lithuanian Communist Party advocated a step-by-step reform policy and good relations with Russia, while Sąjūdis aimed at forcing events and increasing political and economic distance between Lithuania and the former Soviet Union.

• The adoption of the Constitution of the Republic of Lithuania in 1992 represented the departure of the phase of the consolidation of the democracy. The Constitution clearly defined the main activities, competencies and limitations of the state institutions. Political parties in this period took on a different meaning as they got more autonomy and opportunities for cooperation.

According to the Constitution of the Republic of Lithuania, which was adopted in 1992, people are free to join the communities, political parties and associations. Following the adoption of the Constitution of the Republic of Lithuania, it was necessary to adjust the pre-existing law and correct the Political Parties Act.

Before the early parliamentary elections of 1992, Sąjūdis began disintegrating as some of its activists created their own parties. Sąjūdis was transformed into the Homeland Union (Lithuanian Conservatives). Although the party lost the elections, a two-block structure of the party system was maintained with the ex-communist Labor Democrats on the left of the party ideological spectrum and the Homeland Union (Lithuanian Conservatives) on the right. The other two parliamentary parties with a much smaller share of seats were the Lithuanian Christian Democrats on the right and the Lithuanian Social Democrats on the left. This simple structure of the Lithuanian party system continued to exist after the 1996 elections and this relative stability allowed some scholars to

conclude that the process of structuring the Lithuanian party system was over (Žeruolis 1998). Even though electoral volatility was quite high in comparison with Western European countries, low fragmentation and a bipolar pattern of party competition remained irrespective of somewhat successful attempts of the Centre Union to change the dominant conflict axis by forming a 'third force'.

• The parliamentary elections of 2000, however, destroyed that apparent stability as two new players – the New Union (Social Liberals) and the Lithuanian Liberal Union – emerged on the political scene, expelling the Christian Democrats and the Centre Union from the ruling coalition. As it appeared later, this was only the beginning of the decline of the 'traditional parties'. Despite the growth of the economy and the consolidation efforts of the main parliamentary parties (especially the merger of the Labor Democrats and Social Democrats), turmoil in the Lithuanian party system has been increasing as the elections to the European Parliament and the parliamentary elections of October 2004 have demonstrated. Three new parties managed to cross the threshold and win seats in the European Parliament and in the new parliament, including the Labor Party, which was founded only eight months before the European Parliament elections.

The elections in 2004 have revealed that the Lithuanian party system is undergoing a dramatic structural change, as ex-communist and ex-Sąjūdis parties have lost their dominant positions, party system fragmentation is increasing and electoral volatility is growing with every election.

5 CONCLUSIONS

- Lithuanian party system has developed gradually upon transition of certain stages of development: the transitional period, the confrontation, the reform of the party system, consolidation of democracy, destabilization. After the restoration of Lithuania's independence, the Soviet stagnation was changed into the need for fundamental changes in the political, economical, social and other spheres of life. The most imported matters in political system had to be created without any further delay, while in Western countries such things have developed dozens or even hundreds of years.

- After the restoration of Lithuania's independence in 1990, the bipolar party system was formed, which was inpired by the devision between the two largest political parties that time – the left-wing Lithuanian Democratic Labor Party, restructed from the Lithuanian Communist Party, and the right-wing Homeland Union, which was based on the liberation movement 'Sąjūdis'. Later on the new political parties started to create. The number of new parties has been raised before every elections to the Lithuanian parliament.

- During the first years of Lithuanian independence the crucial role for the structure of the party system had the division of the Lithuanian Communist Party and the 'Sąjūdis' –the Lithuanian Communist Party was later transformed into the Lithuanian Democratic Labor Party while the most important legacy of the 'Sąjūdis'became the Homeland Union (Lithuanian Conservatives). That time existed bipolar party system could not change for a long time due to the sharp ex-communist and anti-communist coflict, which has overshadowed the other conflicting dimensions.

- The foundation of the democratic consolidation period could be considered already since the liberation movement 'Sąjūdis' in 1988. During this period the basis of the multi-party system in Lithuania were created. During the second and the main phase of consolidation since 1992 the Lithuanian political parties have established sufficiently mature parliamentary legislation, created an ideological identity and developed their voters.

- The Parliamentary elections in 2000 have brought many changes to the country's party system. First of all the positions of the old parties has weakened and the strong liberal party came into the political arena.

- The Parliamentary elections held in 2004 continued the unraveling of the structure of the competitive space. The new parties, which were called the 'populistic' by the old ones, changed the style of political action with no specifications of the left or right positions and avoided any ideological commitments.

6 POVZETEK MAGISTRSKEGA DELA V SLOVENSKEM JEZIKU

V postkomunističnih demokracijah je oblikovanje strank potekalo skoraj brez civilne družbe in to je ravno nasprotno kot v Zahodni Evropi. Relativna politična prazniza, ki je nastala po propadu komunističnega režima, je vplivala na to, da so razdrobljeni strankarski sistemi postali norma političnega življenja večine novih demokracij (Rose in Munro 2003, 36). Politične stranke so glavna komponenta demokratizacije v tem smislu, da so tisti oblikovalci politike, ki lahko oblikuje, obdrži, izraza in krepi pristope, povezane s pravičnostjo ali nepravičnostjo režima (Morlino 1995, 315).

Stranke v politični sistemi zasedajo posebno mesto posrednika med družbo in političnih inštitucijah. Zaradi tega razloga je analiza političnih strank novih postkomunističnih demokracij precej komplicirana. Dejavnost in vpliv političnih strank sta povezani s skupnim razvojem institucionalne demokracije, z zgodovinskim koreninom strank. Npr. v Litvi, kot v drugih Srednjih in Vzhodnjih državah, stranke in strankarski sistem se po letu 1990 še vedno oblikujejo in dinamično spreminjajo.

Prve politične stranke v Litvi so bile ustanovljene na koncu 19. stoletja in na začetku 20. stoletja. Leta 1896 je bila ustanovljena prva politična organizacija – Stranka socialnih demokratov Litve. Leta 1902 je bila ustanovljena Litovska demokratska stranka. Leta 1905 sta bili ustanovljeni Krščansko demokratska stranka Litve ter Litovska kmečka zveza (Krupavičius 1996, 12-35).

Prve politične stranke so v družbi tistega časa predstavili različne tokove narodnega gibanja. Dejavnost strank je pospešila diferenciacijo javnega mnenja ter utrdila politične ideologije – nacionalizem, krščansko demokracijo, liberalno in socialistično misel.

Moramo priznati, da so politične stranke v obdobju od 1896 do 1918 leta delovale v nesistemskem političnem prostoru in niso mogle oblikovati enotnega in funkcionalnega mehanizma strankarskega sistema. Po besedah litovskega zgodovinarja A. Šapokasa, vodje takratnih litovskih strank so bile »generali brez vojske, ki niso imeli niti organiziranih oddelkov, niti ukrepov za širitev idej in pričakovanj« (Šapoka 1989, 519).

Takratne stranke so opredelile le prvotna načela svojih programov dejavnosti ter njihova identiteta je bila zelo slaba. Zato so bile potrebne spremembe, preureditev organizacije strank, prerazdelitev moči.

V obdobju klasičnega parlamentarizma v Litvi od leta 1920 do leta 1926 se je pokazal sistem dveh strankarskih blokov. Na eni strani strankarskega sistema je prevladovala Krščansko demokratska stranka Litve, na drugi pa največji vpliv je imela Stranka socialnih demokratov Litve.

Ustavna struktura državnih inštitucij, ki je vzpostavila strankarski sistem, kot tudi proporcionalni volilni sistem sta ustvarila ugodne okoliščine političnim strankam postati pomembi akterji političnega življenja. Z druge strani pa je neomejen parlamentarizem sprožil stalno nestabilnost vladanja, napetost ali celo krize v odnosih parlamenta in vlade. Zaradi tega so nekatere politične vodje promovirali alternativo nedemoratskega vladanja, zato česar je bil ugoden politični položaj v Evropi tistega časa.

Šibkost tradicij strankarske demokracije, brezkompromisna konkurenca političnih vodij, nezmožnost doseči dogovora – vse to je bilo povezano z nezadovoljstvom določenega dela družbe. Tako so se pojavile neugodne okoliščine za dejavnosti strank in to so izkoristili nekateri politični vodje. Po državnem udaru, ki se zgodil 17. decembra 1926, v Litvi je bilo uvedeno vladanje predsednika Antanasa Smetone. To vladanje je opisano kot zmerni avtoritarni režim, za katerega je značilno ignoriranje vladavine prave, zavrnitev demokratskih načelov vladanja, omejitev pravic in svoboščin čloceka, omejitev dejavnosti demokratskih inštitucij, med katerimi so bile tudi politične stranke. 4. aprila 1927 je bila prekinjena dejavnost parlamenta.

V letih 1927-1935 je litovski strankarski sistem prenehal funkcionirati. 1936 je notranji minister prepovedal dejavnost vseh političnih strank, razen Litovske narodne zveze, kateri je prepadal predsednik Antanas Smetona. Torej od leta 1936 se je v Litvi začel oblikovati enostrankarski sistem.

V obdobju 1939-1940 je okupacija Litve prekinila razvoj državnosti. Načela totalitarnega sovjetskega sistema so zahtevala spreminjati politični sistem. Povsod je bila priznana le totalitarna komunistična ideologija, leta 1940 je v Ustavi Socialistične države Litve bila uvedena izjemna vloga Stranke litovskih komunistov. Kljub temu, da Stranka litovskih komunistov nikoli ni bila obilna in popularna organizacija, v tistem času je postala edina pravna politična organizacija in delovanje vseh drugih strank je bilo prepovedano.

Po aneksacije Litve, ko je v državi bila uvedena enostrankarska diktatura, stranke svoje dejavnosti so mogle nadaljevali le v izseljevanju. To pot so izbrali kar veliko politikov, vodij strank, ki so bili prisiljeni se umakniti iz Litve in začeti svojo politično dejavnostjo v tujini.

V Litvi se je struktura litovskega strankarskega sistema oblikovala v letih 1988-1991, v času osvobodilnega gibanja »Sąjūdis«. Prve litovske politične stranke po osamosvojitvi Litve v letu 1990 so bile bolj ali manj v skladu s strankami zahodnih demokracij. Ž v letu 1990, ko je potekal postopek ustanovitve novih strank, so bile opazne osnove zahodnih demokracij.

Leta 1992 je bila sprejeta Ustava Republike Litve, na podlagi katere je bila ljudem določena pravica se svobodno združiti v društva, politične stranke ipd. Po sprejetju Ustave Republike Litve je bilo treba prilagoditi prej obstoječo zakonodajo in popraviti Zakon o političnih strankah.

Prve politične stranke po osamosvojitvi Litve v letu 1990 lahko klasificiramo na zgodovinske, ex-komunistične, stranke, ki so nastale po osvabodilnem gibanju »Sąjūdis« ter nove stranke. Strankarski pluralizem je v državi zorel postopoma. Dolgo časa obstaječi enostrankarski komunistični sistem le postopno postal demokratični večstrankarski sistem. Prehod v novo fazo razvoja političnih strank je potekal postopoma in že v fazi konsolidacije od leta 1992 litovske politične stranke so predstavile dovolj zrelo parlamentarno ureditev, ustvarile ideološko identiteto ter oblikovale svoje volivce. Razvoj strankarskega pluralizma je bil povezan s povečnostjo socialne mobilnosti ter vzporednih sprememb v strukturi družbe. V državi se je hitro spremenila struktura srednjega razreda, pojavile so se nekatere nove socialne skupine kot so podjetniki in brezposelni. Nove socialne skupine so le po nekaj časa izrazili svoje interese s pomočjo političnih organizacijah.

Za razvoj litovskih političnih strank je veliko pomen imel osvobodilno gibanje »Sąjūdis«, vendar po izgubljenih parlamentarnih volitev se v letu 1992 »Sąjūdis« preoblikoval v stranko Domovinsko unijo (litovske konzervatorje). Po temu preoblikovanju gibanje »Sąjūdis«, ki je bila ena iz političnih sil, na podlagi katere se oblikoval tokratni politični sistem države, se je umaknilo iz aktivnega političnega življenja neodvisne Litve in je postala družbena organizacija.

Cilj moje naloge je raziskovati razvoj strankarskega sistema v Republiki Litvi od konca osemdesetih let naprej. V nalogi je pregledano, kakšen pomen za oblikovanje današnjega večstrankarskega litovskega sistema je imela vzpostavitev demokracije in državne neodvisnosti. Obravnaval sem stopnje razvoje, ki so bile pomembne za razvoj strankarskega sistema države, in sicer: kriza sistema do prehodnega obdobja, konfrontacija, reforma strankarskega sistema, konsolidacija ter destabilizacija sistema. Pripravil sem primerjalno analizo strankarskega sistema po obdobjih: tranzisijsko obdobje od leta 1988 do leta 1991, v času osvobodilnega gibanja »Sąjūdis«; konsolidacija demokracije od sprejetja Ustave Republike Litve v letu 1992; destabilizacija sistema od leta 2000. Na podlagi pripravljene analize sem opisal razvoj litovskega političnega sistema po omenjenih obdobjih in prejel naslednje rezultate:

- Korenine strankarskega sistema Republike Litve segajo litovsko »pevsko revolucijo« v letih 1988-1991. Dolgoletni monopol Litovske Komunistične stranke je bilo vničeno v letu 1988, ko je bilo ustanovljeno litovsko osvobodilno gibanje »Sąjūdis«. To je bila organizacija, ki igrala ključno vlogo v procesu demokratične transformacije v Litvi in na podlagi katere se je rodilo več vplivnih litovskih strank. Glavni ideološki nasprotnik »Sąjūdisu« je bila Litovska komunistična stranka, ki se kasneje preoblikovala v Litovsko demokratično delovsko stranko, čeprav so stališča obeh sil bila precej podobna.

Tekom prvih sodobnih volitvam leta 1990 sta »Sąjūdis« tako kot Litovska komunistična stranka podpirali večjo politično in gospodarsko suverenost za Litvo. Po razglasitvi neodvisnosti 11. marca 1990 sta obe politični sili tekmovali, pri kateri naj bi se uvedle gospodarske in politične reforme. Litovska komunistična stranka je zagovarjala politiko reform »korak-po-korakom« in dobre odnose z Rusijo, hkrati pa »Sąjūdis« zagovarjal hitrejše odločitve za ključne spremembe ter povečano politično in gospodarsko razdaljo med Litvo in nekdanjo Sovjetsko zvezo.

- Sprejetja Ustave Republike Litve leta 1990 je predstavljala prihod v fazo konsolidacije demokracije. Tradicionalne veje institucionalne moči kot zakonodajni, izvršilni organi in sodišča so pridobili strukturno stabilnost kot neposredni učinek uvedbe nove Ustave. Politične stranke so se spremenile v avtonomske strukture znotraj demokratičnega političnega identiteta.

V skladu z Ustavo Republike Litve, ki je bila sprejeta leta 1992, ljudje lahko svobodno pridružijo skupnosti, politične stranke in združenja. Po sprejetju Ustave Republike Litve, je bilo treba prilagoditi že obstoječo zakonodajo in popraviti Zakon o političnih strankah.

Pred predčasnimi parlamentarnimi volitvami leta 1992, »Sąjūdis« je začel razpadati, saj so nekateri izmed aktivistov ustvarili svoje stranke. »Sąjūdis« se je preoblikoval v Domovinsko unijo (Litovske konzervatorje). Čeprav je stranka izgubila volitve, struktura strankarskega sistema dveh blokov se ohranila z ex-komunistično stranko Litovski delovni demokrati na levi strani in Domovinska unija (Litovski konzervatorji) na desni. Ostale dve parlamentarni stranki z veliko manjši delež sedežev sta bile Litovski krščanski demokrati na desni strani in Litovski socialni demokrati na levi strani. Takšna preprosta struktura litovskega strankarskega sistema še naprej obstajala po volitvah v letu 1996 in na podlagi te relativne stabilnosti so nekateri raziskovalci sklepali, da je proces strukturiranja litovskega strankarskega sistema bil končan (Žeruolis 1998).

\- Parlamentarne volitve v letu 2000 so uničile razvidno stabilnost, ko sta se dva nova irgalca (Nova Unija – Socialni liberalci in Litovska liberalna unija) pojavila na političnem prizorišču in izgnala Krščanske demokrate in Centralno unijo iz vladajoče koalicije. Kot se je iskazalo kasneje, to je bil šele začetek upada »tradicionalnih strank«. Kljub rasti gospodarstva in prizadevanjem za konsolidacijo glavnih parlamentarnih strank (zlasti združitvijo Delovnih demokratov in Socialnih demokratov), pretresi v litovskem strankarskem sistemu so se povečali, kot so pokazale volitve v Evropski parlament in parlamentarne volitve oktobra 2004. Trem novim strankom je uspelo prestopiti prag in osvojiti sedeže v Evropskem parlamentu ter v novem parlamentu, vključno z Delovno stranko, ki je bila ustanovljena le osem mesecev pred volitvami v Evropski parlament.

\- Volitve v letu 2004 so pokazale, da litovski strankarski sistem doživlja dramatične strukturne spremembe. Ko so ex-komunistične in »ex-Sąjūdis« stranke izgubile svoj prevladujoči položaj, fragmentacija strankarskega sistema se povečuje in volilna volatilnost raste z vsakimi volitvami.

7 BIBLIOGRAPHY

Adomėnas, Mantas. 2005. The Failure of the Conservative Project in Lithuania. In*Why we lost. Explaining the Rise and Fall of the Centre-Right parties in Central Europe 1996-2000,* eds. Ucen P and Surotchak J-E.Bratislava: International Republican Institute.

Agh, A. 1994. The Hungarian Party System and Party Theory in the Transition of Central Europe. *Journal of Theoretical Politics* 6 (2): 235–236.

Berglund, S. and Hellen T. Aarebrot F. 1998. Foundations of Change. In*The Handbook of Political Change in Eastern Europe,* eds. Edward Elgar.Cheltenham.

Birch, S. 2001. *Electoral Systems and Party System Stability in Post-Communist Europe*. Paper prepared for the 97th annual meeting of the American Political Science Associationon August 30-September, San Francisco.

Blondel, J. 1968.Party Systems and Patterns of Government in Western Democracies.*Canadian Journal of Political Science*1 (2): 180–203.

--- 1969. An Introduction to Comparative Government. London: Weidenfeld.

--- 1995. Toward a Systematic Analysis of Government-Party Relationship.*International Political Science Review* 2: 127–131.

Central Electoral Committee of the Republic of Lithuania, Inter-Parliamentary Union, 1996-2008. Available at: http://www.lrs.lt/rinkimai/pr97/vrk97a.htm (12 February, 2015).

Clemens, W. C. Jr. 1991. *Baltic Independence and Russian Empire*. Macmillan: St. Martin's Press.

Constitutional Court of the Republic of Lithuania. Available at: www.lrkt.lt/Information1_e.html (13 February, 2015).

Degutis, M. 2000. *Seimo rinkimai 2000: Nauji Lietuvos rinkėjo portreto bruožai*. Paper presented at a confernce"Lietuva po Seimo rinkimų" on 12 December 2000, Vilnius, Lithuania.

Duverger, M. 1954. *Political Parties-Their Organization and Activity in the Modern State*. New York: Wiley.

Duvold, K and Jurkynas M. 2004. Lithuania. In Berglund S, Ekman J, Aarebrot F: *The Handbook of Political Change in Eastern Europe,* eds. Berglund S., Ekman J. and Aarebrot F,second edition. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar.

Government of the Republic of Lithuania. Available at: http://www.lrv.lt/en/government/inistries/ (12 February, 2015).

Hofmeister, W. and Grabow K. 2011.*Political parties: functions and organisation in democratic societies.* Singapore.

Jackman, R. W. and Miller R. A. 1995. Voter Turnout in the Industrial Democracies During the 1980-s.In *Comparative Political Studies*: 468–477.

Jelinskaitė, J. 2001. *Public Founding of Parties. The Lithuanian perspective.*Bergen:Department of Comparative Politics, University of Bergen.

Jurek, Petr. 2010. The Institutionalization of Party Systems. In: *Politics in Central Europe* 6(1): 110–123.

Kitschelt, H. Mansfeldova Z., Markowski R. and Toka G. 1999. *Post-Communist Party Systems. Competition, Representation, and Inter-Party Cooperation*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Krupavičius, A. 1991. Draugų ir priešų beieškant. *Politika* 3: 10–24.

--- 1996. Pokomunistinė transformacija ir Lietuvos partijos. In*Politinės partijos Lietuvoje. Atgimimas ir veikla,* eds. A. Krupavičius, 1–93.Kaunas: Litterae Universitatis.

--- 1998. The Post-communist Transition and Institutionalization of Lithuania's parties. *Political Studies* 46: 1–491.

Krupavičius, A. and Lukošaitis A. 2004. *Lietuvos politinė sistema: sandara ir raida*. Kaunas: Poligrafija ir informatika.

Kulik, Anatoly and Susanna Pshizova. 2005. *Political parties in post-Soviet space: Russia, Belarus, Ukraine, Moldova, and the Baltics*. Westport, Connecticut London: Praeger.

Lane, J.-E. and Errson S.O. 1994. *Politics and Society in Western Europe*. London: Sage.

Law on Political Parties and Political Organizations. 1990. No I-606.

Lietuvos Respublikos Konstitucija. 1993. Vilnius: LR Seimo leidykla.

Lietuvos Respublikos Seimo Statutas. 1994. Vilnius.

Lieven, A. 1994. *The Baltic Revolution*. Anatol: Yale University Press.

Lithuanian   European   Commission.   Available   at:
http://ec.europa.eu/lietuva/abc_of_the_eu/kelias_i_es/kelias_i_lt.htm (5January, 2015).

Lithuanian Presidency. Available at: http://www.eu2013.lt/lt/ (5 January, 2015).

Lukošaitis, A. 1997. Moderniosios partinės sistemos formavimosi etapai Lietuvoje. In*Lietuvos politinės partijos ir partinė sistema,* eds. Jankauskas A. and Kūris E., 92–129. Kaunas: Naujasis Lankas.

--- 1998. *Lietuvos Respublikos politinės partijos*. Vilnius: LR Seimo kanceliarija.

--- 1998. Parlamentas ir parlamentarizmas nepriklausomoje Lietuvoje. 1918-1940 ir 1990-1997 m. In*Seimo rinkimai 96: Trečiasis atmetimas,* eds. Krupavičius A., 1–40.Vilnius: Tvermė.

--- 1998. The President in the Political System of Lithuania: Seeking His Place and Powers. *Politologija* 2.

Mair, P. 1990. Introduction. In*The West European Party System,* eds. Mair P., 1–22.Oxford: Oxford University Press.

--- 1997. What is different about post-communist party systems? In*Party System Change. Approaches and Interpretations*, eds. Mair P., 98–180. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

--- 1998. *Party System Change: Approaches and Interpretations*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Lithuania. Available at: http://urm.lt/ (6 January, 2015).

Morlino, L. 1995. *Political Parties and Democratic Consolidation in Southern Europe*. Diamandouros: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Nekrašas, Evaldas. 1999. Lithuanian Political System and Foreign Policy Decision Making. *Lithuanian foreign policy review* 4. Available at: http://www.lfpr.lt/uploads/File/1999-4/Nekrasas.pdf (2 February, 2015).

Neto, O. A. and Santos F. 2001. The Executive Connection. Presidentially Defined Factions and Party Discipline in Brazil. *Party Politics* 7 (2): 213–234.

Nohlen, D.and Stöver P. 2010. *Elections in Europe: A data handbook.*ISBN 978.

Novagrockienė, J. 2000. Elections to the Seimas 2000. In*Lithuanian political science yearbook*. Vilnius: Institute of International Relations and Political Science, Vilnius University.

O'Donnel, G. and Schmitter Ph. C. 1991. *Transitions from Authoritarian Rule: Tentative Conclusions about Uncertain Democracies*. John Hopkins University Press.

Olson, D.M. 1998. Party Formation and Party System Consolidation in the New Democracies of Central Europe. In *Hofferbert R. Parties and Democracy*, 10–42. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.

Politics and Law of Lithuania. Available at: http://www.truelithuania.com/topics/history-and-politics-of-lithuania/politics-of-lithuania (7 January, 2015).

Rose, R. and Munro N. 2003. *Elections and Parties in New European Democracies*. Washington D.C.: Congressional Quarterly Press.

Rose, R. and Shin D.Ch. 2001. Democratization Backwards: The Problem of Third-Wave Democracies.*British Journal of Political Science* 2 (31): 331–354.

Russell, J. Dalton and Martin P. Wattenberg. 2001.*Parties without Partisans: Political Change in Advanced Industrial Democracies*. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press.

Sartori, G. 1976. *Parties and Party Systems. A Framework for Analysis*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

--- 1987. *The Theory of Democracy Revisited*. Chatham, N.J.: Chatham House.

--- 2001. *Political Parties and Democracy*. Baltimore, MD: The John Hopkins University Press.

Seimas of the Republic of Lithuania. Available at: www3.lrs.lt/pls/inter/w5_show?p_r=3803&p_k=2 (13 February, 2015).

Skjeveland, A. 1999. A Danish Party Cohesion Cycl. *Scandinavian Political Studies.* 22 (2): 121–136.

Smith-Sivertsen, H. 1997. Towards Parties of Elites – or Popularism? *Revue Baltique* 8: 19-37.

Svege, H. P. and Daatland Ch.D. 2000. Estonia. In*Politics and Citizenship on the Eastern Baltic Seaboard. The Structuring of Democratic Politics from North-West Russia to Poland,* eds. Aaarebrot F. and Knutsen T., 46–76.Kristiansand: Nordic Academic Press.

Šapoka, A. 1989. *Lietuvos istorija*. Vilnius: Mokslas.

Šileikis, E. 1997. *Politinių partijų institucionalizavimas*. Vilnius: Onė.

Šumskas, G. 2003. *Ekonominis balsavimas Lietuvoje, Latvijoje ir Estijoje*. Kaunas: Kauno Technologijos universitetas.

Truska, L. 2007.*"Aksominė" Antano Smetonos diktatūra Lietuvoje (1927-1940)*. Paper presented at a conference "Diktatūriniai ir autoritariniai režimai Vidurio ir Rytų Europoje XX amžiaus pirmojoje pusėje. Ar išmoktos istorijos pamokos?" on 8 February 2007, Vilnius, Lithuania.

van Biezen, Ingrid. 2003. *Political Parties in New Democracies: Party Organization in Southern and East-Central Europe*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

VincasKudirka ir »Varpas«. Available at: http://www.spaudos.lt/Spauda/V_Kudirka_ir_Varpas.htm (18 December, 2015).

Ware, A. 1996. *Political Parties and Party Systems*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Wikipedia. Available at: http://lt.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lietuvos_partijos (18February, 2015).

Žėruolis, D. 1998. Lithuania. In*The Handbook of Political Change in Eastern Europe,* eds. Berglund S., Hellen Th. and Aerobrot F.H., 121–156.Cheltenham: Edward Elgar.