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BALANCE OF POWER IN THE RUSSIAN DUMA TILTS AGAINST REFORMS

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Russia today is in the midst of a transfer of power from the reform-minded politicians, such as former Deputy Premier Yegor Gaidar and Finance Minister Boris Fedorov, to “red directors” and Soviet-style apparatchiks like Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin, First Vice Premier Oleg Soskovets and Vice Premier in charge of Agriculture Alexander Zaveriukha. Reform-minded politicians and experts are leaving the government in large numbers, anticipating an inflation rate of 50 percent per month by this autumn. The strong showing in the December election of ultra-nationalist and communist parties gives a hint to how far this transfer of power can go if democratic reform fails.

The following is a breakdown by party affiliation of the 444 seats in the State Duma, the lower house of parliament, plus a list of committees and their recently appointed chairmen. The largest number of committee appointments went to the two parties representing opposite ends of the political spectrum—the reformist Russia’s Choice and the ultra-nationalist Liberal Democrats. Russia’s Choice ended up controlling the defense, health, and communications committees, while the Liberal Democrats chair the committees on geopolitics, ecology, natural resources, labor, and industry. Other powerful committees were captured by communists, their allies, and so-called centrists, who wish to slow reform: economic policy, agriculture, judicial reform, and internal security.

Also included is an analysis of a series of votes taken by the Duma during its first session (January 11-12, 1994), which indicates the degree to which the different political parties and blocs are reformist or anti-reformist. This breakdown was prepared by analysts in Russia’s Choice, a reformist bloc of parties led by Gaidar.

The State Duma's 444 Seats by Party Affiliation (225 party list seats plus 219 constituency seats)

Party/Bloc	% in Proportional Vote	Party List Seats	Constituency Seats	Total Seats	% of Total
Russia's Choice	15.38	40	26	66	14.86
Liberal Democrats	22.79	59	5	64	14.41
Communist Party	12.35	32	16	48	10.81
Agrarian Party	7.90	21	12	33	7.43
YABLOCKO (Yavlinsky bloc)	7.83	20	7	27	6.08
Women of Russia	8.10	21	2	23	5.18
Party of Russian Unity and Accord	6.76	18	1	19	4.27
Democratic Party	5.50	14	1	15	3.37
Smaller Parties (see table below)				22	4.95
Independents				127	28.60
TOTAL				444	100.00

Note: One-half of the Duma (a total of 225 seats) was elected by party slates based on proportional representation, while the other half was elected based on a majority system, with each district sending the deputy who received a plurality of votes (these are called constituency seats). Since some districts did not hold elections, there are currently only 444 seats.

Smaller Parties Represented in the State Duma

Russia's Movement of Democratic Reforms (RDDR)	4
Civic Union	3
Dignity and Charity	2
Economic Freedom Party	2
Free Democratic Party of Russia (FDP)	1
Marii Ushem Democratic Movement	1
National Republican Party of Russia	1
People's Party of Free Russia	1
Russia's Ecological Union	1
Russia's Party of Free Labor	1
Russia Union of Culture Workers	1
Russia's People Union	1
Russian National Sobor	1

Source: Analytic Department, Russia's Choice

Party Seats Represented in the Federation Council

(Upper Chamber)

Chairman: Vladimir Shumeiko

Communist Party	12
Russia's Choice	7
Constitutional Democrats	1
Socialist Workers' Party	1
Farmers' Party of Russia	1
Russia's Movement of Democratic Reforms	1
Agrarian Party	1
Party of Russian Unity and Accord	1
Labor Party	1
All-Russia Union Renewal	1
Senezsky Forum	1
TOTAL	22

Breakdown of Political Strength in the Duma

Fraction		Deputies	Strongly Pro-Reform	Moderately Pro-Reform	Moderately Anti-Reform	Strongly Anti-Reform
Pro-Reform Parties	Russia's Choice	74	74			
	12 December Union	25	22	3		
	PRES	30	14	11	3	2
	YABLOCKO	27	13	13	1	
	New Regional Policy	66	8	25	17	16
TOTAL		222	131	52	21	18
Anti-Reform Parties	Women of Russia	23		1	18	4
	Democratic Party	15			10	5
	Agrarian Party	55			7	48
	Communists	45				45
	Liberal Democrats	64				34
Russian Way	14				14	
TOTAL		216		1	35	150
Not Included in Fractions		6		1	2	1
Entire Duma		444	131	54	58	169
			185	227		

PARTY	COMMITTEE CHAIRMEN
Liberal Democratic Party	5
Russia's Choice	4
"New Regional Policy"	3
Party of Russian Unity and Accord	3
YABLOCKO	2
Communist Party	2
Agrarian Party	2
Women of Russia Party	1
Democratic Party of Russia	1

Duma Committees and Chairmen

Duma Chairman: Ivan Rybkin—Agrarian Party

The Legislative & Judicial-Legal Reform Committee—Vladimir Isakov (Agrarian Party)

The Committee on Labor & Social Security—Sergei Kalashnikov (Liberal-Democratic Party)

The Committee on Public Health—Bela Denisenko (Russia's Choice)

The Committee on Ecology—Mikhail Lemeshev (Liberal Democratic Party)

The Committee on Education, Culture, & Science—Lyubov Rozhkova (Deputy Group "New Regional Policy")

The Committee on Women, the Family, & Youth—Galina Klimantova (Women of Russia Party)

The Committee on the Budget, Taxes, Banks, & Finances—Mikhail Zadoronov (YABLOCKO)

The Economic Policy Committee—Sergei Glazyev (Democratic Party of Russia)

The Committee on Property, Privatization, & Economic Affairs—Sergei Burkov ("New Regional Policy")

The Committee on Agrarian Issues—Alexander Nazarchuk (Agrarian Party)

The Committee on Industry, Construction, Transportation, & Energy—Vladimir Gusev (Liberal Democratic Party)

The Committee on Natural Resources—Nikolai Astafyev (Liberal Democratic Party)

The Defense Committee—Sergei Yushenkov (Russia's Choice)

The Committee on Security—Victor Ilyushin (Communist Party)

The International Affairs Committee—Vladimir Lukin (YABLOCKO)

The Committee on the Commonwealth of Independent States & Compatriot Affairs—Constantin Zatulin (Party of Russian Unity & Accord)

The Committee on Nationality Affairs—Bair Zhamusuev ("New Regional Policy")

The Committee on Federation & Regional Policy—Sergei Shapovalov (Party of Russian Unity & Accord)

The Committee on Local Self-Government—Anatolii Sliva (Party of Russian Unity & Accord)

The Committee on Social Associations & Religious Organizations—Victor Zorkaltsev (Communist Party)

The State Duma Organizational Committee—Vladimir Bauer (Russia's Choice)

The Committee on Information & Communications—Mikhail Poltoranin (Russia's Choice)

The Committee on Geopolitics—Viktor I. Ustinov (Liberal Democratic Party)