

Re@I and Virtual Power: Political technologies in parties' development in Ukraine and Russia

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Modern political fight in Ukraine and Russia has common historical roots but models of political communication in these countries differ substantially. It is caused by both specific of structure of state power and national features of Ukraine and Russia. A difference was strengthened by presidential elections 2004 in Ukraine – Orange revolution which in Russia perceived as capture of power. At the same time participation of Russian political consultants in parliament and presidential elections in Ukraine showed that direct transference of experience of political fight from Russia to Ukraine wasn't possible. However, as modern political relations are related to technological development which could change political culture, and, consequently, level of fight, the most active participants of political process aim to use network technologies and principles, without any relation upon the stage of the political system.

It should be noted that researches of role of new information technologies in development of countries of former USSR were conducted rarely enough. So, it is possible to notice research of Semetko and Krasnoboka about the use of Internet in activity of Russian and Ukrainian parties in 2001¹. They found out that party and politician websites were of least importance to users, based on the number of hits to these websites. In 2004 L. March conducted vast research and came to conclusion that party development of Internet in Russia was on a rudimentary stage, though developed quickly. In Russia, according to his opinion, it was necessary to talk about saving of vertical line of information transfer from center to the regions and the use of Internet for this purpose. Attention to Ukrainian political Internet considerably less, it is interested mainly in Ukraine and Russia. However, from the end of 2004 such interest grew also in Europe and USA, as in Ukraine appeared active inclusion of new technologies and network principles in the real political fight, i.e. question of the public use of network for expression of protests and co-ordination of actions. For example, American researcher D. Dresdner noted that "...Ukraine experience demonstrates that, under certain circumstances, online activists can affect politics in regimes where there is no thriving independent media sector. For starters, activist websites can become an alternative source of news and commentary in countries where traditional media are under state control..."². M. Kyj described use of Internet during Orange revolution and marked that Ukrainian situation was about public mobilisation of Yuschenko supporters³. Actually, Ukrainian and Russian cases can be examined in the spectrum of two theories: reinforcement and mobilization which were used for explanation of role of Internet in political development. For example, mobilization arises up if Internet is used for the improvement of communications of public and leaders, reinforcement theory marks on the contrary, that Internet considerably strengthens positions of those political forces which hold power. Thus, representatives of theory Hagen M.⁴, Agre P.E.⁵ and others consider that new technologies only complicate a process of receiving and distribution of social information.

However, it is necessary to take into account that Ukraine and Russia are transitional societies that have an access to experience of European and American parties and use all possible information technologies of cooperation with society. In this case the model of *electoral authority* is the most popular model of relations, when many network political initiatives begin with supposition, that voters not quite enough imagine politics and require strategies of resistance to parties and elites. Thus centralized (web pages) and decentralized (SMS and e-mail) technologies are used^{6 7 8}. From other side, there is complication of public communication and its development with network laws. American researchers M. Ratcliffe and

J. Lebkowsky⁹ named this phenomenon “extreme democracy” (in the context of concept “emergent democracy” of Japanese J.Ito¹⁰), when people become the participants of political process of decision-making, which is based on the great number of centers linked between themselves by network coalition and organized on the base of local, national and international problems. The network model of democracy focuses on participation and assumes that everybody potentially can act politically. Therefore, the base element of such democracy is an activist – a citizen who knows problem and able to squander time and resources for the solving this policy at all state levels. As a result there are several types of social and political relations: clustering when one cell is not responsible for development of all system, and motion takes place because of exchange of signals between cells; copying systems operating spontaneously, cognizing an environment; other models are “madness of crowd”, “new news”, “electronic square” “organization of collective action”. Probably, last model was used for simultaneous organization of public protests and co-ordination of actions of “Nasha Ukrajina” (Our Ukraine – OU) in November 2004 – January 2005.

A.-L. Barabasi noted that network public distributing appears in condition that knots have identical amount of links, and there are some large knots. As a result, the hierarchy of public centers is formed with two or three large and a number of small knots. Unlike mass-media which create and concentrate movement in several knots, a network environment allows the multivectorial influencing, especially at local level. Media have set structure under the control of families and media groups, that does political communications predictable for a long time, but network campaign can not be short-term, it can't start during elections. It is better to form a political network, when there is no actual necessity in it. As it takes time, it will be simplified to form links, if there is no obvious immediate benefit from this links. In Internet it means absence of central element in architecture of access and permission on joining. Therefore, a political campaign does not depend on message, on the contrary Internet allows participants to create networks for messages, and to send them to undecided voters¹¹. Arising chaos around primary message generates the discussion and returns attention of people to the political problems. Exactly chaotic communications allow creation weak links achieving a various audience, unlike strong links which lock public communications.

According to these descriptions of network public communications American political consultant J. Trippi recommended to plug in a modern network campaign the following elements: 1) instruments of network management of campaign; 2) use of forums to present the most actual information of meetings; 3) support blog of campaign; 4) saving of actual materials of campaign; 5) creation of “viral” letters; 6) possibility of interconnections between participants; 7) creation of “local” instruments. Combination of these elements creates the “ideal storm” of political discussion and forms political participation¹².

These principles gradually get into the political fight on post-Soviet space, in particular in Ukraine and Russia. However, the detailed analysis of the real and virtual political technologies shows principle distinction in political communication of Ukrainian and Russian elites, reaction of public on the political fight, including in the Internet differs also. Taking into account the insignificant percent of use of Internet by population, it is possible to suppose the weakness of it influence on Ukrainian or Russian politics, nevertheless, leaders and parties actualize virtual political technologies constantly and draw on last technical accomplishments as Internet-TV and multimedia – for work with voters. In this, technological, plan Ukrainian or Russian parties do not differ from parties in Central Europe. Only tactical and strategic aims of every party in Ukraine and Russia are different.

1. UKRAINE: electoral communications of main political opponents

Critics of Orange revolution express doubt that it happened without intervention from the USA or EU. However, this political crisis, called in synergetic a peak mode, is possible to consider as a result of dynamic instability and weakness of political leaders and parties during 15 years of independence of Ukraine. Main political technologies thus described as conflict of separate opposition headed by Yuschenko and propresident parties who hold an administrative resource. It also concerns to mass media, whose role grew during 2002-2004 and was accompanied by mass provocative and negative campaigns against Yuschenko, who had a few media channels, among them Internet. As a result, two models of political communication appeared: network (Yuschenko) and centralized (Yanukovich).

These models had some substantial differences. First of all, the use of many candidates on the post of president (technical candidates) became key condition of elections 2004; their main task was destruction of electorate of main leaders of elections, especially opposition. Secondly, block of propresident parties had simplified access to central press and TV. The bulk of positive information and advertising spread not only through publicity channels but also as context information in the news. In regional and central press a lot of positive information spread about actions of Yanukovich and government that diverted attention of public from critics of opposition. It specifies on the centralized approach to distribution of information, which removes possibility of different opinions, and represents "uniquely" correct opinion. Thirdly, actions of opposition showed understanding of importance of information resource and necessity to break information blockade. Although Yuschenko spent on a company 20 times less of resources, he managed to create decentralized information stream. It allowed to mobilize an active electorate in short time and in great amount, that happened in the second round of elections, when grew interest to Internet-editions.

We will consider approaches of main candidates to use of information resource of power. After two terms of Kuchma's rule and origins of phenomenon "*kuchmizm*", Kuchma had the problem of succession of power. There was only one mechanism of succession – electing for president a candidate from the supporters of Kuchma¹³. However, they did not have a synonymous candidature for the pre-election fight. Besides, a situation was complicated with weak public support of president (especially in the light of "Gongadze case"). Nevertheless, on the role of leader it was selected the leader of Party of regions (PR) V. Yanukovich, which used the model of political communication in the form of synonymousness of options, definiteness in actions, creation of appearance of "man-safe", positioning as "successful premier", unpublicness, soviet style of rule, unjustified critics of opponent, orientation on a silly and guided voter. These descriptions are peculiar for *centralized model of political communication* with predominance of center information streams. Among political techniques moves which were used by power for destabilization of situation in politically active Western Ukraine and management of situation on East, it is important to name: use of "temniks", local election with "dirty" technologies (Mukachevo), activity of separate groups of political consultants.

Yanukovich	Yuschenko
<i>Centralized model</i>	<i>Decentralized model</i>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Creation and use of temniks with 2002 - local elections and working out of power methods of capture of authority, falsifications - support of administrative resource - creation of image of candidate-premier - support on authority, famous persons - use of provocative and black PR - shadow staff, plans on falsification - symbolism - weak web-campaign, hackers attacks - use of sites “Ya” and some information sites - manipulation of voices - presenting in news and advertising properties 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Information blockade - policy of proximity, personification of electoral process - mass peaceful actions, actions of protest, appearance of Yuschenko before crowds - creation of image of “national president” - support on authority, famous persons - antiadvertising under a motto “Peace to you!” - active mobilization groups - ribbons - system of web pages with possibility to get leaflet and multimedia - use of network media - manipulation during conducting of action of protest - presenting in news and advertising properties

The Russian political scientist A. Okara names such distinctive features of electoral strategy of V. Yanukovich. Foremost, Yanukovich is synonymous in the having a special purpose options, that became his general advantage¹⁴. However it was provided due to the direct pressing on the population and absence of public people in his surrounding. As protégé of power, Yanukovich could not criticize the exist regime and was not able to withdraw from Kuchma. His tactic of “succession” was expressed in two points: “thank you, that we have no war” and something about stabilizing. Thus, Yanukovich rather did accent on a today’s success and appeared as “successful premier” that was the element of past not future. He had lack of ability of public appearances that results parallels with soviet past. From there it was taken image of political opponent as “agent of the West”, that testifies Russian influence on electoral strategy. Inertia of campaign foresaw a stupid and guided voter and such orientation was not effective as there were two options “in Ukrainians: one is supposing obedience to violence. Other is Cossack, anarchist, rebellious...”. Besides, not looking on the successful selection of slogan for bigboards “Тому що...” (Because...), image of Yanukovich on them reminded the “father of family” - Kuchma. As a result, there was a reverse effect – the great number of variations of bigboard of Yanukovich, which rather reminded political caricatures, appeared in Internet¹⁵.

As a presidential campaign actually got new phase with every new round, Yanukovich crew had the problem of adaptation of image and actions in accordance with new conditions. So, after the first round he lost support in media¹⁶, in addition, he had to agree to direct TV-debates with Yuschenko, and Yanukovich couldn’t convincingly to win it¹⁷. Before the third round Yanukovich tried to imitate campaign of Yuschenko that only strengthened contradictions of Yanukovich: he simultaneously stimulates separatism and was striven for unity, declared peaceable disposition and named opponents “Orange rats”, remained prime minister in defiance of decision of parliament and argues against Kuchma.

One of principles of Yanukovich campaign was to use mass-media for current informing of population about activity of government, Yanukovich and PR. Publications in regional press reminded articles written and edited beforehand, as they occupied a half or whole stripe in newspapers. These articles were printed every week in a national press and were reprinted by regional editions that formed a vertical information stream which did not change depending on a region. Most probable that it was the element of campaign and articles were paid as

publicities. However, the articles were not accompanied by a mark "political advertising", that allows us to assume about their purposeful placing without the concordance with the edition. Such relations with mass-media became the result of the permanent influencing of Administration of President on freedom of speech, which began with arrival of Medvedchuk to Administration in 2001-2002. One of the elements of such media policy were "temniks" – printing or telephone recommendations for mass-media about character of coverage of events and leaders. Temniks were the product of Russian political consultant M. Gelman¹⁸, however firstly they appeared before parliament elections 2002 on the TV channels of SDPU(u). Temniks recommended to cover events in news so that Kuchma appeared in the favourable light, and negative or ambiguous information about presidential surroundings was taken to the minimum or chopped off, on other hand, the news must have negative or inadequate information about opposition politicians and parties or generally to ignore the information about opposition. So, TV channels fully ignored the decision of court about excitation of case against Kuchma or reported about it only at night¹⁹. Thus the largest international newspapers, including New York Times, Washington Post and Berliner Zeitung, and also Polish and Russian press considered that an important information. As to leaders of opposition it was recommended to give Yuschenko, Timoshenko and Moroz as stuck in intestine wars or in conflicts with other opposition forces that means their insignificant chances on victory in president elections. On "requests to ignore" the first place occupied J. Timoshenko.

The best examples of realization of technologies of destructive PR were: programs "Prote", "Epicentre", "Day after tomorrow", internet-resources "Week" (<http://www.temnik.com.ua>), Agency of tomorrow news (<http://www.aznews.narod.ru>), weekly "Monday", etc. The program "Prote" was translated on Channel "1+1" during the evening news. The basic task of the program was destructive PR mainly directed against Yuschenko. At the same time with programs, its texts were placed on the site www.temnik.com.ua that also specified scales of negative campaign in Internet.

"Prote" was Ukrainian copy of Russian program "Odnako" (ORT). The program was not placed in teleprograms, it was "implanted" in the body of news program TSN, in prime-time. In creation of the programs - "five minutes of hate" - all attention was taken exactly to the language and direct intercourse with listeners with the purpose of discredit the opponent. It is necessary to take into account that we consciously made extractions out of text, as one of way to mask and manipulate propaganda was so-called "cutting of quotation", i.e. selection from actions and expressions of politicians. After it was diluted by text, which appeals both to wide public (we, us, to us) and to the separate citizen (I, to me, I want...).

Main critic was directed against Yuschenko. In particular, he was named as "single and unique white clown" who had an enough unreliable command: "...Yuschenko lost already... constitutional reform and ... own fraction"²⁰. Therefore, to talk about "opposition in general not correctly... Yuschenko by one hand signs statement on protection of newspaper "Silski visti", by second – angrily condemns the anti-semitic publications in it; by one hand on any occasion sends greeting or sympathy to the president Putin, by second – promises to show out Ukraine from under the Russian influence..."²¹. "Mr. Yuschenko... it is nothing to remain but to hide in a secret bunker and, for God sake, personally to look not over mail, as it was done by other field commander in Chechnja – Hattab. Now also dead... Yuschenko... his personal office is located on the base-court of residence of the American ambassador... But Ukrainian power is afraid not of him at all, in spite of all his considerable rating... ..any rating at multiplying on a zero expressly determines the chances of Yuschenko on presidency... to the angry cow God does not give the horns..."²². "You see, what likable Yuschenko we garbled here to you... true, not pocket opposition remained are YOU and I. All others co-operate with the regime..."²³. "...20 percents believe in Yuschenko – not less, than at the monster of Loch-Ness, flying saucers and Philippine medicine... ..he is locomotive on which it is possible to ride into in power... he is personification of Ukrainian dream... nation must wake up and leave dreams even such sweet, as Yuschenko. [He] is "flesh from the flesh of people" ...it remains again to "loosen» a street. Nevertheless, it is impossible to manage it from a cabinet. To manage a street it is possible only in one method – to become ahead... Do you imagine Yuschenko in this role? So..."²⁴. "...do

you imagine Yushchenko on tank? Bessmertny as a head of group of revolutionary sailors? And the "chocolate magnate" Poroshenko on a machine-gun cart? Imagine Chervonenko that dies under torture, but does not give out a revolutionary secret to the satraps... ...in spring they will have a western money, we will have chestnuts... But revolution won't be..."²⁵.

Further they doubt in integrity of fraction of Our Ukraine in parliament: There are the representatives of the Russian oil campaigns in fraction of the "nationalist" Yushchenko, in it wonderfully get along head of one of Jewish Congresses Chervonenko and known in Ukraine fighter with the world Masonic plot Chervonij. Do you think that an ideological intimacy unites Semites and anti-Semites in one faction? For most today's politicians their ideologies are "brands", i.e. trademarks. Trademarks serve for the best advancement of commodity to the market. Nevertheless, on our supervisions proprietors of trademarks "Communism", "Socialism", "Patriotism", "Opposition", actually, divide by the adherents of one of three ideologies "Versace", "Valentino" or "Ferret" ...Ukrainian opposition from the club jacket of Lazarenko"²⁶. "...Napoleon went to Moscow and had 100 thousand army. If we have 100 thousand people which would be ready to go on foot to ..." Napoleon Yushchenko... perfectly understands illusory quality of 100 thousand activists..."²⁷.

Clearly, that for strengthening of effect it is necessary to activate attention of spectator, so authors talk therefore: "I feel myself a biblical Moses... a leader is the unhappy dependent man forced to execute the senseless whims of crowd... How you offended on me, when I break up Yushchenko. Idols are away - I speak – for going out from a desert it is necessary to conquer the promised paradise. Political God is one. His name is Freedom"²⁸. "We bother to listen... We want to hear. Where these words? Where slogans? Where new political symbol of faith? Yushchenko is quiet... Scale of personality: he must coincide with the scales of tasks. It is necessary to expect appearance of Rescuer..."²⁹. "... Yushchenko heads opposition of rich against poor, officials against people"³⁰.

Other information resources for realization of destructive technologies, were site "Provocation" (<http://provokator.com.ua>), program "Indention" (TV "Era") and program "In detail" (ICTV), program of M.Pogrebinsky "Accent" (UT-1). The last one was close to the group of Medvedchuk, consequently the program related to general technological conception of saving at power of command of SDPU(u), a considerable place in which was taken to provocations in Internet (transference of Russian experience of political campaigns) Importance of Internet for SDPU(u) was formulated in 2001 and Internet was considered as working instrument of influence on political processes that were going on in Ukraine³¹. However, Internet was used by SDPU(u) exactly for a national destructive PR-campaign by the internet-resources, oriented to conscious disinformation, discreditation, distribution of unverified information, hoaxes etc. Sometimes this information prepared within the framework of structures which were coordinated from one center. For example, resource "Week" (<http://www.temnik.com.ua>) placed a hyperlink immediately to some similar resources. It should be noted that these sites had a stable enough audience. Other project of SDPU(u) "Agency of tomorrow news" had a large audience and was placed in the free area of Internet – on the server narod.ru. It allowed to Agency to hide from claims and lawsuits, and also from technological failures, directed viral and hackers attacks etc. However, as showed experience of conducting campaigns, for SDPU(u) Internet did not become a key element of "on-line" party, as for Google page SDPU(u) had 296 references (for example, Viche is created only before elections 2006 and had 213 references)³².

In such conditions the command of Yushchenko used *decentralized model of political communication* with general elements of public intercourse of leaders with people, use of principles of policy of closeness which causes feeling of participation of every citizen in the political fight and creates his political mobilization. This strategy was based on network logic of behavior of social objects. To explain this, English historian M. Almond noted that "Ukrainian actions of protest were organized on the principles developed in the West in 1980-ies"^{33 34} with the origin of information society. Exactly Internet allowed to change quality of political communication, and his network property was used for overcoming of information blockade.

The basic channels of distribution of information about Yushchenko's campaign were internet-sites, party's newspapers, TV "5 channel" and since September 2004 TV Era. However, these information resources had strong limitations: 5 channel broadcast for 48% of Ukraine, mainly in cables networks, in the conditions of the permanent disconnectings. Era worked early in the morning and after 23.00. Other pro-Yushchenko media were not controlled by him. So, newspaper "Vechernije Vesti" has links with Timoshenko and Internet-edition „Ukrajinska Pravda" was limited by the level of Internet use in Ukraine, only 3% have regular access to Network. Nevertheless, Yushchenko got important advantage in Internet. Asking Internet-users testified that majority supported Yushchenko. During Orange revolution the visit to Internet grew in dozens times. Exactly in this period the most influential opposition sites became the real facilities of forming of public opinion. Were used other information technologies, particularly, translation of the mass meeting on the European square in Kiev was conducted through a satellite in the real-time mode on the squares of almost all regional centers of Ukraine. During revolution the staff of Yushchenko set on Independence Square in a station, leased a satellite channel and any broadcasting company in the world could show, and any spectator which has a satellite could see picture from Kiev³⁵. Later, for such technological methods campaign of Yushchenko was named the best campaign in 2004³⁶.

The presidential campaign of Yushchenko passed under a motto "Yes! Yushchenko!" – a good example of NLP, which increased by the use of orange bands and agitations materials, which were distributed in the street, hanged on antennas of cars. By estimations of experts, such bands were more effective than big board, in fact they are turned not to "ratio" but to "partisan" subconscious of Ukrainian psyche. Therefore, during a campaign was planned direct intercourse with people, conducting of meetings that required a lot of activists. A basis of their organization was a civil campaign PORA, which enabled to any supporter Yushchenko to learn to create agitations, conduct pickets and etc. For this reason, PORA placed on its site the book of J.Sharp "From dictatorship to democracy"³⁷ with 200 methods of unviolent and lively actions of protest described. According to experts, it gave to "orange camp" 10% voices more. Besides popular persons came forward as activists, for example „Train of friendship», which 14.12.2004 left for ten days trip by south and east regions for informing of people about events on Maidan during revolution. Ukrainian boxers Vitaly and Vladimir Klichko started an international TV campaign with participation of world stars of sport, cinema and music on support of Yushchenko. "Very important, that international pressure lasted, - Vladimir Klichko declared. People already for a week hold meeting and is striven for democracy and free election. They need support".

Mass actions by its nature have network structure which had emergent properties. So the role of Internet showed up indirectly, he was used stronger by the supporters of Yushchenko and Timoshenko and weaker by supporters of Yanukovich. For example, in November 2004 Ukrainian Internet-audience grew in comparison to October 2004 on 39,6%. Mainly it was used by the supporters of Yushchenko, while Yanukovich generally gave up active use of these technologies. Mainly, the ideas of Yanukovich were actively moved forward by site zadonbass.org³⁸ ¹. Yushchenko had in addition to "Ukrajinska pravda", some resources which got popularity just during elections. For example, Maidan.Org², which became a leader from the beginning of agitations in Kyiv. The site of "5 channel" was exposed to the attacks of

¹ although on his side worked FEP and Pavlovsky, who developed more than 38 Internet-projects in Russia and Ukraine, for example site Ukraine.ru

² After murder of Gongadze was created memorial site of Gongadze (gongadze.com.ua – it does not work from 2001) and forum on this site. With beginning of cassette scandal activity increases on a forum: development of scandal, reaction of power, contents of tapes was discussed actively. At the beginning of December, 2000 together with start of PR-campaign on prevention of public attention from the criminal actions of power, fixed on tapes, the first "servant trolls" appeared on the forum of Gongadze: people, which purposefully write on forums texts which are the concerted constituents of PR-campaigns. So on a forum simultaneously with press appear evidences of eyewitnesses that "Gongadze saw on own eyes in Lviv" (for this moment he was dead already 3 months). On the forum appeared persons who write a lot of empty texts or curses. Later appeared specialists aimed for personal emotional irritation of definite participants of forum. (from the history of Maidan.org – *Наталка Зубар: Спочатку було слово. І слово було ... (частина I)* // URL: <http://maidan.org.ua/static/mai/1133887328.html> 06-12-2005)

hackers and one turns successful. Popular opposition resources, for example "Obozrevatel", were also exposed to the attacks. In addition internet-users developed new information resources – pomarancha.info, president.biz.ua, which helped opposition mass media in preparation of news. On many sites presenting different categories of resources, obviously indicated about support of Yuschenko and conviction of tyranny of authorities. Providers supported Yuschenko and offered free access to the popular resources. In particular, provider of "Mirotel" within the framework of action "Orange Internet" from December, 4 2004 provided free dialup-access to the leading Ukrainian and foreign news resources (and not only of opposition). Duration of one session was 45 minutes. In the message on provider's site was written the ideological explanation:

Revolution is possibility to defend the freedom.
 Freedom is possibility to think how it is desirable.
 Thinking is possibility to perceive information correctly.
 Information is possibility correct to understand a world correctly.
 Internet is the possibility to get information freely.
Mirotel is Technologies which do free!

On the forum of the "Ukrajinska pravda" was information about free access to the political sites: "Ukrajinska pravda", "Obozrevatel", "Maidan", "Sila naroda", "Dzerkalo nedeli", site of Yuschenko).

However, a situation substantially changed after revolution, exactly network technologies became one of basic elements of campaign of Party of regions on elections 2006. According to Central Election Committee from 126 registered parties only 64 parties had pages in Internet. Verification of these pages shows the enough low level of their development that was complicated by a necessity to create parties blocks which were not identified with parties and their pages. As a result appeared unstructured web-space (that, however, also characteristics for Russian political Internet), there are only separate parties groups in Internet, consisted of party's official page, page of leader, and some information editions. So, for a block "Ne Tak!" (Not so!) it was page of SDPU(u), smaller parties generally do not address to Internet-electorate. According to rating system Bigmir BJUT (Block of J. Timoshenko), Party of regions and Our Ukraine were the most popular web-sites. Sometimes pages of leaders were more popular than pages of parties. So, the personal site of Timoshenko hold 27 place in rating of political information resources on Bigmir (9247 visitors), while the site of BJUT hold 52 place (3102 visitors), and Party of Regions hold 53 place (3019 visitors), site of Yanukovich for elections 2006 – 91 place (756 visitors)³.

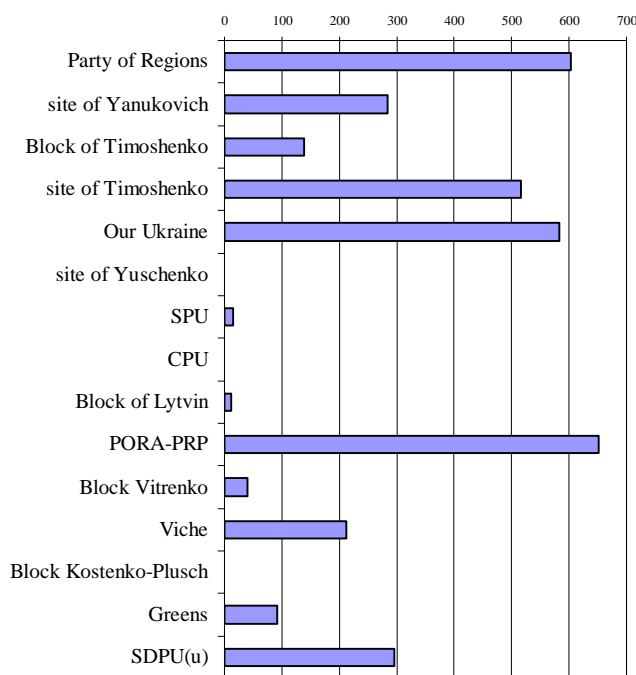


Fig. 1. Size of Ukrainian parties' networks (according Google)

Google complements this statistics by analysis of quantity of references to the sites of parties; in most cases this information represents the size of network which includes the representatives of parties. It is necessary to pay special attention of activations of Party of

³ Statistics of Bigmir March, 28 2006

regions in Internet and mobile communications in comparison to elections 2004. BJUT also started an active network campaign and created projects "Electronic democracy" and "Ideal country". In some moments, the networks campaigns of BJUT and PR even have likeness – networks of supporters of party are approximately identical for example, in both cases there were an official party site, site of leader, and some sites-partners. At the same time, actual leader on creation of network group coalition party PORA-PRP was not able to get in parliament and Internet-audience was not able to become deciding in its campaign.

Statistics of distribution of regional and international requests for these pages indicates the level of interest to parties in net audience: for PR was not the basic user of information (only 40%), more interested in party was Donetsk (14,6%), Kharkiv (8,7%), Dnipropetrovsk (6,8%), Odessa (5,1%), i.e. on a south and east of country. Most interested abroad for PR was Russia – 7,7%; for BJUT Kyiv was more important – 57%, there are on the average 3-4% of users in other cities, here the geographical distributing is more stretched along country – for example in Dnipropetrovsk 6,7%, and in Lviv – 5,2%. The most considerable attention to BJUT abroad was in Russia – 3,4% and Germany – 1,8%.

Network activation of Party of regions appeared on elections 2004, on the site of Yanukovich <http://www.ya2004.com.ua/>. However, according to features, his site lost competition, that was corrected at preparation to elections of 2006. Two sites served as a basic network platform: site of Party of regions and personal site of Yanukovich. The last used the conception developed in 2004, when party site comes forward as portal. It should be noted that site <http://www.ya2004.com.ua/> did not disappear, but changed content – on elections 2006 it reminded blog, where interesting moments and comments of parliament elections were written down. Judging on the amount of publications, general attention was paid to Yanukovich (43 publications), UES (United Economic Space) and Russia (26), Russian gas (18) elections 2006 (17).

Information portal of Party of regions was main network element of PR "Choice 2006" <http://www.vybir2006.org.ua/>. Primary objective of project was to collect within the framework of one resource the most complete and actual information about motion of campaign and parliament election 2006. On a site it is possible to find information about candidates, thus not only biographic information but also information about their activity, interests, partners, that will give to understand possibility, who is who in the politics of Ukraine.³⁹

Youth Union of Party of regions initiated SMS-referendum about giving to Russian status of second state language⁴⁰. A project was realized by Russian content-provider of Inform-Mobil under the direction of son of Yanukovich. In opinion of organizers, young people are their special purpose audience, that's why WAP-portal wap.smsregions.com was additionally opened. It was also planned to add by a voice portal and SMS-waiting room of Party of regions. It is necessary to mark that a similar project was conducted from in September 2004 in Russia and was named "оСмыСли выборы в Украине" ("think over elections in Ukraine"). Then it was offered to vote for Ukrainian residents in Russia, with the purpose of bringing in of their attention to presidential elections. As a result 53,27% (10904) voted for Yanukovich, 46,25% for Yuschenko. In 2006 SMS-referendum got 314 629 persons. "For" Russian language in Ukraine voted 256 610 participants (81,55%) and 58 019 persons (18,45%) – voted "against". The numbers, in opinion of organizers, prove that the chosen theme is "extraordinarily actual for Ukraine and Party of regions will realize the idea of giving to Russian status of second state language at once after ascension to power according to results of parliament elections"⁴¹. However, such action is necessary to estimate as publicity action of PR, because results of such referendum were not representative (like the phone questioning conducted by TV channels). Publicity character of action also showed character of news on this theme – it was mainly given only percent correlation of voices.

The role of additional instrument of influence was implemented by personal site of Yanukovich www.ya2006.com.ua, which had some communication elements. Mainly, his popularity was based on active forum, where the key themes of PR were Russian language, relationships with Russia, social protection etc. The feature of the page was Ukrainian, English and Russian versions, what wasn't presented on the official page of Party of regions (only in Russian and English). In 2004 there were only Russian and Ukrainian versions on personal site. Information resources were divided in ten parts: "Main page", "Our choice", "Meet closer", "Headquarters", "We together", "Press service informs", "Press center", "Photo", "Contact", "Sitemap". In part "Our choice" was presented statements of former Prime-minister, his electoral program and "Factor of Yanukovich" with results of Yanukovich's government. In part "Headquarters" was placed information about activity of staff. Current information about Yanukovich placed in "Press service informs" and "Logic of our choice". Second-rate resources were "Photo archive", "Contact" and "Sitemap".

There are a lot of images of Yanukovich on his personal page: Yanukovich in a working helmet or go for sport or in spectacles... By character his page was attacking. Literally every saying of Yanukovich scolds present power. A feed-back is fine, on the main page we can see letters of workers, with the wishes to the leader of opposition "not to give up". Thus all this voices is placed on the most visible place on a main page. The feed-back also is active, however the hottest theme appeared not political but economic: "What means a budget to our purses?". There was also a separate part in a menu "Pressure and oppressions".

Comparison of sites of Yuschenko and Yanukovich on elections 2004 shows a small difference in approaches of creation of image pages. Statements and report for the press diffuses press-center on a site for Yanukovich. The results of activity not presented separately. Nevertheless, shortly they are considered in sections Factor of Yanukovich with the results of his government and Press center which covers activity of Yuschenko. Site of Yuschenko maintains the news line in a resource Modernity. Site of Yanukovich has only the Ukrainian news in a resource Press-service informs. Audio and video statements were placed on the site of Yuschenko as separate section, when it is absent on site of Yanukovich. Analyzing the information criteria of Yuschenko and Yanukovich in Net we came to conclusion, that information elements are enough well presented on sites, they respond to theoretical requests and also necessities of users. It is necessary also to specify that information functions of site of Yuschenko (7) prevail above the information functions of Yanukovich's site (5).

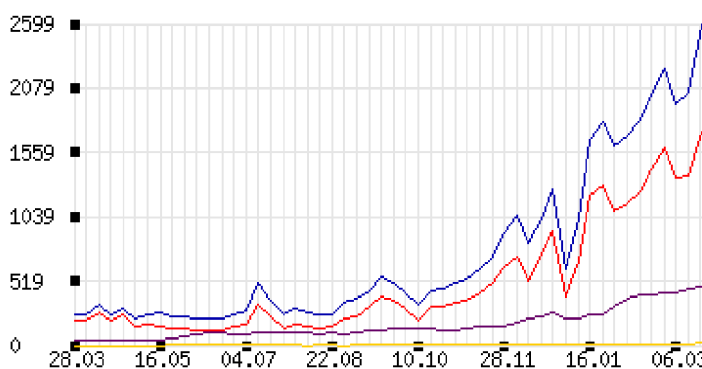


Fig.2. Audience of web-site of Party of regions in March 2005 – March 2006
 (data of Bigmir, upper line – amount of visitors per day)

In communications criteria the site of Yanukovich yields to the site of Yuschenko 3:5 accordingly. The analysis shows that to part Contacts on the page of Yanukovich has a separate page. Site of Yuschenko does not give such information. Nevertheless, as regards an e-mail of leader and web-master, it has Yuschenko and Yanukovich don't have. Such important elements as Form for request of information and Forum was absent on sites in 2004 and appeared in 2006. Possibility to receipt of information by delivery of necessary materials and news to e-mail of user is absent on a site Yanukovich. Cyber questionnaires were not conducted on the site of Yanukovich and Yuschenko constantly provided them. Both pages have searching system.

Site of Yuschenko "My Ukraine" did not change conception for period 2004-2006. It is a personal page created before presidential elections 2004 and devoted to activity of President of Ukraine. On a page there are minimum of communications elements, this rather presentation of position of Yuschenko. Therefore, a site begins with words "I can't be objective to Ukraine, because I love her! I believe in Ukraine!". Absence of external page links to page of President of Ukraine means that it wasn't a key element in network political communication of "Our Ukraine".

In 2004 on his site constantly renew information. The basic resources of site of Yuschenko were Modernity, Past, Social activity and Private space. Resource Modernity gives information about elections 2004, contains news line, public "waiting room", interviews and analytical articles. Current activity of Yuschenko is presented in a press-centre and in on-line conference. Second-rate resources were Photo, Audio and video, Archive, Calendar of events, Requests, Search and Mail, which enables to get fresh information from the site on separate themes. Materials are sent as annotations with hyperlinks on complete texts.

"Our Ukraine" designed a site in a party color – orange. Reading it is possible in Ukrainian, Russian and English. In a menu there is separate section "How to become member". Everything is described in detail. Among news on prominent position placed important articles, for example speech of one of party leaders Katerinchuk "There is no alternative to union of "orange" in parliament". Also a lot of messages were devoted to the power problem. Leit-motif is "Gas revenge will not pass". Interesting find is heading "How it was" with detailed exposition of events 2004, all events of Orange revolution.

Block of Timoshenko proposed for elections two initiatives "Electronic democracy» and "Ideal country». Timoshenko presented both projects on congress of her block on December, 7 2005⁴². As she said, both projects were not pre-election, but "union of intellect of people and power is their purpose". Constructor of freedom "Ideal country" is association of internet-communication, where everyone who has suggestion will be able to give it, to vote and analyze. Project "Electronic democracy" will let to every

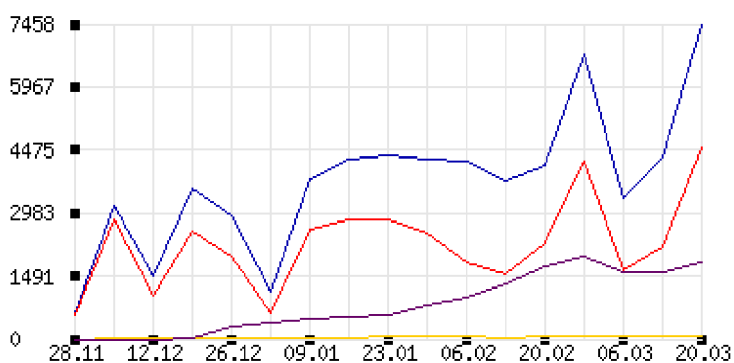


Fig.3. Audience of personal web-site of J. Timoshenko in November 2005 – March 2006 (data of Bigmir, upper line – amount of visitors per day)

citizen to be attached to law making activity at state level and will be based in Internet, will enable to everybody, if he sees, where we have illogical legislation, to give the suggestion, and faction of BJUT will take into account it in preparation of documents in parliament. In addition, in the public, opened mode every amendment will be analyzed to the law.

Site of Timoshenko is well developed, however it had permanent attacks of hackers and creation of the sites-clones directed to discredit Timoshenko. So, on May, 8, 2005 on the top page of site the report appeared suddenly: "All web-administrators are beavers!" and greeting from hackers. Also along with the personal site of Timoshenko there is a site very alike by an address with negative information about Timoshenko. The real site was designed in cold rose-grey tones. This gamut a little pushes away. Although in all other a resource works operatively. At a site three languages is Ukrainian, Russian and English. There is an active feed-back.

Socialist party of Ukraine designed a site in ruby colors. On a main page a slogan was placed out "Build Europe in Ukraine!". Among most actual, placed on the first page was greeting of President of Ukraine to XXII congress of SPU. Socialists though argue constantly with "orange» authorities, but underline the loyalty. The contacts of socialists are very detailed. The essential elements of offices are given practically for all Ukraine. In news there is no negative. However there are a lot of small news as "December, 27 Kievan socialists will celebrate New Year in kindergarten with kids». Site is Ukrainian only.

Communist party of Ukraine created a modern page with comfortable menu and a lot of news, which renew constantly. Page has plenty burning slogans i.e. "D-day come», "100 years of Gorlovka armed revolt", "Fight»in the Shamrylo street: deputies met in hand-to-hand fight with "Alpha", "Communist China collects economic speed" etc. But successes of Ukraine have another point of view "So-called "gas war" with Russia is result of the economic diversion planned by the Ukrainian regime against our country and people". The whole site is only in Russian. Contact information of communists is disjointed. Many telephones in regions are not present. The forum of CPU is active, the most active is theme of protest group CheGevara (13066 posts), which describes pickets all over the country. However, as the participants of forum mark, protest motion of communists has bad organization and does not have analytical support, as in Russia is CPRF. Other popular theme of communist forum is theme Anecdotes mainly with criticism of Yuschenko.

Other political parties during elections 2006 did not use Internet widely, separate technologies were used only. For example, many sites had multimedia files of interviews with politicians. Former leader of staff of Yuschenko A. Zinchenko created a site in zone .tv, which contained only digital videofiles. After Orange revolution passed the slump of activity of Internet-audience, and popularity of internet-editions which published unverified or distorted information about activity of governments of Timoshenko and Ekhanurov, about Yuschenko grew on this background. Among such editions it is possible to markVlasti.Net, which is popular mainly in Russia⁴³. Thus, according to G.Pavlovsky⁴⁴, movement against Kuchma in 2000 resulted birth of Ukrainian political Internet, in 2004 it got an impulse for structuration, however in future political Internet-sphere was formed only at the level of parties' web sites with weak consolidation by the channel of RSS, which have only BJUT and SDPU(u).

2. RUSSIA: REAL AND VIRTUAL POLITICAL FIGHT UNDER THE INFLUENCE OF V.PUTIN

Modern political technologies in Russia develop under influence of the president V.Putin, actually under the influence of Fund of effective policy (FEP) of G.Pavlovsky, whom in 1999 Kreml ordered a negative PR-campaign against movement "Fatherland-All Russia" and "Jabloko» (Apple) of Yavlinsky⁴⁵. Therefore elections in 2000 named "without alternatives", and consisted mostly of campaign of image improvement of Putin. His image, from severe fighter with terrorists, "strong little man" (on expression of The Times), gradually grew into a humane leader, energetic, family. Reverse effect of this process was decline of efficiency of political technologies and possibilities for the political fight at parties.

However, Russian parties seek to use last technological improvements for work with an electorate. So, Internet became political technology in Russia yet in 1998, when there was no large Internet audience yet. Great number of initiatives of application of Internet in politics appeared. So, journalist of the "Russian newspaper" V. Tretiakov created the virtual "network state" with all attributes of power – constitution, special services, army, parties and even mafia. The state was named Republic, precisely www.respublika.ru. Leader of party "Apple" of Yavlinsky in 2001 suggested using Internet for public control after elections and data communications about elections with the help of Internet. Parties use network for canvassing, researches and "referendums". For example, G.Zuganov (leader of CPRF) in September 2002 initiated "referendum" through the popular internet edition "Gazeta.ru". In 2003 on elections to Duma politicians conducted active communication with Internet audience with Internet-conferences in popular net-editions.

Also Internet was used for provocations. For example, a project known as "Claw", placed on Russian server for free web-pages and contained the list of home addresses and telephones of many known officials, decodings of telephones negotiations, and also some details. "Claw" was closed by special services after a couple of hours after appearance in Web. But, its second version appeared was "Claw-2" remained much longer, as was placed in the USA. As specialists assert, "Claws" were the rehearsal, verification of efficiency of Internet for "untwisting" of scandal that showed up in 1999 and 2003. So in 1999 one site was added to the group of sites linked with mayor of Moscow Luzhkov, www.luzhkov.ru. On the design of top page it was almost identical to the personal site of mayor of www.luzhkov.ru, but with negative information. Internet was filled by banners of site, which were small political leaflets with slogans: "In the Moscow taiga was found a man who didn't know that Luzhkov was criminal». A parasitic site appeared before elections 2003 and at Zuganov – www.zuganov.ru, where the leader of Russian communists looked not prestige. For example, on the main page of site of Zuganov was represented in a brassiere. A site contained an unnormative vocabulary and caricatures on the leaders of CPRF. After elections a site left off to function.

General politician of Russian Internet is V. Putin⁴⁶. Creation of web-image began in 1999, when FEP created site vvp.ru (Vote Vladimir Putin), which flouted electoral law by publishing preliminary parliamentary and presidential election results during vote counting, against the ineffectual protests of the Central Election Commission and Procuracy. In 2000 there was an interesting situation, when elections of president did not yet pass, and the official site of President of Russian Federation was opened in Runet <http://president.kremlin.ru/>. On a site, except for Administration of President of Russian Federation, was presented position of Putin with biography, working schedule on the post of President of Russia, speeches and publications⁴⁷. This image is maintained by FEP that forms virtual image of Putin and engaged in cleaning of network image of president by collaboration of providers, Ministry of communications and FAPSI⁴⁸. The result of such work was, for example, site ["v.putin.narod.ru"](http://v.putin.narod.ru) (placed on a free server "narod.ru") with official biography of president. Another "image" site of Putin is "Site of Vladimir Putin" <http://www.putin2004.ru/>, narrating about the results of activity in 2000-2004 and prospects of Russia. A unique site that was "unovercame" was ["www.putin.ru"](http://www.putin.ru). According to L.March this page was unofficial page of president of Russia. Here visitors could (in addition to being informed about the president's speeches and activities in great detail) post opinions about Putin, view jokes and anecdotes, download or send in pictures of him and even view Putin's current location via a flashing red dot on a global map. Also notable was the possibility for visitors to receive their own free internet domain name '@putin.ru'⁴⁹. From a few known anti-putin resources (www.antiputin.net, www.putin-loh.com) only a few left to work. For example, portal "Putin-NO!"» <http://putinu.net/>.

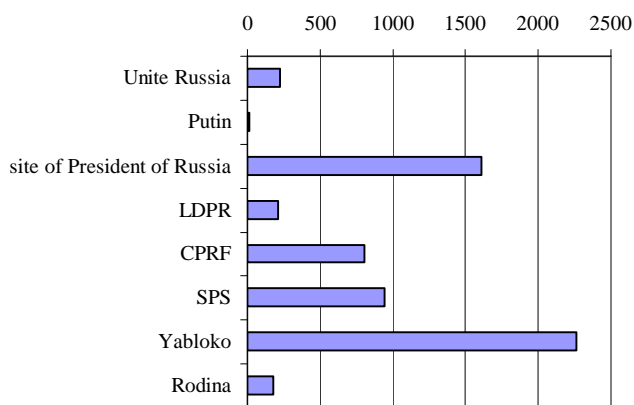


Fig. 4. Size of Russian parties' networks (according Google)

According to Rambler popularity of parties' internet-resources in 2005 was: "Yabloko" - 412 persons per day, 2530 hits; official site of CPRF (www.cprf.ru) - 495 persons per day, 3689 hits; www.kprf.ru - 1943 persons per day and 4684 hits; official site of SPS – 605 persons per day, 2845 hits; official site of "Unite Russia" - 370 persons per day, 1458 hits. As well as in Ukraine, party web-space of Russia is not structured; there are only separate parties of information-communication groups. Special feature is that remoteness from power (Apple, SPS) caused developed networks of sites-partners.

"Unite Russia". Status of progovernment party is seen well: there are links to the sites of government (www.government.gov.ru) and president of Russian Federation (president.kremlin.ru). News block was done well; all what is going on is presented in eight sections: policy, elections, economy, international relations, regions, society, sport, culture. A single disadvantage is that news is not grouped by dates. On the site of "UR" has function "Search". It is important also to mark small activity of forum on www.er.ru, and also enormous base of photos – the greatest from all, that it is possible to find on the sites of political parties. Party slogans placed on the top page: Fair Society, Sovereign Power, Powerful Economy, Great Future, and Deserved Life.

Before elections to Duma in 2003 the leader of party "UR" of Gryzlov created not only personal site (limited amount of information about him, it was possible to find only on the site of Ministry of Internal affairs), but also site of supporters of Gryzlov (<http://www.gryzlov.ru/>). Information about activity of Gryzlov appeared and on the renewed site of party "UR" (<http://www.edinros.ru/>), where appeared ten new sections informing about achievements and plans of this political party. News from the regional departments of party were added, practically all sections of site were extended, the whole series of the sections devoted to activity of party (such as: "events"; "projects and actions"; "law making"; "elections 2003"; "conventions and conferences", "public waiting room" and etc) appeared, that changed the image of network resource of party. A site became more colorful with illustrations and different links. It is important to mark the meter of amount of party members appeared in the right corner of site of UR.

CPRF. According to the leader of CPRF G.Zuganov in 2000 every regional committee of party must have a site with special youth page. While, according to his opinion, in the resources of communist party "yet it is not enough fresh, interesting material"⁵⁰. In 2005 in Report of Presidium of Central committee of CPRF "About the methods of agitation-propagandist and informative work of party on a modern stage"⁵¹ it was marked that the main task of CPRF was "occupation of first position in protest " to increase popularity of CPRF, popularity of its representatives, about forming of attractive image of party as protector of interests of people and country. For this purpose were used mass actions, which came into notice and showed party as political organization able to adapt oneself in the conditions of mass culture. One of the forms of information work was SMS and Internet. So, Cprf.ru gradually passes to the mode of operations of news agency with a modern technique which will let to create Internet-television and radio. Technical platform of Cprf.ru allows to place videoinformation and to save it for users. Another site was creation of archive of agitations. This is point of "acceleration" of agitation products, both by activists and citizens.

Cprf.ru oriented on monitoring of articles on a left and social theme with a lot of polemic materials and analysts. Besides, site is resource for regional organizations with a lot of personal pages. Special place has forum of Cprf.ru created for strengthening of influence of CPRF, strengthening of its positions as the largest opposition party of Russia. Forum of CPRF exists due to activity of the volunteers-communists included in Internet-pervichka that means high activity. Statistics shows: section "Reflection about strategy of development CPRF" - 454 themes and 3859 messages, section of "Discussion about articles published on Cprf.ru" - 2096 messages, section "Modernization of CPRF image" - 1908 messages etc. CPRF was the first party, which Internet-pervichka united all active communists of Internet and coordinated activity through a forum. Activists of Internet-pervichka take part in different actions for strengthening of authority of party and bringing in of new supporters, beginning from participation in Internet-questioning such as "Whom would you vote for?" and agitation on Internet-forums. In some votings it resulted in leadership of CPRF and Zuganov.

LDPR. It is possible to say about page of LDPR that it is "theater of one actor" with a lot of information about the leader V.Zhyrynovsky. Those, who will visit section "Leader" will find biography of Zhyrynovsky, links on his last books, will be able to read the texts of songs made by Zhyrynovsky, listen and even to get audiofiles of these songs, and also to look the videofile of appearances of leader of LDPR in State Duma. Special attention must be paid to section of

"Reincarnation of Zhyrynovsky" with photos of Zhyrynovsky as Stalin or in the clothes of Ivan Grozny. In addition, this site has comfortable section "On the plenary meeting of Duma" where it is possible to see the complete record of Zhyrynovsky's appearances, however much of them do not update in time. Such problems also had section "Press-service reports". The large section of site is "Actions», with citations and actions of Zhyrynovsky. Especially original part of this section was "Return Alaska and will rescue America»⁵².

SPS. SPS.ru was created in 2001 after foundation of party. N.Shavshukova, supervising the official site of SPS, said: "One of features of our site is position openness. We publish opinions for and against. In addition, SPS.ru has special news line, with all events relating to party and its main subject – defense of human rights, civil society, economic and political reforms... There is possibility of voting on site». Before elections to Duma 2003 representatives of SPS party elite conducted some Internet-conferences. On-line version of conferences was also accessible to the visitors of party site. Such attention of SPS to users of Internet resulted growth of popularity of party. So, results of the third round of action "Naklikaj Dumu" (November, 19 2003) showed that SPS was on the first place with 25% of supporters. News line update one time per hour, announcements also are updated in time, interface is simple and comfortable. The function of voting looks good, because besides possibility to answer and look the results of the current questioning it is possible to visit the archive of voting results for 15 previous questioning. Another notable section is "About our party", where the English-language articles and documents of SPS are placed. Site of SPS had a lot of network provocations, namely on behalf of SPS was sent spam with provocative information and directed on the dissidence of democratic forces, in particular, SPS and "Yabloko". Dozens of sites also have antiadvertising of SPS, sometimes provocators interfere discussion on the forum of SPS.ru⁵³.

Yabloko⁵⁴ has site with structure of the traditional information-analytical internet edition with comments of position of party on major political events. As well as on site of SPS, a news line works excellent. Large amount of news frequently update on a news page. But if news all fresh, documents or results of voting sometimes are old. Also site has search function and link to the official site of Duma (www.duma.gov.ru).

Before elections to Duma in 1999 Yabloko had popularity in Internet, however results of action "Naklikaj Dumu" in 2003 Yabloko did not rise higher than the second place, and it is related not only to active position of SPS but also to weakening of position of party Yabloko in virtual society. Party revised the priorities and did not practically develop the network resources, leaving the level of the network presence, basically at the level of 1999. At the same time appeared number of sites agitating against Yabloko. For example, site of movement "Yabloko without Yavlinsky" (<http://www.yabloko.su/>). Notably, the design of site was practically identical to the design of official site of Yabloko, however content differed.

In 2000 Yavlinsky and Yabloko used technology of creation of visibility of support of politician by an internet-audience by the organized internet-voting of supporters of Yavlinsky. Instrument of such advancement was questioning on site of "Nezavisimaja gazeta" (www.ng.ru), valuable for their results that were published in print version of newspaper. Since October, 1999 NG weekly set to visitors of site a question "Who will be the next president of Russia?" From data of the first questioning (on October, 23-25, 1999, 880 persons), Putin with small advantage won Primakov (33,6% against 30,2%), Yavlinsky with Zuganov smaller results (accordingly 12,4% and 8%). In questioning, conducted on January, 15-17, 2000 (1050 persons) Putin got 52,2 %, while Primakov – 13,3%, Yavlinsky - 14,2 %, and Zuganov - 9 %. Since the end of January with every next network presidential measuring of "NG" Yavlinsky collected more and more voices, as a result NG with not "proYabloko" position was forced to go out with headings: "Rating of Putin slumped", "Primakov was divided voices with Yavlinsky", "Yavlinsky saves leadership in Internet", "In Network Yavlinsky still ahead of Putin", "Yavlinsky again ahead". According to questioning on March, 4-6, 2000 (874 persons) 44% of votes on the site of "NG" considered that the future president of Russia will be select Yavlinsky, and only 40,4% - Putin (Zuganov had 8,1%). Finally, in the middle of

March "NG" explained stable leadership of Yavlinsky in internet-questioning that distorted a real picture from the intentional mass voting of supporters of Yabloko and changed the theme of question on a site (it was offered to the users to express opinion about probability of the second round). However by that time the theme of leadership of Yavlinsky in Internet already got in other newspapers. Texts with headings "Yavlinsky is our president" and "In Internet wins Yavlinsky" appeared in such mass newspapers as "Komsomolskaya pravda " and "Moscovsky komsomolets".

Conclusions

The analysis of the most active political actors of information society in transitional societies of Ukraine and Russia shows likeness in principle approaches to organization of network party space as the basic environment of modern political communication. Development of party Internet in Russia was conditioned by relations between basic political parties. In this case, development of network communications coincides with ascension to power of V. Putin, whose tactic was to use Internet to discredit opponents and clear image of new president of Russia. In Russian conditions of federal organization of power attitude toward the Internet on the contrary must strengthen the regional structures of power (for example as it is Germany), when thematic management and co-ordination of actions is made for functioning of the political system. However, as the use of Internet is limited by cities, Web doesn't become basis for co-ordination of actions of authorities and population. It is just additional instrument of political fight of ruling elite. Ukraine tried to adopt such experience in 2001-2004. However, at the same level of Internet use and attempts of the regime of Kuchma to save power, Internet became the generator of principles of social behavior. The first network protests appeared in 2001 and authority tried to regulate network information streams. Such forced "blockade" formed network organization more flexible and able to counteract to the campaign of Yanukovich and to cover and coordinate actions across the whole country by Internet-technologies. However, Ukrainian political parties substantially did not change approaches to Internet using after presidential elections 2004 that resulted in reduction of sizes of network of supporters of "Our Ukraine" and improvement of network technologies in Party of regions. Timoshenko became most active in Internet, she used "viral" network political technologies in campaign. Thus, at definite likeness of Ukrainian and Russian virtual party space, general difference was between them in forming of network resource – in Ukraine there were some parties web-groups which conduct political fight; in Russia leadership was saved after Putin and pro-president party "Unite Russia" with main competitors – "official opposition" as CPRF and real opposition – SPS and Yabloko, which declared Internet as prospective resource for opposition actions.

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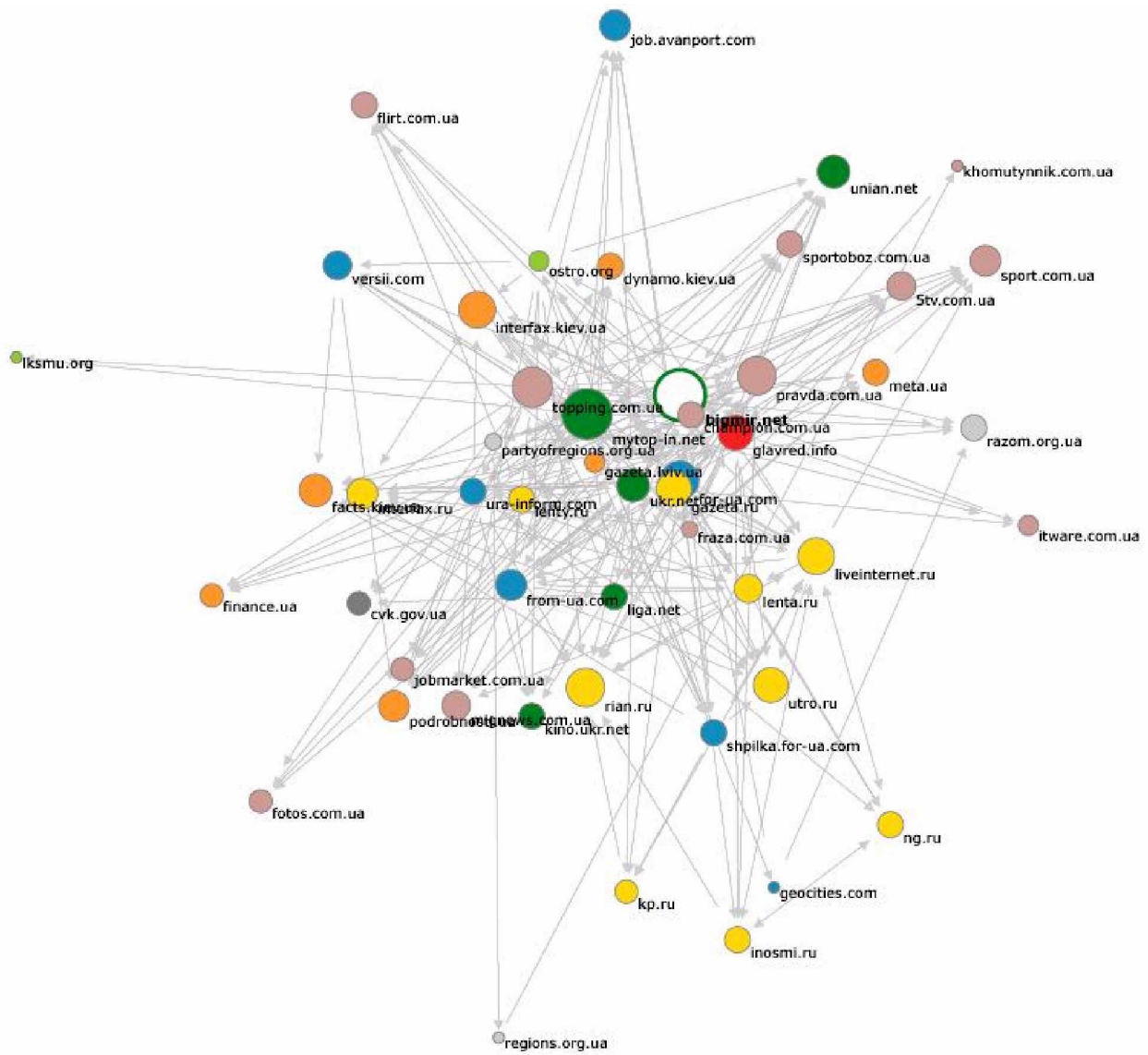


Fig. 5. Ukrainian parties have no strong influence on web-communications. Analysis showed active role of Internet-editions both Ukrainian and Russian (monitoring of Issuercrawler).

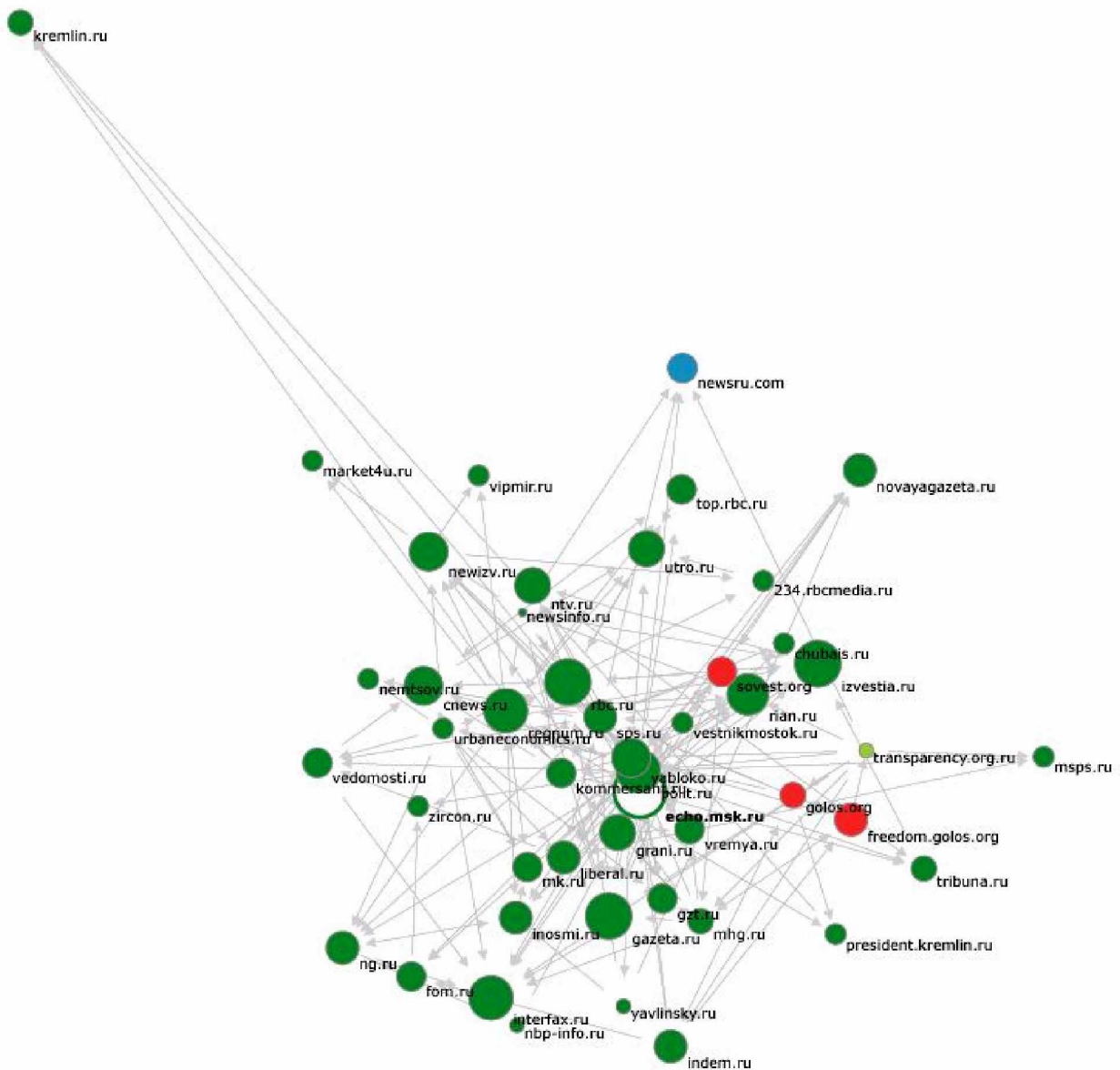


Fig. 6. Russian parties are also based on active participation of Internet-editions and political web-space is more homogeneous without influence of foreign media and significant role of Kremlin (monitoring of Issuercrawler)