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Articles

Tourist Potentials of the Rural Settlement Vranještica

Jelisavka Bulatović ^{a, *}, Goran Rajović ^{b, c}

^a Academy of Technical – Art Professional Studies, Serbia

^b Cherkas Global University (International Network Center for Fundamental and Applied Research), Washington, USA

^c Volgograd State University, Volgograd, Russian Federation

Abstract

The rural settlement of Vranještica is located in the northeastern part of Montenegro (Kolašin municipality). It extends in the zone 42 ° 47' 09 "north latitude and 19 ° 37' 35" east longitude. It borders the rural settlements of Rečine in the west, Gnjili Potok in the southeast and Bare Kraljske in the south. It is located at an altitude of 1519 m and covers an area of 2.480 hectares. The traffic-geographical position of the rural settlement of Vranještica is unfavorable, because it is located far from the main roads. Except for the road Andrijević – Trešnjevik – Mateševo – Kolašin, no other important road intersects or touches this rural settlement. Vranještica is 44.6 km from Berane, 29.6 km from Andrijević and 11.2 km from Mateševo. Isolated traffic-geographical position adversely affects its economic and social development. The paper discusses the natural and social benefits for tourism development. The results of the research indicate that without greater economic potential in this settlement, there is no wider existential base of the population. Bearing in mind that the studied geo-area has a predominantly agricultural population, agriculture should, all the more so, play its undoubtedly large and notable role in future economic development. Tourism as an additional source of income for the inhabitants of Vranještica could certainly improve their quality of life.

Keywords: Vranještica, rural settlement, natural conditions, social conditions.

1. Introduction

In academic literature, development strategies and documents, mountain areas are most often placed in the context of geographical and geomorphological specificity, which is certainly deserved. The specific configuration of the terrain has resulted in a greater degree of conservation of natural values than is the case in more physically accessible areas such as lowland terrain, which is why mountain areas are most often analyzed from the aspect of environment, ecosystem conservation and biodiversity. However, the proclamation of the International Year of Mountains in 2002 aroused the interest of various professions in these areas and gave rise to a focus on other challenges – the preservation of population capacity and with them the preservation of specific

* Corresponding author

E-mail addresses: jelisavka.bulatovic@gmail.com (J. Bulatović), dkgoran.rajovic@gmail.com (G. Rajović)

customs, culture and traditions (Pantić, 2019). In terms of tourism, Vranjestica is an unaffirmed village due to poor traffic accessibility and isolation in relation to the urban settlement of Kolasin. The settlement is mostly reached by macadam roads, which can be used mainly by the best off-road vehicles. The settlement has been affected by depopulation, and households are gradually becoming elderly (Bulatović and Rajović, 2017; Bulatović, Rajović, 2020). Tourism could be an important factor in keeping the young population in the settlement. In order for this to happen, it is necessary to invest in road and communal infrastructure as well as to educate the local population in order to encourage active participation (Bulatović, Rajović, 2018; Bulatović, aRajović, 2020). It is also necessary to improve the marketing activity in order for this settlement to become recognizable in the tourist offer of the municipality of Kolašin, but also the whole of Montenegro. This must first happen at the municipal, regional and ultimately state level (see Park, Yoon, 2011; Ghaderi, Henderson, 2012; Bălan, Burghilea, 2015).

2. Methodology

Qualitative methods were used in this study. Data obtained from settlement surveys and observations, interviews with the residents Vranještica. The study was also supported by published literature, foto, development plans and related written sources (see Chen, 2017; Manaf et al, 2018; Guan et al, 2019; Bulatović and Rajović, 2020).

3. Results and discussion

It has been known since ancient Greece that the rural area attracted people to spend a holiday and a comfortable life. All this is evidenced by various examples of trips to rural areas, such as trips to the Olympics, visits to prophecies and healing springs. Even in Roman times, travel and vacations in rural areas are known: in thermal baths and villas (summer houses) built in natural areas (Weber, Mikačić, 1995). Forms / types of travel similar to today's tourist trips also appeared in the Middle Ages. Typical examples of travel at that time are pilgrimages and hunting trips ... Natural and social attractions as the basis for the development of rural tourism are the subject of research in the works of numerous authors. Among them Jurcan (1989) the development of tourism in rural areas is based on natural and social attractions. Kušen (2002) provides a strategic framework for the development of rural tourism as part of the concept of the overall development of rural areas and rural renewal. Rural areas are still very interesting for tourists. There are several reasons for this, and one of them is that rural areas provide a variety of entertainment and leisure opportunities (see Ružić, Demonja, 2013). Therefore, in the text that follows, we point out the natural attractiveness and social convenience for the development of tourism in the rural settlement of Vranještica.

The natural attractions of Vranještica important for the development of tourism are:

Relief units with their morphology, altitude and slope of the terrain represent the basic spatial part of the physical-geographical environment with multiple purposes important for tourist functions. Tourist value is manifested through morphological, hydrographic and biogeographical phenomena and processes. The connection between relief units and tourist potentials as a future carrier of development when it comes to the rural settlement of Vranještice can be twofold and complex. Forms of relief and altitude stand out as independent tourist functions, which are important when choosing a location – a place for holding, for example, tourist events, in accordance with the needs of the organizers. As a rule, depending on the form of the event, a location is chosen near individual facilities that have a certain tourist value or serve the needs of organizers and visitors. Ključ (1.973 m above sea level) is the highest peak of the considered geo-space. As a special value of the future tourist development of Vranještica, we single out the impressive branches of Ključ: Krstac (1.770 m above sea level), Čkala (1.804 m above sea level), Klisura (1.827 m above sea level), Lumer (1.863 m above sea level) Čupovi (1.885 m above sea level), Goveđa glava (1.897 m above sea level)... It is located at an altitude of 1.519 m above sea level and covers an area of 2.480 hectares. Therefore, the relief as a basic physical-geographical environment for the development of tourism can be used to the maximum for tourist purposes, and its extreme characteristics (heights, gorges, waterfalls ...) can be turned into tourist sites attractive for nature lovers, mountaineering, adventure and similar types of tourism of special interest. The forms of relief in the considered geo-space can be especially pronounced when organizing future sports events. For example, the road from Trešnjevik through Lisa and Bački Brdo is

extremely attractive for bicycle races or horse races, which also play a significant role in excursion and sports-recreational tourism. The alluvial plains of the Vranjestička and Suvogorska rivers form the lowest terrains in the considered geo-space. Hence, in a relatively small area, they contribute to the dynamism of space, which together with watercourses makes the most interesting segment of this geo-space. Various attractive tourist attributes can best be seen from the edges of Suva Gora, which are rarely functional lookouts in the area of Vranještica, which can be used as an element of artistic inspiration during future art colonies.



Fig. 1. Vranještica*

Note: A village that enchants with its natural beauties, surrounded by the greenery of deciduous and coniferous forests

Climate conditions. The connection between climatic conditions and manifestation tourism, which seems to us to be the most favorable in the future development of Vranještica, would have a dual character. On the one hand, when organizing and determining the date of the event, especially those in the open, the weather forecast is important, both current and medium-term and long-term, mostly based on meteorological observations and data over many years. On the other hand, each settlement has its own climatic determinant, depending on the climatic zone (mountain), or its microclimate, which depends on the natural and relief features of the location and its environment (for example, proximity to rivers, mountains – Bjelasica, forest belts, altitude, height...). In recent years, visible climate changes have been increasingly taken into account, which are most obvious through two important parameters, namely the increase in average air temperature and the increased frequency of extreme climate events. Climate change is also important for long-term planning of, for example, tourist events, especially sports events that are closely related to and determined by climatic conditions (for example, competition in classic ski disciplines and other outdoor winter sports). There is no meteorological station in Vranještica that measures and records the condition of climatic elements. Climatic characteristics are explained based on data from the Hydrometeorological Institute of Montenegro and the meteorological station Kolašin. Vranještica has a mountain climate. The maximum temperature during the summer can reach 34.1° C, and in the winter, it can drop to – 27.8 ° C. The warmest month is July, with an average air temperature of 14.9 ° C, and the coldest January, with an average temperature

* Figures 1-6 and 8 are taken from the website Vranještica naš zavičaj (Vranještica our homeland) (www.facebook.com)

of -3.9°C . The average annual air temperature is 5.2°C . The average annual rainfall in Vranještica is 2105 mm. The maximum amount of precipitation is 318.5 mm in December, and the lowest in July is 65.9 mm. In the considered geo-area, winds from the direction southwest (30 %), southeast (13 %), south (12 %), northeast (9 %) are most present ... During the year, there is 37 % silence. The highest relative humidity occurs in the winter (90 %). The average annual cloudiness is 6.1 h. The maximum cloudiness is 7.4 hours in December, and the minimum in August is 4.1 hours. The average annual sunshine of Vranještica is 167.4 hours. It reaches its maximum in July (274.3 h). Hence, the relationship between climatic conditions and event tourism is of special importance for tourist places with natural-geographical tourist values such as Vranještica (mountain, localities by the rivers) and tourist localities that represent attractive natural-geographical tourist values.



Fig. 2. View over the village
Note: Rain clouds herald storms

Hydrographic objects (rivers, springs, streams, creeks, ponds ...) are of significant tourist value, especially if they are connected with other natural-geographical values (relief, specific and lush vegetation, climate ...) and inherited anthropogenic motifs. The connection of hydrographic objects and their localities, for example with event tourism, is reflected in the organization of various competitions in water sports such as swimming, fishing, tourist cruises The tourist function of rivers, ie their attractiveness, is conditioned by one very important and current factor today – pollution. Not only the attractiveness but also the utilization (and not only of these!) Of hydrographic tourist values depends on the level of pollution. In case the pollution does not exceed the valid norms and regulations (water temperature, richness of fish stock, conditions for sport fishing, arrangement and accessibility to the shores, traffic connection and visual attractiveness are in themselves an ideal space for organizing various manifestation tourism programs. Vranještička and Suvogorska Reka – are a great bait for nature and fishing lovers. The river flow, flora and fauna, air, clean water, make these rivers unique because they connect water and mountains, wildlife and plants. Rivers create a unique natural mix – elixir of health recovery. In the area of Vranještica there are several independent wellspring. Among the most important are: Vučićev Wellspring, Paljevine, Livadak, Ledni Wellspring, Kojovića Wellspring, Zejov Wellspring, Ivanovića Wellspring... The springs are quite strong, they do not dry out, their water is cold and very pleasant to drink. Exactly what is visible and really true is that the

considered geo-space is full of beauty and warmth, and staying by the wellspring, after walking, gives a person peace that strengthens the soul.



Fig. 3. Vranještička River

Note: Hydrographic pearl of Vranještica

Flora and fauna. The richness of flora and fauna is a significant tourist value. It has a representative opportunity in presenting a tourist location, such as Vranještica. Therefore, it can have a recognizable role, for example, in event tourism. The connection between flora and manifestation tourism primarily depends on the development of agriculture and the preservation of the autochthonous plant eco-composition. In the considered geo - area, belts of different plant composition are thinned: in the lower parts, there are deciduous forests (oak, beech ...), in the higher parts conifers (fir, spruce ...). The mountains are rich in pastures, lush grasses and water springs. Cereals are grown from plant crops: corn, rye, barley, and oats. Fruits are Central European: apples, plums, pears, cherries, walnuts ... Vegetables are grown: potatoes, cabbage, onions, peppers, cucumbers, salads, green beans ... In the area of coniferous forests you can find forest fruits: strawberry, blueberry, raspberry, blackberry ... Geo-area of Vranještica is rich in medicinal herbs: hajduk grass, thyme, mint, St. John's wort .. A special attraction are mushrooms: boletus, morel, champignon ... In areas such as Vranještica with agriculture as the dominant economic activity, the tradition in the way of doing business is also expressed. As Professor Bukurov (1986) would point out, "Extensive arable fields sown with grain food enable a variety of game, a pleasant life." This, in turn, provides an opportunity for the development of sport hunting, ie hunting tourism. Hunting partridges, pheasants, roe deer and wild boar, rabbits ... can also be attractive to foreign hunters, as well as hunting migratory birds".



Fig. 4. Vranješticka blackberry

Notes: healthy fruit and healing properties

The tourist value of events based on flora is reflected in the hygienic-recreational and aesthetic-decorative function. The tourist value is proportional to their wealth and harmony. The animal world of Vranještica is diverse. Of the domestic animals, mainly cattle are raised: cattle, sheep, horses, goats ... Vranještica abounds in katuns: Bačko Brdo, Katunište, Lisa, Krivi Do, Bač, Vukićeva Staja... Hunting game has a special value: bears, wolves, deer, wild boars, rabbits, eagles...



Fig. 5. View of Krivi Do

Note: The beauty of untouched nature and the kindness of the local people are the impression that every person takes from this locality as an indelible, impressive trace that is carried in the heart for the rest of life.

The diversity and richness of the fauna, especially the autochthonous ones, enable the development of hunting and fishing tourism. In addition, traditional customs and modern achievements in the breeding of domestic animals can be used to organize numerous ethnographic, entertainment, economic, professional events. Regarding the importance of fauna for tourist value, sports-recreational and economic-entertainment functions stand out. The economic and entertainment function can be reflected in the presentation of modern achievements in the breeding of domestic animals in the geo-area of Vranještica, and such events can also have various entertainment contents. The climate and natural environment have a significant impact on the tourist value of the flora and fauna of Vranještica. Flora and fauna have multiple significance for human life, not only as part of the diet, but also for economic activity, and in addition to meeting sports and recreational needs should not be neglected social moment – prestige – and as such are important for tourist movements (for example, participation in tourist offers such as hunting, photo safaris or bird watching is often a matter of prestige ..). The aesthetic-decorative function can be especially expressed when organizing entertainment events or as an accompanying element of other functions. The economic and entertainment function of Vranještica can be used to present the way of business and achievements, through various fairs and exhibitions, which may include various accompanying entertainment programs. Due to the social needs for competition and prestige, sports and recreational events are also organized, which would satisfy the sports and recreational function. Thus, events that have a competitive character could be held in Vranještica, such as: equestrian races, exhibitions of dogs, animals... On the other hand, a competition for the best landscaped yard, living space can be organized ... In the end, we should emphasize that the growing need to preserve the natural environment (and within the hygienic-recreational function), creates the need to organize events of ecological and educational content, which by their characteristics can have a professional, economic or entertainment character.



Fig. 6. Suva Gora

Note: A meeting place of untouched nature and tradition

The natural benefits of Vranještica are undoubtedly a respectable potential for the future development of tourism and as such provide the opportunity to practice various: sports-recreational activities, benefits for the development of special needs tourism: rural tourism, hunting tourism, fishing tourism, excursion tourism, hiking – nearby of the studied area is an attractive natural environment ... The natural configuration of the terrain is perfect for hiking and mountaineering. Let us also point out that none of these resources have been used so far.

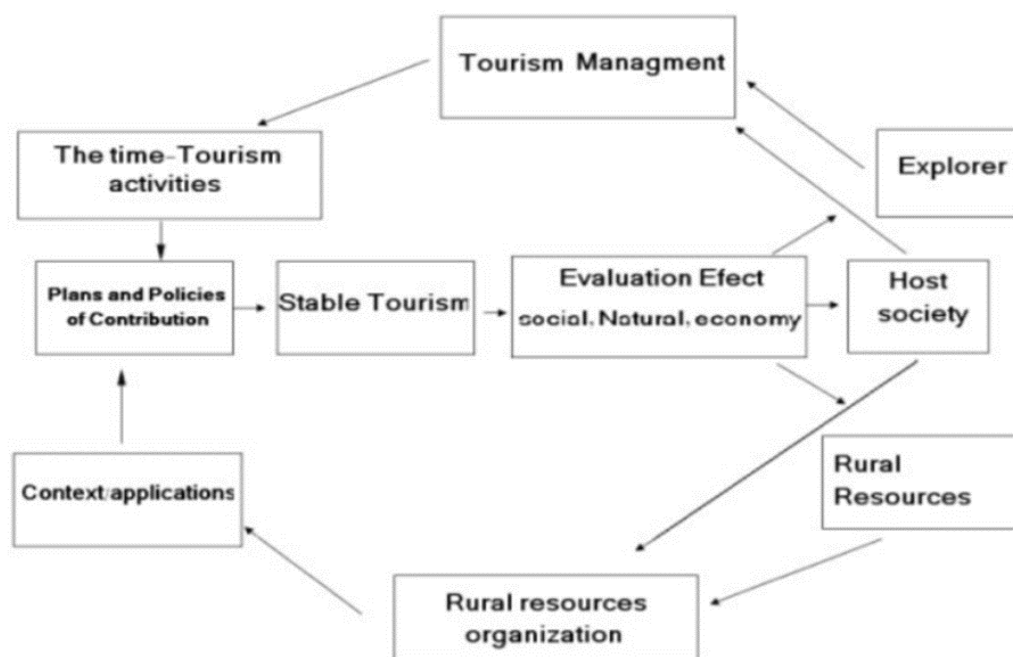


Fig. 7. The component of rural stable tourism ([Sharpley, 2002](#))

According to Egbali and Bakhsh (2011) tourism positive effects the positive effects of tourism are production of income, occupation and new economic resource for local people, assist to reduce on social unbalanced powers, providing job opportunities for maintaining regional population and coefficient of high multiplicity, reviving local culture, enhancing of national dignity and self-confidence, preserving natural and cultural resources. Although tourism development is emphasized with preservation of environment by governments, at the most parts of the world, but, the effects on the zone people are not decisive, because, the concept of preservation or fine quality of environment has not specified as a culture, considerably; specially in our country. Not every one knows the environment outside his house as the environment he lives in and does not have any sense of responsibility to preserve it. Unfortunately, municipality and local managers pay not enough attention to this important matter. Nevertheless, it was found out that the tourism can play a long-term role to flourish local, regional, national and international economic. These successes often depend on how to maintain the high quality of natural environment and it causes the touring applicants to be fully satisfied ([Egbali, Bakhsh, 2011](#)). Tourism negative effects Local price inflation, migration of work power, destruction of the local work structure, participation of women in parttime and low-income works, seasonal patterns of demands, change of local culture patterns, reduction of life patterns, different types of pollutions and residues made by tourists, destroying available animal shelters by constructing new buildings, change of local culture for conforming to tourist's culture, destruction of the zone environment. Tourist's harms includes: Expenses of bringing instruments and facilities e.g. transportation systems, lack attention to customs and local habits resulting in basically weakening the living method of local people, destruction of natural environment because of construction of the buildings of hotels and airports in natural coverage zones, polluting the natural environment and probably outbreak of epidemic diseases (see [Egbali, Bakhsh, 2011](#)).

Social benefits for the development of tourism in the geo-space of Vranještica can include numerous factors: contents related to the life and customs of the inhabitants of the studied geo-space; a special group of tourist motifs consists of memorials (memorial plaques, cemeteries of ancient peoples ...), ethnographic heritage (various parts of household items, dishes, fabrics, parts of costumes, tools for agricultural production, weapons ...). Anthropogenic tourist values of Vranještica were created by human activity, and they can be presented with motives that satisfy the so-called the cultural need to move in order to get to know the cultural heritage. The diverse ethnographic wealth of Vranještica in the tourist offer can have its place as an ethnographic tourist value, and it would consist of all aspects of culture and tradition of living – represented through the

origin of the population, social, spiritual, material culture, and art. It is important to note that certain economic facilities of Vranještica, created in different historical periods, can serve as a location for artistic or ethnographic events, that is, they can be classified as ethnographic wealth (for example, mills, dryers ...). In the ethnological sense, the Vranještički geo-space is an extremely rich, diverse and interesting area. The architecture characteristic of these areas has been developing in the area of the settlement for a number of centuries. It did not develop under the influence of any outside world, but was developed by the inhabitants of this village, as it suited them and as it was best for them. As a result of the long tradition of life in the settlement, a large number of old buildings have been preserved to this day. But these buildings did not fall into the shadow of oblivion, but even today they serve the people of this region for work and life as they served their ancestors several centuries ago. When we say buildings, we primarily mean houses or log cabins and auxiliary buildings for living. The houses are built exclusively of wood, with stone foundations. The roofs are covered with shingles. The following stand out from the auxiliary facilities: facilities for grain, huts, traps, dairies, corn baskets, pens, barns for cattle ... It is necessary to perform an adequate evaluation and presentation of this ethnographic heritage in order to use it in the right way. From the gastronomic values, we should especially single out the authentic food that the inhabitants of Vranještica make and use today, as they did generations ago. These are various types of cheese and cream, prosciutto, pie, various types of brandy, juices, sweet from forest herbs ... In addition to placing ethnographic and gastronomic heritage in the function of tourism, we should insist on the greatest possible contact between tourists and the local population in order to experience the traditional rural way of life in the right way. However, when organizing future such events with an emphasis on ethnographic values in the program and offer, one should be very careful. Authenticity is crucial for a quality ethnographic tourist event! (see [Plavša, Ratković, 2007](#)).



Fig. 8. Bukova Poljana
Note: The Light of God

In an effort to valorize the natural and social benefits for the development of tourism as fully and successfully as possible in the geo-area of Vranještica, it is necessary to establish through events. Unfortunately, for now, there is not a single event that would affect the creation of the image of the rural settlement of Vranještica. Together with livestock products, healthy food, Vranještica certainly represents an ecological oasis, that is, an underused tourist opportunity.

For the needs of tourism, healthy tourist houses can be built in the studied geo-area (see Milenković, 1998; Paresishvili et al., 1917; Sati, 2019), which would have the following purposes: for the needs of sport fishermen and their rest and recreation; type of hunting tourist house for the year-round hunting season; for organizing equestrian races of mountain horses; for tourist events, such as Mowing meadows, which have a recreational and competitive character; for harvesting medicinal herbs and their presentation to tourists, with the possibility of tasting and purchase; for camping and excursions, for exhibitions and fairs of livestock products and handicrafts for tourist purposes, for a tourist settlement with traditional folk customs (selection of the best mower, best embroiderer, knitter ...).

In this situation, and given the attractiveness of the considered geo-space, there is a need to fit into modern tourism trends, which should include: The issue of accommodation capacity is a priority, given that the studied geo-space has almost no accommodation (except eco home) but that does not mean the lack of a base (if we have in mind the seasonal use of housing); In that sense, it is necessary for the municipality of Kolasin to form a tourist bureau that would enable potential visitors to offer private accommodation. This means that rural households that would opt for the reception of tourists must make every effort to standardize accommodation facilities, but also all the conditions for the reception and stay of guests; Catering facilities give a special stamp to each destination and represent one of the basic specific tourist attractions. There is not a single catering facility in the studied geo-area ... In that sense, all possibilities of connecting with already established tourist organizations from Podgorica and the Montenegrin coast and Kolašin should be used, which would sell capacities and send tourists to Vranještica through their representatives; The issue of personnel is a basic issue but also a perspective one. They are an important component of the general impression (picture) of a given tourist destination. To the extent that the municipality of Kolašin also has a lack of staff in the field of tourism; It is also necessary to approach the realization of the construction of specialized trade facilities. There is no such object in the studied geo-space. The lack of trade facilities would certainly have a bad effect on the quality of the potential tourist offer, ie the potential supply of tourists; Agriculture as a primary economic activity in the studied geo-area would have far – reaching interests for complementary cooperation with tourism. Thanks to the natural, ecological and ambient characteristics of Vranještica with the surrounding rural settlements, above all: Barama Kraljskim and Gnjili Potok, it would form a promising space for the development of the so-called. tourism of specific interests; Professional selection of a certain number of households that would be engaged in rural tourism in the settlement, as well as in the katuns: Backi Brdo, Lisa, Krivi Do ... Clear specification of conditions and standards, which the household would have to meet in order to be engaged in tourism; Education of the population. The development of a quality program of stay in the studied geo-space must not be left to the resourcefulness of the locals, therefore it must be the subject of expert analysis; Sale of agricultural products to tourists in which the residents of Vranještica can find their interest; Old crafts and tools. The priority would be to form a rural household where all the contents related to the life and work of the locals, which have long been forgotten and abandoned, would be presented. This could certainly complete the tourist offer and would be an exceptional attraction; Folk handicrafts. Unfortunately, over time, the products of folk crafts of the Vranještičkog geo-space were abandoned and left to oblivion. If we are going to develop tourism, this sphere of tourist offer must be given due care and respect; Construction of ponds. The studied geospace is extremely rich in springs, streams, and there is certainly the Vranjestička and Suvogorska River. In essence, it should be noted that the geo - area of Vranještica is extremely suitable for mini ponds, which would certainly enrich the tourist offer; Construction of tourist infrastructure along the Vranjestička and Suvogorska rivers. Pay special attention to the contents related to the stay on the river (camping grounds, swimming pool, promenade, football fields and other sports and recreational activities ...); Use of all natural benefits for the development of hunting and fishing tourism. Sports Association "Bjelasica" has cooperation with domestic and international associations; An important item in the future tourism development is the transportation solution. To this day, due to bad macadam roads, not a single or even van traffic has been established through the Vranještičkog geo-space (except for cars and trucks – mostly locals).

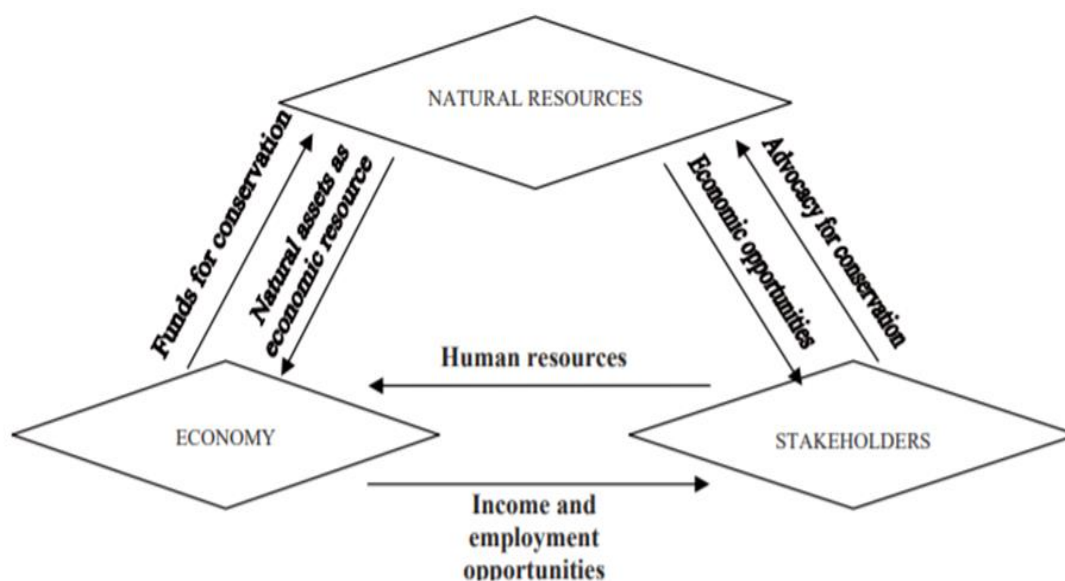


Fig. 9. Indicators Framework (Lun et al., 2016)

Citing research by (Ross, Wall, 1999; Scheyvens, 1999; Loon, Polakow, 2001) Lun et al. (2016) indicate that identify the specific roles that ecotourism could play and then shortlist five indicators of ecotourism, namely: preserves natural environment and biodiversity; generates money to finance conservation; contributes to the local economy; promotes community partnership; and educates the visitors and the local stakeholders. Broadly, Wallace and Pierce's above six principles are covered in these five indicators. Gives an empowerment framework (economic, psychological, social, and political empowerment) to test the sustainability of ecotourism. However, she acknowledges that as the central concern in the framework is empowerment, it is useful only for evaluating the contribution of tourism to the community. Loon and Polakow (2001) is on economic aspects. The paper provides a generalized model to evaluate the financial viability of investment in ecotourism ventures. Comparing the internal rates of return from various forms of accommodations offered (campsites, lodges, and chalets), the study concludes that campsite accommodations offer the highest returns compared to lodges and chalets.

In many European rural settlements, and more and more in our area, various forms of tourism have been recognized with which all the above effects are achieved, these are especially related to: nature tourism, which refers to all activities that directly or indirectly depend from the natural environment and natural attractions and represent activities such as hunting, fishing, excursion tourism; eco-tourism is a combination of staying in nature with elements of the cultural tradition of the settlement. It provides a positive experience for visitors and hosts, brings financial benefits to the domicile population, raises a positive attitude towards the local, living and social "climate"; rural tourism refers to all types of holidays and activities that are outside the urban tourist center (Kolašin), and seeks to introduce rural culture and lifestyle of the population of a particular locality with the possibility of accommodation and food in rural households, including recreational sports activities; the term green tourism is used for everything related to the natural environment and cultural heritage. The goals of green tourism are reflected in the wise use of natural resources – land, water and energy, prevention of environmental pollution and protection and conservation of biodiversity (Bulatović, Rajović, 2021).

The modern tourist is looking for experiences that give him a sense of closeness to natural values and the local community. Any tourist destination that intends to attract such visitors must protect its natural resources while emphasizing a sense of integration with the local community. This imperative of the concept of sustainable tourism development has a very strong ecological dimension. However, the economic component also requires special attention because the connection and regulation of economic interests is extremely important for sustainable development (Bulatović, Rajović, 2020). Economic profit, which is now achieved in a very short

period, but at the expense of the environment, can not be tolerated on the further path of sustainable development of any rural settlement, and of course Vranjestice. Bearing in mind that the studied geo-area has a predominantly agricultural population, agriculture should, all the more so, play its undoubtedly large and notable role in future economic development. Tourism as an additional source of income for the residents of Vranještica could certainly improve their quality of life (Bulatović, Rajović, 2021).

4. Conclusion

Rural tourism, as a significant element of sustainable tourism, economic and social development of rural areas, encounters increasing development, marketing, management and economic difficulties in its development, while at the same time on the side of tourist demand is showing increasing interest in this form of tourism. Development solutions should be sought in the implementation of an adequate management model for this, a very sensitive area of social and economic development and its quality operationalization at all levels. It is necessary to network, both economic entities, primarily agritourism households with each other, and with other segments and stakeholders in the segment of rural tourism and rural development of the regional community (Krajnović et al., 2019). Montenegro has a long tradition of tourism, but tourism is primarily related to the Montenegrin coast, and the main offer is the sun and the sea. Therefore, although Montenegro has a significant and important base of natural and socio-cultural resources for the development of tourism in all its areas, and not only in the coast, it is important to point out that this basis is not used enough and properly. Therefore, rural tourism in Montenegro, despite its huge potential, is still underdeveloped due to numerous limitations, from legislation, undefined competencies permeating several ministries (agriculture, tourism, rural development) to restrictions at the local community level. Observing rural tourism by regions, its true potential can be seen. Namely, numerous natural beauties such as rivers, mountains, forest areas and rural and traditional customs of different regions offer a significant precondition for the development of rural tourism. However, with the aim of greater progress in rural tourism in Montenegro, and thus the development of rural areas, it is necessary to make a detailed analysis of the situation, and take the right measures to begin the long-term process of improvement. This needs to be done at the national, regional and local levels as there is room for improvement.

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Cherkasovs (Keretskys): Feofan Ivanovich Cherkasov (1886–1938)

Aleksandr A. Cherkasov ^{a, b, *}

^a Cherkas Global University (International Network Center for Fundamental and Applied Research), Washington, USA

^b American Historical Association, Washington, USA

Abstract

The paper focuses on one of the representatives of the Cherkasov family from Kereti, a participant of the First World War, a victim of political repression, Feofan Ivanovich Cherkasov (1886–1938). This work is the first attempt to summarize the available information and write the first biography of this person.

The documents of the State archive of the Arkhangelsk region (Arkhangelsk, Russian Federation) were used as sources. The documents of the FSS archive for the Republic of Karelia (Petrozavodsk, Russian Federation) were also involved.

From a methodological point of view, a descriptive method is widely used in the work, which allowed author to consider the information presented in fragments in order to restore the biographical picture of the life of Feofan Ivanovich Cherkasov. Besides this, a retrospective method was used, thanks to which we were able to consider the events in their chronological sequence.

In conclusion, the author states that Feofan Ivanovich Cherkasov (1886–1938) is a man with one of the most tragic fates in the Cherkasov (Keret) family. At the age of 28, he was drafted into the active army of the Russian Empire during the First World War. He was captured, was released from it in connection with the end of the world conflict in 1918. He returned to Soviet Russia. During the Holodomor of 1933, he was convicted in a falsified case and sent to the Gulag for the construction of the White Sea Canal. After serving his sentence, he returned home, but soon in 1938 he was arrested again on a falsified case and has already been shot. At the time of the shooting, he was only 51 years old.

Keywords: Feofan Ivanovich Cherkasov, 1886–1938, Cherkasovs (Keretskys), participant of the First World War, political repression, biography.

1. Введение

Черкасовы – достаточно распространенная фамилия на постсоветском пространстве. К примеру, только по данным сайта «Подвиг народа» в Великой Отечественной войне приняли участие и были награждены не менее 5 тыс. мужчин-носителей этой фамилии. Именно поэтому мы решили добавить к фамилии и место проживания, а именно село Кереть (современной республики Карелия), так получилось название Черкасовы (Керетские). Важно отметить, что ранее мы уже обращались к истории села Кереть и

* Corresponding author

E-mail addresses: a.cherkasov@incfar.net (A.A. Cherkasov)

рассматривали основные события с момента первого упоминания села в исторических источниках и вплоть до ликвидации данного поселения в советское время (Черкасов, 2013).

В истории нашей фамилии, родоначальником которой был Прокопий (Прокофий) Черкасов, который родился около 1685 г., сегодня прослеживается более 200 судеб: это и участники Первой мировой и Великой Отечественной войн, промышленники до революции, рабочие, инженеры, учителя в советское и постсоветское время. Среди них выделялся Феофан Иванович Черкасов – человек, прошедший Первую мировую войну, ГУЛАГ, ставший жертвой в период политических репрессий. Данной статьей мы бы хотели продолжить цикл работ по истории семьи Черкасовых из Керети – Черкасовых (Керетских). Ранее нами рассматривалась биография выдающегося советского и российского изобретателя Павла Ивановича Черкасова (Cherkasov, 2021).

2. Материалы и методы

В качестве источников были использованы документы государственного архива Архангельской области (Архангельск, Российская Федерация) и Национального архива Республики Карелия (Петрозаводск, Российская Федерация). Привлечены были также документы архива УФСБ по Республике Карелия (Петрозаводск, Российская Федерация).

В методологическом плане в работе широко применен описательный метод, который позволил рассмотреть представленную фрагментарно информацию для восстановления биографической картины жизни Феофана Ивановича Черкасова. Помимо этого, был использован ретроспективный метод, благодаря которому нам удалось рассмотреть события в их хронологической последовательности.

3. Обсуждение и результаты

Феофан Иванович Черкасов родился 25 марта 1886 г. в поселке Кереть Олонецкой губернии. Его отцом был Иван Филиппович Черкасов (1856–1900 гг.), а матерью – Гликерия Сергеевна (в девичестве Дворникова) (1857–1918 гг.). Феофан был пятым ребенком в семье из десяти детей.

Необходимо сразу пояснить, что смертность среди детей в Российской империи была высокой и далеко не каждый ребенок переживал детский возраст, так было и в семье Черкасовых. Первый сын Ивана Филипповича, Александр, родившийся в 1879 г., по всей вероятности, умер до 1897 г., то есть до Всероссийской переписи населения. Вторым ребенком – дочь Анна – родилась в ноябре 1881 г., умерла в возрасте 3 месяцев. Четвертым ребенком, сын Филипп, родился в ноябре 1885 г., умер спустя 6 дней. Восьмым ребенком, сын Алексей, родился в начале 1890-х гг., а к Всероссийской переписи его уже не было. То есть как минимум 4 детей из 10 умерли в раннем возрасте.

В период Первой Всероссийской переписи 1897 г. семья Феофана была учтена следующим образом:

Семья Ивана Филипповича Черкасова, проживавшая в собственном дворе (во дворе жилых строений – 1, построено и крыто деревом).

Состав семьи:

- Черкасов Иван Филиппович – хозяин, 41 год, женат; крестьянин из государственных; родился, приписан, обыкновенно проживает – здесь; православный; родной язык – русский; грамотный, обучался в 1-классном училище Министерства народного просвещения; главное занятие, которое доставляет средства для существования, – рыбопромышленник, хозяин; побочное занятие – рабочий поденщик.

- Черкасова Гликерия Сергеевна – жена, 40 лет; крестьянка из государственных; родилась – Архангельская губерния, Кемский уезд; приписана, обыкновенно проживает – здесь; православная; родной язык – русский; неграмотная; главное занятие – при муже.

- Черкасов Павел Иванович – сын, 14 лет; крестьянин из государственных; приписан, обыкновенно проживает – здесь; православный; родной язык – русский; грамотный, обучался в церковноприходской школе; главное занятие – при родителях.

- Черкасов Феофан Иванович – сын, 10 лет; крестьянин из государственных; приписан, обыкновенно проживает – здесь; православный; родной язык – русский; неграмотный; главное занятие – при родителях.

- Черкасов Степан Иванович – сын, 8 лет; крестьянин из государственных; приписан, обыкновенно проживает – здесь; православный; родной язык – русский; неграмотный; главное занятие – при родителях.

- Черкасов Петр Иванович – сын, 6 месяцев; крестьянин из государственных; приписан, обыкновенно проживает – здесь; православный; родной язык – русский; главное занятие – при родителях.

- Черкасова Павла Ивановна – дочь, 4 года; крестьянка из государственных; приписана, обыкновенно проживает – здесь; православная; родной язык – русский; при родителях (ГААО. Ф. 6. Оп. 9. Д. 28. Л. 149-150).

Согласно данным всероссийского учета, глава семьи являлся рыбопромышленником, закончившим одноклассное народное училище системы МНП. Старший сын Павел закончил церковно-приходскую школу, а Феофан, несмотря на 10-летний возраст, школу еще не посещал.

Примерно в 1909 г. Феофан женился на Наталии (в других источниках Наталья) Ефимовне Савиной, 1893 г.р. (НАРК. Ф. Р-659. Оп. 1. Д. 60/979. Л. 181-181об.) Установить, была ли Савина родственницей керетских купцов Савиных, пока не представляется возможным. 29 сентября 1912 г. у Феофана родилась дочь Анна, среди восприемников (так до революции называли крестных) во время крещения был его брат Иван Иванович Черкасов (1902–1969 гг.). Однако 7 декабря того же 1912 г. Анна умерла от родимца.

В период Всесоюзной переписи населения 1926 г. в домовладении № 10 в селе Кереть проживали сразу несколько семей Черкасовых: Черкасов Феофан с женой, Черкасов Павел с женой и пятью детьми, а также Черкасов Иван. Все трое Черкасовых владели домовладением на правах хозяев. В доме для 9 человек было настолько тесно, что проживали Черкасовы даже на кухне (НАРК. Ф. Р-659. Оп. 1. Д. 60/979. Л. 128-128об., 155-155об., 181-181об.).

В доме Феофан Черкасов и его жена занимали одну комнату. Главным занятием Феофана было рыболовство. Ни Феофан, ни Иван, ни Павел земли в селе Кереть не имели. Также не имела земли и четвертая семья Черкасовых – семья Семена Черкасова (НАРК. Ф. Р-659. Оп. 1. Д. 60/979. Л. 128-128об., 155-155об., 181-181об., 195-195об.).

О дальнейшей судьбе Феофана мы узнаем из уголовного дела № П-10507. В начале Первой мировой войны Феофан был призван на фронт и уже в 1914 г. попал в плен, по всей вероятности, во время разгрома 2-й русской армии генерала Самсонова. До 1918 г. Феофан находился в плену на территории Австрии. Документы о его службе в армии во время войны найдены нами не были, даже полка установить не удалось.

С 1918 г. по 1933 г. Феофан Иванович занимался рыбной ловлей и проживал с женой в селе Кереть. Детей у них больше не было. Что касается образования, то Феофан так и оставался неграмотным. Последним местом работы до ареста в 1933 г. был Керетский завод № 42, должность – чернорабочий.

В графе «состав семьи» было указано: «жена Черкасова Наталья, 42 года, крестьянка, занимается рыбной ловлей». В советское время было не принято указывать жен «при муже». К сожалению, данных о грамотности супруги Феофана в архивном деле не было.

Итак, за день до своего 47-го дня рождения, 24 марта 1933 г., Ф.И. Черкасов был арестован сотрудниками ГПУ (Главного политуправления) Карельской АССР и обвинен в том, что «являлся активным участником контрреволюционной группы, занимался антисоветской агитацией в колхозе», т.е. в совершении преступления, предусмотренного ст. 58-10 УК РСФСР.

С момента ареста Ф.И. Черкасов содержался под стражей в Карлагере ГПУ «Петушки» (так в тексте), информации о котором также не обнаружено.

По постановлению Тройки ПП ОГПУ в ЛВО от 10 апреля 1933 года Ф.И. Черкасову была назначена мера наказания – заключение в исправительно-трудовой лагерь сроком на 3 года.

Наказание Ф.И. Черкасов отбывал в Беломоро-Балтийском исправительно-трудовом лагере. Нужно пояснить, что этот лагерь был основан в 1931 г. на базе Соловецкого лагеря особого назначения. В его основную задачу входили строительство и обслуживание Беломоро-Балтийского канала – внутреннего водного пути, соединяющего Белое море с

Онежским озером. Феофан Иванович попал в лагерь уже к завершению строительства канала, как известно, канал был открыт 30 июня 1933 г. Это строительство осуществлялось трудом заключенных с привлечением минимальных строительных средств и с превалированием ручного труда, ввиду чего смертность на канале была высока. Согласно официальным данным, во время строительства канала в БелБалтЛаге умерло в 1931 г. 1438 заключенных (2,24 % от числа работавших), в 1932 г. – 2010 человек (2,03 %), в 1933 году – 8870 заключенных (10,56 %) из-за голода в СССР и аврала перед завершением строительства. В январе 1933 г. выяснилось, что участок между седьмым и восьмым шлюзами Беломорканала абсолютно не готов, хотя на бумаге работы были выполнены. За четыре месяца строителям нужно было прорубить в сплошной скале 6,5 километров. 30 тыс. заключенных работали в три смены и спали на участке у костров. По оценке руководителя Карельского общества «Мемориал» Юрия Дмитриева, во время «штурма», как называли те работы, погибли от 8 до 10 тысяч строителей. На замену умирающим поступали новые заключенные, в такую заключительную волну и попал Феофан Иванович – в самый пик голода и неразберихи. Ему повезло, что он попал в лагерь в середине весны, а не зимой. Да и к этому времени его здоровье еще не было подорвано. После завершения строительства канала многим заключенным сократили сроки заключения. Проработав на завершении строительства, а потом на эксплуатации канала, по данным Информационного центра МВД по Республике Карелия, 4 июля 1935 года Ф.И. Черкасов из-под стражи был освобожден досрочно.



Рис. 1. Заключенные на строительстве Беломоро-Балтийского канала (начало 1930-х гг.). Медвежьегорский районный музей

По заключению, утвержденному прокурором Республики Карелия 30 декабря 1993 года, Черкасов Феофан Иванович по данному делу был реабилитирован.

Конкретной причины, почему Феофан Иванович попал в ГУЛАГ, в деле не было обнаружено. Однако в начале 1990-х гг. в семье была устная информация, что где-то в разговоре Феофан опрометчиво сказал, что «нет никакой разницы, что мы при царе работали, что при коммунистах». Считается, что эта фраза и стала основанием для доноса.

26 января 1938 г. Феофан был вновь арестован, в это время в стране происходили политические репрессии. В новом уголовном деле в сведениях о нем говорится, что он гражданин СССР, из крестьян-середняков, рыболов-колхозник, малограмотный, беспартийный, женат, осужденный в 1933 году по ст. 58-10 УК к 2 годам, наказание отбыл.

Согласно данным дела № П-7600 Архива УФСБ по Республике Карелия, Феофан был обвинен в том, что «являлся участником контрреволюционной повстанческой организации, присутствовал на нелегальных собраниях, занимался вредительством», т.е. в совершении преступления, предусмотренного ст. 58-2, 58-7, 58-10, 58-11 УК РСФСР.

С момента ареста Черкасов Ф.И. содержался под стражей в Лоухском ардоме (арестный дом – так в тексте).

По постановлению Тройки НКВД КАССР от 1 февраля 1938 года Ф.И. Черкасову была назначена высшая мера наказания – расстрел, которая приведена в исполнение 8 февраля 1938 года в окрестностях г. Петрозаводска.

По определению Военного трибунала Северного военного округа от 31 июля 1958 года постановление Тройки НКВД КАССР от 1 февраля 1938 года в отношении Ф.И. Черкасова и дело на него прекращены за отсутствием состава преступления.

Черкасов Феофан Иванович и по этому делу был реабилитирован.

Насколько быстро шел «судебный процесс», свидетельствует то, что арестованного даже не успели сфотографировать. В архивных делах его фотографий не обнаружено.

В период политических репрессий в селе Кереть, по неполным данным, был арестован 51 человек, из них 38 расстреляны. Все они в настоящее время реабилитированы. Можно также отметить, что из породнившихся с Черкасовыми фамилий, пострадавших в 1937–1938 гг., в селе Кереть были:

1. Савины. В 1912 г. на венчании Феофана Черкасова поручителем со стороны невесты был Варлаам Савин, два его сына, Михаил и Яков, были репрессированы, причем Яков был расстрелян, а Михаил был осужден на 10 лет ИТЛ;

2. Меньшиковы. Егор Павлович Меньшиков, 1905 г.р., был арестован в 1937 г., в 1938 г. осужден на 10 лет, умер в лагере в 1942 г.;

3. Смольковы. Трое Смольковых было расстреляно;

4. Шелгачевы. Николай Никифорович 1902 г.р. был расстрелян в 1937 г.

4. Заключение

Феофан Иванович Черкасов (1886–1938 гг.) – человек с одной из наиболее трагических судеб в роду Черкасовых (Керетских). В возрасте 28 лет он был призван в действующую армию Российской империи в период Первой мировой войны. Попал в плен, был освобожден из плена в связи с окончанием мирового конфликта в 1918 г. Вернулся уже в советскую Россию. В период голодомора 1933 г. был по сфальсифицированному делу осужден и отправлен в ГУЛАГ на строительство Беломорканала. После отбытия наказания вернулся домой, но вскоре в 1938 г. был вновь по сфальсифицированному делу арестован и уже расстрелян. В момент расстрела ему был всего 51 год.

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Черкасовы (Керетские): Феофан Иванович Черкасов (1886–1938 гг.)

Александр Арвелодович Черкасов ^{a, b, *}

^a Черкас глобальный университет (Международный сетевой центр фундаментальных и прикладных исследований), Вашингтон, США

^b Американская историческая ассоциация, Вашингтон, США

Аннотация. В работе уделено внимание одному из представителей рода Черкасовых из Керети, участнику Первой мировой войны, жертве политических репрессий Феофану Ивановичу Черкасову (1886–1938 гг.). Эта работа – первая попытка обобщить имеющиеся сведения и написать первую биографию этого человека.

В качестве источников были использованы документы государственного архива Архангельской области (Архангельск, Российская Федерация). Привлечены были также документы архива УФСБ по Республике Карелия (Петрозаводск, Российская Федерация).

В методологическом плане в работе широко применен описательный метод, который позволил рассмотреть представленную фрагментарно информацию для восстановления биографической картины жизни Феофана Ивановича Черкасова. Помимо этого, был использован ретроспективный метод, благодаря которому нам удалось рассмотреть события в их хронологической последовательности.

В заключении автор отмечает, что Феофан Иванович Черкасов (1886–1938 гг.) – человек с одной из наиболее трагических судеб в роду Черкасовых (Керетских). В возрасте 28 лет он был призван в действующую армию Российской империи в период Первой мировой войны. Попал в плен, был освобожден из него в связи с окончанием мирового конфликта в 1918 г. Вернулся уже в советскую Россию. В период голодомора 1933 г. был по сфальсифицированному делу осужден и отправлен в ГУЛАГ на строительство Беломорканала. После отбытия наказания вернулся домой, но вскоре в 1938 г. был вновь по сфальсифицированному делу арестован и уже расстрелян. В момент расстрела ему был всего 51 год.

Ключевые слова: Феофан Иванович Черкасов, 1886–1938 гг., Черкасовы (Керетские), участник Первой мировой войны, политические репрессии, биография.

* Корреспондирующий автор

Адреса электронной почты: a.cherkasov@incfar.net (А.А. Черкасов)

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The Democratization Process in Niger: A Study on the Failure of the 3rd Republic Regime

Abdallah Boureima Gazibo ^a, Filiz Katman ^{a, *}

^a Istanbul Aydin University, Istanbul, Turkey

Abstract

This article focuses on the first democratic regime in Niger after the advent of multiparty system in 1990. The study will concern the direct and indirect causes that led to the failure of the democratization process. Niger experienced in 1991 a National Sovereign Conference which ended the one-party system by establishing a multi-party democratic system under a semi-presidential regime. In 1993, the CDS Rahama party with the support of the AFC won the first presidential and legislative elections marking the beginning of the 3rd Republic. Unfortunately, in 1994, an unexpected turning marked the beginning of an intricate regime. The AFC will lose his major ally and the parliamentary majority at the same time. This event led to a political cohabitation in Niger. Thus, clashes between the presidential clan and the opposition, took more and more magnitude until the normal functioning of government was almost impossible. The regime of the 3rd Republic will be interrupted in 1996 by a military coup. The problematic of this article will focus on three aspects, namely, the conditions under which the AFC coalition was born, how did the regime of the 3rd Republic end up in a political cohabitation? And the democratic challenges that followed. These three aspects will allow us to understand how democracy, which foresaw situations like what happened in Niger in 1995 and whose institutions were supposed to facilitate the settlement of this type of crisis, failed.

Keywords: cohabitation, democracy, elections, military coup, multiparty, political opposition.

1. Introduction

In 1960 with independences, the Republic of Niger and many other African states opted for one-party system to ensure social cohesion by gathering people under the same ideology. Fourteen years later, a military coup put an end to the single party by establishing a military regime. In 1987, after the death of President Kountché, his chief of staff Ali Saibou took the power. He will then create the National Movement for the Society of Development (MNSD) party and will become the President of the 2nd Republic during a non-competitive election in 1989 under a new constitution. However, “in 1990, the president allowed political pluralism and announced the holding a National Consultative Conference on possible constitutional reforms” (*Perspective Monde*). This achievement was possible in 1991 thanks to the participation of important personalities and representatives of the people in a framework of national discussion with the aim to reorganize the basic pillars of the state. At the end, a transitional government was put together to compile and

* Corresponding author

E-mail addresses: filizkatman@aydin.edu.tr (F. Katman), gazibo_abdallah@yahoo.fr (A.B. Gazibo)

study the results of the conference in order to draft a new constitution that would define the new institutions and the relationship between the ruled and the rulers. “The advent of democracy in Niger took place in a few years, the country moving from a one-party regime to a democratic political system which allowed nigeriens to freely elect their President of the Republic and their representatives to the National Assembly” (Boko, 2018). In 1992, the new constitution was adopted by referendum and elections took place between February and March 1993. It was the first competitive elections in Niger since independence. The new political parties born with the advent of multiparty politics in 1990 alongside the MNSD old single party began to organize themselves for the conquest of power. The various parties that have participated in the election were the CDS, MNSD, PND, UPDP, PPN-RDA, PSDN, and UDFP.

2. The Setting up of the AFC Coalition

“In the early 1990s, many African countries also experienced the emergence of a popular claim for more democracy. And these movements were accompanied by a striking renewal of political discourse, mainly in through the appearance of a free, critical and virulent press” (Frère Marie-Soleil, 1999). In Niger with the advent of democracy, a new electoral code was established and the constituencies were prepared for the first democratic election. Niger's electoral system was designed through the study of popular participation and partisan diversity. In its context of multipolarity where no political party can hold a substantial majority individually, Niger adopted a two round electoral system, which requires the political parties to form alliances in order to win the election. Thereby, on February 14, 1993, Nigeriens voted during the legislative elections.

It is through the results of these elections that the first political coalition took shape. In fact, the MNSD, majoritarian, won 29 seats out of 83 distributed among 8 participating parties. Thus, having noted “the electoral breakthrough of the MNSD-Nassara from the old party-state. It is to ‘block the way’ at the MNSD that certain leaders of political parties signed an agreement, the Alliance Forces for Change (AFC) which is a common front of struggle on the basis of a common platform. The primary objective is to constitute a majority parliamentary group. Indeed, the addition of the seats obtained by the parties composing the alliance gave the AFC the majority in the National Assembly. The AFC made the word ‘change’ his workhorse but the contours of it are not clear” (Dodo, 1995). It is clear that a break with the old system and the people who participated in it, strongly motivated the establishment of this alliance. The MNSD against who it was necessary to oppose, represented a generation whose ideologies were considered as those of a bygone era. The AFC was a way for political leaders to ensure not only an overwhelming victory but also to express their will and commitment for a change that will promote a better democracy. The AFC is a pre-electoral coalition which was formed following the legislative elections. The electoral system of Niger being majoritarian in two rounds, the political parties decide to ally with each other generally after having knowledge the number of seats obtained individually during the elections of the members of parliament. Generally, “a pre-electoral coalition exists when multiple parties choose to co-ordinate their electoral strategies rather than run for office alone. This co-ordination can take many forms. For example, party leaders may announce to the electorate that they plan to form a government together if successful at the polls or they may simply agree to run under a single name with joint lists or nomination agreements” (Golder, 2006).

During the transitional period followed by the elections, the political discourse underwent a considerable evolution marked by a dynamic of denunciation and positioning. The new leaders of the political parties, aware of the challenges and the new popular preferences, engaged themselves in strategic propaganda and manly campaigns called for change. A political change certainly, but also a change of mentality, because it was now necessary to hold a discourse promoting popular rallying in order to benefit of people's sympathy by trying to show how important the matter of general political preferences are. The promotion of a new ideologies that believe in the establishment of a legitimate government for a society where freedom will be guaranteed on the basis of the rule of law, should influence the questioning of misinformation and the authoritarian form of the old system which must be fought at all cost. In this dynamic, “everyone wants to keep their new discourse which would distance them from a troubled past or justify their failures. Everyone wants to take the people as witness on his mutations and his new tinsel” (Frère Marie-Soleil, 1999).

The AFC was a form of shield against a certain return to the old regime. It was “organized around the notion of change [...] this idea is concentrated in the word tchendji, which means

‘change’ in Hausa, the main vernacular, and will become the watchword of the party of the future president Mahamane Ousmane” (Frère Marie-Soleil, 1999). During the parliamentary election, CDS won 22 seats behind MNSD, making its candidate the main opponent and a potential leader for a front against the former single party. Thus, the various other political parties decided to join forces around Mahamane Ousmane, candidate of CDS-Rahama in order to win the Presidential election. The main members of the Alliance Forces for Change are the Niger Party for Democracy and Socialism (PNDS-Tarayya) led by intellectuals (academics, senior officials) and trade unionists, from the Niger Alliance for Democracy and progress (ANDP-Zaman Lahiya) and some small formations with regionalist coloring (Grégoire, 1995). The eight parties that composed the coalition accounted 54 seats out of 83 in the National Assembly. This overwhelming majority was the first step towards political renewal. The second stage consisted of running individually in the first round of the presidential election, then joining the candidate who will obtain more votes for the second round. Thus, “On the 27th the first round of the presidential election took place, the last stage in the democratic process set up by the National Conference which met from August to November 1991. Mamadou Tandja, representative of the former regime, the MNSD president leads with 34.22 % of the vote, and Mahamane Ousmane, representative of the reformist left, head of the Democratic and Social Convention, who is a member of the AFC, in second place with 26.59 %. The second round, which is to designate the successor to Ali Saïbou, interim president appointed by the National Conference, must take place on March 20” (Niger. Victoire de l’opposition...).

The first round of the presidential elections, despite popular satisfaction, was not without contestation. The Supreme Court had been seized twice to settle disputes between the MNSD and the AFC coalition. In fact, after the first round of presidential election, the AFC members had decided to campaign together for the CDS candidate. MNSD was opposed to that decision, citing its irregularity regarding to what the electoral code says. The Supreme Court ruled in favor of the MNSD, but that did not prevent AFC members from campaigning under the colors of the CDS. The Supreme Court will be seized a second time concerning the distribution of the posts of Prime Minister and President of the National Assembly in the case the AFC wins the election. The court was seized for violation of article 138 of the electoral code which indicates that “anyone who, by donations or gifts in money or in kind, by promises of employment from the State, its branches or public enterprises, made in order to influence the vote of one or more voters, will have obtained or attempted to obtain their suffrage either directly or through a third party, whoever, by the same means has determined or attempted to determine one or more of them to abstain, will be punished by one to five years imprisonment and a fine of fifty thousand to five hundred thousand francs”. However, the court ruled after the second round of the presidential election by rejecting the MNSD's request (Dodo, 1995).

Despite the tension between the political parties, the second round of the presidential elections took place on March 20, 1993 between the CDS and the MNSD. Indeed, it wasn't a surprise that “Mahamane Ousmane, candidate of the Democratic and Social Convention supported by the AFC, received 54.4 % of the vote” (Perspective Mond). Thus, he became the First President of Niger, elected in a multi-party election. The first political coalition in Niger, AFC was a strategic alliance of antagonists with a common adversary. It was undoubtedly decisive in the victory of CDS.

3. The End of the AFC Coalition and the First Political Cohabitation

After the overwhelming victory of the CDS supported by the AFC, the government of the 3rd Republic was formed. Constitutionally, Niger adopted a semi-presidential regime, which means that the executive branch is bicephalous. The separation of powers being rigid, a parliamentarian is elected President of the National Assembly by proposal of the majority. Thus, Mahamadou Issoufou leader of the PNDS will be appointed as Prime Minister and Moumouni Adamou Djermakoye leader of the ANDP will be elected President of the National Assembly.

Very quickly, the government of the 3rd republic started to face intense internal crises. Those crises unfortunately led to the rupture of the relation between the CDS and the PNDS. The breakdown in relations within the government coalition can be explained by certain elements. Indeed, the first point is that the regime of the 3rd republic rested on a coalition between several parties. This coalition was necessary because no party was able to secure a substantial majority individually and the electoral system of Niger being designed with regard to this aspect, the co-management of power was necessary. Also, the coalition was based on the distribution of political positions between members which was obviously not going to be without consequence (Gazibo,

2005). The analysis of these elements reveals weak bases not really capable to hold up after crises. Indeed, “the parties of the coalition, Alliance Forces for Change (AFC) which won the 1993 presidential and legislative elections, was shattered at the beginning of October 1994, with the resignation of Prime Minister Mahamadou Issoufou. This decision came after the promulgation of a presidential decree which removed most of its constitutional prerogatives by attaching in particular to the Presidency the Central Commission for Markets responsible for awarding state contracts. It also had deeper causes which, on the one hand, related to the economic management of the country and the measures to be taken to ensure its recovery and on the other hand, the concerns of supporters of the Prime Minister who denounced the stranglehold of the CDS-Rahama, party of President Mahamane Ousmane, on the state apparatus and the ‘business’ of some of its leaders” (Grégoire, 1995).

For Gazibo (Gazibo, 2005) “the fracture became inevitable when President Ousmane opened a head-on war with his Prime Minister Issoufou by first presenting him through his political friends as the person responsible for the errors of the alliance. He hoped to weaken it and then get rid of it, despite their pre-election agreement. In a second step, he decided to limit his powers by attaching to his cabinet important state services which until then depended on the Prime Minister, such as the State Inspectorate, the judicial police in economic and customs matters and tax or the Central Markets Commission. The connection between these services, the business community and the tremendous source of ‘clientelist’ rebate and redistribution that they represented is thus evident. Indeed, their control meant that of the award of contracts, the exercise of sanctions or the stifling of business. This provocation with obvious patrimonial underpinnings was one too many: on September 24, 1994, the crisis resulted in the resignation of the Prime Minister, followed by those of the ministers from his party. This rupture of alliance followed by a political re-composition opened a period of turbulent relations between the executive power and the legislative power...”

The President, in an attempt to redress the situation, proposed to the MNSD the formation of a government of national unity, “apparently, the President thought that by divorcing Issoufou, he could reconstitute a new majority with the MNSD or a faction of the MNSD. In a sense, the MNSD deceived the President because he had always said that he could not collaborate with the latter on the pretext that he had not broken with the PNDS. When the PNDS left him, he contacted the MNSD to form a new alliance, the latter refused to ally himself with his enemy yesterday, the PNDS. It was a surprising alliance because the whole “progressive” history of the PNDS, from student radicalism to the creation of the party, was built on acerbic criticism and a struggle against the MNSD oligarchy. An alliance with this party was, so to speak, the last thing we could expect” (Ibrahim, 1999). Therefore, the President operated a government reshuffle to strengthen its relations with parties that have remained loyal to the coalition. The departure of the PNDS on the other hand was not without consequence for the coalition and the regime. It was a heavy blow because the AFC had just lost an imposing ally, but things became worrying when the PNDS joined the MNSD in the opposition carrying the seats that had conferred the parliamentary majority to the AFC. The President worried by the political cohabitation was not considering such situation. He then had no other choice but to dissolve the National Assembly on October 17, 1994 and call for new legislative elections. The aim was to reverse the situation by the popular vote to be held on December 31, 1994 (Grégoire, 1995). The dissolution of the National Assembly by the President will be subjected to numerous criticisms both in the country and abroad. It was clear that this decision was not going to improve the situation. The upcoming challenge was going to be significant, the opposition resolved to put an end to the power of the President designated as haemogenic, was ready to do everything to keep this new majority that is said to be ‘born against nature’. Meanwhile, the President, confident that returning to the polls is the best solution to regain the upper hand, embarked on this path with the support of what remained of the AFC.

The election was originally scheduled for December 31, 1994, between the two blocs; the AFC on the one hand regrouping the CDS-Rahama and the ANDP Zaman Lahiya to which were joined small parties in particular the UDPS-Amana the PSDN-Alheri and the PUND-Salama and the opposition composed of the MNSD and its new ally PNDS-Tarayya supported by UDFP-Sawaba, UPDP-Chamoua and PPN-RDA. “Despite all the ups and downs that punctuated the organization of these early legislative elections, they finally took place on January 12, 1995 in satisfactory conditions of regularity and under the watchful eye international and national observers and human rights associations such as the Niger Human Rights Association (ANDDH) and the

Democracy, Freedom, Development (DLD) association. The fraud recorded here and there does not call into question the verdict of the ballot boxes (Grégoire, 1995). Unfortunately, the “bet was lost since the legislative elections [...] saw the defeat of the parties of the presidential movement. The president, after many delaying tactics, was forced to appoint as Prime Minister Hama Amadou from MNSD and having the active support of the PNDS, Niger was forced to live for an experience, rare in Africa, of French coexistence (Grégoire, 1996).

After the defeat of the AFC, the CDS regime was then forced to share the power with the opposition. This is how Niger experienced an exceptional situation which is called political cohabitation. The political cohabitation is a configuration specific to the semi-presidential regime. We observe this situation when a President elected by universal suffrage fails to obtain a parliamentary majority, or in the case of Niger, lose the majority after early legislative elections. “The origin of the term “cohabitation” is from “cohabit” as a political term since the year 1986. It was used for the first time when Franswa Metearan was obliged to appoint Jack Sherack as a prime minister (1986–1988) in spite of both being from opposite parties, the first is socialist and the latter is rightist. Practically, “cohabitation” is represented in Metearan Cohabiting Ladward Baladour (1993–1995), and Sherack cohabiting with the socialist Lionel Jospin” (Al-Safaar, 2015). Niger has inherited the French political system after the decolonization, but did not have as much experience as France in democracy. The cohabitation of 1995 was a new event in the country and the whole sub-region. The institutional and political challenges that the government was going to face will be determinant for its survival. Since cohabitation is not inevitable, it is also foreseen in a democratic system with a semi-presidential regime. The President, forced to share power with a Prime Minister from the opposition, and deal with a President of the National Assembly hostile to him, the survival of the regime will then depend on the degree of collaboration and commitment between the two parties. It is in such a situation that one can discern the true intentions of politicians. The challenge will be important, of course, but when we analyze the status of members of the government, their commitment to the people must come before political quarrels. Thus, efforts should be made so that co-management is done in political stability, with the respect of the prerogatives recognized to each party, but above all in the unique interest of the Nigerien people and democracy cherished by each party.

4. Cohabitation Challenges and Failure of Democracy

The year 1995 began in an atmosphere of hostility within the government of the 3rd republic. Two years after the advent of the first democratic regime in Niger, a political cohabitation between the presidential mouvance and the opposition had complicated the task by imposing new challenges. Indeed, the first challenge was the sharing of power the executive apparatus between the President of the Republic Mamane Ousmane and the Prime Minister Hama Amadou. Secondly, the AFC, minoritarian in the National Assembly, will have to try somehow to pass laws despite the hostility between President Ousmane and the President of the Assembly Mahamadou Issoufou.

Hama Amadou, the new Prime Minister of the cohabitation, reaffirmed his attachment to the principles of pluralist democracy and democratic alternation by constituting a government made up of 16 members belonging to the opposition party. However, the absence of members from the presidential mouvance according to him was certainly not a form of ‘witch hunt’. This cohabitation is comparable to what France experienced in 1986 and 1993 that have not been without consequences. The day after the early elections the president created by presidential decree a post of General Secretary of the Council of Ministers and fixed the attributes of the holder of this post appointed by the President. The opposition was opposed this decree which the called to be a maneuver to dispossess the Prime Minister of his prerogatives. The Supreme Court seized for this purpose ruled in favor of the opposition. Refusing a ceremonial role, on April 6, President Ousmane refused to preside the Council of Ministers. The Prime Minister, denounced this refusal, which he qualified as an irresponsible act likely to make the functioning of the state institutions impossible. Things took a turn when the president wanted to impose on the Council of Ministers of April 20 a personal agenda. In the light of all these events, the AFC deputies decided to boycott the work of the National Assembly until the Prime Minister answered their concerns about his policies (Grégoire, 1995).

All eyes were then turned to the government of cohabitation. The behavior of the politicians was clearly not going to facilitate the functioning of the institutions of the State. Indeed, “we then remember the ‘strikes’ of the President of the Republic to preside over the councils of ministers,

thus demonstrating his refusal to endorse the decisions and points entirely transmitted by the Prime Minister's Office. This was the time when the Prime Minister Hama Amadou having administration and the public force dislodged manu militari the Directors General and other responsible of obedience from AFC. It was the time, when Hassoumi Massaoudou (still him) did not miss any occasion to charge the President... It was the time when the President of the National Assembly, Mahamadou Issoufou qualified and compared presidential activity to that of Sisyphus, this hero of Greek mythology who spent all his life doing useless work. This management of state affairs which the Nigeriens had described as tumultuous cohabitation" (Sanda, 2014).

The cohabitation allowed the MNSD fought during the 1993 elections to acquire decision-making power in the AFC regime. Therefore, it was not surprising to witness a confrontation between them. A form of revenge was at work when the wheel turned which led to the smothering of President Ousmane's regime. "Two factors have contributed to making cohabitation a fatal test for the Nigerien democratic process: extreme bipolarization, reinforced by the conditions of structuring of the two poles, as well as the logic of spoils against a background of interpretations divergent rules of the game" (Gazibo, 2005). The cohabitation was fatal to the regime of the 3rd Republic because of two aspects. The first take source at the time when the alliance against the MNSD was born, and the second following the appointment of the Prime Minister belonging to the opposition. "The extreme bipolarization of political life was the main factor in the breakdown of the Nigerien democratic process. It began to structure in 1993, when the Alliance Forces for Change (AFC) was formed to prevent the former single party from coming to power [...] with the departure of the Prime Minister and the constitution of a new majority by the PNDS and the MNSD, at the end of 1994, bipolarization became extreme. Two political poles of comparable weight had just been created. On the one hand, that structured around the Democratic and Social Convention (CDS) and the Nigerien Alliance for Democracy and Progress (ANDP) supporting the Head of State; on the other hand, the majority pole structured around the PNDS and the MNSD to which returned the right to appoint a prime minister [...] the common logic of the spoils, against a background of divergent interpretations of the rules of the game, is the second order of factors which made cohabitation a fatal test for the Nigerien democratic process in 1996. Indeed, if President Ousmane considered cohabitation as co-management, Prime Minister Hama Amadou considered it as an alternation [...] because of the semi-President regime of the regime, any conflict within the executive could not fail to spill over into parliament. When the Prime Minister and the President of the Republic were in conflict, it was also in the Assembly that accounts were settled, each group of deputies mobilizing to support its leader. Managing his relations with the Prime Minister therefore amounted, for the President of the Republic, to managing his relations with the parliamentary majority. This is why, in addition to the milestones which prepared the ground for a difficult cohabitation, the conflicts of attribution and the reciprocal maneuvers of ouster made it a fatal experience" (Gazibo, 2005).

Considering the arguments above, a division was created during the elections due the front which meant to block the MNSD. Unfortunately, the alliance was not strong enough to manage internal crises and to maintain itself. Politics obviously being a game of interest and ideological tendencies, the President's actions were undoubtedly the cause of PNDS's departure, but it's difficult to explain his alliance with the MNSD if not the desire of revenge. Back to the sender, the MNSD, in its seniority posture did not fail to take advantage of the situation to impose itself within a regime which was completely hostile to it, by making the PNDS an ally for a counterattack. The second aspect, which is the sharing of power, was not without consequences. In fact, while the President was trying to maintain his authority, the Prime Minister was making the cohabitation a decisive period for his party thus multiplying the confrontations and the disagreements.

Different elements contributed directly and indirectly to the interruption of the democratic process started with the advent of the multiparty system. The study of the survival of democracy is generally based on the socio-economic and politico-institutional analysis of a state. Indeed, the variables associated with the maintaining of a democratic regime are societal, institutional, media and external. Taking into account institutional variables, the semi-presidential regime is more likely to collapse due to crises within the different institutions, ie, conflicts within the executive or between the executive and the legislative branch. This variable has produced a plethora of research, particularly in the 1990s' (Diskin et al., 2005). Therefore, the democratic institutions, the behavior of political actors, the behavior of the population and finally the

interference of the army in politics are to be taking into account. First, the poor functioning of democratic institutions is one of the direct causes of the failure of democracy during the 3rd republic. Indeed, the maneuvers of the President in the aftermath of the election which consisted in reducing the powers of his ally namely Prime Minister and the mismanagement of the state's resources led the PNDS to leave the AFC which had a comfortable majority. Many of the President's actions were unconstitutional and quite possibly destabilizing for a new democracy. The rallying of the PNDS to the opposition which will be fatal to the CDS regime is no doubt due to the non-respect of the fundamental commitments of the coalition. The unconstitutional promises of this coalition and its actions during the second round of the elections had an impact on the democratic process. Regarding to that, "the lessons that can be learned after the first round of the elections is that the lack of state authority has enabled Nigerien democracy to start on false grounds made up of violations of the constitutional text and the electoral code and the silence of the authorities which had to intervene to recall the protagonists. Whatever the motivations of the authorities in question is, it is necessary in true democracy that the law be applied in all its rigor whenever it is violated" (Dodo, 1995). Laxity and lack of rigor during the 1993 elections contributed generously to the weakening of the basis on which democracy rests. The executive apparatus led by the President exceed its prerogatives defined by the constitution and that was possible because of the silence of the court during the election of 1993.

The democratic institutions failed especially during the political cohabitation. For Schumpeter, it is essential that democratic institutions can emerge from the internal crisis with the commitment to preserve democracy (Gazibo, 2005). The President and the Prime Minister were apparently not committed to make the cohabitation a success. The behaviors and the use of political power towards each other, made cohabitation a dark period in the political history of Niger. Without calling it a chance, we can argue that, Niger had experienced an exceptional situation which should have bring out the commitment to democracy and make it stronger. This game of who can do what within the executive will have repercussions on all the institutions of the state. The Ministers, of the opposition, loyal to their Prime Minister had no order to receive from the President of the Republic. The disorder will extend up to the National Assembly too. Indeed, the idea of popular representation was replaced by the desire for political retaliation materialized by the multiple boycott from both parties within the National Assembly. The institutions have unfortunately not been able to manage the crisis which threatened the survival of democracy as suggested by Schumpeter. At this point, one must consider the words of the members of the government of the 2nd republic who during the periods of demonstration for democracy replied by asserting that Niger was not ready for such a system. The failure of institutions and the behavior of political leaders proved this to be correct.

The anarchy which one observes within democratic institutions due to the cohabitation, is the result of the nonexistence of an ideology within political parties. Indeed, the alliance between the PND and the MNDS, qualified as an unnatural alliance, shows how much the ideological posture has been neglected by political parties. The pursuit of self-interest and the desire to gain some power has replaced the ideological belief, hence the advent of cohabitation. Thus, "The tension reached its climax at the end of January, as shown by the national radio transformed into a platform where incendiary statements succeeded one another. The President of the National Assembly did not hesitate, at the opening of the first session of parliament, on January 24, to openly accuse the presidential camp of ethnocentrism. At the same time, the majority accused the President of the Republic of violating article 46 of the Constitution by being elected president of his party. Rumors of the dissolution of the head of state's party were echoed by rumors of the president's dissolution of the National Assembly. It was in this context that on January 26, 1996, an additional step was taken. The President of the National Assembly has indeed asked the Supreme Court to declare President Ousmane's impediment." (Gazibo, 2005). The management of cohabitation, unknown in the political history of Niger, will be a complete failure. This is partly due to the fragility of the institutions but also to the behavior of political parties and politicians.

The second point concerns the behavior of political actors. Taking into account the mission which they are invested of, the political actors and members of the government must respect the ethic which is imposed on their character in co-management, without partisan diversity being destructive. Thus, the analysis of the behavior of all those who were directly or indirectly involved in governance during the 3rd republic reveals a lack of interest for institutions and democracy.

Some have gone so far as to envisage military intervention to put an end to the regime. “The semi-presidential regime did not succeed in resisting the shock, because «no doubt the actors of this ephemeral cohabitation lacked an ethics of behavior and the will to make concessions in order to maintain a consensus founder around the rules of the game». We could even evoke a possible complicity of certain actors, in particular the leaders of the majority, who would have incited the soldiers to take power. If this accusation was of course refuted by the actors questioned, the fact remains that their strategies undoubtedly worked against the system. This was what Sanoussi Jackou, CDS vice-president wanted to express, just after the putsch when he said that: «The soldiers did not take power by ambition, but because we couldn't get along. We sawed the branch we were sitting on»” (Gazibo, 2005).

Thirdly, one must also take into account the behavior of the population. Observing the chaotic situation, the population did not fail to express their dissatisfaction but also their dismay that the political issue had now replaced the interest of the population during political cohabitation. With the quarrels between the AFC and the opposition gaining momentum, the call for military intervention was seen by some as the last option. The total disinterestedness in the maintaining of an elected democratic regime, demonstrates the lack of political maturity of the population. A feeling of insecurity during the period of crisis will lead to neglect the advantage of democracy, to the point of wishing its end by arms if necessary. This behavior has contributed more or less to the weakening of democracy which needed popular support to survive. The army on the other side, undoubtedly took advantage of the generalized confusion and the despair of the people to put an end to the regime of the 3rd republic. This attribute of defender of democracy, was only an alibi for the army which took advantage of the first opportunity to regain a power which was forcibly wrested from them.

The rapid return of the army in the political scene was possible because “the emergence of the military in the political arena in Niger generally poses the problem of the place of the army in the political system. Undoubtedly, this lasting intrusion, from 1974 to 1991, contributed to the establishment and rooting of military regimes, with very little democratic content and favoring the installation at the top of the State of a military oligarchy little inclined to political openness [...] the prospect of a return of the civilians at the head of the state is dismissed sine die. This is without counting with the ‘east wind’ which shortens the second republic through the institutionalization of new rules of the political game by the Sovereign National Conference in July 1991. The army temporarily left power, but it returns to the scene twice in 1996 and 1999, making every time more precarious the new democratic institutions. Therefore, the question arises of the military professionalization. This is translated in the Nigerien context in very simple terms. How to keep the army out of the political arena in a country where it has accumulated considerable political capital through the lasting excretion of power? [...] considering these remarks, we understand that the Nigerien army, without any consideration for democracy, put an end to the process while maintaining that it is in the interest in safeguarding democracy. This coup put an end to the first democratic regime, undermining the hope of making Niger an example of democracy” (Alou, 2008). January 27, 1996, the regime of the 3rd republic after three difficult years, will be unfortunately interrupted by a military coup. The military junta will declare the dissolution of all the government, the suspension of the constitution and of all democratic institutions.

The last aspect of the failure of democracy was the post-coup events. Indeed, the coup of 1996 was acclaimed by those who (USTN, USN) fought with all their might for the democracy. The New Democracy had lost all meaning when structures like USN had shown no remorse that the Third Republic ended in that way. To this is added the words of those who contributed to the birth of cohabitation in the third republic, testimony of their lack of interest in democracy. Hama Amadou Prime Minister see the events as the result of “understandable motivation of military adding even that the coup creates the conditions for a new experience”; Mahamadou Issoufou, President of the National Assembly said that “for the moment the colonel Baré is keeping his promises. I stand by the fact”; For the Minister of Foreign Affairs Mohamed Bazoum “the coup was inevitable but did not settle anything [...] exasperated military as all citizens by political blockage found a way to end it does not seem until further notice hostile to democracy” (Gazibo, 2005).

5. Conclusion

The advent of democracy in Niger, which enabled the 1993 competitive elections, will remain a fundamental stage in the political evolution of Niger. Unfortunately, the inexperience or rather the verified lack of interest in doing what is necessary in the name of democracy, will lead the first democratic government to its loss. The analysis of this failure reveals from the creation of the AFC to the political cohabitation and finally the military coup of 1996 tense political situations and challenges that were higher than the commitments of the rulers. Political cohabitation, in other words, is one of the rare situations which shows to what extent democracy is a system which is not only complex, but above all resolved to allow everyone to participate in the management of the State. Thus, an opposition devoid of any decision-making power can acquire certain prerogatives allowing it to influence the regime of its adversary by integrating its government with the means of the ballot. Niger's new democracy, unable to maintain itself, reached its limit. The democratic process was stopped by forces acting out of their framework of action. At the end of this analysis, one may wonder if Niger's multi-party system will be able to facilitate the consolidation of democracy in the years to come.

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