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ZIGZAGS OF THE POST-SOVIET RUSSIAN STATEHOOD

The beginning of new millennium became for Russia a starting point of state rebirth, related to its re-comprehension after the decade of uncertainty and loss of international influence of its new place in the world. Its search is accompanied with disputes of politicians and experts on the role of the state in new historic circumstances, on the ways of finding former greatness of the Russian state. From the civilization point of view, the state is not only its specific form of organization, but also is the bearer of specific culture, since it consists of the people, connected among themselves not only by vertical and horizontal ties but also by a special state subculture, by certain values. Exactly this subculture represents the basis of the decisions, taken by the state power at all levels. The Russian state is the product of the unique Euro-Asian civilization, which had an impact on the whole way of historic development.

The spiritual basis is a significant element of Russian statehood. Its essence consists in the high value of certain type of shaping relations in society, in aspiration for their reproduction, which lets speaking about moral foundations of statehood. The traditional and liberal ideals are the most often adopted ones in Russia.

The traditional ideal is oriented to keeping static state, admitting rigidly determined innovations, when exit from these frameworks is regarded as dangerous. The liberal ideal includes a chance and the need of permanent changes in admitted innovations, their adaptation to existing culture and personal relations. Under present conditions there appears also a utilitarian ideal, which is an interim step between two determined and characteristic steps for the provisional society. Its essence is concluded in perfection of human activities' values, in rise of human capacities initially within the framework of historic chances of man with their gradual dispersion within the whole societies and with growth of capabilities of people to make public relations dependent on the set aim. The traditional method of interpreting historically determined views on mechanisms of development of Russia and its statehood is based on archaic myths, while the liberal approach is based on experience of western countries, which is used for interpretation of historic experience of Russia. However, neither experience of traditionalism nor experience of liberalism helps to see the way of overcoming the split in all its forms.

The state is created by society, obtains its virtues and shortcomings, including the formed level of disorganization. But the state differs from the society in its specific organization, which is the pre-condition for successful struggle against disorganization in society. In Soviet times, the system of repression was used for this sake, finally resulting in disintegration of the state apparatus. In present circumstances formation of democratic rules is summoned to oppose formation of democratic rules. The basis of this reform is the belief in existence of state in democratic society by will and in agreement of citizens, by their financial input in the name of citizens.

According to the widely dispersed view, Russia may be either a great power or it will disappear. But to be a great power it is necessary

to appraise adequately its place in the globalized world, its potential chances under existing conditions. This place, the role and significance are determined by not the unique right and faithful ideology, but by ability to address the tasks, set for the country, by rationality of our thinking and by capability adequately to react to the challenges of the present time.

At present, it is impossible to live at the expense of old knowledge but it is necessary to make conclusions on the basis of historic past. The rebirth of Russian patriotism, connected with the period of V. Putin presidency, is not characterized in a simple way. In this context, one should see that patriotism consists not in exalting or justification of the historic past but in search for the ways of efficient development of contemporary state. The point of view, expressed in his time by P.Ya. Chaadayev, seems to be quite timely: “I have not learnt to love my Motherland with closed eyes, with bowed head and with my lips pressed together. I regard the man to be of social utility only if he clearly comprehends it; I think that time of blind love has passed away, that now we have to live the genuine Motherland... To me is alien the blissful patriotism, which is characterized by laziness, which sees everything through rose-colored spectacles, which is full of illusions and which, regrettably, is shared by many sensible men”.

The mere fact of existence for many centuries of the great state is, obviously, the factor of a high level of sustainability of the Russian way of living in former historic circumstances. According to M. Hefter, Russia may not measure its movement only with the western type of development but it has to take into account the world experience, where gigantic contradictions and differences are correlated with the kind of universality needed for us so much. V. Putin called them to be “the civilization standards gained through much suffering”, which are proposed by newly appeared democracies to be subject to

correspondence. In the course of formation of Russian statehood as a modern priority they stress the democratization of political process, connected with probable successes and achievements in the social-economic national development.

For post-Soviet time, the essential changes occurred in the institutional system, having influenced formation of Russian statehood: extension of liberal and democratic practice resulted in greater self-dependence of citizens; discrepancy of the formal-legal space led to de-legitimization of legal norms, which do not correspond to the real conditions of society; the state control over fulfillment of legal norms proved to be inefficient.

National researchers determine various stages in formation of contemporary Russian state. For instance, O. Smolin distinguishes four main periods in the social-political process of new Russian statehood's formation: reforms (April 1985 – August 1991); revolution (August 1991 – August 1996); post-revolution (August 1996 – December 1999); stabilization and reforms of the post-revolutionary political regime (since January 2000).

From the author's point of view, as the starting point for the sake of determination of the formation's stages of the Russian state it is possible to stress 12 June 1990, when the First Congress of state deputies of the RSFSR adopted the Declaration on State Sovereignty. It is true that this declaration lacked legal consequences, however, its adoption signified a potential chance for creation of self-dependent Russian state in case of determined circumstances. The first stage may be considered as creation of legal, political and economic foundations for formation of the self-dependent Russian state. It was marked by establishment of the presidential post and by election of B. Yeltsin to this post. This stage terminates with disintegration of the Soviet Union

and establishment of the Community of Independent States (12 June 1990 – December 1991).

The second stage (1992-1993) usually is determined an anti-state stage, which consists in aspiration for ousting state primarily from the economic sphere, where its functions should be performed by the self-developed market. At this stage the institutions of planned economic regulation were liquidated and liquidation of state itself was started. Privatization of state property, liberalization of prices and creation of market economy institutions should have resulted in the making of economic subjects, independent from the state, and should have led to the corresponding social changes: formation of the class of big private owners and of the middle class, composing the basis of civil society, able to subordinate to itself the state. The state kept to itself in the social sphere the support given to education, health care, pension protection, unemployment benefits. The state should have ensured development of reforms, creating for them the legal space, ensuring legal order and stability of society, support of the world community, the adequate defense capacity. In the political sphere it was marked by the opposition between the Supreme Council and the president, by dissolution of the Congress of Peoples Deputies and cessation of the Soviet power functioning.

At the third stage (1994–1998) the illusion of the reformers' intentions to limit interference of the state in the economic sphere became clear. The experience of reforms shows that the state has not left economy and that only type and methods of its influence on economic processes have changed. Some experts note that these changes had very negative consequences both for the state and society. The state institutions had an efficient impact primarily on the privatization process of state property. It became the basis of amalgamation of state bureaucracy with the formed class of private

owners, accompanied by corruption rise, by emergence of nomenclature-oligarchic clans, aspiring for subordinating the state to its interests. The state, having lost a great part of its property, having been unable to collect taxes in the amount, needed for performing its most important functions, confronted the situation of acute crisis. This crisis was displayed in the following way: inability of the state to consolidate society in the situation of aggravation of social polarization, opposition of the power and the opposition, which is being displayed sometimes in very acute forms; non-fulfillment of the most significant social functions, characterized by the crisis of health care, education, science, culture, pension protection; inefficient activities of law enforcement bodies, unable to stop the wave of rising criminality due to re-division of property; degradation of the armed forces of Russia, having lost its fighting capacity; permanent crises of the government; fall of the foreign policy prestige and influence of the Russian state; indecision of perspectives of economic perspectives of economic cooperation of Russia with developed states, increased particularly after default. By autumn of 1998, there have occurred the failures of the chosen model of mutual actions between state and society, shaped in the process of modern Russian reforms, while the meaning of reforming the state and of raising its role was not shared by all main political forces of the country.

The fourth stage (September 1998 – December 1999) was marked by replacement of the government, headed by E. Primakov, who made the declaration about the need to correct the course of reforms. The main aim of this correction became the rise of the state's role in reforming Russian society primarily in the economic sphere. It was needed to raise efficiency of reforms in the interests of the whole society and not the nomenclature-oligarchic clans, which does not mean return to the methods of rigid state regulation, characterized by Soviet

epoch. The need existed for methods, which ensured optimal balance of mechanisms of self-development of society and of state regulation. For the period of liberal market reforms the state did not lessen and did not strengthen its role in society, but changed its methods and means of influence on society, remaining the main factor, which ensured sustainable and stable development of complicated social-economic systems. The measures, taken by the government, resulted in growth of industrial production and gradual stabilization in the economic and social sphere.

The fifth stage (2000-the middle of 2008) started with V. Putin coming to power and was characterized by the rise of power vertical, by the rise of state's role in the social-economic sphere, change of priorities in regional politics, by the attempt of creating the efficient judicial system. Preserving liberal reforms in the economic sphere, the state started to carry out active social policy by way of re-distribution of resources for the benefit of non-beneficial strata of society (the budget's employees, the pensioners and young people). The political reforms to a large extent were carried out by authoritarian means, but this fact did not cause protests of the main part of society. The president determined the course aimed at creation of the powerful state by means of efficient economic policy with implementation of principle of law supremacy. In his presidential addresses the head of state stressed attention to the inter-connection of powerful state and protection of civil, political and economic freedoms. The state's consolidation was connected with the achievement of efficient results in all spheres of society's activities, promoted by high prices for energy bearers and by inflow of foreign investments in Russian economy. The national course called "Putin's plan" was put forward as the main slogan for the period of parliamentary and presidential elections in 2007–2008 and was supported by the majority of Russian citizens. For the ruling power the

support on the part of the population has a primary significance, since, in words of E. Yasin, it “makes the regime legitimate even under conditions of curtailment of democratic institutions, which have not succeeded yet to prove to citizens their usefulness and which have not become subject to defense by society”. According to British researcher R. Pipes, V. Putin gained great popularity by restoring the traditional model of governance in Russia: the autocratic state, where citizens are liberated from responsibility for taking political decisions, while images of invented foreign enemies are used to strengthen artificial unity.

The sixth stage (started in the second half of 2008) is characterized by making corrections in national development strategy, connected with the change of the foreign policy situation and crisis phenomena in the world economy. The military conflict with Georgia rallied Russian society around the ruling power and promoted rapid growth of patriotic feelings. Patriotism as a widely disseminated phenomenon in national states has an impact on all spheres of life in society. The patriotic groups of people, classes and different strata of society by their support or by their rejection of the carried out policy make input in formation of the regime, which responds to the utmost to the needs of the nation-state. Obviously, the patriotic minded elite is regarded by contemporary Russian ideologists as one of the most important conditions of successful development of society. The Russian power became the factor of uniting society in time of addressing issues of social justice and consolidating national might. At the same time, the values of freedom and human rights as usual are on the periphery of public consciousness and are not the factor of rallying. Their significance will be raised only in case, when they will be able to be within paradigm of development, supported by society. Politicians more often discuss a probable return of former Russia grandeur. However, there is no common point of view on the greatness’

characteristic and on the ways of its attainment. Within the Russian political duumvirate, despite the seemed unity of opinions, there are different approaches to realization of such perspective: by force, oriented to the force and might of the state, by the democratic way, oriented to civil society.

The vertical of power, created by V. Putin, stopped the centrifugal trends in the country, raised the significance of the federal center and its influence on regional processes, restored the united power system. "The actions, taken by the authorities, were more or less adequate to the existed reality", noted A. Migranyan. However, the vertical of power penetrated all spheres of life in society and became an obstacle to development of the initiative and free desire of society and at the same time promoted grafting. As a result, the personal positive outcome of the vertical of power resulted in establishment of political stability in the beginning of the 2000s and was replaced by negative factors, which signified the logical result of the policy, carried out at that time. The vertical of power was reproduced in all social processes, overriding actually the whole sphere of public relations. The officials arranged their work according to the vertical of power, since it occurred to be the most comprehensible system of power – adequate for bureaucracy and non-effective for society.

As G. Satarov points out, the pyramid of power in a democratic state ends with the people, who hire officials to arrange governance. Therefore the citizens sustain the greatest losses due to the corruption component of such pyramid, since exactly they produce material benefits and pay taxes, used by the authorities. Therefore the citizens become finally the victims of any corruption action, concludes the political scientist.

The vertical of power did not cope with the financial-economic crisis, makes claims for the greater state financial support, given to all

significant projects, demands personal interference of the first state representatives to address even regional political and economic issues, which signifies its lack of efficiency and the need of passage to the relations, which depend on the citizens to a larger extent and which are determined by them. The distrust to the formal institutions of the state monopoly is explained in the shaped cliché of mass consciousness: court (“the existing authorities are always right”), law enforcement bodies (“no flying from fate”), deputies (“lobby only their interests”), elections (“the victors are determined beforehand”), political rights and freedoms (“impossible to realize, nothing depends on us”) etc. As thinks V. Kurennoy, the question is that the state departs from the declared values and aims, demonstrating examples to society, when monopoly fails. It consists in amalgamation of power and property, inequality in legal status, the growing gap in real chances of the population, the evident contradictions between political rhetoric and practice.

D. Medvedev, positioned by western mass media on the eve of the presidential election in Russia as a liberal politician, actually demonstrates his intention to change the existing political practice, to raise efficiency of the power, to overcome corruption, to construct democracy with due account of Russian national features. This trend responds to the conclusions of those researchers, who determine the next stage of modernization as a stage, which takes into account the national features of the state to a maximum degree. The peculiarity of contemporary Russian situation consists in the phenomenon that the people have not yet reached democracy, while the state is not able to become a people’s and democratic state. The main obstacles on the ways to construction of democratic society are as follows: the low level of citizenship, conformism in relation to the power, simple tastes and resignation, coordinated with contempt of law. The research work of

Ch. Tilli about the future of democracy in countries with a high state potential is quite urgent for Russia. Having analyzed dependence of democracy on great state capacity, the American scientist came to the conclusion that the might of the country grows just up to the moment, when “deep democratization” takes place. The democratic processes in such state occur already in the shaped system of taking decisions with gradual extension of influence of the people during discussion of the political course. It means that neutralization of independent internal rivals, control over resources and economic activities, as well as over the law enforcement structures goes on before the start of democratic reforms. Democratization is accompanied by the re-orientation of the state capacity from political struggle to subordination to public politics, characterized by more active participation in it of the citizens. For the sake of democratic development in public politics it is necessary to abstain from category inequalities, related to membership in social groups, which are infringed in terms of their material, status and other aspects. The inequality in daily life should not be related to political inequality. The deciding significance in democratic process consists in integration in public politics of social networks of confidence, based on migration flows, ethnic group’s belonging, religion, relative relations, friendship and joint work, Ch. Tilli regards. The state abandons methods of pressure and weakens the government’s control over social networks, creating conditions for political confidence. For the starting period of democratic reforms there appears a danger of massive disturbances, connected with the resistance of various strata of society against expansion of the state, but finally one should expect the inevitable decrease of the political tension and adoption of relatively peaceful forms of public policy, when the powerful state keeps under its control the claims, which may cause use of force.

The search for starting points of usage of the state capacity is going on in contemporary Russia. One of such priorities became the conception of innovation development, which includes both political and social-economic component. Under conditions of innovation development of society there exists the objective need in extension of political space, access to political decisions' process of different political and social subjects, renunciation of political monopoly irrespective of good intentions chosen for its justification. Of great importance for Russia is the change of personal paradigm for institutional governance. As American political scientist Jeffrey Stout thinks, the more space we give to the leaders...the shorter way is to the unrestricted power of the rulers. The closer we approach to the unrestricted governance, the lesser reasons do citizens have to let the authorities protect their interests or provide other services.

The vector of development of Russia as an open country is directed to free will and can not be determined by one political force, promoting appearance of alternative ideas, models and conceptions. The political-administrative relations, created under conditions of democratization and based on potential of the state, tend to greater openness, if it is supported by society in case of political, economic and social active position of the population, which is for Russia a rather hypothetical than real factor.

The Russian political practice testifies to the fact that under conditions of the world financial-economic crisis the authorities more often ask for assistance of society, of citizens. The regular meetings with working collectives, the openness in taking state decisions, participation of anti-crisis measures by the political opposition and by civil society as a whole, access to the authorities of mass media demonstrate the prevailing democratic tendencies in the political regime of contemporary Russia.

The address of the Chairman of the Government of the Russian Federation on 6 April 2009 may be regarded as a significant event in relations between the legislative and the executive powers. At present, the head of the government may not ignore the legislative power and is liable to present the report on his activities, while deputies may put questions and have the right to receive answers. The changed format of relations between the branches of power may be regarded as an anti-crisis measure, which logically is included in the system of restraints and counterbalances, raising responsibility of both branches of power for the policy carried out by them. One may agree with the Chairman of the Russian Government that the anti-crisis plan demands coordinated actions at all levels of public power. People are not concerned about the specific authority, responsible for failure in fulfillment of the adopted decision, whether it is a federal, a regional or municipal organ of power, since important for them is exactly the impact of this decision on their daily life.

The parties play the decisive political role in the democratic state. Creation in contemporary Russia of the legal norms, fixing the high status of parties in political life of the country, on the one hand, raises liability of the political party for the policy, carried out in the country at all levels of state power and local self-government, and, on the other hand, greatly limits the chances of a citizen to take part in political life without mediation of political structures.

The appeal to mass media as the most important channel of political communications became a priority method in the activities of the political power for the period of its struggle against the crisis. As a matter of practice the national political leadership arranged regular meetings with journalists, gave interviews to various TV channels and publications, organized daily information on crisis problems and ways of solving them. Such on-line dialogue raises the population's

confidence in the authorities, makes transparent the process of taking decisions; all this has an impact on public opinion and on the situation in the country as a whole. The development of information community in Russia confronts social-economic and political problems. Education should form the people's need in information, the developed infrastructure should arrange transfer and receipt of the needed information, the political structures should ensure a high level of information and analysis for efficient governance of society. The modern technologies take at a disadvantage the administrative-bureaucratic apparatus, which is the main obstacle on the way of diffusion of the new style of life, based on the free information space and not being in need of usual traditional institutions and models of behavior. The introduction of new technologies disturbs the usual mechanism of social institutions and organizations functioning, forces to re-consider the large-scale changes, brought by the information epoch, changes the characteristic of human activities, the perception by man of modern world.

The necessary component of the contemporary state is the efficient judicial system, determining decisively the level of the power's democracy. The judicial system is the only branch of power, which protects the man from the state. The distraction of the corruption component in the judicial sphere means institutionalization of relations between the power and the society, making them open and transparent, based on legal norms. No headway will be made in the matter of reform of the judicial system in case of tacit resistance of the Russian ruling class. The problems of the judicial system consist in difference of meanings of laws, which may be interpreted in some or other interests, while this difference is often used by judges. In Russia they prefer vague legal norms, since this vagueness is advantageous primarily to the authorities, which may interpret it in their own interests.

The social orientation of politics, the struggle against corruption, the reform of the judicial system, the reduction of mass media dependence by means of information society's development – such are the new trends in formation of Russian statehood, appeared for the period of 2008-2009. The presidential initiatives aimed at forming a new image of the Russian state are characterized at a larger extent by democratic orientation, although they are perceived by some part of society and by the opposition with a rather great scepticism, since they are oriented to the more resolute steps of the power in the direction of openness and extension of political space. The greater resonance among presidential initiatives, which do not promote democratization of the political process, was caused by extension of the President of Russia term to 6 years and of the State Duma deputies' term to 5 years, as well as the change of rules of election of the Chairman of the Constitutional Court and of his Deputies, which were quite reasonably comprehended as the continuation of the power vertical's construction. As democratic initiatives it is possible to mention as follows: the annual report of the government on its work to the representative organ of power both at the federal and the regional level; the representation in the State Duma and in the legislative organs of power in the subjects of the Russian Federation of the political parties, which obtained from 5% to 7% of votes; the change of formation of the Federal Council, which determines that its members may be only the citizens, who gained victory at the regional or local elections; the change of providing governors with the authorities (the candidates may be proposed by the party, which got the upper hand at the regional elections); the abrogation of election deposit; the decrease of the number of signatures, needed for participation in the elections, and in the perspective to abandon their collection; the extension of the sphere of issues subject to the views expressed by the Public Chamber; putting to order the pre-

term local elections; the adoption of laws on guarantees about equal presentation in mass media of activities of the parties, represented in regional parliaments; the adoption of laws on the struggle against corruption.

In the end of the XX century, foreign political scientist predicted two ways for the developing countries: either their integration in the western order or appearance on the world arena as rogue countries, isolated from the other world. However, already in the beginning of the XXI century, F. Zakharia, a prominent American political scientist expressed another point of view: the developing countries execute their progress in the third way, since they join the western order under their own conditions, reconstructing the system itself. Russia makes its input into this trend, having abandoned and changed the first way, characteristic for the 1990s, for the third way, proceeding from its new place in the shaping global configuration of the world political order.

In his article “Russia, Forward!” D. Medvedev, characterizing the political system, aspired for by Russia, names it “extremely open, flexible and internally complicated”, adequate “to dynamic, mobile, transparent and measureless social structure”, responding “to political culture of free, well-to do, perceiving critically and self-confident people”, where “the leaders in political struggle will be the parliamentary parties, periodically replacing each other as ruling parties” and forming “the federal and regional executive powers (and not vice versa)”, having “long-term experience of civilized political competition”. In his work, aimed at modernization of the Russian state, the president may base himself only on civil society, since a small part of honest officials is unable to solve the emerging problems. The active and motivated citizens, free mass media are able to do much more than the taken administrative measures. “They will try to hinder our work”,

writes the president, “the influential groups of corrupted officials and doing nothing “entrepreneurs”. It is difficult to think that the assistants to the head of the state will be recruited from the officials of the administrative apparatus, trained by the vertical of power to work in quite another way. The assistance may be rendered only by the innovation minded part of the ruling elite, by small, middle and partially big business. It is possible to appreciate highly the perspectives of such support, since, given the resoluteness of the power, society intensifies its activities and will be able to ensure legitimacy of the projected reforms. D. Medvedev counts exactly on such support.

The perception of the country as a great power has become the characteristic position of the contemporary Russian statehood. Indirectly, the motto, chosen by D. Medvedev, “Russia, Forward!” proves it. This is the title of his known article, and the second presidential address to the Federal Assembly ends with these words. The claims for grandeur were always characteristic for Russia. As I. Noiman notes, “this is the explicit self-referential axiom of Russian identification policy”. However, it is not sufficient for a state or a nation to regard itself as a great power, which equals admiring itself. In order to become actually a great power it is necessary to get recognition of such greatness on the part of other states, which themselves are great powers without any doubts as to it. The political practice shows that the criteria of grandeur are measured with due account of public needs and international conditions. For the industrial epoch the military and economic power were recognized as the criteria of greatness, which corresponds to the realistic approach to the theory of world politics. Simultaneously there existed another explanation of the states’ greatness: the moral grandeur characterized by ability to spread its culture among other states, which voluntarily accepted new values owing to their moral superiority. There exists the connection between

the realistic and moral criteria, since exactly culture promotes complex development of the state. The criteria of grandeur change with coming to the post-industrial epoch. According to I. Noiman, “the power may be considered as a great power, if the type of governance in it is recognized by others to be an exemplary model”. The contemporary criteria of the states’ greatness are also the following ones: the quality of life of the citizens, realization of their rights and freedoms, the level of democracy. From this point of view, the way, followed by Russia, does not correspond to the all-European criteria; and not all Russian politicians agree with this. In February 2008, V. Putin said: “Russia returned to the world arena as a powerful state, which is reckoned with and which is able to defend itself”. However, D. Medvedev in his last articles and public declarations criticizes the shaped social practice and stresses the need of comprehensive “modernization, based on values and institutions of democracy”, which will make it possible to build “real Russia – modern, striving for future young nation, which will occupy the deserved position in the world division of labor”.

Thus, the vector of development of the Russian state will depend on the fact, what point of view will prevail in the nearest perspective, which evidently will have an impact on personalities of the aspirants to the next presidential elections, on the results of elections to the State Duma and on the future of the country as a whole.

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THE ANTI-EXTREMIST ACTIVITIES OF MUSLIM RELIGIOUS ORGANIZATIONS IN THE VOLGA BASIN

The activities of Muslim religious organizations against religious and political extremism in the regions, included in the Volga Basin

Federal District (VBFD), are discussed in some recent publications, but the political practice demands a more direct attention of researchers to this phenomenon. The Volga Basin Federal District was established by the Decree of the President of the RF on 13 May 2000 “On Plenipotentiary Representative of the President of the Russian Federation in the Federal District”. Its territory accounts for 7.27% of the whole territory of the RF and makes 1451 square km; 33 million people live there (over 22% of the population of Russia). The VBFD includes 14 subjects of the Federation: six republics, seven regions and one kray.

In terms of complexity of ethnic and confessional problems, the VBFD may be considered as a mini-model of the Russian Federation. The contemporary poly-ethnic structure of the district was shaped as a result of centuries-old joint settlement and mutual action of various ethnic groups and cultures. Russians account for 68.8% of the population of the VBFD (in the Russian Federation as a whole 83% of the population regard themselves as Russians). In most national-territorial entities, included in the VBFD, the indigenous population does not prevail. Only in three of them the representatives of the title population compose over 50% of the population: Chuvashi Republic, Republic of Tatarstan and Komi-Permyatski autonomous okrug. As a whole, about 75% of all Tatars, Marijs, Udmurts, Mordvas live on the territory of the district, as well as 80% of all Bashkirs and Chuvashis. According to the census of the population in 2002, representatives of 153 nationalities, including 44 nationalities, which are used to be considered as Muslim, lived in the VBFD. 22 Spiritual Departments of Muslims (DUM) function on the territory of 14 regions. Evidently, the Muslims of the district, like of the whole Russian society, confront many spiritual, social and personal problems, including the less developed system of religious education and the lack of educated clergy

men, inability to withstand the advance of “market” ideology and criminality in community life. One of the misfortunes of Russian Islam is the internal mutual struggle of the Muslim clergy and the lack of unity of Muslim society. The split in Muslim organizations, started in the 1990s, provoked first reciprocal accusations in Muslim elite of wahhabism and later its actual appearance in the Volga Basin. The social-economic misfortunes resulted in wide dissemination of religious cults, characterized by ignorance, deceit, involvement of their adepts in criminal activities. For the end of the XX-the beginning of the XXI century, the ideas, alien to traditional Islam, penetrated in the Volga Basin due to the inflow of representatives of different ethnic groups from the Middle Asia and the North Caucasus. The ideas were accompanied by appearance of extremist groups; and the law enforcement bodies started to struggle against them. For the 2004, in various regions of the RF the law enforcement bodies detained members of extremist religious organization “Hizb-ut-Tahrir” (Party of Liberation of Islam). This organization was included in the list of 15 extremist organizations; their activities were prohibited on the territory of the Russian Federation by decision of the Supreme Court of the RF on 14 February 2003. The judicial proceedings in Bashkortostan in relation to members of “Hizb-ut-Tahrir” were terminated by the logical outcome. In August 2005 the Supreme Court of Bashkortostan sentenced members of this organization’s cells to 4–9 years of imprisonment. At the same time, it is early to expect that the activities of “Hizb-ut-Tahrir” have been liquidated completely on the territory of Russia. The present stage of this organization’s activities may be called a “Russian” stage. Its peculiarity consists in wide spreading of propaganda literature in Russian, dissemination of Russian version of magazine “Al-Vai” in the regions of the country, creation of the Russian web-site, accessible for all readers. The leaflets, disseminated

by “Hizb-ut-Tahrir” are published in Russian and are disseminated in mosques in Russia.

As a result of massive ideological intervention among Muslims in Russia, the number of Russian, Byelorussian and Ukrainian young people, possessing superficial knowledge of Islam, was increased greatly. The spreading of radical ideologies, inflow of new members into Muslim extremist movements, the demand of such ideas by the youth demonstrates a great social misfortune and religious and legal ignorance.

According to the state security bodies, 15 members of “Hizb-ut-Tahrir” composed its group, which functioned on the territory of Samara region, maintained contacts via Internet with members of the organization abroad. The Muslim leaders of Samara denounced the dangerous activities of this group, which united young people in actually almost secret organization. Imams were prescribed to arrange the adequate education work.

In the Nizhni Novgorod region all periodical publications of DUM were devoted to some extent to the problem of radicalism, extremism and terrorism. On the other side, there are no facts of radical Islam displays in the region, except one case. In 2005, the law enforcement bodies detained 12 Muslims, accused of membership in “Hizb-ut-Tahrir”. The DUM of the region drew attention to the fact that among the detained persons “there were no Tatars or residents of Nizhni Novgorod”. “We are liable first of all for permanent parishioners and we carry out daily work to prevent extremism. If we have had the needed authorities and a chance to establish control over Muslim migrants, we would have worked with them in the same way, being responsible for them”, deliberated the DUM clergy.

Nizhni Novgorod DUM repeatedly proposed the authorities its services “in the sphere of enlightening migrants”. For many years, due

to the unspoken opposition between the authorities and DUM this idea was regarded as the claims of Muslims for some part of the authority of the state. However, the disturbances among Azerbaijanis in Nizhni Novgorod in 200c, caused by killing of a trade man by OMON, showed that the authorities had to take the means of escape – to involve DUM leaders in these negotiations. With due account of a probable greater inflow of migrants in this biggest city of the VBFD, the ideas of DUM seem to be a real wish to render assistance to the authorities and to society to cope with the problem.

The problem of getting rid of extremism and terrorism is of special significance for the region and the RF as a whole. The task of Russian society consists in creating such levels of living, which would make it impossible for radical ideology to survive. It is significant to create the atmosphere of resistance not only to methods of terrorists but also to hostility to their views. The perception and teaching of Islam by the traditional legal schools, particularly by Hanafit mazhab, promotes achievement of this aim. A. Malashenko, a prominent scholar and expert in Islam, points out that Hanafit mazhab is a factor to restrain radicalism.

The works of experts in phenomenon of terrorism show that opposition to radicalism should be arranged first of all in the sphere of theology. In 2004 a group of Turkish scientists published the book “Islam on Terror and Actions of Suicide Terrorists”. The main conclusion of the authors is as follows: murder and suicide are forbidden by Islam, and, consequently, the groups, practicing it, have deviated from Islam”. According to the DUM leadership in Nizhni Novgorod, the rebirth of Hanafit school is exactly the means of the ideological struggle against extremism.

The work carried out to oppose national and religious extremism represents a significant direction of activities of the authorities in

Uliyanovsk region. The hotbeds of national and religious intolerance do not exist here. At the same time, the split in local Muslim ummah raises a great concern in terms of a threat to security of the Russian Federation. Two Muslim Spiritual Departments exist in Ulyanovsk region. The prominent place is occupied by Ulyanovsk Regional Spiritual Department of Muslims (mufti S. Suleimanov) within the Central DUM of Russia (Supreme Mufti of the RF T. Tadjutdin), including 74 mosques. The active work among believers is carried out by DUM of Ulyanovsk region (mufti F. Aliullov), affiliated with DUMER (Chairman of Council of muftis of Russia R. Gainutdin). It unites 16 mosques.

The Muslim missionaries from countries of the Central Asia, the North Caucasus, visiting Ulyanovsk region to disseminate ideology of radical Islam among local Muslims, urge towards usage of this situation. The ideas, propagated persistently by ideologists of radical Islam, assert, *inter alia*, primacy of religious norms over secular law, calls for discrimination of Christians, Israelites and adepts of other religious systems, calls for jihad in the name of creation of a world Islamic state (caliphate) “so that all pagan cults disappear and the religion belongs to Allah”. The followers of such religious propaganda exist in the region. In September 2005, the Ulyanovsk regional court condemned the members of the band, consisting of the adepts of Islamic extremist religious organization “Jamaat”.

The unification of opposing muftis may contribute to consolidation of regional stability. There are some pre-conditions for this outcome: a number of Islamic regional leaders make proposals to start the process of unity, giving support to the compromise figure of a mufti with good Islamic education, received in Russia, high level of tolerance, general culture, readiness for a constructive dialogue, with evident qualities of the leader.

For the last years, the constant theme of counteractions to extremism was discussed at the meetings of the republics' presidents and the region's governors in the Volga Basin. On 11 March 2010, the meeting of G.A. Rapota, plenipotentiary representative of the president of the RF in the Volga Basin, with the heads of Spiritual Departments of Muslims of 14 regions of the VBFD was held in Cheboksary. The main item of this ordinary meeting became the problem of extremism. The plenipotentiary representative expressed his concern about the attempts to incorporate in Islamic religion, in its shaped traditions the alien ideologies, based on hatred and intolerance, devaluation of human life. He stressed that the activities of western extremist movements created a threat of split in the rows of Russian Muslims. They use not only the lack of religious education of the people, but also actual failures, problems of Muslim organizations, as well as shortcomings and insufficient attention to Islam of regional and municipal authorities. G.A. Rapota proposed to restore good Russian Islamic traditions as a medicine against this decease.

Mukaddas-hazrat Bibarov, imam of Saratov, taking the floor, also drew attention to the significance of mutual understanding between the authorities and the Spiritual Departments in order to prevent spreading of radical feelings. The extreme actions arise in case, when the lack of knowledge confronts indifference of people and sometimes connivance of the authorities.

G.A. Rapota noted that at present Muslim leaders are represented in the public chambers of all regions of the VBFD and in other coordination and consultative organs. The Chairman of the Spiritual Department of Muslims of Chuvashi Republic Albir-hazrat Karganov, supported by the public sector of the VBFD, was elected a member of the Public Chamber of the RF. The Foundation of Support to Islamic Culture, Science and Education, created in 2006, carries out its

activities in all regions of the VBFD and renders great assistance to Islamic organizations of the district.

The ministry of science and education of the RF started in 2010 realization of its complex program aimed at support to Islamic religious education, assistance to medreces in different regions, including the regions of the VBFD. Speaking about expertise problems of religious literature, the presidential representative stressed that in autumn of 2009 a scientific-consultative council was established at the Ministry of Justice of the RF in charge of study of information materials of religious contents to find out examples of extremism. Authoritative Russian experts in Islam and representatives of Muslim religious organizations, of Islamic science became members of this council.

The participants of the meeting in their speeches noted that in all regions of the BVFD the authorities and Islamic organizations carry out mutual activities in the social sphere, in the sphere of culture and education, in the political sphere relating to the youth. The attitude of the authorities to Muslim associations is determined by provisions of the Constitution and of the federal law “On Liberty of Conscience and on Religious Associations”, stressed the presidential representative and said: “The organs of the state power adhere to the position that without interfering in affairs of the Muslim religious community they shall cooperate with all responsible, patriotic Islamic structures”.

In the course of the meeting its participants determined as a factor of concern the activities of foreign radical-extremist movements, organizations, which were qualified as extremist both in Russia and abroad. These movements and their supporters discredit Russian Islam, create a threat of split in the lines of Muslims.

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RUSSIAN GEOPOLITICAL DISCOURSE ON THE NORTH CAUCASUS AND PUBLIC OPINION

The geopolitical culture is the culture of knowledge about the outside world and interpretation of the state's role as a subject of international activities. It is as well the whole complex of institutions and cultures engaged in reciprocal action of public forces elaborating foreign policy. As geopolitical imaginations the experts call images and causal perceptions of a certain social group or of the whole population of the country about the place of the country (ethnic cultural group) in the world, as well as the attitude to external forces. The geopolitical perception of the world is a normative mental political map of the world or the region combined with perceptions on acting within them forces, which have impact on foreign policy. The geopolitical vision is being formed subject to influence of numerous factors: family traditions, education, personal experience, particularly in size and configuration of mastered space (espace vecu), publicity, literature and art, cinema, mass media, which create and disseminate a set of myths, stereotypes and conceptions about national history and territory. These conceptions are being spread during the geopolitical discourse, synthesizing certain information on international affairs attached to the territory. The geopolitical discourse is initiated and maintained more often by mass media, which serve the interests of the determined groups of the elite. The social-political differentiation of society and conflicts among interests of various social and ethnic groups give rise to differences in perceptions of the country's territory. People in a different way see the place of different parts of the country in its economic and political space. Each geopolitical culture and tradition

represents itself a system of more or less integral and mutually connected views not only about the external world and international affairs but also about the territory of the state and the internal policy.

In Soviet times, the North Caucasus was perceived as an internal region, known primarily by the resorts of the Black Sea shore and the Caucasian Mineral Waters. It was considered also as one of the principal granaries of the country and as its “ethnographic museum”. After disintegration of the USSR these perceptions radically changed. The North Caucasus became the arena of acute national clashes and war in Chechnya; at present, it borders the districts of bloody conflicts in former neighboring Soviet republics. At present, the image of the North Caucasus is associated with such notions as “war”, “terrorism”, “violence”. They were used by 42% of Russians, who responded to the questions of Foundation “Public Opinion” (FOM). The responses of only 8% of the questioned persons shared positive associations – “sea”, “mountains”, “good weather”, “rest”, “resorts”. These perceptions are shaped mostly by mass media, primarily by TV. According to A.G. Druzhinin, over 70% of information about the South Federal District, contained in state national TV channels is characterized by negative substance.

The presented below work aims at determining the place of the North Caucasus in the contemporary geopolitical discourse and geopolitical perception by residents of the region itself. Do they consider the whole territory of the North Caucasus to be an integral part of Russia or do they suppose a probable separation of some part of it? Why this region is so significant for Russia? In which direction the situation tends to develop? What are the most important factors, which determine this development? What political conclusions should be made in relation to recent events in the region and what should be done

in this respect? What are the region's perspectives from the point of view of representatives of various geopolitical cultures and traditions?

The official geopolitical discourse

The principal argument in the official discourse (table 1) consists in the assertion that Russia simply may not allow itself "to leave" the North Caucasus or some part of it. V. Putin in his interview to representatives of foreign mass media repeatedly stressed that the federal forces' actions in the North Caucasus were determined not only by the need to suppress the hotbed of terrorism but also by the threat, which is presented to the whole Russian state by uncontrolled Chechnya. Aggression de-facto of independent Chechnya against Dagestan in 1999 and originating from it uninterrupted subversive actions against neighboring regions clearly demonstrated the terrorists' aim of creating a Muslim state "from sea to sea", hostile to Russia. The social chaos, caused by it, could spread to other Muslim regions of the country and imperil existence of Russia. Therefore each genuine patriot of the country should wage a relentless struggle against separatism and terrorism.

The second argument is as follows: the great majority of peoples in the North Caucasus do not perceive themselves to be outside Russia. The joint struggle with the federal forces of peoples of Dagestan against Chechen terrorists proves it clearly. The referendum, organized in the Chechen Republic and attended by foreign observers, showed that 80% of its voters supported the union with Russia. The transfers from the federal budget account in average 74% of the budgets of the republics in the North Caucasus.

Table 1

Substance and structure of the official geopolitical discourse

“Grammar” of discourse	Discourse
Why the North Caucasus is so important for Russia?	Characteristic of contemporary situation in the region. The question is the existence of the Russian state. Chechnya is not only the seat of terrorism. “If we let create a fundamentalist state from a sea to sea, this state will spread to other regions of compact settlement of Muslim population of Russia...Any country would have protected its territorial integrity”.
In which way does the situation change?	The situation gradually normalizes: the number of terrorist acts has greatly decreased, the economic situation improves.
What external factors and international events represent the consequences of its development?	Terrorism in the North Caucasus is a part of the international terrorist threat. Russia is in forward positions of struggle against the international terrorism. However, the West tries to use double standards in appraisal of the situation in the North Caucasus and in other regions, for instance, in the Balkans.
What reasons contributed to creation of this situation?	The active forces and reasons. There exist both internal and external factors of the situation’s development. The social-economic situation in the region (poverty, unemployment, corruption, distrust in the authorities) is of great significance.
Why this situation has emerged and who is responsible for it?	The international terrorist international. The difficulties of the post-Soviet transitory period.
What political conclusions should be made?	The political interests and conclusions. The compromises with terrorists are impossible to be. The territorial integrity of the country is the pre-condition for its flourishing, while the patriotic duty of each citizen is its protection.
Which measures should be taken?	To consolidate the law enforcement system, to promote economic development, to create the middle class.

The third argument of the official discourse is as follows: the actions of the federal forces against Chechen separatists represent a part of struggle against the international terrorism. Some years ago the

attack of Al-Qaeda terrorists against American cities served as a proof and the basis of a new official Russian geopolitical discourse, which presented the struggle between “civilized” and “barbarous” forces, including the Chechen terrorism, as a foundation of the world policy and showed that Russia occupies an important place among civilized countries in this fight. At present, it is stressed that official delegations of the Council of Europe note improvement in the situation of human rights in the North Caucasus. At the same time, V. Putin repeatedly said that the West used double standards in appraisal of the situation in the Caucasus, in Russia and in the regions, kept under its control – in Bosnia, Kosovo and others. It concerns not only human rights. The western countries take matters to proclamation of state independence of Kosovo and simultaneously accuse Russia of support of the self-proclaimed republics in the post-Soviet space.

The fourth argument of the official discourse – improvement of the situation in the North Caucasus is used as a justification of rightness of the official political course. D. Kozak, the presidential representative in the SFD, told V. Putin that for the last two years the number of terrorist acts was decreased three times and that the general level of criminality calculated for 100 thousand residents is 40% lower than the average national level. There are evident signs of the improved economic situation. For the first half of 2006, the rise of industrial production exceeded by 7.9% the average level in Russia. The sociological surveys fix the rise of social optimism. The amnesty, granted by the State Duma, induced many terrorists to lay down their arms. Many their leaders, including Sh. Basayev, were liquidated. The president of Russia mentioned several causes of the situation, shaped in the North Caucasus, including, first, the external support of radical movements. The large-scale actions would have been impossible without it. Second, poverty, unemployment and corruption are the

breeding ground of terrorism. It proceeds from the said that it is necessary by all means to consolidate the law enforcement system and its bodies: no compromises with terrorist are admissible, since it is impossible to buy them. The law enforcement bodies should act efficiently, rigidly and in a well coordinate way against those, who took arms in their hands, threatens life and health of Russian citizens and integrity of the Russian state. At the same time, V. Putin supported the targeted state efforts aimed at economic development of the North Caucasus: "...the economic rise and creation of the middle class". "The question is not the financial means", stressed V. Putin, we have them not only in Stabilization Fund. The question is their efficient usage". In September 2006, V. Putin declared creation of the Commission for improvement of the social-economic situation in the SFD. There exists a tendency to exaggerate investment risks in the North Caucasus: the threat of terrorism decreases. The negative image of the region hinders inflow of investments.

The stress in the official geopolitical discourse on positive trends contradicts somehow the information on events in the North Caucasus by official publication "Rossiyskaya Gazeta"; out of 63 annual publications 52 of them were devoted to terrorist acts, activities of the law enforcement bodies, perspectives of the amnesty etc. This information evidently did not promote change of image of the North Caucasus in the eyes of Russians. In 6–7 publications some criticism of the authorities was contained. Former president of North Ossetia A.S. Dzasokhov indirectly accused the present political regime in existence of industrial depression in the republics of the North Caucasus, which created a particular difficult situation for Russians and forced many of them to leave the North Caucasus. "The mono-national republic is characterized by closeness, self-isolation, self-admiration, it is a distorting mirror of history, inability to see distant horizon", noted

A.S. Dzasokhov. According to him, the basic reason of the problems in the region is not only the economic situation and corruption but also the lack of the uniting idea, of education and ideological work. Informing about the first address of the president of Chechnya to the people and the parliament, “Rossiyskaya Gazeta” marked that A. Alkhanov rigidly criticized the federal program of regional restoration, comparing it with a narcotic needle. The corrupted officials are interested in this channel, bringing money from the center. A great part of this federal assistance is used in neighboring regions. Chechnya has to feed itself, and the economic development may be ensured not by oil extraction and oil refining but by agriculture, by small and middle business.

The geopolitical discourses of the opposition

The left discourse describes the situation in the North Caucasus and its role for Russia as a whole in the same words as the official discourse: this region is vitally important for the country, and its loss would mean the first step in disintegration of the Russian state. However, unlike the representatives of the official discourse, Communists think that the war in Chechnya has not been finished and that the risk of another large-scale conflict grows fast. The probable result of Chechnya coming independent will be the same as in case of Kosovo: emergence of “client” state with a big American military base, supported by foreign financial means, directed by gangsters and fighters, transporting narcotics, sex slaves and military contraband, deeply involved in separatist terror along the Russian border. The are two causes of this dangerous situation: external and internal. First, the Anglo-American imperialists are liable for it, traditionally using the slogan of national self-dependence to include new territories in their sphere of influence. Supporting talibs in Afghanistan in their struggle against the Soviet army and fighters in Kosovo against Serbs, the USA promoted formation of Muslim fundamentalism . They are interested in

further extension of its zone of economic and financial control primarily over oil resources, in disintegration of the Russian Federation as one of the few states, which may withstand its dictates. Representatives of the left and national-patriotic discourse provide many citations from works of Z. Brzhezinski, like his significant slip of the tongue about the fact that many small ethnic enclaves were still (!) in power of Russia. The double standards are deeply incorporated in western political thinking. It is stressed in the left discourse: the West always regards itself to be right, since, in its mind, created by western countries political system represents the crown of democracy and brings to the world freedom and flourishing. The USA and England supported disintegration of the USSR and of other socialist countries of Europe only due to the fact that they did not resemble their unmoral society. At the same time, it is noted in the left discourse that there is no convincing evidence of extensive involvement of international terrorism in activities in the North Caucasus.

Second, spokesmen of the left discourse make responsible for the situation in the North Caucasus the present Russian political regime, which is to blame for complete withdrawal of the state from economy of the region and for its degradation: destruction of industries, unemployment, poverty, total corruption. Exactly due to the irrational policy of Moscow the self-isolation of republican elites from their own people did take place. Newspaper "Sovetskaya Rossiya" mentioned Kabardino-Balkaria as an example. Contrary to the official data, the GNP of the republic accounted annually for decrease of 3-5%. In terms of budgetary expenses for one person it occupies one of the last places in the RF. The republican budget gets subsidies from the federal center in the amount of 70%. The average wage is twice lower than the national average wage. The present period is compared by the newspaper with the glorious Soviet period of time: in 1920, in Kabarda

and Balkaria there were only two schools for 23 pupils, while for the period of the Soviet power there were constructed 10 higher and 15 high special education institutions, where studied over 15 thousand students. The number of professors and associate professors, doctors and candidates of sciences surpassed the number of literate people in 1920. For the Soviet time, only in Nalchik for one working day the industrial production surpassed by 60 times the whole production in Kabardino-Balkaria in 1920. Nobody was aware of such notions as unemployment, inflation, racket, terrorism, corruption, prostitution and oligarchy. The peoples maintained reciprocal peaceful and friendly relations.

At the same time, “Sovetskaya Rossiya” for one year devoted small attention to the North Caucasus: only 11 publications. The newspaper seems to be interested more in general, “global” and all-Russian geopolitical problems – opposition between East and West etc. The same may be said about newspaper “Zavtra”: only 10 publications on the North Caucasus for the year. The national-patriotic discourse determines the situation like the official and the left discourses: the question is the existence of Russia as an independent state. Russia should struggle for political stability in the Caucasus, otherwise it will disappear from the world map. “Zavtra” rigidly criticizes those, who under pretext of saving money of the federal budget propose to get rid from the burden of problems of the Caucasus, leaving it to itself: to grant independence to Chechnya and to other republics, if they wish it.

The national-patriotic discourse is characterized by two arguments: first, it stresses the discrimination and persecution of the Russian population, which has to emigrate without any assistance of the federal authorities. It is impossible to keep the North Caucasus within the Russian state, notes “Zavtra”. It cites various Chechen documents in time of quasi-independent Ichkeria and mentions the slogan in Grozny:

“Russians, please, do not go away! We are in need of slaves and prostitutes!” However, the authorities look for support everywhere but not from Russians, marks the newspaper. A Russian refugee, if he returns to Chechnya, may claim for compensation of 125 thousand rubles, while a Chechen refugee will get 300 thousand rubles. Secondly, the national-patriotic discourse on the North Caucasus is characterized by anti-immigrant feelings. “Zavtra” explains the inflow of migrants from the region by poverty and instability. It notes that the migrants represent a great threat to Russian identity and culture. Thus, due to the wide area of migrants’ settlement, the situation in the North Caucasus concerns each Russian citizen.

In the national-patriotic discourse, like in the left discourse, the situation is appraised as a threatening and aggravating situation. After events in Nalchik the leader of parliamentarian fraction “Rodina” D. Ragozin demanded installation of emergency situation in the North Caucasus in his article in newspaper “Zavtra”. The national-patriots agree with Communists that it is impossible to explain the situation by a plot of international terrorists. Radical Islamism existed always in Chechnya, Ingushetia and northern part of Dagestan, noted “Zavtra”. At present, under conditions of ideological vacuum, these ideas are propagated among the peoples, traditionally loyal to Russia. The pro-Russian part of society in the North Caucasus shares remnants of Soviet ideology. The Soviet heritage, reminiscence of the Great Patriotic war is extremely important for the elder generation: the Soviet epoch is regarded by it as a period of flourishing, when every person was able to find a job, there existed order, there were maintained peaceful relations among peoples of the region. However, paradoxically the Soviet heritage contains a mighty anti-Russian explosive device: Soviet propaganda persistently assured the people that the czarist Russia was a prison for peoples, that only the Soviet power provided them with

freedom. At present, they repeat the same thesis in relation to contemporary Russia.

Table 2

Substance and structure of the left geopolitical discourse

“Grammar” of discourse	Discourse
Why the North Caucasus is important for Russia?	Characteristic of contemporary situation in the region The question is the existence of the Russian state. The victory of terrorists in the Caucasus will mean a stage on the way to disintegration of Russia.
In which way does the situation change?	The risk of a large-scale conflict grows fast.
What external factors and international events represent the consequences of its development?	The Anglo-American imperialists are accomplices of the Caucasian terrorists: they support them to split Russia and to bend its “fragments” to their will. There is no convincing evidence of international terrorism’s involvement in actions in the North Caucasus.
What are the reasons of the created situation?	The active forces and reasons Total corruption, destruction of economy and poverty, caused by withdrawal of state from economy. “The acute problems of people became the nutrient medium of gangsterism...The reactionary forces actively use the growing social evil in the struggle for power and property” (G. Zyuganov).
In which way the situation is explained and who is responsible for it?	The ruling regime, pathologically unable to carry out efficient activities and indifferent to the needs of millions of citizens. The West and particularly the USA, having proclaimed the Caucasus to be the zone of their vital interests. “Democrats”, having disintegrated the Soviet Union with support of the USA.
What political conclusions should be made?	The political interests and conclusions 1. “In Soviet times we were not aware of what is unemployment and inflation, terrorism and racket...” 2. Moscow should finally get rid of reckless westernism.
What measures should be taken?	The determined hard stand in relation to the USA, Great Britain and other western countries should be taken.

Like Communists, the national-patriots accuse Americans of making pressure on Russia along the perimeter of its borders, of stimulating separatism with the hope of for its disintegration and getting control over its rich resources. Like in the official and the left discourses, the national-patriots think that the USA and other western countries use double standards. And what is more, they regard this policy as logical and inevitable, since Americans are convinced in their moral superiority.

Like Communists, the authors of newspaper “Zavtra” accuse the present Kremlin regime of all misfortunes in the North Caucasus. They try to show that ethnic clans have monopolized the control over republican and local authorities, law enforcement bodies, local enterprises of the state companies and over the most profitable branches of economy. Due to collapse of industries and other advanced branches of economy, due to departure of the Russia population, society goes on through the process of rapid rise of archaic phenomena: actually the republics in the North Caucasus return to the epoch of feudalization, to the regimes of personal power, composing the features of traditional clan system and the remnants of Communist structures. This system is based as well on arbitrary rule of law enforcement bodies, providing services to the clan’s interests, used as a means of blood feud and regulation of relations among different groups, inevitably aggravating the situation. The general corruption is a needed component of this system. “Zavtra” cited M. Aliyev, the president of Dagestan, who has a good reputation: the post of republican minister “costs” \$ 500 thousand, the post of the head of local administration costs \$ 150 thousand. The state power is completely isolated from real life, and the social polarization has attained a scandalous level, while poverty and unemployment greatly prevail over the average level in the country.

The conclusion, made in the national-patriotic discourse, is the same as in the left discourse: the policy of the federal authorities is inadequate to the situation. There is an urgent need to replace as soon as possible the corrupted regional elites and to reform the law enforcement system, to elaborate and actively to carry out the special economic policy in the North Caucasus, which will make it possible to create a sufficient number of new jobs. Some national patriots propose also to redraw the political-administrative map of the region and create provinces with equal rights.

Table 3
Substance and structure of national-patriotic geopolitical discourse

“Grammar” of discourse	Discourse
Characteristic of the contemporary situation in the region	
Why the North Caucasus is important for Russia?	<p>The question is the existence of the Russian state. Russia may not let itself leave the North Caucasus. Several emirates or khanates will immediately be formed, being hostile to Russia and making territorial claims to it.</p> <p>Discrimination and persecution of the Russian population, deprived of any protection by the federal authorities.</p> <p>Migration of hundred thousand people, originated from the North Caucasus, to Russian cities, threatening Russian identity and culture.</p>
In what way the situation changes?	The situation aggravated to the critical level.
The acting forces and the causes	
What causes contributed to the creation of the existing situation?	The inadequate policy of the federal authorities, which allowed the regional elites to establish authoritarian regimes, possessing the interests, being far from aspirations of the people and deprived of any support. Poverty, unemployment.

Continuation of table 3

In which way the situation is explained and who is responsible for it?	"All problems are in Moscow and not in the periphery". The administration and the law enforcement system are formed according to the clan-ancestral principal. Corruption is part and parcel of this system. The republics of the North Caucasus are in the process of going back to feudalism: the officials have the limitless power and keep under their control the most profitable spheres of economy.
Political interests and conclusions	
What political conclusions should be made?	The pro-Russian part of society in the North Caucasus shares the remnants of the Soviet ideological heritage. However, it has a strong anti-Russian explosive device. Under present conditions Muslim extremism becomes "ideology of social justice", a protest against amoral western and now Russian civilization.
What measures should be taken?	To remove from power regional elites, to liquidate corruption in the law enforcement bodies, to struggle against ethnic criminality, to carryout efficient economic and social policy, to change the political-administrative division.

The liberal discourse does not stress an exceptional feature of the situation in the North Caucasus. On the contrary, it is stressed that in principle the foundation for forceful acts exists in the whole country. The corruption has affected everywhere the regional administrations, mishandling budgetary means and artificially creating the excessive social polarization and poverty. The law enforcement system protects interests of the power and not of ordinary citizens and strives for preventing "orange revolution". However, the problems in the North Caucasus have specific ethnic and historic feature. At the same time, "war against terrorism" is being waged just there. Therefore it started to blaze there and not in another place, explained prominent observer of newspaper "Novaya Gazeta" A. Politkovskaya, assassinated in October of 2006. Nevertheless, "Novaya Gazeta" devotes much more attention to information and analysis of the situation in the North Caucasus, than "Sovetskaya Rossiya" or "Zavtra": 49 publications in a year, including only two publications, written in a positive manner.

In the liberal discourse the situation in the North Caucasus is also appraised as deteriorating. Many articles in “Novaya Gazeta” are devoted to political tension, conflicting situations, lawless actions of the authorities, violation of human rights. The conclusion is formulated quite clearly: the official declarations about improvement of the situation in the region are not more than propaganda. The punitive actions are often directed against the people, whose participation in terrorist acts is at least questionable, while these acts, particularly in Dagestan, actually represent events, when some clans settle a score with other clans or are examples of blood feud. In the course of cruel forceful actions in the struggle against terrorists the law enforcement bodies cause great and, as a rule, not compensated material and moral damage to many innocent people, including women and children. Information about victims among the peaceful citizens is published. The terrorists usually are not captured being alive: the newspaper explains it by disinclination of the law enforcement organs to have unnecessary eye-witnesses and to collect evidence and at the same time by their interest to report about new successes.

As far as the international sphere is concerned, the liberals do not agree with one of the main thesis of the official discourse that terrorism in the North Caucasus is a part of global war against international terrorism. They deem that the federal authorities need this thesis to justify their repressive and inadequate policy. Responding to E. Yurgens, a parliamentarian of Holland, who made a report on violation of human rights in the North Caucasus, K. Kosachyov, the head of the Russian delegation in a session of the Council of Europe, declared: “The phenomenon, qualified by you as a civil war, actually is the struggle against terrorism”. L. Shvetsova, an analyst of the Moscow Center of Carnegie, determined this tactic as “use of liberal rhetoric by the non-liberal power”. Liberals refute arguments of the official

discourse concerning its assertion that even European politicians admit amelioration of the situation. “Novaya Gazeta” in this respect cherishes hopes for international organizations, involved in the research of violation of human rights in the region.

The elaborated international expertise makes it possible to determine the level of al-Qaeda involvement in some events in any region. The foreign experts, asked by the newspaper, think that international terrorist organizations actually give financial and ideological support to terrorists in the North Caucasus but this assistance does not play the decisive role. In contrast to al-Qaeda groups, which penetrated many countries of the world, Basayev and his supporters took actions exclusively against the Russian state and were not interested in what was going in the West. Thus, all opposition newspapers – from national-patriotic to liberal – make the same diagnosis. The causes of the crisis situation in the North Caucasus are as follows: corruption, abuse of budgetary means, poverty, unemployment, duplicity of official propaganda. In the liberal discourse it is stressed that the republican authorities do not enjoy people's confidence and do not care for needs of ordinary citizens. “Novaya Gazeta” shares a more specific approach and reveals real motives of political decisions, taken by the republican authorities, and cites examples of their absolute indifference to people's needs and public opinion. For instance, the newspaper reported about shooting by special servicemen of the demonstration in the Doguzparinsk district (South Dagestan), which was arranged with the demand of dismissal of the corrupted head of the district administration. Till that time, any attempts to knock until someone is heard at the door of the republican authorities did fail: all complaints were sent back. These events were officially interpreted as the attempts of radical elements to remove the lawful power.

“Novaya Gazeta” mentions another factor of tension in Dagestan and in neighboring republics: the unique combination of traditional ethnic-clan organization of society with remnants of Communist structures. Under these conditions, there are two decisions: either to apply strictly the laws of the Russian state or to give mountaineers a chance to live according to their traditional laws. The selective and spontaneous compliance with laws and application of the law enforcement system by rival clans leads to chaos.

Table 4
Substance and structure of liberal (right) discourse

“Grammar”	Liberal (right) discourse
Characteristic of contemporary situation in the republic	
Why the North Caucasus is important for Russia?	The situation in the North Caucasus is as disturbed as in Russia as a whole, although it is complicated by a number of factors, particularly by “war against terrorism”.
In which way the situation changes?	The situation is aggravating rapidly, stabilization is a myth of official propaganda.
What are the external factors and of its developments’ international consequences?	The slogan on global war against international terrorism is used by the federal authorities for justification of greatly erroneous policy.
The acting forces and the causes	
What are the reasons of the shaped situation?	Total corruption, abuse of budgetary means, poverty, unemployment, duplicity and lies of official propaganda, daily violations of elementary human rights, Archaic order of society, combining traditional ethnic-clan organization with vestiges of Communist structures. Ignorance of realities by the federal center.
How the situation is explained and who is responsible for it?	Rigid and unprofessional actions of the federal authorities, dramatically aggravating anti-Russian feelings.
Political interests and conclusions	
What political conclusions should be made?	The federal authorities are not only unable to cope with the situation but also to analyze it.
What measures should be taken?	Solidarity and self-organization of civil society may prevent further complications.

The conclusions made in the liberal discourse resemble the conclusions made in other opposition discourses: the federal authorities do not cope with the situation and even are unable to comprehend its causes. However, the political recommendations, made by the liberals, are different: it is necessary to develop civil self-consciousness and solidarity of citizens, to promote their self-organization in protection of their rights, to strengthen shoots of civil society.

* * *

The views of what discourse share the residents of the North Caucasus?

What is the opinion of common citizens on the decisions, suggested by politicians and political observers? It seems that the perception on primarily economic roots of the shaped situation is shared by everybody: from the state leaders to the opposition of all tinges and public opinion in the region itself. In the opinion of 47.5% of respondents, exactly the lack of noticed economic progress represents by itself the most significant problem for peoples in the North Caucasus. As other reasons, mentioned in various discourses, are concerned, the citizens agree rather with the opposition: it is evident that they are dissatisfied with the regional (republican) authorities and think that corruption is the most important hindrance to improvement of their position. The following reasons were mentioned by the respondents: corruption – 21.0% of respondents, terrorism and armed conflicts – 17.5%, criminality – 8.9%. Unlike participants of the left and national-patriotic discourse, the residents of the North Caucasus are not inclined to regard the risk of separatism and of inter-ethnic tension as the principal danger: only 3.5% of the respondents mentioned it as the principal danger (1.5% of the respondents were in difficulties to answer).

The responses to other questions directly or indirectly prove this conclusion. Only 1.5% of respondents regard as an important problem

of the peoples in the North Caucasus the lack of possibility to withdraw from the Russian Federation. Only 3.0% of respondents agreed with the assertion that concession by Russia of such option to the Caucasian peoples might put an end to terrorist actions. Therefore, to all appearance, the argument often used by the official discourse, that the peoples in the North Caucasus as usual link their life with Russia, as a whole is justified. Consequently, only 9% of citizens think that forceful actions and conflicts in the region are explained by the wish of Chechen separatists to withdraw their republic from Russia. And 17.6% of respondents accuse the authorities of emergence of such problem, while 13.2% of respondents mentioned the international terrorism in this respect. In other words, about 40% of the population in the North Caucasus share the central argument of the official discourse relating to the connection between the Caucasian and the international terrorism. At the same time, a significant part of citizens (27.1%) share the opposition's point of view that the situation in the North Caucasus is the outcome of the non-professional policy of the federal authorities (only 1.9% of respondents mentioned other causes of violence and conflicts, while 8.4% experienced difficulties in giving answer).

At the same time, there are noticeable differences of opinions among representatives of main ethnic groups. The choices of Russians, who share some or other option of the answer, actually do not differ from the average level. Over half of the questioned Avars, Dargins and Lezgins consider the inauspicious state of economy and the lack of working places as the greatest danger for the peoples of the North Caucasus. It is common knowledge that according to official statistics Dagestan occupies one of the last places in the RF in terms of level of incomes per one person. Corruption is considered to be the main danger by greater number of respondents than the average level of respondents among Russians and Chechens, who seem to know well the size of the

misappropriated means out of the financial means, coming to Chechnya from the federal center.

The respondents' points of view differ most of all in relation to the significance of the Chechen conflict as a leading factor of tension. The share of the Chechens, who regard as its main cause the refusal of the federal authorities to give independence to Chechnya, surpasses more than twice the average level (21%: the questions were put only to Chechens, living outside the title republic). Relatively many neighbors-Avars (13%) and Kabardins (17%) expressed their solidarity with this opinion. A rather worrying symptom is seen in inclination of Kabardins (7% comparing with average 5%) to complain on the lack of chance for peoples in the North Caucasus to gain self-independence. The summed up average share of the respondents in five regions, who do not see a danger of disintegration of Russia, i.e. those with anti-system feelings, accounts for 14%. The share of such respondents makes up the following data in different groups: Chechens – 26%, Kabardins – 24%, Avars – 16% (at the same time, neighboring Dargins – only 5%, Kumyks – 4%).

The Russian policy in the North Caucasus as a cause of violence is regarded in particular by Avars and Lezgins (the latter, probably, due to dissatisfaction with the present status of the people, separated by the state border). The organized criminality causes the greatest concern by Dargins, Kumyks and Chechens (21–25% comparing with 18% respondents in average, who regard this threat to the North Caucasus as the greatest threat). Over half of responded Kabardins, Lezgins and Avars regard these two causes as the main causes of violence and conflicts in the North Caucasus, occupying the central place in the geopolitical discourse of opposition of all types. The official version that considers radical Islam as the main cause of violence is shared

mainly by peoples of Dagestan (Dargins, Kumyks and Avars – 23-25%) and Armenians (21% comparing with average 18%).

In other words, most respondents of some relatively numerous peoples of the region, particularly Chechens and Kabardins, either regard as a possible action the separation of some regions from Russia or, in one way or other, express their consent with the arguments, advanced in the geopolitical discourse of the opposition.

Thus, the comparative analysis of the contents of the discourses and of the sociological data allowed making conclusion that the official discourse on the North Caucasus as a whole enjoys a small popularity in the region itself. In terms of critical geopolitics, it means that “internal” “high” geopolitics developed by the ruling political forces does not coincides completely with “low” geopolitics – the set of perceptions, symbols and images on geopolitical perspectives of the region and on its place within the Russian state, on the causes of political tension and constant explosions of violence, which is shared at the same time by a considerable part of public opinion. Probably, this is the key difference in geopolitical vision of the state territory and of the external world, as well as of perceptions of foreign policy of Russia. It is known that in all regions the Russian citizens appreciate activities V. Putin on the international arena higher than his activities as a whole, although the general rating of the head of the state is quite high. The divergence in the views of “high” and “low” geopolitics is relatively small.

The principal divergence exists between the official discourse and the opinion of the opposition. In contrast with the official point of view, the opposition discourse on the North Caucasus is marked by the alarmist characteristic; the political rivals of the present administration are convinced that the situation in the region is aggravating and is fraught with a serious crisis.

The contents of the opposition's discourses on the North Caucasus as one of the most important region of the country correspond to the geopolitical traditions in views on the foreign policy priorities. The “internal” geopolitical discourse of western liberals on the Caucasus corresponds to western traditions, the official discourse – corresponds to state prevalence direction, the left and national-patriotic discourse – consequently corresponds to non-Communist, radical-expansionist and ground discourse.

At the same time, the consensus of all political forces exists on a certain position. Experts agree that at the present stage the key role in stabilization of the situation is played by economy: the region is in great need of investments and new jobs. Most experts also think that the North Caucasus is an integral part of Russia. Its disintegration will mean the start of disintegration of the whole Russian state. Therefore it can not admit victory of radical forces. In the geopolitical discourse of at least a part of opposition there is a trend to opposition of northern “Russians” to southern “national” regions of the North Caucasus in terms of cultural-historic peculiarities. This trend reflects the actual processes of social-economic polarization of its territory and objectively contradicts declarations on the needs in integration.

“Naselenie Yuga Rossii: transformatsiya vospriyvoda stva naseleniya i obraza zhizni v novyh geopoliticheskikh usloviyah”, Stavropol, 2009, p. 38–52.

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TURKMENISTAN: ROUTE DIVERSIFICATION OF ENERGY RESOURCE EXPORT

The Caspian-Central Asian region is in the spotlight of the leading world states by virtue of rich hydrocarbon raw materials

reserves and advantageous geopolitical situation. They consider the region states as the most important suppliers of energy resources, especially Turkmenistan. The main orientations of policy are energetic raw materials volume production increasing and establishing direct contacts with the buyers of the Turkmen energy resources. Ashkhabad seeks to be as the largest supplier of hydrocarbons; it would allow it not only to strengthen its positions at the world market of energy carriers but to extend its influence in Near-Caspian and Central-Asian region.

Having declared its intention of “many export variances” policy-making Turkmenistan refused definitely from isolationism policy the former leadership of the country observed and made its foreign-policy strategy more active. Positioning itself as the independent supplier of “blue fuel” Ashkhabad counts on additional investments get involved into fuel-energetic sector as the regional and non-regional states besides a competition for the right of developing oil and gas fields at the territory of the country show heightened interest to the new pipeline building where hydrocarbon feedstock must be supplied on the foreign markets. The Turkmen leadership has to take into account that the major energetic project implementation will entail the possibility of geopolitical rivalry worsening about Turkmenistan between the world centers of the force.

Turkmenistan takes the third place among the near-Caspian states according to liquid and gaseous hydrocarbon reserves and it creates conditions to organize a large transport – energetic junction at its territory. The following trends of transit-transport infrastructure developing are the most perspective for Ashkhabad:

- the northern one supposing a modernization of the existing main “Central Asia-Center” (CAC) and also the Near-Caspian gas main building;

- the eastern one including the Trans-Eurasian corridor to supply raw materials along gas main “Turkmenistan-China”;
- the western one where one considers a possibility to build the Trans-Caspian gas main with a subsequent joining to the project “Nabukko”;
- the southern one supposing energy feedstock supplies increasing in Iran by putting additional branch of the pipeline Dovletabat-Serakhs-Khangaran into operation but in perspective – the Trans-Afghan pipeline building.

Turkmenistan seeks to weaken the dependence on the Russian system of pipelines. For that purpose official Ashkhabad seeks within the bounds of its long-term strategy, firstly, to expand a circle of investors in the energetic sector to form a networked transit-transport system and implement state-of-the- art technologies for developing fields and a primary processing of natural resources; secondly, to develop capacities of thermal energetic complex in order to increase volumes of hydrocarbon production for satisfying of the needs of world energetic feedstock importers; thirdly, to initiate a renewed system of the relation forming in the world energetic sector allowing to implement some energetic projects in future under the aegis of UNO.

However, the Russian orientation will play the key role in fuel-energetic strategy of the republic in the medium-term perspective. It is caused by some reasons:

- firstly, the existing system of pipelines between the Russian Federation and Turkmenistan is the most convenient route of the Turkmen gas transportation for the world markets;
- secondly, “Turkmengas” and “Gasprom” are bound by the contract for the Turkmen gas purchase in volume of about 30 milliards cubic meters annually;

– thirdly, Russia seeks to hold its ground of the main transiter of the Turkmen gas in Europe and makes attempts to eliminate unbalance between economic and geopolitical component of a contract;

– fourthly, it would take some time for bringing the projects on export diversification implemented by Turkmenistan to design output in order to hold partnerships between Moscow and Ashkhabad.

Having signed the treaty with Russia and Kazakhstan in 2007 (assuming a possibility for Uzbekistan's joining to it) on the Near-Caspian gas pipeline building Turkmenistan expects to supply up to 30 milliards cbm of gas annually in the Russian direction. Within the framework of the given project one also assumes to reconstruct the pipeline "Central Asia-Center" where there was an accident on April 2009 entailing stopping of the Turkmen gas deliveries along this main. The Russian-Turkmen relations were negatively influenced by this accident. The parties couldn't come to agreement concerning terms and volumes of deliveries resumption and pricing for gas. Only in December 2009 the leaders of Russia and Turkmenistan came to accommodation on gas-transport transit resumption. One should note that the periodical contradictions between Turkmenistan and the Russian holding in spite of the political will of the parties put obstacles in the way of the Near-Caspian pipeline building. Ashkhabad's actions are dictated by its desire to carry out independent energetic policy. The fact that in October 2009 Turkmenistan declared its intention to put a ban on fuel re-export in order to sell natural gas directly testifies it. However, this variant isn't convenient for Russia as the costs on natural gas deliveries for the users in Europe will be considerably increased.

One should note that the republic leadership doesn't find external economic relations development only in the Russian direction reasonable. So, this explains a desire for route diversification of energy feedstock export. In December 2009 a transcontinental gas pipeline

“Central Asia-China” was put into operation. The length of gas-transport artery build at the territory of four states (Turkmenistan, Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan and China) is more than 7000 km. Turkmenistan will supply up to 40 milliards cbm of gas in China annually during 30 years according to concluded contract. Usage of pipeline capacity will be provided for the account of natural gas of the fields “Samandep” and “Altyn asyr” at the first stage. In near future the Chinese national oil and gas corporation (CNPC) will produce raw materials on the field “Bagtyyarlyk” on the right riverside of Amu Darya. It’s clear that a cooperation of Ashkhabad with Peking can bring to strained competition for the Turkmen energy resources. However, one shouldn’t the Russian position relaxing in the energetic sector in the short-term perspective.

Heightened China’s interest for a trade-economic cooperation with Turkmenistan coincided with Ashkhabad’s plans on diversification of external contacts of the republic. The financial activity stirring of the Chinese business-community must strengthen China’s economic penetration in Turkmenistan and ensure its access to natural resources of the Caspian Sea. In its turn, the European states are also interested in oil and gas resources of the Near-Caspian region. One of the important policy elements of Ashkhabad on gas and oil transport system of the country is the western sector of the Turkmen hydrocarbons transportation. Many European companies including the Belgian “ENEX Process Engineering SA” and the German “RWE DEA AG” having concluded the agreement lately on the participation in hydrocarbon resource development of the Turkmen shelf of the Caspian region are also interested in the Turkmen energy resources. The gas pipeline “Nabukko” lobbied for by the western countries is a continuation of the large-scale previous European projects on pipeline building for the Central-Asian and the Caspian energy carriers delivery

on the world markets. Natural gas delivery to the terminals in Azerbaijan is also a problem. At the present no potential projects on the Turkmen gas transportation to energy centers in Baku satisfy to the necessary geopolitical and economic conditions.

The trans-Caspian pipeline. The Russian Federation interferes with this project implementation regarding this route as anti-Russian; there are some complications because of the Caspian Sea status uncertainty and mutual claims of Turkmenistan and Azerbaijan relatively the Caspian shelf delimitation.

The trans-Iranian pipeline. The western countries and first of all, USA, don't support the variant to use gas-transport system of Iran for the Turkmen energy resources transit because of differences on the Iranian nuclear program and also geopolitical rivalry in the Middle East.

Liquefied gas delivery by the sea. The necessary financial costs to modernize the port terminals and also to buy expensive equipment cause non-profitability of the given project in comparison with a pipelining variant.

The uncertainty of the international-legal status of the Caspian water body and also the possible ecological risks make the gas main building along the Caspian Sea bottom which could ensure "Nabukko's" usage of capacity, however, it is considered by EU as one of the key routes the European countries could have energetic feedstock in spite of the difficulties associated with this pipeline building. Turkmenistan's leadership plans to increase energy resources delivery in the Iranian sector within the framework of strategy on diversification of energy resources export. The leadership of the country made a decision to increase deliveries of natural gas in Iran. The parties signed the agreement where the prices and the order of the Turkmen natural gas selling in Iran were regulated. In June 2009 Ashkhabad and Teheran

agreed to increase deliveries up to 14 milliards cbm gas in a year and also to build a new gas pipeline. These measures were regarded by the leadership of the republic as one of the optimal variants to stabilize the situation in the energetic sector of Turkmenistan ensuring a complete selling of produced fuel off after gas delivery stopping in the Russian sector.

Teheran's interest in cooperation with Ashkhabad in the energetic field is caused by that the additional Turkmen gas deliveries are very important for the northern-eastern oblast development of the Islamic Republic Iran. Besides, a pipelining transport infrastructure expansion corresponds to Iran's policy supposing a consolidation of the transit country status for a transportation of the Central-Asian energy carriers for the West. Turkmenistan is guided by , first of all, economic reasonability in mutual relations with the Islamic republic Iran. In case of the Iran-American and the Iran-European relation stabilization Ashkhabad will more substantially estimate the perspectives to use the territories of IRI for transit-transport routes building on the Turkmen energy feedstock in the countries of Europe. However, until the present the Geneva negotiations with the participation of USA, Great Britain, France, Germany, Russia and China (the countries of the "group of six") didn't bring to mutually acceptable solving the problem of the Iranian nuclear program. The possibilities for a further expansion of energetic cooperation between Ashkhabad and Teheran are limited by no progress in the negotiations on the nuclear program.

The southern route of the Turkmen energy feedstock export also includes the Trans-Afghan gas pipeline. The countries participating in the project confirm their interest in its implementation. However, the situation about this transport main became complicated from the moment of having signed the agreement on pipeline building "Turkmenistan-Afghanistan-Pakistan-India" (TAPI) by the presidents

of Afghanistan, Pakistan and Turkmenistan in Islamabad in 2002 and the Framework agreement on the Trans-Afghan gas pipeline building in 2008. The movement “Taliban” became more active in the frontier territories with Pakistan and the armed conflicts with the soldiers became more frequent in the northern areas of Afghanistan so security measures for a possible energetic corridor are put into the agenda. The political instability of the ruling regimes in Afghanistan and Pakistan strengthens the economic risks associated with gas pipeline building. The Asiatic bank of the development being one of the main sponsors of the project continues to search for potential investors testifying to the effect that there are problems on cover of expenditure of the Trans-Afghan pipeline building. So, one can't begin to work out concrete plans on a project implementation because of some problems. One should underline that it's possible to realize the project “TAPI” only in that case if a gas pipeline will be built under patronage of the international structures having the authority to solve the problems on the security measures of energy-carrying systems effectively. Turkmenistan supports just such initiative suggesting to adopt the international document on energy carrier transit. In this case some potential suppliers of hydrocarbons including the countries of Central Asia can join the Trans-Afghan project.

Turkmenistan has to face with some geopolitical and economic problems holding a line of transportation route diversification of hydrocarbons. First of all, Ashkhabad purposefully works upon to make the energetic complex of the country independent on transit-transport system of the Russian Federation and to provide energy feedstock selling on alternative routes of selling off. The British company Gaffney, Cline & Associates released some numbers on studies of gas reserves of the Turkmen field “The Southern Iolotan’-Osman” being the fourth/fifth in the world and it makes Ashkhabad's

intentions actual on diversification of the feedstock delivery routes and confirms advisability of the potential projects for gas pipeline building from the Caspian region.

“Rossia I novye gosudarstva Evrazii”,

M., 2010, N II, p. 93–100.

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WATER AND ENERGETIC PROBLEMS

IN CENTRAL ASIA

There are two states in Central Asia – Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan being in the zone of water river flowing forming and transit where almost 85% of water resources of Central Asia are concentrated but the other states – Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan are located in the zone of river flowing dispersing and transit. This location causes many discussions concerning this flowing use in two aspects – as watering and hydropower resource. During the soviet time when there was a single energetic system of Central Asia this problem was centralized; during a vegetation period a priority was for water as a watering resource under conditions of risky agriculture to the detriment of generation of electricity with subsequent compensation of potential losses by the other types of energy sources (coal, gas and others). Uzbekistan and Tajikistan supplied hydrocarbon fuel (coal, gas, fuel oil and etc.) in Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan incurring losses because of routine outflow of water for irrigation during the vegetation period without the volume of water piling up for the winter regime of hydroelectric power plant operation.

Since the states of the region have become independent this problem solving is “a sticking point” in the relations between the neighbors. It’s clear that Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan demand from the neighbors adequate recouping their losses because of water outflow to irrigate – according to the volume and the price of alternative types of energy resources laying special stress on economic criteria of resource rating. To their mind the compensation must include losses according to water storage, water infrastructure keeping, flood prevention and also electricity received less. Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan and Turkmenistan where there are mainly thermal power plants insist on water considering as a limited resource being very important for a life, development and environment appealing to the international law having a common recommended character and many contradictions. In winter these states suffer from their territory flood because of water outflow from reservoirs for electricity generation in order to remove critical loads on networks.

Time and market relationships in the countries of the region caused many intergovernmental agreements on one hand but on the other hand – admitted their discrepancy to time and conditions. So, the countries of the region didn’t come to common consensus for the present continuing consulting and exchanging opinions on this urgent problem where the main point is price parity on energy resource exchange and some technological points. In future Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan are going to develop a network of hydroelectric power plants on transboundary river arteries, large and small; being planned as early as during the soviet period and it worsens the situation. According to the different estimations a hydroelectric potential of Kyrgyzstan is fluctuating within the limits of 140-160 milliards kW/hour in a year and 500-550 milliards kW/hour of Tajikistan; it allows these states adhering to this line of their strategy without having enough hydrocarbon raw

materials. As a result the problem isn't solved cardinally; on the one hand agricultural commodity producers suffer but on the other hand, - power engineering specialists – one can observe it especially during water-short and dry years, for example, 2000-2008 years. But intergovernmental negotiations between the countries of Central Asia and Russia having become more active within the bounds of the regional associations give hopes to solve problems as soon as possible.

The Central-Asian states together with Russia within the bounds of EAEU agreed to solve water and energetic problems of the region in common where Russia is the investor, supplier of special production and importer of electricity. Taking into consideration Russia's role in these agreements the problem on investment activity synchronization was coordinated with. It concerns not only large-scale plans of Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan but also investments in thermal power plants and electric mains being constructed at the territory of Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan. VB, ABR, IBR, EBRR and also China being interested in electricity import for it's the northern-western territories and Iran finance these projects besides Russia. The Eurasian bank of development established in 2006 by Russia and Kazakhstan is also inclined to take part in the projects. According to some agreements within the bounds of the CIS countries electricity trade isn't imposed duty on. At present Kyrgyzstan exports electricity in Russia via Kazakhstan and in China. One plans to improve a system of energy exchange in the region and increase a volume and geography of electricity export for the account of Russia, China and the South Africa so electric main “the North-the South” is planned. A common energetic system in the region will allow solving the economic, social and even political problems and it can be a base for the peace and harmony in the region.

The important key factor is intergovernmental relations in Central Asia concerning water and energetic problems. The above-mentioned brief information concerning energetic resources of the region states shows that the confrontation between the countries located in the zone of water flow forming and the countries located in the zone of flow dispersing has a political character. Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan having no alternative sources of energy resources will develop hydropower engineering in any case: whether small or transboundary rivers. Electricity will be necessary both for internal consumption and export.

Water must be the subject for the subsequent negotiations by virtue of that there are no other alternatives in the region. Kyrgyzstan has such problem with the countries being differed by energy and raw materials orientation of economics. It's difficult to predict a course of subsequent events in this situation against a background of the world hydrocarbon supply reducing. It allows considering the problems of intergovernmental relations in Central Asia as a key uncertainty and also the perspectives to renew uranium production in Kyrgyzstan.

*“Gosudarstvennoe strategicheskoe upravlenie:
Stsenarii dlya Rossii”, M., 2009, p. 276–293.*

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SECURITY MECHANISMS IN THE CENTRAL ASIA

By decline of bipolar world it became clear that it was a less expensive and more efficient affair to ensure security of the local space – of the regions. After 1991, the world with gradual acceleration was transforming into the ploy-centric system of relations with the

decentralized security institutions. Official representatives recognized it as a fait accompli of the international life. In particular, minister of foreign affairs of the RF S.V. Lavrov notes, that “regionalization of global politics testifies to the search of regional solution of conflicts and crisis situations. The consolidation of the regional level of governance under the conditions, when the world mechanisms fail, serves as a kind of an ensuring network in case of “de-globalizing” trends, as a guarantee that fragmentation will not aggravate, if each state stands up for itself and against all others”.

For the post-bipolar period, other processes go on in the world economy. Given the multilateral support of the USA, the trends of globalization were gaining strength, enjoying “Washington consensus”. According to it, it was considered that the state should minimize its role in governance of economy. The world community suffers already from consequences of realization of this not completely thoughtful conception, related to the global economic recession, which contributes to regionalization of world economy. According to experts, like in the beginning of the XX century, the level of integration again surpassed the capacity of government’s systems, and now the operators have to decrease the rate of integration, having restored the governance by simplification of development forms. In other words, the passage from globalization to regionalization goes on: formation of enlarged micro-regions, rigidly competing among themselves in the sphere of culture, politics, economy and technology.

In the course of the study of regional security mechanisms in the Central Asia one should make research of mechanisms of deterring inter-state wars in the region in case of big contradictions and to find out how durable are these mechanisms.

The systemic foundations of present regional transformations are discussed below. The outside impulses, having impact on security of

the Central Asia, are characterized by the inter-regional scale. Its place and role in the new hierarchy is not determined, but it is gradually involved in various inter-regional and global processes. In its turn, it extends the framework of intensive influence on the region's security of the transformations, going on in Europe, Asia and North America. Proclamation of new states in the region and establishment of direct ties at the international level intensified later the inter-state contacts and "made closer" communities of these countries. New connections introduced also negative elements, raising the level of regional contradictions. More or less significant processes, emerging in distant and neighboring states, the activities of non-state actors, such as non-traditional international network structures – terrorist organizations, have an inevitable influence on security.

The processes, going on in the region (associative and non-associative regionalism etc.), are supplemented to these factors of threats. From this point of view, the region remains as a weakly structured and unorganized entity, characterized by undeveloped all-regional and inter-state connections and relations. The political sphere prevails in the structure of inter-state relations, leaving at the second stage non-military security aspects, such as economy. The CA states have to go on the expensive way and to solve alone the all-regional problems. The highly developed structure of the European Union makes it possible to solve the security problems more efficiently, than the countries of the Middle East. The security of any region depends on the level of its structure arrangement or on its involvement in regional affairs.

The rapid development of the agricultural complex and the development of new lands for 1960s-1970s without due account of the consequences in the Soviet republics of the Middle Asia resulted in the ecological degradation of the region for several decades. The

anthropogenic factor transformed from a creative instrument into a destructive device. By their nature the destructive complexes are not occasional anti-systemic phenomena but the trends, emerged as a result of the loss by the sub-system of its qualities and functions. It is sufficient to replace the regime in any state by a more radical regime, and as a result of it the first echoes of instability appear near it. Initially, some or other regional sub-systems, having lost their property or function, create dangerous and even threatening factors. For instance, the weakening of political regime in Kirghizstan (2005) resulted further not only in its change but also in other political cataclysms in the region. The “domino” effect was stopped, the processes acquired the latent feature, while their explosive potential remained. The world financial crisis also intensifies the destructive complexes in the Central Asia. The experts of the IMF make the prognosis that the CIS countries will confront the most complicated problems for the nearest future, comparing with other regions of global economy.

The systemic mechanisms of regional security, depending on internal organization, as regional sub-systems of international relations in a different way react to the destructive complexes. They liquidate or weaken them more often. Adapting to the new conditions, the regional sub-systems of international relations are being transformed by means of formal and non-formal institutions. Given the constant threat of balance breach in the regional subsystem, they strive for keeping it. The phenomenon “balance” is characterized by many questionable definitions; to the author’s mind, the most adequate and complete definition was made by A.D. Voskresensky: “it may be comprehended as a relative balance of the selected variables (or factors) of the system, functioning within the determined limits for a determined period of time. Theoretically, the variables may be constant; in reality they go on through the process of permanent evolutionary changing, and due to

this type of process the balance may be considered not as “static”, i.e. as a self-sufficient process of automatically compensatory reactions for the violations, which restore the previous original state, but rather as a permanent process of replace of former balance by a new temporary balance”. The mechanisms of ensuring security are the result of fruitful mutual action of actors in the sub-system of international relations and create the structured system of regional security. They are based on the conception of international security, international regimes of security and international structures of security. Usually, the states within the framework of such regional subsystem come to an agreement and elaborate a system of views on mutual security in the given space. In essence, there is one aim of the state as a social system – to survive and to develop, while the ways of its achievement are different. The mutually agreed conception of security is needed by the states for formation of further general norms, principles, procedures to adopt decisions and formats of perspective reciprocal action. At present, the greater recognition was obtained by the conception, embracing such spheres as collective defense, collective security, cooperative security; general/common security, human security, representing the models of reaction to destructive complexes. Depending on their own interests, the subjects of international relations prefer the choice and realization of one certain conception or simultaneously of several conceptions.

The state actors in the system of regional security of the Central Asia, participated in different degree in formation of its conception and establishment of regimes and structures in the Central Asia, involved the RF, the CPR, the USA, India, the EU countries, the countries of the Middle East and the South Asia. The construction of relations of the non-regional actors with the countries of the region goes on in different formats and depends on their national interests and capacities. At the same time, most efficient formats of security in the CA are based on

bilateral relations with non-regional actors. The RF, the USA, the PRC, the EU are the most active initiators and actors of regional transformation in the region.

The Russian Federation continues to regard the region as a part of the united geographical space, where the loss of influence may directly threaten its security. After disintegration of the USSR the foreign policy of Russia relating to its former republics proceeded mainly from its internal policy. Despite the stressed provision in all key documents of the RF on the firmness of preservation of unity in the post-Soviet space, these documents lack the long-term program with the fixed time, the instruments of realization of foreign policy and other provisions in this direction. Regretfully, it remains indefinite, inconsistent and uncoordinated at the level of reciprocal action of various structures. It is common secret that just “rigid” (military) security is the imperative of reciprocal actions of the RF with the region. At the same time, the CA states wait for intensification by Russia of “non-military” aspects of their security. Unlike their competitors, Russia possesses more natural advantages in the Central Asia (common history, united humanitarian and migration space, economic system and ties). To some extent, the policy of the RF in the region is formed under the influence of spontaneous circumstances. In certain situations it becomes a hostage of the inter-state contradictions of the region’s countries, chaotically giving support to one or other country. Russia is a relatively “advanced” subject in terms of institutional structure, but its organizational product (CIS, EvrAzES and ODKB) functions with small output.

After disintegration of the USSR the USA without definite strategic orientations for a long time watched the region. The approaches, used for the period of 1990s-2000s in foreign policy (for instance, Lake doctrine, conception of “humanitarian intervention”,

principle of unilateral approach in foreign policy etc.) mainly discredited it in eyes of regional public opinion. The American scientific circles also understood lately the lack of perspectives in such policy. They proposed a new intellectual product – formation of a macro-region – the Grand Central Asia, directed to creation in the region of new regimes and institutions, connected with the USA. This conception is based on the historic supports, which in old times connected and united regions and peoples of the CA and the Middle East.

Despite the equally distant and close inter-regional ties of the Central Asia and the Middle East, in essence, the economic component of the Grand Central Asia provides the region with new practical contours and therefore is attractive for the CA states. The realization of this strategy depends mainly on successes of the USA and their allies in Afghanistan and Pakistan. At present, one sees a gradual growth of interest of the RF to the unprecedented format of reciprocal relations (the RF, Tajikistan, Afghanistan and Pakistan) among participants of the project Grand Central Asia.

The CPR gradually, consequently and cautiously constructs its relations with the countries of the region. Combining institutional and functional chances and problems' solutions, China for the beginning finally settled the border issues with the CA countries and further started to intensify economic relations with them. Exactly in this channel there was and is developing the Chinese-Russian project ShOS. If the attitude to the RF or to the USA in the region was marked either by anti-Russian or anti-American feelings, the anti-Chinese feelings may be considered as episodic. The Chinese policy was aimed at constructing close ties, gradually forming the macro-region Grand Eastern Asia.

The European Union tries to apply its own and more self-dependent approach in the CA. For the 1990s, its relations with the regional states were generally constructed “in unison” with the American approach. At the same time, Europeans, unlike others, acted in the region with better organization and detailed program of activities. For the 2007, the Strategy of New Partnership between the European Union and the CA countries was elaborated for the period from 2007 to 2013. On the basis of this document, the EU in parallel develops bilateral and multilateral formats in various spheres, takes strategic decisions to ensure security and stability in the region, to develop human rights institutions and to settle issues in the sphere of energy. The EU approach is characteristic by admittance of alternative ways of regional development and creation of institutions for security formation. Thus, Europeans for the sake of avoiding additional risks from the very beginning adapt their approaches to the realities in the CA.

The problems and perspectives of regional security in the central Asia, despite the existing view on the unstable and explosive situation in the CA, are characterized by the following conclusion: the states of the region owing to the mechanisms aimed at ensuring security have not been involved in a single military conflict. The mechanisms of forming regional security are contradictory but make a definite input in it. There are many conceptual contradictions in approaches to ensuring regional security. The CA states take actions, which lack transparency and sometimes contradict interests of the neighboring states; guided by their own perception, they refute the principle of security’s indivisibility. Each country and the external participants proceed from their interests. The region’s countries take little attention to study and justification of more urgent national interests from the point of view of the long-term perspective. The factor “here and now” under the

influence of classical geopolitical schemes has deeply incorporated in the consciousness of the people, who make foreign policy decisions. Under these conditions, for the 1990s, there appeared a group of specialists, who perceive foreign policy in the spirit of classics of foreign vulgar geopolitics. In practice, some politicians stress traditional geopolitical schemes and declared that the key issues of national interests of the CA countries were mutually exclusive, i.e. potentially conflicting issues. The most acute regional inter-state contradictions were always the problems of security (energy, water etc.). Regretfully, the present situation development creates the long-term and raising the potential of similar contradictions. The collective and institutional approaches to solving problems of the CA security are often ignored due to the acute inter-state tensions.

Different international organizations in the CA serve as structured mechanisms of ensuring security, depending on the targeted direction. In terms of their functional peculiarity, they are divided to those, which ensure “soft” security, and those, which ensure “rigid” security. Starting from the 1990s, the mechanisms of ensuring regional security were subject to interesting dynamics. Each country of the region had its own vies on regional security, differed from the neighbors’ views, exemplified by many cases. For instance, most countries of the CA regarded the regime of talibis in Afghanistan up to 2001 as a medieval type of governance and the threat to the regional security, while the government of Turkmenistan established with it trade relations. Uzbekistan was a member of GUAAM, while Kazakhstan, Kirghizstan and Tajikistan were affiliated with ODKB and EvrAzES. Some years later the situation changed twice. The great evolution in the geopolitical space for the sake of search by the participants for new strategic ties weakens the temporary security

constructions in the CA. Evidently, it hinders formation of security's community in the CA.

ODKB represents in the region the institutionalized mechanism of the “rigid” aspect of security. Its existence is significant in terms of stabilization in the CA, however, given all positive aspects of the organization, it has weak aspects as well. The member states were unable to install a large-scale international regime of security. They created the defense structure, which functions within the framework of the conception of collective defense but not of security. It may repel hypothetical external (armed enemy) and not internal threats (religious and political extremism, which threaten political regimes). Since 2001, there exists no direct threat of military conflict arranged by talib, however, there exist internal radical groups, which urge towards a change of the state order and political regimes in the CA. Of common knowledge is the situation, connected with Batken and Suhandary events in 1999-2000, the forceful change of regime in Kighizstan in 2005, when ODKB did not take specific steps to settle the conflict. It is worth mentioning the fact that the principle of indivisibility of security is mentioned only in the context of mutual actions with the third countries in the Conception of Collective Security of the Member-States of ODKB, adopted on 10 February 1995. The members of the organization were unable to make ODKB a more efficient entity and, evoking from time to time their bilateral disputes and including them into agenda, weaken mutual actions of its participants.

The failure to converge the views and the lack of the generally accepted norms and principles in the sphere of ensuring regional security leads to the foreign policy inconstancy, when participation in international organizations and agreements from time to time is suspended and resumed. This style of behavior became a kind of

tradition. Therefore development of international structures of security in the CA goes on inconsistently and by leaps and bounds.

The collective institutions of security in the CA are formed mainly by the Russian Federation. It may be said that the CA countries would hardly carry out their activities in this direction alone and without participation of an external arbiter. The long-term struggle within the framework of the CA organization (called differently previously) resulted in dissatisfaction of political elites with the idea of genuine regional integration. Thus, given existence at the regional level of contradictory conceptions, the regimes and structures of ensuring security, the security in the CA becomes ambiguous and tends to non-predicted transformations.

In conclusion, it should be noted that in the Central Asia, like in other regions, the negative and not predicted external and internal challenges and threats come forward as the constant sources of instability. The situation rests to be balanced thanks to formal and informal mechanisms – stabilizers of security, which are poorly organized but prevent preservation of regional balance in the fixed framework. The reasons of underdevelopment of these mechanisms are as follows: a) the lack of coincidence of comprehension of national interests, the lack of wish and intention to rapprochement; b) the lack of attempts to fulfill and to make closer the norms, principles, rules, plans, organizational and financial regulations, adopted by a group of states of the region, the sets of mutual expectations, being actually rather declarations; c) the lack of political strategy and of policy of inter-state relations' institutionalization, reflected in mutual actions within the framework of existing inter-state structures of security.

The destructive complexes, emerged in 2008 originally in the external economic sphere (the world economic crisis, the situation relating to Iran, the situation in Afghanistan and Pakistan) will have a

negative impact on the regional situation as a whole and on separate countries. It will result in appearance of new and consolidation of existing economic barriers. The forced reduction of programs aimed at raising the level of living of the population will augment poverty and will enforce radical feelings and groups in the region's states. The economic crisis will raise the risk of aggravation of internal elite's struggle in the region's states, which up till that time kept under control of the political regimes. Thus, as the complicated destructive complexes grow into the economic crisis (in the middle-term perspective) and the rivalry of big powers for influence on formation of complexly connected macro-regions (in the long-term perspective). The world financial crisis actually will depreciate the achievements of the CA countries for the last years. The internally non-organized CA, bordering directly big powers, may become subject to external manipulations in this situation. For the sake of avoidance of negative consequences of external influence it is necessary to carry out step by step activities, including the joint (not one-sided) appraisal of real (not virtual) challenges and threats. On the basis of these activities it is feasible to elaborate a joint basic document, making it possible to create conditions for the controlled development of the regional situation in case of different scenarios and coordinated actions for the mid-term and the long-term perspectives. The political will of the states is the must for achievement of this task.

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