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**REANIMATION OF RACISM:
SOURCES AND VARIATIONS**

The emergence of the phenomena shocking public opinion, such as mass assassination by Anders Breivik of Norwegian citizens only for their support of multi-culture, or the riots and plunder in London and other cities of England as acts of vengeance for death of “the colored” young man, many other facts call for not a simple emotional explanation and police reaction, but also its theoretical interpretation.

In this case, a prepared reaction based on analogous thinking about the past events is quite possible. The twentieth century is not a distant historic past and naturally provokes to pose the following question: is it possible in the twenty first century to reanimate racism in mass forms as a social phenomenon and a state policy? Or has the contemporary racism its peculiar features?

As a state policy racism in the twentieth century became the reality. The label of “truth” was acquired by “scientific research”. The question was revelation of biologic and genetic justifications of “inferiority” of some races relating to “the highest” Arian race. The racist political postulate determined the direction of research and its final conclusion. The evidence of conclusions based on measurement of

the size and forms of the skull and of other features of various racial and ethnic groups naturally were received. In this way the pseudo-scientific pre-requisites were formed for unprecedented practical decisions of racist policy. Its practice had its peculiarities. It was total. It means that all representatives of “inferior” race were qualified as “inferior” individuals irrespective of their qualities – physical and non-physical (cultural, intellectual and moral).

The realization of racist policy was based on the state apparatus including its technical provision. It was determined by the scale of policy aims, such as annihilation of peoples (Gypsies and Jews) and transformation of other peoples into servants and slaves of the racial elites. Racism used the conclusions of racial research but its essence was quite different. Racism looked for justification of human sacrifice for the sake of solving the problem of vital space for the Arian race at the head of human hierarchy.

The racist policy was carried out both openly and secretly. When its all hidden features became known to the public, the world was shaken: to what degrees of lawlessness may lead the egocentric greed and ethnic narcissism of even the cultured man? What was the psychological support of the racist policy? It was based on the subjective perception of the individual about his “superiority” over all others and on the unconditional rejection by all means of superiority of others in the competitive sphere of market economy.

This psychology was neutralized by means of high culture. Therefore Nazism delivered devastating strikes against exactly high culture. The racist policy cleared the way to a global caste order defined for thousand years and actually for ever. The “highest race” assumed the functions of the sole caste playing the role of the subject of global governance. The biological factor amalgamated with the political factor. The essence of racism of the twentieth century is not the racist

policy as such. Originally the theory of races was based on the different external features. The racist qualities of the world's peoples were connected with the color of the skin. Accordingly, the white, the black and the yellow races were distinguished. Further, in the context of Darwin evolution theory, the race started to be regarded as a product of biological and historic evolution. This evolution logically made these races and ethnoses being different, but these differences did not create foundations for the racist hierarchy.

At the same time, the racist doctrine transformed racial differences and their different perception into the basis of pseudo-scientific arguments to the advantage of real hierarchy of the world's peoples. The essence of racism of the twentieth century was not scientific but bio-political: the bio-political factor was used for geopolitical purposes. From the scientific point of view the physiological and intellectual differences within one race turned out to be greater than the inter-racial differences. The racist doctrine was unable to solve this paradox. It was possible only to ignore it. At present, it is possible to assert that racism of the twentieth century is a phenomenon of mega-exchange based on pseudo-scientific speculations. This means – the use of the authority of science to carry out anti-human policy and installation in the world of racial privileges.

If racism is based on science, it means that no other efficient policy may be opposed against it. Meanwhile, as it is known, the racist bio-policy was opposed by policy of “friendship of peoples” proclaimed in the Soviet Union. It should be mentioned that it was not only a fine phrase but also an antipode of racism, and its actual reality was fully seen in time of the Great Patriotic war. Just victory of the Soviet people over Nazism represents also victory over racism and racist bio-policy. But was this the final victory over racism, which excludes recurrences?

The question is that many facts of the recent years do not allow us to assert that racism was finally defeated and that its recurrence is impossible. But where do we see it? Following liquidation of apartheid in the Republic of South Africa and overcoming racist order in the south of the USA one does not see the legitimized forms of bio-political racism. But does one not hear racist declarations and phenomena in various countries? Is this phenomenon not equal to bio-political racism?

In order to define the essence of contemporary racism one should see a chance of emergence of non-traditional forms of racism, their capability to “separate” themselves from its biological roots. If it is impossible, the contemporary racist phenomena should be regarded as the forms of deviant and extremist behavior, while their carriers should be considered as not completely normal or abnormal people. Does it mean that we connive at actual dangers and threats of racism in contemporary society? To determine the essence of contemporary racism it is necessary first of all to determine what unites it with racism of the twentieth century. At the same time, one should clearly see the differences between racist theory and racist doctrine. The racist theory studies real racist differences, while racist doctrine is based on construction of barriers among races and their hierarchy.

The hierarchic system may be based on both physiologic and cultural differences. Although contemporary racism does not accentuate attention on empiric biological differences of races and on genetic foundations of racial differences, it becomes clear both at the everyday level and in the sphere of contemporary spiritual opposition. The most dangerous trend consists in formation of racist “construction” practically oriented to human life sacrifices connected with access to the world resources, which seem be unable to satisfy the demands in economic and social progress for all. The key sign of racism is construction of the doctrine justifying the highest position of certain

people and certain nation in the system of international relations giving it the right for dominance over other peoples and finally for governance of the world. The contemporary racism goes through the process of doctrinal self-construction deciding the key implicit question: who may be given “a share” and who may “be sacrificed”?

At present, the question on “the world government” is subject to active discussion. But what is it – “the world government” and whom it represents? Surely, it does not represent itself. Logically, the world government may be based on the part of the mankind, which recognizes its special prerogatives to suppress all the “social outcasts”, who do not accept the “needed” global order. What kind of order is it, how to understand it? Up to present, the new global order has not been publicized, although the trends of its construction do exist. It is the order of the world ruling elite striving for silent agreement of those who are “consecrated” into it. For the time being, it is simply inadequate to make this order public, but it is considered that it is “a new wave” of historic future of the mankind limited with new racial barriers. The perfunctory part of contemporary social life is marked by “a new wave” in the form of “bio-spiritual” and “phenotypical” racism.

Bio-spiritual racism

The racist separating signs in the contemporary society are identified with cultural peculiarity and life style, which are transformed into foundations of community of communication and barriers separating the “best” consecrated – “the salt of the earth” – from the “rest”, who lack the “natural” qualities of the “best”.

The globalization processes lead to amalgamation of biologic signs of the race in contemporary racism. It is the common trend in its evolution. The racial superiority existing in consciousness is being replaced to the row of non-biologic features. It is the origin of

civilization status, of peculiar way of life, style of behavior, language culture, ability to self-allotment and self-identification with others. These features may be referred to different ethnic communities in biological sense, which obtain an adequate level of material wealth. In this way there emerges a bio-spiritual “racial” community as a potential basis of formation of a new type of racist ideology acquiring its roots in definite forms of social psychology. The racist doctrine starts its formation when the aggregate of separating cultural and social qualities starts to be interpreted and perceived as a “ground” by definition inaccessible for other racial groups. There are no scientific grounds for such separation. The existing subjectively separated signs have been given arbitrarily the substantive sense.

It might be evaluated as a known in everyday life opposition of people, where each individual determines himself as a criterion and as the best one. However, in the contemporary global situation this separation acquires quite another sense.

Let us examine the peculiar features of global situation from this point of view. The population of the earth makes 7 billion people. The known views on the so called “golden billion” were based on this fact. It is a kind of virtual “Noah’s Ark”. It seems to “fly”. Who are the distinguished people and what are the criteria for their selection? Who may assert that “the racial game” is not going on in contemporary consciousness; who will give the happy ticket to “Noah’s Ark” justified by what criteria? It will be the individual, who possesses the prevailing military force and economic power. It may ascribe to itself the qualities, such as natural or supernatural, which pre-determine the right for civilization choice – to preserve it and its “circle” for the sake of “highest” civilization interests and to sacrifice the rest. Is it logistical? Certainly, does logistically means that “logistics” of such deliberations is possible? Yes, it is possible. But – in whose heads? That is the

question. This “logistics” functions in time of the crisis of progress in the shaped perception as well as the crisis of civilization thinking connecting limitless progress with unlimited consumption of natural resources. The progress may stop, if natural resources suddenly will show their scantiness and possible exhaustion.

Since the principles of civilization thinking shaped in modern epoch continue to function with the increasing force, a new trend arises threatening to destruct the environment where the mankind was born, the environment, which is a must for its existence. At the same time, the fundamental problem of civilization thinking appears. It is not an abstract thinking and abstract self-estimation by the people but the determination of its destiny, of the right for further existence and self-preservation of its origin. The real aspect of contemporary spiritual discourse appears as well. It is an aspect of the passage to a new type of civilization thinking and way of life. This passage may be compared with transformation of a caterpillar into a butterfly, i.e. into a new morphologic reality. The racist approach exactly is the antipode of this transformation. The inertia movement gives birth to recurrences of racism in its new forms acquiring global features. The question is the culturological construction of a certain image of contemporary racial world as an adequate foundation of a unitary system of global relations under the guidance of the world government. It assumes the right of selecting the peoples and will inevitably realize the way of practical racial bio-policy. It is its esoteric function.

The potential “elimination” of “inferiors” may be determined not only by biological criteria. A certain uncertainty of criteria keeps a chance for freedom of taking decisions and actions. The main question is the understanding of the key circumstance that determination of a sufficient mass of “social outcasts” will make it possible to continue

movement in the traditional way of market expansion and democracy for the selected people.

But how it will be possible to realize this aim, if it is confronted by historic memory of peoples, the spirit of international organizations created after the Second World War and the essence of the adopted documents regulating international relations? It is possible, if the situation is created, when the comprador elite of various countries assume “the work” to put their peoples in the roster of “inferiors” expecting to get for it the label of “worthy” of the highest race. It may look unbelievable, but the most unbelievable events occur sometimes in history. It seems that the information globalization creates such possibility. The peoples by information means “look” at each other. They live in the system of “information mirrors”. In this system they evaluate the originality and justice of their existence’s sense. The spiritual split of the population occurs, while a part of it starts to believe in truth of other now not local senses. Loco-centrism and topophilia “are mixed” in a strange way, and they form a spiritual potential of global civil war. The traditional orientations are eroding, and traditional societies start to transform into chaos. In this situation the idea of clash of civilizations acquires a new life and new meaning. The countries involved in civil wars start to solve themselves the fundamental global problem. Therefore usually one of the parties gets the support of the forces claiming for the leading role in the contemporary world. This situation was anticipated by the conception of clash of civilizations formulated by Samuel Huntington in 1993. Huntington proceeded from the internal incompatibility of original foundations of civilizations – Western civilization, Confucianism, Japanese, Islamic, Hindu, Slavonic-Orthodox, Latin American and African civilizations. Syncretism of principles of the criterion of separation of civilizations – geographic, cultural and religious – can not put out of countenance the

theoretician, if he regards as a truth the original postulate of incompatibility. But it is a postulate a priori. The historic experience of culture in the XX century clearly showed the reality of processes of cultural reciprocity and mutual action of civilization blocks of the West, the East, the North and the South. The theoreticians like Max Sheller already in the beginning of the XX century analyzed the processes of organic communications of the people, members of various ethnoses, religions and cultures. But Huntington asserts that the great separations of the mankind and the dominating origins of the conflict will assume the cultural aspect. The unbelievable propaganda campaign was unleashed in connection with ideas of Huntington. As a result, the idea of “cultural incompatibility” started to assume a form of mass prejudice.

This mass prejudice acquired the most spectacular actual realization relating to the stressed relation between the Western and Islamic civilizations. The key empiric factor of this ear-mark became the known date – 11 September 2001. The terrorist act committed by the air attack against trade centers in New York and against Pentagon were officially interpreted and made public in such a way that they were accepted as the beginning of war between the Western and Islamic civilizations. The invasion to Iraq and Afghanistan finally confirmed this perception.

The emerged social-psychological situation had key consequences. It turned out that formation by the West of obedient administration in the occupied countries provoked the internal civil war, which assumed the global scale. It was demonstrated by events in Tunis, Egypt, Libya and other countries of the North Africa and the Near East. The other peculiar feature of the situation became evident: the plural subject was the force of revolutionary events. Its behavior was determined by the guiding function of the leader. Exactly therefore

the replacement of inconvenient leaders was regarded as a key condition of success of the new global policy. These events had their impact on mass feelings in West-European countries. In the countries of Western coalition both Islamic and other representatives of national minorities turned out to be under suspicion.

It was one of the reasons of departure from multi-cultural policy, which was in favor of UNESCO and was based on theoretical recommendations according to the spheres of governing, education and everyday life creating chances for cooperation and integration of immigrants with the indigenous population of western countries. The emerging spiritual opposition and information globalization actualized the question: what civilization is actually the carrier of universal values and therefore determines the future of humanity.

The ideologists of the West stress mainly freedom as a way to the future, while Islamic theologians impart the key significance to the role of woman as a mother and daughter and as a sacral basis of continuation of the family and different from the role of woman as a non-spiritual object of sexual delight. Correspondingly, the typical image of representatives of one or other civilization is being formed.

It is considered that Muslims are characterized by the excessive tempo of reproduction in quantity. It is considered that the Muslim has a hidden aim of creating the global world, where he will occupy the dominant position. Meantime, he is guided by the double moral. He should be guided by moral norms relating to members of Muslim community. He is allowed to violate moral norms relating to many religious and cultural communities, if it allows achievement of the needed results in global policy. The virtual images are formed in relation to national minorities. Their specific ethic features are regarded as an inclination to form bands, use of force, dissemination of narcotics and theft.

The virtual images of representatives of western civilization are formed in Muslim environment and among ethnic minorities: the men as potential impotents and the women as individuals inclined to promiscuity. “Westernization” is interpreted as a certain way of life of women in public. It is considered that in this case the erosion of absolute values takes place, which engenders destruction of separation between responsible and frivolous women, between mother and prostitute. Since mechanisms of market determine the compromise decisions for both sides, particularly the key issue – the price of oil, the incompatibility of civilizations is being connected with the virtual specifics of cultures.

According to the President Clinton’s advisor Magnus Ranstorn, the participation of Muslims in the conflict with Western civilization will be determined not so much by their material interests as by “frenzied tearing away western culture” caused by the regressive wish to strip to the skin secular, scientific, rational and commercial civilization created by Renaissance.

Naturally, the spiritual counterbalance of Islamism opposes this interpretation. For instance, Susan Buck-Morss, who positions herself as a “critical theoretician”, considers as a need indoctrination of western audience’s consciousness with the idea that Islamism as a political discourse goes further away from dogmatic fundamentalism and terrorist forceful action. It is a powerful source of debates full of criticism in the struggle against undemocratic installation by the USA of a new world order and against economic and ecologic forceful actions on the part of neo-liberalism, marked by fundamentalist orthodoxy, which promotes the increasing separation between the rich and the poor. It means that secularism does not guarantee against dogmatism of the faith and that even fundamentalist religious texts are subject to various interpretations.

Actually, Islam, as is known, actively uses the source, such as Holy Writ seemingly making the dialogue between Christian and Islamic cultures not only possible but also natural. In order “to avoid” this logical conclusion it is necessary to admit that contemporary western culture in its essence is not Christian but sooner – anti-Christian. The theoreticians of Islamism, including Said Kuteb, stress it. They consider that accumulation of wealth on one side and its absence on the other – is the great power for promotion corruption... It resembles the strongest vital energy in the body and should find its way out...Prostitution, drunkenness, game of chance, slavery, meanness, loss of dignity and honor – all this goes together and represents nothing else than symptoms of extreme wealth, on the one side, and its absence, on the other side.

Gay parades, abortion, epidemic of AIDS-infection, sexual trips, pedophilia, the degradation of gender functions of woman – all this may be regarded as a symptom of disaster of Christian culture, the culture of the white race and as a threat for Muslim civilization. The above mentioned phenomena motivate limitations of freedom of movement of Muslim women in the street, in family communities as well as resistance to their employment as stewardesses, journalists, employees in international service. It is evident that these restrictions are marked by a peculiar racial aspect.

But, on the other hand, the oil wealth of Arabic countries includes their assets in world financial markets. Melinda Cooper, a lector of the sociology department of the Sydney University (Australia) stresses peculiar features of neo-fundamental Islam. It is the product of exterritorial financial funds particularly of the capital closely connected with it Saudi Arabia inclined to participate in world financial markets. When Saudi Arabia started to cultivate its special brand of bellicose wahhaby Islam, from the beginning it was an attempt to create a trans-

national community with the faith, which overcomes the territorial borders appealing to the rapidly growing mass of immigrants in Europe. The rapidly growing influence of wahhaby Islam in the world may be comprehended in connection with the oil wealth of Saudi Arabia and its augmentation by means of recirculation via world financial markets. At the same time, the banks skillfully find ways to avoid the Islamic forbiddance to get usurious percent. Thus, accumulation of wealth on the one side and its absence on the other side is the property of the capital also in Arabic countries. The combination of Islamic fundamentalism with neo-liberal forms of economic activities engenders complicated social processes in Arabic countries. In this relation, the contradictory processes of the post-colonial development in Algeria from time of war to the proclamation of independence were quite characteristic.

The personal aspect of these processes was marked by a strange mixture in the spiritual sphere. Melinda Cooper cites a distinguished example – the literary work of writer Djébar, who presented the purity of both French and classical Arabic language. The characters of her stories were “at the start” of military events. The French mother of the children born in Algeria betrayed the French occupants. She was wounded and died in a French hospital but could not be buried side by side with her killed Algerian husband before she adopted Islam. The real situation engenders destruction of expectations, contradictory feelings – from the wish to return to the land of ancestors before the retreat to the wish to leave this land and to buy a return ticket.

The real processes of complicated reciprocal impact and action do not correspond to the simplified point of view and of the attitude to each other of the representatives of different civilizations. At the same time, the simplified view of both sides is marked by its wide spread and is accepted as a fact corresponding to the actual situation. Being based

on empirically fixed features and peculiarities, this view adopts in mass consciousness the images, which may be interpreted, according to Max Weber, as racial “ideal types”. These “ideal types” transform into a priori directions, which have impact on various aspects of inter-racial and inter-ethnic communications.

Race as a carrier of the truth of way

With the carriers of contrary “ideal types” in mass consciousness are identified the racial subjects, which individually possess the knowledge and actually are able to realize the truth of way for the mankind. Their incompatibility and mutual seizure reflects the hidden (by market turn over and by financial reciprocal action) the profound intentions of the full possession of strategic resources determining functioning of modern technical and social basis of global civilization. The ruling elite being aware of the truth of way is at the same time the symbol of racial superiority over all those, who “live a lie”. It is proclaimed to be the personification of spiritual height. It is possible to speak about three main criteria of the spiritual level of the ruling elite.

First, it is the proclaimed ability adequately to comprehend the situation of its own country and of its own people. Second, it is an evident high level of moral and culture, supported by forms of behavior and actions particularly in critical situations. Third, it is the claim for knowledge of the truth of way in global world. The actual knowledge of the truth of way, unlike racist dogma, should lead political practice away from the trap of narrow alternatives: the state secularism or religious absolutism; neo-liberalism marked by social and spiritual nihilism or the revolutionary dictatorship of social justice. Meanwhile, the problem of the ruling elite consists in hiding the actual intentions. The following point of view may be expressed in the West: the evolution of civilization has attained its final aim – free market and

democracy. From this point of view, the doctrine of neo-liberalism represents the highest civilization truth. Unlike the conception of neo-liberalism proclaiming sacral function of free market, Islamic social justice regards property and wealth as a kind of service in the name of God. From this point of view, economic exchange is legitimate so far as it recognizes the limitations fixed by the divine principle of proportionality, which is the equivalent of justice.

The declared aim of western civilization is realization of utopia, which is not compatible with contemporary civilization pluralism represented by “empire of evil” and by numerous “social outcasts”. Being the counter-point of this position there forms Islamic neo-fundamentalism representing jihad as a new type of anti-imperialist global relations, which is a more complete and adequate form than other forms, such as movement of anti-globalism and preservation of environment. From this point of view, Al-Qaeda transforms in the practical realization of jihad as a metaphysic struggle of Islam against other religious trends, such as Christianity and Judaism irrespective of social and biologic differences. Thus, the civilization opposition is being constructed artificially forming the alternative spiritual atmosphere, which legitimizes use of force. The civilization position of the West is not simply a “point of view”, side by side with many others in the plural world. It is based on the dominating military might ready to attack against all enemies qualified to be “social outcasts”. If we put the question, how and why racial hatred emerges under contemporary conditions, we have to take into account not only various styles of behavior, language and cultural differences but also differences in chances and final results of realization of freedom potential incorporated in historically shaped civilization entities. The mass change from secular forms of civilization self-consciousness to its sacral forms becomes evident in the situation of hidden apocalyptic

threat. The sacral forms create pre-conditions of acceptance of sacrifice as a form of efficient armed resistance in opposing the technical might of the superpower. The semblance of the sole possible legitimacy of opposing and mutually excluding “high” spiritual missions of neo-liberalism and Islamic neo-fundamentalism shapes in this way. As is known, the other alternative was leveled in the course of the Soviet Union destruction as a result of reconstruction policy and the reforms in the 1990s.

The global victory of neo-liberalism or Islamic neo-fundamentalism needed “silent agreement” of their public or secret supporters, who comprehended this super-task and accepted it as their own. The bio-spiritual racial opposition emerges in this way. The individual aspect plays the key role in this virtual racism.

Is it possible to avoid direct accusations of racism in this case? It is possible, if you condemn those, who in public call themselves racists and position themselves as “anti-racists”. We do not measure the size and form of the cranium, do not stress the color of skin and other physical and physiologic peculiarities as the basis for racial superiority. We only reveal the basis of civilization superiority as evident truth and consequently obtain the right to disseminate our culture throughout the world. It is evident that the approval of cultural global mission is connected with the non-justified a priori assertion of private possession of civilization truth. As a result of absolute interpretation of total truth of one’s symbolic world there appears illusion of participation in declaration and justification of racial, sexual and anthropological hierarchy. But this justification may be appropriated by any historically formed and centuries-long existing civilization and its any adept. This is the matter of faith and not of the fundamental scientific conclusion.

In this context, Hegel dialectic pre-supposing “taking off” opposites and emergence of “the third” ensuring further historic

progress, disappears. It turns out that only permanent return to itself, to its symbolic forms is possible. The new phenomenon emerges only as a total destruction of its opposite. Therefore spiritless racism of neo-liberalism marked by a priori claim for the unrestricted governance of the world may obtain mirror image with its directly opposite claims. For instance, the Islamic group in the USA has fixed as its final aim restoration of the dominant role of Islamic empire in the contemporary world. This group of Salafits professes inimical attitude to non-Muslims. Such hostile attitude relates also to the Muslims, who express moderate views.

Salafits are united by the perception of the faith in truth of way and in its global victory. In this teaching they find out the response to world problems, a peculiar map with drawing of the way to utopia, where they experience brotherly feelings. They are sure that the doctrine of neo-liberalism not only does not beget such feelings but also is a deviation from the truth and therefore is unworthy of significant attention. The spiritual leaders of Salafits have been trained in universities of Saudi Arabia; their studies were free, and they did not pay for accommodation. The periods of training often lasted for seven years.

The perception of doctrine as an absolute truth and the mutual assistance form the sense, which lacks envy and self-interest. The communities in the states, such as New Jersey and Virginia, have been transformed in “Mecca and Medina” of Salafism in America. But the most significant feature is that most adepts of Salafism were Afro-Americans. In this case, the racial aspect had the religious dominant, preserving also the biologic component. This “mixture” starts to nourish potential racial opposition in the contemporary world. The philosophers of the Islamic brotherhood, such as Said Kuteb, regard that Islam will bring equality to all Muslims from all parts of the world

and refute racial, national and regional restrictions. But what attitude should be paid to those, who do not repudiate their racial, national or regional exclusiveness? The logically consecutive response is given by talibs: those, who do not correspond to the truth, have no right for existence.

At the same time, the contemporary forms of opposition consist of evident peculiarities. Disappearance of information limitation of Muslim sects makes it possible to see the absolute truth of their own and of another way. At present, it is not enough to call oneself a Muslim to become “brother” or “sister” of another Muslim. The virtual future starts to demolish Muslim unity. The collision between reciprocally excluding “absolute truths” of way represents a virtual civil war. This spiritual clash engenders suspicion and hatred, which under certain conditions transform in political and further military clashes.

Thus, the problem of contemporary spiritual racism is primarily the problem of comprehension of hidden mechanisms of global politics. At the same time, it is not only the problem of traditional separating lines among civilizations but also the problem of their ethnic, national, territorial and cultural specifics. And what is more, it is the problem of the man’s ability to see the inner feelings, to determine the hidden motivations of his views and behavior, the ability to evaluate himself from the position of a representative of another race.

It is also a philosophic issue relating to the destiny of the mankind: what will happen with the humanity, if orientations to the universal norms of morality and law will disappear? In the wide sense, it is the problem of adequacy of the image of the man himself, i.e. the cognitive problem, the problem of the integral knowledge. The contemporary racism is marked by oxymoron combination of biologic and non-biologic elements.

On the one side, the explanation of opposites is made by conceptions of “ethnic nepotism”, which determines the trends of favorable action relating to other organisms to the extent of their biologic relation to the main subject of actions. But, on the other side, it is a common knowledge that the conceptions, which explain the racial contradictions by the features of skin, form of skull, quality of hair and bio-geography, were decided to consider them as being false. All this makes the bio-spiritual factor an aspect of political games. The representatives of racial minorities may be used as a justification of absence of racist policy.

At the same time, the most extremist nationalistic demagogues try to claim their ethnic groups to be the racial “species” threatened with extermination on the part of other racial species. The individuals forming the structure of the state apparatus have a specific interest in the racial problem. The officials regard themselves to be members of the elite of society and use their situation in order to fix by legislation the advantageous position as “the savers” of their race. They see “the rescue” as a real fact in the context of adjacent ethnoses and races as a perpetual potential threat. The deliverance from this ever-lasting threat is ensured by creation of its own and only by its own state, where only its own elite may perform the function of salvation. In this way the elite keeps its position in its state.

This specific interest is characteristic particularly for the newcomers of the ruling elite, who are afraid of the loss of the won position. This fear transforms in the conception of “incompatibility” even of close cultures. It is a specific game based on ethnic and nationalistic feelings, which allegedly contain knowledge of “the truth of way” leading to the permanent and destructive opposition against the whole world.

Some other game is possible almost based on cosmopolitan illusions. In this respect a special interest represents the phenomenon of “glamour racism”, the endowing by groups of individuals themselves with specific qualities of carriers of happiness of elite’s life allegedly given to them “from above” or “from birth”. The separating line between the carriers of “glamour happiness” from the “gray mass” is determined not only locally but also globally. In this way there determines a virtual chance for self-preservation by shaping cosmopolitan solidarity of all, who regard themselves as members of “glamour race”.

On the one side, membership in “glamour racism” is determined by membership in smaller local and ethnic groups. On the other side, it is determined by the ability of exit outside the state borders, by the urge towards new parameters of racial solidarity.

The new parameters of international solidarities are marked by the deciding role of legitimization of the status of “glamour elite” as a cosmopolitan race. “Glamour elite” becomes “the same” as all in the world, all as a special elite “race”. Globalization provides for the representatives of this “race” the unique chance to feel comfortably everywhere outside their national and ethnic roots. But this illusion disappears as soon as national banks block accounts of representatives of “glamour race”. Individuals having “miraculously” obtained vast riches try to shape their constant “cultural face”, which “naturally” places them “higher” the existing moral and legal norms irrespective of their national origin.

The spiritual leaders falling to their knees before the green papers and skillfully realizing the wish of their masters render assistance to them in this matter. Under conditions of globalization, the racist craze embraces not only the glamour strata of society but also “plain” people, who are qualified by glamour “elite” as dregs of society. The reverse

part of glamour “elite” reveals the essence of dregs of society just in opposing itself to the main part of the people. Both “dregs of society” and “glamour elite” lose the positive economic, social and cultural functions and play the role of parasitic incrustations on the body of the people. They see in specific racism the justification of their parasitic life in two opposing sides: the glamour race on the side of wealth and the dregs of society on the side of poverty. These phenomena are the characteristic types of phenotypic racism.

Phenotypic racism

The phenomena of phenotypic racism emerge at the level of everyday relations. They are not the constructed racial images but the actual feelings and real forms of self-separating racist behavior. They exist in traditional harmless clashes between neighbors and representatives of various nationalities and acquire an aggressive form jointly with extending migration processes and aggravation of regional ethnic and specific inter-racial contradictions. One can not help paying attention to emergence of new forms of bio-political racism, which is endowed by particular ethnic groups with pseudo-racial qualities, such as excessive weight, deviations in social behavior or inclination to commit crimes against humanity. The theme of race and racism has not yet fully been studied. In contemporary situation the urgent question has become as follows: is it possible under conditions of globalization to use the historically shaped mechanisms for solving problems of phenotypic racism? The historically formed mechanisms of solving such racial problems are known: apartheid, i.e. separation of races; assimilation, i.e. amalgamation of the racial minority with the majority, acceptance of its language and culture; multiculturalism as a process of finding out forms of co-existence and positive mutual action of ethnic groups within the borders of the united states.

As it is considered, the historically decided approaches to the process of solving racial problems refer to the past. However, life shows that it is not so. For instance, a peculiar voluntary apartheid is possible. For instance, Hasids in the USA, according to directions of the principal rabbi, maintain the hasid order respected by all, the rigid dress code and the strict legal order. In rural districts, where it is possible to obtain a great agrarian property, the conditions are created for educating children in the “clean” environment of Hasids and separating them from probable communication with non-Hasids. Some non-religious communities exist as well, for instance, the sects of scientologists, bikers and internal city bands.

In contemporary situation the race positions itself primarily in the social and cultural sphere, while natural signs are accepted as symbols and hints, which make it possible to evaluate the environment as a territory of an enemy or a friend. The demarcation lines appear before self-consciousness. Mass culture, mass media, TV, cinema, literature create images have become the starting points of pre-reflective acceptance of ethnic and racial reality. Ash Amin, a professor of geography and the executive director of the Institute of Modern Research of the Darham University, following A. Saldanha, just qualifies the pre-reflective daily racial division as a “phenotypic racism”. As a characteristic example of “phenotypic racism” he cited the description by A. Saldanha in his book “Psychedelic Whiteness” of the feeling of white people’s superiority on the beaches of Goa displayed by characteristic of sunburn, bearing, cloth, accent, tattoo and style and consumption habits. Correspondingly, they occupy certain parts of the beach. According to him, in contrast to residents of Britain and North Europe, attempts of representatives of Asian countries, Goa and South Europe to be “attractive” always remain clumsy, second rate and inappropriate. He draws attention to the circumstance that the

police in comments on civil riots of the youth in English cities usually makes accent on local stories of segregation, poverty, cultural isolation and forms of breaches of law. It is known, though, that in the attitude to Muslims a priori suspicion, fear and hatred are present. The description of external sight stresses beards, hanging loosely trousers, skull caps used to pray.

One of the ways of overcoming phenotypic racism consist in achieving adequacy of the connection between the adopted legislation on immigration, immigrants and national minorities, who have obtained citizenship of the given state, and the traditional hierarchic system of their relations. The contradictions often emerge in the sphere of national and ethnic self-appraisals, since the ethnos may consider itself the criterion of evaluation irrespective of the fact whether it forms majority or minority. The virtual play of similarities and differences, security and threats, external and internal substantial forms of behavior appears in the situation which lacks attachment of criteria of self-estimation.

One of the acute issues is the order of arrangement of mass religious feasts, compliance with custom and traditions in order to avoid the attitude to these arrangements as a cultural challenge, spiritual aggression with the aim of approbation of absolute truth of someone's faith as an antipode of false faiths of the other. Correspondingly, the esthetic form of the ritual behavior also may be accepted in the opposing way: as "beautiful" or "featureless". The a priori fixed spiritual direction starts to function in this case.

The individual with intuition separates beautiful in cultural traditions of various civilizations from featureless, given all their specificity. The question is that the sense of harmony determining presence or absence of beautiful is displayed in numerous forms. In what way it presents itself to a certain individual as an objective

justification of beauty – is a special issue, which demands particular attention. In any case, one should take into account that in history of esthetic tastes of the same racial group there are quality changes. The phenomenon originally considered as a leap from beautiful to featureless further becomes the object of acceptance and admiration.

The tendency to monopolization of beauty is characteristic for “phenotypic racism”. One can see at the level of everyday life the reanimation of biologic racism with its feelings and striving for separation in various, including public, economic and cultural, spheres. The standards of classification, habits of making public comments, demarcation of internal and external life emerge in this way. As a result, not only Muslims and Gipsy but many others, in principle, any ethnic groups may be included in the list of “non-whites”. The manifestation of “phenotypic racism” makes it necessary to determine universal criteria of estimation of the level of culture and adequateness of the behavior style. If we get it, we may make the adequate appraisal of the phenomenon, which is “higher” or “lower” in various cultural traditions. The appraisals will have deliberately preconceived characteristic and sense without such appraisal.

In the situation of globalization there appears a complicated mixture of internal motives and external forms of behavior displayed both in the codified institutionalized structures and in the behavior technologies based on myths and traditions, on daily custom, on literary and public culture. Various common territories within the borders of the same city or district emerge on this ground. The “ethnic” superiority marked by the language specificity turns out to be a component of the racial common characteristic demonstrating its internal essence.

At the everyday level the faith in the unconditional ethnic superiority acquires the phenomenon of forceful incorporation of suppression and obedience. The spiritual slave ceases to be the master

of his own self-consciousness and should forfeit the quality of a self-dependent person. He should constantly give a signal of his readiness to accept the imposed “rules” of the inter-racial game. Such forms of relations may penetrate various spheres of life, even including the army. For instance, in July of 2010, in one of the detachments in Saratov region five servicemen of the North Caucasus extraction formed their own troop and declared “war” against Russian servicemen. They captured soldiers with Slavonic names in secluded corners, subjected them to beating and humiliation and took away money. They shaved word “Caucasus” on their heads as a manifestation of their ethnic dominance at the micro-level. The analogous cases took place in the gender relations on the part of men of Caucasian origin in their attitude to Russian women.

As a type of racist paradox may be considered the phenomenon of slavery and the corresponding relations when formerly oppressed ethnic groups start to play the role of the masters. For instance, a Gipsy encampment in the British city of Layton-Bassard used as slaves the English and Polish people, Romanians and Russians.

The success of inter-ethnic adaptation is determined by moral ability of the parties to be above themselves and to go further to comfortable inter-human communications, when racial and ethnic orientations are closed into “brackets”. This is the position of human equality. It is approved by common actions of the authoritarian representatives of the parties. In this way racism and its horrible consequences and mechanism of racial bio-policy voluntarily are put “in brackets”. Only one form of superiority is kept within the system of such relations – the superiority of rightness, which is obligatory for each party.

In this case rightness turns out to be a kind of correction of the ethnic-central spirit of the race, which traditionally was accepted as the

main vector, as a “substance” of the nation and “dignity”. The crimes of Nazism make with great attention reveal all sources of racism. At present, we again confront the question: is the ontology fault in rightness possible in the self-consciousness of peoples of the contemporary world? Up to the present time, we lack the positive answer to this question.

The rightness as a form of ontological orientation is universal, and it is adapted to the education system, employment, administrative governance and everyday custom relations. It is not only politics, but it is its growing penetration into the system of human relations, which should become habitual and assume the form of permanent existing traditions. It means that of great need is as follows: the comprehended improvement of administrative governing attaining the level of the conditions giving birth to globalization as well as the thoughtful regulation of personal behavior. The needed policy includes regulation of migration flows, accommodation and ensuring conditions of work and living of migrants, the due account of the rising number of foreigners and tourists within the territorial borders of the country and big cities.

The second significant political direction is accumulation of ethnic and racial experience under conditions of different ways of life and death, gender relations, labor relations and relations in time of leisure, differences in neighbor relations, attitudes to hearsays on each other, chances of mutual adaptation with keeping national identity and inner ambitions. The question is the formation of the so called races exchanging words with each other and within themselves. This process of exchanging words is a significant condition of the joint formation of mutual trust, exclusion of anti-state agitation and creation of conditions for restriction and exclusion of the armed force’s use by police and

army under conditions of aggravation of inter-racial and inter-ethnic contradictions.

In parallel with this positive process it is necessary to create the historic image of racism accessible for its mass perception. The factual and photo exhibitions, memoirs literature, meetings with victims of racism, cinema may serve for this aim. In essence, the question is the thoughtful discussion on probable situations, which shape in some countries and in the world as a whole owing to the influence of globalization processes.

Will a person be able to transfer the moral principles emerged thanks to the impact of common ethic life to another person, who happens to live with him in his city and in his country? Will be possible in this situation the realization of mutual duty and mutual obligations? This question is being transferred also to the system of international relations. In the historic past period racial egoism was accepted either as “natural” or “sacral” phenomenon, as the attribute of “god-given people”.

In the contemporary situation the racist directions acquire the form of a priori imperatives creating spiritual pre-conditions for installation of cultural dominance as a pre-condition for geopolitical dominance.

“New culturalism”

New culturalism is the direction of racist thinking, which elaborates universal justification of the special mission aimed at “salvation” of civilized values from the approaching barbaric invasion of “inferior” races. Thus, the whole world is proposed to adopt the way of life of one great power. It is impossible to fulfill this recommendation due to objective economic reasons. Therefore the situation of “superiority” is kept constantly like the given beforehand

“inferiority” of other peoples of the world. It is the moral basis of the supposed actions violating universal norms and principles of international law, the leit-motif of aggressive actions in contemporary international policy. The ontological justification of new culturalism consists in the subjective virtual construction of “good” and “evil” and as hope and threat to global civilization.

Implicitly new culturalism proceeds from dilemma of life and death. If you want to keep life, you should be able to violate all moral precepts and legal norms. But in reality the question is not keeping life in general but preserving a special privileged life. This is the way to racism.

Certainly, theory should not avoid the question: do the universal moral norms exist confronting the chance of death of the race or does the survival dictates recognition as a good of any, including the extreme evil in relation to other ethnoses and races? The preterition does not mean absence of knowledge of the specificity of mutual inter-racial perception fixed in Holy Writ. However, globalization puts all nations before the problem of obligatory dissemination of common moral norms for all. In the joint situation races and ethnoses are fixed together. It is possible to make analogy with alpinists hanging above the abyss: if you “cut off” at least one link, the alpinists will fall into this abyss. The comprehension of the contemporary global situation does not occur instantly but by means of painful experience: there is no wish to admit reality of reciprocal connection in the existing civilization’s delicate balance. It is a painful process with demands to follow the general values in realization of legal norms and identical forms of international behavior and in activities of international organizations.

The attempt to create an impression of compliance with universal norms carrying out at the same time policy of racial ethnic centrism

finds its expression exactly in new culturalism. Under conditions of violation of balance of forces, there emerge trends to legitimation of dominant preconception as a realization of genuine good for all. The cultural dominance voluntarily accepted by others – “not fully valuable” or “not completely inferior” peoples – is needed for achievement of such legitimation. The cultural dominance is silently positioned as a phenomenon of racial superiority. The means of mass media and mass culture play a special role in realization of this situation.

The ruling elites respecting themselves do not retreat into the borders of their national culture and do not let its transformation into a sub-culture of the ruling subject, which dominates in the world. It is ensured by the corresponding legislation and permanent care of preservation of positions and purity of the national state language.

At the same time, the global geopolitical situation has its impact also on the internal situation of the subjects of global policy. There appears the trend to subjugate the internal policy to realization of global geopolitical aims. It became evident in the policy of American Administration in the years of presidency of Ronald Ragan and George Bush. The specific alliance between the neo-liberal state of free market and moral fundamentalism emerged exactly for these years. The process of governmental decisions was determined by the religious-like claim for the unconditional superiority. At the same time, the cultural superiority is interpreted rather extensively as a quality of “right” civilization appropriating the monopolistic possession of the true existence. In this situation the preservation of principles of democracy in the country and in the system of international relations depends on existence of emotionally strong motive of voluntary compliance with the general rules of participants of the global reciprocal action. Since internal life of the states-nations and international life are characterized by coexistence of different ethnoses and races, the revelation of the

motive of adoption of common rules letting suppress the direct interests and feelings, as well as subjugate them to the interests of good of integrity – represents not a simple “expectation” but a great idea full of sense giving birth to a grand emotional upsurge. Under the influence of ideology of bio-spiritual race the grand idea acquires a radical destructive form of new ideological crusade.

The comprehension of the ways of annihilation of Islamism not only as a terrorist idea but also as a religion occurs on this basis. It was considered as a necessity to show that Islamism represents a way to humiliation and defeat and not a wide route to glory, a conception irreconcilable with Europeanism, a venture of universal ideological dominance.

On their own side, ideologists of radical Islam stress the moral failure of the West, its spiritual “emptiness” and global claims for spiritual disarmament of Muslim civilization. The problem is formulated in such way that its solving is accompanied by the conclusion: “or – or”, “we” or “they”. Evidently, this is a way of aggravation of racial opposition. The shaping ideological dichotomy does not correspond to the real processes. The ethnic minority is subject to changes but it has an impact also on the change of internal essence of the majority. The new racial quality is being formed gradually and the process of emergence of the super-man keeping the world cultural and biological distinction is going on.

At the same time, the question arises – in what way to unload the bio-spiritual bomb placed under the contemporary world? It may be that we should rely on the material might of the market as a spontaneous mechanism of harmonization of inter-racial and inter-ethnic relations? Will the market be able to become the foundation of all-national self-identification or will some other basis be needed as an organic turn over in the form of general self-consciousness? This

vagueness continues to remain the source of many complicated problems. The market creates corruption, export of capital, wasteful attitude to natural resources and negligence to ecologic problems.

Therefore it destructs the truth of way. The mass consciousness connects these negative trends with ethnic and racial characteristics of representatives of big business and bureaucratic apparatus. Even under conditions of contemporary cultural markets the racial problems suddenly become “insurmountable”.

It seems that racism starts to be the truth of our time. This is the reason why the phenomenon of Anders Breivik in Norway and the events in England in August 2011 represent a danger. Naturally, the question arises: what do “produce” the known philosophic conceptions relating to interpretation of contemporary racial problems? Do they show a perspective for the final and irrevocable overcoming of racism?

Elisabeth Grosz tried to give an answer to this question. She stressed three points. In accordance with Darwin conception, the process of natural sexual selection, in case of its extrapolation to the human being, engenders the diversity of variations, which do not coincide with any common perfect condition. The logic of destiny may not be common, and therefore racial excesses represent the norm, and one should not be surprised with it. The teaching of F. Nietzsche about the will to get power urges on submission to phenomena of racism. If the will to get power is not limited to a certain time, i.e. is a constant urge, finally, the dominant ruling race emerges in civilized relations irrespective of the type and characteristic of the civilization evolution. It represents the civilized “superman” establishing the law of life for him and the rules of living for others. The preservation of the urge towards expansion of the nation or the race is the reason of permanent repetition of racial conflicts. The question is only definition of the

person, who at present performs the functions of the superman determining the rules of life for all.

Finally, the explanation of sustainability of globalism seems to be given by the conception Of A. Bergson; according to it, the race brings in itself *elan vital*, a vital impulse, which contains a certain constant pivot able to give evidence of itself unexpectedly. In this way the race represents duration of the inner civilization quality, which remains intact even in case of evident changes. All three philosophic explanations show the pessimistic perspective. However, this philosophic cloud may have “a silver line”.

At present, only a few people regard the nation only as a phenomenon of nature. The nation is a product of history, and therefore it is the result of historic creative work of people. The human being became the man and obtained his human specificity when he learned the way to rule his reflections and passions, made his human essence culture, i.e. the moral principles and legal norms. And they are universal in their truth. They are not the rules of individual survival but the rules of relations' harmonization in society. Under conditions, when the human being obtains autonomy in society, his harmonic relations with others are installed, when he adopts for himself the moral obligations relating to another individual and strictly complies with them, being aware that the other person behaves in the same way relating to him. The equality of relations is fixed irrespective of physical, status, ethnic and other differences. This is the spiritual foundation of harmonization of relations.

The paradigm of harmonization of inter-personal relations is true also in relation to social, inter-national and inter-racial relations. The problem consists in the adequate theoretical expression of the versatile and contradictory united process and in transforming it into the rules of actual policy and everyday behavior. Will the human intellect and will

be sufficient for this? Evidently, the individual empirically is not the abstraction but a citizen of a given state with its historic destiny, an adept of a definite religious teaching or an atheist, a cultured person with higher education or a carrier of a primitive customary culture, a man or a woman and, certainly, a representative of the determined race. In terms of history, all these factors are united in the way of life and in human actions. This synthesis makes the community representing the moral image of the nation and its moral integral. What will exult finally: the racial-national egoism or the interests of humanity as a civilization community? In what way the theoreticians start to comprehend this problem in the epoch of contemporary globalization? In this context, it is worth mentioning the discussion, organized by American scientists on the problem of historiography. The discussion is going on around ethic of national history and national identity in the epoch of globalism.

On the one side, the adequacy of historic studies is justified from the point of view of priority of national identity. Liberal democracy always supposed existence of the territorially united community, of the integrity of internal moral life as an individual and as a nation-state, of a chance to keep the needed order in relations among states by means of force. Correspondingly, the influence of globalization is recognized in a specific way. For instance, Johanu Neem considers that his position just as an American, a historian of the United States, his arguments will have the greatest impact not on non-Americans but on non-Americanists.

On the other side, there appeared the methodological idea, which asserts that the nationalist position contradicts the moral ideal of internationalization and is “barbaric”. Tomas Bender in his work devoted to re-thinking of American history in global era, published in 2002, writes that Americans should not position themselves as proud

nationalists but as rather ordinary citizen of the contemporary world, and he regards that it is impossible to share the view of a provincial person concerning the world, that the time has come to have a wide view on the world as an interconnected integrity, which does not let the particular dominance over the human solidarity. In contrast to this position, it is asserted that only national history as a source of this process should form the common identity of Americans. The mankind as an integrity is not an abstraction without its history, almost unconnected with real Americans. For instance, according to this point of view, publicly expressed in February 2011 in magazine “History and Theory, Studies in the Philosophy of History”, the universal values actually relate only to high culture but have impact on foreign citizens with democratic views. The mankind consists from individuals but it allegedly lacks common memory fixing community of life. It is an assertion of principal meaning. The alarming vision of the global situation of the contemporary world comes out as a conclusion from the above assertion.

The particular threat seems to be the fact that Islamic fundamentalism becomes “the ideological haven for the Muslim youth”. As said president G. Bush, Muslim extremists set as their aim the realization of cultural program, which contains obligation for every man and woman to live in the spirit of colorless conformism, while their children should be brought up to hate and to be ready to kill and to commit suicide. The corresponding conclusion is as follows: the West confronts a total deadly threat, since Muslim radicalism penetrates everywhere. At the same time, the present task is to win ideological battle against Islamic world and to achieve cultural superiority over it. Samuel Francis, an analyst of Heritage Foundation (Washington) sees the key task in “the Reconquista of the United States resulting in superiority of the whites in terms of culture”.

Evidently, the way the contemporary civilization problem is formulated contains a certain racist component, which is publicized by the most eloquent exponents of “the spirit of the West”. “Superiority of the whites” means the demand to be “a racist to some extent”. But the slogan “a racist to some extent” is a kind of moral indulgence for violation of universal principles of morality and of norms of international law. It means that politics should exclude organic reciprocal action of the West and East, of the North and South and formation of common valuable orientations.

The question is the formation of carriers of cultural dominant as a foundation of geopolitical governance of the contemporary world. The historic tradition of national states has its impact on their position in global policy. The national states join the system of global relations in a different way. It is sufficient to recall a prolonged historic isolationism of Japan and the great influence of conception of “exclusiveness” on the USA policy.

As soon as the consciousness of politicians becomes proficient in the idea, which regards overcoming the inter-racial forceful action as a utopia, the perception will consolidate and conclude that the mankind as a conglomerate of types occurs in the situation when they permanently are in danger of each other. Each conglomerate of types will be in need of protection system ensuring its security. The system of security is a natural response to the constant potential forceful action on the part of “the other”. In this way there appears the phenomenon of hyper-conformism, which, in its turn, gets support and fixation in the functioning of special state services.

The way of new culturalism starts the political movement opposing by its direction the main vector of evolution of global civilization, which becomes an integral organism with united forms of communications, with reciprocally dependent parts of world economy

and with united information system. As an expression of the spirit of this integral organism in contemporary world there grows the common feeling of ethnic responsibility, it grows as a disseminating conjecture about possibility of probable global catastrophes due to organism of racial blindness threatening to involve in them the whole world. We may and should follow from the global point of view the processes going on in contemporary world. From this global “place” we cannot help seeing that the shaped perceptions on the truth of way, the fundamentalist ideas of neo-liberalism and Islamic neo-fundamentalism are aimed at the secular or religious “refinement” of the world, which will force the whole mankind to be regardless of history.

New culturalism may be realized in various practical roles: both in the form of direct forceful action and in the form of prolonged game aimed at the final unconditional gain. In any case, only one party “wins”. But under conditions of globalization it is a disastrous loss for all.

The “logic” of new culturalism demands elaboration of “re-education” programs for several generations of the population. Such “re-education” may be accompanied by a spiritual unification of humanity and its transformation into a monotonous mass deprived of internal stimuli of development. The ideas of new culturalism emerge as a reaction to the perspective of multiculturalism. In this form new culturalism brings up to date racism and makes it more respectable, some observers note.

If the common and equal for all peoples justice “is taken away” from the world, if respect to common responsibility for the destiny of the world is slighted, the spirit of peoples defining their sociability and aptitude for mutual cultural fecundation “dries up”. The human being becomes primitive in his reflexes, dull, uninterested and cruel. This cruelty, engendered by primitivism, pours out and transforms into

xenophobia resulting in aggression and terrorism. The human being turns out to be spiritually outside contemporary history, which de facto in its actual movement goes out and has already gone out of the borders of neo-liberal fundamentalism and Islamic neo-fundamentalism. A new view occurs on the attitude of the man to nature, to the sources of his universality defining equality of destiny for all. This view destructs the foundation of bio-spiritual and phenotypic racism opening their principal scantiness.

What kind of subject is the carrier of this new view? It is not a class or a separate selected nation. It is the thriving humanity as an active subject approving the will as a conception and in new international movements. Ideas can not be destructed by bombs and trotyl blasting cartridge. The loud voice of humanitarian knowledge demolishes spiritual fortress walls constructed by blind fanaticism. The recovery of mind, finding out of truth is the universal phenomenon with a vast potential force able to melt the ice of historic prejudices confronting it. The contribution of nations in approval in international self-consciousness and political practice of the principles of equality and international cooperation is marked by distinction.

For the twentieth century, racism and hegemony became the leit-motif of formation of identity of the nation-state and consolidation of the world order. What general identity does the nation-state adopt in contemporary world basing on its economic and military might? This is the question. In terms of what policy in the world and why we should put our loyalty to the test? Do we always adequately and clearly give our response to this question? Does actually exist the understanding of the meaning of real connection between the characterization of the nation's past and of its image today?

The phenomena of bio-spiritual and phenotypic racism testify to the fact that in perspective we confront a new wave of bio-policy

showing the way to actual realization of old ethnic and racial hierarchies, the means for elaboration of legal mechanisms “to discipline” national and cultural minorities. Is not a “ballon d’essai” of such “discipline” the bombardment of Yugoslavia, Iraq, Afghanistan and Libya? What is in store for us in the future in the context of the essence of these bombardments?

Will we confront the infections of inter-ethnic clashes transforming themselves into group forms of forceful action outside the framework of international legislation? Actually, bloody racial and inter-ethnic conflicts take place. The recent events on the territory of Yugoslavia – in Kosovo, Croatia and Bosnia – show that bloody dramatic events may occur not only on the territory of Africa. What was the behavior of the Georgian military detachments on the territory of South Ossetia in time of aggression in 2008? This operation was called “open country”, i.e. the question was a complete “combing-out” of the territory in order to eliminate the population of South Ossetia as a bio-political “material”.

It is evident that such intentions contain a racist element. And if they become more “habitual”, the racist wave in perspective may “cover” the whole world.

The emerging and shaped trends represent an evident threat both for internal and external security of states. The adequate analysis of forms and displays of contemporary racism becomes a needed condition of efficient neutralization of its destructive consequences.

(to be continued in the next issue)

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**THE DYNAMICS OF RUSSIAN, REGIONAL
AND ETHNIC IDENTITIES IN TATARSTAN**

The period of the 1990s and the 2000s was marked by realization of federal and regional strategies to mobilize all-Russian civil local and ethnic identities. To what extent was it possible to put them into practice? What identities were formed or actualized in case of their interconnection and owing to the impact of other factors?

The answer to the set questions needs an analysis of subjective significance for Tatars and Russians of Tatarstan of the ethnic identities. As indicators of this significance are used the selected (out of proposed) views of the respondents concerning their attitude to their own ethnic group. The data of the public poll in 1994 showed high actuality of ethnic identity of Tatars. A half of the representatives of this ethnic group (city residents) and almost three fourths of rural residents said that they never forgot that they were Tatars. It is connected with some factors, including consolidation of the social-status positions of this ethnic group in the republic. At the same time, ideology of national and political elites stimulated the growth of self-consciousness of Tatars. To some extent, it might be continuation of the trends for the 1980s-1990s, when the leaders of national organizations were able to promote the sense of a part of population of the hurt status of its own ethnos. On the other side, the great subjective significance of ethnic identity may be interpreted as the consequence of the regional policy of renaissance of national language and culture since the 1990s.

The data of the research showed a greatly expressed ethnic identity of Tatars-rural residents. The ethnic identity of rural residents is characterized by “protection” tendencies and to greater inclination to

keep ethnic traditions and culture comparing with city residents. At the same time, it might be the result of the new strategy of the republican authorities, which opened new perspectives for those, who new the Tatarian language. The rural residents with good knowledge of the Tatarian language (usually received at school with teaching in this language) could use this language as a symbolic capital and get certain dividends.

In its turn, the Russian population of the republic (those, who never forget about their nationality) accounted only for one fourth of city residents (two times less than Tatars) and for almost the same share of the rural residents. By the middle of the 1990s they showed a much greater indifference to their own ethnic identity. These feelings might be the result of declarations made by the leaders of national movements, who accused Russians of “faults” of the Soviet national policy and of “imperial” thinking, which did not promote the positive estimation by them of their own ethnic group. Besides, the apathy of Russians, side by side with social-economic and political factors, might be caused by the cultural policy of the region, which was concentrated on preservation and development of language and culture of Tatars and “avoided” ethnic-cultural demands of Russians.

The beginning of the 2000s was characterized by keeping even the continued rise of indexes of intensive ethnic identification processes among Tatars. The response “I never forget about my nationality” was marked by a greater number of Tatars-respondents in cities and by 11% more among Tatars living in rural districts than in 1994. It should be mentioned that in 2001 the respondents except “extreme” fidelity to their ethnic community had a chance to “go away” to a neutral variant of the response: “I remember about my nationality in certain cases”. This keeping and even growing adherence of representatives of the title

nation to their ethnic community may be interpreted as a result of the national policy favorable for Tatars.

By 2001, Russians, living in Tatarstan, showed a small growth of ethnic self-consciousness in cities and a rather considerable growth in rural districts. The general correlation of indexes rested the same, though. It means that by the beginning of the 2000s the ethnic identity had greater significance for the title ethnos of the region.

According to the poll in 2010, the subjective significance of ethnic identity of Tatars was kept as a whole. The intensity of its display was grown thanks to addition to the questionnaire of the residents in the city of Almetievsk, where 67.7% of the respondents answered that they never forgot about their nationality. At the same time, the indexes of ethnical identity of Tatars in rural districts were reduced to some extent. In total, for the first decade of the 2000s, the identity of the title group at the regional level remained rather demanded among considerable part of its representatives.

As far as Russians in Tatarstan are concerned, from 2001 to 2010 the rise of significance of ethnicity was quite evident. The share of Russians who never forget about their nationality was growing among city residents and attained almost half of this part Russians in the republic (the rise of such responses of the Russians in rural districts made 9%). But simultaneously there was reduced the share of Russian city residents, who do not care for significance of their nationality. Thus, if by 2001 the just started rise of ethnic identification intensity of Russians was only noticed in Tatarstan, by the end of the first decade of the 2000s this tendency was marked quite definitely. This dynamics most likely was connected with the governance vertical strategy, which was started by the leadership of the RF; hence, Russians felt themselves in the regions to be better “protected”. Further, this strategy started to be accompanied at the federal level by the policy of consolidation of

the status of the Russian language and Russian culture and to some extent of Russians as a state-forming ethnos, while at the regional level, for instance in RT, – by the policy of parity of development of Tatarian and Russian cultures. All this promoted consolidation of the positive appraisal by Russians of their own their own ethnic group, as well as increase of their self-respect. (However, probably, the discourse of certain, primarily national-patriots, political forces had influenced the ethnic self-consciousness).

It is worth discussing the formation and development for the same period of all-Russian and Tatarian (regional) identity of Russians and Tatars in the republic. In the beginning of the 1990s, from the time of proclamation of sovereignty of RT, the process of shaping new regional community was started. On the one side, its creation was promoted by the special economic strategy of the republic, called at that time “soft enter in the market” (in contrast to “the shock therapy” of the Center), which was understood and supported both by Tatars and Russians in RT. On the other side, the adherence to this community by representatives of the title ethnic group was also connected with the republican policy of putting into life of slogan “ethnic-cultural renaissance” of Tatars. For that period, the federal center was very weak due to economic crisis and social-political contradictions in society, extreme tension of inter-national relations in the North Caucasus.

As a result, in 1994 the majority of Tatars shared the dominant feeling of their adherence to the region. It was very significant for them, side by side with state Russian identity. And the per cent of “exclusive Russians” among them was very small (2.7% of city respondents and 0.9 % of rural respondents).

For that period, Russians were divided into three groups. One third of them felt themselves Russians and Tatars equally. One fifth of

city residents and one fourth of rural residents considered themselves even as “to a larger extent, Tatars”. These data showed their support of the regional policy in the social-economic sphere. At the same time, they testify to the fact that for the 1990s a special identity of Russians started to form in the region. Co-existing with “the other”, which politically and symbolically had for these years greater impact on regional policy, they started to agree to new “rules of game” and to recognize the right of “the other” for development of its ethnic-cultural originality.

Nevertheless, over one third of city residents and one fifth of Russians in rural districts of Tatarstan, under conditions of the weak and torn by internal strife Center and of the just appeared new civil identity forming within new borders and based on other ideological principles, indicated that they regarded themselves primarily as Russians. It was important for them to feel their adherence to the big and united country-successor of traditional Russian (Soviet) statehood

By 2001 (in the context of new trends of centralization of the state power, when for the first time in the post-Soviet period the state power rationalized national construction and proclaimed the program of forming Russian nation) the change for gradual rise of significance of all-Russian identity was marked in RT. Nevertheless, it took place in RT not to the disadvantage of regional identity but side by side with it. By that period (comparing with 1994), the share of the people identifying themselves with both Russia and the republic at the same time had increased among Tatars and Russians (city residents) by 10–11%. Correspondingly, the part of the people regarding themselves exclusively as Tatars was reduced (Tatars-city residents – by 17%, rural districts-residents – by 10%, Russian city-residents – by 9% and rural districts-residents – by 20%). The percent of “Rossians” among Russians remains unchanged, while it rose from 3% to 10% among

Tatars-city residents. Meanwhile, the share of “pure Tatars” in the title ethnoses of the republic at that period was rather great and accounted for one half of it, making one tenth among Russians.

For the last decade, the mentioned trend continued. The share of Tatars and Russians increased by 2010: by more than one fourth – of Tatars and by one tenth – of Russians. The share of “pure Tatars” reduced considerably. It reduced among Tatars from one half to almost one fourth, while the rather great difference between Tatars-city residents and rural residents remained. This index in the group of Russians decreased from 10% to 3%. The number of “only” Russians remained the same in both groups (36% Russians and 7% Tatars).

The mentioned specificity of ratio and of development in Tatarstan of Russian and regional identity was characterized by the number of residents of Tatarstan expressing their adherence to Russia, rose simultaneously with the remained significance for them of local identity. This phenomenon is explained by a number of circumstances.

First, it is the remained rather high level of social-economic development of the region making it possible successfully to implement a number of social programs.

Second, the efforts and the will of the political elites of the republic, which are able to set strategic aims and to achieve them and urge towards information about them at the all-Russian and world levels; some social-cultural projects (connected with celebration of the thousand years anniversary of Kazan, preparation for Universiad in 2013 etc.).

Third, the modern ethnic cultural policy of Tatarstan, particularly the official policy, supported by a part of Tatars, to keep the trend of the 1990s aimed at development of the Tatarian language, national education and culture. The Russian population adopted a favorable attitude to the formula of equality in developing Tatarian and Russian

cultures in RT, proclaimed for the 2000s. The known thesis of Tatarian identity as a part of all-Russian identity promotes the non-contradictory correlation of regional and Russian identity.

It is possible to mention the circumstances, which unite Russians and Tatars of the republic with Russia and Rossians, on the one side, and with the region and Tatars. The memorized historic events turned out to be the most advantageous ideas for consolidation of Russians and Tatars of RT with the country. This fact was noted by 59% of Russians and 55% of Tatars. The main date promoting solidarity (according to interviews with Russians and Tatars, held for 2008, in Tatarstan) is considered to be the Victory in the Great Patriotic War; the memory of this event was actualized for the last decade. The propagation of sports successes and the support of sport at the state level was another factor, which contributed to consolidation of Rossians, particularly of the youth.

The following main consolidating factors in the Republic of Tatarstan may be mentioned: history (to a lesser extent for Russians than for Tatars, indirectly showing lesser impact of ethnic-cultural policy in this case – in RT), sport, culture and economic successes of the region – equally. It should be noted that the level of adherence to all-Russian and regional identity is different in these two ethnic groups: the first – more significant for Russians, the second – for Tatars.

Summing up, it is possible to make conclusions concerning correlation and development of all-Russian, regional and ethnic identities in Tatarstan. For the 1990s, thanks to some social-political, economic and social-cultural factors the regional identity was prevailing for most Tatars and for a part of Russians in RT. For the last decade, the evident growth of subjective significance of all-Russian identity takes place. At the same time, the regional identity remained significant for the first decade of the 2000s for the majority of Russians

and for the great majority of Tatars in RT. As was mentioned, the consolidation of the role of state-civil identity continued not at the expense of regional identity but side by side and in correlation with it.

At the same time, a high level of subjective significance of ethnic identity of Tatars remains intact and the essential actualization of ethnic identity of Russians goes on. This tendency also does not hinder the growth of all-Russian identity, which is proved by the opinion, expressed in scientific literature, about a feasibility of their organic correlation.

*“Sotsis: Sotsiologicheskie issledovaniya”,
M., 2011, N 5, p. 71–77.*

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**RUSSIA AND AZERBAIJAN
IN THE POST-SOVIET PERIOD**

At present, the Russian-Azerbaijani relations represent a significant component of the versatile structure of the world community. In spite of seemingly pure regional characteristic of bilateral cooperation, it has an essential influence on solving problems of not only of energy but also of military-political security at the global level. Iran, Iraq, Pakistan and Afghanistan – all these countries marked by higher level of instability are located near Azerbaijan in terms of geography. Hence, the special role in solving the connected problems is urged to play the Russian-Azerbaijani reciprocal action.

For the first years following disintegration of the USSR, Russia was occupied with introducing proper order in the Federation, did not take political measures in the South Caucasus regarding it as its

undisputable zone of influence. The military presence in Georgia and Armenia, fixed by inter-governmental agreements, allowed hope that Tbilisi and all the more Yerevan would submissively follow lead of Russia. Meantime, the political configuration in the region changed quickly, the new ruling elites declared other priorities of development, oriented to the extra-regional powers and supported their choice by special inter-state documents creating the legal basis for filling “the vacuum left by Russia”. For the first years of independence, the relations of Azerbaijan with Russia were not characterized by friendly atmosphere. Mutual claims and reproofs (as a rule, extremely emotional) prevailed in them. Moscow and Baku with difficulties accustomed themselves to live in a new way. With due account of military actions in Karabakh, the most complicated part of the negotiation process between Azerbaijan and Russia turned out to be the issues of the status of Russian forces, the division of military stores of the Soviet army and the Caspian navy, as well as the negotiations on the procedure of border protection. The mercenaries unexpectedly created a rather painful problem, since many former servicemen of the Soviet army took part in military actions in Nagorny Karabakh conflict of both sides. The tense situation was shaped in connection with the big military object – Gabalin center of warning against rocket attack, built in Soviet time in the place located 250 km from Baku.

By G. Aliyev coming back to power (summer 1993) the two states were in the stage of confrontation. The reciprocal accusations and reproaches as well as exchange of notes of protest were not ceased. On 5 September 1993, G. Aliyev came to Moscow for negotiations with the leadership of the Russian Federation. Before his departure he declared that he did not consider obtaining independence to be “the pretext for severance of political, economic, cultural and pure human relations with Russia”. The existed level of relations between two states was in

need of significant corrections and a higher status. It was primarily in the interests of the republic, experiencing significant difficulties due to the brake of inter-economic connections, stressed G. Aliyev. G. Aliyev had a meeting with B. Yeltsin and R. Khasbulatov; he presented to the Russian leadership the statement of Milli Majilis with agreement on extradition of six Russian servicemen, including five of them sentenced to capital punishment, to the Russian law enforcement bodies. The parties signed the inter-governmental agreement on regulation of succession relating to the external state debt and assets of the former USSR. According to the document, Russia assumed the obligation on payment of the share of Azerbaijan in the external debt of the former Soviet Union by 1 December 1991. At the same time, Azerbaijan assigned to Russia its share of assets of the former USSR.

Having joined the CIS on 26 September 1993, the leadership of Azerbaijan expected that Russia would render it assistance on deserved conditions to terminate war in Karabakh, which prevented to put the situation in order in the country, to consolidate political stability and realization of urgent economic arrangements. However, the passivity of the leadership of Russia in summer and autumn of 1993 relating to the cessation of the war in Karabakh and further new seizures by Armenians of Azerbaijani lands to a large extent damped these hopes, which became one of the reasons of Baku orientation to rapprochement with the West. Of certain significance was the circumstance that Russia with its stagnated economy was unable to render real assistance to economic renaissance of Azerbaijan and all the more compete with the propositions of the West concerning development of oil fields on the shelf of the Caspian Sea. It should be recognized the for the given period the Russia party lacked a fixed strategic line in relation to the Trans-Caucasus and took the indeterminate, often thoughtless and

ungrounded decisions, which contributed to weakening of its positions in the region.

In December 1994, the Russian army started activities aimed at “installation of constitutional order” in Chechnya, and on 19 December the government adopted the decision N 1394 “On the Measures for Temporary Limitation of Crossing the State Border of the RF with Azerbaijan and Georgia”, and as a result of it the border of Russia with Azerbaijan was closed in the unilateral way. The functioning of the railway, maritime and automobile transportation was stopped in the northern direction. As the reason of “the blockade” was the accusation by Russia of Baku rendering military assistance to Chechnya as follows: transportation via the territory of Azerbaijan foreign fighters, of cargoes with arms and explosives, recruiting Azerbaijani fighters and free accommodation of wounded Chechen fighters in Azerbaijani military hospitals granting numerous Chechen families permanent residence. The official negotiations were conducted with the leadership of Chechnya on the joint construction of an oil pipeline via the Caucasian mountain ridge to the Georgian shore of the Black Sea. The external political contacts of the leadership of Ichkeria were conducted via Azerbaijan.

The “pro-Chechen” position of Baku to a large extent was explained by the unleashed struggle for the guaranteed and unimpeded export of Caspian oil – the sole source of getting hard currency to stabilize the social-economic situation in the country and to repel the military offensive of Armenia in Karabakh. The activities aimed at “the installation of the constitutional order” in Chechnya resulted in the following: “the northern route” (Baku-Grozny-Tihoretsk-Novorossiysk) proposed by Russia as an exclusive option lost finally its attractiveness for the western companies, which made big investments in Caspian oil fields. Although Russia and Azerbaijan signed in Moscow on

18 January 1996 the agreement on transit of Azerbaijani oil through the territory of the RF, it became clear that the route of the main export pipeline would go round Russia. The forces interested in weakening positions of Russia in the Caucasus with impudence used “the Chechen card”.

The Russian party aspired to lay the blame for its failure to fulfill its obligations for oil transit through the Chechen part of the pipeline (153 km) on the Azerbaijani party, which, obviously, was not guilty. And what is more, in the course of discussion by delegations of Azerbaijan and Russia of the issue of transportation of Azerbaijani oil through Chechnya it was found out that the Russian leadership lacks the united meaning concerning the status of the Chechen party. Russia was unable to ensure security of the pipeline.

The military conflict in Dagestan in 1999, side by side with the resumed in the same autumn anti-terrorist operation in Chechnya fixed the unfavorable position of Russia and provided the supporters of its “pipeline” isolation with additional arguments. Greatly thanks to these circumstances the USA and Turkey succeeded to adopt the political decision and soon to terminate construction of new oil pipeline Baku-Supsa. It became evident that Azerbaijan needed the other oil pipeline laid though Turkey to the Mediterranean. The constant irritation in the Russian-Azerbaijani relations was and is the military cooperation between Moscow and Erevan, which is considered by Baku as an attempt to destabilize the situation for the advantage to Armenia. For the sake of justice it should be said that the Russian party repeatedly gave cause for Baku to such suspicions.

In March 1997 G. Aliyev directed to B. Yeltsin the message expressing “a particular alarm” in connection with information on delivery of Russian military equipment to Armenia and asked “to investigate these facts and to take effective measures in this

connection". Further, G. Aliyev directed a new message on this matter, while the ministry of foreign affairs of Azerbaijan made a corresponding declaration. The Azerbaijani party expressed a hope that as a result of the investigation the officials involved in unlawful activities related to delivery of Russian military equipment to Armenia would be discovered and punished, that above all the corresponding measures would be taken to withdraw this equipment from Armenia. On 28 March, G. Aliyev raised the question on delivery of military equipment at the sitting of the Council of state heads of the CIS, and on 29 March this problem was subject to discussion at the meeting of the presidents of Russia and Azerbaijan. As a result, the compromise agreement was achieved on a thorough verification of all connected circumstances and on abstention up to the final investigation from public declarations by the parties on this theme (further the Azerbaijani party repeatedly violated this agreement). The Russian leadership charged the Principal military attorney office of Russia to carry out a thorough investigation of this matter, while the State Duma created a special commission.

In April, having discussed at the close meeting the report of L. Rokhlin, chairman of the committee for defense, on the unlawful delivery of military equipment for the sum of \$ 1 billion to Armenia, the State Duma adopted the decision on measures for compliance with the legislation of the Russian Federation in delivery of military equipment to foreign states. The deputies asked B. Yeltsin to take the necessary political and diplomatic measures to prevent probable interstate complications in connection with unlawful delivery of military equipment to Armenia as well as to take all measures to prevent the similar facts of violation of legislation in case of delivery of military equipment to other countries and to institute proceedings against the persons liable for these violations. In these very unfavorable

circumstances, on 2–4 July 1997, the first official visit of president of Azerbaijan G. Aliyev to the Russian Federation took place.

On 29 August 1997, Russia, as was planned, signed with Armenia the treaty on friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance. The Azerbaijani party considered it as an intention to make legal the military union between two states. One of the accusations of Russia was the assertions that its liabilities arising from the documents signed in one case with Armenia and in the other case with Azerbaijan contradict each other. The document signed with Azerbaijan declares the readiness to be guided by the norms of international law in regulation of Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict, but the document signed with Armenia bounds Russia to be guided by the search for a mutually acceptable decision. It was regarded by Azerbaijan as discrepancy with the status of Russia as a co-chairman of the OSCE group of Minsk. The reaction of Russian party to these accusations turned out to be not less strongly-worded: the ministry of foreign affairs of Russia recalled that in the process of preparation of the renewed treaty between Russia and Azerbaijan the Azerbaijani party did not agree with its proposals to extend connections in the military-political sphere. The intensity of the exchange of notes and “the temperature” of reciprocal accusations achieved such degree that on 7 October 1997 E. Primakov, minister of foreign affairs of Russia visited Baku. However, he did not succeed to alleviate this tension.

By autumn 1999, the Russian-Azerbaijani relations finally reached a deadlock. The reciprocal accusations were repeated, and exchange of notes of protest did not cease. Azerbaijan with great attention registered the contacts of Moscow with Yerevan and in a rigid form reacted to, mildly speaking, “ill-considered” statements of high military Russian officials about the contribution of Russia in defense potential of Armenia. On its part, Moscow with justification pointed out

that several hundred Chechen fighters were treated in hospitals and sanatoria of Baku and that field commanders and foreign emissaries visit by air through the capital's airport the Western Europe and the USA. It was a common secret that at that time the anti-Azerbaijani feelings and the thesis about "Azerbaijani mafia", which captured the retail trade, deeply penetrated the Russian society. The question of introduction of visa regime with Azerbaijan was raised on 5 November 1999 by the Ministry of foreign affairs of the RF, which sent its delegation to Baku. According to unofficial information, by that time about 2 million Azerbaijanis (30 percent of the male population) worked in Russia half-legally. They made money transfers to Azerbaijan, which accounted for several billion US dollars (from \$ 2.5 to \$ 4 billion) annually (the size of Azerbaijani export for 2002 did not surpass \$ 2.16 billion).

The aggravation of the political climate was reflected also in the indexes of mutual trade turn over. In summer 1999, the amount of the Russian-Azerbaijani trade turn over comparing with the same period in 1997 reduced by 33%, while the share of Russia in the trade turn over of Azerbaijan fell down to 18%.

The period in January 2001 rightfully is considered as a starting point for a principally new stage in development of relations between Russia and Azerbaijan. Exactly at that time, in the course of the first visit to Baku of the president of the RF for the post-Soviet period, G. Aliyev and V. Putin succeeded to eliminate many difficulties accumulated in the bilateral relations. The negotiations carried out in friendly and constructive way became a significant stage in consolidation of the regular political dialogue at the highest level. The dynamics given to the bilateral cooperation in 2001 acquires new acceleration at the present time. The characteristic of contacts between the leaders to a large extent determines the level of cooperation

between the countries. President of Azerbaijan I. Aliyev at the meeting in Moscow on 17 April 2009 with president of Russia D.A. Medvedev said that it was gratifying that the friendly relations between Russia and Azerbaijan characterize as well the relations between the two presidents. They use each meeting maximum efficiently and in the candid atmosphere discuss all needed issues. They are convinced each time that the number of the issues in need of urgent interference reduces more and more. There are no problems between the two countries, and the issues in need of discussion are being settled in operative way, said D.M. Medvedev during the meeting.

The declaration on friendship and strategic partnership adopted by the presidents of two countries in Baku on 3 July 2008 represents the legal foundation of the contemporary stage of Russian-Azerbaijani relations. The declaration points out that the two parties on the basis of the signed documents will continue the multilateral development of legally equal, mutually beneficial and constructive bilateral strategic relations. Over 80 inter-state and inter-governmental agreements have been concluded by the two parties.

The integral part of political reciprocal action is the military and military-technical cooperation. On 27 February 2003, the inter-governmental agreement on military-technical cooperation was signed in Baku, and on 4 December 2006 the inter-governmental agreement on mutual protection of the rights for the results of intellectual activities used and obtained in the course of bilateral military-technical cooperation. On 29 July 2008, the second sitting of the Russian-Azerbaijani commission on military-technical cooperation was held in Moscow. The proposal made by president of the RF V. Putin on 8 June 2007 at the summit of Big Eight concerning the use of Gabalin rockets location station in cooperation with the USA working out anti-rocket system was supported by the Azerbaijani leadership as a specific input

in consolidation of stability and security in the region. The border protection cooperation is a significant component in Russian-Azerbaijani relations.

The mutual activities of law enforcement bodies and judicial authorities are carried out at a high level. The following agreements have been signed and are fulfilled between the law enforcement bodies, the border guards organs for the sake of implementation of the memorandum on mutual action in the struggle against terrorism as well as the protocols on cooperation, including mutual action between the corresponding organs of Russia and Azerbaijan in the sphere of protection of transit cargoes. Analyzing the present state of bilateral political cooperation, one can not help mentioning a rather significant growth of the Russian party to solving the conflict in Nagorny Karabakh. The conflicting problem in Nagorny Karabakh is one of the most complicated problems for regulation primarily due to the quite different approach to its solving on the part of Armenia and Azerbaijan. It is impossible to combine the positions of the two countries without significant deviation from their initial directions. Therefore the regulation of the conflict will be possible, if the heads of the conflicting parties find out the formula of coexistence, which satisfies both of them.

Of no sense are all deliberations that the West or Russia because of oil, location of the military base, participation (or non-participation) in a military operation against Iran, by raising blockade of the Turkish-Armenian border or by getting any other benefits will “as a gratitude” “give” to Azerbaijan Nagorny Karabakh. In this context it is significant to note that, unlike many Azerbaijani experts and political scientists, who consider that Russia should “finally decide” what country, Armenia or Azerbaijan, is more important for it, the leadership of Azerbaijan understands that Moscow is unable to construct its relations

with Azerbaijan to the detriment of its relations with Armenia and vice versa.

The high level of political reciprocal action has a positive influence on development of trade-economic relations. Russia is the main exporter to Azerbaijan of technical equipment, construction materials, wood, roll products of ferrous metal, chemical products – all making over 90% of Russian export. The Russian party expects in future the growth of Azerbaijani export connected with deliveries to the Russian market of food products, which traditionally are in great demand and correspond to the standards of quality.

Since 1January 2010, Azerbaijan started to export its gas to Russia. In 2008 the Russian investments in economy of Azerbaijan accounted for \$ 12.4 million, which shows the need to intensify the work in this direction. A rather perspective for Russian investors seems to be the following direction: formation of joint enterprises for production of oil industrial equipment, of medicines, processing and storage of agricultural products, as well as activities in the financial and banking spheres. Of strategic importance for Russia is cooperation with Azerbaijan in development of international transport corridor “North-South” to arrange direct railway transportation from Europe via Russia to Azerbaijan, Iran, India and the countries of South-East Asia. The implementation of this project will let member-states get rather big profits from transit of cargoes in the perspective amount of 15–20 million tons per year. The investments in the non-ferrous metal industry of Azerbaijan, participation in privatization of small hydroelectric stations and enterprises engaged in storage and processing of agricultural products may be cited as interesting spheres of activities for Russian businessmen. The two criteria are recognized to the most important – pragmatism and mutual benefits – in economic cooperation of the partners at any level under conditions of the world crisis,

according to Russian minister E. Nabiullina. In the above mentioned case, probably, cooperation is needed in the spheres, where the final product is also in demand under conditions of crisis. As an example may be mentioned the fuel-energy complex: Azerbaijan is in need of deliveries of oil and gas extraction equipment, in services for drilling and capital repairs of production oil wells etc., while the Russian party is able to satisfy these needs. It is possible to discover other mutually beneficial spheres. For instance, it might be a fulfillment by Russian enterprises of the big project proposed by the Caspian Sea steamship line of Azerbaijan for construction of cargo steamers and tankers or the purchase of Russian special air equipment for the emergency ministry of Azerbaijan. Of certain urgency is creation of joint ventures in the light industry, in production of medicines, as well as leasing companies and service companies for repair of agricultural and road machinery. At the same time, both parties started to arrange cooperation in the sphere of nano-technologies.

The issues of humanitarian cooperation are also in the center of interests of the highest leadership of Azerbaijan and Russia, as well as the particular authorities and non-governmental organizations. Science and education are also the perspective directions of cooperation. At present, 5755 citizens of Azerbaijan study in higher education institutions, including 1420 students – at the expense of the federal budget of the RF. On 27 February 2008, the branch of M.V. Lomonosov Moscow University was opened in Baku; the number of students made 200 people for second year of functioning. More than 1200 people are students of the other Russian higher education institution on the territory of Azerbaijan – a branch of Moscow State Open University. As a whole, over 15 thousand students receive education in Russian in higher education institutions of Azerbaijan.

Summing up the brief analysis of the current period of Russian-Azerbaijani cooperation, it is significant to stress its creative factor, its target to extension of mutual action in various spheres. The strategic lines are determined by the leadership of Russia and Azerbaijan, while diplomats of both sides not in the last instance have been charged with implementation of the agreed plans. Russia and Azerbaijan are united by common historic destinies of the peoples, by invaluable political, economic and spiritual potential. Life has proved that, like beforehand, Russia needs Azerbaijan as Azerbaijan needs Russia. The relations between two sovereign countries – Russia and Azerbaijan – acquired pragmatic, business like and mutually beneficial characteristic with due account primarily of national interests of each country.

*“Kavkaz i globalizatsiya”, Azerbaijan-Shvetsiya,
2010, vyp. 1–2, p. 31–41.*

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**THE INTERNATIONAL-POLITICAL LINKS
OF CENTRAL ASIAN STATES
AND THE ISLAMIC FACTOR**

The Russian-soviet civilized tradition –being spread by force before- had privileges in spiritual and cultural spheres of peoples in Central Asia to mid 1990-ss. In many respects owing to it the peoples of the region absorbed many elements of the European civilization in their culture so the Soviet Central Asia and Kazakhstan were radically notable from their neighbors of the Moslem world by the beginning of 1990-ss having got ahead of them in world outlook, education, political process development and ideology. It isn't accidentally that the new

independent states of Central Asia were included in OSCE – the organization uniting the European countries as if considering their involvement to the European civilization like advance having confirmed it by a decision to charge Kazakhstan with a chairmanship in this organization in 2010.

The USSR dissolution on 8 December of 1991 and signing of Agreement on Commonwealth of Independent States establishing by the presidents of Russia, Byelorussia and Ukraine (on 21 December the rest allied republics of the abolished USSR joined CIS after adoption Declaration on purposes and principles of CIS in Alma-Ata –except the Baltic countries and Georgia having become its full member only in 1993) changed cardinally the situation in Central Asia. The negative aspects of people socialization in the region were worsened after attaining independence being “granted from above” after all (the idea of national self-determination wasn’t widely supported in Central Asia as one can observe in the Baltic countries or in Transcaucasus). As a result Central Asian countries like many states formed on the fragments of the USSR became closer to the countries of so-called the Third world for many indexes.

The Islamic paradigm wasn’t, however, determinative in the development of these states in spite of the fact that Islam made itself known as a political force in Uzbekistan and Tajikistan. But a priority was given to a development of relatively secular and modern culture in Uzbekistan and Tajikistan and in the rest of Central Asian states and the local authorities resist to a threat of a foreign influence and aggression of Islamists though not always by democratic methods.

From the second half of 1990-ss the Russian-soviet civilized tradition gradually loses its position and the other competing foreign-policy and cultural trends take its place. During 1990-ss Central Asia as though tried a Turkish, Chinese, Korean and other models on itself.

Simultaneously, the countries of the region gradually draw up own economic and political priorities and search the new partners and allies. Having become full participants of CIS the developing countries of Central Asia didn't concentrate their interests on this structure uniting the former soviet republics. They began searching after the other variants to be united both at sub-regional level and in line of establishing partner relations with neighboring countries of the Moslem East.

However, the Russian factor is as usual when forming a foreign policy of Central Asian states. The relations of Russia with them can't be suddenly become purely intergovernmental: they are also tied by joint economic, political and military interests besides the human contacts.

For Russia itself the states of Central Asia are as usual an important and a privileged zone of its geopolitical interests and the national security of Russia depends on its stability. It is interested in maintaining and supporting economic ties with the regions where there are life-and-death communications and communication objects (for example, Baikonur), mineral resources, defense minerals and routes of oil and gas mains. Besides, it's important for Russia to strengthen its strategic positions in Central Asia in order to improve access to China, India, the countries of the Moslem East and to control over the territories being traditionally a sphere of its vital interests. Being a multinational and multi-confessional but a secular state Russia attaches great importance to cherishing a historically established tradition of secularity of a political rule and political regimes –also owing to Russia's presence here (both during imperial and soviet period). The necessity to oppose the radical religious-political movements in Afghanistan and non-governmental forces supporting them in Pakistan

and the Arabian states of the Persian Gulf is strategically important both for Moscow and the states of Central Asia.

In spite of the fact that Russia relaxed its hold in Central Asia from the beginning of XXI it seeks to maintain its position here and to a certain degree Russia prospered in it: a level of the political and economic contacts of each of Central Asian countries with Russia is notably higher a level of intra-regional cooperation. It's probably that the most effective Russian efforts are in the energetic sphere. Russia managed to maintain its leading position in gas industry having persuaded Kazakhstan and Turkmenistan to join "its" Caspian Coastal project and postpone their participation in Transcaspian gas consortia (Nabukko) lobbied by EU and USA for some period. Russia reserved the project of the Caspian pipelining consortia transiting the Kazakhstan oil via the Russian territory. At the same time EU and USA and also their regional allies – Turkey, Georgia, Azerbaijan and Kazakhstan completed the construction of a large pipeline project Baku-Tbilisi-Jeikhan but it continues to be underloaded yet. One more player, China, appeared on Central Asian scene and it managed to implement a project on construction of a pipeline in Kazakhstan and started on a similar gas project.

The Moslem states of a regional meaning –Turkey, Iran, Afghanistan, Pakistan having specific historical relations with the region have existed for a long time in Central Asia together with Russia and also with China, USA and EU.

1. Turkey historically connected with the Turkic-language countries of the region was traditionally the example of successful functioning of a secular political system with the elements of the western democracy. It's no wonder that a model of the Turkish state having succeeded in carrying out deep political and economic reforms when the Moslems dominated in the local society draws attention of

many followers in Central Asia. Immediately after the USSR dissolution Ankara suggested an idea for the Turkic-language states to be integrated more closely laying special stress on cultural-ethnic community with the Turkic peoples of the region and trying to occupy a leading position at the local market. Whereas this Turkish course with respect to Central Asia was interpreted very favorably in the western capitals Moscow's and Teheran's attitude was more than chilly. One should say that Central Asian states themselves weren't eager to have Turkey as a new Big brother preferring to carry out harmonious policy as far as possible equidistant from the world and regional "centers of force" as only such policy allowed them to deal with own resources freely and develop own identity.

Turkey admits the objective fact that Central Asian republics are interconnected with Russia and depend on it so Turkey doesn't seek to implement large-scale projects here. It considers that it's more preferable to promote less intensive, cultural and educational programs, gradually strengthen influence and enter into personal relations. In 2000-ss Turkey applied again to the idea to establish Commonwealth of the Turkish-language states: it was concerned, in particular, on 18 September 2006 in Antalya at the meeting of the Turkish-language states and peoples where the presidents of Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, and Azerbaijan took participation.

The president Nazarbaev was a standby for the Turkic-language people uniting; he noted that the Turkic-language states have the unique possibility to turn from their geographical location and transit potential to advantage in order to be integrated more closely. Nazarbaev also suggested forming Inter-Parliamentary assembly of the Turkic-language states and Union of Aqsaqals where the most famous figures of the Turkic-language world would be included including the former president of Turkey, S. Demirel'. Such position of the Kazakhstan

leader is explained by his desire to play bigger role in the international affairs and also by his interest for supporting these ambitions by the Turkish leadership considering both Kazakhstan's advance in the position as chairman and this Central Asian country to be a member of WTO very favorably.

Kyrgyzstan and Turkmenistan keep up with Kazakhstan. As for the last it pretends for special relations with Turkey. It's known that M. K. Atatyurk –“father of all the Turks” was initially selected as the example by the dead president of Turkmenistan, S. Niyazov. By his instructions the alphabet was translated into the Roman alphabet in its Turkish variant and investments were just from Turkey. The personnel for the young Turkmen state were mainly trained there. However later, the Turkish-Turkmen relations were submitted to serious examination: many Turkish schools and colleges were closed but the Turkish teachers accused of distribution pantyurkizm ideology were deported from the country. Now Turkey tries to restore its influence in Turkmenistan laying special stress on economic interaction – first of all, in the area of energy supply production and transportation. In particular, a visit of the prime-minister of Turkey, R.T. Erdogan, in Ashkhabad 3 October 2008 was aimed at a discussion of a possibility to build a pipeline Turkmenistan-Iran-Turkey; the prime-minister also announced that Central Asian trend becomes one of the most privileged in the Turkish foreign policy.

As a whole recognition of the unquestionable successes of the Turkish “secular democracy” which relative stability helped Turkey to occupy its own niche in globalizing world system in 1990-ss doesn't mean at all that this Middle Eastern country has a chance to be a regional leader in Central Asia. In a way Turkey has already lost its years.

During 1990-ss Ankara prepared for be a member of EU and the relations with Central Asian countries weren't privileged for Turkey against this background. But after 2001 Turkey discovered an area where it could realize its ambitions in the region – a struggle against terrorism and religious extremism. It seemed that a Turkish model of “secular Moslem democracy” was well fit in the plans of the American administration according to many parameters to democratize and reconstruct the Middle East and Central Asia. However, some relations cooling with Washington in 2002 – first of all, because of Turkey's dissatisfaction with USA's course for unpublished encouragement for the Kurd irredentism – made corrections in the Turkish regional policy: it became less pro-American and more pro-European. Turkey began positioning itself as a bearer of the European values in Central Asia and as the single secular state in the Moslem world being capable of being “a bridge” between Europe and Central Asia. Turkey took the active efforts to promote energy routes controlled by the western companies. Meanwhile a changeable domestic policy situation in Turkey bothers Turkey in Central Asian area.

It concerns the accession to power of moderate Islamists in Ankara having won the election on the Turkish parliament; their member became president in 2007. The ruling elite in Central Asia couldn't help but become alerted with this fact orienting at a secular development and struggling against their Islamic opposition. To this moment the secular and pro-western Turkey was the model for them to imitate and a guideline to form and develop own statehood. The result of the Turkish political development during the last years shows: a secular pro-western model isn't stable even under a relatively liberal Turk Islam conditions but a balance between the followers of a secular way of a development and moderate Islamists is very fragile. It seems that Turkey's influence in Central Asia will hardly go beyond a

participation in energetic projects where Turkey is assigned a supplementary role – energetic corridor connecting Central Asia and Caucasus with Europe. Turkey itself isn't stable and here there is a threat of a confrontation between a secular state and Islamism weakening the Turkish positions in Central Asia especially taking consideration a fear of the state leaders before Islamism threat.

2. If Turkey's trump card in Central Asia is its secular model then the Islamic Republic Iran (IRI) initially perished hopes for its religious influence distribution in this vast region being considered as Moslem. However, with the lapse of time Teheran had to leave this part of its activity. The authorities of IRI also took into consideration a negative attitude of Central Asian leaders towards the attempts to impose a religious paradigm for their countries and Russia's role supporting a course to establish secular states in Central Asia. Generally Iran's strategy in Central Asia is aimed at position strengthening in zones of its traditional influence and USA's hold relaxing. Teheran acts in the same way in Shiite regions of Afghanistan and Iraq. IRI leadership plays a deep game being at great pains to persuade Central Asian leaders that IRI isn't going to initiate the Islamic revolution in their countries.

Iran pays a special attention to a gas giant of the region – Turkmenistan; though they are in disagreement greatly Iran intends to develop cooperation especially in fuel-energetic sphere. But, it's naturally that a top priority of the Iranian policy is Tajikistan as a state with allied language. Iran tries not only to resist a geopolitical influence of USA on the region of Central Asia but also to take over USA's initiative concerning integration of Central Asia and Afghanistan within the frame of Big Central Asia being projected by USA promoting their own project based in many respects on a community of cultural and historical contacts of the region peoples. So, the meeting of three

presidents –Afghanistan, Iran and Tajikistan- was a principal moment of M. Akhmadinezhada's visit in the Tajik capital in 2006. The leaders of three states having in many respects a common history, culture and traditions spoke in favor of economic, cultural and social integration as a natural process equitable to the interests of three country peoples. But though the leaders of IRI stake on the affinity of three peoples they consider a close dependence of Tajikistan on Russia but Afghanistan – on USA.

For the present the active convergence of Tajikistan with USA and NATO outlined during the last years didn't tell upon a level of the economic and cultural interaction of this country with Iran. However, taking into consideration the fact that USA strictly controls their partners' activity within the frame of fixed foreign-policy course there is every reason to suppose that in case of the American-Tajik interaction strengthening the connections of Tajikistan with IRI will be relaxed (and on the contrary- if the American-Tajik friendship runs out by some reason the Iran-Tajik contacts will be renewed).

As for the interaction of IRI with Uzbekistan here a religious component of a political system of the Islamic Republic was always a serious limit for more deepened cooperation in the political and cultural spheres.

3. Pakistan's policy in Central Asia isn't so notable for the present; on the one hand, Pakistan tries not to show its interest in natural resources of the region but on the other hand, it tries not to allow strengthening influence of its "eternal rival" – India. Pakistan's politicians try to represent their country as a reliable partner of that Islamic world not supporting the radical political trends of Islam and struggling against them but it means nothing for Central Asia. However, the relationship between Pakistan and Central Asia was somewhat clouded till recently because of the ancient support of

Pakistan's secret services for Taliban's movement. In Central Asia one considered such contacts of some part of Pakistan establishment with Taliby and also a tolerance of the Pakistan authorities to Taliby's presence in provinces of Pakistan being neighboring with Afghanistan to be as a direct threat for the region.

After Taliby's removal from power in Afghanistan Central Asian relations came to normal, however, the distrust to a regional policy of Pakistan has continued. At the same time one can note improvement in relations of Pakistan with Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan – the states having mostly suffered from the Islamic extremism. In March 2005 visiting Uzbekistan and Kyrgyzstan the former president of Pakistan P. Musharraf tried to break a barrier of distrust and persuade the authorities of these states that Pakistan together with them is concerned with the problems to secure security in the region. It's possible that just this step the Pakistan leadership took helped Pakistan to join SOC in 2006 – as an observer for the present.

The relations between Pakistan and Uzbekistan became especially close when official Islamabad supported the actions of the president I. Karimov in crushing the riot in May 2005 in Andizhan having been inspired by the Islamist organizations being based in Afghanistan. Information about annihilation of militarized units of the Uzbek-participants of the Islamic movement of Uzbekistan having sought shelter in Pakistan province Yuzhny Viziristan in spring 2007 evoke a positive response in Uzbekistan.

4. Afghanistan is a “bridge” between Central and the South Asia according to the American project of Big Central Asia. But practically it makes the West penetration to the natural resources of Central Asia easier; the states of Central Asia put themselves at quite concrete risks under such geopolitical transformation. The assurances of the American administration that Afghanistan is pacified and can participate in both

economic projects and in processes to support a regional security are only a political rhetoric. Khamid's government doesn't even control the country in full. There are no conditions for investments, potential points for increasing and the country survives only for the account of the western donors and permanent injections from the West. Afghanistan itself is a threat because of being a main producer and carrier of the drugs in the world absorbing not only bordering states more deep in the black hole of drug dealing but also the countries having no borders with it – Russia, Kyrgyzstan and Turkey.

In case of situation worsening in Afghanistan this country can be a more serious threat for its near neighbors concerning drug distribution commercially, religious extremism rooting at a large territory and migrant flow being capable of giving Central Asian states a lot of trouble as it is not quite successful.

It would be naively to suppose that the foreign troop presence in Afghanistan being brought within the framework of the operation "Unassailable freedom" under slogans of Ben Laden catching headed by USA and NATO can bring a peace into the region. However, the new American administration in the lead of Barak Obama is going to use infrastructural possibilities of Central Asian countries more actively to ensure their troops in Afghanistan where USA plan to increase their grouping in two times (to 60 thousands). Washington needs a reliable route via the CIS countries to equip this grouping as goods transit is practically impossible from the point of security because of political instability in Pakistan and relation complication between Islamabad and Delhi.

In April 2008 a conception of "transit bridge" was approved via Russia's territory and the countries of Central Asia at the summit NATO in Bucharest in April 2008. The presidents of Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan invited at the meeting announced about a readiness to

give a transit corridor for the alliance to deliver non-military goods in Afghanistan. Moscow also signed the agreement with NATO to transit non-military goods mainly humanitarian ones, in Afghanistan via the territory of Russia for supporting the International forces in promotion security in Afghanistan. But in the middle of January 2009 the leader of Unified central command of the Armed forces of USA, general D. Petreus, visited the capitals practically of all Central Asian countries. Petreus managed to achieve bilateral agreements on a participation in “Afghan transit” almost with all the states of Central Asia.

The hopes of Central Asian countries for a considerable increase of the American help and investments were strengthened owing to USA’s plans for Afghanistan. But there is also anxiety that Washington uses anti-terrorist operation for its military grouping rooting in Central Asia as it had been in 2001. Besides, there is much to say that a struggle against “international terrorism” and drug traffic isn’t a main thing for USA in Afghanistan. Here they solve more global problems: establish a control over nuclear Pakistan and India and energetic state of Central Asia – Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan because it may give a powerful instrument to control many processes both economic and political in Eurasia.

Afghanistan problem solving can be the only one- to establish integrated, independent and powerful country. It can be achieved by initiating forced modernization and also an active infrastructure restoring being practically annihilated what will promote stability and economic prosperity of Afghanistan. It’s also important to enhance the central authorities in the states entering the region of post-soviet Central Asia; it’s necessary to fortify borders between them as a means of struggle against transnational criminal syndicates, transnational drug mafia and terrorism in guise of religion.

As a whole above all things the peoples of Central Asia figure on to change their region in the area for cooperation but not for rivalry. Central Asia itself is the region where independent self-sufficient states are developing trying to be not an object but a subject of the international relations and the different global and regional players acting in Central Asia should understand this factor.

Most probably that maneuvering between the world centers of a force having carried Central Asian ruling elites forward until recently (notorious “multi-vector” policy) as it helped to achieve concrete preferences from the different sources will be upset not least because that geopolitical rivalry in Central Asia is worsened too far now; in its turn it stimulates a struggle within elites in each state.

The external factor is almost determining in a development of economic and political process globalization; it favors stability but simultaneously it can disrupt it.

“Islamsky factor v istorii i sovremennosti”,

M., 2011, p. 99–108.

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