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**WHAT IS THE WAY TO ARRANGE THE DIALOGUE
OF CIVILIZATIONS?**

There is the virtue and the indication, which are the must for discussion of the dialogue of civilizations. It is tolerance or endurance (in Russian translation), which comes forward as an initial condition of any fruitful dialogue.

It is possible to regard dialogue as a means of tolerance (I used to write about it in this way). However, it is better to make the difference between tolerance and dialogue: the dialogue supposes tolerance, and the later may not be accompanied by dialogue. I will try to show, why it is needed and is important and what practical sense consists in it. It should be stressed that there exists the certain vagueness in perception of the role of the dialogue of civilizations in the contemporary world.

For instance, there is a widely shared meaning that just such dialogue is a universal way of solving the complicated problems, which engender the contemporary social development, in particular the globalization process. To my mind, actually the things are different.

First, in certain circumstances globalization is not in need of such dialogue. The present type of globalization does not suppose any dialogue among civilizations. All regions of the world are marked by expansion of the market economy system, of contemporary information

technologies and the accompanied mass culture. The actual globalization leads to leveling of civilization differences and to homogenization of the mankind as a whole. In the past, modernization was identified with westernization. One may be tempted to call contemporary globalization to be Americanization of the world. But in this case the inter-civilization dialogue is senseless, since the question is exactly the creation of a unified homogeneous civilization, but not of different civilizations, which may (or may not) participate in the dialogue with each other. Hence, if we speak about a chance and even the need of the dialogue of civilizations, we mean not the present civilization, but a wanted globalization of another type, which does not deny civilization differences and, on the contrary, cultivates them. In other words, the discussion about importance and need of the dialogue of civilizations supposes inter alia a chance to change the direction and characteristic of globalization.

Second, one should not think that even in case of some other, more humane type of globalization, when the dialogue of different civilizations occurs, we will be able to solve all contemporary problems by means of this dialogue. In reality there are no ready solutions of many of them. There are no indications for solving these problems in the heritage of the presently existing various civilizations. The mankind has never confronted them up to present. At present, the humanity confronts a significant challenge, when there emerges the question on the future of man and of the society and culture.

The mentioned problems have arisen as a result of the modern type of development of science and technique, emergence of new information technologies (TV, computers and Internet communication). A high tempo of knowledge renovation, which is characteristic for information society, causes rapid change of social structures and institutions embodying this knowledge, types and means of

communication. Many social processes transform themselves into some ephemeral phenomenon existing for a relatively short time. The integration of the past and of the future in the united chain of events, shaping the biography of individual and being the basis of personality, of “Me”, turns out to be a complicated matter in some cases. The complicating in the contemporary globalizing society chain of sociological and technological connections between action and result makes the rational planning of actions complicated not only at the collective but also at the individual level. But the question is not only this aspect of the phenomenon. Any rational action supposes not only the account on probable consequences but also the correlation of the chosen means with the existing in society of norms of behavior, with collective perceptions of the allowed and not allowed, with the perceptions of the acting subject about himself, about his biography, about assumed obligations, about some collective community, i.e. about individual identity. At the same time, the contemporary western world, which enters information society by means of globalization including into it the rest part of the world, goes on through the crisis of individual identification. Some collective identities start to go on through the crisis.

One more contemporary challenge to our perceptions of the man should be mentioned. It concerns the attempts by influence exerted upon the genetic system to change the human structure, to create a more “perfect” man, who is mostly adapted to perform some or other specific functions. The contemporary science seems to open such possibilities. Some enthusiasts propagate new means of experimentation with the human body connected with execution of the most audacious dreams and realization of a new genetic-technological utopia. The related emerging problem is connected not so much with probability or improbability of such experiments (as N. Berdyaev noted, the specifics

of utopia consist not in its non-existence but in its probable existence), as with the interference, which may result in the irreversible consequences similar with the results of influence of the mankind on the nature engendering the contemporary ecological crisis: the human being may cease to be the human being. F. Fukuyama, the known theoretician, writes about our post-human future. Meanwhile, all present existing in the Earth civilizations with their perceptions on moral represent the corporal structure with its chances and limitations, with its distribution of abilities among individuals, which up till present was considered as an inseparable phenomenon of perception of the man.

These (and many other) acute theoretical and practical problems obviously may not be solved only by means of the dialogue of civilizations. In this case the dialogue is needed primarily as a dialogue among experts in various spheres of knowledge, among philosophers and scientists, among experts and laymen. A certain (but hardly deciding) role in this case may be plaid also by the dialogue of civilizations. Thus, the role of the latter in this case will be limited.

Where and in which way the dialogue of civilizations may be helpful for solving the problems confronting today the mankind? Two comments should be made in this connection.

First, certainly, civilizations themselves can not carry on a dialogue. "Dialogue of civilizations" is a metaphor. Only specific representatives of different civilizations may carry on a dialogue. They may be individuals, social groups, communities and governmental structures.

Second, as a rule, the dialogue is carried on not in relation of the civilizations themselves: about their systems of values, world outlooks and religious convictions. The question is that these perceptions constitute the identities of civilizations and form the basis of social

identity of each individual, a member of the given civilization. Therefore, if the civilization is not disintegrated and if it is not subject to the crisis of its own identity (it occurs sometimes today), the kernel of civilization is not discussed. The dialogue is not possible as far as this kernel is concerned. It is quite evident by the example of probable dialogue of different religions, which historically constituted a part of the kernel of specific civilizations at least from time of the emergence of these religions. The representatives of different religions may carry on a dialogue about specific social problems: how these problems may be understood and solved by these religions. But they will not carry on a dialogue about religious dogmas. Each religion proceeds from the absolute and from the incontestable authority of their dogmas. It is possible to discuss their interpretation, which is the sphere of discussion for theologians. But it is impossible to doubt the absolute truth of the dogmas. The religion ceases to exist, if a probability is allowed to express a point of view of the other religion on the dogmas of another religion.

The dialogue among civilizations is possible and may be fruitful to solve specific problems, since it is connected with comprehension of these problems from the position of certain civilization and with the proposed means of solving them. Each civilization determines its own perspective in the approach to contemporary problems. The comparison of these perspectives from the point of view of their fruitfulness is possible and essentially needed. Further it will be described in detail. It is necessary to draw attention to the fact that such dialogue supposes that the kernel itself of various civilizations represented by the individuals involved in discussion is not subject to this dialogue. In other words, the dialogue of this type at the same time supposes the inter-civilization tolerance, i.e. patience and non-interference in the

deep internal sense's foundations of the alien civilization, the cautious attitude to the phenomenon, which is not similar to something familiar.

Thus, what is Tolerance?

The first comprehension of tolerance was also the first one in history. To some extent, it is considered as a classic comprehension and still exists. It is connected with the names of Bail and Lock, with the classic liberal tradition. It seems that to a large extent the problem was characterized by the historic fact that as a philosophic problem it was formulated in connection with the problem of the faith's tolerance and was initially understood as a kind of comprehension of the results of the Thirty Years War, when the adversaries of religious confessions exterminated almost completely each other.

According to this meaning, the truth, the main moral norms and the main rules of behavior in politics may be established unquestionably and convincingly for everybody. It is senseless to speak about tolerance in these matters, since the evidence and the rational justification are convincing for all. However, the people not only share true assertions but also support different meanings. The truth of some meanings may be proved later. However, the truth of some meanings may not ever be decided to be unquestionable. First of all, they are religious views, metaphysical assertions, specific values of various cultures and peculiar ethnic beliefs and convictions. These meanings are accepted by people on the non-rational basis and are connected primarily with the self-identification: cultural, ethnic and individual. The self-identification supposes the existence of personality, i.e. the person, who self-dependently takes decisions and responsibility for his acts. However, the means of self-identification in many cases are irrational and are connected with the certain accepted tradition, with the

place of birth and living, with the culture of his belonging, with history of his country and with his own biography etc.

As far as cognitive truths are concerned (particularly, the scientific truths), the rationally justified legal and moral norms, it is impossible to tolerate the phenomenon, which contradicts them, and the actions, which violate them. The people, who violate moral and legal norms, should be punished. However, also in this case one should take into account that the truth may not be imposed by force: by physical compulsion or by propaganda impression. The person may come to accept the truthful assertion only self-dependently. Therefore it is necessary to carry on the struggle against the actions violating the rationally fixed norms of daily life and at the same time in some cases to express tolerance to senseless views creating for their carriers the conditions, which further might convince the carriers of these views to agree to the truth, which may be unquestionably considered as a universal truth.

The meanings, if they can not be justified being based on the irrational grounds (religious persuasions, metaphysical assertions, specific values of various cultures, ethnic beliefs etc.), as well as the corresponding practice may be permitted in the cases, when they do not contradict the foundations of the civilized common life. In this case, the meanings of this kind and the corresponding practice come forward as “a special matter” of definite cultural, ethnic and social groups. Tolerance in this case is justified by the fact that the distinctions related to the truth and the main moral, legal and political norms are indifferent to the main values of civilization and do not contradict the normal common life. Various social, cultural and ethnic groups may have their own churches, schools and may cultivate their language and possess their custom. The external interference in these affairs is inadmissible (on the part of the government, if, for instance, it concerns existence of

ethnic minorities on the territory of a big state, or on the part of one state relating to another state). The main condition of normal life in society and of peaceful mutual relations of various societies and cultures is considered as a consent in conception of the main moral norms and of the knowledge (particularly, in science). From the point of view of this interpretation of tolerance, the distinctions in specific civilization values gradually will diminish for the time of development of the mankind, since the consolidation of mutual action of various civilizations and ethnic groups and the need of mutual solving of practical problems will inevitably lead to it. Tolerance in this interpretation comes forward as the nonchalance to existence of various views and practices, since the latter are considered as an insignificant fact facing the main social problems.

The second comprehension of tolerance proceeds from the meaning that it is impossible to accept the pre-condition of the first way of comprehension, namely: there exist the truths of cognition and the norms of social common living, which may be unquestionably and convincingly fixed for all. This comprehension is founded on the results of contemporary cultural-anthropological research, on some results of analysis of history of science, the social study of scientific cognition, on some contemporary conceptions in philosophy of science. According to this comprehension, religious, metaphysic views and specific values of one or other civilization are not minor aspects of human activities and society's development, but they determine the type of these activities and the way of development of one or other civilization. Pluralism of the views, values and ways behavior is un-removable, since it is connected with the human nature and relations of the man with the world. All civilizations (and directions of cognition) are equal and incommensurate at the same time. There is no privileged system of views and values.

The sole exclusion should be made for the idea that all people irrespective of race, sex and nationality have equal right for physical existence and cultural development (violation of these rights should not be tolerated). The various legally equal and respected systems of views (including various civilizations), in point of fact, are unable to arrange mutual action, since they are closed to themselves and are non-measurable with each other. The self-identity of various civilizations, of cultural and social communities is based on the phenomenon that they seem to exist in different worlds. It is possible to change one civilization or one cognition world for another. But it is impossible simultaneously to live in two different worlds. In this case, tolerance comes forward as a respect for another man or civilization, whom and which I can not comprehend and arrange mutual action. However, it is possible to contest this comprehension of tolerance and pluralism. The objections are formulated in the third comprehension.

As far as the third comprehension is concerned, first, it is possible to show that in reality there exists reciprocal action among different systems of values and conception structures. This is the fact of history of culture. As a result of criticism, some values and conception structures disappear leaving the place for others. Their principal incommensurability does not exist. Various systems of values, various traditions compete constantly, and they try to prove their justifiability, the ability with their help and on their foundations to solve different technical, social and intellectual problems, which come into collision with the people. Given the differences of traditions and civilizations, they have to solve a lot of common problems. The competition results in the selection of the norms, the systems of norms and intellectual traditions, which correspond to the demands of the changing situation. One civilization should not impose by force its values on the other civilization, and one person should not impose his views on another

person. In this case tolerance appears as an indulgence to another civilization.

Tolerance is the absolute need to avoid the clash of civilizations described by S. Huntington. At the same time, irrespective of the way to comprehend and to practice tolerance (indifference, respect or indulgence for another person), it is reduced to non-interference in another civilization and excludes mutual action with it. Meanwhile, today the mutual action of civilizations is vitally needed. Certainly, only this mutual action is insufficient for solving all the problems, which confront the mankind. Nevertheless, this mutual action (the dialogue of civilizations) is a vital need.

The dialogue (not only of civilizations but also of cultures, social groups, scientific communities and individuals) is something greater than tolerance. It supposes not only a patient admission of another position, another system of values and directions but also the wish to learn something from the other.

History was marked by the reciprocal exchange of experience on the part of civilizations, when they made attempts to learn the other experience and to extend the horizon of their own experience. This is the unquestionable fact of history of culture. At the same time, the most interesting ideas in history of philosophy and science emerged exactly in time of clashes and mutual criticism of different conception structures and of various intellectual paradigms. The West European civilization appeared from synthesis of two different and seemingly incommensurate civilizations: Judaism-Christianity and Antiquity. Christian Fathers of Church elaborated the system of religious dogmas and carried on a fruitful dialogue with antique philosophy. The contemporary physics, being the product of development of primarily European civilization, accumulates some principal ideas from study of Indian and Chinese mythology: the question is not the synthesis of

mythology and science but the translation to the language of science of some ideas taken from mythology (as mentioned Nobel Prize winner I. Prigozhin, the proposed by him picture of the world was quite near to the images of ancient Chinese mythology).

M. Bakhtin used to stress that the nature of consciousness itself is dialogic. “I” does not resemble monad of Leibnitz, since it is not closed to itself but is open for another person. The attitude to himself as I – an elementary act of self-reflection – is possible only on the basis of the treatment of the other person, of the attitude to himself like to somebody else, i.e. mentally or imaginarily (usually, unknowingly) to share someone’s point of view. Each person not only possesses self-identity. He may develop the self-identity and change himself to an essential extent. At present, this problem is very acute. The development of identity is possible only on the basis of permanent communication with other people, of the dialogue with other point of view, of positions and probability to understand the other positions.

At present, the mankind turned out to be in the situation, when the people realize the inadequacy and one-sidedness of the experienced relations of the people with the nature and among themselves, accumulated up to present, and the need of extension of these relations. And this conclusion supposes also the need to take into account the reciprocal relations’ experience. Certainly, it does not mean that the alien’s experience is used without criticism. The question is something else: the need to see in the other position, in the other system of values, in the other civilization not a phenomenon, which is inimical to my own position, but a phenomenon, which may render me assistance in solving the problems, being both my problems and the problems of other people and other civilizations, of other valuable and intellectual systems. Not only individuals but also civilizations may and must develop in the course of this dialogue.

The reciprocal action with the positions, which differ from my own position, the comparison of my arguments with arguments in favor of another point of view comes forward as a needed condition of development of my own views. The same consideration concerns the reciprocal action of civilizations. In this case, pluralism appears not in the role of something, which hinders existence of the given civilization, as an element alien to it, but as a needed condition of its fruitful development and as a mechanism of development of culture as a whole. It is not a simple pluralism, but a polyphony, as Bakhtin said, i.e. a dialogue and a profound reciprocal action of various positions.

The dialogue in general is a higher form of development of both the individual identity and the identity of some or other civilization. It is something more significant than simple tolerance. And it is a higher rate of respect to something alien than simple tolerance. At present, this dialogue can not affect the profound kernel of civilization (as well as of the remote kernel of individual identity). One may and should practice tolerance in relation to this kernel. The future of the man and of culture is connected exactly with the dialogue, which affects also the kernel of identity. Only this dialogue gives a chance not only to keep but also to change identity to some extent. The contemporary stage of development of the mankind just supposes acceleration of all social processes, including dynamics of both individual and collective identity (particularly, identity of civilizations).

* * *

What does the inter-civilization dialogue mean under contemporary conditions? The dialogue is a special form of communication. The dialogue means, first, that the interlocutors have different positions on a certain question. Second, it supposes that each interlocutor proceeds from the value of rational discussion, from

existence of arguments in favor of his position and that they will be understood by his interlocutor, that he may and should in this dialogue to advocate his position and at the same time to take into account the other's point of view and that he may and should change his position in certain point, if the other point of view shows some advantage. As a result of the dialogue both interlocutors will come to a certain common position on the discussed issue. In other words, the dialogue is impossible, if the value of rational discussion is not recognized.

Certainly, the rationality is not a specific possession of western civilization. The Indian, Chinese, Arabic and other civilizations made a valuable contribution to development of the western civilization. For instance, the Arabic-Muslim world always appreciated science: algebra, chemistry, medicine and others. But it should be recognized that the contemporary forms of rationality practiced now by science and technique are connected primarily with the western civilization. This is its special input in creation of conditions, which make it possible to carry on the inter-civilization dialogue. We can not help recognizing this historic fact.

Actually, the dialogue of civilizations is possible today not on the civilizations themselves (their nuclear foundations), but concerning some or other specific social problems. The representatives of various civilizations have their own views on these problems taking into account their own systems of values. The exchange of the views, the comparison and rational justification of their advantages may be very fruitful and will lead to the search for common solving the problems, which are common for all. At present, the dialogue of civilizations should be devoted to solving the problems, which determine the future of humanity. Some of them are mentioned below.

First of all, the creation of a new world legal and political order should be stressed. There exists the opinion that the western civilization

has a propensity for democracy (and connected with it values of individual freedom and human rights), while the eastern (“traditional”) civilizations to a greater extent appreciate responsibility and liabilities and consequently are inclined to authoritarian rule. If it is so, the dialogue on these values seem to be impossible, since these values are included in the kernel of the corresponding civilization entities and discussion of these values is impossible at this stage of development of the mankind. Actually, up to the recent time the dialogue among civilizations on these problems was impossible. But at present the situation is different in a number of significant relations. The question is the establishment of such relations among the countries representing different civilizations, when they may keep their identity. But just democracy in international relations gives the sole chance of this kind. Thus, at present, the representatives of various civilizations can not help admitting the democratic values at least in this respect. At the same time, one need to admit that it is not completely clear, what are the values of democratic relations among countries (up to present, democracy was considered as a political system in one country). It means that the subject for dialogue and discussion exists. Meanwhile, it is hardly possible to cope with international terrorism without solving such problems. It is possible to suppose that as far as development takes place the convergence of various civilizations will go on. And it means that the problems being subject to simple tolerance by contemporary civilizations will be practiced in the course of the present dialogue more and more. Today, subject to the dialogue of civilizations may and should be the ecological problems relating to all people of the Earth, the problems of reciprocal relations between the world center and the world periphery and a number of other problems.

One of the examples of such dialogue is as follows. In August 2003 the World Philosophic Congress was held in Istanbul. Its main

theme was formulated in the following way: “Humanity in the Face of Global Problems”. The problems connected with globalization attracted main attention at the plenary and sectional sittings, and at numerous round tables. Some themes of discussions were as follows: inequality and poverty, war, peace and violence, globalization and cultural identity, the future of democracy and the role of mass media in contemporary culture. For instance, one of these urgent problems of the whole world is subject to discussion at one of the meetings. Three principal speakers take the floor. One of them lives in the USA, another – in India, the third – in South Africa. All three value rational argumentation and possess it, perfectly know contemporary literature on this problem and speak English. But each reporter expresses his own position connected with the values of exactly his civilization. Since these positions are formulated by means of rational argumentation, they may be discussed by all participants. Everyone understands the position of others. He compares his position with other positions and discusses other approaches. Other participants of the congress join the discussion. Certainly, for the time of two hours sitting it is impossible to come to a common decision, but all participants of the discussion and even those, who only attended it, received a new perception on the problem and on probable ways of its solving.

If the dialogue of this kind takes place, globalization will be not be seen as the only probable system of values imposed upon all regions of the Earth, but as a creation of the world, which is united and at the same time is composed from many unique civilizations.

“Chelovek v intellektualnom i dukhovnom prostranstvakh”, Moscow, 2010, pp. 20–37.

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**THE ISLAMIC TAXES AS AN INSTRUMENT
OF SOLVING SOCIAL-ECONOMIC PROBLEMS
OF THE MUSLIM POPULATION IN RUSSIA**

The Spiritual Departments of Muslims in Russia not by accident come forward for development of vakf, otherwise vakuf (the non-alienated property, in accordance with Muslim law, given by the state or a private person for religious or charitable purposes) and actually ignores zakyat (the obligatory annual partial payment of the property for the benefit of needy Muslims), irrespective of the fact that the latter might become a part of the federal religious law, like in Germany.

The lack of interest to zakyat on the part of a rather great number of Muslim priests is explainable. The question is that zakyat, unlike vakf, is not the similar universal means of defrayal of expenses of religious organizations. Most Muslim jurists consider that use of the means from zakyat for construction of mosques in the region, where a certain number of them exist already, is inadmissible. The scientists think that the expenses for construction of mosques should be defrayed by the state, if, obviously, it is a Muslim state. In case of a non-Muslim state, it is also undesirable to use a greater part of zakyat for construction of mosques.

At the same time, the expenses of the means collected by zakyat for education, publishing and other needs connected with religious enlightenment of Muslims do not raise any questions. It is important to remember that payment of zakyat is voluntary in most countries. In this connection there emerges the problem of observing by Muslims of one of the five Islamic pillars – payment of zakyat.

For the 1970s, in many Muslim countries the religious figures had to exert many efforts to persuade believers to pay this tax. At

present, the number of people in the Muslim world, who are ready to fulfill their religious obligation, is very great. Each Muslim wishing to pay zakyat may do it by his plastic card through Internet or by mobile-phone. In the Muslim world the Islamic system of financial accounts is subject to elaboration to a large extent owing to the rise of the number of people and legal entities ready to pay zakyat.

In Russia for the years of the Soviet power, the culture of zakyat, like the culture of vakf, disappeared. For the first years after the revolution, in the RSFSR zakyat was paid. In particular, in the regions of compact settlement of Muslims (the Volga Basin, in the North Caucasus and in the Middle Asia) the collective farms bought implements by the means accumulated owing to payment of zakyat. However, for further period of time, zakyat was not collected. For the Soviet time, in the Caucasus some well-off Muslims, city residents visited the rural districts and distributed to believers the financial means collected as a clearing tax. It was replaced by sadaka, the irregular payment by Muslims for the days of religious feasts.

The question of zakyat was inevitably raised by Muslims in Russia, since, unlike vakf, it is one of five pillars of Islam. In February 2005, Muslims in Tatarstan got a chance to pay zakyar through banks “Ak-Bars” and “Taftonbank”. These banks in this case only play the role of a financial mediator, and they would hardly be used as efficiently as in some Muslim countries. For instance, the Egyptian public Naser Bank does not distribute the means collected from zakyat among needy people but gives them financial support to buy under beneficial conditions, for instance, agricultural implements. The bank buys at market prices the produce of peasants and helps them in good time to change their status of receivers of zakyat for normal tax payers. Under these conditions, the clearing tax actually comes forward as an efficient means of struggle against poverty.

In some regions of Russia the Muslim clergy tries to put to the service of Muslims other religious taxes sometimes without understanding their genuine shariat meaning. For instance, for the 1990s in some districts of Tatarstan (Baltinski, Arski and others) imams asked the chairmen of collective farms to allocate a part of potatoes for nourishment of students in Muslim religious education institutions. However, as a matter of fact, in this case it was the collection of sadaki – the one-time charitable contribution – but not of ushra or gyshyra, as it is called in Tatarstan, – the tax of one tenth of the crop.

The development of zakyat culture in Russia, inter alia, is hindered by the population's lack of needed knowledge of this clearing tax. The majority of believers are not able to distinguish zakyat from other Islamic charitable institutions. The religious figures are unable to cope with it. For instance, some years ago imam of the mosque in the city of Maikop (Adygeya) ordered to install two baskets – one basket for zakyat and the other – for sadaki. The parishioners did not see the difference between them, and imam had to abandon the idea.

However, mixing zakyat and sadaki is only a small misfortune. In Moscow and in the Moscow region in some local religious organizations of Muslims (MPOM) the regular contributions of believers for administrative expenses of local communities are called zakyat. It is evident that the leaders of these communities deliberately try to make sacred the local community members' duties and to give them "special" status. Such tricks seem to discredit not only the Muslim clergy but the idea itself of the clearing tax. The believers lose their confidence in zakyat as an instrument of efficient re-distribution of the wealth in society for the benefit of the needy community members, seeing that the means collected as zakyat are used not for the benefit of the categories mentioned in Koran.

Interpreting the observance on the clearing tax in their interests, morally unscrupulous or simply illiterate Muslim clergy men in this sense do not differ much from representatives of armed formations covering by Islamic terminology their illegal activities and calling as zakyat the contribution demanded from businessmen. The main aim of such “zakyat” is the financing of jihad in the meaning of the representatives of the armed underground. This pseudozakyat is being collected from businessmen of the origin in the North Caucasus not only in their historic Motherland, but also throughout the country, notes Russian ethnographer A.A. Yarlykapov.

In this situation, it is difficult to say, whose cynicism is greater: of the almost illiterate fighters, who demand from well-off citizens the money for jihad, or of the representatives of spiritual “elite”, who interpret the provision on zakyat in the way they want.

For instance, the book, which was written by M.E. Kalimullina, “Zakyat. Practical Guidance”, (contains, regretfully, a chapter written by the author), has the paragraph “Zakyat as an obligatory contribution of members of the local religious organization”. In particular, it contains the following statement: “...Each Muslim as a member of MPOM pays to it the needed dues, approved by the meeting of the organization, and pays zakyat means or does not pay zakyat means, if he is considered to a needy person, and receives zakyat means from the fund of the organization. This form of collection is quite acceptable and seems to be efficient for the CIS countries and for Russia in particular”.

In other words, the author not only mentions the practice of mixing the membership duties with zakyat means but also characterizes it to be “quite acceptable”. Maybe, there is here an inaccurate wording? But the following sentence in the small paragraph is quite explicit and indubitable: “Thus, ...a certain share of zakyat means is paid to the

above organ, which distributes these means for the projects connected with the needs of the communities, members of this organ”. The author prefers to keep silent about the size of the share, which the “higher organ” in charge of the project may allow itself to take, as well as about the relation of such scheme to the order of zakyat distribution, defined in the Holy Book and in Sunna. At the same time, it would be incorrect to say that the spiritual organizations of Muslims everywhere demonstrate inefficiency in collection and distribution of zakyat.

Of some attention deserves the experience of the Republic of Karelia, where the collection and distribution of zakyat is in charge of the Spiritual Department of Muslims of the Republic of Karelia (DUM RK), which has communities in Petrozavodsk, Kostomuksha and Kondopoga. The success achieved by the Karelian community in collection and distribution of zakyat to a large extent is explained by the fact that it is not numerous. The members of the community know well those, who are able to pay zakyat, and those, who are in need of means. Thus, DUM RK performs the technical obligation to collect and to distribute the cleaning tax. Of some significance is the fact that mufti of the Republic of Karelia Visam Ali Bardvil enjoys respect and trust of the believers. He publicly says that he is ready to render an account of each kopek received as a zakyat contribution. It is not excluded that any payer of zakyat actually may get full information in DUM RK about the way of his contribution was spent, but this information is not accessible for “people of the street”; and therefore it is impossible to speak about complete transparence of the system of collection and distribution of the cleaning tax in the republic. The author several times sent to DUM RK his requests for information about the collection and the distribution of Zakyat means, but they were left unattended.

With due account of the above said, it is possible to say: it is not a surprise that the believers have greater faith in specialized Muslim

charitable organizations than in the Spiritual Departments. As an example one may cite the Internet-resource Sadaka.ru. The creators of the site aimed not at re-distribution of received means for charity, but at rendering assistance to those, who are in need, and at search for potential sponsors. The section of the site “They need your assistance” contains declarations of the people applied for help. Any person, who wishes it, may fill in the special form in site www.sadaka.ru and place his address for the sponsors, who may communicate with him.

Unlike Sadaka.ru project, the charitable foundation “Solidarity” is occupied directly with re-distribution of the sponsors’ financial means for charitable purposes. The section “Where your money was spent” of the foundation’s site contains the list of sponsors (if they wished to make public their names), the received sum, address of assistance and the date of incomings of money. The same site of the foundation has the section “Zakyyat”, which contains information on the sums collected by volunteers of the foundation as zakyyat or zakyyat al-fitr.

It seems that the future of the Muslim charity in Russia will be presented by the projects of Sadaka.ru type or by the charitable foundations. Up to present, they use mainly sadaka, but in the perspective the development of collection and distribution of zakyyat will be possible, like, for instance, it is made by foundation “Solidarity”. At present, it is premature to speak about creation of some centralized system of collection and distribution of zakyyat in Russia as a whole under the aegis of the Council of muftis or other coordinating structures, under conditions of absence of the united Spiritual Department of Muslims, to the author’s mind. The first step on this way should become not only the modernization of the technical basis relating to zakyyat, particularly formation of data bases of receivers of

the clearing tax, but also the process of raising the level of trust for the Muslim clergy.

It is not necessary to amend the normative-legal acts in order to collect and to distribute zakyat in Russia. However, in the future it will be necessary to foresee in the legislation the amendment to ensure the adoption of tax benefits for the regular payers of zakyat, otherwise zakyat will acquire the form of irregular charitable payments, i.e. will be replaced by sadaka, as it was done beforehand.

Till present, the illiteracy of many payers of zakyat and the lack of transparent system of collection and distribution of zakyat is a significant hindrance to development of this institution in Russia. It is very difficult to eliminate the myths connected with zakyat. The example of Islamic tax zakyat al-fitr shows the large extension of false perceptions in society on Islamic taxes. Zakyat al-fitr is used to be distributed before the termination of fast on the territory of some Muslim peoples (for instance, Adygs and Kabardins). At the same time, the payment of zakyat al-fitr is regulated not only by the norms of Muslim law but also by local custom. For instance, a woman, who was living in aul Khatukai (Adygeya), calculating the sum of zakyat al-fitr, included in the list of items for payment not only her children but also cows, since they were living creatures and therefore should be given some charitable contribution. In another aul of Adygeya, Koshekhabl, zakyat al-fitr is distributed mainly among relatives and close friends of the payer.

Regretfully, quite often the local superstitions and prejudices and not the perceived need to observe one of five pillars of Islam constitute the basis of payment of irregular alms by many Muslims in Russia. For instance, in the North Caucasus sadaka is paid for the deceased relatives, if they saw them in a dream. One has only to guess about the

people seen in a dream by some Muslim figures, if they permitted themselves to use zakyat in a free and easy manner.

*“Islamskaya ekonomicheskaya model
i sovremennost”*, Moscow, 2010, pp. 289–305.

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**WAHHABISM IN THE REPUBLICS
OF THE NORTH CAUCASUS: REALITIES
AND CONSEQUENCES**

The dissemination of religious trend called wahhabism in the republics of the North Caucasus Federal District (NCFD) to a large extent is related to the crisis of Islam. As a rule, for this period civilization undermines the conservative foundations of any religion, including Islam, and of such ideological-political trend as wahhabism; their responsive self-protection acquires acute forms. It is possible to make prognoses that wahhabism will disseminate rapidly in the Muslim world just as a sign of the crisis in the way of life and custom but not in ideology. The crisis is clearly seen in the autochthon ethnoses of the republics in the NCFD, which are consolidated on the basis of the way of life. The problem consists in interconnection of religion with traditions, in the process, when religion becomes the sense of the given people, while the change of the way of life results in braking of the principles of religion itself and of its ideology.

In the countries characterized by dissemination of wahhabism the aim of wahhabism is the same – to connect the peoples in certain entity. The initial substance is not the territorial border but the ethnos and sub-ethnos with due account of the fact that ethnic membership does not

hinder the spread of wahhabism. Islam provides wide chances for it. One of its main pillars came from the Middle Ages: religion is above ethnic origin. Wahhabism sticks to this dogma more strictly than any other trend of Islam.

The economic crisis is one of the main factors, which promotes the inter-national and inter-confessional tension in the North Caucasus and creates favorable conditions for destabilization of political life and for dissemination of radical Islam. It is very urgent to study the extension and the main factors of dissemination of wahhabism, which is a mighty factor in daily life of a great part of the population in the North Caucasus. In January-February 2009, the sociological opinion poll of the population in the republics of the NCFD of the RF was arranged, and as a result of it there were discovered the social strata supporting wahhabism.

The following purposes were pursued in the course of the study: 1) definition of the main reasons of dissemination of wahhabism in the North Caucasus against the background of stirring up of the factor of “spiral of silence” (this theory of political science asserts that the person will be less inclined to express his meaning, if he feels that he is in minority or is afraid of punishment or disregard); 2) finding out of the attitude of the population to prohibition of wahhabism in the Russian Federation; 3) description of influence of religious trends on social behavior of people, on the social-cultural dynamics of society, with due account of the connection of religious beliefs of respondents with their nationality. The following national republics of the North Caucasus were subject to the study: Adygeya (RA), Dagestan (RD), Ingushetia (RI), Kabardino-Balkaria (KBR), Karachaevo-Cherkessia (KCR), North Ossetia-Alania (RSO-A) and the Chechen Republic (CR).

Wahhabism spreads mostly in the multinational republics of the North Caucasus of the NCFD with the ethnic autocratic system of governance. Most respondents think that this trend was disseminated mainly in the Chechen Republic, according to the opinion of the Russians and the Russian speaking people in KCR and RSO-A (72.6% and 71.3%, correspondingly), while Chechens do not think so. Dagestan occupies the second place in terms of dissemination of wahhabism. Unlike respondents in Chechnya, the respondents in Dagestan, irrespective of their nationality, think that the republic occupies the second place after CR in terms of dissemination of wahhabism. Ingushetia occupies the third place, and this opinion was expressed by the people in RSO-A (58.6% of Russians and 50.9% of Ossetians). Only the population in KBR comparing with the responses of other residents in the North Caucasus regard that wahhabism was widely spread in its republic (32.2% of Kabardins and Balkars, 29.4% of Russians and Russian speaking people). The biggest percent of those, who had difficulty or who refused to answer to the question, – in the population of Ingushetia (Ingushis – 49.1%, Russians and Russian speaking people – 61.1%), of Chechnya (Chechens – 44.3%, Russians and Russian speaking people – 37%), Karachais and Cherkessians (30.1%). According to the interviewers, the responses of the Russian and the Russian speaking population of the North Caucasian republics are characterized by greater information and openness.

The analysis of the responses did not reveal special changes depending on the gender, age, education and place of residence. In total, on the basis of the views expressed by the population it is possible to make the conclusion that wahhabism was widely disseminating in Chechnya, Dagestan and Ingushetia.

There are several reasons of dissemination of wahhabism in the North Caucasus against the background of stirring up of “spiral of

silence” factor, according to experts. The main of them is as follows: Islam is regarded as the most significant criterion of the post-Soviet space’s reconstruction. The radicalization of Islam in the republics of the NCFD is a challenge to the authorities, which should not only correspond to Islamic norms but should be formed out of the elite sanctioned by the religious figures; it is the demand of reconstruction not only of social but also of the public-political order on “Islamic principles”. In this context, fundamentalism is understood as an ideology justifying radical reconstruction on the basis of Islam.

Islam itself is not a destabilizing factor. Politicization and radicalization of Islam in political respect is an inevitable consequence of liberalization of the post-Soviet authoritarian regimes, the result of reproduction of traditional social connections in the situation of weakening of the imposed statehood and of political mechanics. The crisis of the Soviet and further of Russian statehood revealed the social-cultural foundations of the public order where their power status turned out to be more guaranteed.

Wahhabism on the territory, where Islam is the dominant confession, and in all republics of the NCFD possesses rather stable positions. There is also the following meaning: in the restless republics, such as Chechnya, Dagestan, Ingushetia, Karachaevo-Cherkessia and Kabardino-Balkaria they justify by existence of wahhabism all miscalculations in the work of power structures, as well as by terrorist and separatist feelings. Some experts express hope that in the North Caucasus there are no more people (wahhabies), who profess this reactionary trend. At the same time, according to them, in mass media there is a trend to speak about one person as a wahhaby and Muslim. Maybe, they are perceived by society as the mutually connected notions. The other part of experts is sure that wahhabism as a trend does not exist in any republic of the North Caucasus, that the law

enforcement bodies justify their presence in some republics of the North Caucasus by getting additional financial means for the struggle against the so called wahhabism.

There are no direct adepts of Wahhab teaching in the North Caucasus, but there are people, who may be called Salafits (looking for cleanness). For the 1980s-1990s, Orthodoxy and Islam were marked by renaissance. The neophytes, the young generation of religious teaching wished to get rid of muftis regarding them connected with KGB of the USSR. The lack of educated muftis resulted in some cases in appearance of real Salafit sects, where observance of shariat norms achieved the absurd and contradicted the Criminal Code of the RF. The Muslims in the North Caucasus called wahhabies (salafits) actually are Islamic fundamentalists. But one should not regard wahhabism and terrorism to be equal. But in Russia these notions became synonyms: probably, it is more correct to use the term “fundamentalist Islam”. Due to the closed structure of these communities there are no definite data about them. It is not excluded that the people professing fundamentalist Islam exist in Chechnya, Ingushetia and Dagestan.

The living conditions of about 70% of the population in the republics of the North Caucasus are characterized by absolute poverty, which is one of the main reasons of the phenomenon, such as wahhabism. It is possible to mention also the mass unemployment, the bitterness of the people, the property differentiation, the national and religious extremism promoted by the leaders, who are former graduates from spiritual educational institutions in Saudi Arabia (of wahhaby persuasion) and in other countries of the Middle East and in Egypt.

For the 1990s, in the North Caucasus there were destructed all public institutions, while nothing was created to replace them. As a result, the population was left to itself. The people are separated by national, property and religious reasons. Up to present, the marked

trend is the creation of mono-ethnic republics. The residents start to think that the Russian government fails to comprehend the situation in the North Caucasus and seems to be surprised by rapid dissemination of radical Islam, of wahhabism. According to an expert of Kabardino-Balkaria, the situation in the republic will be aggravated, since the intensive dissemination of wahhabism is going on. Nobody is disturbed that in all Muslim republics of the NCFD in crowded places of the capitals, of the district centers there has bred a lot of shops selling publications of wahhaby persuasion, Muslim cloths and attributes etc. It is significant that the sellers in these shops are men resembling wahhabies. One can not ignore the fact that the Russian financial means are used for construction of new cities resembling the cities of the Near East, which means that the ideology connected with genuine popular Islam, is being eradicated. But the local elite shut its eyes to it, since it is interested only in keeping its power and has to maneuver between the center and wahhabies. The wide dissemination of wahhabism in the North Caucasus to a large extent correlates closely with formation of political regimes in these republics. This type of power might be called the subsidy authoritarianism. Its main characteristics consist in the definite way of getting financial and political power. This connection may be traced in the following way: 1) the means of income – transfers and subsidies from the federal center; 2) the basis of power – distribution of these means; 3) the limits of power – ability to show loyalty repeatedly in exchange of protection.

The social foundation of radicalization of Islam is as follows: the social strata or the ethnic-national communities being deprived of the budgetary flows of means and possessing alternative sources of incomes. Regarding the ruling strata in the context of this problem, one may stress three main groups. First of all, it is possible to speak about the nomenclature-elite, which has formed its ideological and economic-

legal profile in the course of distribution of the budgetary means. The business-elite should be mentioned; it has been formed to a large extent from the nomenclature but keeps distance from it and has its own economic profile. The national business-elites in the North Caucasus are marked by the following ideology: the eclectic combination of contradictory paternalistic features (genesis of capital), nationalism (the republic as a tax springboard for the all-Russian beneficial operation) and liberalism (openness, transparency of borders and other features). This group presents an essential obstacle to radicalization of Islam.

A significant niche for radical Islam is the educated environment composed of the people, who are not economically adapted to the economic configuration built for themselves in Russia by the successful businessmen of the Diaspora from the North Caucasus. The elite represented by this strata, may get its internal power status only by use of radical Islamic rhetoric. The economic infrastructure for consolidation of this strata may be represented only by economic ties with Islamic, Arabic countries and by the educated cadres coming home from Iran, Jordan and Saudi Arabia; the representatives of this strata turn out to be the natural rivals of the members of business elite, who are oriented to Russia, or of the members of nomenclature elite subsidized by Moscow. The alternative elite may find its place in political and spiritual life only in the definite social-economic context (reduction of the social dividends received by the North Caucasian societies from business and political “turn over” of the first two mentioned national elites). The great stratification and corruption represent the crisis of “national idea” and the ground of Islamization. The potential of such elites is directly connected with the number of the people educated in Turkey, Iran and in Arabic countries in terms of per capita calculation; this point of view is shared by the experts of Russian

and non-Russian nationality and by the indigenous population in the republics of the NCFD.

The citizens of the republics of the NCFD associate wahhabism with the Chechen war, and most of them say that wahhabism threatens the social-economic life in the area of their living. The greatest percent of neutral attention to wahhabism characterized the answers of respondents in Karachaevo-Cherkessia, while most citizens of Adygeya and Kabardino-Balkaria experienced difficulties in giving their responses.

The following view is expressed by some people: the preventive measures should be taken by the state. Should the preventive measures have taken place, we could have avoided many negative consequences and could have mastered to alleviate tension. It is necessary to provide greater cultural and language autonomy, a chance to speak the native language and to have its own publication particularly to rural settlements and to provincial cities, i.e. the communication is in need and not needed is the self-isolation, when contradictions are driven home deep down and the people lead the secluded life. It is necessary not only to reconcile the peoples but to create the conditions for their comfort living.

Wahhabism is not always conceived correctly. Some experts regard that its interpretation should be made very carefully. Society should be characterized mainly not by prohibitive measures but by a great explanatory work. The prohibitive measures should be taken only in the cases connected with extreme extremism and if the phenomenon irreversibly creates aggression and animosity to other religions. Other experts share the view that wahhabism is not the synonym of terrorism, that wahhabism is the state religion of Saudi Arabia, that Russian wahhabies have sullied themselves by participation in terrorist acts, having shaped a negative image of wahhabism.

The political prognosis should include the attitude of the population of the republics of the NCFD to shariat, which supposes existence of a complete identity between the way of life and the moral norms of Koran. From the historic-sociological point of view, shariat may be understood as a teaching on the Islamic way of life representing a complex of obligatory religious-legal directions and norms based on Koran and Sunna.

At present, the number of people, who wish to live in the shariat state, is not great, and only in two republics this problem is significant. Nationalism in the North Caucasus is concentrated on Islam, while the connection between nationalism and Islam has a more contradictory characteristic. The ideology of ethnic nationalism and Islam nourished each other in the situation of self-determination in relation to Russia as the definition of a non-Islamic state. Under conditions of self-dependence, there appears the tension between Islam and national ideology. One of the demonstrations of this contradiction is fragmentation of the network of Islamic institutions and the evident trend to their separation by ethnic reason. But just the crisis of national proto-states will endure the splash of Islamism as a consequence. The crisis of ethnic (shariat) statehood and of ethnic solidarities results in the increased need of Islam as a genuine resource of solidarity and political force. From these points of view, it is possible to explain the views of the population in Karachayevo-Cherkessia, Ingushetia and partially in Chechnya.

Of a particularly destructive consequence for society became the attempt to use religion as an alternative to positive law, the application of conception of “command of shariat” on the territory of Dagestan, Chechnya and Ingushetia. The leaders of armed groups appealed to Islam in order to get political legitimacy and command, while the unarmed people had the naïve faith in the omnipotence of shariat,

which was understood in a simplified way and which was able in a moment and radically to get rid of criminality and to solve acute social problems.

According to the results of the research, the great majority of citizens of the republics of the NCFD observe the main religious rites. Religion has an impact on various spheres of the social life of society. A part of adults of the population in the North Caucasus consider themselves as members of one or other religious organization, although only a small part of them regularly read Koran.

There is a certain model in the attitude to religion determined by age, gender, education and the place of living. Usually older people possess greater piety than young people. Women as a rule, more often than men are involved in activities of religious organizations and the rural residents more piously than city residents observe religious rites. As a whole, wealthy people more often than poor people visit religious temples and more openly express their religious feelings, use often a chance to demonstrate their attitude to religion in public: make payments for repair and construction of religious buildings and make precious presents to the religious organizations.

According to materials of the author's research, the significance of Islam and attendance of prayers in mosques rise rather greatly. The emergence of wahhabism relying on personal religiousness attracted many residents, who are afraid of negative processes going on in the region. As traditional social foundations were annihilated for the 1990s, the people started to look for explanation of the phenomena and to seek consolation in religion. The religious fundamentalism in the North Caucasus is the result of the social-economic instability in the region. The leaders of wahhabism call upon their followers to observe strictly the principles and faiths, to interpret literally the main terms "reformation" or "renovation", and they consider that the doctrines

emerging as a result of such reading should be applied to all spheres of social life and should come forward as an opposition against the attempts to carry out modernization in the North Caucasus.

*“SotsIs: Sotsiologicheskie issledovaniya”,
Moscow, 2011, N 8, pp. 107–114.*

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DAGESTAN AND GEOPOLITICAL PROBLEMS IN THE SOUTH OF RUSSIA

The republic of Dagestan after disintegration of the USSR became a border subject of the Russian Federation and is contiguous with five states: with Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan and Iran – by sea, on the one side, and with Azerbaijan and Georgia – on land, on the other side. In connection with the geographic location Dagestan develops more extensive mutual action with Azerbaijan. At the present stage, Russia and Azerbaijan thanks to the adequate Caspian policy (first, by V. Putin and G. Aliyev and further by D. Medvedev and I. Aliyev) solved many contradictory problems and overcame disagreements both in political and economic spheres. It is possible to mention three stages in the post-Soviet relations between the states.

The first stage represents the relations with the leaders of the People Front and president A. Elchibey. At that time the contacts were marked by mutual suspicion, claims and reproaches (often very emotional but unjustified).

Moscow and Baku with difficulties learned to live in a new way. But a lot was worsened by subjective factors. The second stage was characterized by relations with G. Aliyev and the gradual rapprochement (the first agreements on the Caspian Sea, the first

arrangements on Gabarlin RLS, the entry into the CIS), but as a whole the relations were maintained at a cool level. This period may be called to be the period of pipe-dreams.

The third stage started with V. Putin coming to power in Russia. The rise of Russian activities in the post-Soviet space draws countries together and makes it possible to construct the strategic political partnership. At present, this political vector is quite evident. Azerbaijan and Russia have got rid of many complexes and illusions, have learned to practice realism and pragmatism in a new way, have overcome difficulties of the transitory period of their own development and have been able to pass a difficult direction from emotional policy to the long-term partnership and implementation of projects.

Having come to power, G. Aliyev made significant changes in the political course, including foreign policy, of the country: Azerbaijan entered the CIS, corrected the pro-Turkish orientation of the political course of the country and took steps to restore the ties with Russia within the framework of diversification of international relations of the country. In summer of 1993, the suppression of the separatist actions of the Talysh headed by colonel A. Gumbatov in the south of the republic also contributed to the consolidation of G. Aliyev position. It is possible to say that the forces, which promoted dismantling of all connections between Azerbaijan and Russia, exhausted their capacity. They either finally left the political arena or stepped aside to liberate place for G. Aliyev and his team. But their service to the country consists in preparing conditions for de-facto and de-jure independence of Azerbaijan.

Azerbaijanis in Russia are the integral part of Russian society. The leadership of Russia (and in particularly, of Moscow) see that it is needed by common efforts of scientists, politicians and representatives of national communities to create such climate, which will make any

citizen of Russia feel himself a person and citizen enjoying full rights, irrespective of his nationality, religion and language. Azerbaijanis play a rather important role in the Russian space supporting economy of their direct Motherland. The size of external “subsidy” on the part of Russian Azerbaijanis may reach the annual sum of \$ 2 billion with due account of the undeclared import plus the non-cash currency transfer.

For the period of formation of new independent states, Moscow committed many rude, realized and non-realized, evident and casual, mistakes in relation to the states of the post-Soviet space, particularly in the Caucasian direction both concerning its subjects and Azerbaijan. At that time Russia ignored the Caspian region, and it was too weak. For the last years of its existence the USSR and further Russia behind the scenes supported Armenia in the issue of Nagorno-Karabakh and made evident mistakes relating to Azerbaijan. The USA used this as an opportunity to extend cooperation in economic (through TNC), political and military spheres and occupied stable positions in Azerbaijan. In the beginning of 2009 another brawl flared up relating to the Russian military equipment for the sum of \$ 800 million, which was dislocated in Armenia and given to it. Russia denied this fact, but Baku reminded that formerly, in 1994-1996, Moscow also denied the transfer of arms for the sum of \$ one billion to Armenia, which was confirmed later in the State Duma by deputy general L. Rokhlin. It should be reminded that Russia officially occupies the neutral position in the conflict between Armenia and Azerbaijan and that officially the process of peaceful regulation of Karabakh conflict is subject to review by Minsk group of OSCE, where Russia takes part. The recurrences of such separate arrangements in Russia will occur, since no high official became subject to criminal liability for actions to the detriment of the image of the country.

On 14 March 2008, the UN General Assembly adopted the resolution on the situation in the occupied territories of Azerbaijan. The document stressed the need of complete and unconditional withdrawal of all Armenian forces from the occupied territory of Azerbaijan: 39 countries voted “for”, 7 – “against”, while 100 – abstained. A great number of abstained voters were explained by the fact that all countries, co-chairmen of the Minsk Group of OSCE (Russia, USA, France) voted against the resolution. The position of the Minsk group confirmed the experts’ circle view on reluctance of international mediators to promote the final settlement of the Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict. The policy of “double standards” is explained by an instant political conjuncture. The above mention situation produces the impression that Azerbaijan should not rely on anybody: UN and OSCE, the mediators or NATO and USA.

Nevertheless, one should do justice to both parties. Given the impact of the Karabakh conflict on the bilateral relations, this theme (participation of the RF in the MG of OSCE, the support by the Kremlin of military balance in favor of Armenia and other aspect with negative impact on Baku) long time ago was put in the separate block of relations, which does not exert pressure on the substantial part of bilateral relations.

For the last years, despite many internal difficulties Azerbaijan much better than, for instance Georgia, succeeds to maintain good relations simultaneously with Moscow and Washington. It is connected with the fact that Baku, unlike Tbilisi, has no complex of inferiority in its relations with Moscow; and in Baku they do not regard the Russian military presence (Gabalinskaya RLS, project “Kasfor”) as a threat to sovereignty.

Regretfully, Azerbaijan has not attained the level of cooperation, primarily in military and political spheres, which exists today in

relations between Russia and Armenia. Unlike Armenia, Azerbaijan is not affiliated with EvrAzES and ODKB (the structure considered by Russian diplomats and military officials to be important for ensuring security in the post-Soviet space). Azerbaijan is a member of GUAM, the organization with the anti-CIS image and counter-balance to Russian influence in near abroad. But the nearness to the anti-Russian alliance to a large extent is dictated by the pro-Russian orientation of Armenia. The leaders of Azerbaijan unjustly see in the future a danger of escalation of Armenian-Azerbaijani opposition. To what extent these concerns are justified (if justified), that is another question.

Azerbaijan strives for efficient exploiting a rather great transit capacity. The so called transport corridor, which for a long distance goes on through the territory of the republic, may transform it into a center of international trade and re-export. The leadership of Dagestan is ready by all means to promote development of transport communications of both states from the Russian side, understanding well economic advantage of valuable functioning of automobile and railway transport on the territory of the republic. In this context, the cooperation with western countries in the sphere of communications acquires the rising significance. Baku receives from EU the pre-investment technical assistance for restoration of the system of pipelines. The program TRASECA in this context is the most important initiative taking into account the big reduction of the railway transportation of the republic with Russia.

There is another problem like “smouldering” in the relations of Russia with Azerbaijan, which has not yet attained the inter-state level. The social-political situation in Northern Azerbaijan, where live in compact settlements Avars, Lezgins, Tsakhurs and other related nationalities of Dagestanis. After disintegration of the USSR they became the separated peoples living in two different states. Their

destiny is rarely subject to public discussion in Azerbaijan and in Russia on the part of official representatives. However, the regional mass media in Dagestan devotes much attention to the position of relative peoples abroad.

The main problems of Dagestanis living in Azerbaijan relate to three spheres – language, political and religious spheres. For instance, only in 20% of schools in Azerbaijan, where study Avar children, the Avar language is taught only two hours per week. Dagestan is unable to send to Azerbaijan the textbooks for teaching the Avar, Lezgin and Tsakhur languages due to the lack of the corresponding state agreement between Russia and Azerbaijan. Azerbaijan purposefully postpones conclusion of such agreement. In Zakatal district formerly existed two local TV channels broadcasting at least songs in Avar language. One of them, DM-TV, owned by Avar person Mustafa Dibirov, was closed. The Avar music almost disappeared on the other Aigyun TV channel. Of great significance is the problem of preparing school teachers for teaching the native language in the districts, where live Dagestanis. At present, the branch of the Dagestani State University was closed and does not function in Baku. Since 1998 the branch of Dagestani philology ensured training of teachers of Lezgin and Avar languages.

The Avars living in Azerbaijan are rarely represented in official structures of the country. In Zakatal district, where exists the biggest Avar community, its representative occupies only the post of deputy head of the district in charge of culture, while the post of the head of the district is occupied by the person of origin in Nakhichevan. The repeated appeals of the local population to the leadership of Azerbaijan and Dagestan were left unattended.

The contradictions unsettled at the inter-state level have a negative impact on mutual relations between Dagestan and Azerbaijan, although it is clear that without participation of Moscow Dagestan is

unable to have an influence on the situation. The constitution of Russia does not allow the subject of the Federation to carry on self-dependently negotiations on regulation of inter-state relations with other states. Thus, given the inability of the state officials to define the reasons of conflicts and to have the will to settle them and the ability to use state mechanisms for this sake, there emerge social movements and organizations, which start in their way “to solve” trans-border problems. Just in this way Lezgin national movement “Sadval” started its activities in the south of Dagestan.

After disintegration of the USSR the problem of separation of the Lezgin people on the both banks of river Samur became more acute than the problem of Belakan and Zakatal Avars in Azerbaijan. The border dividing Dagestani and Azerbaijani Lezgins is river Samur. The Lezgins themselves might become the leading ethnos among neighbors, but their influence is greatly reduced by their separation. The national movements in this region are marked by the great force and it is not alleviated by any urban centers. Due to this circumstance a knot of inter-ethnic contradictions is being made in the south of Dagestan. Up to present, both the authorities of Dagestan and the leadership of Azerbaijan try to prevent aggravation of the situation.

The idea of Lezgins on “transparence” of the Russian-Azerbaijani border along river Samur and the proposal on creation of conditions for development of public-political, economic and cultural ties between northern and southern Lezgins is the most acceptable proposal.

In September 2010 president of Russia D. Medvedev visited Baku. Within the framework of the visit, the agreements should have been signed on delimitation of the state border, on utilization of water resources of border river Samur and on some aspects of property of the complex of buildings of the embassy of Azerbaijan in Moscow. It was

supposed to sign the agreement on transfer to Baku the complete authority and on subordination to it of Samurski hydro-station, which is the main water scoop in Samur. Baku as a 3-million city, takes water from this reservoir. The Samur natural complex, the relict forest takes water from it as well. Earlier, in April 2010, the arrangements were achieved on delimitation of the state border and on water division on the border river Samur. It was supposed to arrange the joint “50 and 50” utilization of the water resources of river Samur and to establish a joint commission for management.

For the 1999–2000, the actual water intake from river Samur was as follows: Azerbaijan – 53%, Russian Federation – 9%, the ecological pass – 38% of the annual flow. The hydroelectric station and the intake dam were constructed by the decisions of the Council of Soviet of Ministers of the USSR in 1949 and 1952, and these constructions at present are exploited by Azerbaijan, which makes Azerbaijan control completely the water resources of Samur. Such distribution of water resources infringes upon lawful interests of Russia, but the leadership of the country is not concerned about it, the author thinks. The details of the visit of the Russian delegation to Baku in September 2010 were not publicized, which engendered some rumors. According to the information collected by the author, there emerged more significant concessions to disadvantage of Russian policy in the region.

Some arguments were expressed in favor of the conclusion that certain forces in the Kremlin recently in the course of negotiations with Baku represented rather interests of Azerbaijan than Russian Dagestan. In particular, it was the unauthorized withdrawal of Russian border guards, for the beginning, to the middle of the bridge and further to the left bank of Samur, while the border was actually fixed on the right bank. Further – the concession on the issues of delimitation of the border with Azerbaijan and the unexplainable reluctance of the federal

center to allocate financial means for commission of the water intake construction near village Kuisun, which would make it possible to control completely the water flows of Samur.

Some experts regard the actions of the federal center as a sign of defeatism or even worse of the refusal to protect the interests of Dagestan in exchange of ephemeral loyalty of Azerbaijan. Does Moscow understand that any unlawful concessions to Azerbaijan will result in infringement of the rights of Dagestanis living in Azerbaijan? In his time, president of Russia D. Medvedev took the decision to postpone this issue and said: “We ought to think”. It was the better decision than the defeatist positions relating to Dagestan proposed by high officials in the presidential circle.

The lack of information on the meeting and the not transparent adopted decisions preclude the other conclusion than the surrender of interests of Dagestan – the southern outpost of Russia, which not once in difficult situations for the country proved its devotion to the ideas of all-Russian patriotism, to please the imaginary loyalty of a potential member of NATO. Today it is evident that the population of Russia near the border with Azerbaijan becomes a victim of great policy.

What will be the position of the leadership of Dagestan in these circumstances? One should recall a sad experience of the president Mukhu Aliyev, when the experienced leader of Dagestan at the ordinary negotiations between the presidents of Russia and Azerbaijan (Baku, 29 July 2009) resolutely objected against the division of Samur and limitation of the state border, which was planned to disadvantage of Dagestan. (Mujhu Aliyev agreed to divide the water intake of Samur by 70% to 30% in favor of Dagestan with the remark that his people would not understand the division “50% and 50%” proposed by Moscow and Baku.) Addressing to the Head of the Administration of the President S. Naryshkin (as the organizer of the meeting) and to the Minister of

Foreign Affairs S. Lavrov (he had a talk with him in a raised voice in Moscow), he asserted that the proposed by them direction was “anti-Dagestani and anti-state” and that he would not be able to agreed with it. It is unknown, whether the present president of Dagestan M. Magomedov will defend in the same way the interests of Russia, speaking against policy of Moscow and Baku, taking into account close relations between the families of the presidents of Dagestan and Azerbaijan?

Nevertheless, one matter is clear that, irrespective of all problems and discords on the two sides of the state border, they should be solved in the course of negotiations in the interests of the peoples of Russia and Azerbaijan, first of all, in the interests of all peoples living in the region. (The people in Dagestan hope that it will be done not at the expense of infringements of interests of Russian Dagestanis and Dagestanis living in Azerbaijan.) We should not lose our positions in Azerbaijan, since Russia takes the risk by Azerbaijan to weaken its influence on the Caspian region. The return of Azerbaijan into the vector of Russian foreign policy remains quite urgent.

“Voprosy natsionalnyh i federativnyh otnosheniy”, Moscow, 2011, pp. 193–204.

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AZERBAIJAN BETWEEN TURKEY AND RUSSIA

Throughout many centuries the geopolitics of South Caucasus had been determined by rivalry between Turkey, Iran and Russia. However, other actors came into being there in the 19th – 20th century. First, it was Britain, which boasted global influence in the epoch of the thriving of its empire. Then, after the disintegration of the Soviet Union

the United States and the European Union made their appearance in the area. Iran's influence has now diminished due to its international isolation and specific features of political and ideological regime. This is why, in analyzing the regional vectors of strategic attraction and repulsion in the South Caucasus it would be necessary to have a closer look at Turkey and Russia. Azerbaijan experiences tension most acutely in connection with its national, historical, geopolitical and cultural features.

Azerbaijan was part of the Russian Empire and the Soviet Union during the last two centuries and as such it felt their enormous cultural and civilization influence. Both the tsarist administration and Soviet officials restricted in every way possible Azerbaijan's contacts with its close neighbor – Turkey. The situation has changed radically after the restoration of state independence of Azerbaijan in the early 1990s. Turkey was the first foreign country which recognized this act, opened its diplomatic mission in Baku and began to develop all-round cooperation with Azerbaijan actively.

This process, which started at the time of the first post-Soviet administration of President Ayaz Mütəllibov, acquired an all-embracing character during the rule of the Popular Front of Azerbaijan (PFA) under President Abulfəz Elçibey. Azerbaijan adopted a course to Turkism and, moreover, Turkey was proclaimed the only ally and sample of state construction. Turkish advisers and consultants appeared at almost all offices and administrative bodies of the republic. Everything connected with the former U.S.S.R. and Russia was regarded the heritage of the old colonial past to be destroyed or eliminated. President Elçibey publicly called himself the “soldier of Atatürk” and ostentatiously distanced himself from everything Russian. Azerbaijan was the first of the newly-independent states to secure the withdrawal of the units of the former Soviet, now Russian, army, air

force and navy from its territory. Trade and economic relations were drastically curtailed. Azerbaijan did not ratify the treaty on friendship and cooperation of the newly-independent states and froze its participation in it. The short-term rule of Elchibei and PFA in the 1992–1993 was a period of boundless preponderance of Ankara and noticeable weakening of the influence of Moscow in Azerbaijan.

The West in the person of the United States and the European Union was worried over the smooth withdrawal of the Soviet armed forces from the former Warsaw pact countries and was not in a hurry to invade the sphere of influence of Russia – the post-Soviet area which included Azerbaijan. As to Iran, the PFA and President Elchibei did not conceal their negative attitude to the Islamist regime in Tehran which was regarded as the oppressor of more than 20 million Southern Azerbaijanis living in the north-western part of Iran.

Following an acute political crisis in the summer of 1993 the PFA government fell down, Abulfaz Elchibei left his post and the highly experienced and authoritative figure – Geidar Aliyev was invited to head the state. He renounced the one-sided orientation to Ankara and laid the foundation of the present multi-vector foreign policy of Azerbaijan. The country returned to the CIS and even joined the Organization of the Collective Security Treaty set up under the aegis of Moscow up to 1999. A Treaty on friendship, cooperation and mutual security between the Russian Federation and the Republic of Azerbaijan was signed. After prolonged negotiations the conditions of the use by Moscow of the Gabala radar station were agreed on, which was an important part of the strategic system of tracking and early warning.

However, the dislike for Geidar Aliyev felt by the Russian President Boris Yeltsin prevented the strengthening of trust between them, which had a negative effect on the Russian-Azerbaijani relations.

All the more so since Moscow took the side of Armenia in the Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict around Nagorno-Karabakh and even rendered economic and military support to Armenia. As a result, Azerbaijan has not returned to the sphere of Russian influence and began to draw closer gradually to the European Union and the United States. President Aliyev also succeeded to revive to some extent a dialogue with Iran.

The trust-based and close personal contacts between Geidar Aliyev and his Turkish colleague Suleyman Demirel lent a priority character to the partnership of Baku and Ankara. The formula of Azerbaijani-Turkish relations was aptly expressed in President Aliyev's words "One nation – two states." Baku insistently pursued the course to equality, without dividing the nation into the "elder and younger brother." Soon Azerbaijan renounced the services of Turkish advisers and consultants in many spheres, including the army. In the big consortium on the Caspian shelf of Azerbaijan ("Azeri – Chirag – Gyuneshli" (oil) and "Shah Deniz" (gas)) Turkey, just as Russia, received a modest 10-percent share, whereas the main stockholder and executor of the project was the Anglo-American *BP*.

The completion of the presidential rule of Suleyman Demirel and his successor Ahmet Necdet Sezer and the establishment in Turkey of the long-term rule of moderate Islamists from the Party of justice and development headed by President Abdullah Gul and Premier Recep T. Erdogan have noticeably influenced the Turkish-Azerbaijani relations. They are now marked by less trust and warmth, but more pragmatism. The Turkish statist-nationalists in the high echelons of power and the army were more adequate as partners for the secularly-oriented Azerbaijani leadership than the moderate Islamists from the Party of justice and development.

A reverse evolution has taken place in the relations with the leadership of Russia. Boris Yeltsin was succeeded by Vladimir Putin, a former KGB man, who did not conceal his respect for President Geidar Aliyev, a former KGB general and member of the CPSU politburo. Good personal contacts have also been established between the new presidents of Azerbaijan and Russia, Ilham Aliyev and Dmitri Medvedev. Both are of the same age, well educated, modern in thinking and habits, and oriented to modernization of their countries on the basis of a strong vertical of power.

Although the personal factor has played a no small role in the relations of Baku, Moscow and Ankara, a change in the situation of Azerbaijan itself became more important. Beginning from 2000 the country has received great oil incomes, which enabled it to reach the fantastic growth rates of the economy and a sharp rise in the living standards of its population. The country, which previously needed foreign financial and technological assistance, political and diplomatic support, and recommendations and advice, has transformed into a stable, self-confident and rapidly developing state. Such change in Azerbaijan's economic and geopolitical situation has thoroughly been reflected in its relations with all foreign partners, including Turkey and Russia.

Baku and Ankara: Dialectics of Relations

Strategic partnership with Turkey has been preserved. After Azerbaijan has distanced itself from the Georgian-Russian war in 2008, Baku insisted on signing a "Treaty on strategic partnership and mutual assistance between Azerbaijan and Turkey." Article 2 of the Treaty says that in case of an armed attack or aggression of a third state or group of states each party will render all possible assistance to the other party. Article 3 envisages close cooperation in defense and military-

technical policy. Joint actions are also presupposed for eliminating threats and challenges to national security. In accordance with the joint statement adopted by the presidents and ratified by both parliaments a high-level Council of strategic cooperation between Azerbaijan and Turkey has been set up.

Trade-economic and transport-communication relations between Baku and Ankara have been developing steadily. Contrary to skeptical predictions, the projects of building the strategic oil pipeline Baku – Tbilisi – Ceyhan (with the annual capacity of 50 million tons and a prospect of growth) and the Baku – Erzurum gas pipeline have successfully been realized. The construction of new railway lines and reconstruction of old ones is underway. The Interconnector Turkey – Greece – Italy, Trans-Adriatic gas pipeline and Nabucco pipeline are being elaborated.

Turkey shares first and second place with Russia in Azerbaijan's import and is its first foreign investor in the non-oil sector of its economy. Thousands of Turkish businessmen have opened their small and medium-sized enterprises in Azerbaijan. In turn, the latter, using its financial resources, often comes out as a big investor in Turkey through the state-owned oil company (SOCAR). There are also many private Azerbaijani investments.

The only foreign TV channel in Azerbaijan is the Turkish TPT-1. Turkish educational establishments (institutes, lyceums, kindergartens, etc.) take second place in Azerbaijan after those with teaching in the Russian language, but in contrast to the latter they tend to grow in number. Thousands of young people enroll in universities and institutes in Turkey under a government program.

Azerbaijan and Turkey closely interact in the political and military spheres. Ankara is on the side of Baku in the matter of Nagorny Karabakh, and Azerbaijan invariably supports the Turkish

position on the question of the so-called Armenian genocide. Both countries coordinate efforts at the level of government bodies, public institutions and their diasporas. The heads of state, government and parliament, as well as ministers and high-rank military officers hold regular meetings. Azerbaijani officers study at Turkish military academies. Close cooperation is established in the production of arms and ammunition. Ankara and Baku are the most active supporters of the policy of rapprochement and integration of Turkic nations. An Azerbaijani representative has for a long time headed the organization of cultural cooperation TURKSOI. Baku is the venue of the residence of the Parliamentary assembly of the Turkic states.

However, the close strategic partnership of Azerbaijan and Turkey does not exclude a certain difference of interests. Thus, Baku has declined Ankara's intentions to become the exclusive seller of Azerbaijani gas on the markets of third countries. Arguments are still going on concerning the price of gas supplied to Turkey (about six billion cubic meters within the framework of the "Shah Deniz" project) and its transit to third countries.

Turkey (just as Iran) has unilaterally repealed the visa regime for the citizens of Azerbaijan. However, Baku is in no hurry to do the same.

There are certain differences on a number of international issues. For example, Baku has not recognized the independence of Kosovo and remained in solidarity with Serbia, whereas Ankara has unquestionably sided with the Kosovo Albanians. Baku has supported the United States in Iraq and even sent a small military contingent to the coalition forces, whereas Turkey has ostentatiously refused to comply with Washington's request to let its troops pass through its territory.

The signing of the Zurich protocols on normalizing the relations of Turkey and Armenia in 2010 has been a real test for Azerbaijani-

Turkish partnership. The United States which sponsored these documents has not been able to convince the Azerbaijani leadership of the fact that the normalization process of Armenian-Turkish relations and a settlement of the Karabakh problem could proceed separately. Baku insisted on its point of view. And Ankara stated that the border with Armenia would open only after the Armenian forces started to withdraw from the occupied Azerbaijani territories.

Turkish public opinion is also on the side of Azerbaijan. The recent poll carried out by the Turkish foundation of economic and social investigations ((TESEV) in 81 regions of the country has shown that 39 percent of respondents are for the opening of the border with Armenia and 44 percent are against it. Official Ankara has not enough strength to influence the political forces and public opinion in Azerbaijan, in contrast to the latter.

The ruling party of Turkey has no authoritative party-partners in Azerbaijan. During the past years Turkey has distanced itself from the political life of the fraternal neighboring country. Assessments of official Turkish observers at elections in Azerbaijan are much closer, as a rule, to those of the loyal assessments of the CIS representatives than to the critical position of observers from the United States and the European Union.

The differences of interests of the two countries cited above, as well as certain difficulties in the relations of their leaders cannot undermine their strategic partnership, which is based on ethnic and religious closeness and friendly feelings binding these nations. According to the sociological poll conducted by the Foundation of political, economic and social investigations (SETA) in 2011, Turkish citizens feel greater sympathy and trust for Azerbaijanis than for their NATO allies (82 percent of those polled). Similar picture can be observed in Azerbaijan. According to the monitoring of public opinion

carried out by the sociological service Puls-R during several years, Turkey is regarded the most friendly to Azerbaijan by up to 90 percent of all respondents.

Baku and Moscow: Tortuous Rapprochement

According to the monitoring just mentioned, Russia holds second place among Azerbaijan's friends. Its indices are more modest than those of Turkey (from 17 to 25 percent). Simultaneously, 10 to 15 percent of respondents regard Russia as an unfriendly state. These sympathies and antipathies are a product of history and the relations which have taken shape after the restoration of independence.

Azerbaijan was part of a unified state – the Russian Empire and then the Soviet Union – for almost two centuries. The two nations were connected by thousands of threads. Many of them broke during the disintegration of the U.S.S.R., especially those in the sphere of industrial cooperation. However, today too, the parties are still important economic partners to each other. Their mutual goods turnover amounted to \$1.8 billion in 2010 (a slump due to the crisis as against the record \$2.4 billion in 2009). Import from Russia comprised \$1.56 billion (first place among foreign trade partners of Azerbaijan), and Azerbaijan's export to Russia was \$385.6 million (increase by 23.8 percent). Supplies of gas from Azerbaijan to Russia will exceed one billion cubic meters in 2011. In 2011 the goods turnover volume should exceed \$2.7 billion.

There is the biggest Russian community in the South Caucasus living in Azerbaijan; it numbers about 170,000 people. In turn, the number of Azerbaijanis living in Russia on a temporary or permanent basis reaches one million (by unofficial estimates, it is around two million). There are big entrepreneurs among them possessing multimillion assets.

Azerbaijan has preserved the biggest area of the Russian language and culture in the South Caucasus. There are more than 200 secondary schools and a great number of higher educational institutions which have Russian sections or tuition in the Russian language. About 6,000 Azerbaijan's citizens study at Russian institutes and universities; up to 900 of them study on government programs, the rest do it independently. Dozens of newspapers and magazines in the Russian language are printed and distributed in Azerbaijan, and there are a Russian drama theater and a Russian cultural center functioning in the republic.

In contrast to economic and cultural ties, there are problems and essential contradictions in the interests concentrated in the political and military spheres. They are partly due to the fact that Russia regarded the sovereignty of Azerbaijan, just as that of other CIS countries for that matter, as something inferior. The newly-independent states, naturally, wished to develop economic and political and military relations with world and regional powers, which Moscow regarded as a manifestation of ingratitude and disloyalty. Such reaction of Moscow was regarded in Baku and the capitals of other newly-independent states as a manifestation of haughtiness, diktat and caused very negative reaction.

An additional irritant was the fact that Moscow supported Yerevan in the conflict around Nagorno-Karabakh and, what is more, rendered it economic, political and military assistance. Subsequently, Russia has somewhat corrected this stand, taking upon itself a mediator's mission for the cessation of military hostilities and peaceful settlement of the conflict. However, the allied relations between Moscow and Yerevan and the presence of a Russian military base on the territory of Armenia continued to cause suspicion and distrust in Azerbaijan concerning the real intentions of Moscow and its unbiased position in mediation.

At first, there were serious contradictions between Azerbaijan and Russia on the problem of the Caspian area. Moscow was against Baku's intention to develop marine deposits and construct pipelines with the help of western companies to transport energy resources bypassing Russian territory. However, compromises have been found in this matter. The Russian "LUKOIL" concern was given a 10-percent share in the big projects "Azeri – Chirag – Gyuneshli" and "Shah Deniz". Now, Russia, Kazakhstan and Azerbaijan have agreed on the demarcation of their national sectors on the basis of the so-called modified medium line and taken a consolidated position on the status of the Caspian region.

Positive changes have occurred in the process of settling the Karabakh conflict. Due to the rupture of relations between Georgia and Moscow, the Russian military base in Gyumri became cut off from communication lines. In order to preserve its positions in the South Caucasus and open a corridor with Armenia Moscow should step up the settlement process and thus bolster up its geopolitical positions. After signing the Meiendorf declaration Russia has assumed the functions of the chief moderator of the negotiation process on the Karabakh issue with the participation of the leaders of Armenia and Azerbaijan. In the past three years there were eight tripartite meetings with the direct participation of the Russian President Dmitri Medvedev. Moscow declares its readiness to undertake resolute efforts to achieve endorsement of the so-called Madrid principles by the conflicting parties and adopt a decision to start work on a framework peace agreement.

However, the main task to be tackled by all powers – cochairmen of the Minsk group of the OSCE, and primarily the Russian leadership, is to prevent a new war between Azerbaijan and Armenia. Given the present level of the arms of both parties it could not only become

destructive and bloody, but also turn into a large-scale regional conflict which could draw Russia and Turkey in the confrontation, which is contrary to the will and desire of both Ankara and Moscow.

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The gigantic geopolitical shifts which have taken place as a result of the disintegration of the U.S.S.R. and the disbandment of the Warsaw pact have essentially changed the atmosphere of the relations between Ankara and Moscow, as well as the attitude of both countries to the newly-independent republics of the South Caucasus. There has been no bloc confrontation in which Turkey could have played the role of a front-line state for two decades already. An intensive dialogue has been going on between the leaders of the two countries, the volume of mutual trade and humanitarian contacts has been rapidly growing.

Russia has become the main trade partner of Turkey, and the latter holds fifth place among trade partners of Russia. Turkey purchases up to one-quarter of all oil and more than half of natural gas it consumes. Mutual investments are on an increase. Millions of Russian tourists visit Turkey's famous health resorts annually. All this gives ground to the Russian President Medvedev to say that "Russia and Turkey are strategic partners". In turn, the Prime Minister of Turkey Recep T. Erdogan says that the Russian-Turkish dialogue has a positive influence on peace and security in the region.

Both countries, which have found themselves in the periphery of post-industrial development, feel the egoism of the self-righteous West. They confront similar problems connected with the catch-up character of the modernization and development of the economy and dual Eurasian position, that is, their belonging to different cultural and geopolitical matrices. Both Russia and Turkey are facing the need to strengthen democratic institutions and neutralize ethnic separatism.

Moscow and Ankara are displeased with the fact that the United States and the leading western nations regard them as an instrument of their global policy and do not wish to consider their national interests. The restoration by Russia and Turkey of their old traditional position as great powers is not to the liking of the liberal West. The campaign of the recognition of the so-called Armenian genocide, the indirect support of Kurdish separatism and delay in admitting Turkey to the European Union are typical features of this scheme.

It is extremely important to resolve the existing regional problems which can become aggravated and not only put to risk peace and security in the region, but also draw Moscow and Ankara in a dangerous confrontation, which will naturally exclude the full-fledged strategic partnership of Russia and Turkey. Rivalry between Moscow and Ankara will undermine their relations and erode their forces.

Turkey understands this full well. On the eve of the June 2011 parliamentary elections Premier Recep T. Erdogan, who heads the ruling Party of justice and development, published its election program. It is indicative that there was a section entitled “Turkey – Russia and the Caucasus”, that is, Ankara regards its relations with the countries and peoples of the Caucasus (both North and South) in direct connection with Russia. It is noted that the development of Russian-Turkish relations has led to the formation of the foundation for new cooperation in the Caucasus, Central Asia and other regions.

Georgia and Armenia, do not conceal their worry over the growing strategic partnership of Russia and Turkey. For the entire foreign, and partly economic, policy of these countries is based on using contradictions and rivalry between the West and Russia and between Turkey and Russia. Azerbaijan has a different attitude to the deepening Turkish-Russian cooperation. In contrast to its South Caucasian neighbors, Azerbaijan had nothing to gain from Russian-

Turkish rivalry, on the contrary, it suffered from it. Being a natural ally of Ankara due to the ethnic, historical, cultural and religious factors, Baku has seen and felt a suspicious, and sometimes negative, reaction of Moscow. A thaw in Russian-Turkish relations relieves Baku from the need to choose between the two partners and can create conditions for resolving old conflicts, primarily the Karabakh conflict.

As a country with considerable natural and financial resources and advantageous geographical position, Azerbaijan has much to offer to Turkey and Russia. Baku needs peace, cooperation and normal competition based on diversification, economic attractiveness and efficiency to be able to realize its own large-scale projects. The building of strategic oil and gas pipelines via Georgia and Turkey has freed Azerbaijan from its one-sided dependence on Russia. The use of the pipeline system built in Soviet times, which connected Azerbaijan with Russia and Iran, makes it possible to diversify the supply of fuel and energy, which is beneficial to all parties. Considerable financial resources gained from export, knowledge and ability to orient to the Turkish and Russian markets give Azerbaijani business great advantages in organizing and implementing large-scale tripartite projects in the sphere of transporting and processing hydrocarbon raw materials, in petrochemistry, as well as in tourist business, transport and communications.

Partnership between Russia and Turkey does not at all mean the partition of the South Caucasus into the spheres of influence. In the conditions of globalization such plans are doomed to failure. Neither Russia nor Turkey is able “to isolate” the region from the world. But together they are able to prevent turning the South Caucasus into a geopolitical battlefield of alien forces.

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ISLAMIC REVIVAL IN CENTRAL ASIA

The problem of the relationship between the state and religious institutions in the process of building a national state is quite timely for the newly-independent Central Asian republics. Islam has its own special features in the nomadic and settled parts of the region. As is known, Islamization has been rather superficial among the nomadic peoples, whereas the territory of present Uzbekistan has always had the seats of Islamic lore and well-known Islamic scholars who have been teaching there.

The growing interest in Islam and its traditions is directly connected with a search for national identity and the birth and development of local nationalism. The latter exists in communities united by common culture which have cultural differences with other communities. In the epoch of the U.S.S.R. all republics, including those of Central Asia, had common cultural identity based on Russian culture (along with the preservation and development of local cultures), whereas after gaining independence its place was naturally taken by the culture of the titular ethnos.

Although the emergence of nationalism has certain determining features, nevertheless, nationalism formed in just one region can differ from nationalism in another part of this region. The Russian scholar S. Abashin studying differences and asymmetrical features of nationalism in various parts of Central Asia includes in their common sources “the initial understanding of statehood as ‘national,’ the description of nation in ethnic terms connected with Soviet Marxist tradition and the “theory of ethnos”, special attention to the problem of the national language, interest in historical roots, ancient history, etc. All this makes it possible to qualify Central Asian nationalism in various parts of the

region as ethnonationalism. However, in reality things are not so simple. In the author's view, Uzbek nationalism, due to historical reasons, pays greater attention to the state for which 'linguistic and cultural differences can present a certain threat.' The only instrument of preserving the state is neglect of these differences and at the same time active political assimilation and integration of small groups in one community." In contrast to Uzbek nationalism, Tajik nationalism pays "much greater attention to the language, culture and history, which compensates its low interest in its small and weak state."

In this case ethnonationalism typical of Central Asian nationalism acquires special significance. This type of nationalism entrenches itself in the post-Soviet area due to specific features of historical development. Ethnic nationalism, which has become the principle of the formation of the post-Soviet states, engenders difficulties for other ethnic groups which are unable to become part and parcel of the changing social relations and the cultural paradigm and therefore are doomed to marginalization.

Search for national identity and confirmation of national originality and the right to independent development have led to the growth of religious sentiments and conservative consciousness. The Russian scholar Sergei Panarin wrote : "The area of the first civilization was one of modernization distinguished by freely established social ties, liberal values, individualism, secular views and cosmopolitan samples of culture. The second area was one of tradition distinguished by hereditary social ties, patriarchal values, collectivism, religious views and ethnic and sub-ethnic samples of culture."

Naturally, the first area could not be the source of national originality, rather to the contrary, it preserved universal values, whereas the area of traditions was characterized by mythological consciousness,

a special role of religion and strict observance of rites used as a yardstick of originality.

The retraditionalization of society which was a result of the difficult process of transformation, no less than search for identity, contributed to a greater role of the religious component. Traditional societies are conservative, their conservatism comes out as the system-forming element which unites this society and helps it function. Modernized social groups and the national creative and technical intelligentsia were unable to oppose traditionalism which was regarded in the epoch of crisis as the only reliable alternative to the disintegrating reality.

Close clan-family ties which ensured a definite social comfort and the possibility to survive cannot remain outside contradictions with the tasks of modernization and the creation of modern societies. It should be admitted that in Soviet times the modernization processes proceeded rapidly enough. The emergence of a great number of educated people, new industries and technologies, a relatively high social mobility, the drawing of young people to the new forms of public life, the generally common atheistic sentiments lowering interest in religion to the level of tradition – all this, taken together, contributed to the emergence of profound changes. Suffice it to compare the parts of Central Asian ethnoses which have found themselves on the territory of Afghanistan (Uzbeks and Tajiks), with their fellow-compatriots in Uzbekistan and Tajikistan. However, traditional society has not been destroyed. It continued to exist, adapting itself to the new Soviet system.

The entry in a market economy proved rather painful for Central Asian societies. It was due to the fact that market meant much greater uncertainty and risk than the regulated economy of the “socialist period,” and also because it proved to be quite specific with warped

forms which underwent the woeful evolution under the impact of clan structure, nepotism and bureaucratic distortions.

In a new pseudo-market medium traditional society preserves the habitual system of values. The accumulated wealth is not reinvested, but is indirectly redistributed between members of the collective in accordance with public demands and ideas (sumptuous feasts, luxurious presents, etc.).

Social uncertainty and a great gap in incomes, new risks and threats to an individual used to living in a paternalist state exert the determining influence on the socio-political situation in the region as a whole and in separate states. They prompt the turning to religion as the only reliable consolation and protection from injustice.

The strengthening of Islam noticeable in all newly-independent states of Central Asia has also been determined by foreign factors. Among them were greater openness to the foreign Moslem world, including wider distribution of religious literature, organization of hajj, the emergence of new rites, and the appearance of various missionaries.

Headscarves become more widespread. Many girls and young women in Moslem scarves can now be seen in the streets of Dushanbe (in Soviet times they went about with heads uncovered).

Education has become a major element of greater public attention to Islam. During the first years of independence the Central Asian population, cut as they had been from the Moslem world, had a rather indiscriminate attitude to the great flow of literature which flooded the region and contained quite a few works written by radical Islamists. There were also grants for education received from abroad. I happened to spend some time in Yemen in the mid-1990s. While visiting Hidramaut, I learned to my surprise that two citizens of Uzbekistan, a country with a very great Islamic tradition, studied at an old madrasah in a medieval town. What could they learn there? Islamic

foundations of Pakistan carried on active work among Tajik refugees in Afghanistan. Children were able to receive a religious education free of charge. Then they came back to Tajikistan and began to preach in accordance with what they had learnt. In 1992–2008 about 2,200 young men from Tajikistan enrolled in various educational institutions in Islamic countries, and only 650 of them were officially sent to study. No surprise that the authorities are cautious to such volunteers.

The appearance of illegal Islamic schools on the territory of Central Asian countries is no less dangerous from the point of view of maintaining social stability. It is practically impossible to control what is taught at such schools.

In the early 1990s Islamic political organizations of a radical type began to appear in Central Asia, and the foreign forces played a no small role in this business. Quite a few religious groups and currents emerged in Uzbekistan during that period (among them “Adolat,” “Islom lashkarlari,” “Tablih,” “Tovba,” “Nur” etc.) They functioned mainly in the Ferghana Valley (Namangan and Andizhan). In Tajikistan, the Party of Islamic revival joined the political life of the republic by the 1990s, and it became the main force of the opposition which unleashed a civil war.

The Islamic movement IDU was created in Uzbekistan in 1996. It had the aim to overthrow the existing secular regime by force of arms and establish an Islamic state in the republic. By the late 1990s IDU began to orient itself to using forcible terrorist methods of struggle. IDU retained the features characteristic of the first Islamic organizations of the Ferghana Valley (“Adolat”). Among them were Islamic Salaphite Puritanism and strict observance of all Islamic rules. Secondly, local power should demonstrate to the population the ability of Islamists to eradicate corruption and crime. Thirdly, it should preach

the ideals of social justice and equality. And fourthly, it should strive to create the Islamic regime in the country based on the Sharia law.

Having lost the opportunity to continue their participation in the armed struggle going on in Tajikistan after signing a national truce there, the IDU fighters have moved to the bases in Afghanistan, but repeatedly used Tajik territory for invading Kyrgyzstan and further on Uzbekistan again, where they tried to intensify combat operations.

In 1999 they entered into clashes with the government troops in the south of Kyrgyzstan and in the Surkhan-Darya region of Uzbekistan. On February 19, 1999, IDU fighters carried out a series of explosions in Tashkent, the capital of Uzbekistan.

A new attempt of the IDU fighters to make a breakthrough in Uzbekistan took place in the autumn of 2000; they wanted to battle through to the Ferghana Valley where they hoped to be supported by the local Islamists. There were several clandestine store-houses of arms and ammunition. The attempt of breakthrough failed, but in 2001 a real threat of unfolding large-scale guerilla operations against the central government of Uzbekistan reemerged. The Taliban fighters in Afghanistan who supported IDU have defeated the army group of General Dustum and reached the border with Uzbekistan. Using this success, IDU has set up several training camps of its fighters in northern Afghanistan.

During the operation of the international coalition forces in Afghanistan, the IDU fighters took part in the military hostilities on the Taliban side. Many leaders and fighters of the Taliban and UDU were killed, their bases in Afghanistan and in districts bordering on Central Asia were destroyed, and the remnants of their forces had to move to Pakistan.

The Party of Islamic revival of Tajikistan was organized in 1990. During the civil war it was banned and returned to political activity

after national reconciliation in Tajikistan. The party is taking an active part in election campaigns and puts forward its candidates to legislative and municipal bodies.

Being in opposition, the party can find a common language with the ruling elite. This helps it survive, but narrows down its opposition activity and belittles its attractiveness to young people. There are quite a few pragmatic persons in the leadership of the party. Although remaining Islamists in spirit, they recognize the need for the modernization of the country. They maintain connections with the leading Moslem countries and continue to receive assistance (including financial help) from Islamic foundations, grants, literature and stipends for students at religious schools, but also orient themselves to western countries and develop relations with the OSCE. Moreover, the party gives an example of a political and religious organization of moderate Islamists who are now regarded in the West and in Russia as a counterbalance to the radicals and extremists. The party is now considered as a respectable and responsible partner, which is reflected in the relations of international actors with the regime of E. Rahmon. The Party of Islamic revival hoped to win seven and more seats in the new parliament, however, it is now represented there by only two persons (in all, there are 99 members in the two-chamber parliament of Tajikistan).

The party does not fully answer the hopes of its electorate, and this is why the more impatient and less tolerant younger generation, which did not live through the horrors of the civil war, is ready to fight more resolutely for justice and form an additional reserve for the radical Hizb ut-Tahrir organization. Besides, there are two opposing trends clashing with each other within the party itself, which will have the decisive influence on its future. The desire to modernize the party causes a different reaction among its members and supporters. For a

socially successful part of them it is a pledge to preserve the party on the political scene of Tajikistan, whereas for the older generation and people of traditional views new trends are hardly acceptable.

Hizb ut-Tahrir began to act in the region in the 1990s and its main aim was to establish an Islamic caliphate there. The party declared its adherence to peaceful political methods of struggle and centered attention on propaganda of its ideas and the creation of a ramified organizational infrastructure. The positions and prestige of Hizb ut-Tahrir have gradually been growing in Central Asia against the backdrop of the transformation of IDU into a terrorist organization.

Hiuzb ut-Tahrir al-Islami was created in Palestine in the early 1950s. Its main aim was to fight Zionism, which, naturally, could hardly interest anyone in Central Asia, but the organization changed, although it preserved one of the principal premises of its program, namely, the creation of an Islamic caliphate. At the same time Hizb ut-Tahrir is a transnational party and a community of national organizations weakly connected with one another in their activities. But all of them are united by one ideological and political platform. Hizb ut-Tahrir is a really ideologically party, in contrast to IDU.

The idea of caliphate is not regarded by the party supporters in Central Asia as an exclusively abstract one. The Islamists do not recognize national or clan closeness, they do not need customs barriers or strong governments. For people tired of the rivalry and struggle between various clans, for those who have been deprived of contacts with their kith and kin by state borders, who have lost customary pursuits, the slogan of unified Moslem area could be regarded as a real and desirable alternative. The greater interest of Hizb ut-Tahrir in the political realities of the Middle Eastern region does not deter people in Central Asia. At first Hizb ut-Tahrir was supported by people in

Uzbekistan, Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan, but recently its influence began to spread to southern regions of Kazakhstan.

In Tajikistan Hizb ut-Tahrir has become a serious rival of the Party of Islamic revival. The former draws new members and promises to help resolve social problems. It relies on young people, intellectuals, and even women, who, due to ideological work among them, can become active propagandists of the party's ideas. Special attention is paid to those studying at Moslem religious schools. Hizb ut-Tahrir is opposed to the very idea of secular power, which should be replaced by caliphate everywhere. It is also against capitalism, democracy, tolerance, a dialogue of cultures, etc. The party has created a patronage network. These networks of a clan character are typical of Central Asia, playing an important role in public and political life. Hizb ut-Tahrir is financed by foreign sponsors, but there are also local sources of its financing. Recently, Hizb ut-Tahrir has frequently been accused of extremism and its activity is now banned in Central Asia.

“Akramiya” is a radical Islamic organization which became widely known in Uzbekistan after the suppression of an uprising in Andizhan, one of the cities in the Ferghana Valley, on May 13–14th, 2005. The uprising was provoked by the arrest of businessmen who were members of “Akramiya”. In the view of the Uzbek scholar of Islam B. Babajanov, “Akramiya” came into being in the context of the Islamic renaissance of the late 1980s – early 1990s, which touched all sections of society, including young intellectuals with a higher education from marginal sections. Their spiritual quests and maturing coincided with the time of “perestroika” and the subsequent period of “ideological ferment.” It was at that time that the phenomenon of “returning to the religion of our fathers” acquired special features. That time and medium gave birth to “Akramiya” and similar groups. B.

Babajanov describes them as small religious communities in original socio-religious variants.

One can agree with the assertion that “Akramiya” and similar groups fulfill certain socio-religious functions. They are sufficiently well organized as part of the traditional sector and help their members tackle social and economic problems. They are a kind of an alternative to government and state bodies which are not efficient enough in this sphere.

In the view of Russian experts, a new generation of radical Islamic organizations has been formed in Central Asia at present, which are active in popularizing Islamism in the Internet, in recruiting representatives of administrative bodies to these organizations, and in forming local cells of five or six persons to spread the ideas of social equality (“Islamic socialism”), etc.

Representatives of Islamic parties begin to take part in political struggle, using the legal channels of elections. The electoral lists of the parties which took part in the parliamentary elections in December 2007 included members of Hizb ut-Tahrir, an organization banned in Kyrgyzstan. On the eve of the elections on December 16 in Bishkek and other big cities leaflets were distributed calling for the creation of an Islamic state and support of the party “Erkin Kyrgyzstan” (the second person on the list was the ombudsman Tursunbai Barkir uulu. He has earlier defended Hizb ut-Tahrir, asserting that it rejects violence and does not resort to armed struggle to attain its goals. In his words, the activity of the party was only a form of freedom of speech.

“The Islamists in the northern districts of Kyrgyzstan are represented by people, who have specially been trained in Pakistan, and also by graduates from western institutes and universities. In the south of the republic and in the zone close to the Ferghana Valley there are representatives of radical Uzbek organizations. However, it goes

without saying that both wings of the Islamic movement in Kyrgyzstan can duly respond to financial assistance from third countries which are interested in destabilizing the situation in the country.” This was the view of the Kyrgyz political analyst Turat Akimov.

The processes of re-Islamization are quite noticeable. They can lead to a conclusion that Central Asian states are doomed to increasing influence of political Islam and the emergence of new forms of its interaction with secular power. Public opinion polls show that more and more young people, even in the former nomadic communities of Kyrgyzstan, identify themselves first as Moslems and only then as Kyrgyzstan’s citizens.

Inasmuch as Islam remains the major factor of national identity, there are no grounds to expect the weakening of its influence on all sides of life. It exerts influence on the implementation of reforms, the choice of the political development way, and ideological orientation. The authorities cannot ignore the fact that the growth of political Islam is a kind of protest against poverty, unemployment, the absence of social guarantees, and also a demonstration of unity. In the conditions of the growing impoverishment of the popular masses, socio-economic inequality, the greater authoritarianism of the powers that be, corruption, and fewer possibilities to express legitimate protest the activities of Islamic groupings are the major means of social protest.

At the same time there are no grounds to think that the Central Asian states are doomed to the emergence of theocratic regimes, and regard their societies as exclusively backward and traditional. First of all, they are different, despite certain affinity of individual elements of their history and culture. The level of modernization (different in different states), the formation of scientific communities, the opportunity to get a good education, including in other countries, industrial and technological development, and the emergence of

political parties and the mass media in opposition should not be ignored either. The problem is that the features of modernization often bear an enclave character far removed from the main part of the rural population, which represents that very area of tradition whose impact on public life is still to be properly assessed.

*“Islamsky factor v istorii i sovremennosti”,
Moscow, 2011, pp. 475–484.*

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**TURKMENISTAN AS A POTENTIAL PARTICIPANT
IN SCO AND ITS INFLUENCE ON THE SITUATION
IN CENTRAL ASIA**

Turkmenistan borders on Kazakhstan in the North, Uzbekistan in the north and east, and Iran and Afghanistan in the south. It is washed by the Caspian Sea in the west. By its geographical position, humanitarian and economic ties with other Central Asian states and also by having a common border with Iran, Turkmenistan could logically have been a member of the SCO.

There are no exact information and data about the numerical strength of its armed forces or their supply of arms, ammunition and military hardware. The land forces, according to various sources, number about 15,000 men and officers, they are armed with up to 540 tanks, 1,300 armored vehicles, and 520 units of various artillery systems of Soviet make. Coast-guard units are set up. The air forces and anti-aircraft defense units number about 3,000 men and officers. After the disintegration of the U.S.S.R. Turkmenistan received the biggest Air Force grouping in Central Asia deployed in two large bases – near Ashkhabad and in the city of Mary and having about

300 helicopters and aircraft of different systems. These vehicles have been thoroughly repaired at special plants in Georgia at the expense of the latter's debt to Turkmenistan for its natural gas supplied to that Trans-Caucasian republic.

Turkmenistan's navy on the Caspian Sea is subordinated to the command of the border-guard units. Due to the considerable length of the republic's border, its border-guard units have a special status. In 2000 Turkmenistan unilaterally abrogated the treaty with Russia on the joint guarding of the state border and the status of the Russian military personnel on the territory of Turkmenistan. That very year the Russian border-guard units left the republic and American and European experts took over the reassignment and infrastructure development along the republican border, including its border on the Caspian Sea. With a view to preventing drug trafficking in Central Asia, another check-point, "Imamnazar," was set up on the Turkmen-Afghan border with the participation of the United States, which paid \$1.8 million (the UN contribution to the project was \$ 650,000).

Turkmenistan also takes part in the OSCE programs on border security and the border regime. Within the framework of the program the OSCE center in Ashkhabad has organized and supervises the training of the Turkmen special services and law-enforcement agencies. The leadership of the republic considers that its neutral status does not prevent its participation in NATO programs. At the same time it should be noted that in all its foreign-policy actions Ashkhabad is guided by the principle of permanent neutrality and, accordingly, all obligations assumed by the country are based on this status.

Despite the fact that Turkmenistan is situated in an unstable region and surrounded by such "uneasy" neighbors as Iran, Afghanistan, and, partly, Uzbekistan, its defense expenditures are minimal. In 2006 they amounted to slightly over \$80 million.

Uzbekistan holds first place in the CIS in the share of defense expenditures in the GDP, whereas Turkmenistan – last place. Ashkhabad does not intend to be part to any political alliances. The republic would rather take part in the development of international political-economic relations.

Turkmenistan is an active participant in the dialogue on the status of the Caspian Sea. Its representatives support all positive initiatives within the framework of the UN aimed at ensuring regional security. The republic takes part in international programs on fighting terrorism and drug trafficking.

The interstate contractual base existing between Russia and Turkmenistan enables the two parties to maintain all-round cooperation practically in all spheres of bilateral relations. However, for quite a long time its potential was not used fully enough. An impressive volume of trade turnover between the two countries was largely due to the supply of Turkmen gas. However, there are quite a few spheres of economic, scientific-technological and cultural cooperation where mutual interest of Russia and Turkmenistan could also bring tangible benefits to the two parties, as well as contribute to regional integration. True, recently it was possible to trace a definite tendency toward the broadening of business contacts between Turkmenistan and Russia, as well as other CIS countries.

The President of Turkmenistan G. Berdymukhamedov said at a meeting of the heads of government of the CIS countries held in Ashkhabad in 2007 that fresh ideas and new standards were required today which could ensure the community as a whole and each member-state the possibility to react adequately to all challenges of the epoch. They will allow them to evolve a new model of cooperation aimed at the formation of a unified Eurasian trade-economic, energy, information-communication and transport area. Turkmenistan has put

forward a number of initiatives for creating new transport corridors between the North and the South, which would be of great economic benefit to all member-states.

The new economic strategy evolved by President G. Berdymukhamedov could help Turkmenistan join the integration processes not only within the framework of the Eurasian Economic Cooperation Organization, but also, possibly, the SCO. It envisages the large-scale drawing of foreign investments to the development of the rich deposits of the Turkmen shelf of the Caspian Sea and other oil and gas-bearing districts of the country, and also long-term agreements on cooperation in the sphere of gas concluded with Russia and other SCO member-states – China, Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan signed in 2007. A decision has been adopted to begin the construction of a Turkmen – Chinese main line and the development of the gas-transport system Central Asia – Center. This also concerns the efforts undertaken by Turkmenistan for promoting other transnational projects – a gas pipeline Turkmenistan – Afghanistan – Pakistan – India, construction of a Caspian gas pipeline and reconstruction of the already functioning gas-transport system.

Thus Turkmenistan is gradually becoming the owner of key energy and transport lines equally attractive for Europe and Asia by implementing its plans to create a multifarious system of gas pipelines, interstate electric power transmission lines and motor roads and railway lines from North to South and from West to East.

According to estimates, the creation of the North – South transport corridor connecting the Caspian states with Russia and giving access to the Persian Gulf to all interested countries will make it possible to carry millions of tons of cargoes annually, which will bring a no small benefit to all participants in the project.

This communication project was approved at the summit meeting of the heads of state of the Caspian countries held in Tehran in 2007 where Turkmenistan, Iran and Kazakhstan signed an agreement on building a railway line.

However, despite the fact that Ashkhabad displays interest in western transport and energy projects, one cannot fail to see that for adopting the final decision Ashkhabad cannot but take into account its deep involvement in joint energy projects not only with Russia, but also with China and other SCO member-states (including through the project of a joint Chinese-Central Asian gas pipeline). Finally, Turkmenistan is surrounded by states closely interacting with Russia, and this is why it is not advantageous for the former to act contrary to their interests.

Russia, for its part, needs to pursue a well-thought-out policy toward Turkmenistan, including buying its gas at real prices, taking an active part in the development of its economy and social life, and also cooperating with it in military and military-technological fields. Ashkhabad should be more actively drawn, jointly with other SCO participants, to multifarious projects, primarily, energy and communication ones. The invitation of the President of Turkmenistan to the Tashkent summit meeting of the SCO in 2010 was a positive sign. The Russian political and scientific circles should display a profound interest in the possible variants of the development of events around Turkmenistan and thoroughly analyze all aspects influencing them.

*“Miroviye derzhavy v Tsentralnoi Azii,”
Moscow, 2011, pp. 140–145.*

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DEVELOPMENT OF RUSSIAN-UZBEK RELATIONS

Uzbekistan holds a special place in the system of Russia's relations with the countries of Central Asia. On the one hand, this republic is an important economic partner of the Russian Federation, and on the other, it has always taken a special stand on a number of political issues and is a far from simple ally of Moscow. At present a certain rapprochement can be observed in the relations between the two countries, which is conditioned by foreign factors. The events now taking place in certain North African and Middle Eastern countries and especially the actions of the United States and its allies in this region could not but cause a definite reaction on the part of the Central Asian countries, which entered the orbit of western interests as an important and promising source of fuel and energy.

The economic relations of Russia and Uzbekistan, whose significance has never been put to doubt, are objectively the foundation of the development of bilateral cooperation. Uzbekistan now holds fourth place, as before, in Russia's goods turnover with the CIS countries, after Ukraine, Belarus and Kazakhstan, and the Russian Federation is the biggest trade partner of Uzbekistan. Although the absolute figures of the goods turnover of the two countries are not too great (in 2010 it comprised \$3.4 billion and \$1.3 billion in the first quarter of 2011), Russia's share accounts for more than 22 percent of the entire foreign trade of the republic.

According to Uzbek sources, the trade turnover of the two countries increased by about 56 percent in the first quarter of 2011, as compared with the similar period of the previous year. This was due to the 78% increase of Uzbek export to the Russian Federation (mainly by greater supplies of Uzbek gas, cars and textiles), as well as the 30%

growth of Russian import to the republic. Uzbekistan supplies Russia with natural gas, agricultural products, textiles and cars, and renders transport and communication services. Russia exports to Uzbekistan non-ferrous and ferrous metals, various industrial equipment, timber and wood-working products.

It should be noted that Uzbekistan's market is quite attractive for Russian capital, despite a number of specific features of the "Uzbek model" of market economy. For one, the incomplete character of market reforms is expressed in that the turnover of foreign currency is limited in Uzbekistan. Besides, there are such factors as the growing overpopulation, poverty and low living standards, which lead to growing social tension in the republic. Unemployment contributes to the outflow of the local population (Uzbekistan holds first place in the number of foreign citizens arriving in Russia in search of work).

At the same time Uzbekistan's leaders pursue a course aimed at diversifying the country's economy which creates favorable prerequisites for investment cooperation. Definite successes in this sphere are reflected in a change of the list of exported commodities: along with traditional ones – cotton, textiles, non-ferrous metals and products of the chemical industry and agriculture, the share of products of oil refinery, machines and equipment is constantly growing.

The country holds sixth place in the world in mining uranium, and the Navoi ore-dressing plant with a capacity of 2.4 tons of uranium a year is among the ten such plants in the world. The republic mines about 90 tons of gold annually and holds ninth place in the world in this field. Uzbekistan is, as before, one of the leading producers and exporters of cotton in the world. In the view of independent experts, among the main factors of the economic growth of the republic in 2010 were high world prices of gold and gas, which compensated for the lower prices of cotton.

On the whole, the financial and economic crisis has not seriously influenced the macroeconomic indices of the republic (it was largely due to the stability of the bank sector which did not borrow on the outside market and actively credited small and medium-sized businesses).

A sufficiently developed industrial basis and the absence of considerable losses from the world financial and economic crisis are favorable distinguishing features of Uzbekistan, as compared to other Central Asian countries, and create reliable prerequisites for the development of economic cooperation with Russia. At present there are 843 Russian-Uzbek joint ventures registered in the republic and 385 such enterprises with Uzbek partners are functioning in Russia. The Russian companies “Gazprom,” “Lukoil,” “Soyuzneftgaz,” “Stroitransgaz,” “Volgaburmash,” and others are working on a whole number of projects to develop the infrastructure of the fuel and energy complex, geological prospecting, etc.

After President D. Medvedev’s visit to Uzbekistan in June 2011 prospects for broad military-technical cooperation between the two countries have emerged and a greater participation of Russia in raising the defense potential of Uzbekistan. The possibilities of broader military-technical cooperation between the two countries were examined during a visit to Tashkent of the head of the Federal service on military-technical cooperation of the Russian Federation with other countries M. Dmitriyev. It is to include supplies of modern military equipment, repair and modernization of arms and ammunition, etc.

At present both Moscow and Tashkent demonstrate unity of views on the basic issues connected with regional security and multiform economic cooperation within the framework of the SCO. This concerns, first and foremost, the Afghan problem. The leaders of Russia and Uzbekistan come out for a peaceful solution of the problems

connected with the terrorist and drug-trafficking threats originating in Afghanistan and favor the participation of the leadership of that country in this process.

As the President of Uzbekistan I. Karimov said at the last SCO summit in Astana, “it is only through a compromise between the conflicting sides, the drawing of the Afghan leaders themselves to this process and the social-economic rebirth of Afghanistan with the help of the world community that it would be possible to find a way out of the present impasse.” Suffice it to recall that several years ago President I. Karimov put forward an initiative for setting up a contact “six plus three” group (six neighbors of Afghanistan plus the United States, Russia and NATO) without the participation of the Afghan side. That initiative found no support either in Washington or in Moscow.

As to the economic activity of the SCO, the two parties favor the priority development of transport communications and the infrastructure – the building and modernization of motor roads, railway lines and air transport, as well as the creation of modern logistics centers. In this connection Uzbekistan actively supported the proposal of the People’s Republic of China to organize the SCO development bank, which presupposed the formation of a multilateral mechanism of financing priority socio-economic and infrastructural projects. The President of Uzbekistan includes in them the construction of a transport corridor between Central Asia and the Persian Gulf; an interstate agreement on this was signed in Ashkhabad in January 2011. It should create the shortest land route connecting the SCO area with the ports of the Persian Gulf.

At the same time the relations between Moscow and Tashkent have been aggravated for several years already by certain questions on which the two sides have largely different stands. This resulted in Uzbekistan’s withdrawal from the Eurasian Economic Cooperation

Organization in 2008. One of the reasons for this, according to President I. Karimov, was Uzbekistan's disagreement with the conditions of joining the organization's member-states the Customs Union of Russia, Belarus and Kazakhstan. Besides, Tashkent is dissatisfied with the plans to construct big hydropower plants in Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan with Russian participation, which will cause a great loss of water which is so precious in Central Asia. This is the main reason for Uzbekistan's withdrawal from the Eurasian Economic Cooperation Organization.

In the view of the Russian expert A Kurtov, this step of Uzbekistan has been caused by the fact that the republic failed to reach agreement on and understanding of its position within the framework of the Eurasian Economic Cooperation Organization on the use of the water resources of the region. The expert emphasizes that "Tashkent has repeatedly put forward a proposal to regulate the water problem at various forums. Its position was to refuse from building gigantic hydropower installations on cross-border rivers, including the Amudarya, Syrdarya and their tributaries."

In 2009 Uzbekistan announced its withdrawal from the Unified energy system of Central Asia. This happened after another unsanctioned outtake of electric energy by Tajikistan. The energy system created in Soviet times did not take into account the borders between the neighboring republics. As a result, the energy system of Tajikistan consisted of two parts connected with each other via the electric networks of Uzbekistan. This was why some regions of Uzbekistan were supplied with electricity by the Nurek hydropower plant situated in Tajikistan, while the electricity supplied to individual districts of Tajikistan was generated by Uzbek power plants. This mutual exchange of electric energy proceeded in accordance with contracts signed annually. Such system gave rise to constant complaints

and conflicts between the countries of the region which are unable to this day to find a mutually acceptable solution of the problem of using the energy potential of cross-border rivers. Uzbekistan's appeals to international organizations, the European Union among them, produced no result.

Uzbekistan has many claims on the joint use of hydro resources addressed to its regional neighbors, primarily Tajikistan. For one, Tashkent accused Dushanbe of violating the main principles and regime of work of the joint energy system, including violations of the agreed schedules of interstate transfers of electric energy, which led to big systemic breakdowns, power failures, unsanctioned take-offs of electricity from Uzbekistan, growing debt in payments for electric energy supplied by Tashkent, etc.

As a result, the leaders of Uzbekistan have decided to create the republic's own system of electric power supply independent of the Economic Cooperation Organization and operating on the basis of bilateral agreements with the countries of the region. The new power network ensured supply of electricity to the Ferghana Valley on the border with Kyrgyzstan and Surkhandarya region, and then in other regions of the republic. However, by doing so Uzbekistan has not left the entire energy supply system in Central Asia; it continued to be linked to the energy systems of Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan. It was only the Tajik republic power network that was isolated from the Uzbek system.

In these conditions Moscow's intention to finance the construction of hydropower projects in Tajikistan was received by Tashkent as a threat to national electric power production and supply. It should be noted that Kazakhstan supports Uzbekistan on this matter. Both countries insist on having international expert appraisal of these construction projects from the point of view of their ecological and

anthropogenic security. They also insist on the working out of a mutually acceptable mechanism of the joint use of the water and energy resources of the Central Asian region. This position of Tashkent and Astana is also supported by Turkmenistan, which withdrew from the Economic Cooperation Organization in 2003.

At the last Uzbek-Russian summit meeting the problem of the water resources was in the center of attention. Both parties expressed the need to agree with the neighboring countries and hold international expert appraisal when building hydropower projects on the cross-border rivers of the region. However, we shall see some time later how it will correlate with Russia's promise to help Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan build the Rogun and Kambaratin hydropower plants.

*“Rossiya i noviye gosudarstva Evrazii,”
Moscow, 2011, No 3, pp. 80–85.*

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INFORMATION-NETWORK WARS AND THEIR ROLE IN THE EVENTS IN THE MIDDLE EAST

The beginning of the 21st century was characterized by the emergence of wars of a new type – information wars in which victory is achieved not by the destruction of the armed forces and economy of the enemy, but by the impact on its moral and psychological condition. If we adhere to the classification of wars from the point of view of the change of social formations, then, on the basis of B. Slipchenko's interpretation, we shall have the following list of the generations of wars:

First generation – wars in ancient times in agrarian and nomadic societies;

Second generation – wars at the time of the manufacturing system;

Third generation – wars in early industrial societies;

Fourth generation – wars in developed industrial societies;

Fifth generation – local conflicts and the Cold war in the nuclear epoch;

Sixth generation – non-contact distanced wars with the use of high-precision arms.

We have now entered the epoch of wars of the seventh generation – information-network wars which are a consequence of the following factors:

The development of the means of computing techniques and communications, which has led to the growing role of information in human society's life by the effectiveness of its influence surpassing many types of material resources;

Psychological successes in studying the behavior of people and controlling their motivation which allowed us to exert the necessary influence on big groups of people and reach desired results;

Technological progress in working out non-lethal means to influence people which replaced the traditional types of arms.

The struggle in the information area has been waged in human society at all times, both during wars and in peace, and more often than not in secrecy between states in defense of their interests for political and economic influence, sources of raw materials, for markets, and disputed territories. This struggle is constantly waged not only in the international arena, but also in each state, primarily for power, property and political influence, for the ability to manipulate the sentiments and behavior of big masses of people, etc. Controlling the flows of

information and its access to society it is possible to manage social processes. This is one of the reasons for the bitter struggle of rival groups for control over the means of information and, consequently, for the consciousness and behavior of the country's population.

Traditional war against a state having nuclear weapon in our time is extremely dangerous. It can lead to a catastrophe because the geopolitical resources of any state, such as raw materials, territory, economy and population are visible and vulnerable. The threat of losing them is regarded by a nation as an attempt to undermine the very foundations of its physical survival. Under these circumstances and when such threat is real, a nation is mobilized to rebuff it within a short space of time, and the initiator of war is regarded as the aggressor. This is why modern political strategists strive to transfer aggression from the material space to information one. For this purpose it is necessary to transform the mental sphere of the socio-political system subjected to aggression. At first, the traditional values of people are reoriented or abolished in order to make a given society perceive the information attack as a voluntary desire to move further along the road of progress. In this case outside aggression would be reflected in mass consciousness as the civilizatory transformation of an archaic society by another society, standing at a higher development level.

It should be noted that the technologies of network wars have been well elaborated in the years of the Cold war as forms of the total destruction of a geopolitical enemy. At the turn of this century numerous technologies of hidden destructive impact of a comprehensive character were thoroughly elaborated in western society, which took the form of information-network wars. Thus we could give the following definition of information-network war: it is aimed at undermining and destroying the basic characteristics of a definite nation in all its geopolitical areas and effected predominantly in

a clandestine form. Depending on the concrete tasks and aims of impact on the enemy in a given period of time, one or another sphere of public life can become the priority object of aggression. As an example pertaining to Russia, one can note the destruction of the country's military-industrial complex, reforms in the army, education, the pension system, etc.

The aim of information-network war is the capture of a greater part of the strategically important resources of the hostile country by the geopolitical aggressor. "Transfer" of these resources to the aggressor is made voluntarily, more often than not, by the elite of the victim-country, inasmuch as it perceives it not as a seizure, but as a way to further development. This complicates recognition and identification of the technology and methods of information-network war, as compared to traditional war, and also explains the absence of timely reaction to the actions of the aggressor because the victim has no means to oppose it. In this situation the victim is defenseless and unprepared to give an adequate rebuff to the aggressor. The results of "hot" wars can be, and are, disputed (for example World War I and II), whereas the results of information-network wars are not subject to revision until the actors-aggressors lose their positions in the course of the implementation of the laws of the world geopolitical development.

However, it is not yet clear how these positions will be lost in the future. The point is that the front of information-network war develops in the mental sphere of human society in which the basic values of the nation-victim have already been replaced with the psychological instructions and myths by the aggressor. Mass consciousness is unable to recognize and perceive the implantation of mental viruses. The political and cultural elites which became the object of information-network war, having no proper knowledge and ability to reveal and

define the information aggression and organize an adequate rebuff to the network enemy are doomed to a crushing geopolitical defeat.

Actually, information-network war involves practically all social institutions, primarily, the mass media and religious organizations, cultural institutions, non-governmental organizations and social movements financed from abroad. Even men of science working on foreign grants make their contribution to the destruction of the state. All of them make a “divided attack,” dealing numerous “pin-point” destructive blows at the social system of a country under the slogan of “development of democracy” and “observance of human rights.” Due to modern political technologies and accumulated experience of influencing mass consciousness, even genocide can be carried on without the use of gas chambers and mass shootings. Suffice it to create conditions for curtailing birth rate and increasing mortality.

Another specific feature of information-network wars is the absence of strict hierarchy in the network structure of the aggressor. This can be explained by its heterogeneity expressed in a considerable autonomy of the state and non-state elements of a given structure which has no well-pronounced vertical ties. But there are numerous horizontal ties whose action is not regular. Such absence of hierarchy and regularity of interaction does not allow us to reveal the existence and activity of such network structure.

What is the driving force of such network structures? The source of their energy is information circulating within them, and the owners of the hubs of a given network serve as detonators. An example is provided by the server of the social Facebook and Twitter networks controlled by the U.S. special services.

According to the British newspaper “The Guardian,” propaganda work has been going on in the United States with the use of Facebook, Twitter and other social networks. The managing center of this program

is at the “McDill” Air Force base in Florida serviced by 50 operators each of whom can direct the actions of about ten “agents of influence” registered in various countries of the world and waging information war according to the rules of political technologies aimed at the destruction of states. The cost of this program, according to “The Guardian” is about \$2.76 million. The program envisages for each participant in information war the existence of a convincing legend (life story) and measures to protect him from exposure and denunciation. According to a high-ranking American official from the U.S. army command, any impact on the American audiences is banned by the existing rules. For this Arabic, Urdu, Pushtu, Farsi and other languages are used, depending on the countries which Washington is interested in from the point of view of influence on their social stability.

This is why the revelation and definition of the acts of information war is a task of the special services of each state which takes care of its security. This is all the more important because, due to the undisclosed character of information aggression, it is not perceived by society as a direct threat to the existence of the state. This is why the task of the expert community and special services is to ascertain these threats for a country’s leadership who should take appropriate measures to combat it. An illustration of this is the example cited by N. Komleva in her work devoted to the investigation of the terrorist act of September 11, 2001, carried out by the U.S. Congress in January 2002. It showed that key figures in the American administration displayed inactivity and negligence after the U.S. intelligence agencies reported the existence of a terrorist threat and even determined the time of the act itself. But the U.S. President and his national security adviser did not regard this information important and reliable enough.

As to the sphere of the information-network confrontation, it engulfs the following areas:

Geographic – establishment of control over territory by global (including cosmic) information and intelligence system, encouragement of separatist movements and terrorist activity in various forms on the enemy territory, drawing of the enemy in small conflicts, as well as organization of acts of discontent of popular masses and “color” revolutions;

Economic – forcing the enemy to accept credits on enslaving terms, introducing embargo, organizing economic sanctions and provocations;

Ideological – using slander, distorted information, false ideas, introducing mental viruses and myths in the consciousness of the enemy population;

Network – organizing hacker attacks and introducing various computer viruses in computer and communication systems and data bases of the enemy.

No matter what the ultimate aim of information-network war would be, the primary task is always to render people’s access to trustworthy information more difficult. This aspect is important because the timeliness and quality of the adopted decisions at all levels directly depend on the amount and authenticity of submitted information. The methods used by the parties to information war are as follows:

Concealing important information about the state of affairs in a given sphere;

Hiding important information in the mass of the so-called information garbage;

Changing ideas or distorting their meaning;

Distracting attention from crucial events;

Using superficial ideas popular among rank-and-file citizens, but devoid of real significance;

Disseminating negative information which is more easily perceived by audiences than serious and trustworthy one;

Referring to factors which have no real meaning, and also to incorrect sociological and marketing data;

Banning certain types of information and news with a view to barring wide discussions of crucial subjects;

Using outright lies with a view to preventing negative reaction of the population and foreign public;

Using “information bombs” and “information mines” to influence public opinion; example of such “bombs” and “mines” was leakage of information from official state bodies on the “Wikileaks” sites.

A typical example of using the technology of information-network war is provided by the popular uprisings in Middle Eastern countries. In the case of Tunisia and Egypt these technologies were not fully used, whereas the developments in Libya were the “dress rehearsal” of a war of the seventh generation. The Libyan “revolution” was presented by the world mass media as a “copy without the original,” without any connection with the real state of affairs, but in strict accordance with the scenario written by western political strategists.

Provoked to “revolutionary actions” by information attacks from the Facebook and Twitter, Arab societies set to motion a real revolutionary tsunami in the Middle East. The explosion on the “Arab Street” has shown that social networks have served as a kind of “detonator” in the troubled atmosphere of the Middle East. Practically in all countries involved in the whirlwind of events, the revolutionary “flash-mob” was duly prepared by disseminating information about meetings and acts of protests through social networks, electronic mail and mobile phones. One should take into account that the guiding

servers of the global electronic networks Facebook, Twitter, Hotmail, Yahoo and Gmail are in the United States under control of its special services which have access to all information. This makes it possible to send specially selected information to the “necessary customers,” that is, the agents of influence in the Arab countries of the Middle East who gather the critical mass of people at proper places using TV, radio, telephone, and all other means of communication.

People in the “Arab Street,” a majority of whom know nothing about the Internet and social networks and often do not have computers or mobile phones, are ready to smash shop-windows, burn cars and throw stones at the police because they saw and felt an opportunity to even up with the powers that be on the poverty to which the latter doomed them. The security services subjected to information intrusion proved powerless to oppose violence in a new form of the protest movement, which assumed an avalanche character. It was not possible to predict the beginning of street disorders and thwart the activity of the sources of instigating information; switching off the Internet and mobile communication lines gave no results.

World political prognostication proved powerless, too. The developments in the Middle East have shown the bankruptcy of modern futurology. The reason for this was reliance on classical determinism of the development of historical processes and the linear approximation of social trends. However, the growing complexity and dynamism of modern societies, the emergence of numerous vague ties between social structures and the greater role of the subjects of the social process have led to the triumph of chaos on the streets and squares of Arab cities.

The dynamism of the modern world is so great that while analysts are engaged in studying the situation and elaborating prognoses, the very object of investigation changes its structure and development vector. Life poses many tasks to political analysts. They

should reveal tendencies threatening social stability. Other experts face the task to determine ways and time for the “opening” of a given social system with a view to destroying or deforming it. An example of this was Gorbachev’s policy of *glasnost* (openness), which opened channels for undermining the foundations of Soviet society, which disarmed people ideologically and led to a geopolitical catastrophe, that is, the disintegration of the U.S.S.R. Another example was the self-immolation of Buazizi in Tunis which served as the Bickford fuse exploding the Middle East.

This is why it should be remembered that the modern world is explosive-prone and full of people with an inadequate state of mind and a wrongly motivated inner world. These are the “young lumpens,” as they are called by sociologists, a declassed mass of people with vague social roots and without clear cut ethical standards and political orientation. The activity of such elements in society in everyday life spreads from usual commercial fever to speculations on share and currency markets. In the developing revolutionary situation they display the growing anti-systemic protest sentiments. The latter are based on unrealized ambitions, just as was the case of Buazizi, a young man with a higher education, who was unable to realize his ambitions and had to sell vegetables. These people, who are always looking for a place in life, become puppets under the influence of social networks, sentiments of street crowds, or ideology of radical movements. And since such people have no proper moral values it is hard to imagine what motives may prevail in their mind.

This lends an enigmatic and mystical character to modern science of prognostication, which can be used by certain analysts in order to raise their image.

The mass media and information in social networks poison still more the general atmosphere of mass psychosis. Direct actuality

recordings, shots taken by mobile phones, news about numerous casualties and victims of the government troops, false sensational reports and widespread pictures, etc. greatly contribute to tension. However, at close look one can see that it is simply a virtual war being waged in the mass media, which has been fanned by governments and special services of certain states in order to secure and bolster up the introduction of sanctions by the UN Security Council.

Tunisia and Egypt were the first tests of the overseas stage directors of this pseudo-revolutionary performance, whereas Libya was the first real military operation in the world information-network war of the West against regimes which were not to their liking. Washington has been using all means and methods of the radical redivision of the world with a view to replacing the leaders in the countries of strategic interest to the United States (in the Balkans, Afghanistan and Iraq), whereas now the West is trying to bring to power in Middle Eastern countries leaders of the new generation to rule the roost, instead of those who have received education in the U.S.S.R. In other words, technocratic persons of western training and mentality who will strengthen the positions of the United States and at the same time oust China, the European Union and Russia from the entire Middle Eastern region. This is an example of the attempt to realize the information-network strategy of “directed chaos,” which proved to be a new means to preserve American global leadership with minimal financial expenditures, not counting the cost of moving U.S. aircraft carriers to the shores of Libya and the losses of the world economy from higher oil prices.

*“Informatsionniye voyny”,
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