

**Boris Zazhigaev,**

*Ph.D. (Political Science), professor, head of the Chair of International Relations and Foreign Policy, pro-rector of Kiev International University (Kiev, Ukraine)*

## **UKRAINE ON THE CROSSROADS OF THE GLOBAL POLICY**

### **Part 2**

#### **“OUTSKIRTS” OF CIVILIZATION IN THE CETER OF EUROPE OR “SUICIDAL PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION”**

Russia in the modern global world feels particular difficulties in identification of its state status. It is a result of irreversible universalization of the state and as a consequence – formed conservative-routine way of political process implementation. Influence of Russia on global policy was described by the President of RF Dmitri Medvedev on guest meeting of Munich conference in Moscow in October 2010: “Russia is often being apprehended as a state where democracy can never exist and the leadership is inclined to authoritarian principles and does not want to develop jointly with the rest of the world”.<sup>1</sup> Practically D. Medvedev confirms the continuity of policy of the last century described by an outstanding Russian philosopher S.L. Franko: «For the first time after XVII century “Asian despotism” was implanted in Russia and that was done by Soviet government; it differs from Asian archaic despotisms only because due to technical development it was able to become real totalitarian despotism. Its ancient prototypes were not and were not able to be such».<sup>2</sup>

In this context a long common history puts its imprint on foreign policy of its close neighbor – Ukraine, which conducts its policy looking back at Russia. In his interview to The Wall Street Journal on 22<sup>nd</sup> of September 2010 Yanukovich underlined that Russia does not mind the membership of Ukraine in the EU<sup>3</sup>. But Russia minds accession of Ukraine to NATO. Head of the Department of European cooperation of the MFA of RF Mr. Sergey Ryabkov said: «Membership plan (*auth. In NATO for Ukraine*) – it’s the point of no return... We observe as the USA pulls Ukraine and Georgia in NATO. And we strongly object it»<sup>4</sup>.

Ukrainian drive for accession to the North Atlantic Alliance was secured in legislature as early as in 2003 while Mr. L.Kuchma’s presidency. The Law of Ukraine No 2411-VI (2411-17) dated 01.07.2010, BBP, 2010, N 40, Art.527. has

---

<sup>1</sup> Chinkova Elena The West inspired by “Munich speech” of the Russian President. Komsomolskaya pravda 22 Oct 2010. – [E-resource]. – <http://blog.kp.ru/users/3436585/post138332510/>

<sup>2</sup> Frank S. Soviet imperialism / S.L. Frank; [Unread...]. – M. : Moscow school of political research, 2001. P. 321.

<sup>3</sup> Yanukovich: Ukraine steadily moves towards Eurointegration [E-resource] // Korrespondent. – <http://korrespondent.net/ukraine/politics/1118963>

<sup>4</sup> Ryabkov S. MFA RF: Russia is against accession of Ukraine and Georgia into NATO. «Novaya politika». Inbternet-edition. – [E-resource]. – <http://www.novopol.ru/text40745.html>

modified Articles 6 and 8 of the Law of Ukraine «On foundations of national security of Ukraine», it has extracted provisions of the Article 8 stating that the main foreign policy's objective of Ukraine is: «accession to the EU and NATO», and from the Article 6, that the priorities of national interests of Ukraine are «integration of Ukraine into the European political, economical and law area and Euro-Atlantic security area...»<sup>5</sup>.

Ph.D. in political sciences, Professor Vladimir Pastukhov believes that: «Russia and Ukraine due to natural reasons have created peculiar political «ecosystem». All what happens in one pole of this system immediately leads to certain changes in the other pole of the system»<sup>6</sup>.

Russia and Ukraine are the fragments of single agonizing soviet empire – according to A.Toynbee these are universal states emerging «after, not before the crack of civilizations. Its not the summer of the society, it is its Indian summer – last outburst of warmth before the dampness of Autumn and Winter's cold ».<sup>7</sup>

As early as in the middle of 90-ies Z. Bzhezinski in one of his interviews said: “Russia is not a partner now. It is a client... Russia is a defeated state. After 70 years of communism it had lost titanic fight... Nourishing the illusion of Russia-great-power won't help. It is required to beat off the inclination to such a mindset... Russia now is a poor, primitive state. Outside several cities Russia is like India”. Z. Bzhezinski believed that it would take 10-20 years for Russia to dump off its “imperial” coat. And the main condition for that is not to allow neo-imperialism – a reintegration of post-soviet republics.<sup>8</sup>

In 1994 leading Russian scientists Abalkin L., Assekritov S., Bakatin V., FateevS., Shatalin S. have supported an opinion of S.Glaziev and expressed their concern: “... Russia enters a new phase of crisis which is characterized by irreversibility of destructive processes”. Even at that time they were talking about “catastrophic destruction of material production sphere”, “about urging signs of by nearest industrial degradation”. Even at that time they warned that “time limit was almost exhausted and to prevent the most frightening forecasts Russia shall immediately employ effective measures to avoid the catastrophe”.<sup>9</sup>

In this view it would be interesting to look at the monitoring conclusions of the R&D institute of social systems of the M.V. Lomonosov Moscow State University called “Russia in the new geopolitical situation”: “It occurs that all the creative forces shall be thrown to develop new geopolitical doctrine, otherwise Russia would leave the historical stage as an independent and sovereign state.

---

<sup>5</sup> Bulletin of the Supreme Council of Ukraine, 2003, N 39, Art. 351, With amends made by the Law N 2411-VI (2411-17) dated 01.07.2010, BBP, 2010, N 40, Art.527). – [E-resource]. – <http://zakon.rada.gov.ua/cgi-bin/laws/main.cgi?nreg=964-15>

<sup>6</sup> Pastukhov V.B. Ukrainian revolution and Russian counterrevolution / V.B. Pastukhov // Russia in the global politics. – 2010. – № 5. – P. 7–16.

<sup>7</sup> Toynbee A. J. A Study of History / [transl. from Eng.] – M. : Progress, 1991. – P. 497.

<sup>8</sup> Bzhezinski Z. Premature partnership / Z. Bzhezinski // POLIS (Political reserach). – 1994. – № 1. – P. 58–67.

<sup>9</sup> Abalkin L., Assekritov S., Bakatin V., Fateev S., Shatalin S. To call things its own names // Nezavisimaya gazeta. – 1994, 30 Aug.

Conclusion: We observe gigantic geopolitical changes which Russian leadership is not able to adequately kick back”.<sup>10</sup>

Russian scientist, Ph.D. in political sciences V.B. Pastukhov in October 2010 also came to the conclusion that the process of degradation and fragmentation of the state continues both in Ukraine and in Russia: “With no dependence on the events in Ukraine in 2003-2004 a deep fracture of Russia’s internal policy has shown up”.<sup>11</sup>

The speed with which Russia falls apart can be illustrated by tough statement of Mr. Sergey Brin, one of the GOOGLE founders, in 2002 in the interview to the Californian magazine Red Herring Mr. Sergey Brin named Russia “snowy Nigeria”, thus he was hinting at the level of corruption.

At present the statement of Mr. Sergey Brin on “snowy Nigeria” is out-of-date. Russia appeared to be more corrupted state than that African one. According to the autumn report of 2009 prepared by Transparency International RF is on 146 place out of 180. Its neighbors are – Ukraine, Sierra-Leone, Kenya, Ecuador and Cameroon. Modern Nigeria is several steps higher along with Bangladesh, Uganda and Byelorussia”.<sup>12</sup>

One could find very interesting an assessment of the condition of Russian housing area made by the President of Russia Mr. Dmitriy Medvedev: “If to keep doing nothing, after 5–7 years we’ll have a disaster”. According to the statistics, today more than 4.5 million citizens of Russia are living in ramshackle or emergency state dwellings and apparently this number is understated. Tear and wear rate of housing in the country comes up to 60%.<sup>13</sup>

Negative processes are increasing in the economics of the biggest and most developed republics of the former USSR. According to the State statistics committee the GDP of Ukraine by the end of 2008 was at the rate of 74.1% from the level of 1990 of Ukrainian SSR.<sup>14</sup> The process of breakdown of the economy is being prolonged in 2009 when GDP of the country was reduced by 15.1% compared to the level of 2008.<sup>15</sup>

---

<sup>10</sup> Russia in the new geopolitical situation. R&D institute of the social systems of the MSU of M.V. Lomonosov, Russia: monitoring, analysis, prognosis. Second half of the year 1994. – №2. [E-resource]. – [http://niiss.ru/rus1994\\_2\\_3.shtml](http://niiss.ru/rus1994_2_3.shtml)

<sup>11</sup> Pastukhov V.B. Ukrainian revolution and Russian counterrevolution / V.B. Pastukhov // Russia in the global politics. – 2010. – № 5. – P. 7–16.

<sup>12</sup> Dmitri Medvedev got upset with Sergey Brin for «snowy Nigeria». – [E-resource]. – <http://www.executive.ru/community/life/1324585/>

<sup>13</sup> Housing: it is dangerous to keep mismanagement in consumption of energy resources. Meeting of the presidium of the State council in Syktyvkar under chairmanship of the President of Russia Dmitri Medvedev. 23 November 2010. – [E-resource]. – <http://www.kremlin.ru/news/9596>

<sup>14</sup> Panfilova Tamara, senior scientific fellow of the institute of world economy and international relations of the National academy of sciences of Ukraine (Kiev, Ukraine) / Tamara Panfilova// Analytical yearbook 2008. Central Asia and Caucasus. – [E-resource]. – Access: <http://www.cac.org/annual/2008/00.shtml>

<sup>15</sup> The last year’s GDP of Ukraine collapsed by 15,1 %. – [E-resource]. – Access: <http://ua.for-ua.com/ukraine/2010/03/31/175131.html>

Under the presidency of Mr. Viktor Yanukovich only for September 2010 the level of unemployment in the country has increased by 2.46%. “According to the State employment service the quantity of officially registered unemployed in Ukraine rose only in September 2010 by 10.5 thousands, till 426.6 thousand”.<sup>16</sup>

Destinies of universal states are really ironic. These creatures – last fruits of the work of dominant minorities (pseudo-elites) in decaying societies, and these dominant minorities are far from the idea of self-denial which apparently is the only and non-changeable condition which enables their fruits to cultivate. Conscious aim of any ruling minority always comes to attempts to save one’s own role in society with which it is tightened by an inseparable thread. Universal state is a self-protection shield of pseudo-elites. This intention, however, is never being implemented. It does not matter how long the life of the universal state would be, it represents itself as the last phase of the society before its disappearance and the mirage of immortality emerges as a result of misperception of universal state as the objective of any human existence. Even if the dominant minority manages through self-denial to acquire a new opportunity to take part in a creative, it comes to this phase contrary to itself.

Pseudo-elites of Ukraine and Russia are components of the single soviet ruling minority – supranational political faction. This is the category of privileged formally and informally ruling class of totalitarian soviet state: from the top functional bodies, academic scientific circles, creative intelligentsia, special services officials to the different criminal strata. Italian sociologist and political economist Mr. Vilfredo Pareto called this class – a label. “Wealth, relatives, relations play the role also in many other cases and make it possible to get a label of belonging to elite in whole or to ruling elite including to those who were not supposed to have it”.<sup>17</sup>

This class is concealed to the stranger. Modern situation in Ukraine and Russia is analogical to the situation of the time when Roman Empire collapsed. “There are numbers of examples of concealed from the law point of view castes into which sometimes inflows happen and often plentiful enough. On the other side why to have this caste open from the law’s point of view if in reality the conditions of entering it are absent? If anyone who gets wealthy enters ruling class there where no one gets wealthier than it equals to the hard obstacles which a law would place before access to it. Such phenomenon was observed at the end of the existence of Roman Empire: one who became wealthy entered the group of curialis<sup>18</sup>, but only few were able to become wealthy”.<sup>19</sup>

---

<sup>16</sup> Nepriakhina N. Unemployment starts to increase. – [E-resource]. – Access: <http://news.mail.ru/inworld/ukraine/economics/4586276/>

<sup>17</sup> Pareto Vilfredo. Compendium on general sociology. Antology of world political thought. Foreign political thought. XX ct. / Vilfredo Pareto. – M. : Mysl’. 5-volumes. V. 2. – P. 62.

<sup>18</sup> Curialis – highest estate in the cities of Roman Empire composing city council.

<sup>19</sup> Pareto Vilfredo. Compendium on general sociology. Antology of world political thought. Foreign political thought. XX ct. / Vilfredo Pareto. – M. : Mysl’. 5-volumes. V. 2. – P. 62.

Piterim Sorokin wrote on this: “Degenerating ruling class was persistently refusing “talented people of natural gifts” to participate”.<sup>20</sup>

In the new post-soviet conditions this is the single (*top bureaucracy of the USSR*) in its shape and content class of “curialis”. Its peculiarities are:

- single in its shape and content political pseudo-elite (*party, comsomol and trade unions’ top bureaucracy, formal and informal communities of special services and criminals*), which still preserves now control over management in its hands;
- cynicism as an ideology of the ruling class evolving into ideology of militant populism;
- violence – as a tool for conducting policy, privatized with the state into private property;
- interdependent economy with an application of economical selfish claims (*interests*) of top bureaucracy on liberal-democratic states;
- internationalization of selfish interests of pseudo-elites and displacement of state-making ethnic groups to the level of internal deportation;<sup>21</sup>
- common long history, for Ukraine – colonial in its form;
- common criminal-police, oligarchic form of governance, evolution of which is slightly delayed in Russia.

Civilization influence of Russia on Ukraine is undoubtedly huge and multifaceted. This pressure, undoubtedly, would strengthen in the nearest future. Henry Kissinger does not rule out a danger of revival of historical imperial claims of Russia.<sup>22</sup>

Within the new post-imperial conditions it has acquired radical character and is being seriously scrutinized by Russian expert circles and mass media as a “dooms day” scenario in Ukraine-Russia relations.<sup>23</sup>

On the opinion of Thomas Remington, Professor of the Emory University (USA), specialist on problems of Russian policy and Russian parliamentarianism, the foundation of V. Putin’s ruling is a wish to revivify “quasi-Soviet Union” and “neo-patrimonial” control over Russian economy and society. Remington asserts that Putin is ready to support the integration of Russia into the world economy but not political. He gives an example of political crisis in Ukraine in 2004 which had

---

<sup>20</sup> Sorokin P. A. Human. Civilization. Society / P.A. Sorokin; [Translated from English]. – M. : Politizdat, 1992. – P. 292.

<sup>21</sup> Zazhigaev Boris One of the limitrophe territories of the global world (Pt. 2): (transformation of the states of the Baltic-Black Sea region in the 21st century) / Boris Zazhigaev / [In: Central Asia and the Caucasus (Lulea)]. – (2009) 6/60, P. 120–129.

<sup>22</sup> Kissinger H. Diplomacy / H. Kissinger; [Transl from English V.V. Lvov]. – M. : Ladomir, 1997. – P. 745.

<sup>23</sup> Annual prognosis «Russia and the world: 2010», prepared by IMEMO RAN and FTTP in cooperation with CCI RF. P. 141. – [E-resource]. – Access: [http://www.globalaffairs.ru/event/n\\_14653](http://www.globalaffairs.ru/event/n_14653)

shown that “the gap between Russian and Western values is huge” and that “under Putin it has deepened”.<sup>24</sup>

Foreign policy of Ukraine resembles dashing from side to side. From EU to NATO, Russia and CIS, and then vice versa, depending on economic interests of neo-bureaucratic oligarchy. No clear concepts of possible scenarios of the development of international relations, vision of a place and role of Ukraine in the global system of geopolitical coordinates and in Ukrainian scientific society.

Along with that it is clear that Ukraine’s foreign policy vector to a considerable degree depends on what place would be allocated to Ukraine in the scenarios of the development of Russia’s foreign policy in the rapidly changing global world.

Political leaders of Russia and Russian experts believe that “no one from the influential political powers in Ukraine does determine Russian vector as an absolute dominant. At the same time all political powers show their inclination for agreements and are guided by pragmatic interests, the main among which is to keep the power”.<sup>25</sup>

In this context it is interesting to read conclusions and general perception of the internal political processes in Ukraine by Professor Vladimir Pastukhov. “Strikingly, but in terms of degradation Ukraine was far ahead of Russia. Kuchma’s administration was “ruling” but not “governing”. Real power was in the hands of “generals-oligarchs” and “bureaucrats-tycoons” who had been determining the political course of the country. Kuchma himself was not more than “the first among equal” in this line. He was not leading this community to a certain extent as he was forced to represent its interests”.<sup>26</sup>

Dr. V.Pastukhov believes, that a degradation of ruling regimes takes place in Ukraine and Russia. It corresponds to the conclusions of A. Toynbee: “An observer who can judge from aside is able to see clearly that universal state is in the state of agony”.<sup>27</sup> One could agree on the difference in the speed of the process of collapse. But I would not assert that Ukraine always took the lead over Russia in the degradation pace. The speed of degradation always was dependant on the level of threat to the pseudo-elite as “universal state is a product of prevailing minorities (auth. bureaucracy trying to keep its power stands in the society), that is of those social groups which previously had creative power but later lost it “... end of universal state certify that these authorities are obsessed with desire to live”.<sup>28</sup>

Many leading specialists, for example S. Koen assessed the euphoria over the collapse of the USSR as a non adequate reaction; in truth, soviet system continues

---

<sup>24</sup> Remington Thomas F. Politics in Russia / Thomas F. Remington; [4th Edition]. – Pearson, Longman. – 2006. – P. 266.

<sup>25</sup> Annual prognosis «Russia and the world: 2010», prepared by IMEMO RAN and FTTP in cooperation with CCI RF.– [E-resource]. – Access: [http://www.globalaffairs.ru/event/n\\_14653](http://www.globalaffairs.ru/event/n_14653). P. 745.

<sup>26</sup> Pastukhov V.B. Ukrainian revolution and Russian counterrevolution / V.B. Pastukhov // Russia in the global politics. – 2010. – № 5. – P.. 7–16.

<sup>27</sup> Toynbee A. J. A Study of History / [transl. from Eng.] – M. : Airis Press, 2006. – P.. 499.

<sup>28</sup> Toynbee A. J. A Study of History / [transl. from Eng.] – M. : Airis Press, 2006. – P.. 499.

its existence in the form of state economy, bureaucracy and political elite. A change of Russian reality, at its best is “an embryo of alternative existence within the frame of old soviet system”.<sup>29</sup>

Modern Ukraine and Russia are universal states and what lies in the foundation of the fight between national pseudo-elites of these states is “patrimonial” type of control over economy and society.

“Neo-patrimonial” essence of post-soviet and first of all Russian regime is widely examined in the works of the director of the center on Russia and Eastern Europe studies, professor of political science in the University of Virginia Allen Lynch. For him neo-patrimonial system the way it is in Russia is:

- regular elections, alternative of which is heavily restricted by the administrative resources;
- system of accountability of the head of state – institutional and social – inefficient;
- prevalence in the system of state government of the administration of the President in which the main state posts are occupied by the people from special services and army;
- on the regional level the state governance is conducted with the help of out-of-constitutional procedures of reconciliation of interests between presidential administration and heads of federal states who in their majority are subject to lesser accountability than the head of state;
- decisions related to the big projects in the private business, for example merging with foreign companies are coordinated with the President and the Parliament especially when it is concerned with energy sector”.<sup>30</sup>

Peculiarity of political systems of Russia and Ukraine is that democratic procedures have mainly formal character, political processes are formed from “top to bottom”, effective protection in the form of public control over the authorities called to oppose corruption and “privatization” of the power in the interests of separate social groups is absent.

What kind of place can be allocated to Ukraine in the global world in Russian scenarios of Russia’s development on the assumption of concepts of Russian political and scientific establishment?

On 26<sup>th</sup> of September 2008 a V convent of the RAIR (Russian association of international researchers) took place with the main topic “Global policy: outlook from the future”. Chairperson of the program committee, vice-chancellor on science of Moscow state institute of international relations of the MFA of RF professor Andrey Melvil has set forth the results of complex research in which researchers from Institute and specialists from Russian academy of sciences and

---

<sup>29</sup> Kohen S. American policy and Russia’s future / S. Kohen // Nation. – 1993. – V. 256. – N 13. – P. 468–476.

<sup>30</sup> Lynch Allen How Russia is not Ruled. Reflections on Russian Political Development / Allen Lynch. – Cambridge University Press, 2005. – P. 243.

Moscow and regional universities took part. Four alternatives of the future of Russia considering the influence of external forces, factors and tendencies were laid down.

- First scenario – “Kremlin gambit”. In accordance with it the world of 2020 preserves economical growth, diversity of political and economic ways growth as well. Considerable conflict potential remains, but in general the situation is able to be controlled. Russia appears as an independent power center. The basis of Russian influence on the international field is export of energy resources and arms, modernization of the army and pragmatic diplomacy. In the relations state-business, state prevails. Internal policy is determined by the executive bodies. The society is satisfied with economic and welfare growth, and interest in the policy is minimal. “Gambit” in chess language is when for the sake of leading in the game one sacrifice pawn or any other chess piece, thus giving less for more. In this case less is restriction of political and economic competition of the country for great strategic aim – modernization of Russia. Hypertrophied logic of the plans of the current government.
- Second scenario – “Fortress of Russia”. Situation in the world of 2020 is very unstable and intense. International law and international organizations are deeply weakened. Force in international relations became decisive. Russia practically found itself in a hostile environment, along its borders there is another reality of smoldering potential of armed conflicts. The USA and EU have decided that Russia is lost. “This is what we have written with colleagues to this scenario in April: “Ukraine and Georgia entered NATO, other Russian neighbors are next in turn. American anti-missile defense system set up at its border. Russia recognized independence of Abkhazia and South Ossetia. Other conflicts blaze in the world”, - read Andrey Melvil. The state has to mobilize all resources to repulse external challenges and threats. Russia is balancing between world power centers rising high like a tower over dangerous ocean of chaos. All negative accumulated, but during 30<sup>ies</sup> this scenario worked.
- Third scenario – “Russian mosaic”. By 2020 Western model globalization is being developed. Even new giants – Brazil, SAR, South Korea, Indonesia, Turkey, and Thailand – follow West formats. World economy grows strongly. International organizations and institutions (from WTO to PACE and OSCE) determined the rules of the game in the world. Russia plays under the rules which it had to accept. It is integrated into the international institutes and became a member of western society but not always on beneficial conditions for itself. But on the other hand Russia became an open country. It enjoys large investments and credits, welfare growth. Simultaneously a flow of capital, brain drain and acquisition of sovereignty of Russian regions takes place. State does not prevail anymore. Corruption and profit gap growth. Russia becomes more mosaic and decentralized. It completely suits the outside world but this also suits most active and successful people and regions for which new opportunities have been



opened. “Practically return to the 90ies”. Inability of elites to respond to the soft pressure from without.

- Fourth scenario “New dream”. According Melville it is “possibly the most ironic scenario”. In 2020 a stable growth of world economy is supported first of all by high technologies. After a successful UN reform international law has strengthened. Power factors in international relations are not decisive. International police forces under UN control the most perilous conflicts: in the Middle East, Central Asia, and Transcaucasia etc. Russia is a full member of world community. UN but not NATO determines the rules of the game in the world. Conflicts along Russian borders are more or less settled but influence on post-soviet space Russia has to share with other players. Country finally has got a chance to concentrate on internal modernization. Decrease in oil prices makes Russia find intensive ways of development, to increase productivity of labor. Law became a rule of life instead of dictatorship. One has to pay all taxes but excessive bureaucratic obstacles for entrepreneurship are eliminated. For the first time in the history Russia has got influential middle class. New generation of Russia is interested in open political and economic competition – its new dream which gradually becomes a reality.

According to A. Melville study of public opinion through focus of expert groups has shown unanimity in most possible scenarios. The most possible scenario according to experts is “Kremlin gambit” (prevails) and “Russian mosaic” (high level of probability). “New dream” – not real.

One shall agree with A. Melville: “No one from the alternative scenarios, of course, cannot be realized in its original form”.<sup>31</sup> After two years in 2010 it is clear that Russia is implementing “Kremlin gambit” – according to the words of A. Melville “Exaggerated logic of plans of current power”.<sup>32</sup> It is obvious now that this model due to elite, mental, civilization and ideological reasons cannot be realized. President of Russia in the article “Russia, forth!” describes a condition of modern Russia in the following way: “So, ineffective economy, half-soviet social sphere, still weak democracy, negative demographic tendencies, unstable Caucasus. These are really huge problems even for such a state as Russia... All social systems are functioning. But that is not enough. Because they just reproduce the current model but not develop it. They don’t change the way of life. They preserve harmful habits... Is it Russia’s own tomorrow if it’s overloaded with such burdens?”<sup>33</sup>

---

<sup>31</sup> Melvil A. Statement at plenary meeting of V convent of RAMI “Global policy: insight from the future”. – [E-resource]. – Access: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?gl=RU&hl=ru&v=A9-UylZTes8>

<sup>32</sup> Melvil A. Statement at plenary meeting of V convent of RAMI “Global policy: insight from the future”. – [E-resource]. – Access: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?gl=RU&hl=ru&v=A9-UylZTes8>

<sup>33</sup> Medvedev D.A. «Russia, forward!». – [E-resource]. – Access: <http://www.kremlin.ru/transcripts/5413>

Political process in modern Russia is a hybrid of two scenarios – “Kremlin gambit” and “Russian fortress”. Russia unintentionally creates political split-system from “exaggerated logic of plans of the current power” with a regime, where “all negative is accumulated, but during 30-ies this scenario worked” – according to A. Melville.<sup>34</sup>

As a result and militant civilization revives in Russia. This civilization is convinced in its infallibility which unintentionally reproduces the same barbarianism and evil with what it struggles. Consequently “alien global state... becomes less popular; its subjects are insulted by its actions, completely alien to them”. Toynbee concludes that “fall which overtook a number of civilizations in the past...always resembled a suicide”.<sup>35</sup>

Political processes in Russia as well as in Ukraine are not democratic transformations it is a process of advancing fall of communist empire. They could be described by an impressive formulation of Toynbee as “suicidal state governance”.<sup>36</sup> N. Machiavelli qualifies such regimes as corrupted states.<sup>37</sup>

At modern stage Russia has a regime “which some call post-democracy, i.e. regime is not particularly authoritarian, but citizens are not interested in politics within such a democracy, citizens don’t vote anymore, don’t expect mass media to be too critical, thus they become politically passive”.<sup>38</sup> “This suicidal movement towards self-destruction is only a historical illustration of the truths: “Punishment for sin - death”. Nevertheless the criteria of fall of civilization shall be sought not here. Key to understanding is found in split and disagreement proceeding from the depth of social body, for as we have already shown the main criteria and fundamental reason of breakdown of civilizations – internal explosion through which the society loses its quality of self-determination”.<sup>39</sup>

A similar process can be observed in Russia and Ukraine. In this context the frank conclusions of Doris Nesbit (Director of the Institute of China, Professor of Nankeen and Yunnan Universities (Austria): “When we are talking to Chinese we see a real fire, a real interest in the future. They keep on asking: “What can I do personally? How can I change my life? How can I make my dreams come true”. When we took part in a conference in Skolkovo we saw that there is the same love to Russia in Russians, but lack of passion, lack of fire. ... there is a passion and a faith in the future in China. If you allow let’s compare, you and Mr. Surkov are very energetic young men as compared with some, excuse me Mr. Yui, for

---

<sup>34</sup> Melvil A. Statement at plenary meeting of V convent of RAMI “Global policy: insight from the future”. – [E-resource]. – Access: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?gl=RU&hl=ru&v=A9-UylZTes8>

<sup>35</sup> Toynbee A. J. A Study of History / Cit. Z. Bzhezinski The last sovereign at the crossroads // Russian in the global politics. – 2006. – № 1. – P. 30-31.

<sup>36</sup> Toynbee A. J. A Study of History / Cit. Z. Bzhezinski The last sovereign at the crossroads // Russian in the global politics. – 2006. – № 1. – P. 30-31.

<sup>37</sup> Machiavelli N. Discourse on first decade of Titus Livius / N. Machiavelli. – M. : Mysl’, 1996. – P. 155-157.

<sup>38</sup> Medvedev D.A. «Russia, forward!». – [E-resource]. – Access: <http://www.kremlin.ru/transcripts/5413>

<sup>39</sup> Toynbee A. J. A Study of History / [transl. from Eng.] – M. : Airis Press, 2006. – P. 347

example some stiff Chinese politicians. But they were able to light the hearts of Chinese youth. How can you light this fire? And of course a direct connection with you is a part of the process. But here is the main difference - in China we see a passion, a fire with regard to the future”.<sup>40</sup>

The basis of motion towards the collapse of post-soviet states like Russia and Ukraine is a conflict between pseudo-elites parasitizing on public values, having lost reality from excessive wealth, power and immunity from jurisdiction and civil society of post-soviet states led to the level of biopolicy by the means of terror from the side of nomenclature and criminalized internal bodies of special services. B.N. Chicherin paid attention to the fact that “ability to be convinced by the wise arguments is a rare gift of nature, requiring a high level of mind and character development. People are usually being convinced with what they want to be, i.e. with what flatters their inclinations or interests”.<sup>41</sup> Populism is directed on the manipulation of people for creation of mass support. A famous American observer professor Daniel Larison believes that: “Russia is a populist authoritarian state”.<sup>42</sup>

The ideology of cynicism will definitely be ousted from the public consciousness of Ukraine under the pressure of totalitarian tendencies in a state governance and it will be changed by the modern elite populist ideology which can be observed in a modern Russia. Walter Russell Mid, a senior research officer of the Council on international relations (the USA) believes that: “An obvious victory of Viktor Yanukovich during Ukrainian presidential elections is one more step back from the idea that the world is rapidly becoming more democratic”.<sup>43</sup>

According to the opinion of the Russian academy of sciences’ professor V.Horos more elite avant-garde character of modern populism is related not only to the considerable passiveness of general masses in the developing countries but with the presence of visible technocratic tendencies in the leadership of young countries, more bright modernization and industrialization pursuit which is typical for the modern petty bourgeois democracy.<sup>44</sup>

The process of collapse of the soviet civilization will continue in future and will subsequently determine the place of Ukraine in the system of international relations. Elite ideology of populism will deepen the process of collapse even more by transferring the state from a criminal oligarchy to a terrorist state and not only inside its own territory but in international relations as well, which is determined

---

<sup>40</sup> World political forum in Yaroslavl. Meeting of Dmitri Medvedev with the leading Russian and foreign political scientists. Doris Nesbitt (Director of the institute of China, Professor of the Universities Nankai and Yunnan (Austria). 10 Sept 2010. – [E-resource]. – Access: <http://www.kremlin.ru/news/8882>

<sup>41</sup> Chicherin B.N. Property and the State // B.N.Chicherin; [Selected works]. – SpB. : RHGI publishers, 1997. – P. 357.

<sup>42</sup> Daniel Larison. Ukraine and democratization ("The American Conservative", CIIA). 11/02/2010. – [E-resource]. – Access: <http://www.inosmi.ru/ukraine/20100211/158123352.html>

<sup>43</sup> Daniel Larison. Ukraine and democratization ("The American Conservative", CIIA). 11/02/2010. – [E-resource]. – Access: <http://www.inosmi.ru/ukraine/20100211/158123352.html>

<sup>44</sup> Horos V.G. Ideological movements of populist type in the developing countries // Horos V.G. – M. : Nauka, 1980. – P. 3–19.

by the presence of morally old and thus offering even more danger nuclear weapon, legacy of the soviet empire. A.Toynbee writes, that “militarism...so far was the most widespread reason of civilizations’ collapse during the last four of five millenniums”. On Toynbee’s opinion “so called civilized country is not more that equipped with high techniques kind of primitive tribe. Even though the war between civilized states is more destructive than a struggle between the primitive tribes and in both cases this process is equally suicidal”.<sup>45</sup>

The specialists criticize modern Russia for authoritarian tendencies and call upon the West to take more strict stand in relations with Moscow. British scientist Steven Rodefild states that Russia is on the wrong way and that the West shall change its compliments strategy, and to “stop admiring defective liberalization...to explain directly to the Kremlin the real state of things and insist on Moscow’s refusal to chase wasteful great-power status and medieval Moscow times”. According to his opinion the West shall revise a failed idea of “eclectic involvement”, since the restoration of Russia as “wasteful super-power” threatens an international security and could mutilate the life of Russians”.<sup>46</sup>

Except the raw materials economy there is only one argument of Russia’s influence on international arena. Allen Linch, while determining the role of Russia in the world, outlines as a main argument “Russian resources of nuclear, chemical and biological weapons which pose a problem No 1 to the international security”.<sup>47</sup>

In the environment of universal states, the pseudo-elites of Russia and Ukraine are least of all worried about the development of liberal and democratic values in their own countries and in the world as well. The center of their attention is a survival of pseudo-elites by all means: together or apart (auth. Pseudo-elites of Russia and Ukraine), in the reformation of fatal fragmentation up to complete the breakup of the states. A.Toynbee formulates this elite phenomena in the following way: “irrepressible desire of the creators and the owners of universal state to retain themselves at any cost”.<sup>48</sup>

There are no doubts about the drive to usurpation power by the Russian elites, and from 2010 Ukraine’s as well. In modern conditions of broken societies, most probably “strengthening power over environment which is endowed by the society as Providence inevitable leads to collapse... thorough analysis has shown, that there is no strict correspondence between the ability of the society to control the environment and the processes of break and the collapse of the civilization. On the contrary, there are the opposite evidences, talking in the favor of the thing that if the relations of such kind exist, then they mean that the power is being

---

<sup>45</sup> Toynbee A. J. A Study of History / Cit. Z. Bzhezinski The last sovereign at the crossroads // Russian in the global politics. – 2006. – № 1. – P. 8–31.

<sup>46</sup> Rodefilde Steven. Russia in the 21st Century. The Prodigal Superpower. – Cambridge University Press, 2005. C. 10

<sup>47</sup> Lynch Allen How Russia is not Ruled. Reflections on Russian Political Development / Allen Lynch. – Cambridge University Press, 2005. – P. 243.

<sup>48</sup> Toynbee A. J. A Study of History / [transl. from Eng.] – M. : Airis Press, 2006. – P. 513.

strengthened and the environment starts to break and collapse but not rise. (*Phenomenon of empires from Sumerian to Chile* )”.<sup>49</sup>

Russia and Ukraine, undoubtedly, move towards the collapse of the states. At present it does not give the rise to doubts even in Russian scientific elite. Ph.D. in the political sciences, the professor of Moscow state university of M. Lomonosov, the head of sociology of international relations department, the head of the Center for conservative researches of the department of sociology of MSU Alexander Dugin in his interview to a Ukrainian newspaper “Segodnya” stated: “And now we see the rollback of Russia from these positions (auth. Positions to stop Russia from slipping into the abyss). But it won’t stop with one step, there would be second and third. And then all loose links of Russian statehood – North Caucasus, the problem of social stratification, the economic crisis would fall like a cardboard house. I think that Russia enters turbulence strip. Now it really starts to shake. All what was before this was uneasy, maybe not very good and well organized but it was clear. Now we have lost this clarity. Now its not clear who fights with whom.

But we see now reversibility of Putin’s course. Frankly speaking we see that everything here is hanging on a thread. We see unattractive side of Putin’s course, who started to do everything in a right way but dropped it on half way thus not passing the point of no return. The presence of Medvedev itself at the steering wheel increases a threat of Russia’s collapse. Thus, he is perilous to the country”.<sup>50</sup>

Political processes in Russia and Ukraine are identical and are prolongation of political processes of the times after USSR collapse. It is a preserved conflict of interests of the ruling class and ruled class. Evolution of the relations of alienation of pseudo-elite from the society. I’ve already expressed an opinion in 2009 that Russians are in the state of “internal” deportation. (*First of all as a result of biopolicy conducted in Russia and Ukraine during 90-ies and 2000 and till now with respect to state-creating nations*).<sup>51</sup> During 90-ies political elites of post-soviet states were bothered solely on USSR’s wealth sharing. As a result totalitarian, but per se national state suddenly turned into a multitude of criminal states the essence of which shall be called as brigandish (explicitly in anthropological understanding). As a result the post-soviet countries, first of all Russia and Ukraine, have formed state powers which by its content are ruling cliques. Mechanisms of formation, organization and functioning of these clique-elites are described by me in details in the work “Influence of mutation” of the

---

<sup>49</sup> Toynbee A. J. A Study of History / [transl. from Eng.] – M. : Airis Press, 2006. – P. 346.

<sup>50</sup> Dugin Alexander: «Medvedev increases a threat of Russia’s collapse» // Segodnia. 28 Oct 2010. – [E-resource]. – Access: <http://www.segodnya.ua/interview/14188490.html#ending>

<sup>51</sup> Zazhigaev Boris One of the limitrophe territories of the global world (Pt. 2): (transformation of the states of the Baltic-Black Sea region in the 21st century) / Boris Zazhigaev / [In: Central Asia and the Caucasus (Lulea)]. – (2009) 6/60, P. 125.

communist on the global system of international relations (Extrapolation of the “Evil empire” in the environment of the global world)”.<sup>52</sup>

As a result we have states-mutants and their basis is a special aggressive, mercenary and personified (which is being recruited exclusively from the representatives of nomenclature, special services and criminal world) form of pseudo-elite generating modern forms of barbarianism and evil and special form of governance – “suicidal state governance”.<sup>53</sup> For more than 10 years Russian scientists express a concern on the issue of state of state-forming nation – Russians in Russia. In 1999, Ph.D. in history, professor N. Pavlov had initiated during the hearings in State Duma an adoption of a law “On separated Russian nation”.<sup>54</sup> In 2001, the academician of the Academy of sciences, professor, Ph.D. in political sciences Panov A. wrote that “there is an extermination of Russia as a national and political and state structure and it is confirmed officially. An alienation of the native population from the power, since this power does not speak for its nation’s interests”.<sup>55</sup> A famous dissident, Ph.D. of philosophy, professor, head of logic department of MSU, professor of logic department in Munich University Alexander Zinoviev wrote: “Only at the cost of decrease in birth rate and early mortality due to alcoholism the Russian population can be reduced to the level it was reduced during the war of 1941-1945. The nation is being intentionally accustomed to drinking! Russia is over flooded with alcoholic beverages. And a great portion of them is simply toxic?! The losses of Russian nation as a biologic appearance are not accountable. Diseases, accidents, birth rate decrease etc., - all this sufficiently facilitates extinction of Russians. How to stop the process of nation downfall nobody knows. But there are a lot of such who know how to deepen, extend and streamline this process. And they act!”<sup>56</sup> This process becomes a trend. It deepens and acquires features peculiar to the colonization times of America. Under conservation and development of the trend, there are no doubts that already in the XXI century east-Slavic nations would be overtook by the fate of North American Indians.

Pseudo-elites of Russia and Ukraine by their essence are international. They are simultaneously united and at the same time separated by the desire to secure for them a parasitizing position in the alien (each in his own) social environment. A similar historic example makes A. Toynbee: “And in the same way like Jews did

---

<sup>52</sup> Zazhigaev Boris One of the limitrophe territories of the global world (transformation of the states of the Baltic-Black Sea region in the 21st century) / B.V. Zazhigaev // Bulletin of KyMU – K. : KyMU. – 2009. – Issue 9. – P. 20–73.

<sup>53</sup> Toynbee A. J. A Study of History / Cit. Z. Bzhezinski The last sovereign at the crossroads // Russian in the global politics. – 2006. – № 1. – P. 30–31.

<sup>54</sup> Zazhigaev B.V. Political process in Ukraine: reality and tendencies of the statesmanship evolution (1991 – 2005); monography / Boris Vladimirovich Zazhigaev. – K. : KyMU., 2009. – P. 11.

<sup>55</sup> Panov A.I. Political pluralism in the modern Russia / A.I. Panov; Academy of political science. Department of political sciences and political management of the Academy of state service by the President of RF. – Publishing house: Human and the carrier. – M., 2001. – P. 98.

<sup>56</sup> Zinoviev A.A. Russian tragedy. (Death of utopia). – M.: Algorhythm, 2002. – P. 14–16.

withstand a trial in alien to them human environment, they are perfectly satisfied with reaping the fruits of other's labour".<sup>57</sup>

Ukrainian, Russian as well as other national (international) pseudo-elites of post-soviet states-mutants in the environment of "consanguineously not related civilizations, like relics leading a secluded life, have responded to the challenge of the environment and received a compensation in the form of protection against human environment challenge".<sup>58</sup> This response is to revolution (1917, 1991, 2004 year), when on the background of international communist ideology (or refusal from it) happens a "dynamic act, with the help of which a connected civilization is being created – social happening, but not physical. Rebellious proletariat (*auth. As rebelling in 1991 nomenclature against alien social environment – nation, civil society*), initiating a new civilization successfully withstands this trial due to inheritance of physical environment in an adopted for human needs appearance. He does not have to start anew – create a new environment in a desert. He receives compensation in the form of quite acceptable living conditions, at the time when intolerable everyday life of pioneers exploring new locations, quite the contrary, is being balanced by the absence of threat from human environment".<sup>59</sup>

The nomenclature (pseudo-elite) forms a new way of life in this interconnected post-soviet civilizations (*auth. On the international basis*), which due to overcoming cruel joint trials acquire peculiar distinguishing features.<sup>60</sup>

Among which we shall single out main:

- amorality, immorality and cruelty with respect to alien social environment;
- ignorance of legislation and lack of jurisdiction with respect to ruling clan;
- orientation towards personal selfish interests;
- urge towards enrichment by means of violence, fraud or deception using exclusively locus of state power as a main instrument;
- indifferent attitude to national and public interests, cynicism and aggressive populism being as above-class ideology;
- inability to conduct state affairs, assistance to fragmentation of the state and "suicidal state governance";<sup>61</sup>
- parasitizing on national feelings, culture, morality of the environment, under full immunity to mental dependence on it;
- selfish intellectual capabilities based on money-grubbing provincial psychology;

---

<sup>57</sup> Toynbee A. J. A Study of History / [transl. from Eng.] – M. : Airis Press, 2006. – P. 181.

<sup>58</sup> Toynbee A. J. A Study of History / [transl. from Eng.] – M. : Airis Press, 2006. – P. 180–181.

<sup>59</sup> Toynbee A. J. A Study of History / [transl. from Eng.] – M. : Airis Press, 2006. – P. 181.

<sup>60</sup> Toynbee A. J. A Study of History / [transl. from Eng.] – M. : Airis Press, 2006. – P. 180–181.

<sup>61</sup> Toynbee A. J. A Study of History / Cit. Z. Bzhezinski The last sovereign at the crossroads // Russian in the global politics. – 2006. – № 1. – P. 30–31.

- high ability and degree of international integration and cooperation of pseudo-elite for protection of clan interests while conducting international policy.

Formed at the beginning of XX century pseudo-elites of the USSR and then CIS countries having abovementioned abilities and qualities have created not only a special type of relations between pseudo-elite and society but also a special form of pseudo-elite's existence. On my opinion it can be qualified as "Sabbath"<sup>62</sup> in mythological interpretation.<sup>63</sup> Considering the facilities of modern civilization "Sabbath" from the mythology has turned into a real form of existence of modern pseudo-elite of post-soviet states-mutants.

This opinion is being shared by the vice prime-minister on humanitarian matters of the cabinet of ministers of Ukraine, academician of the national academy of sciences of Ukraine, Ph.D. in physical and mathematical sciences, professor Vladimir Semynozhenko, who stated in 2010: "I could not expect that on 20<sup>th</sup> year of independence we would see such an outrage, absolutely dull Sabbath of people to whom nothing is sacred. I knew that there is super corruption but that there is such shamelessness, such amorality, such looting in Ukraine...there have never been such thing".<sup>64</sup>

Russia and Ukraine have shared history, shared civilization principles of governance, shared the growth of empire and collapse "following unsuccessful attempt to turn from one state to another. They are dead. And their death cannot be either refuted or overcome". Both have one way. "Their fate is collapse. But they would decay with different speed: some like a body, some like a tree trunk and others like a stone on the wind".<sup>65</sup>

Despite the sameness of political processes, the speed of collapse of Ukraine and Russia is different. It is conditioned for Russia by post-imperial syndrome based on availability of huge amount of mass destruction weapon. This factor makes the collapse process even more dramatic for the whole civilization. Russian scientist A. Dugin believes that "now Russia enters in the turbulence belt".<sup>66</sup> Another Russian political scientist V. Pastukhov believes that: "Moscow became a prisoner of its prudence. Its concealed, badly governed political system had stopped to react adequately to time challenges. A political life in modern Russia is irrational and this is the first sign of coming revolution. And I doubt whether it would be painted in festive colors like in Kyiv. But this makes the state of things more oppressive".<sup>67</sup>

<sup>62</sup> Bronhause F.A., Ephron I.A. Small encaeclopedic dictionary; [In 4 Vol. V. 4]. – M. : «TERRA». – 1997. P. 2042.

<sup>63</sup> Sabbath, from Hebrew: Saturday. Sabbath of witches according to the popular belief is a night gathering of witches for worshipping devil.

<sup>64</sup> Semynozhenko explained about the supercorruption in a "dumb" Sabbath. *Ukrainskaya Pravda*, 01 May 2010. – [E-resource]. – Access: <http://www.pravda.com.ua/rus/news/2010/05/1/4999433/>

<sup>65</sup> Toynbee A. J. *A Study of History* / [transl. from Eng.] – M. : Airis Press, 2006. – P. 100.

<sup>66</sup> Dugin Alexander: «Medvedev increases a threat of Russia's collapse» // *Segodnia*. 28 Oct 2010. – [E-resource]. – Access: <http://www.segodnya.ua/interview/14188490.html#ending>

<sup>67</sup> Pastukhov V.B. *Ukrainian revolution and Russian counterrevolution* / V.B. Pastukhov // *Russia in the global politics*. – 2010. – № 5. – P. 7–16.



Most probably Russia would have to pass a way from totalitarianism to state terrorism where the chief argument in international policy would become morally old-fashioned nuclear potential of the USSR. Main danger for Ukraine is to be involved into the zone of “turbulence”.<sup>68</sup>

A political process in Ukraine has a serious distinction from Russian. These distinctions are based on heated by official powers historical and ethnic clashes which on some matters go to the level of antagonism, which is certified by made examples.<sup>69</sup> Except that a modern history of Ukraine and Russia certifies that on the elite level the relations are built exclusively on pragmatic personified basis, which converted it into disagreements, which in perspective undoubtedly would deepen due to contradictions of extensive economics more and more falling into decay. One may find interesting an opinion of Bulgarian political scientist, chief editor of the Bulgarian edition of the magazine Foreign Policy Mr. Ivan Krastev – chairman of the Center of liberal strategies (Sophia): “Today’s European reality is new ascent of Moscow as a threat for neighbor countries, as large but not friendly and unreliable player on the political arena”.<sup>70</sup> But this is not an imperial character ascent but post-imperial ambitions which are not backed by the economy growth, science development, military potential development, demographic rise – these are the ambitions of dying empire of the past. Ivan Karasev clearly told, that “August cannons” (auth. Russia-Georgia war of 2008) became a gigantic “time machine”, return to the real politik of XIX after the XXI century lasted less than a decade.<sup>71</sup> For modern Ukraine rollback in relations with Russia at the time of Thomas Hobbes it is understandable and to a certain degree saving reality for existing there political regime.

Over the time of independence Russian and Ukrainian political elites, formally, united by one goal – struggle with totalitarianism. “Struggle with totalitarianism is not a democracy school, even vice versa, kind of poisoning with evil which describes adversary” – such conclusion makes Polish political scientist S. Wilkanowicz.<sup>72</sup> Laureate of Nobel prize Friedrich August von Hayek has convincingly proved that a group at power in the modern mass society “... apparently would be formed not from the best but from the worst elements of any society...”<sup>73</sup>

Ukraine occupies unique geopolitical and geo-economical place in the world. But in its existing state, Ukraine poses real humanitarian danger for EU. A trust

---

<sup>68</sup> Dugin Alexander: «Medvedev increases a threat of Russia’s collapse» // Segodnia. 28 Oct 2010. – [E-resource]. – Access: <http://www.segodnya.ua/interview/14188490.html#ending>

<sup>69</sup> Annual prognosis «Russia and the world: 2010», prepared by IMEMO RAN and FTTP in cooperation with CCI RF.– [E-resource]. – Access: [http://www.globalaffairs.ru/event/n\\_14653](http://www.globalaffairs.ru/event/n_14653).

<sup>70</sup> Krastev I. Russia as “another Europe” / I. Krastev // Russia in the global politics. – 2007. – № 4. – P. 33–45.

<sup>71</sup> Cit. A. Melvil «I the world cracked». – [E-resource]. – Access: <http://www.politua.su/sight/134.html>

<sup>72</sup> Vilkanovich S. Ten commandments of democracy in the Christian understanding / S. Vilkanovich // Novyi mir. – 1992. – № 1.

<sup>73</sup> Hayek F. The road to the slavery /F. Hayek // Novyi mir. – 1991. – №8. – P. 189.

credit is lost. Being corrupted, falling apart state, Ukraine presents danger to preservation of democratic establishment of the EU itself. This condition is natural for a criminal and militia state with the oligarchic form of governance. The political elite of Ukraine in perspective would strive to preserve not only status quo of the way of political process realization as a guarantee of its preservation at the power and generation of wealth, but also as a lifeless “dominating and militant civilization” will stay in the state when “convinced in its infallibility unintentionally reproduces the same barbarianism and evil with which it struggles”.<sup>74</sup> Thereby, despite sincere statements of Ukrainian pseudo-elite about desire to integrate into the EU Ukraine will in perspective also pose a sanitary border between Russia and new rising world poles. As early as in 1993 Z. Bzhezinski wrote that interests of the USA in Ukraine correspond to the thesis that Baltic and Black Sea Union (*marked after collapse of the USSR as probable union of Ukraine, Byelorussia and Lithuania*) “is interesting for the USA as a belt closing Russia with its expansionist’s intentions in Asia”.<sup>75</sup>

Uniting source with Russia is ideology for Ukrainian pseudo-elite and it was qualified by me as cynicism in 2006 [19]. At present the ideology of cynicism undergoes changes – modulation with ideology of militant populism i.e. populism which does not bear objections, which is aggressive, threatening civil society. Many western political scientists “are inclined to ignore intellectual stuffing of the “sovereign democracy” concept (*auth. Which is being proclaimed in Russia and Ukraine*). They proceed from the concept that a single ideology of Kremlin is cynicism which enables them to stay at the power and get wealthier”.<sup>76</sup>

Cynicism is not only an instrument of wealth extraction but also an insuperable obstacle to the deep interstate integration. Integration processes undoubtedly would lead not only to the economic and humanitarian absorption of Ukraine but also absorption of criminal private-ownership interests of Ukrainian oligarchy.

Desire to stay at the “power and get wealthier” – is a basis of integration as well as disintegration processes between Ukraine and Russia. The essence of patrimonial regime excludes both integration and full disintegration. These processes are regulated exclusively within the framework of pragmatic interests of pseudo-elites (*politics as bargaining*) at the expense of levers of state governance and used exclusively for private mercenary interests.

Within present environment the West has developed its own algorithm of external policy with respect to Ukraine. It has left the illusions of unavoidability of democratic reforms in Ukraine and Russia. West’s policy comes down to friendly relations and development of economic and cultural relations. Further fragmentation of statehood of Ukraine and Russia is being perceived as organic process of unavoidable further collapse of the soviet empire and parasitizing form of existence of pseudo-elites is catalyzing this process of the death of the rests of

---

<sup>74</sup> Toynbee A. J. *A Study of History* / [transl. from Eng.] – M. : Airis Press, 2006. – P. 346–347.

<sup>75</sup> Bzhezinski Zbigniew. *Spadek po Zimnej Wojnie* / Zbigniew Bzhezinski. – Warszawa, 1993. – P. 281.

<sup>76</sup> Krastev I. *Russia as “another Europe”* / I. Krastev // *Russia in the global politics*. – 2007. – № 4. – P. 33–45.

“evil” empire. It is a process of releasing territories with prolongation of new unavoidable political division between rising world poles.

Generation of statehood in Ukraine depends on how fast the process of collapse of the post-soviet empire’s “fragment” would come to an end, how soon pseudo-elite would change, a process of socialization of public would end and when preconditions for establishment of democratic form of governance would be created.

Undoubtedly the situation in Ukraine differs from that one in Russia, first of all by the absence of geopolitical post-empire ambitions in the connection with absence of nuclear status which guarantees to Ukraine to avoid a tendency of a state descending to the level of international nuclear terrorist.

On empirical level there is a possibility for Ukraine to consider implementation of political process in two vectors:

- First – towards deepening of patrimonial tendency in organization of state power, i.e. streamlining the process of fragmentation and collapse of the statehood till “natural” state and commencement of self-organization processes or complete loss of control over territory and complete loss of statehood.
- Second – in connection with trend towards usurpation of power in Ukraine, after electing a President of Ukraine Viktor Yanukovich there is a real chance of change of form of governance in Ukraine, from oligarchic by means of monarch power (acc. to N. Machiavelli)<sup>77</sup> with prolongation – till democratic governance. Realization of this way completely rests on the shoulders of Yanukovich, his psychic (genetic) perception of the power (acc. to G. Hegel) as a “wealth or as an honour”<sup>78</sup>.

Summarizing everything one can conclude with the confidence that a political processes on a post-soviet space including Ukraine and Russia are a direct consequence of break and further process of collapse of the soviet empire. Ukraine and Russia are its parts – agonizing fragments. These countries have similar nature, the development of an empire and a history and reasons of its collapse. Ukraine as Russia is a universal state, a product of dominating minorities, i.e. those social groups which under USSR had creative power but than lost it.

Namely selfish interests of the pseudo-elites of Ukraine and Russia hamper the speed of the final collapse of the states. Arnold Toynbee qualifies this as elite phenomenon: “Indefatigable desire of creators of the universal state to hold the power at any cost”<sup>79</sup>.

The process of collapse continues. Ukraine and Russia conform to analytical conclusions of A. Toynbee, who qualifies such states as “being dead”. And as historical experience shows this process is irreversible. Universal states are always not creative and ephemeral. But citizens of the universal state (auth. dying)

---

<sup>77</sup> Machiavelli N. Discourse on first decade of Titus Livius / N. Machiavelli. – M. : Mysl', 1996. – P. 156–158.

<sup>78</sup> Hegel H. W. F. Phenomenology of the spirit. – Spb. : Nauka, 1999. – P. 275.

<sup>79</sup> Toynbee A. J. A Study of History / [transl. from Eng.] – M. : Airis Press, 2006. – P. 513.

unavoidably sense their country “not as a cave in dark desert but as the Promised Land as an aim of historical progress!”<sup>80</sup>

Allen Lynch believes that even under the most favorable development of the event Russia will remain a large country but not a great country, and Russian economy will be enclave and dangerously dependent on world prices on oil.<sup>81</sup>

Modern Ukraine is a classical corrupted state. It represents deadly danger to civilized countries (*now democratic states*) due to the danger of diffusion of corrupted states on civilization, which unavoidably will lead to the death of the latter.

At the same time corrupted state is the only opportunity for survival of Ukraine criminal elites. On the assumption of this, Ukrainian pseudo-elite will conduct modulated policy with the respect to the West.

Its public part, for world society, will be based on demagoguery about intentions to enter the EU. For Russia this populism will be justified as an instrument of amortization, in Russia's interests, leaving no alternative natural process of advancement of the democracy on post-soviet states. In 2008 Z. Bzhezinski justified the essence of such behavior of Russian and Ukrainian elites (auth. fear) in the interview “Russia risks to become an empty space” to the Komsomolskaya Pravda newspaper. The cause is that “your old imperial schemes isolate you and create a situation when all your neighbors do not like Russia and are afraid of it”.<sup>82</sup>

In latent forms, Ukraine will be seeking to maintain the balance of interests between provision of favorable conditions for the preservation of international criminal and nomenclature interests of the ruling nomenclature clan on one hand and permanently increasing expansionist aspirations of Russia with respect to the absorption of these interests by Russian oligarchs on the other hand.

At the nearest perspective Ukraine will be representing itself as a buffer state impeding advancement on its territory of liberal and democratic values and at the same time amortizing and absorbing negative influence of Russia on Europe. These two factors will level mutual influence of the West and Russia on Ukraine and by that maintaining “favorable” international climate for further collapse of Ukrainian state.

---

<sup>80</sup> Toynbee A. J. A Study of History / [transl. from Eng.] – M. : Airis Press, 2006. – P. 499.

<sup>81</sup> Lynch Allen How Russia is not Ruled. Reflections on Russian Political Development / Allen Lynch. – Cambridge University Press, 2005. – P. 263.

<sup>82</sup> Zbigniew Bzhezinski: Russia is risking to become an empty space. Komsomolskaya Pravda 30.10.2008. – [E-resource]. – Access: [www.kp.ru/daily/24190.4/397290/](http://www.kp.ru/daily/24190.4/397290/)