

B.V. Zazhigaev

Candidate of political sciences, professor, head of the department of international relations and foreign policy, pro-rector of Kyiv international university (Kyiv, Ukraine)

The Influence of Post-soviet Cleptocracies¹ on the Development of Modern International Relations.

Twenty years since a collapse of bipolar system of international relations approaches. It is time, indeed, to analyze how the system of international relations has changed. Has the world become more secure? Does the democratization of post-soviet states happen, and how is being implemented declared by the M. Gorbachev and his associates the political values of “new political thinking”. What kind of changes happened in states emerged on the territory of the erstwhile USSR and what is their place and influence in the modern global world.

A novelty of the work is in the approach to the evaluation of transformation on the territory of the erstwhile USSR and foremost of Slavic states not from the point of view of declared intentions but from the stand of political realism, as it is traditionally done in the theory of international relations.

Political analysis is built on use of a wide basis of facts of political practice with use of materials of sociological studies made by the leading international and domestic scientific centers. The research uses traditional methods of political science and new methods of political analysis. The author relies on works of classics of political science, works of leading psychiatrists and sociologists, who acquired world-wide recognition, and also largely uses works of modern political scientists and factological material of mass-media. The analytical conclusions allow prognosticating the development of the system of international relations, determining place and the role of post-soviet states in the geopolitical coordinates of the modern world.

Formal logic of transformations of the USSR was in the revision of the state ideology. Having come to power in the April 1985, M. Gorbachev moved forward a new state concept of “new political thinking”. The concept was based on new comprehension of the XX century. Essence of the concept came to the following. All preceding history of the development of humankind represents a history of the development of separate regions, and the history of XX century – is a global

¹ **Cleptocracy** (from old-Greek κλέπτειν – to steal and κράτος – rule, power; literally ‘thieves’ rule’) – ideologic cliché applicable to the government controlled by fraudsters utilizing all privileges of the power for increasing personal wealth and political influence by means of plundering state funds, sometimes even without trying to imitate honest service to the nation. Typical features of cleptocracy are corruption, lobbyism and neglect in implementation of long-term goals.

history. This process acquired dynamism in the second half of the XX century, when along with a world progress all the fears of “wild capitalism” of the beginning of XX century vanished from the humankind’s life.²

In terms of the essence of concept of reforming the USSR, it would be reasonable to outline a vector of transformations and mark it as a correction of ideology of Marxism-Leninism towards recognition of the priority of universal values over the rest – class, national, state; constructive, equal interaction of states and nations in the scale of the whole planet.

The leadership of the USSR declared liberal and democratic values as a vector for state’s development. To what extent in the reality were these declared values implemented and does a virtual vector of the development of state system match with real steps towards reforming a state, we shall determine by studying four fundamental constituents of transformations:

1. Reference point: Historical precondition for setting up liberal and democratic form of governance on post-soviet territories.
2. Legal foundations for conducting reforms in USSR.
3. Essence and methodology of conducting democratic transformations. Their correspondence to democratic principles.
4. Chief results of transformations and their influence on formation of the system of modern international relations and development of global world.

1. Reference point: Historical precondition for setting up liberal and democratic form of governance on post-soviet territories.

What is the logic of the USSR’s transformations, what was the basis of its determinism asserting that there was one and only, precisely set possible future? Was a political situation in USSR critical or a desire of transformations is a “genetic pathology” of political elite which plunged the society by means of economic and political crisis into the state of anomia – temporary loss of social norms of efficiency.

The logic of transformations was based upon psychology of soviet pseudoelite brought up within the conditions of soviet totalitarianism, foundation of which is serf’s mentality of the bureaucracy. Words of international (anthem of the USSR 1924-1944) are the most suited to describe the essence of this logic: “All the world of violence we shall destroy to its foundation, and then. We shall build our own new world, - and who was nothing shall become everything”. A hypothetic thirst for destruction and desire to own everything from public material values to spiritual world of the personality. It would be strange to expect from M. Gorbachev, B. Yeltsin, L. Kravchuk, N. Nazarbaev, A. Lukashenko and other representatives of bureaucratic cohort a different logic of pseudo-reforms, except

² History of Russia. Study theories. Volume 2. XX century. Study book. /Under. Ed. B. V. Lichman. Ekaterinburg: PH – SV-96, – 2001 г. – P.274.

an attempt by totalitarian means of “Stalin epoch” to impose their own vision of “democracy” which is understood not else but as securing of one’s own ruling position. Reforms were a process of legalization of the real life of the bureaucracy which lived double life. And with demise of Stalin form of phobocracy, legalized in the ruling class of the USSR.

Steven Cohen, professor of history in the University of New-York (USA) and researcher of Russian history believes that: “Not a single Russian leader before Gorbachev had never tried to introduce democracy. Russian only once had lived through a short period of democracy – in 1917. It was a democracy of collapse”³

Is it possible to expect in this conditions a democratic reforms from the people who did not have an idea of the essence of democracy. “Seventy-year long history of soviet elites had gone through two major transformations – Stalin slaughterhouse and perestroika. And both these transformations were changes inside one quality”, famous Russian elitologist G. Ashin wrote.⁴

The sources of that shall be sought from the tradition of forming ruling elite in Slavic state. V.O. Kluchevskii considers the beginning of our history from the IX century.⁵ Concerning the origin of statesmanship in Rus, V.O. Kluchevskii writes, that an invitation to the ‘throne’ in the process of competition for power was quite spread and frequently seemed like a hiring of a ‘monarch’. V.O. Kluchevskii writes not on a kind invitation of aliens to rule over indigenes but rather a military employment... Having felt his power, a mercenary turned into lords and converted their salary into compulsory tribute with increment of salary.⁶ And finally into “political power”.⁷

All graspable Russian history – is a history of exorbitant enrichment of elites, establishment of extreme totalitarian forms of ruling, starting from Ivan the IV, by means of boyar appointment onto profitable posts who ensured ‘feeding’ of their owners. As Gennadii Ashin writes, the tradition of ‘feeding’ has deeply rooted in Russian elite and also facilitated arrival for service of ‘famous foreigners from Litva, German principalities, Golden Horde’. Traditions of so called ‘feeding’, which have deeply rooted in Russian elite and represented by essence a legalized corruption, have been making a corrupting impact on this elite and on society as whole. Ashin believes, that this has formed a national tradition of permanent lack of funds in the budget of states due to ‘immense expenditures’. ‘This type of development implied command, authoritarian militarized political system which made a stake on forceful methods of solving problems with vertical

³ Stephen Cohen: «The only fault of Gorbachev is that he created Yeltsin», [Elecetonic resource] / Cohen Stephen. Political journal № 14 (65); 18 April, 2005. – Access regime: <http://www.politjournal.ru/index.php?action=Articles&dirid=67&tek=3288&issue=98>

⁴ Ashin H.K. Elitology: change and recruiting of elites. – M. PH. RIO MGIMO, 1998., P. 47.

⁵ Kluchevskiy V.O. Collection in ten volumes / Kluchevskiy V.O. – M. –1987. – Vol. 1. – 430 [1] P. 162.

⁶ Kluchevskiy V.O. Collection in ten volumes / Kluchevskiy V.O. – M. –1987. – Vol. 1. – 430 [1] P. 175.

⁷ Kluchevskiy V.O. Collection in ten volumes / Kluchevskiy V.O. – M. –1987. – Vol. 1. – 430 [1] P. 160.

hierarchical system of governance. This authoritarian power implied authoritarian elite as well, which served as a conductor of this power'.⁸

Though creation of such an elite requires tight repressions not only against severely exploited population but also against the elite itself in order to gain its complete loyalty. Thus, periodical purges of elite.

Modernizations and purges accompany all the history of Slavic nations from the times of exorbitant greed of Kyiv prince Igor, cruel repressions of Ivan the IV, reforms of Peter the I and Katherine the Great, Pavel the I, transformations of Alexander Korenskyi and Vladimir Ulianov-Lenin, I.V. Stalin-Dzhugashvili, N.S. Khrushchev and Leonid Brezhnev, Mikhail Gorbachev and Boris Eltsin – to the modern modernizers of collapsing Slavic states Vladimir Putin, Dmitri Medvedev, Leonid Kuchma, Viktor Yushchenko, Viktor Yanukovich and Alexander Lukashenko.

A political tradition which has exceptional features of state system formed over the entire history of Slavic nations. Its features are the following:

- at the core of forming political elite lies a principle of its recruiting from unclaimed representatives of political elites of other states and nations, incapability of national pseudo-elite to constructive political activity. In the result elite is formed by method of imposition;
- in the political sphere the principle of imitation by means of eternal attempts of pseudo-modernizations which inevitably leads to an outsider position as in internal and foreign policies as well as in economic sphere;
- patrimoniality as chief principle of organization of state power in the foundation of which is designation to any post is perceived as monarch's favour (tyrant, lord or the general secretary), and economy is only as 'feeding'⁹ of any officials occupying profitable seats;
- a society is being considered exceptionally as an environment for parasitizing of pseudo-elite, moral basis – lie (value forgery) in combination of the most cruel forms of violence right up to genocide

Considering that we can summarize that historic and ideological premise for setting up liberal democracy on the territory of Slavic states did not exist.

One of the founders of depth psychology (Tiefenpsychologie), studying the levels of personality psychology and motivational tendencies of unconscious behavior, famous Swiss psychologist, psychiatrist and philosopher Karl Gustav Jung writes: 'collective unconscious is a sediment of the acts of world which will finally manifest in the structure of brain and symptomatic nerve system, in its totality it means something which does not have time, to say, eternal image of the world, resisting our momentary conscious picture of the world. In other words it means another, if you please, mirror world. Unconscious image has a special, independent form consciousness energy due to which it can render the strongest spiritual influences, influences which do not manifest completely on the surface of the world but affects us more from inside, from the darkness... The thing that the

8 Ashin H.K. Elitology: change and recruiting of elites. – M. PH. RIO MGIMO, 1998., P. 16.

9 Ashin H.K. Elitology: change and recruiting of elites. – M. PH. RIO MGIMO, 1998., P. 16.

world has not only external, but also internal, and that it is visible not only from outside but always powerfully influences us on the deepest and apparently, the most subjective subsoil of the soul, I consider as scientific fact which despite being ancient wisdom in this form deserves being evaluated as factor forming consciousness'.¹⁰

Totalitarian traditions have rooted firmly in the consciousness of Slavic states and have formed a certain type of world view. Russian philosopher, sociologist and educator of Malorossia, graduate of Kyiv university Alexander Ivanovich Stronin as far back as in 1872 wrote: 'Russia is not young in comparison with Romans and Germans and it is not an infant already... New infants are being prepared to substitute this one, more later societies, new, far younger world, new and completely opposite hemisphere of the planet. Our aristocracy, not democracy is primitive and ignorant, subject to disappearance as it touches enlightenment. We didn't know only aristocratism in other forms as ignorant. Keeping fools, harassment of people with bears, beating servants' cheeks, self-conceit before inferiors, gluttony and debauchery, idleness of body and soul, indifference towards science, freedom, dignity – these are ancient historical features of our aristocratism'.¹¹

The essence of Slavic state tradition on my opinion was precisely expressed by Alexander Sergeevich Pushkin.

With pride and naked Lust appeared
And hearts stood frozen before him,
For power they've forgotten home,
For gold the brothers sold each other,
And spoke those mad: there is no Freedom,
And nations did believe to them,
It doesn't matter in their speeches,
The good, the evil - became shadow –
All was committed to contempt,
As ashes were put to wind.

1824

A.S. Pushkin¹²

10 Jung K.H. Problems of the spirit of our times: Transl from German / – M.: PG «Progress», «Univers», 1996. – P. 240. (Library of foreign psychology.)

¹¹ Stronin A.I. Antology of the world political thought. In 5 Vol. Vol. IV. Political thought of Russia: Second half of XIX-XX centuries / Nat. public and scientific foundation of the Academy of political science / Stronin A.I. – M. : Mysl. – 1997. – Vol. 4. 829, [1] P. 124-125.

¹² Pishkin A.S. Seleceded works. In 2-x Vol. Vol.1. / Introductory article G. Makogonenko; Annotation D. Blagoi. – 1980. P.225-226. – Library of classics. Russian literature.

Not telling the name of the author, the poem was read before approximately three thousands of students in 2005-2011. Practically all thought that it is devoted to the modern days, after demise of the USSR, and only a few referred it to the events of 1917.

Our historic misfortune (auth. tradition) is that Russian modernization facilitates not so much entrance of Russia into the modernity as consolidation of feudal-imperial roots of culture-civilization sytem. Modernization in the name of strengthening of the empire leads to redistribution of life energy of the human from the sphere of everyday life to the sphere of secular or religious mega-projects, creates the world where the man is only a tool and strengthening of the empire – a great aim.¹³

2. Legal grounds for conducting reforms in the USSR

The Soviet Union of the end of 80-ies of XX century – is a completed state, plus bipolar system of the international relations, acquired world-wide recognition. At the moment of collapse the level of repressions was not fatal for citizens. On the civilization's agenda a process of convergence of two systems was getting clearer – merging of the best features of the world's system of socialism and the best features of the liberal and democratic world. Even a radical political flow in a form of emerged Interregional deputies group (IDG) on the I convocation of people's deputies, which began its work on 25th of May 1989 did not put on the agenda an issue of the USSR's collapse, but only demanded complete destruction of soviet political system.

The logic of transformations shall be sought in motivation of actions of political elite, and within the conditions of soviet totalitarian establishment, first of all, to consider algorithm of transformations through the prism of leader's activity. 'Political stronghold is strong only when it holds on moral strength', - V.O. Kluchevskii was writing.¹⁴

Liberal-democratic form of state establishment is viable exclusively in conditions of legal state. As it was mentioned, liberal and democratic values in the capacity of the vector of state's development was laid in the basis of transformations in the USSR.

Let's consider legal basis of actions which had led to the collapse of the state. The beginning of collapse of the governing system, on my opinion, has to regarded a period of ruling of M.S. Gorbachev, when he, having all the power began defying laws and his duties.

¹³ Gavrov S. N. Modernization in the name of empire. Socio-cultural aspects of modernization processes in Russia / S. N. Gavrov. – M.: Editorial URSS, 2004. – P. 2.

¹⁴ Kluchevskiy V.O. Works in nine volumes. Materials of different years / Kluchevskiy V.O.; [Under Ed. V.L. Yanin]. – M. : Mysl. – 1990. – Vol. 9. – P. 433 [9].

Legal basis for collapse of the USSR could become the results of the all-USSR referendum on preservation of the USSR conducted on 17th of March 1991 or change of the legislation made on the legal field of the Soviet Union.

In Ukrainian SSR 70,2% responded “Yes”; Belorussian SSR – 82,7%; Uzbek SSR – 93,7%; Kazakh SSR - 94,1%; Azerbaijan SSR - 93,3%; Kyrgyz SSR - 94,6%; Tajik SSR - 96,2%; Turkmen SSR - 97,9%.¹⁵

The results of the referendum show that there were no legal premises for collapse of the USSR.

Motivation of ‘creative’ (acc. To Toynbee) actions M.S. Gorbachev determined himself. Giving lecture in the American university in Turkey in 1999, Gorbachev said: ‘The purpose of my life was to destroy the communism. Namely for achieving this purpose I used my standing in the party and the country...’¹⁶

The logic of actions of the leader of state M. Gorbachev comes from the essence of the article 6 of the Constitution of the USSR of 1977: ‘Governing and directing force of the soviet society, nucleus of its political system, state and public organizations is the Communist party of the Soviet Union. CPSS exists for nation and serves to it.

Being armed with Marxist and Lenin teachings, the Communist party determines general perspective of the development of society, line of the internal and external policies of the USSR, conducts great creative activity of the soviet nation, provides planned scientifically substantiated character to the fight for the victory of communism’. Quite logical, that it was not possible to destroy communism without destroying USSR.

Table № 1¹⁷

¹⁵ RESOLUTION OF THE SUPREME COUNCIL OF THE USSR On the results of the referendum of the USSR of 17 March, 1991. "PRAVDA", 22 March, 1991, № 70 (26518)

¹⁶ Gorbachev M.S. Speech at the seminar in the American university in Turkey [Electronic resource] / M.S. Gorbachev – Access regime: http://www.patriotica.ru/enemy/gorbachev_speech.html.

¹⁷ RESOLUTION OF THE SUPREME COUNCIL OF THE USSR On the results of the referendum of the USSR of 17 March, 1991. "PRAVDA", 22 March, 1991, № 70 (26518)

All-USSR referendum on preservation of the USSR 17 March 1991

«Do you think that it is necessary to reserve the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics as renewed federation of equal sovereign republics, in which rights and freedoms of the person of any nationality will be guaranteed to full extent?»

| Results | | |
|--------------------|--------------------|----------------|
| Yes or No | Votes | Percent |
| ✓ Yes | 113 512 812 | 77.85% |
| No | 32 303 977 | 22.15% |
| Valid votes | 145 816 789 | 98.14% |
| Invalid votes | 2 757 817 | 1.86% |
| Total votes | 148 574 606 | 100.00% |
| Attendance | | 80.03% |
| Electorate | | 185 647 355 |

Source: Massage of the Central referendum commission of the Union of SSR on the results of the referendum of the USSR conducted on 17th of March 1991.

This logic corresponds to the logic of totalitarian rule and it had predetermined dissolution of the communist party and collapse of the USSR which informally occurred at the same time – August of 1991. Through the State Committee on the State of Emergency Gorbachev had folded democratic processes in the USSR and launched political mechanism of creation of universal states (acc. to Toynbee) within geographical frame of the former republics of the union. According to Egor Gaidar, State Committee on the State of Emergency is a ‘theatric putsch’.¹⁸

Putsch and its out-of-legal consequences had brought down all moral foundations in the USSR and demonstrated paralysis of the power, absence of will and ability of the highest officials to implement constitutional obligations. Political observer Maxim Sokolov said to the point: ‘idiotic regime died in an idiotic way’.¹⁹ Top leadership of the state was sentenced for ‘ridiculous terms’ for an attempt to preserve the state and this attempt was done within valid legislation, as formally the legislation of the USSR was still valid. Not employing measures of

¹⁸ Gaidar Y.T. Ruin of the empire. Lessons for modern Russia / Y.T. Gaidar [2-nd ed., corrected and supplemented]. – M. : «Russian political encyclopaedia» (ROSSPEN), 2006. – P. 378.

¹⁹ Gaidar Y.T. Ruin of the empire. Lessons for modern Russia / Y.T. Gaidar [2-nd ed., corrected and supplemented]. – M. : «Russian political encyclopaedia» (ROSSPEN), 2006. – P. 378.

preserving the USSR. 'Practically all soviet leadership took itself under different articles of the Criminal Code (auth. of the USSR): law enforcement agencies (top of the army, MIA and KGB), executive power (Cabinet of ministers), legislative power (Lukianov and 'allies') and party officials (top of the KPSU). And when the whole top leadership of the state consists either from criminals or from their accomplices suffers a complete smashing from the nation such state cannot survive. All leadership of the state falls into the political oblivion and from the political vacuum emerges another state. And it has emerged and not only one'.²⁰

The State Committee on the State of Emergency and its legal consequences have created new political situation, I would call it a state in the condition of 'democratic collapse', which inevitably leads to collapse of the governing system.

The essence of this collapse is that within a period of three days from the existence of the Emergency Committee formally not only top leadership of the state, party, KGB became 'criminals' but also military servants, officials of KGB, MIA, government employees and simple citizens. The USSR was left with no legal, even psychological and mental grounds to preserve a united state as all its citizens found themselves out of the legal field of that state (USSR) and formally had to be brought to criminal responsibility.

Kohn Lock confirms that there is one way which leads to collapse of the governing system 'namely when the person who possesses supreme executive power neglects his responsibilities and does not fulfill them, thus already issued laws cannot enter into force. This obviously leads to the anarchy and eventually to the collapse of the governing system'.²¹

In this context Arnold Toynbee writes that the responsibility for fracture of civilizations rests upon conscience of their leaders: 'Creative persons in the avant-garde of civilizations, influencing noncreative majority through the mechanism of mimesis could stand defeated due to two reasons. One could be called 'negative' and the other 'positive'.

Possible 'negative' failure is that leaders suddenly for themselves fall hypnotized which they used on their followers. This leads to catastrophic loss of initiative: 'If a blind guides a blind they will both fall into hole' (*Matf. XV, 14*).²²

Communist ideology collapsed, the state broke up and on its place a moral psychological vacuum was formed, which plunged the society into a condition which is called in the psychology as anomia (auth. literary 'out-of-adjustment') temporary loss of social norms of the reality. For the society as whole this condition under which life processes temporarily cease or slowed to the extent that all visible manifestations of life are absent. When the author of the anomia theory Emile Durckheim was explaining this condition he underlined that social rules play an

²⁰ Gaidar Y.T. Ruin of the empire. Lessons for modern Russia / Y.T. Gaidar [2-nd ed., corrected and supplemented]. – M. : «Russian political encyclopaedia» (ROSSPEN), 2006. – P. 378.

²¹ Locke J. Works: In 3 Vol. / Translated from English and Latin. Vol. 3/ Editor and composer, author of notes A.L. Subbotin, – M.: Mysl, 1988. – P. 388 [1]; ill., 1 l. port. – (Philosophical legacy).

²² Toynbee A.J. A Study of History / Toynbee A.J. – M.: Ayeris-press, 2006. – P. 315.

important role in regulation of people's lives. Norms control their behavior, they know what to expect from others and what they expect from them. Life experience of people (i.e. their satisfactions and disappointments) more or less correspond to expectations which are conditioned by social norms. But at the time of crisis or radical social changes, for instance in connection with decline of business activity and unrestrained inflation, life experience ceases to correspond to ideals embodied in social norms. Ultimately people experience a state of confusion and disorientation. He thought that sudden decline and prosperity are related to 'breach of collective order'. Social norms are ruined, people loose orientation and all this favors deviant behavior (*Durckheim, 1897*).²³

3. Essence and methodology of conducting democratic transformations. Their relation to democratic principles

On my opinion not only the USSR found itself under the wreckage of the KPSU but also all premises to the democratic vector of the development of post-soviet territories. One of the founders of existentialism, political thinker and publicist Karl Jaspers writes: 'But what if majority himself liquidates the democracy, the principle of majority? If the majority would transfer unlimited power to the minority calling itself avant-garde, elite, party? If the majority would liquidate main rights which in accordance to our constitution are not subject to any change? If by means of freedom of voting collapses the freedom itself?

If a republic way of development liquidates, if the politics in its full meaning collapses, what left is renunciation from democratic republic or civil war'.²⁴

A divorce into 'national apartments' had created an absolutely new public and political and social and economic situation which is defined by the following components:

- elimination of legal premises for statehood which led to core alterations in the structure of international relations, I would say of the whole system not only after the second world war but during the process of liberal reforms of Mikhail Gorbachev. Most precisely this situation was described by American political scientist Zbigniew Bzhezinski: 'Collapse in the end of 1991 of the biggest in terms of territory state in the world contributed to the forming of the 'black hole' in the center of Eurasia. This looked like if central and important in terms of geopolitics part of

²³ Citation of Merton R.K. Social structure and anomie / Merton R.K. // American Sociological Review, 1938, 3, 672-682.

²⁴ Karl Jaspers. Potholes of the democracy / Jaspers Karl // Novoe vremia. – 1993. – № 52 – P. 56-59.

the land had been erased from the map of earth. Collapse of the Soviet Union provoked a grand geopolitical confusion'.²⁵

- Backroom character of 'transformations' created new psychological climate in the new states and plunged a society into the state of anemia. Citizens of the USSR had no idea about radical transformations in the state system. 'During 14 days Russians, who were even less informed than the outside world about forthcoming collapse of the Soviet Union, unexpectedly for themselves found out, that they are no more masters of transcontinental empire'.²⁶ Ukrainian scientist, Doctor of Philosophy, professor, deputy director of the Institute of sociology of the National academy of sciences of Ukraine Evgeniy Holovaha on the basis of many years of sociological researches came to the conclusion that 'after 1991 people had a feeling of inadaptability. In 1990 there were 80% of demoralized people'.²⁷ Instead of premises to the democratic type of socialization a psychological situation was created - anomia. (*auth. Temporary loss of social norms of reality*).

This new condition of the society is defined by the demographic decline in all Slavic states (*Table 2*).

Table 2

| | Russia | Ukraine | Belorussia |
|------|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------|
| Year | <i>Mln. people.</i> | <i>Mln. people.</i> | <i>Mln. people.</i> |
| 1990 | 148.065 | 51.590 | 10.260 |
| 1991 | 148.482 | 51.666 | 10.284 |
| 1992 | 148.692 | 51.789 | 10.297 |
| 1993 | 148.729 | 51.793 | 10.298 |
| 1994 | 148.651 | 51.508 | 10.289 |
| 1995 | 148.497 | 51.087 | 10.270 |
| 1996 | 148.284 | 50.637 | 10.240 |
| 1997 | 148.003 | 50.187 | 10.200 |
| 1998 | 147.648 | 49.759 | 10.153 |
| 1999 | 147.205 | 49.330 | 10.103 |

²⁵ Bzhezinski Zbigniew. The Grand Chessboard (American supremacy and its geostrategic imperatives). M.: International relations, 1998.,- P. 48.

²⁶ Bzhezinski Zbigniew. The Grand Chessboard (American supremacy and its geostrategic imperatives). M.: International relations, 1998.,- P. 48.

²⁷ Yevhen Holovaha: If they would disclose the KGB archives we would have to flash 'siant's' [Electronic resource] / Holovaha Yevhen. – Access regime: <http://www.unian.net/ukr/news/news-450720.html>.

| | | | |
|------|---------|--------|--------|
| 2000 | 146.670 | 48.889 | 10.054 |
| 2001 | 146.042 | 48.442 | 10.005 |
| 2002 | 145.339 | 48.022 | 9.957 |
| 2003 | 144.598 | 47.633 | 9.910 |
| 2004 | 143.864 | 47.271 | 9.863 |
| 2005 | 143.170 | 46.925 | 9.816 |
| 2006 | 142.530 | 46.607 | 9.770 |
| 2007 | 141.941 | 46.329 | 9.724 |
| 2008 | 141.394 | 46.078 | 9.679 |
| 2009 | 140.874 | 45.873 | 9.634 |
| 2010 | 140.367 | 45.433 | 9.588 |

For the period of independence a number of population in the Slavic state has declined:

- in Russia **8.362 mln. people**
- in Ukraine **6.360 mln. people**
- в Белоруссии **0.710 mln. People**

For comparison during the same period in the USA a number of population has increased by **53.880 mln.** from 254.865 mln. to 308.745 mln.²⁸

– the basis of the tragedy was laid by pseudo economic reforms of the ‘new democrats’. Steven Cohen thinks that ‘a real tragedy was a shock therapy which destroyed soviet middle class. Note, that during the 15 years liberal leaders repeated: we need to create the middle class. But here was the biggest middle class. But they destroyed the last capital of the middle class already in 1992. Middle class turned to be incapable of creating small business. Collapse of the middle class was made in the Stalin manner’.²⁹

Shock therapy not only completed liberal reforms but it sent back new states into a feudal and repressive epoch by opening new era, as Soros noted to the point – era of predatory capitalism. Developing the theory of anomia of Emile Durckheim Robert K. Merton proved that people aspire to financial success but they realize that is cannot be achieved with a help of socially approved means, they can resort to illegal ways, for instance, racket, speculation on the horse races or selling drugs.

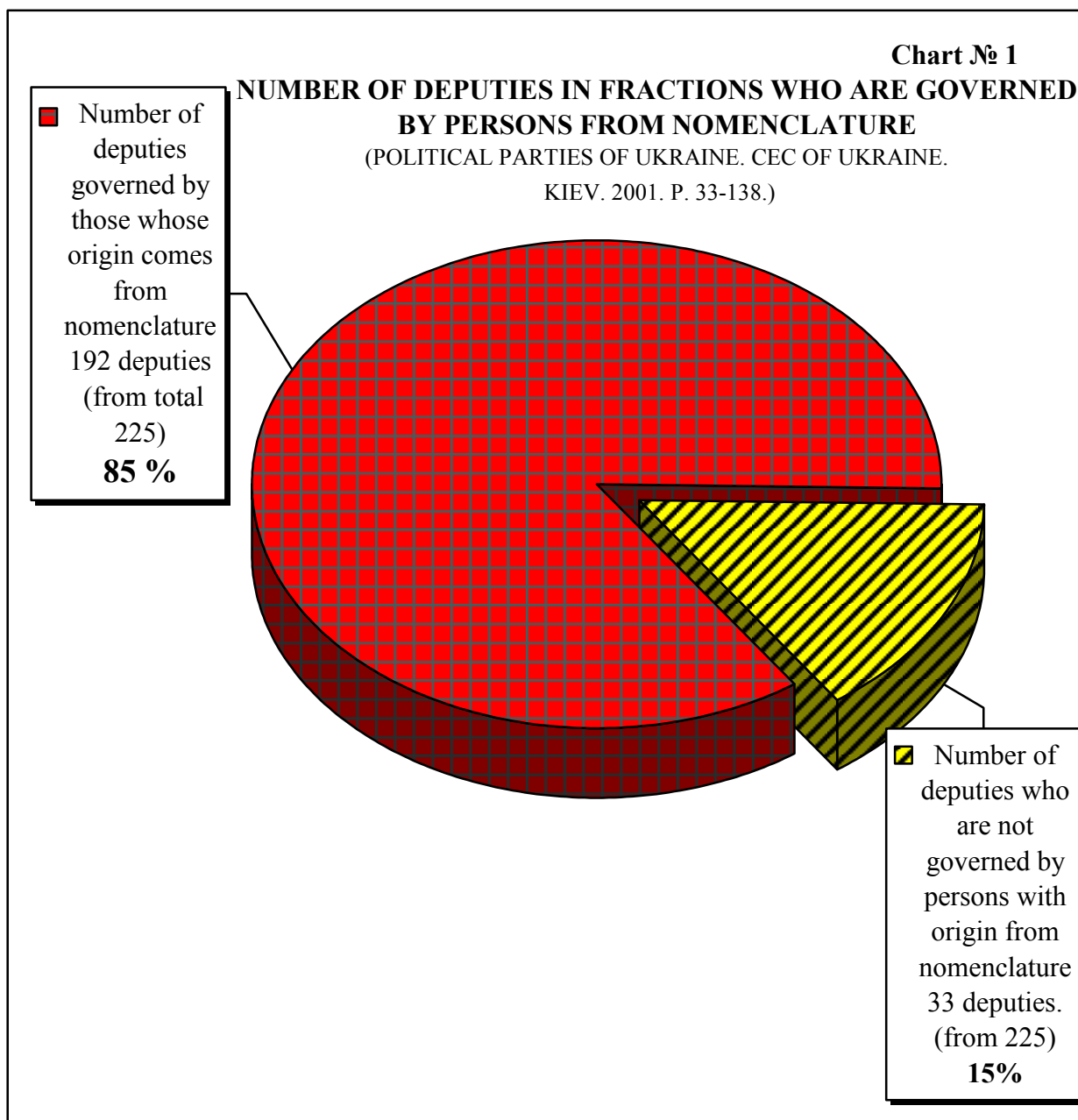
Precisely in these conditions of loss of social orientation a formation of political elites of the new independent states was shaped. These elites have formed form privileged layers with using crime as instrument, method of imposition from deviant categories of citizens who by virtue of their former stand in the USSR were affected by anomia at least. These categories include:

²⁸ Modernization of Ukraine – our strategic choice : Anuual Address of the President of Ukraine to the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine. – K., 2011. – P. 190-191.

²⁹ Stephen Cohen: «The only fault of Gorbachev is that he created Yeltsin», [Elecetonic resource] / Cohen Stephen. Political journal № 14 (65); 18 April, 2005. – Access regime: <http://www.politjournal.ru/index.php?action=Articles&dirid=67&tek=3288&issue=98>

- Representatives of nomenclature. “Already in 1918 in conversation with working delegation expressed his support for proactivists to receive additional food ration. Thus along with power privileges started to rise and the state did not manifest any signs of “atrophy”, on the contrary it become more stronger”.³⁰ These privileges had transformed into different forms of corruption: from charge for amnesty, admission to the university to legal purchase of nomenclature posts. “Uofficial charge: for amnesty of sentenced convict to the long period – 100 000 rubles”, in 1985 it became clear that not only in Asia republic but in Ukraine the rector of Odessa medical university with a help of the Central Committee of the party was taking bribes for admission of students into his university having received for that, though not at the scale of Georgia-Azerbaijan but nonetheless a lot, 9 thousand rubles, i.e. six-year salary of ordinary worker”. Undoubtedly that precisely an opportunity to get large bribes from convicts comprised a basis of prices for posts of district attorney and the head of district police station, whose official allowance is very modest: 150-180 rubles and 200-250 rubles respectively. Bribe amounts differ but always are much higher than a monthly allowance of taking official: 3-4 times – judge’s bribe, 10 times – to the secretary of the district committee of the party. Criminals do not buy out official offices, but officials purchase on this money new, more higher positions ... in order to become secretary of the district branch of the party they had to pay a lot at some point of time and for that matter even more than district attorney had to. A position of the first secretary of the district branch of the party of Azerbaijan was worth in 1969 – 200 000 rubles, second secretary – 100 000 rubles. This money were paid to the secretaries of the central committee because these positions were subordinated under the Central committee of the Communist party of Azerbaijan.

³⁰ Djilas Milovan. Citation acc to Voslenskiy Mikhail «Nomenclature» – M. : MP "OKTYABR" "SOVIET RUSSIA". – 1991. – P. 7-10.



Thus, to buy a nomenclature position there, where they are being sold – is possible for a person from nomenclature environment only. This is an important function of nomenclature’s baksheesh: it enters the channel of attempts to make tenure in the nomenclature class a hereditary one”.³¹

Chart No1 shows a qualitative composition of the new Ukrainian elite in the context of preserving in it of nomenclature positions;

- Employees of KGB, specifics and methods of work of which facilitated formation in it of deviant (illegal) norms of behavior. “At the beginning of 1918, All-Russian emergency commission declared about its right to

³¹ Voslenskiy M. S. Nomenclature. Ruling class of the Soviet Union. – M.: "Soviet Russia" jointly with MP “Oktyabr”, 1991. – P. 125

conduct extrajudicial executions... Later extrajudicial functions of this body were only expanded”.³²

“KGB instantly acquired a bad fame due to persecution of people for their beliefs and “dissent”, i.e. honest people. These efforts of KGB most prominently manifested in the fight against “seditionists” and dissidents of 60-80-ies”.³³

These methods outlived its authority and on the opinion of former lieutenant-colonel of the FSS Litvinenko were used in Russia and on the territory of the CIS after the demise of the USSR. Methods are described in detail in the book “FSS explodes Russia. (Federal Security Service – organizer of terrorist attacks and murders)”, authors of which are Alexader Litvinenko and Yurii Felschtinski.³⁴

Practically they were not transformed and are actively used by FSS and other successors of KGB in the XXI century, which is certified by a conflict between Russia and Great Britain over poisoning with radioactive polonium of the former employee of FSS A. Litvinenko. Such practice has international prolongation in the spirit of KGB. It finds confirmation in the new publications. In September 2011 English newspaper “The Guardian” published an article “Western diplomats are under focus of FSS”, where it goes that “FSS employs psychological methods, developed by KGB, in order to intimidate and demoralize diplomatic staff, activists and journalists. Secret operations are described in the book “Mafia state” of the former Moscow reporter of the Guardian Luke Harding, published with continuation on the pages of Saturday's Weekend magazine”.³⁵

- criminal elements with deviant psychological peculiarities. Applicable to post-soviet space all penitentiary system – instrument of rooting of communist regime. Domestic penitentiary system – a subject of a separate discussion. Also worth mentioning that it reflects non-democratic, non-liberal, repression-like feature of the political regime.³⁶

“An enormous step forward occurs on the way to the criminalization of the state... State begins to function not like an organism in which different mafia penetrated,

³² Kokurin A.I., Petrov N.V. Lubianka: VChK-OGPU-NKVD-NKGB-MGB-MIA-KGB authorities 1917-1991 / Kokurin A.I., Petrov N.V. [Under ed. Of academician A.N. Yakovleva]. – M. : MFD, 2003. – P. 5-6.

³³ Kokurin A.I., Petrov N.V. Lubianka: VChK-OGPU-NKVD-NKGB-MGB-MIA-KGB authorities 1917-1991 / Kokurin A.I., Petrov N.V. [Under ed. Of academician A.N. Yakovleva]. – M. : MFD, 2003. – P. 8.

³⁴ Litvinenko A., Felschtinskiy Y. FSS explodes Russia (Federal Security Service – organizer of terrorist attacks, attempted murders and murders) / Litvinenko A., Felschtinskiy Y. –NEW YORK: LIBERTY PUBLISHING HOUSE. – 2002. – P.213-238.

³⁵ Western diplomats under cover of FSS [Electronic resource] "The Guardian". – Access regime: <http://www.inosmi.ru/politic/20110925/175143695.html>.

³⁶ Abramkin V. Searching solution: Criminality, criminal politics and places of confinement in post-soviet space. M.: Prava cheloveka, 1996; Censorship file: State and its prisoners, 1999 (№7-8); Walmsley R. Prison Systems in Central and Eastern Europe. Helsinki: HEUNI, 1996.

nut as the biggest mafia which wants to destroy small, restore an order and replenish “common fund of the criminal community”... The state transforms in compliance with severe laws of mafia. Of course this not the only pattern valid today in our country”.³⁷

These three categories of the soviet society created a special type of post-soviet national pseudoelites, united by one purpose of supremacy in the new conditions after the collapse of the USSR.

American publicist S. Erlanger has precisely formulated a process of formation of elites of new states. In the “International Herald Tribune” newspaper he describes post-soviet elite as: “vulgar nouveau riche, this new class consisting of criminals and noble thieves makes a basis of feudal production per se”. A change of “communist elite into a gathering of shadow businessmen, corrupted officials and criminals” occurred.³⁸

A way of elite’s formation had determined forms and methodology of transformations. A lie was laid as foundation of that, which has historic premises from the times of Ancient Rus and formed its own peculiar way of socialization in the environment of soviet totalitarianism. “For decades people were taught that in order to achieve something it is required to by all means deviate and evade rules. Russia has become a state where lie and fraud turned into a standard in which everybody knew about how a system is corrupted and how the laws are unfair – and in order to survive it is required to win over the system”, – resumes a prominent American psychologist Paul Eckmann, professor of the Californian University in San-Francisco.³⁹

In terms of content and essence of formed political elites a methodology of transformations has determined, in the basis of which in all post-soviet states lies the following:

– lie – as a basis of ideology of the authorities and propaganda, substitution of mass-media with those under the influence of oligarchy. In this context an opinion of the Deputy of pro-governmental party “Strong Ukriaine” Konstantin Bondarenko would be interesting: “Ukrainian infospace reminds a curved mirror or a kind of sieve through which one information passes and the other absolutely not – more substantial, more positive”.⁴⁰

– destruction of morality (auth. in pathological understanding as restriction of ‘access’ to the food and popularization of intimate relations) “Oligarchs-relers, at the steering wheel, being rich, would not like to restrict by the law a promiscuity of youth and ban them to waste and ruin their condition; on the contrary, the rulers

³⁷ Furman D. Successor started revising legacy. Mafia order changes mafia chaos / Furman D. // Obshchaya Gazeta. – 2000. – 28 Sept.–4 Oct. P. 7.

³⁸ Erlanger S. Izvestiya. 20 March, 1997 [Electronic resource] / S. Erlanger.; – Access regime: <http://lib.rus.ec/b/2467/read>

³⁹ Ekman Paul Psychology of lie. Lie to me, if you can / Ekman Paul PH: Piter. – 2009. – P. 285.

⁴⁰ Kost’ Bondarenko «After the Brussels» [Electronic resource]. – Access regime: http://lb.ua/news/2011/03/01/86419_Posle_Bryusselya.html

would purchase their property or give them mortgages in order to become even more richer and powerful. This is top priority for them”.⁴¹ The same is observed on the territory of the CIS countries. This mechanism of state destruction is described by Plato in the V century B.C.;

– destruction of socio-economic basis for economic transformations. Destruction of foundations for the development of small and middle businesses, as pointed above, Stephen Cohen asserts that “A real catastrophe was a shock therapy which had destructed soviet middle class”.⁴²

– destruction of the right as a social foundation of public relations and transformation of the right into an instrument of extraction of profit of ruling pseudo-elite. Immanuel Kant: The greatest problem for human beings for solving of which he is being forced by nature – attainment of universal civil society... The fact that this problem is being solved later than all is conditioned by that it requires a right understanding of the nature of possible (state) system, huge, gained during a lot of centuries experience and, above that, good will ready to accept such system.⁴³

– violence as a single instrument of the power implementation. This comes from prevailing ideology in the society – cynicism, the basis of which is a all-out lie.

In this context the conclusions of Hanna Arend represent a special interest: “Totalitarian movements maliciously use democratic freedoms in order to annihilate them. It’s not a simple devil’s ruse coming from leaders or a childish silliness from the side of masses. Democratic freedoms are possible only if they are based on equality of all citizens before the law”.⁴⁴

“If all would reckon that rules are to be violated or evaded than social institutes will not be able to function. Nowadays nobody believes anything whatever present government says. Many among those with whom I met believed Gorbachev, and it was a year before failed plot of 1991. The nation cannot survive if nobody believes to their leaders.

I doubt that any form of governance could last any time without using power to suppress its own nation, if the nation thinks that its leaders always lie”.⁴⁵

Obviously - a collapse of fragments of post-soviet empire. Civilization faces aggravation of social vices inside post-soviet, corrupted states, in consequence of which it will get prolongation of the process developing into terrorist stage in

⁴¹ Plato «The State», Book eighth. «Antology of world political thought» in 5 volumes / National public and scientific foundation of the Academy of political sciences / Plato. – M. : Mysl. – 1997. Vol. 1. – P. 99 [1].

⁴² Stephen Cohen: «The only fault of Gorbachev is that he created Yeltsin», [Elecetonic resource] / Cohen Stephen. Political journal № 14 (65); 18 April, 2005. – Access regime: <http://www.politjournal.ru/index.php?action=Articles&dirid=67&tek=3288&issue=98>

⁴³ Kant E. Collection of works in 8 volumes. Vol. 8. – M.: – 1994. – P. 17-22.

⁴⁴ Arendt H. The principles of totalitarianism. Antology of world political thought. In 5 Vol. Vol. IV. Political thought of Russia: second half of XIX-XX cc. / National public and scientific foundation of the Academy of political sciences / H. Arendt. – M. : Mysl. – 1997. – Vol. 2. P. 526 [1].

⁴⁵ Ekman Paul Psychology of lie. Lie to me, if you can / Ekman Paul PH: Piter. – 2009. – P. 285.

international affairs, which in the global environment would lead to new confrontation between liberal and democratic world and the world of new agonizing cleptocratic regimes of universal states.

An unconscious but intensive process of self-eating of the society is on the way. Post-soviet states have lost a control not only over law enforcement agencies and courts but also over special services. Statistics brought by the chairman of the Supreme Court of the RF Vyacheslav Lebedev at the meeting of the chairmen of the courts of the Federation subjects, showed, that among sentenced in Russia for bribery, militia officials prevail. "... among sentenced in 2008 for bribery 1300 people 31% constituted representative of MIA".⁴⁶

Several criminal cases have been filed against the head of the third department of the Main department of counter-intelligence protection of economy of the Security Service of Ukraine in Kyiv and the head of the department of counter-intelligence protection of the economy of the SSU in Kyiv. The case was filed upon indications of corpus delicti, stipulated by p.4 of the article 368 of the Criminal Code of Ukraine – receiving a big amount of bribe, entailing blackmailing. Also under the same case two more officials of the Main department of counter-intelligence protection of the economy of SSU in Kyiv for aiding in receipt of bribe.⁴⁷

Law enforcement agencies and special services became the biggest source of danger for citizens. They have converted into organizers of felonies. A high-ranking official from the internal authorities in Russia took an order for organizing a murder of a journalist Anna Politkovskaya which drew a wide response. Lieutenant-colonel of militia Dmitri Pavluchukov, being an official of the secret subdivision of militia, got an order for murder of Politkovskaya, created and organized criminal group, organized discreet surveillance of the victim and also supplied the killer with a gun and silencer.⁴⁸

In Ukraine (auth. Organizer and executor of the murder of journalist Georgiy Gongadze) "former head of the intelligence department and external surveillance of the MIA of Ukraine general Alexei Pukach at the court confirms his testimony about the clients of the murder of the journalist Georgiy Gongadze. He tells the names the same as he told earlier: Leonid Kuchma, Yurii Kravchenko, Vladimir Lytvyn, Nikolai Dzhyha".⁴⁹ This tendency has a firm tendency to development, thus a "gang under patronage of 'ex-SSU officer' (auth. new name for KGB in Ukraine) appropriated from so-called 'village council stock' – lands of territorial

⁴⁶ Lebedev V. Meeting of the chairmen of the courts of the subjects of federation. [Electronic resource] / Lebedev V.; 28 Jan. 2009 – Access regime: <http://kommersant.ru>

⁴⁷ Counter-intelligence officers of SSU got caught on bribe [Electronic resource]. – Access regime: <http://www.izvestia.com.ua/ru/news/13062>

⁴⁸ Suspect in murder of journalist Anna Politkovskaya has been arrested, militia's retired lieutenant-colonel Dmitri Pavluchukov [Electronic resource] 23.08.11. – Access regime: <http://lenta.ru/news/2011/08/23/suspect/>.

⁴⁹ Pukach called last names of Gongadze murder clients: Kuchma, Kravchenko, Litvin, Dzhyha... Former General made a number of celebrated statemetns [Electronic resource]; 30 August 2011 – Access regime: <http://wek.com.ua/article/58822/>

community which cost 43,6 mln. UAH ... total damage caused by frauds made 236,6 mln. UAH” (auth. Approx. 30 mln. UAH).⁵⁰ In Kyiv, the officials of the department for fighting illegal drug trafficking headed by the head have been inclining citizens to committing actions related to drugs trafficking. Threatening to bring to the criminal responsibility, the officials made drug addicts to buy and distribute drugs to other locals.⁵¹

In this context an opinion of the head of Russian bureau of Interpol Vladimir Ovchinskiy is especially interesting: “One can say with surety that don’t have a single ‘stainless’ state authority – either government, ministries, governors or mayors. Special place in this hit-parade occupy law enforcement agencies. Even during hard 90-ies the involvement into organized crime groups of officials from law enforcement agencies was not to such an extent”. Illustrating his arguments, the expert makes an example of attorney’s employees who were covering illegal gambling business, mobs in the regions, covered by local order guards, countless raider seizures of commercial enterprises with a help of law enforcement structures and abominable criminal bosses sitting on high chairs. “Being the former head of Interpol I assert that there are no analogies in the world’s practice”, - suggested retired Major General Ovchinskiy. This did not carry mass character, this is the chief difference. Today state tries to place a control over mafia – criminal structures practically started to remove real leadership.⁵²

The father of soviet reforms Mikhail Gorbachev had warned that “Vladimir Putin will convert Russia into petty dictatorship like in Africa, if he becomes president once again”.⁵³

4. Main outcomes of transformations and their influence on the formation of the system of international relations and the development of the global world.

Vector of evolution of the modern Slavic post-soviet states is but one – degradation of the society, economic downturn to the level of feudal and tyrannical and finally collapse of states. German historian, economist, philosopher and publicist, one of the leaders of German social democracy and II International Karl Kautski already in 30-ies of the past century wrote: “After the collapse of the Soviet state a task of preserving uninterrupted production line would rise before its successors with

⁵⁰ Former SSU officer has stolen from villagers 350 ha of land [Electronic resource]. – Access regime: http://www.mediacentr.info/criminal/byvshij-esbeushnik-umyknul-u-seljan-350-ga-zemli__22186

⁵¹ Kyiv militia proven guilty of drugs trade [Electronic resource] 23 Sept. 2011 – Access regime: <http://stolitsa.glavred.info/archive/2011/09/23/162553-16.html>

⁵² Ovchinskiy V. Russia ruled by mafia. «Moskovskiy komsomolets» [Electronic resource] / Ovchinskiy V.; 29 Jun. 2011 – Acces regime: <http://www.utro.ru/articles/2011/06/29/983167.shtml>

⁵³ Stewart Will. Russia will convert into petty African dictatorship (Shoul Putin become president once again) [Electronic resource] / Stewart Will; «Daily Mail»,GB; Will Stewart; 23.07.2011 – Access regime: <http://www.inosmi.ru/politic/20110723/172405985.html>

more urgency than more pitiful it would appear, as it could be foreknown, the economic situation in which they would find the country”.⁵⁴ But even he was not able to foresee the level of moral fall and form of governance of the new power – cleptocracy.

Every new Slavic state has its own peculiarities of the movement towards fatal inevitability. In organization of the form of governance they are single typed – these are cleptocracies of totalitarian and repressive type. The difference is that in Russia – it is a tyranny of special services (KGB-FSS) in which crime is used as a tool and electively granted access to the formal governmental institutions. In Ukraine prevailing component is criminal, and representatives of special services, law enforcement bodies and of justice are the tools. Belorussia has its own peculiarity related to authoritative tyrannical form of governance of Alexander Lukashenko who forms all bodies of state power according to his vision (again relying on KGB, nomenclature and criminals) which establishes patrimonial form of government of the times of collapse of the Roman empire.

All reforms after the collapse of the USSR were not a movement towards democracy but failed even to lay down the beginnings of democracy. At his time Niccollo Machiavelli wrote: “The parliaments keep up till now because they always opposed aristocracy; but should they leave unpunished at least one claim or seizure, the evil would quickly spread and the order would not be restored without great shock which could lead a state to ruin”.⁵⁵ The Supreme Council of Ukraine is difficult to call a legislative body of the state. It is rather a club protecting and supporting personal interests of oligarchs and retired officials. “Casino”, in which citizens loose. Supreme Council of Ukraine has 300 millionaires out of 450 members according to the people’s deputies N. Kulchinskyi, Y. Solomatin. (Chart No 2).

People’s deputy of Ukraine Alexander Volkov tells about morals and manners prevailing in the Supreme Council of Ukraine. While discussing that the oligarchs go to the Supreme Council of Ukraine to protect the interests of their business he told that if you have 100 000 you are being ‘torn’ (auth. demand, fleeced, demand bribe) by the local powers. If you earn millions you are being ‘torn’ by prosecution, MIA and other central fiscal bodies. A. Volkov asserts that in Verkhovna Rada the deputy protects his business.⁵⁶

In international politics the CIS states represent danger because their internal policy leads to criminalization of the whole sphere of state relations, loss of control over main non-transferrable functions – taxation and violence and as a consequence extensification of economy and social darwinization of the public relations sphere, and finally to collapse. As a consequence, the pseudo-elites will

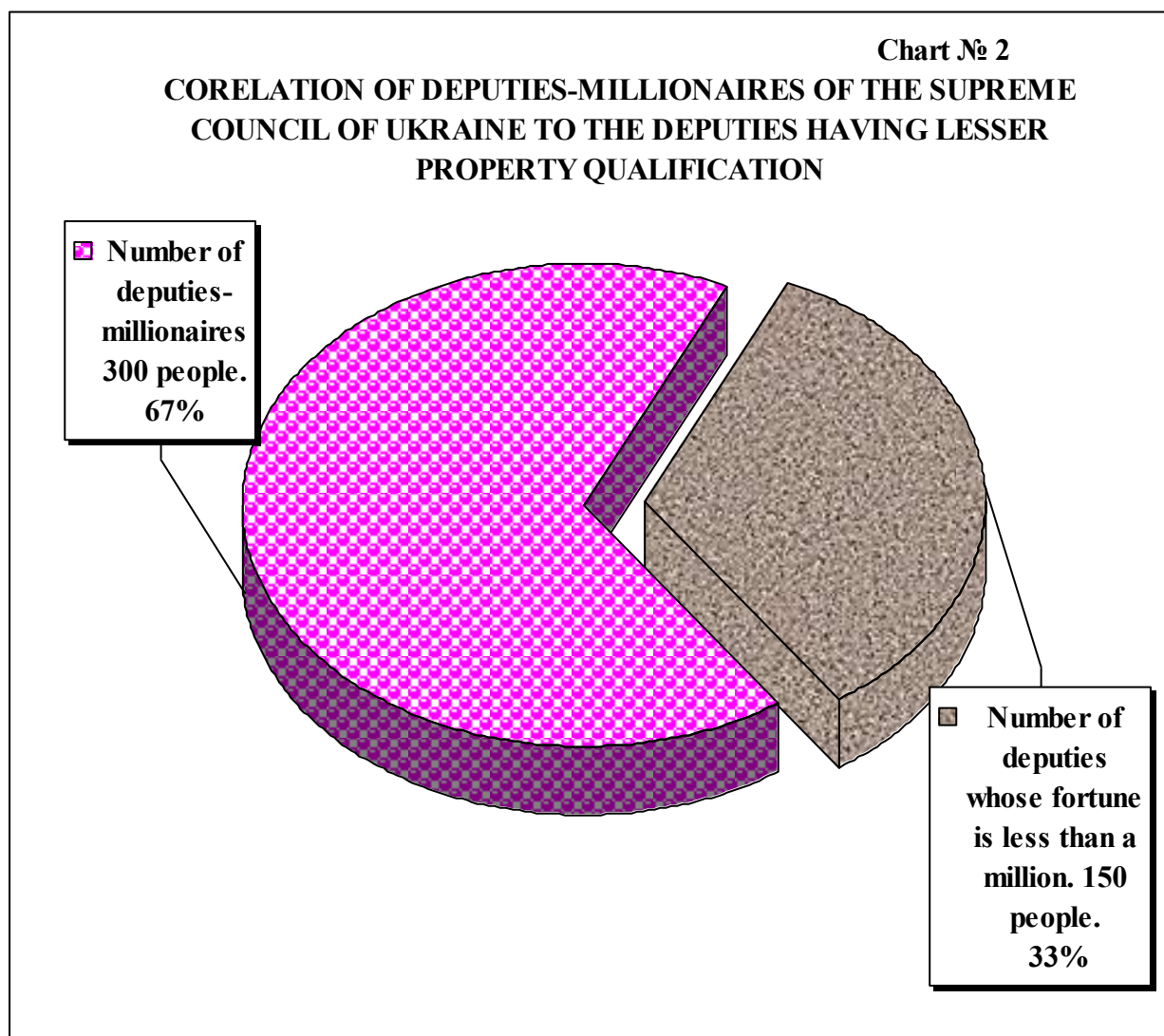
⁵⁴ Kautskiy Karl. From the democracy to the state slavery Anthology of world political thought in five volumes/ National public and scientific foundation of the Academy of political science / Karl Kautskiy – M. : Mysl. – 1997. – v. 2. – P.115. [1].

⁵⁵ Machiavelli N. The Prince. Discourses on first decade of Titus Livius. On the military art / Preface, comments E.I. Temnova – M. : Mysl, – 1996. – P. 303.

⁵⁶ Zazhigaev B.V. Political process in Ukraine: reality and tendencies of statehood evolution (1991 – 2005) Monograph / B.V. Zazhigaev. – K., KIU, 2009. – P. 244–245.

have to find a way out from the existing situation. This way out – transfer of internal problems into the area of external policy – searching an external foe. This, foremost, is a search of external military threat and as a consequence an attempt of consolidation of the society for confronting ‘external’ challenges. Signs of such external policy are already observable in the election rhetoric of the modern Russian leaders, in particular in the context of army rearmament. Russia strives to restore its supremacy on the post-soviet space relying on its nuclear status which leaves no alternative and pushes it in the stream of the policy of international nuclear terrorism.

Chart № 2⁵⁷



Professor Stephen Cohen told: “I think that the world today became more danger in comparison with an epoch of USSR. Apparently because that control over the world which was done by USA and Russia jointly, was lost. Today Russia

⁵⁷ Zazhigaev B.V. Political process in Ukraine: reality and tendencies of statehood evolution (1991 – 2005) Monograph / B.V. Zazhigaev. – K., KIU, 2009. – P. 394.

is in ruins. It still lives off the remains of the soviet economy”.⁵⁸ (*auth. As any other among the CIS states*).

In this stream, on 15 of December 2006 Donald Rumsfeld had successfully marked during the festivities in connection with leaving the post of the Secretary of Defence of the USA: “Time of barbarism into the century of high-techs”.

Conclusions of Donald Rumsfeld are confirmed by the head of the department of qualitative researches All-Russian center of studying public opinion A. Levinson: “What are the reasons because of which we still cannot leave the condition of quasi-feudalism? One of the chief reasons of its slow transformation and elimination is that it remains effectively functioning form of organization of the society. In this environment the state with all the number of the abovementioned qualities a transfer from feudal-repressive to more rational and humanistic forms of organization seems quite problematic. The society which has not yet given up its archaic foundations and in many ways preserving traditional syncretism simply cannot have another state, but for the same reason further immanent development of the state itself is not possible”.⁵⁹

Variations from totalitarianism to the liberal democracy and vice versa to archaic totalitarianism makes the Slavic political tradition – national political flaw. Way out from the crisis in the movement to political antipode. “This movement as it is undulating, whereas every intensified effort for the leap inevitably requires the same rest after, and intensified rest again conditions new leap, and so forth without an end. The waves hereby increase, and instead of simple current a storm begins. And every time, the more diligent a wish to reward for the lost time, the more real the intention to rectify its past, the only more future deteriorates and more loyally immortalizes the undulation as organic flaw of the society”.⁶⁰

Post-soviet states are the states ‘inside out’ or complete antipode to the notion of statehood as such, peculiar modern form of terrorist state. It spreads lawlessness – lust, developing into internal terrorism in the state and society. At present the level of corruption of the state (acc. to N. Machiavelli) on post-soviet territories is such that any another decision of any body of the government would only deepen the crisis of power, fragment the statehood and destroy the civil society. In this connection Niccolo Machiavelli wrote: “If examples of strictness

⁵⁸ Stephen Cohen: «The only fault of Gorbachev is that he created Yeltsin», [Electronic resource] / Cohen Stephen. Political journal № 14 (65); 18 April, 2005. – Access regime: <http://www.politjournal.ru/index.php?action=Articles&dirid=67&tek=3288&issue=98>

⁵⁹ Levinson A. Russian pendulum. Between the free market and total control / Levinson A. // *Expert*. – 31 Aug. 1998. – № 32. P. 17.

⁶⁰ Stronin A.I. Antology of the world political thought. In 5 Vol. Vol. IV. Political thought of Russia: Second half of XIX-XX centuries / Nat. public and scientific foundation of the Academy of political science / Stronin A.I. – M. : Mysl. – 1997. – Vol. 4. P. 125.[1].

would not bring fear before the law, a number of its infringements would come up to the level of what becomes dangerous to persecute them”.⁶¹

In post-soviet states the process of socialization corresponds to the level of public relations, applicable to the new conditions of the global world, but even more danger they represent for international society in terms of extrapolation of internal public relations which shall be qualified as ‘social Darwinism’, on international environment which inevitably would destroy liberal and democratic establishment of the West. Public relations in the post-soviet states – is public relations in pre-capitalistic epoch. Nobleness of capitalistic entrepreneurship ‘occurs, however, to the person of pre-capitalistic epoch as much obscure and mysterious as worth scorning’. That anyone could make a single goal of his life an accumulation of material benefits, could strive for dying burdened with money and property, people of this epoch were able to comprehend only as a result of corrupted inclinations, «auri sacra fames».⁶²

Post-soviet states in the process of their collapse are to reach the level of 40-year old statehood of North African state – times of Moammar Gadhafi and Hosni Mubarak. To pass a period of socialization (adaptation) of the civil society in the feudal-repressive reality to which nations are casted away, and only then under favorable conditions, a movement of states towards the level of public relations of ‘Libyan Jamahiriya’ and then towards liberal and democratic transformations is possible.

In the conditions of the global world such possibility, most probably, would not be given.

⁶¹ Machiavelli N. The Prince. Discourses on first decade of Titus Livius. On the military art / Preface, comments E.I. Temnova – M. : Mysl, – 1996. – P. 302.

⁶² Max Weber. Protestant ethics and the spirit of capitalism. Antology of the world political thought in five volumes / Nat. public and scientific foundation of the Academy of political science / Karl Kautskiy – M. : Mysl. – 1997. – v. 2. – P. 35. [1].