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The Special Feature section in the next three issues will discuss:

- ***Central Eurasia: Politics Today***
- ***Central Eurasia: Religion in the Sociopolitical Context***
- ***Central Eurasia: Integration Processes***

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— footnotes should be placed at the bottom of each page; if there are references to Internet resources, please give the author's name, the name of the document, the website address, and the date it was made available, for example, available 2007-04-19;

— quotations, names of authors and other information from English-language sources should be duplicated in brackets in the original language, that is, in English;

— the article should be divided into sections, including an introduction and conclusion;

— the author should include the following personal information: first name, last name, academic degree, place of work, position, city, country.

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POLITICS TODAY

DEMOCRATIC TRANSIT IN THE SOUTH CAUCASIAN COUNTRIES

Andrei MORDOVTSEV

D.Sc. (Law), Professor, Taganrog Institute of Management and Economics (Taganrog, Russian Federation)

Alexey MAMYCHEV

D.Sc. (Political Science), Ph.D. in Law, Assistant Professor, Head of the Department of Theory and History of Russian and Foreign Law, Vladivostok State University of Economics and Service (Vladivostok, Russian Federation)

Tatyana MORDOVTSEVA

D.Sc. (Culturology), Professor, Taganrog Institute of Management and Economics (Taganrog, Russian Federation)

Mikhail MIRZORIN

Senior Lecturer, Department of Criminal Law and Procedure, Taganrog Institute of Management and Economics (Taganrog, Russian Federation)

This research was done on RF presidential grant No. MD-6669.2016.6 "Archetypical (Sociocultural) Foundations of Public-Power Organization and Its Evolution in the 21st Century in Russia."

ABSTRACT

The authors present the specific aspects of the emergence of transit states in the Southern Caucasus; they study the nature of legal information in the broad sociocultural context and identify its specifics and social value in the contemporary world. In the 1990s, the post-Soviet region became a scene of reforms of the political system as a whole and each of the institutions of state power in particular. It is important, therefore, to identify the role of the state power structures in the current democratic changes and the consolidation of democratic forces. A transfer from any form of authoritarianism to democracy represents a trend in social and political development typical of many countries in the twentieth and early twenty-first century. The models of democratic transit are rooted in the experience of different countries generalized by contemporary political science. This requires an in-depth study of the political transit in the post-Soviet region and the democratic transit in the Southern Caucasus in particular. The post-Soviet region exhibits numerous diverse democratization processes specified by historical contexts. It is important, therefore, to identify the general and the specific in the political processes going on in the post-Soviet region and the priorities of democratic development in each of the post-Soviet republics. We must specify the stages of democratization and the trends in the changes occurring in each specific country, taking due account of its historical conditions. As a federative state, Russia demonstrates very specific forms of political transit; the same can be said about Ukraine, which neighbors on the West, and about the Central Asian countries, which belong to the Eastern civilization. The intensity of the political changes occurring in the post-Soviet region, the diverse political processes, and their different directions and levels explain why the studies to date have been unable to give an unequivocal description of the democratic transit. This means that the theoretical and methodological paradigms of the theory of the political process should be specified in the transit context.

KEYWORDS: ***transition, transit countries, political science, post-Soviet region, civilized society, the Southern Caucasus.***

Introduction

As a historical phenomenon, any state exists and functions within certain forms of its social organization. Its development, very much like the development of human society as a whole, has undergone and continues to undergo transition periods accompanied by radical changes of social and political phenomena, institutions, and organizations.

It is these transition periods that inevitably attract the attention of researchers, who not only study political scientific problems in relatively stable conditions, but also in extreme or even crisis developments.

Political science is aware not only of the problem of transitivity, but also of its real multilayered analogue, which reveals its specific aspects of revolution, evolution, modernization, optimization, and perfection.

It can be said that the term "transitivity" allows us to analyze transition periods in the history of any state within the framework of the same phenomenon, or during transition from one phenomenon to another.

The geopolitical situation in the South Caucasian states is responsible for the multivectoral nature of their policy: living at the crossroads of the multisided contradictions among the world powers, they need balanced relations with each of them. The need to maintain stability along its southern borders and the history of its relations with the peoples of the Southern Caucasus require that Russia eliminate all the contradictions in its relations with the South Caucasian states, on the one hand, and with the international community, on the other.

The democratic changes in the post-Soviet region are unfolding under the impact of diverse factors, the confrontation between the West headed by the United States and the still poorly consolidated, yet consolidating Eurasian economic and political region with its center in Russia being one of them. Legal entities never (or cannot) organize their behavior independently of their spiritual and cultural roots, the social and legal experience created by succeeding generations, the accepted legal values, etc.[1] This means that the new countries must seek allies and patrons and decide how much they are ready to pay for their security.

This fully applies to the South Caucasian countries: in recent years Russia's political, economic, and military influence shrank considerably, while the West's presence became more obvious. Today, its geostrategic situation makes the Southern Caucasus one of the world's most important transborder regions. From time immemorial, this region, which is situated at the crossroads of Europe and Asia, has been and remains actively involved in trade between the East and the West and is very important for Russia's national security system.

The political culture of most of the post-Soviet states is marked by its bias toward group, collectivist, and hierarchical norms and values; they tend toward ethnic and professional corporate cohesion, a high degree of personification in politics, acceptance of authoritarianism and clientelism, and a much greater role of traditional values in political culture. The social basis of the democratic transit is weak because civil society is unstructured, the middle class is poorly developed, and the region, which should have belonged to a so far non-existent efficient multi-party system, belongs to a multitude of small political parties incapable of putting up real and efficient opposition to the government. These factors are mainly responsible for the definition of the political regimes of essentially all the post-Soviet states.

A legal state presupposes a system of political, legal, and other guarantees of basic constitutional rights, equality before the law and in court, and mutual responsibility of the state and the individual. These provisions, while formally recognized in most of the post-Soviet states, the South Caucasian countries in particular, are not always observed by the government. International acts related to the rights of nations and the equality of citizens before the law are violated; rights and freedoms are abused by extremist forces; there are deliberate violations of the law by one and all—from the head of state to man-in-the-street. Not infrequently, laws, including legal acts relating to crucially important aspects of the continued existence of the state and society, do not meet the direct action requirements; as such, they do not regulate social relations and do not produce tangible social effects.

The anticorruption struggle unfolding in various echelons of Russian power confirms the above. The packages of anticorruption laws proposed by the president of the Russian Federation and adopted in 2008-2009 produced practically no effect (a fact admitted by the head of state): for many reasons this legal initiative did not fulfill its preventive function.

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[1] See: A. Ovchinnikov, A. Mamychev, D. Mamycheva, "Sociocultural Bases of State-Legal Development Coding," *Mediterranean Journal of Social Sciences,* Vol. 6, No. 3 S4, 2015, pp. 67-74.

Social, civilizational, ethnic, and cultural reality is responsible for the fact that the legal awareness of citizens and the legal culture of society (itself a multifaceted phenomenon) has been and will remain mutually intertwined. The former is one of the most important factors of the evolution of the legal culture and the changes in its content, while the latter is, in fact, a "semiosphere"[2] needed for the emergence and functioning of legal awareness. The mutually conditioned ties between these phenomena make it possible to build and use extremely productive and adequate theoretical and methodological "heuristics."

Today, the problem of statehood, national development, and security has come to the fore. A scholarly analysis of the current political processes calls for a study of the political situation in the transit countries.

This problem is of scientific and theoretical, as well as practical importance, which explains the choice of subject and object of our study.

Materials and Methods

Study of the political processes in transit countries of the non-Western type should rely on the theory of the non-Western political process formulated by American political scientist Lucian W. Pye and Michael McFaul's theory of transitology and "rational choice." Transitology complemented by the neo-institutional and structural-functional approaches (N. Luhmann, A. Giddens, Sh.N. Eisenstadt, and others) makes it possible to analyze and discuss the following:

(1) institutional dynamics;

(2) nation-building in the political region; and

(3) the role of the military-political component in the national security system.

The discussion of the political process and the role of political institutions is based on a systemic approach and the following sources:

- Official documents of the U.N., OSCE, EU, NATO, CSTO, CIS, and others: Agreement between the Russian Federation and the Azerbaijan Republic on the Status, Principles and Conditions of Use of the Gabala Radar Station (Radar Station Daryal) (2003); Agreement on the Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan Oil Pipeline (1999), Declaration on Unity Cooperation between the Russian Federation and the Republic of Armenia oriented toward the 21st century (2000), etc.;
- Speeches, declarations, and addresses of the leaders of the South Caucasian countries: Speech of the President of the Republic of Armenia Robert Kocharyan at the Diplomatic Academy of the Foreign Ministry of Russia (Moscow, 16 January, 2003); Statement of the President of Azerbaijan Heydar Aliev at a meeting of the Heads of State-Members of the CIS (Moscow, 2 April, 1999), etc.;
- Statistics published by the central statistical structures of Azerbaijan, Armenia, Georgia, Russia, Turkey, Iran, and the United States;
- Materials that appeared in published and electronic media supplied by information agencies and found on the Internet, including the official sites of state structures of the South Caucasian countries: "On the Results of the Parliamentary Elections in Azerbaijan in 1995," etc.

[2] The term was suggested by Yuri Lotman (see: Yu.M. Lotman, *Semiosfera*, St. Petersburg, 2000) to define the space in which a social model appears and functions and which affects the model dialectically connected with the state and legal system and other components of the national political-legal and cultural space.

Our discussion of the structural organization of the political institutions involved in the political processes underway in the South Caucasian countries is based on content analysis and case studies that make it possible to check and prove the obtained results.

Discussion

The content and dynamics of the transit processes of the last few decades have been discussed within the modernization theory, which interprets political development as a transfer from traditional to contemporary forms of political organization. G.A. Almond, L.W. Pye, B. Moore, S. Huntington, Sh.N. Eisenstadt, and other prominent theoreticians have discussed in detail different aspects of political development, including the problem of an efficient political system conducive to economic, social, and cultural progress. As could be expected, these studies led to new concepts geared toward an analysis of the political transit system, transitology being one of them. It was elaborated by J. Linz, T. Karl, G. O'Donnell, A. Przeworski, D. Rustow, A. Stepan, S. Huntington, and Ph. Schmitter, who mainly concentrated on the "classical" Latin American and South European political transits,[3] as well as on the contemporary political problems of Islam[4] and the problems of civilizational and political science analysis.[5]

Prominent Armenian, Russian, and Western experts (A. Areshev, Yu. Barsegov, A. Gasparyan, A. Enokyan, V. Zakharov, A. Karakhanyan, V. Panin, V. Tishkov, and others) have written a great deal about the political problems of Armenia and its bilateral relations with several other states. Works by A. Grigoryan,[6] A. Kurtov,[7] and A. Martirosyan[8] deserve special mention. Russian jurisprudence and political science have turned their attention to the national-cultural dominant of the organization of relations in the government and legal field.[9]

The political process in Georgia is discussed by G. Glonti,[10] D. Gudiashvili,[11] D. Darchiashvili,[12] D. Berdzenishvili,[13] V. Illarionov,[14] O. Mikeladze, A. Molladze,[15] D. Rudik,[16] and F. Sakvarelidze.

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[3] See: V.Y. Lyubashits, A.Y. Mamychev, A.Y. Mordovcev, V.M. Vronskaya, "The Social-Cultural Paradigm of State Authority," *Mediterranean Journal of Social Sciences,* Vol. 6, No. 36, 2015, pp. 301-306.

[4] See: E. Ermakova, M. Jilkisheva, G. Fayzullina, I. Karabulatova, Kh. Shagbanova, "The Media and Fiction: Postmodernist Discourse of Contemporary Terrorism in the Context of Apocalyptic Rhetoric," *Central Asia and the Caucasus*, Vol. 17, Issue 2, 2016, pp. 61-69; I. Karabulatova, B. Akhmetova, K. Shagbanova, E. Loskutova, F. Sayfulina, L. Zamalieva, I. Dyukov, M. Vykhrystyuk, "Shaping Positive Identity in the Context of Ethnocultural Information Security in the Struggle against the Islamic State," *Central Asia and the Caucasus*, Vol. 17, Issue 1, 2016, pp. 84-92.

[5] See: G. Osipov, I. Karabulatova, G. Shafranov-Kutsev, L. Kononova, B. Akhmetova, E. Loskutova, G. Niyazova, "Ethnic Trauma and its Echo in Today's Mental Picture of the World among the Peoples of the Post-Soviet States: An Interethnic Conflicting Discourse Unfolding in Russia's Ethnolinguistic Information Region," *Central Asia and the Caucasus*, Vol. 17, Issue 2, 2016, pp. 87-94.

[6] See: A.Kh. Grigoryan, *Armiano-azerbaidzhanskie otnoshenia: realii i perspektivy*, Lingva, Erevan, 2001.

[7] See: A.A. Kurtov, "Armiano-iranskie otnoshenia," in: *Armenia: problema nezavisimogo razvitia*, Moscow, 1998.

[8] See: A. Martirosyan, "Armiano-iranskie otnoshenia," *Tsentralnaya Azia i Kavkaz,* No. 2 (8), 2000.

[9] See: A.R. Agamirov, I.A. Sarychev, A.Y. Mordovcev, A.Y. Mamychev, "Legal Mindset as Factor in the State in the 21st Century," *Mediterranean Journal of Social Sciences,* Vol. 6, No. 36, 2015, pp. 235-240.

[10] See: G. Glonti, *Nekotorye voprosy sovremennoy Gruzii,* Tbilisi, 2003.

[11] See: D. Gudiashvili, "NATO Membership as Georgia's Foreign Policy Priority," *Central Asia and the Caucasus,* No. 4 (22), 2003.

[12] See: D. Darchiashvili, T. Pataraia, "Returning to Europe? Georgia's Security Policy Priorities," *Central Asia and the Caucasus*, No. 1 (7), 2001.

[13] D. Berdzenishvili, F. Sakvarelidze, "Political Process in Post-Soviet Georgia," *Central Asia and the Caucasus*, No. 6 (12), 2001.

[14] See: V.P. Illarionov, O.A. Mikeladze, *Rossia i Gruzia: razmyshlenia o proshlom, nastoyashchem, budushchem*, Olma-Press, Moscow, 2005.

[15] See: A. Molladze, *Bezopasnost Yushnogo Kavkaza i regionalnoe sodruzhestvo*, Moscow, 2001.

[16] See: D.Yu. Rudik, *Interesy Rossii v Zakavkazie na sovremennom etape*, Moscow, 2003.

The results of a group of scholars—A. Bibliashvili, G. Gogmachadze, I. Muradyan, A. Skakov, and others—are also extremely interesting.

Results

The contradictions between the formal democratic procedures and authoritarian informal practices in the South Caucasian countries make it much harder for them to arrive at their own efficient models of nation-building. At the same time, the ethnic and territorial conflicts are burdened with political disagreements that cannot but affect the general course of national development.

Separatist impulses and unrealized geopolitical choices are pushing the military-political component of national security to the fore in all of the South Caucasian countries: given the numerous unsettled conflicts in their territories, they still want to be part of all sorts of international security systems. As could be expected, the security spheres and ensuring security in these countries are highly politicized, while the power blocs—NATO in Azerbaijan and Georgia and CSTO in Armenia—are acquiring even more reason to increase their pressure on the defense systems of these countries.

Today, democracy is understood as a set of phenomena that consists of political, legal, socio-economic, ideological, and psychological components.

All experts rely on these components in an effort to explain why some states are polyarchies, while others are following the democratic path, and why democracy and its institutions are sustainable in some countries (American political scientist Seymour Lipset spoke about a very limited circle of 12 so-called old democracies), while in others this state-legal space is disintegrating to open the road to authoritarianism or any other political system.

It should be said that transit is a mechanism that moves something from one space or environment to another, a definition that is extremely important for a correct understanding of the special evolutionary nature of the phenomenon of transit. Democratic transit is a set of diverse (informational, legal, political, social, economic, etc.) prerequisites, methods, and means applied to set up and develop democracy in each specific state and society.

An analysis of the course of democratization of the national state and legal space inevitably concentrates on its economic and political factor. Liberal authors normally point out that in the absence of developed institutions of a law-governed state and civil society, the market economy is the worst or even dangerous (at least in some respects) way to modernize totalitarian and authoritarian states. It brings oligarchs to power in the economy and government (the new economic elite privatizes power, so to speak).[17] Anyone who recognizes the Western liberal model of market relations as the only option will eagerly accept the above.

A transit state is an intermediary state with a high level of rejection of practically everything inherited from the previous system: it sets up new political institutions, while partly accepting some of the elements of the old state system. The very specifics of the political processes in transit countries of the non-Western type crop up in the highly pronounced patron-client relations, decision-making appropriated by groups of people or cliques, and the high degree of interchangeability on the political Olympus.

At the same time, the dynamics of institutional development in the South Caucasian countries are highly adaptive, while its autonomy and the complex structure of its organizations and procedures and their cohesion demonstrate slow growth rates.

[17] See: E.T. Gaidar, *Gosudarstvo i evolutsia,* Moscow, 1995, pp. 43-44.

It should be said that at the turn of the twenty-first century, the post-socialist world has been demonstrating a very high range of state and legal regimes, corresponding institutions and structures that reproduce state (public) power and, hence, political systems in which very different democratic practices and undemocratic (mostly authoritarian) forms of political and legal relations are combined. This means that the democratic transit in Russia and some of the Asian and East European countries is a contradictory, yet modernizing process with a multitude of vectors.

Nation-building in the Southern Caucasus is complicated by the absence of efficient models of nation-building in each of the three regional states, acute impulses of separatism and ethnic conflicts, and political disagreements. It should be said that legal information (social and legal structures and legal ideas) invariably predates the emergence of corresponding institutions and processes. This means that legal information plays the basic role in, or is the lining, so to speak, of the process of modernization (when, not infrequently, there is a contradiction between the legal information borrowed from other legal spaces and imposed by the state and rejected by the majority as alien or legal structures created "in the image and likeness" of foreign legal institutions, on the one hand, and real economic and political experience and consistent national values, on the other); legal information also plays the basic role in the context of the strategy of postmodernity, when borrowed legal information is carefully selected.

To ensure their security, the South Caucasian countries are relying either on NATO or the CSTO. The democratic transit is accelerated by the gradually developing media—TV, printed media, radio, and the Internet, which brings legal information to the widest possible population groups. This promotes better understanding and a more correct assessment of the content of varied (particularly the most important) laws and regulatory acts published (in the case of the Russian Federation) at the federal and regional levels. In the final analysis, no transit is possible without a smoothly functioning system that provides society with legal information. This is especially true of a huge state with a relatively large population. The main role in the process should belong to state power, even in a liberal political and legal system in which the state plays a limited role in the affairs of the individual and civil society.

In transit states, the structures of the previous social order are vehemently rejected and destroyed; new political institutions are created; this suggests that the features of the previous system and the new elements that appeared during the transformations are joined together, that is, the transit countries preserve some of the previous elements of the state or certain aspects of its structural organization during the transition period.

It should be said, however, that democratization of the system of power relations in the post-Soviet South Caucasian region is the key component of the general transition state of the national legal and political systems. This means that the process of democratization cannot be isolated from the specifics of the transit state and its unstable legal system.

Conclusion

The nature of the political processes unfolding in the transit countries can be divided into two types: Western—the Central and Eastern Europe countries—and non-Western—the post-Soviet countries and the countries of Southeast Asia, etc. The political process unfolding in the former can be described as patron-client relations that presuppose mutual dependence of those who have economic and political power and those who expect the people in power to fulfill their duties and protect their clients. Groups of people (cliques) are the key elements of the system of decision-making, while political parties normally reflect the interests of certain social subgroups or the personal interests of an influential leader.

The development level of political institutions can be assessed by means of four parameters: the adaptability, complexity, autonomy, and cohesion of organizations and procedures.

Adaptability presupposes that the institution can cope with challenges; while autonomy means the extent to which political organizations and procedures are free from other public structures and behavior patterns.

Complexity is expressed through the hierarchical and functional multiplication of political institutions. Cohesion means the ability of these institutions to join forces for the sake of reaching common goals. The economic, cultural, and social specifics of the South Caucasian countries limit the development of these parameters.

This undermines the obligatory nature of legal information, while the state as its main source is "delegitimized": the state structures play a much lesser role in maintaining law and order; this creates conditions conducive to all sorts of anarchic and radical behavior by certain political forces. This is best illustrated by the events of 1991: for certain reasons, the Union legal system was "removed" (for reasons of "political expediency") from the state and legal space of Russia and other Union republics, which deprived the Union state power of its legitimacy. The situation in Ukraine in late 2013-2014 caused by the rapid regime change with the use of force when the Constitution and several regulatory legal acts were also devalued for reasons of "political and economic expediency" and the ardent desire of the political elites to join the European Union as promptly as possible is another vibrant case in point.

These facts suggest that the South Caucasian regimes are of a mixed nature; they combine the values, attitudes, and institutions of democracy interpreted in their own way with authoritarianism.

A legal state means a system of political, legal, and other guarantees that would ensure real constitutional guarantees, equality of all before the law and the court, and mutual accountability of the state and the individual.

THE NORTHERN CAUCASUS IN THE 21ST CENTURY: SOCIOCULTURAL AND POLITICAL-ECONOMIC VIABILITY OF RUSSIA'S STATE SOVEREIGNTY

Valentin LYUBASHITS

D.Sc. (Law), Professor,
South Federal University
(Rostov-on-Don, Russian Federation)

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Alexey MAMYCHEV

D.Sc. (Political Science), Ph.D. in Law, Assistant Professor,
Head of the Department of Theory and History of Russian and Foreign Law,
Vladivostok State University of Economics and Service
(Vladivostok, Russian Federation)

Diana MAMYCHEVA

Ph.D. (Culturology), Assistant Professor,
Vladivostok State University of Economics and Service
(Vladivostok, Russian Federation)

Maria VRONSKAYA

Ph.D. (Law), Assistant Professor,
Vladivostok State University of Economics and Service
(Vladivostok, Russian Federation)

ABSTRACT

The Northern Caucasus is living amid deep and extensive transformations that are evident in all spheres of life in the republics, as well as in their relations with the Center. The authors analyze the social, cultural, political, and economic aspects of the viability of sovereignty as an inalienable qualitative feature of state power as we know it today. They pay particular attention to the contradictory processes generated by the state's inability to control humanitarian constitutional order. This is transforming local state conflict into a threat to world peace and security and creating a pretext for potential or even real interference in the internal affairs of the states and encroachment on their sovereignty. The authors also discuss the problems created by the fact that in the globalizing economy international trade regimes make independent foreign trade policies unprofitable and limit state sovereignty. The local societies, local self-administrations, republic-wide political systems, and entire region for that matter are also affected. The Center's latest decisions to change the presidential representative in the South Caucasian Federal District and separate the functions of the region's socioeconomic development and regional security and the anti-terrorist struggle by establishing the Ministry of North Caucasian Development, which acts independently of the law and order structures, may contribute to the region's stabilization. The main political, social, economic, and cultural processes in regional entities are very similar in their content and trends, despite the differences in their specifics and rates of development. The Russian Federation is patterned on a center-periphery structure characterized by multilevel centralization and certain differences in social, political, cultural, and civilizational specifics among the region's political entities and sub-regions. Taken together, this is seen as a macro system of closely related political units of different levels but with certain differences in the sociocultural mechanisms of their political institutions and

power legitimization. The social and political processes observed in the Northern Caucasus are still unfolding under the strong impact of the Soviet Union's tragic demise, the catastrophic social and economic crisis, the country's new geopolitical status, the exacerbated national conflicts, and the desire of all the peoples to defend their national interests, preserve their social and cultural space, etc., religious and political extremism and terrorism being a logical and inevitable result. The country's disintegration has damaged the region's life-supporting spheres. It stands to reason that the above circumstances have given rise to numerous demands on the political system of the Russian Federation, which itself is undergoing transformation, and has created an urgent need to seek ways to promote the region's social and political stabilization, as well as its development.

KEYWORDS: ***power, globalization, state, civil society, political system, sovereignty, the Northern Caucasus.***

Introduction

We are proceeding from the fact that the societies under discussion have acquired enough specific political, legal, social, and cultural experience to organize their political institutions, social life, and administrational management. They have preserved their system of integration and remain an inalienable part of the homogeneous political, legal, cultural, and civilizational space of Russia. Globalization, unification of political development, standardization of the social and economic organization of the various societies, and legitimization/delegitimization of the political regimes by the international community have created a fundamentally different epoch in the development of national states—a very different geopolitical matrix of the assessment of the real problems and threats, on the one hand, and of the alternatives and prospects for civilizational interaction, on the other.

The uneven and unfair exploitation of natural and human resources and capital that caused previously unheard-of social and regional inequality at the turn of the twenty-first century and, hence, very serious deformations of the historical process exacerbated the global problems, the majority of which were created by technology-related civilization. Environmental disasters, global political crises, and wars are a sure sign that we have exhausted the potential of traditional manmade forms. So we must critically assess the future of the world community from the point of view of global problems, which can be divided into three groups.

The negative repercussions of the demise of the Soviet Union, a country founded on good will, a free alliance of all the peoples who lived in its territory, and integrated system of social, political, and cultural symbols and relations uniting all of its citizens, nationalities, and regions in common interests, equality, social fairness, patriotism, internationalism, and unity comprising the harmonious self-identification of the Soviet people, have echoed far and wide across the post-Soviet space.[1] The economic, political, social, and cultural collapse was accompanied by mounting instability, permissiveness, anarchy, and xenophobia. Nationalism, extremism, and separatism came to the fore, pushing the entire system of relations in Russian society into regression.[2]

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[1] See: V. Tsymburskiy, "Ponyatie suvereniteta i raspad Sovetskogo Soiuza," *Strana i mir,* No. 1, 1991.

[2] See: G. Osipov, I. Karabulatova, G. Shafranov-Kutsev, L. Kononova, B. Akhmetova, E. Loskutova, G. Niyazova, "Ethnic Trauma and its Echo in Today's Mental Picture of the World among the Peoples of the Post-Soviet States: An Interethnic Conflicting Discourse Unfolding in Russia's Ethnolinguistic Information Space," *Central Asia and the Caucasus*, Vol. 17, Issue 2, 2016, pp. 87-94.

The system of social relations was reduced to a primitive, or even archaic, state better described as a crisis; the state administration also degenerated. Regression deformed the political, legal, cultural, and civilizational awareness of all the peoples of the Russian Federation, causing them to regress to archaic standards and behavioral stereotypes.

In the Transcaucasian and, especially, Central Asian republics, independence came like a bolt out of the blue. The system of internal and administrative-political relations was caught unawares, the effect best seen in the economic ties that for decades or even centuries had remained adjusted to the Russian imperial and, later, Soviet centralized system. This explains the slow and painful structural changes in each of the newly independent states. The situation was further complicated by all sorts of social, political, and even natural disasters, be it the earthquake in Armenia in 1988, the Armenian-Azeri conflict, the civil war in Tajikistan, or the stormy protest movements in Kyrgyzstan. Each of the republics suffered its own headache, the Russian Federation with the North Caucasian republics as its part being no exception.

The specific forms of the Soviet Union's disintegration were partly caused by the randomly drawn and frequently re-drawn administrative-political borders carried out at one time with no particular thought according to the government's whims and for its convenience. It stands to reason that, in so doing, the classical "divide and rule" principle was kept in mind. So it comes as no surprise that the administrative borders of both the Union and autonomous republics were a logical result of the imperial, that is, rigidly centralized regime. In a unified country this was of no consequence since there was essentially no difference between the Union and autonomous republics. It was their size, rather than their rights and real potential, let alone their future, which was taken into account. As it disintegrated, however, the difference between the Union and autonomous statuses in the country came to the fore. Belarus with its predominantly Russian population (in which no one, apart from a tiny group of nationalists, wanted independence) became an independent state, while the autonomous republics of the Caucasus, the peoples of which had been fighting for their independence from Russia for centuries (and were finally conquered in the mid-nineteenth century), remained within the Russian Federation. The majority meekly accepted the fact, while the Chechen leaders, actively supported by the population, wanted independence. The results are too well known.

Methods and Materials

The theoretical foundation of our analysis is based on works by Russian and foreign scholars on the methodology of political studies (J.B. Manheim, R.C. Rich; A. Degtyarev, Ya. Plyais, A. Solovyev and others), analytical works that developed the main provisions of the theories of political and state administration (D. Osborne, T. Gaebler, T. Bertsel; M. Anokhin, G. Atamanchuk, V. Komarovsky, Yu. Matveenko, L. Smorgunov, O. Shabrov, and others), political decision-making (J. Anderson, Ch.E. Lindblom, H.A. Simon; A. Degtyarev, L. Smorgunov, A. Solovyev, and others), political elites (O. Gaman-Golutvina, O. Kryshtanovskaya, Ya. Pappe, A. Ponedelkov, and others), rationalization of choice (J. Buchanan, A. Downs), state bureaucracy (E. Morozova, A. Ponedelkov, O. Shabrov, and others), political transit (A. Przeworski, D. Rustow, S. Huntington; B. Makarenko, A. Melvil, and others), as well as sociological, economic, and legal studies dealing with the politically important aspects of the state's impact on its economy.

The methodological foundation comprises the sum-total of general scientific and special methods of studies: induction and deduction, analysis and synthesis, generalization, classification, modeling, forecasting, and others.

We relied on a systemic analysis (D. Easton, N. Luhmann, and T. Parsons) and its system-component and system-structural aspects to analyze the political impact of the specifics of society, the political system, and the state as its central actor on economic relations, as well as to model the specific systems of political-state mechanisms of economic regulation in transition societies.

The structural functional method (G. Almond and T. Parsons) allowed us to identify the sum-total of the political-state mechanisms in the state regulation system of the post-Soviet economy generated by the state's political strategy and the power interests of the ruling political elite and to study their specifics and political purpose.

We turned to the method of comparative analysis (G. Almond, M. Dogan, J. Powell, L. Whitehead, and S. Willard) for cross-national comparison of the political and state mechanisms regulating the transition economies in some of the post-communist states, as well as for cross-temporal comparison of the political content of the mechanisms used in the Russian Federation at various stages of transformation.

Discussion

An analysis of this group of scholarly works has shown that the political mechanisms the state applies in the economic sphere have not yet been studied in depth, this conclusion being confirmed by the very small number of corresponding works. With few exceptions, the studies of these mechanisms are fairly limited; they do not analyze the political conditions responsible for the formation and functioning of these mechanisms and study these mechanisms irrespective of all the other mechanisms the state uses in this sphere of political administration. We did not find any analytical works dealing with the political-state mechanisms used to regulate Russia's economy as a systemic and mutually conditioned phenomenon, the development of which is determined by the specifics of Russia's post-Soviet political system (including the state's institutional arrangement, changes in the political regime, political strategy in the economy, etc.).

In the contemporary international system, states acquire sovereignty[3] from other countries. Sovereignty is not an attribute of the state: it is gained from other states or governments. In the contemporary system, all states are equal in terms of degree of sovereignty. Irrespective of their size and military and economic might, all states possess the exclusive power to use force within their internationally recognized borders.[4] This means that state sovereignty is, in fact, recognition by internal and external forces of the exclusive right of the country's leaders to use force to settle problems in their territories.

Today, in the course of rational institutionalization, the regressing federal and regional political and legal systems formally arranged on Western patterns have lost their cultural and civilizational features, i.e. their Russian ethnoconfessional, regional, and moral-ethical characteristics. The system has become depersonalized, while across-the-board political apathy, social impotence, political and cultural degradation, and deteriorating public morality and ethics are the products of borrowed social and political experience and alien liberal values and lifestyle.[5]

Russia, like most of the post-Soviet states, is caught in a web of social and cultural indefiniteness that is tightening while we are moving farther away from our Soviet past. This means that each

[3] See: V. Tsymburskiy, op. cit.

[4] See: A.R. Agamirov, I.A. Sarychev, A.Y. Mordovcev, A.Y. Mamychev, "Legal Mindset as Factor in the State in the 21st century," *Mediterranean Journal of Social Sciences,* Vol. 6, No. 36, 2015, pp. 235-240.

[5] See: N. Kosolapov, "Sub'ekty mirovoy politiki i mezhdunarodnykh otnosheniy: iavlenie, kriterii, osnovy tipologii," *Mirovaia ekonomika i mezhdunarodnye otnoshenia,* No. 12, 1998.

life-model has its own economic, political, and legal prerequisites in society.[6] Life-models exist within the borders established by the state, while state policy serves as the scene on which the struggle for recognition between various life-models is unfolding.[7]

In recent years, the Kremlin has been placing its stakes on the use of force and repressive functions of the state-legal system to ensure stability in the Northern Caucasus. It is equally clear that the center-periphery political system, now at the stage of transformation, must formulate a new policy. This should be done as soon as possible to create and put into operation new mechanisms of political and legal integration and formulate and promote social and cultural values, standards, and rules of behavior. We need new public institutions to allow the regions to tap their social and cultural potential to the full, become as integrated as possible into Russia's social-cultural space, and ensure their sustainable development.[8]

The entire body of academic works dealing with political and state mechanisms of economic regulation can be divided into two blocks, conventionally divided, in turn, into nine groups. The first block brings together scholarly writings dealing with economic regulation as an element of political management of social and economic development of society.[9] The authors do not use the "political-state mechanisms" concept but arrive, nevertheless, at a homogeneous political perception and analysis. This group includes works that reveal the mutual conditionality and specifics of interaction of political and economic systems and reveal the possible limits of state regulation of the economy.[10] It should be said that a theoretical-methodological interest in these problems has survived for many centuries in different countries, scientific branches, and scientific schools. The political aspects of the development of the economic processes and the limits of the states' involvement in economic life are discussed by F. Block, J. Buchanan, F. von Wieser, J. Galbraith, J. Kornai, J.M. Keynes, K. Marx, C. Menger, A. Müller-Armak, D. North, D. Ricardo, M. Rothbard, A. Smith, F. Hayek, A. Hansen, R. Harrod, L. Erhard, and others, as well as our compatriots N. Bukharin, V. Lenin, L. Trotsky, and others.

So far, political science has displayed no profound interest in the phenomenon of interdependence of political and economic relations and the decisive role of politics during the transformation period in the post-communist countries.

The second block includes scholarly works dealing with the essence and specifics of the political mechanisms implemented in the social and political sphere.

The first group of works of this block deals with the particular theoretical and methodological aspects of an analysis of the social and political regulatory mechanisms. The works written by those who belong to the Tatyana Zaslavskaya and Oleg Shabrov School deserve special mention: they have created a relevant conceptual apparatus, substantiated the systemic nature and mutual conditionality of social and political mechanisms, and revealed their social and political importance. An analysis of their works shows that there is a renewed interest in the political mechanisms of management in Rus-

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[6] See: A.Y. Mordovcev, A.Y. Mamychev, T.V. Mordovceva, "The Convergence of Law: The Diversity of Discourses," *Mediterranean Journal of Social Sciences,* Vol. 6, No. 3, 2015, pp. 262-267.

[7] See: P.P. Baranov, A.I. Ovchinnikov, A.Y. Mamychev, "The State Authority Constitutional Legitimacy in Modern Russia", *Mediterranean Journal of Social Sciences,* Vol. 6, No. 5 S3, 2015, pp. 201-208; idem, "The Legitimacy of Power and Relations as a Multi-Level Political and Legal Phenomenon," *Mediterranean Journal of Social Sciences,* Vol. 6, No. 5 S3, 2015, pp. 209-216.

[8] See: A. Ovchinnikov, A. Mamychev, D. Mamycheva, "Sociocultural Bases of State-Legal Development Coding," *Mediterranean Journal of Social Sciences,* Vol. 6, No. 3 S4, 2015, pp. 67-74.

[9] See: T. Hojrup, *Modeli zhizni. Problemy gnoseologii, istorii kulturi teorii gosudarstva,* Vsemirnoe slovo, St. Petersburg, 1998.

[10] See: A. Martinelli, "Markets, Governments, Communities and Global Governance," *International Sociology*, Vol. 18, No. 2, 2003, pp. 291-323.

sia and that recently it has been growing.[11] So far, the theoretical and methodological level of studies leaves much to be desired: conceptual approaches to the "political mechanism" as the basic category remain contradictory, which means that the categorial backup of political science in Russia is still inadequate. The scholarly approaches to an analysis of this phenomenon are highly laconic and, it seems, inadequately substantiated; the structural elements of the political mechanisms as targets of scholarly analysis are not clearly defined.

Nevertheless, these studies have created a scholarly prerequisite for political analyses of the system of political-state mechanisms used to regulate the economy in Russia today.

Results

Everything that has been done and is being done to arrive at a new state theory has opened the way to a vast history of culture, since studies of self-defending units—hordes, tribes, city-states, and earlier empires—supply us with exceptionally important information that is indispensable for a correct understanding of the foundation and main properties of the state.[12]

Today, the transforming political system of the Russian Federation should take into account and harmonize the cultural and civilizational specifics of the regions and peoples; we need a better understanding of the mentalities, axiological priorities, and development prospects, as well as greater consolidation of their pro-Russian self-awareness, to arrive at a creative social and cultural foundation for the Russian inter-civilizational supra-ethnic statehood. In order for it to succeed, the social and cultural transformation of the country's political system must take into account, synthesize, and reassess the above factors, as well as the cultural and regulatory specifics of political consciousness and the specifics of the political institutions of all the regions. This is the background against which the new tasks of the political systems of the North Caucasian republics during transformation—new sociopolitical and sociocultural mechanisms, as well as the legal and economic development of these societies—become an absolute priority. They need new production facilities and legal, material, and technical measures to develop and create better conditions in the mountainous regions and new mechanisms of political, legal, social, economic, material, and technical regulation and efficient administration of the entire set of socially important problems geared toward the social and cultural specifics and geopolitical status of the Northern Caucasus.

The sources of social and cultural processes and phenomena of the ongoing transformations in the political systems of the North Caucasian republics are determined by the region's intermediate position in the space between the empires and civilizations. Throughout the centuries, the region has developed certain cultural and civilizational foundations of everyday life. Its specifics stem from numerous objective conditions and are the natural outcome of the coexistence and interrelationships among different religions, peoples as vehicles of specific social, cultural, economic, and everyday features created by the Caucasian peoples' common political history, the geo-climatic, geopolitical, multi-ethnic and multi-religious nature of political relations, and the specifics of the region's vitality. The Caucasus is a trans-border region, in which highly complex processes of the diffusion of cultures, customs, traditions, and values of many peoples have been going on for centuries. It is a border and unique zone that separates different worlds. The North Caucasian limitrophe as a syncretic and multi-

[11] See: V.Y. Lyubashits, A.Y. Mamychev, A.Y. Mordovcev, M.V. Vronskaya, "The Social-Cultural Paradigm of State Authority," *Mediterranean Journal of Social Sciences,* Vol. 6, No. 36, 2015, pp. 301-306.

[12] See: V.Y. Lyubashits, A.Y. Mordovcev, A.Y. Mamychev, "State and Algorithms of Globalization," *Mediterranean Journal of Social Sciences,* Vol. 6, No. 36, 2015, pp. 277-282.

religious phenomenon is a product of the synthesis of certain traits of the Eastern (Muslim) and Western (Orthodox Russia) civilizations.

This has brought together myths, pagan faiths, morals, and traditions, as well as very specific mentalities, emotionality, common psychological features, and codes of behavior shared by the mountain peoples, specifics of economic activities high in the mountains and in the valleys, and interconnected terraced land tilling and alpine and distant pasturing cattle breeding. There are other common features, such as predomination of non-state over state forms of political self-organization, jamaat and Cossack self-administered communities, recognition of the authority of the older generation, the elders and other respected people, seasonal work, similar style of dresses, architecture, etc. The Russian segment of these societies is an organic part of this social and cultural milieu. Its centuries-long presence in the region has made it an inalienable part of the North Caucasian history, politics and culture. Until the Soviet Union's demise, relations between the Russians and the North Caucasian peoples were developing and consolidating; it was a brotherhood that relied on the need to fight side by side to defend the borders of the Russian state and on shared social and economic interests and kinship. The Cossacks appreciated the "cold steel" that the mountain people loved and used, they borrowed the way they dressed as more suitable for marches, the way the mountain people raised their children, their games, horse races, oaths, masliat as the pacification procedure and hospitality. The two groups maintained good-neighborly relations; close friendships, fosterage, and mixed marriages were the norm; the local Russians even accepted certain provisions of customary law as better suited to the local conditions.

The Russians, who never infringed on the political and economic interests of the mountain peoples, organized mutually advantageous trade and economic relations. The Caucasian war did not disrupt social and cultural interaction, trade, or economic cooperation.

The Russian presence in the Caucasus consolidated a poly-confessional North Caucasian community within one state and helped overcome conflicts. The positive role of Russian as the language of inter-national communication can hardly be overestimated; it facilitated the region's social and cultural integration into the common Russian space and brought the best achievements of world culture within reach of the North Caucasian peoples. Russia's cultural and geopolitical position as a bridge that connects Europe and Asia is directly related to the problem of close cooperation between Orthodoxy and Islam as one of the current priorities.

Conclusion

The social and cultural approach to the studies of transformation of political institutions and systems efficiently promotes the identification of the basic system-forming values and regulations of legitimization of political power and stabilization of the entire social and political life. The presence of varied ethnic, confessional, cultural, and civilizational systems explains why the same political decisions show different results in different regions; indeed, the cultural and civilizational differences do affect the way the political institutions are formed and function. The center-periphery political system of the Russian Federation objectively creates very specific forms of perception of the political processes and creates its own mechanisms of power legitimization in the regions.

Today, amid the crisis and recession in the Russian Federation, ideas of modernization and their assessments inevitably differ from region to region. This means that legitimization of the political systems should proceed from an assessment of the country's cultural, civilizational, ethnic, and confessional unity.

Historically, the political and legal institutions in the Northern Caucasus were formed "from below" at the level of jamaats, teyps, communities, village and jamaat meetings, independent societ-

ies, etc., their leaders being elected by the people from among their ranks. The elected power structures functioned according to adat and the Shari'a, the traditional North Caucasian cultural, civilizational, normative, and regulatory systems. This inevitably created legal pluralism in the political system of the Russian Empire and led to social and cultural legitimization of the traditional legal structures, which were officially recognized and sanctioned. This means that in the Russian state, the regional, cultural, and civilizational specifics of its peoples were taken into account. Its treatment of the unified territories differed radically from what the metropolitan countries were doing in their colonies. The Russian Empire never tried to impose its legal system on the local peoples, either peacefully or by the use of force: their legal systems became parts of Russia's legal system. This was done to ultimately arrive at a political and legal system accepted by all peoples and regions so as to integrate them into the united Russian space and promote the country's social and cultural development.

At all times, Russia's political and legal system, while being highly complex culturally, civilizationally, axiologically, and regulation-wise in terms of its arguments and roots, remained an integral social and legal phenomenon.

The current regression in all spheres of vital activities has transformed the religious and ethnic imperatives in the Northern Caucasus, and in other regions for that matter, into important factors of the political process; this adds urgency to the study of the legal, social, and cultural heritage of the North Caucasian society as a very special phenomenon.

POLITICAL TRANSFORMATION OF PUBLIC-POWER ORGANIZATION AND THE COLOR REVOLUTION TECHNOLOGY IN THE EURASIAN SPACE

Alexey MAMYCHEV

D.Sc. (Political Science), Ph.D. in Law,
Assistant Professor, Head of the Department of Theory and History of Russian and Foreign Law,
Vladivostok State University of Economics and Service
(Vladivostok, Russian Federation)

Diana MAMYCHEVA

Ph.D. (Culturology), Assistant Professor,
Vladivostok State University of Economics and Service
(Vladivostok, Russian Federation)

This research was carried out on RF presidential grant No. MD-6669.2016.6 "Archetypical (Sociocultural) Foundations of Public-Power Organization and Its Evolution in the 21st Century in Russia."

Valeria KRUPNITSKAYA

Ph.D. (Law), Assistant Professor,
Head of the Department of Criminal Law and Procedure,
Siberian Institute of Administration—Branch of
the Russian Academy of National Economy and State Service
under the President of the Russian Federation
(Novosibirsk, Russian Federation)

Alla TIMOFEEVA

Ph.D. (Hist.), Professor,
Vladivostok State University of Economics and Service
(Vladivostok, Russian Federation)

ABSTRACT

The authors analyze the ways the political systems in the post-Soviet space have been modernized and the technologies of the color revolutions associated with them. In the last two decades, political science has been moving away from the universalist future of the liberal-democratic political order of Western Europe and the United States as the only possible scenario for all other states. This means that fully-fledged institutional borrowings are impossible and that political science should address new problems, viz. newly formulated aims and means of modernization. Today, the impact of the deliberative institutions and practices on the choice of development trajectories and consistent stability of the course toward modernization has become one of the main trends of study. Political modernization of public-power organization is discussed within the sociocultural approach to the transformations of the social system. Globalization has facilitated the spread of knowledge and information, but also generated all sorts of manipulations on a mass scale, as well as symbolic violence.[1] The color revolution technologies are actively applied in the post-Soviet space through symbolic violence intended to consolidate Western influence and undermine Russia's international positions.

The authors treat political transformations as a wider category that goes beyond what is called modernization and which is, in fact, one of the transformation processes interpreted as evolutionary, revolutionary (spasmodic) or pendular forms of the development of political institutions and the system of power relations. The unified informational or wider sociocultural space that is taking shape worldwide is one of the driving forces behind globalization that allows all sorts of actors to interfere in the political life of sovereign states. The information society has created a situation in which the strategies and tactics of social behavior of the actors at all levels depend, to a great and increasing extent, on their ability to respond to the information flows. Today, the problems of destruction of political regimes and those

[1] See: I. Karabulatova, B. Akhmetova, K. Shagbanova, E. Loskutova, F. Sayfulina, L. Zamalieva, I. Dyukov, M. Vykhrystyuk, "Shaping Positive Identity in the Context of Ethnocultural Information Security in the Struggle against the Islamic State," *Central Asia and the Caucasus*, Vol. 17, Issue 1, 2016, pp. 84-92.

of the color revolutions related to them have become extremely acute and topical. Indeed, the old tools used to destroy political regimes have been replaced by more subtle levers of foreign policy pressure, a combination of the use of force, brainwashing technologies, and manipulation of the behavior of the broad public.

KEYWORDS: ***power, culture, modernization, political system, public-power organization, transformation, color revolutions.***

Introduction

The world is changing before our eyes—the familiar technologies of armed coups d'état are being replaced with much subtler technologies of color revolutions that rely on social-cultural dominants of traditional societies painted in revolutionary hues and practically unopposed either by mature democratic countries or Eastern-type states that have preserved traditional lifestyles. The renovated scenario of the color revolutions used in Ukraine causes well-justified concern. Ukraine is not the final point in the unfolding drama, but a bargaining chip in the geopolitical games the American producers of color revolutions are waging against Russia, China, and Kazakhstan. The attempted color revolution in Kazakhstan in the spring of 2016 is the best proof that this approach to prognostic geopolitics is as acute as ever.[2] Those who stir up color revolutions will not stop at changing the people in the corridors of power—they are aiming at radical changes of the state system through the ethnocultural dominants of a specific society.

Color revolutions are the sum-total of regime change through popular protest. In most cases, the scenarios look similar, have similar names (the so-and-so revolution), and are unfolding with strong Western information support. Normally, all events of this sort, starting in 2000, are considered to be color revolutions; some of them took place in the post-Soviet region.

The color revolutions in CIS countries are a generally accepted and habitual definition of regime change in post-Soviet republics under the pressure of street rallies and with the support of foreign NGOs. Not infrequently, the academic community prefers the terms non-violent revolutions in the CIS countries or regime change in the 2000s in the post-Soviet expanse.

The chain of color revolutions in post-Soviet states created a qualitatively new geopolitical reality. They are possible in countries where democratic institutions do not exclude manipulating the election results to keep the opposition at bay, i.e., in countries with semi-authoritarian or "soft authoritarian" regimes: the Kuchma regime in Ukraine, the Shevardnadze regime in Georgia, and the Akaev regime in revolutionary-democratic Kyrgyzstan, where the president tried for many years to follow the Western rules of democracy, albeit formally.

The active part of the cosmopolitan and liberal Western opposition, as well as population groups with vague ideological ideas and very strong dissatisfaction with their material and social status, formed the core of the mass support of color revolutions. There are organized groups in this crowd—small parties of liberal-minded nationalists, marginal organizations with no clearly formulated ideologies—and unorganized and politically raw groups of mainly young people.

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[2] See: "Inostrannye SMI nazvali sobytia v Aktobe 'sudnym dnem'," 6 June, 2016, available at [http://www.zakon.kz/4797635-inostrannye-smi-nazvali-sobytija-v.html], 13 July, 2016.

Today, there are two main projects aimed at changing political power in the Eurasian region—conservative[3] and modernizing,[4] each being not only a system of political ideas, images, and symbols (an ideological and political platform of the development of power relations),[5] or a set of forms and organizational principles of the political process, but also a specific system of public-power practices.[6]

The recent events—the Caucasian crisis, Maidan in Ukraine, the coup in Kyrgyzstan, the trouble in Kazakhstan, and the war in Syria—have demonstrated that interference in the domestic affairs of any state is destructive. It goes without saying that the choice of foreign policy strategy is based on many internal and external factors, a possible color revolution being one of the most important factors behind the foreign policy of the CIS countries. An analysis of the regime change in Georgia, Kyrgyzstan, and Ukraine and the way they affected their foreign policy are very topical in view of the roles these states play in the post-Soviet expanse. The related events demonstrated that the United States, the EU, Russia and, recently, China, that is, the biggest international players, regard control over these post-Soviet states to be an important factor of their influence in the post-Soviet region. It should be said that the government is not always adequate in its response; it takes time to readjust its policies and so far, the government has shown no intention of creating new models of political behavior better suited to the challenges of time.

Methods and Materials

Methodologically, this work is based on the systemic approach and the methods of integrative political, historical, and comparative analysis, as well as the principles of objectivity and political realism.

We deemed it wise to select the following methodological tools that apply to the study of color revolutions[7] in the Eurasian region: the sociological theory of social systems as systems of communication; the concept of a complex system that organically contains risks relating to the "possibilities of another way of being"; the concept of globalization;[8] the sociological theory of the network society; the theory of complex social systems; the theory of chaos and catastrophes and the related concept of determined chaos; the concept of nonclassical geopolitics that includes virtual space; the sociological concepts of I. Wallerstein and Ch. Tilly; and the theory and practice of color revolutions of G. Sharp and R. Helvey.

Induction and deduction, analysis and synthesis, classification and systematization, analysis of situations, content-analysis of documents, and frame-analysis of texts were used to gain a better understanding of the problem, along with the tools of institutional and geographic approaches and certain elements of sociological and psycholinguistic methods.

The following official documents were used as the empirical base of our studies: the Charters of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS); the Community of Democratic Choice (CDC);

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[3] See: A.G. Glinchikova, "Modernizatsia, traditsia i evoliutsia chastnogo interesa," in: *Politiko-filosofskiy ezhegodnik,* 2011, Issue 4, Moscow.

[4] See: A.A. Auzan, "Koleia rossiyskoy modernizatsii," *Obshchestvennye nauki i sovremennost,* No. 6, 2007.

[5] See: A.D. Bogaturov, P.A. Kosolapov, "Neliberalnye demokratii i liberalnaia ideologia," *Mezhdunarodnye protsessy*, No. 2, 2006.

[6] See: A.R. Agamirov, I.A. Sarychev, A.Y. Mordovcev, A.Y. Mamychev, "Legal Mindset as Factor in the State in the 21st Century," *Mediterranean Journal of Social Sciences,* Vol. 6, No. 36, 2015, pp. 235-240.

[7] See: A.E. Gapich, D.A. Lushnikov, *Tekhnologii tsvetnykh revolutsiy*, Rior, Moscow, 2010.

[8] See: Z. Bauman, *Globalizatsiya. Posledstviya dlay cheloveka i obshchetsva,* Ves mir, Moscow, 2004.

the Organization for Democracy and Economic Development (GUAM); National Security Concept of the RF; the National Security Strategy of the Russian Federation until 2020 (2009); official speeches by A. Akaev, K. Bakiev, R. Otumbaeva, M. Saakashvili, V. Yushchenko, and P. Poroshenko, addresses of President Putin to the Federal Assembly of the Russian Federation, etc.

The official political documents became an important basis of our studies: the National Security Concept of Georgia (2005); the Foreign Policy Concept of the Kyrgyz Republic (2007); the Law of Ukraine on the Basic Principles of Domestic and Foreign Policy (2010); the Military Doctrine of Ukraine (2005); the Georgia-U.S. Charter on Strategic Partnership (2009); the Ukraine-U.S. Charter on Strategic Partnership (2008); the Concept of the Foreign Policy of the Russian Federation (2008);

We analyzed the concepts of democratization and globalization. The materials from the electronic and printed media were also used.

Discussion

Today, little has been written about the color revolutions and their impact on the foreign policy course of Georgia, Kyrgyzstan, and Ukraine, as well as on Russia's foreign policy strategies and the way these processes relate to globalization.

The current scholarly studies have demonstrated that the choice of trajectory of development (political and economic) depends on the nature of the public sphere. According to prominent political scientist Dmitry Furman, the post-Soviet expanse developed, as could be expected, into fairly successful authoritarian imitational democratic political systems (Russia, Belarus, Turkmenistan, Tajikistan, Georgia, Kazakhstan, etc.), in which legitimation of power is executed through a ritualized election system and the illusion of general elections (2010). Political transformation is seen as a wider category than "modernization" (one of the types of transformation process). Here we interpret transformation as evolutionary, revolutionary (spasmodic), or pendular development of political institutions and the system of power relations.

Recently much attention has been paid to the correlation of external and internal factors that affect the nature of states' foreign policy and geopolitical orientation. For a better understanding of the main trends of the current stage of globalization and to identify its political component, we relied on the theories of globalization and regionalization, Samuel Huntington's theory of wave democratization, Immanuel Wallerstein's world-systems approach, the political realism of Hans Morgenthau[9] and Karl Waltz, as well as the conceptual ideas and conclusions of M. Anokhin,[10] H. Morgenthau, B. Jagdish,[11] V. Inozemtsev,[12] A. Kostin, M. Lebedeva, T. Loewy, E. Tarasov, A. Utkin, S. Hoffman, M. Cheshkov, R. Dahl, L. Diamond, G. Osipov, A. Lijphart, G. O'Donnell,[13] S. Huntington, Ph. Schmitter, J. Schumpeter, etc.

The following Western political scientists engaged in the study of world development in the context of democratization made an important contribution to the concepts of "democratic transitions": Zb. Brzezinski, R. Dix, F. Zakaria, T. Karl, J. Cohen, D. Rustow, J. Linz, S.M. Lipset, J. Torres, A. Przeworski, S. Huntington, Sh.N. Eisenstadt, A. Etzioni, F. Fukuyama, and others.

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[9] See: H. Morgenthau, "Mezhdunarodnaia politika," in: *Antologia mirovoy politicheskoy mysli,* Vol. 2, Nauka Publishers, Moscow, 1997.

[10] See: M.G. Anokhin, "Rossia v epokhu globalizatsii: ot simvola k brendu," in: *Chelovek—ob'ekt i sub'ekt globalnykh protsessov*, Materials of the International Scientific Conference, St. Petersburg, 2009.

[11] See: B. Jagdish, *In Defense of Globalization,* Oxford University Press, 2007.

[12] See: V. Inozemtsev, "Sovremennaia globalizatsia i ee vospriyatie v mire," *Vek globalizatsii,* No. 1, 2008.

[13] See: G. O'Donnell, "Delegative Democracy," *Journal of Democracy,* Vol. 5, 1996.

The results of studies by Russian scientists have been summed up by A. Bogaturov, N. Kosolapov, V. Kulagin, A. Melvil, V. Pugachev, L. Smorgunov, and P. Tsygankov.

It should be noted that the subject of color revolutions is presented by Western and post-Soviet authors from diametrically opposite scholarly positions. The pro-Western researchers look at the color revolutions from the point of view of democratic transition caused by endogenous factors. Most of the CIS academic community believes that the nature of these so-called revolutions is determined by exogenous factors. This approach sheds light on different aspects of the same problem, some of the analytical assessments are mutually exclusive, yet they help achieve a substantiated author's concept.

The publications dealing with the post-Soviet political transformations and the specifics of the political regimes that appeared in the Near Abroad are indispensable for a better understanding of the essence of the color revolutions in Georgia, Kyrgyzstan, and Ukraine.[14] Much has been written about the correlation between the internal and external factors and their impact on foreign policy transformations.[15]

The quoted authors[16] believe that the works dealing with the foreign policy activities of the discussed states,[17] which analyze the causes for transformation of their foreign policy orientation, vulnerability, changeability, and sustainability,[18] should be carefully studied. It seems that the opposition between the conservative and modernist platforms is caused by the very different interpretations of the social reasons for political change.

Results

Political modernization as a project can be defined as an ideological and political program of formulation, development, and dissemination of liberal-democratic ideas, political institutions and practices, and corresponding political cultures (tending toward social and legal universalism and standardization of political thinking). This understanding of modernization as a process, as well as the division of political systems into "pioneering" (or primary) and secondary (or catching up) "rests on the principles of Euro-centrism, which regards the modernization unfolding in 'second echelon' countries as an imitation of certain patterns and copying of 'Western' institutions and models." [19] This interpretation is the most popular in political science and practices.

A coup (seizing and retaining power by force) is the aim of any color revolution. Power is its object, the political regime is its subject; as a rule, any color revolution has all the necessary and sufficient conditions.

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[14] See: S. Hoffman, "Stolknovenie globalizatsiy. Kak sdelat mir bolee prigodnym dlia zhizni," *Rossia v globalnoy politike*, No. 1, 2003.

[15] See: L. Kostin, "Globalnye problemy i politicheskie aspekty globalizatsii," *Vestnik RUDN.* Series: Political Scince, No. 3, 2001; A. Ovchinnikov, A. Mamychev, D. Mamycheva, "Sociocultural Bases of State-Legal Development Coding," *Mediterranean Journal of Social Sciences,* Vol. 6, No. 3 S4, 2015, pp. 67-74.

[16] See: G. Osipov, I. Karabulatova, G. Shafranov-Kutsev, L. Kononova, B. Akhmetova, E. Loskutova, G. Niyazova, "Ethnic Trauma and its Echo in Today's Mental Picture of the World among the Peoples of the Post-Soviet States: An Interethnic Conflicting Discourse Unfolding in Russia's Ethnolinguistic Information Space," *Central Asia and the Caucasus*, Vol. 17, Issue 2, 2016, pp. 87-94.

[17] See: R. Gachechiladze, "Georgia's Geopolitical Landmarks: Is There a Shift?" *Central Asia and the Caucasus*, No. 1 (31), 2005.

[18] See: A.D. Bogaturov, P.A. Kosolapov, "Neliberalnye demokratii i liberalnaia ideologia," *Mezhdunarodnye protsessy,* No. 2, 2006.

[19] S.E. Kapterev, *Avtoritet gosudarstvennoy vlasti i protsessy transformatsii v sovremennoy Rossii*: *Monograph*, University of Nizhniy Novgorod Press, Nizhny Novgorod, 2005, pp. 79-80.

To succeed, a color revolution must be launched amid political instability and a power crisis. Politically stable countries must be destabilized to create the necessary conditions. Deliberately organized (according to a network pattern) youth protest movements are seen as sufficient conditions.[20]

The following can be described as specific features of color revolutions: political blackmail as a method of pressurizing power and youth protest movements as the main lever of such pressure. The color revolutions carried out in the post-Soviet region are viewed within the methodological construct based on the research strategy, according to which human consciousness in an information society becomes a new target of effort. This means that any subject that relies on information and communication technologies can arbitrarily transform individual and mass consciousness to a certain extent.

Today we can all observe the crisis of global development orientated toward the West, and the results of globalization are criticized with gradually rising vehemence. Despite the fact that democratization and human rights, asserted as the universal ideological foundation, are the basic features of the political component of globalization, their violations occur more and more frequently and are accompanied by contradictions in international relations. Today, the borders between domestic and foreign policy are disappearing, with the latter imposing its agenda on the former. The state sovereignty concept is becoming dented; the leaders of globalization are imposing their development standards on other countries.

Democratization as a problem is no longer limited to a narrow circle of exclusive states and nations—it has become global. The range of democratic development scenarios is expanding; non-liberal democracies, hybrid regimes, imitation democracies, etc. crop up here and there. This process is best described as diffusion of democracy. The systemic transformations in political and legal life have pushed the post-Soviet political regimes into a crisis, while the realization (by the political elite and most of the public) that liberal reforms in the Western "ideal" style that copied the Western regulatory models were impossible led their countries into an impasse. It turned out that a liberal-democratic state and civil society (in its Western interpretation) are alien to the centuries-old culture, ideological and axiological structure, and specific sociocultural practices.[21] The changes imposed from above on public consciousness and everyday life, as well as the newly built system of state democratic institutions and market infrastructure that appeared in a very short period of time, led to dualism. External "imitational" activities and institutional "makeup" are very much in line with Western fashions, while consciousness is living according to the spirit of the nation and national habits and stereotypes that, despite the frantic efforts of the reformers, have preserved the traditional core of society and its self-identity.

Today, no country is safe from the impact of all-embracing democratization; the movement has spread to all continents; certain countries are using it as a smokescreen to resolve their international and geopolitical problems using undemocratic methods. In recent years, it has become a priority much higher than peaceful coexistence. "Humanitarian intervention" and "regime change" have moved to the fore to justify the use of force against any government that the U.S. regards as undemocratic. Today, democracy has become an important foreign policy source of many states and an important factor of world politics.

In the past, democratic transition was mostly beyond the scope of any single state; today, external forces can stir up inner political processes, and are doing this with a lot of zeal. The international

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[20] See: I. Mkrtumova, A. Dosanova, I. Karabulatova, V. Nifontov, "The Use of Communication Technologies to Oppose Political-Religious Terrorism as an Ethnosocial Deviation in the Contemporary Information-Digital Society," *Central Asia and the Caucasus*, Vol. 17, Issue 2, 2016, pp. 54-61.

[21] See: P.P. Baranov, A.I. Ovchinnikov, A.Y. Mamychev, "The State Authority Constitutional Legitimacy in Modern Russia," *Mediterranean Journal of Social Sciences,* Vol. 6, No. 5 S3, 2015, pp. 201-208.

factor has acquired more opportunity to affect democratization, including all kinds of attempts at "imposed" democratization. Early in the twenty-first century, the strategy range of democratic reforms was extended by the color revolution scenario. Color revolutions are a softer and less expensive scenario of regime change than economic sanctions, humanitarian intervention, and the use of force; they are a very effective tool of struggle for spheres of influence. The greatest role in the organization, provision of information, ideological, and financial support, and legitimation of a new regime belongs to foreign states and organizations.

Each color revolution has specific features that betray it as a technology.

- First, this is a specific Anglo-Saxon foreign policy style.
- Second, there is a strict correspondence between the plan of any revolution and the basic script—all color revolutions follow identical scripts.
- Third, the way youth protest movements are organized and used; this is done using reflexive management (another American invention).
- Fourth, revolutionary leaders are selected and promoted according to certain patterns repeated from one revolution to another.
- Fifth, those color revolutions that do not demonstrate revolutionary ideology are fakes.

Quite often color revolutions are described as a technique or tool of soft power. This approach, based on analogy (color revolutions look like non-violent regime change), is not quite exact; it is misguiding. Color revolutions are presented as a softer and, therefore, more progressive and less socially hazardous form of pressure on authoritarian regimes. This explains the wide-scale propaganda of color revolutions as opposed to armed coups d'état. In fact, it is hard to say whether color revolutions or local armed conflicts are more dangerous for international security. The Middle East, pushed into color revolutions and "controlled chaos," is the best illustration of the above. It is more or less clear, however, that color revolutions are not outcrops of soft power. They are an organized form of blackmail of independent and sovereign states posing as national revolutions.

By way of summary, we can say that the color revolutions in the post-Soviet territory contributed to its disintegration and added significance to the United States and the European Union; they slowed down and weakened post-Soviet integration across the post-Soviet expanse, and blackened Russia's image in the Near Abroad. The new realities in the post-Soviet expanse have strongly affected the state of Russia's national security.[22]

Conclusion

Traditional identities, national axiological systems, axioms of political and legal consciousness, and dominants of the development of political culture cannot survive in the context of transformation projects. They are deprived of their specifics and replaced with liberal-democratic ideals passed for universal values common to all humanity.

The transformation vector is geared toward copying the West European social, political, legal, and economic patterns.

The color revolutions across the post-Soviet expanse triggered structural changes and conflicts. The armed conflict with Georgia and its withdrawal from the CIS, the confrontation with Ukraine, a

[22] See: G. Rudov, "Vliianie Rossi i drugikh vedushchikh vneshnikh sil v regione Tsentralnoy Azii," *Diplomaticheskaya sluzhba,* No. 1, 2010.

more active GUAM and Community of Democratic Choice, and the desire of Georgia and Ukraine to join NATO and the EU can be described as the most consequential.[23] Under Kurmanbek Bakiev, Kyrgyzstan sought economic aid from Russia, rather than friendly relations with it. It should be said that Russia, in turn, did not find an adequate response to the challenges of color revolutions, or an effective foreign policy strategy in its relations with the post-color revolution states. This partly explains the profound degradation of its relations with Georgia and Ukraine.

Current reality demands that Russia readjust its relations with the CIS countries based on differentiated foreign policy strategy and newly formulated tasks and priorities.

The concept of political transformation should be regarded as a wider category than modernization, one of the types of transformation process interpreted as evolutionary, revolutionary (spasmodic), or pendular forms of the development of political institutions and the system of power relations. Modernization dyed in obvious social and cultural hues rests on certain patterns (image, model, etc.) of the political transformations taking shape in specific-historical conditions and developing the inherited specific style of political rationalization and axioms of political organization.

[23] See: M. Kirchanov, "'Europe' and 'The West' in Georgia's Political Imagination and Nationalist Discourse," *Central Asia and the Caucasus*, Vol. 11, Issue 2, 2010.

POLITICAL STRATIFICATION WITHIN THE ELITES (A NORTH CAUCASIAN CASE STUDY)

Ali SALGIRIEV

Ph.D. (Political Science), Chief Researcher,
Sector of Philosophy and Sociology, Institute of Humanitarian Studies,
Academy of Sciences of the Chechen Republic
(Grozny, Russian Federation)

Maret BETILMERZAEVA

D.Sc. (Philos.), Professor, Department of Philosophy,
Political Science and Sociology, Chechen State Pedagogical University
(Grozny, Russian Federation)

Vakha GAZIEV

Ph.D. (Political Science), Assistant Professor, Department of History,
Geopolitics and Political Science, Chechen State University
(Grozny, Russian Federation)

Magomed SOLTAMURADOV

Ph.D. (Philos.), Assistant Professor,
Department of History, Geopolitics and Political Science,
Chechen State University; Chief Researcher,
Sector of Philosophy and Sociology, Institute of Humanitarian Studies,
Academy of Sciences of the Chechen Republic
(Grozny, Russian Federation)

ABSTRACT

Political stratification of the elites is a subject that has been little studied. This article attempts to systemize and rank the North Caucasian elites in terms of their impact on the political process. The political system in the region is based on a multitude of fairly archaic and traditional structural-functional mechanisms; this makes identification and ranking a far from banal and, therefore, very needed task. We analyze the political-administrative, religious and business elites, the role of the mass media, human rights activists, and the opposition in the political process and identify the main destructive trends in what the elites are doing, as well as their impact on the region's social and political context. We describe the structure of the regional parliaments, size of the factions, and the ratings and indices of democratization. We pay particular attention to ethnogenesis, outbreaks of religious radicalism, and the specifics of the institutionalization of business elites, and identify the main factors conducive to political, social, and economic destabilization in the Northern Caucasus.

KEYWORDS: ***Russia, the Northern Caucasus, stratification, political stratification, actors, political process, elites, political elites, religious elites, business elites, opposition, human rights activists, the media, tension, conflicts, crime.***

Introduction

Political science offers very different definitions of political stratification and different approaches to its study. Stratification means division into layers or strata; the concept is used in biology, medicine, mathematics, etc. Sociology operates with the term social stratification, that is, division of society into social layers according to property status.

Political stratification is not that straightforward. Anna Andreenkova, for example, offers the following definition: "Division of society into groups according to social-demographic, structural, cultural, or axiological markers that might affect political processes, or cause latent or even open confrontation."[1] Andrey Abramov, in turn, has arrived at an interesting definition: "If, together with

[1] Quoted from: A. Abramov, "Politicheskaia stratifikatsia obshchestva: analiz podkhodov," *Vlast,* No. 9, 2010, pp. 75-77.

Talcott Parsons we treat power as the equivalent of money, it will become clear that any society consists of very 'rich' individuals, the 'middle class' and, finally, the destitute with a few 'coins' in their pockets at the best of times. This means that society is arranged in a hierarchy of layers (strata) of individuals with very different administrative potentials and, hence, very different access to the resources of power. The process and the result are called political stratification."[2] According to Abramov, any society is divided (stratified) into the top (elite and top bureaucracy), middle (civil servants and activists), and lower (the electorate and the absentees) political classes or strata.

Scholarly definitions of political stratification are numerous and varied,[3] yet all of them define political stratification as political inequality, vertical and horizontal division of society according to the impact on political decision-making, and hierarchical distribution of statuses and ranks in the social-political context.

Let's take a look at the Northern Caucasus.

Traditionally the Russian Northern Caucasus includes the Republic of North Ossetia-Alania, the Chechen Republic, the Republic of Ingushetia, the Stavropol Territory, and the Republic of Daghestan. Conventionally the Rostov Region, the Krasnodar Territory, Adygea and Kalmykia can be regarded as parts of the same region.

We have identified the social groups in the Northern Caucasus by the level of their impact on the political process and by the main subjects of this process. They are primarily the political elites (leaders of the republics and territories and groups close to them with no decision-making right, but a lot of influence on the process), the Islamic clergy (religious elites),[4] business elites (businessmen and heads of big industrial enterprises), the opposition, the media, human rights activists (public organizations), and the counter-elite.

The Regional Elites: Power Resources

In the Northern Caucasus, the elites took shape while the Soviet Union was falling apart amid political shocks and the sovereignization of ethnic autonomies, which led to authoritarian political regimes: severe censorship of the media,[5] criminal persecution of political opponents, and a tight grip on the social and political sphere. The Northern Caucasus is not unique in this respect in Russia: the country ranks 122nd in the worldwide classification according to level of democracy and belongs to the category of "authoritarian regimes." Nigeria is higher than Russia by one point;[6] in the index of freedom it ranks 152nd, coming after Gambia.[7]

Social and political tension in the Northern Caucasus is rooted in the region's economic inconsistency, the wide gaps between the rich and the poor, unemployment, poverty, and political margin-

[2] A. Abramov, op. cit.

[3] See: L.S. Makarova, "Sotsialnaia i politicheskaia stratifikatsia kak perekhodny politicheskiy protsess", *Vestnik Zabaykalskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta,* No. 2, 2009, pp. 81-86; P.S. Kanevskiy, *Politicheskaia stratifikatsia v sovremennoy Rossii. Klassy, elity, gruppy interesov,* Moscow, 2014; M.A. Frolova, *Politicheskaia stratifikatsia,* Moscow, 1995, 175 pp.

[4] See: V. Akaev, "Religious and Political Elites in the Northern Caucasus: Formation, Ideological Contradictions, and Practical Opposition," *Central Asia and the Caucasus*, Vol. 15, Issue 1, 2014, pp. 77-89.

[5] Site of the Council for Civil Society and Human Rights at the President of the RF [http://president-sovet.ru/presscenter/news/read/2344/], 10 April, 2016.

[6] See: "Democracy Rating of the Countries of the World," available at [http://gtmarket.ru/ratings/democracy-index/info], 30 April, 2016.

[7] See: Ibidem.

alization as its result. The Republic of Ingushetia, for example, has demonstrated and still shows the country's highest figures of registered unemployment (13.3% late in February 2016); the same can be said of the Chechen Republic with its 12.1%. The ethnopolitical elites, in turn, do not miss the chance to take advantage of the economic problems in order to mobilize the traditional practices in the struggle for power.

In fact, the political elites are the strongest actors on the regional political stage, the level of their power and influence can hardly be overestimated.[8] They have concentrated economic, political, and local traditional resources in their hands, rely on ethnic practices and secession sentiments, haggle with the federal Center over subventions and subsidies, and, after pushing aside all the democratic procedures, monopolized conflict settlement.

The clan system and archaic institutions (blood feud, bride kidnapping, etc.) inherited by the Northern Caucasus from the past survived, no matter how hard Soviet power tried to eliminate them. The power structures in the North Caucasian republics are moving in the same direction: they ban some of the national traditions (rites) and cultivate others. The use of force is ineffective: all attempts to force big groups of blood enemies into reconciliation "freeze" the feuds.

The Northern Caucasus is mainly polycentric (the Chechen Republic being the only exception) with various centers of decision-making, which makes the road to mutually acceptable decisions a far from easy one. The firm position of the ruling elite is determined by the level of their legitimacy as perceived by society and the level confidence of the ordinary people. During one of the polls, the question, "Which factors will determine a firm position in the regional government structures in the near future?" invited the following answers:

(1) the skill with which the government expresses and protects the interests of the people (42.25%);

(2) loyalty to the political regime;

(3) professionalism; and

(4) the ability to maintain informal relations with the key figures in the Center.[9]

It turned out that many of the respondents were very concerned about the possibility that members of criminal clans might penetrate the regional elite. The respondents spoke of corruption as one of the greatest shortcoming of the ethnopolitical elites (52.25%); nepotism (33.75%); and orientation toward the interests of the wealthy minority (24.75%).[10]

The closed nature of the elites and corruption are the key methods of their functioning, along with the traditional methods of survival, the use of force being the main one.

The regional political elites confirm and reconfirm their loyalty to the federal government through electoral support and public statements; this is amply confirmed by the results of the latest presidential elections. According to the reports of the Central Election Commission of the RF, some the republics cast over 90% of votes for Vladimir Putin: Ingushetia, 91.91%; the Chechen Republic, 99.76%; the Republic of Daghestan, 92.84%; and Karachaevo-Cherkessia, 91.36%. The share of votes cast for Putin gradually decreased depending on the distance that separates republics from the seats of ethnopolitical and socioeconomic tension: Kabardino-Balkaria, 77.64%; North Ossetia-Alania, 70.00%; the Stavropol Territory, 64.47%; and the Rostov Region, 62.66%.[11] The share of votes

[8] See: "Rating of Influence of the Heads of Constituencies of the Russian Federation in March 2016," available in Russian at [http://www.apecom.ru/projects/item.php?SECTION_ID=101&ELEMENT_ID=2575], 1 May, 2016.

[9] See: A.V. Ponedelkov, L.I. Shcherbakova, "Rol i mesto regionalnykh elit v obespechenii vnutrenney bezopasnosti v regione," *Vestnik YuRGGU (NPI),* No. 1, 2014, pp. 156-161.

[10] See: Ibidem.

[11] Site of the Central Election Commission of the RF, 15 February, 2016.

corresponds to the size of the subsidies: larger subsidies correspond to the large share of votes. Even if anyone doubts the transparency of the 2012 presidential campaign, there can be no doubt that the share of votes cast for Putin reflects the "opinions" of the political elites and their loyalty to the federal government. According to Alexey Gunya, the position of the regional elites is very important for the local people[12] in view of their power resources and strategies.

Main Attributes of the Religious and Business Elites

The *Muslim clergy*—mullahs, kadis, Sufi brotherhoods, etc.—has dominated and still dominates in the Northern Caucasus. In 2015, there were 4,988 registered Islamic religious organizations in Russia (79 of them centralized); there are 27,496 registered religious organizations of all confessions.[13] For the purposes of our discussion, the extremely radicalized part of the Islamic organizations—fundamentalist (extremist or close to extremist)—should be discussed separately from traditional Islam and its correlation with the moderate radical and ultra-radical groups. It should be said that representatives of traditional Islam never win religious arguments with members of the "youth jamaat," whose knowledge of Arabic and the religious teaching is more profound.[14]

Today, in the context of the unfolding process of clericalization of the state power bodies, representatives of traditional Islam are widely involved in the efforts to persuade the youth that religious fundamentalism and terror are destructive.[15] As distinct from Soviet-type Islam, today the spiritual administrations of the Muslims closely cooperate with the government, the defense and security structures, and the special services on a more or less equal basis. The Islamic institutions are gradually becoming statist, which cannot but cause concern. The ordinary people, particularly the younger age groups, associate the traditional Islamic cult with official power and its constructive, as well as negative trends.

In the context of the ideological struggle against the Islamic State (IS), the terrorist activities of armed clandestine cells, and separatist sentiments, the religious elites have preserved their impact on the political processes unfolding in the region. The local powers use the representatives of traditional Islam as a tool for combating Wahhabism and extremism; this tool comes handy in the political struggle as well.

The *business elite* consist of the biggest entrepreneurs, businessmen, managers of large enterprises, etc. The political and business elites are closely connected or even intertwined, which makes it hard to separate them for the purpose of our analysis;[16] in the Northern Caucasus, they are even closer affiliated.

There are different and well-known methods for analyzing the interaction between the political and business elites. We have relied on the regional typology of relations between these two elites formulated by N. Lapina and A. Chirikova to identify the models of patronage, partnership, suppression (the struggle of all against all), and the "privatization of power" model. The patronage model

[12] See: A. Gunya, "Severny Kavkaz: raspredelenie resursov i vlasti na lokalnom i regionalnom urovnyakh," available at [http://www.policy.hu/gunya/ag_pub_boi.pdf], 15 March, 2016.

[13] See: *Rossia v tsifrakh 2015*, p. 173.

[14] See: I.P. Dobaev, "Politicheskie protsessy v islamskom dvizhenii na Severnom Kavkaze", *Nauchnaia mysl Kavkaza,* No. 1 (53), 2008, pp. 31-38.

[15] See: E. Polyakov, "Structure of Political Violence and Terror in the Northern Caucasus in the 1990s-2000s," *Central Asia and the Caucasus*, Vol. 16, Issue 2, 2015, pp. 42-53.

[16] See: O. Kryshtanovskaia, *Anatomia rossiyskoy elity,* Moscow, 2005, p. 294.

means that the state controls business; partnership speaks of constructive interaction between the state and business; in the third model, the elites are locked in an uncompromising confrontation, while in the fourth model, the economic elite is involved in forming the administrative elite.[17] In the Northern Caucasus, the first model predominates: the state closely follows and controls the way the business elite is formed and functions; it encourages economic protectionism in the redistribution of financial, economic, and material resources in favor of its "favorites"; controlled shady business structures can count on easy loans and subsidies.

Ethnicity is one of the factors conducive to the formation and functioning of business elites, together with economic interests, business, and control over resources. Membership in these structures is ensured by blood kinship, as well as teip and clan contacts—the usual cornerstones of business relations. Economic ties do not depend on purely ethnic considerations; they are based on teip, family, and clan-tribal relations. This could be observed in the African countries as they consolidated their newly acquired independence.[18]

We are not convinced that the set of tribal-clan groups is formed by members of one ethnicity ("titular ethnicity"); however, the main role in the concentration and distribution of economic assets belongs to members of the titular ethnicity in corresponding federation constituencies. In the Northern Caucasus, business functions within a strict administrative framework, rather than the civilian sphere, and influences the political and administrative structures through informal clan-tribal channels.

The North Caucasian republics traditionally need and receive large subsidies; in some of them, the share of federal transfers to their consolidated budgets is as high as 80%, or even more. According to the official unemployment level, social stratification, and the standard of living they rank lowest in Russia. This adds urgency to the study of the shadow economy, the scope of which threatens the country's economic security. According to President of Daghestan Ramazan Abdulatipov, the share of the shadow economy in the republic has reached 60%, while one of the former presidents of Daghestan, Mukhu Aliev, spoke about 40%.[19] The same figures more or less apply to all the other North Caucasian republics. The shadow economy includes illegal businesses, smuggling, shadow trade in oil extracted from unregistered oil wells and oil products, transportation of oil, illegal refineries mainly in North Ossetia and Kabardino-Balkaria, illegal individual businesses, production of surrogates, illegal trade in black caviar, sturgeon, etc. This creates fertile soil for corruption, protectionism, active trade in drugs, psychotropic substances, etc. The surveillance structures are ineffective: they merely redistribute bribes among themselves.

The above means that the study of indirect indicators of material wellbeing is highly promising.[20] The number of cars (this is important due to the region's geographic location and the development of roads), the quantity of electric power used, etc. can be described as important indicators of real income. The standards of living and wellbeing of the local population are mostly assessed by the amount and quality of property and point to shadow incomes. The following methods are used to assess the shadow economic segments: the method of discrepancies, energy consumption, the Italian and the monetary method.[21] The discrepancies between the statistical reports and the real state of affairs in the local economies can be revealed by taking into account the per capita number of heavy duty wagons, exclusive cars, and high voltage electrical appliances (used at mini plants). This does

[17] See: Yu.K. Draganova, "Osnovnye modeli vzaimodeystviia politicheskoy i biznes-elit v Rossii," *Teoria i praktika obshchestvennogo razvitia*, No. 1, 2011, pp. 104-106.

[18] See: L.V. Geveling, *Kleptokratia,* Moscow, 2003.

[19] See: D.S. Sarkarova, "Vliianie tenevoy ekonomiki na politicheskuiu situatsiiu v respublikakh SKFO," *Gorizonty ekonomiki,* No. 6-2 (26), 2015, pp. 106-110.

[20] See: "Social Atlas of the Regions of Russia," available at [http://atlas.socpol.ru/index.shtml], 20 March, 2016.

[21] See: A.N. Dimitrov, A.A. Sheverdiaev, "Metody otsenki sektora promyshlennogo kompleksa v kontekste obespecheniia ekonomicheskoy bezopasnosti," *Vestnik SevKavGTI,* Issue 3 (22), 2015, p. 39.

not mean to say that people in the Northern Caucasus live better than the average Russian citizen, yet this segment of the shadow economy should be taken into account. In fact, in the Northern Caucasus, social differentiation and inequality are much more pronounced than in other regions of the Russian Federation. The share of bureaucrats, the nature and scope of their consumption and the size of their property invite many questions.[22]

The never-ending conflicts and disagreements, as well as the fierce clan struggle unfolding behind the scenes and never spilling over into the public space, can be described as a repercussion of the specifics of doing business in the region. The clan leaders rely on their administrative resource to attract mobilization potential and promote their economic interests. These contradictions crop up not only between the clans, but also within the ethnicities as a form of the traditional and archaic nature of society.[23]

On the Development of Political Opposition

Let's look at the role played by the political opposition: the group conventionally consists of the media and human rights activists. The borderline between them in the very specific conditions of the Northern Caucasus and the military-command style of administration and management is barely discernible.

Table

Structure of the Legislative Assemblies (Parliaments) of the North Caucasian Constituencies (according to the representation of political parties as of 1 January, 2016)

Republics/Territories	Seats	ER	KPRF	SR	LDPR	PR	PD	Yabloko	Other
Republic of Adygea	54	40	6	2	3	—	—	—	3
Republic of Daghestan	90	62	6	13	—	8	1	—	—
Republic of Ingushetia	27	22	2	2	—	—	1	—	—
Republic of Kabardino-Balkaria	70	50	8	8	2	—	—	—	2
Republic of Kalmykia	27	18	4	—	—	2	—	—	3
Republic of Karachaevo-Cherkessia	50	37	5	3	2	3	—	—	—
Krasnodar Territory	100	95	5	—	—	—	—	—	—
Stavropol Territory	50	37	5	3	4	—	—	—	1
Republic of North Ossetia-Alania	70	45	5	5	—	14	—	—	1
Chechen Republic	41	37	—	3	—	1	—	—	—

Source: Information is found on the official sites of legislative assemblies (parliaments) of the constituencies of the RF.

[22] See: *Komsomolskaia pravda,* 20 August, 2013.

[23] See: A.R. Salgiriev, "Elity v politicheskom prostranstve yuga Rossii," *Nauka i biznes: puti razvitia,* No. 9 (27), 2013, pp. 156-159.

The United Russia Party (ER) present in practically all the power structures is in the majority in all the legislative assemblies (see the table). The total number of seats filled by all "other parties" is 136 out of 579 (that is, 23.49%). This means there can be no talk of any opposition parties in the parliament; in fact, some of these parties are no more than political projects that imitate the opposition.

This means that today there are no integrated opposition forces able to affect the political process to any extent. Political elites influence the ways the parliaments are formed and exert strong pressure on decision-making. It will take a lot of time to develop the institution of parliamentarism in the region, or in the rest of the country for that matter.

The Northern Caucasus attracts a lot of attention from the international human rights organizations and media, conventionally described as subjects of political governance; they are, in fact, a factor of indirect pressure on decision-making. There is any number of analytical reports of human rights activists, but so far ethnocratia has not been curbed under their pressure; the ethnocrats prefer to harshly oppose them.[24] Human rights activists and the media are weak strata of the political process.

Conclusion

The study of political stratification of ethnic elites (ethnopolitical, business, religious, opposition, and others) is a relatively new sphere of interest of ethnologists and political scientists. Many of them are especially interested in the structures and arrangement of the elites, their genesis, and the functions and specifics of their functioning in view of the highly complicated system of interaction and mutual influences of the North Caucasian elites.[25]

By way of conclusion, we can say that the following factors have played a destructive role and caused political tension in the region: use of the Internet by IS emissaries to lure young people; poverty; high tension in the labor market; unemployment; social differentiation; the gradually diminishing role of the secular way of life; corruption of the juridical and executive power branches; authoritarian rule; the absence of free media, etc.

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[24] See: Rosbalt [http://www.rosbalt.ru/piter/2016/03/10/1496732.html], 15 April, 2016; Kavkazskiy uzel [http://www.kavkaz-uzel.ru/articles/242881/], [http://www.kavkaz-uzel.ru/articles/264772/#Kratkoe], 10 April, 2016; Site of the Memorial Human Rights Center [http://www.memo.ru/r/122.html], 13 April, 2016; Severny Kavkaz [http://kopomko.ru/spisok-zhurnalistov-ubityih-v-dagestane/], 5 March, 2016; the *Chernovik* newspaper [http://chernovik.net/], 4 April, 2016.

[25] See: Sh.A. Gapurov, Kh.A.S. Khaladov, V.Yu. Gadaev, "Znanie realiy Kavkazskoy voyny kak faktor obespecheniia dukhovnoy bezopasnosti molodezhi," in: *Gumanitarnoe znanie i dukhovnaia bezopasnost,* Collection of Papers from the 2nd International Scientific-Practical Conference, 2015, pp. 119-140; M.M. Betilmerzaeva, "Severny Kavkaz na styke traditsionnoy i globalizatsionnoy kultur: strategii vzaimodeystviia," in: *Severny Kavkaz: poisk modeley uskorennogo razvitia,* Papers from the International Scientific-Practical Conference, 2015, pp. 342-351.

ANALYSIS OF THE PROTEST MOOD IN THE WESTERN REGION OF KAZAKHSTAN

Kadyrzhan SMAGULOV

Ph.D. (Political Science), Senior Lecturer,
Department of Political Science at Al-Farabi Kazakh National University
(Almaty, Kazakhstan)

Gulnar NASIMOVA

D.Sc. (Political Science), Head,
Department of Political Science at Al-Farabi Kazakh National University
(Almaty, Kazakhstan)

ABSTRACT

Since 2011, Kazakhstan has been riddled with terrorist acts, whereby the country's western region has become the hotbed of this activity. And whereas the first terrorist acts involved the murder of representatives of the defense and security structures, in 2016, the terrorists in Aktobe (Western Kazakhstan) chose gun shops and a military base as their targets. This shows the striving of terrorist groups to get their hands on weapons of war, as well as the growing radical mood in their ranks. The terrorist acts in Aktobe this year occurred on the rising wave of protest among the people of Kazakhstan against the government's initiative to sell and rent land to foreign citizens. This protest was also aggravated by the general drop in the population's standard of living due to the global economic crisis. It is also caused by the problems in Kazakhstan's economy, such as the cutback in industrial production and export, devaluation of the national currency, increase in inflation, decrease in purchasing power, etc.

This article analyzes why the protest population in Western Kazakhstan has moved toward the use of extreme forceful measures.

KEYWORDS: ***terrorist acts, Western Kazakhstan, protest population, radicalization.***

Introduction

On 5 June, 2016, a series of terrorist acts took place in Aktobe. Several groups of terrorists attacked gun shops and a military base. According to the authorities, the terrorists were Salafists who received their instructions from abroad.

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- First, the terrorist acts in Aktobe in 2016 demonstrate the terrorists' serious intentions, since their main goal was to obtain weapons at the military base.
- Second, the terrorists do not have any or, at least, not enough weapons.
- Third, the terrorists are a closed group whose members are only sectarians.

This gives rise to the fourth conclusion that the network of special service agents inculcated into the ranks of the radicals is either non-existent or very weak. Fifth, the terrorist acts were committed during an abrupt rise in the protest mood among the Kazakhstan population. For example, in the spring of 2016, a squall of meetings took place in Kazakhstan calling for cancellation of the amendments to the Land Code relating to sale or lease of farm land to foreigners. Disturbances occurred in almost every region of the country, but they began and have been most active in the western region.

The 2016 terrorist act in Aktobe was not the first in Western Kazakhstan. In 2011 and 2012, several terrorist acts took place at once in the Aktobe and Atyrau provinces committed by adherents to radical religious movements. All of the terrorist acts were targeted against employees of the defense and security structures.

In this article, I will try to analyze why Western Kazakhstan in particular became the hotbed of the most radical protest moods among the population.

The Reasons for a Rise in the Protest Mood in Western Kazakhstan

Geographically, the western region consists of the Western Kazakhstan, Atyrau, Mangistau, and Aktobe provinces. In terms of economic specialization (oil and gas production), the Kyzylorda province should also be added to this region. So hereafter the term "western region" will cover all five of the above-mentioned provinces.

Voting at parliamentary elections is essentially the only way for the people of Kazakhstan to voice their disagreement with current government policy.

An analysis of the voting results at the parliamentary elections in the western provinces should be carried out from 2004. Not long before the elections, in 2001, several big businessmen and high-ranking republic figures established Kazakhstan's Democratic Choice (KDC) movement. However, the government's decisive and strict action relating to the movement's members led to a split in the opposition's ranks. Some of the organizers founded a moderate party, Ak Zhol, while the KDC assumed a radical position.[1]

As per the voting results at the 2004 elections according to party lists, the opposition parties, Ak Zhol, the CPK, and KDC bloc, received a total of the following votes: 43.85% in the Kyzylorda province, 36.31% in the Mangistau province, 17.63% in the Western Kazakhstan province, 13.08% in the Aktobe province, and 11.43% in the Atyrau province. The share of the protest electorate was very high, and this is keeping in mind that some of the protest population ignored the elections (the turnout in the western provinces amounted to 42.7-57.69%), while the government launched the administrative resource.[2]

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[1] See: L. Karmazina, "Institutionalization of the Party System in Kazakhstan and Russia: A Comparative Analysis," *Central Asia and the Caucasus,* No. 1 (55), 2009, pp. 115-126.

[2] See: S. Zhusupov, "Kakoi parlament my poluchili, ili Razmyshlenia posle vyborov," available at [expert.ru], 3 July, 2016.

At the extraordinary parliamentary elections in 2007, the moderate opposition was represented by Ak Zhol and the Communist People's Party of Kazakhstan (CPPK), which began currying up to the government in 2006. The real opposition was represented by the National Social-Democratic Party (NSDP). According to the voting results, 6.38% of the electorate voted for the NSDP in the Kyzylorda province, 3.66% in the Western Kazakhstan province, 2.62% in the Aktobe province, 1.22% in the Atyrau province, and 0.98% in the Mangistau province. Trends toward a decrease in votes for the NSDP were also seen at the parliamentary elections in 2012 and 2016, when the NSDP gathered less than 2% of the electorate's votes.

So it is not possible to trace the dynamics of the protest electorate based on the parliamentary elections in the western region due to the widespread use of the administrative resource, which makes it impossible to see the real picture of support for the opposition party. This is particularly shown by the little difference in electorate votes among the provinces. For example, beginning in 2007, the electorate in 15 out of 16 of the country's regions has been voting for the parties in essentially the same way, with a difference of +/-2—3%, and this is keeping in mind the structural heterogeneity of the regions in terms of natural-geographic, resource, economic, and social characteristics.

As researcher M. Kaznacheev notes, "the 'voting electorate' is not citizens, but entirely manageable and controlled election commissions that 'conjure up' any result at the elections."[3] That is, "power in Kazakhstan is de facto not electoral and essentially does not depend on the moods of the electorate."[4]

Total control of the party field on the part of the government, elimination of real oppositional political parties, prohibition on meetings unsanctioned by the authorities, and state control over essentially all media have made it impossible for the protest electorate and citizens who disagree with the government's policy to express a different point of view. This has generated increased radicalism in part of society. It primarily applies to the followers of radical religious trends, since the very appearance of such ideas has been caused by the problems and factors with which these people do not agree.

At the current stage, several interrelated factors are having an effect on the protest moods in the western region.

In Western Kazakhstan, essentially only oil and gas production has been developing. This is related to the fact that the region is rich in oil and gas. This has had an effect on the imbalance in the region's development. For example, in the provinces of Western Kazakhstan, the ratio of industry to agriculture in the GRP structure is as follows: 89:11 in the Aktobe province; 98:2 in the Atyrau province; 95:5 in the Western Kazakhstan province; 99:1 in the Mangistau province, and 94:6 in the Kyzylorda province.

The favorable global situation with respect to energy resource prices has led to an increase in revenue from the oil production industry—the driving force behind the increase in the Kazakhstan economy at the beginning of the 2000s. This in turn generated an increase in the income of the employees of this industry, and the region became the main destination for most of the internal and external migrants.

However, despite the fact that the western region has the highest level of average salary, it also has the highest level of poverty. Employees of the oil-producing companies receive high salaries, while other sectors, particularly agriculture, lag 3-4-fold behind.[5]

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[3] M. Kaznacheev, "Sotsialno-politicheskie posledstvia devalvatsii tenge," available at [www.zakon.kz], 3 July, 2016.

[4] D. Satpaev, "Bolevye tochki politicheskoi sistemy Kazakhstana," available at [www.risk.kz], 3 July, 2016.

[5] See: *Tsennosti i ideally nezavisimogo Kazakhstana*, Collective monograph, Published by Z.K. Shaukenova, Institute of Philosophy, Political Science, and Religious Studies of KN MON RK, Almaty, 2015, p. 304

Sociologist G. Ileuova writes that "wealthy citizens predominate in Mangistau: they account for 2% throughout the country as a whole and 8% in the province in particular."[6] That is, there is a clear contrast between the rich and poor population, which might account for the feeling of social injustice among the public. Furthermore, the oil industry employs only a limited number of workers who have the relevant education. However, it is in Western Kazakhstan that the percentage of educated people is the lowest: 41.6% in the Mangistau province, 43.7% in the Kyzylorda province, 47.1% in the Atyrau province, and 56.5% on average throughout the republic.

It is worth noting that the unsuitability of most of the region's territory for farming means that the region has to import essentially all of its foodstuffs, and their price is high. For example, the cost of living is the highest in Aktau, Astana, Almaty, and Atyrau.[7]

The high salaries in the oil-producing industry have begun attracting internal and external migrants who represent the titular nation. For example, the western region is distinguished by the fact that the percentage of the Kazakh ethnicity in these provinces comprises the absolute majority: 81.68% in the Aktobe province, 92.12% in the Atyrau province, 95.98% in the Kyzylorda province, and 90.26% in the Mangistau province. The only exception is the Western Kazakhstan province, where the percentage of the titular nation amounts to 75.16%.

In terms of numbers of internal migrants, the Mangistau province comes second to only Almaty and Astana, while it yields only to the Southern Kazakhstan province in the number of immigrants. In turn, most of the immigrants are unqualified workers in the form of Kazakh repatriates—oralman, 8.7% of whom have a higher education, 20.5% a secondary special education, 61% a general secondary education, while 9.8% have no education.[8]

After the events of 2011 in Zhanaozen (the Mangistau province), when disturbances broke out organized by redundant oil workers, the government accused the oralman for stirring up these acts. However, the oralman are not integrated into Kazakh society.[9] Since most local Kazakhs have a negative attitude toward Kazakh repatriates, the oralman respond in kind and do not accept the norms and customs of Kazakhstan society. Therefore, we do not think the government's accusations of the oralman are entirely justified, since the local Kazakhs would be unlikely to heed the oralman's call to carry out illegal acts in Zhanaozen.

As our study shows, the increase in number of crimes is not directly related to the increase in immigrants; a stronger interdependence is seen between the rise in crime and the increase in internal migration.

In 2015, the crime level increased by 10,000 people compared with 2005: 12.8-fold in the Mangistau province, 9.3-fold in Astana, 5.3-fold in the Western Kazakhstan province, 4-fold in Almaty, and 2.8-fold in the Atyrau province. That is, the highest increase in crime was registered in the host provinces of internal and external migrants. However, in the charts above, we see that the crime level rose despite the decrease in number of immigrants.

So it is possible that the deterioration in the crime situation in the western region is related to internal migrants, primarily from the rural areas. This is the first generation of rural residents to arrive in the cities, and it has brought all the elements of the rural culture, rural community, and rural system of relationships to city life, which means that intense marginalization of the cities is underway.[10]

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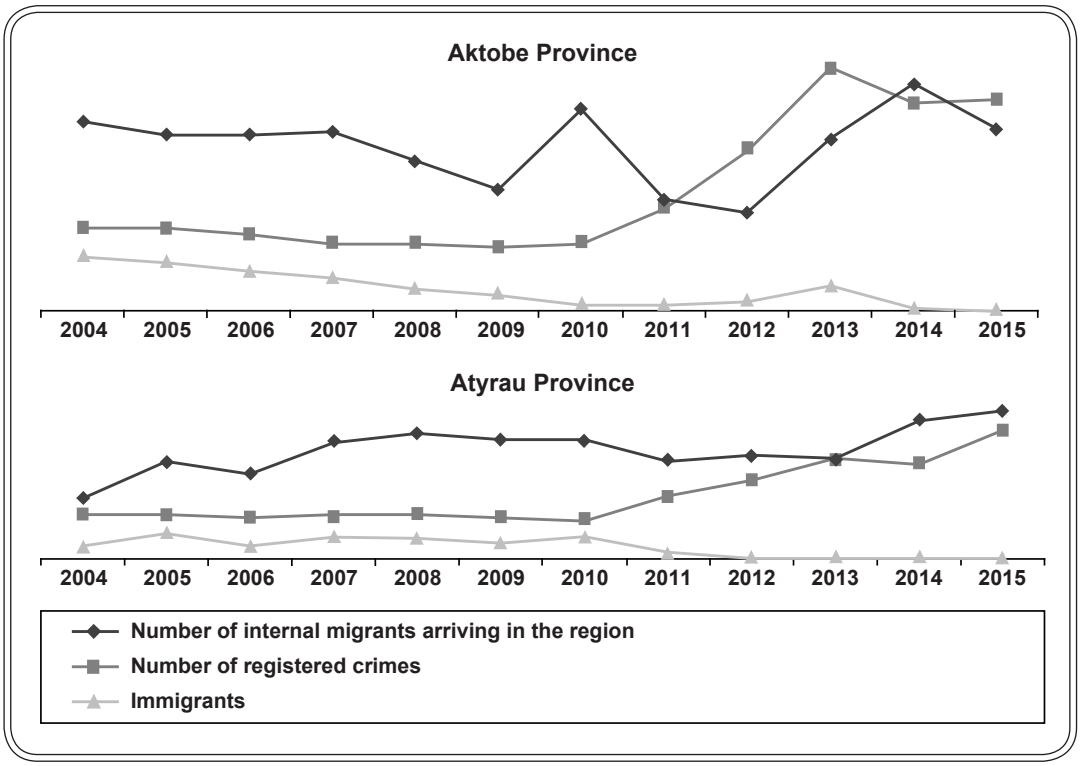
[6] See: A. Ibraev, "Kazakhstan v razreze regionov. Interview with sociologist G. Ileuova," available at [www.nomad.su], 3 July, 2016.

[7] See: I. Kindop, "Gde v Kazakhstane zhit khorosho, ili reiting gorodov strany po stoimosti zhizni," available at [dknews.kz], 3 July, 2016.

[8] In 24 years, almost one million oralman have arrived in Kazakhstan [www.nur.kz], 3 July, 2016.

[9] See: M. Shibutov, L. Shibutova, "Indeks sotsialnoi napriazhennosti v Kazakhstane v aprele," available at [www.vlast.kz], 3 July, 2016.

[10] See: V. Lim, "Gulmira Ileuova: Oppozitsia do sikh por ne mozhet priiti v sebia," available at [www.nomad.su], 3 July, 2016.


Aktobe Province
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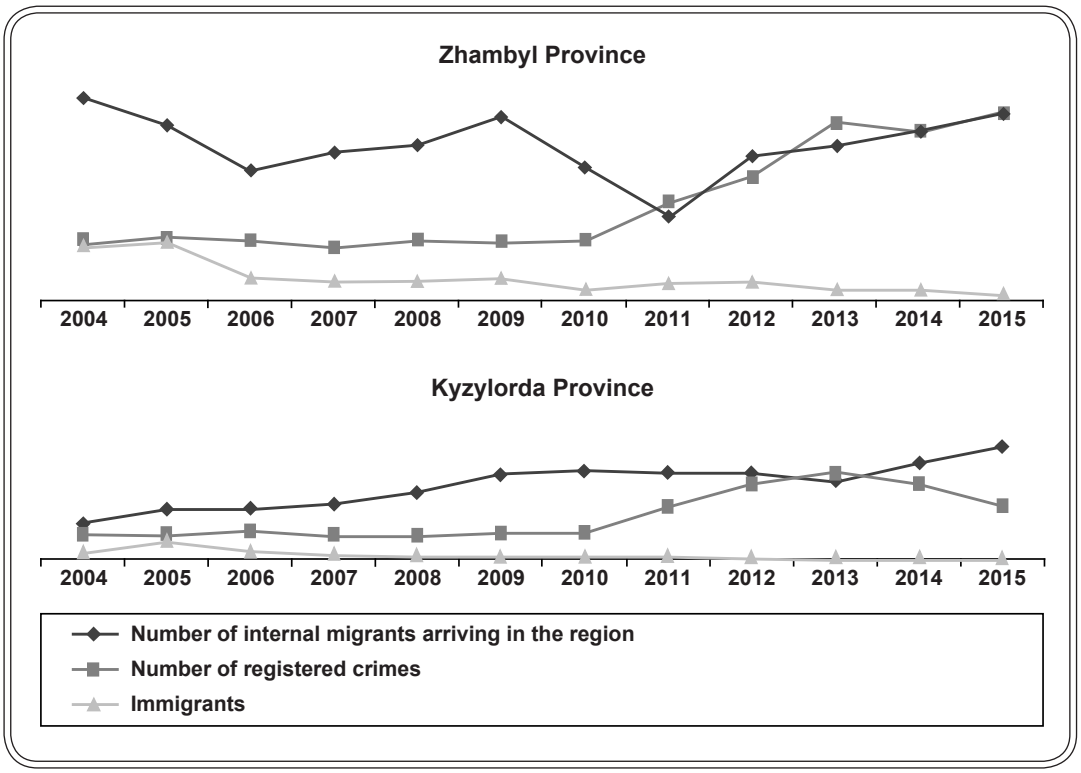
Atyrau Province
2004 2005 2006 2007 2008 2009 2010 2011 2012 2013 2014 2015
Number of internal migrants arriving in the region
Number of registered crimes
Immigrants


Zhambyl Province
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Kyzylorda Province
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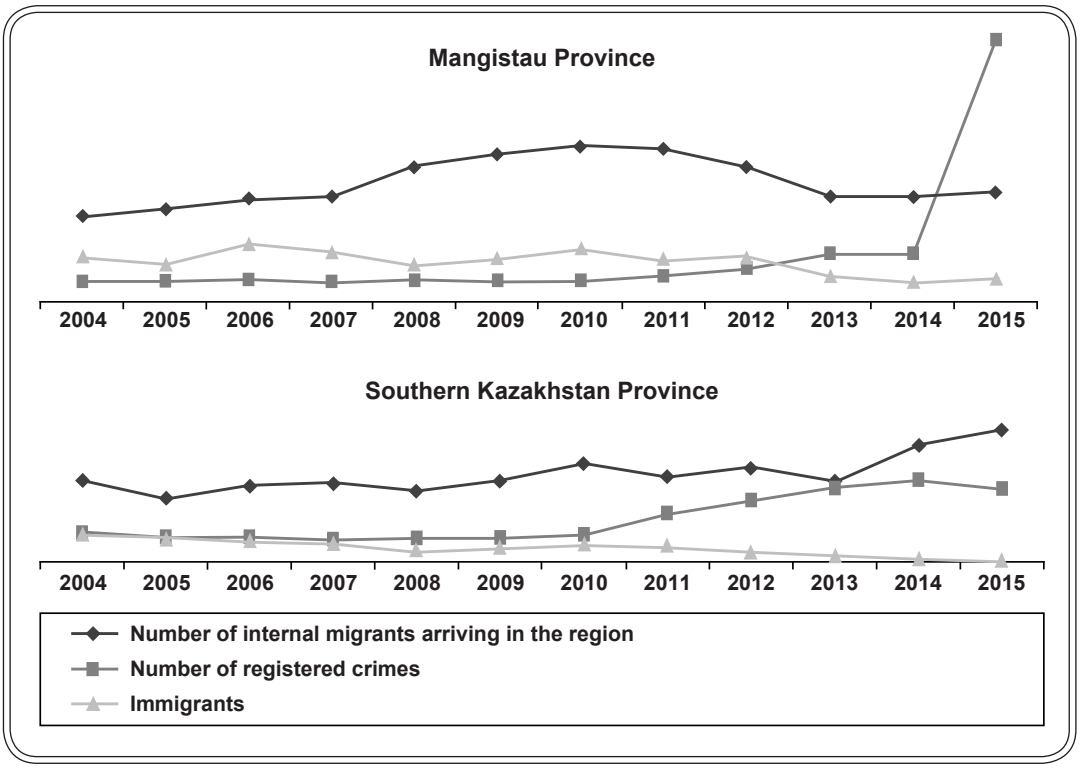
Number of internal migrants arriving in the region
Number of registered crimes
Immigrants


Mangistau Province
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Southern Kazakhstan Province
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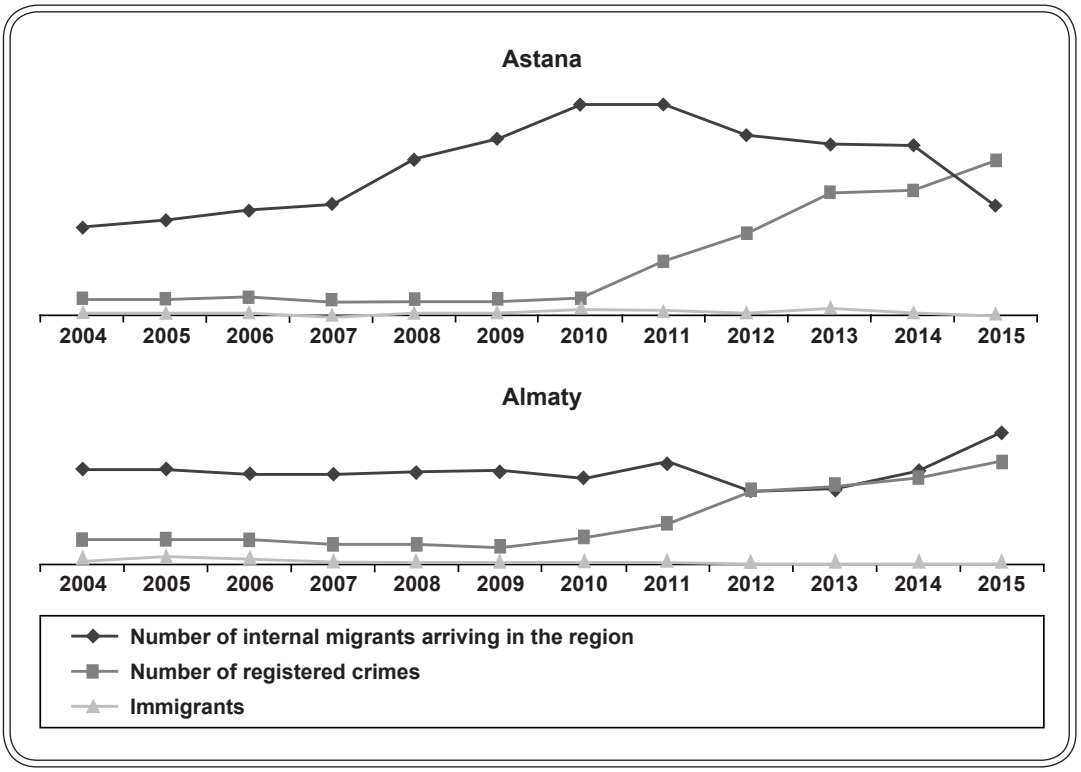
Number of internal migrants arriving in the region
Number of registered crimes
Immigrants


Astana
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2015
Number of internal migrants arriving in the region
Number of registered crimes
Immigrants

Young people, 48.3% of whom live in the southern region, are the main driving force behind internal migration.[11] The main problem for the rural youth and people of working age is unemployment, the level of which reaches 60-70% in the rural regions.[12] However, after moving to the cities, rural residents encounter new problems: social, financial, economic, and psychological. Furthermore, the move of rural migrants to the cities also aggravates the situation for the urban residents, whose protest against the migrants and against the government increases due to the latter's inability to resolve the problems in the rural areas, which leads to the increase in migrant flows.

The population of the western provinces calls the lack of social structure the most important factor. For example, the number of general education schools per 10,000 people is one of the lowest in the Atyrau (3.4) and Mangistau (2.4) provinces. The Atyrau and Aktobe provinces are outsiders in terms of the number of children accommodated in preschool organizations. The Atyrau and Kyzylorda provinces have the lowest indices in terms of the number of physicians per 10,000 people.

The lack of social accommodation of rural migrants is aggravated by the financial problem. Most internal migrants spend more than half of their earnings on rent.[13] Adaptation problems are also experienced by newcomers who have left their comfort zone and are trying to reconstruct it by forming tight-knit communities with others like them and settling in suburban areas.

On the one hand, the identity loss, change in social status, difficulty finding a job, and striving to feed their families experienced by rural migrants in the cities has led to an increase in crime, which has aggravated the crime situation in the cities. While on the other hand, false urbanization (with an increased demand for workforce) not only puts pressure on the urban social sphere, but is also one of the main vectors of pauperization of a large number of Kazakhstan citizens.[14]

The increase in poverty, marginalization, and low level of education create a breeding ground for radical religious ideas. For example, in recent years, representatives of Kazakhstan's titular nation have begun showing a greater interest in Islam. Whereas this religion used to be primarily widespread in rural areas, now Islamization is advancing in the large cities. In so doing, religiosity is growing most among young people. In the Kyzylorda province, 36% of young people call themselves believers and attend religious temples.[15]

The marginalized mass that is developing, particularly in the suburbs of large cities where rural migrants are living, represents a potentially explosive substance. As the amplitude of the economic crisis decreases in provisional terms, negative phenomena in the economy will consequently become more frequent and stronger. And if we add the opinion of several researchers that the time of high oil prices in particular and of oil in general has already passed, Kazakhstan's economy as a whole, which is strongly tied to the export of energy resources, can expect serious difficulties. And it will be the population of the oil-producing regions, where most of the internal migrants are concentrated, that will be the first to feel the consequences of these trends. In so doing, in 2013, the likelihood of protest campaigns arising was noted by 23.7% of the respondents in the Atyrau province and by 16.7% in the Mangistau province. The following reasons were given: wage arrears—34.3%, corruption—33.4%, and housing problems—28%.[16]

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[11] See: D. Eshpanova, "Sotsialno-demograficheskie kharakteristiki molodezhi Kazakhstana," *Sotsialnaia aktivnost molodezhi Kazakhstana v sovremennykh sotsialno-politicheskikh realiiakh*, IFPR KN MON RK, Almaty, 2014, p. 16.

[12] See: V. Lim, op. cit.

[13] See: T. Mamyraiymov, "Protestny potentsial v Kazakhstane: riski i prognozy," available at [cabar.asia], 3 July, 2016.

[14] See: Ibidem.

[15] See: T. Umbetalieva, B. Rakisheva, P. Teshendorf, *Molodezh Tsentralnoi Azii. Kazakhstan*, Based on a sociological poll, Almaty, 2016, p. 115.

[16] See: Z. Zhaukenova, op. cit.

Since then, more than four thousand employees have been made redundant at KazTransGaz (a subsidiary of KazMunaiGaz), while in 2017-2018, another 20% cutback is expected.[17] In so doing, a high level of unemployment was seen in 2013 in the Kyzylorda (11.4%), Aktobe, Mangistau (9.7%), Atyrau (9.5%), and Western Kazakhstan (9.3%) provinces.[18] That is, the western provinces are already experiencing a shrinking labor market and growing unemployment, and these trends will intensify in the next 2-3 years. This will cause a decrease in income in families where the salary of the head of a household who works in oil production is the main source of income, which will lead to even greater pauperization of the population in the western provinces.

In Kazakhstan, social differentiation has already reached a critical level—whereas 10 years ago, the ratio of minimum to maximum income of the decile groups of the population (the Gini coefficient) was 1:4, while today it is 1:10.[19]

On the whole, polarization of society is also causing stratification among young people—the elitization of certain types of higher education, the inability of most young people to gain access to elite jobs in the future, and the growing lack of understanding between the urban and rural youth. For example, 94% of young people in the Atyrau province feel that society is divided into classes.[20] All of this is already causing discontent in some young people, while it will lead in future to even greater social intolerance.

In so doing, "the horizontal mobility of young Kazakh people in search of a better job is often restricted by the government itself."[21] The state is trying to decrease migration from the village to the city using directive methods, such as fines for not living at one's official place of residence, administrative prosecution of leasers who carry out fictitious registration of newcomers in their apartments, etc.

"The Kazakhstan authorities have promoted an increase the number of protesting people due to their incommensurable forceful measures. Villagers and internal migrants in the large cities essentially see the government and defense and security officials as the main source of their segregation and infringement on their social rights."[22]

Furthermore, the entire complicated economic situation and corruption is putting noticeable pressure on the financial situation not only of rural migrants, but also of all the country's citizens. In turn, corruption is destroying the entire semblance of stability that has been created for many years in the state, which is undermining the authority of the current government.[23] For example, the Mangistau and Aktobe provinces rank the highest in terms of corruption among Kazakhstan's provinces for 2016.[24]

It should be said that the population often "points to high trust in the central power structures and relatively low trust in the local administrations and representative structures. This is due to the fact that the population blames the main social problems—unemployment, bureaucracy, inflation, corruption, etc.—on its immediate leadership."[25]

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[17] See: "Predstoiashchimi sokrashcheniiami v 'KazMunaiGaz' ozabotilis v transportnoi prokurature," available at [tengrinews.kz], 3 July, 2016.

[18] See: S. Baltusheva, "Analiz razvitia regionalnykh rynkov truda," available at [articlekz.com], 3 July, 2016.

[19] See: G. Ileuova, "Analiz ugroz natsionalnoi bezopasnosti RK na srednesrochnuiu perspektivu," available at [www.counter-terror.kz], 3 July, 2016.

[20] See: T. Umbetalieva, B. Rakisheva, P. Teshendorf, op. cit.

[21] See: T. Mamyraiymov, op. cit.

[22] See: Ibidem.

[23] See: D. Satpaev, op. cit.

[24] "Sotsiologicheskoe issledovanie 'Delovoi klimat 2015'," available at [palata.kz], 3 July, 2016.

[25] D. Ashimbaev, "Elektoralnye predpochtenia naselenia Kazakhstana v period izbiratelnykh kampaniy 2004-2005 gg.," available at [www.nomad.su], 3 July, 2016.

However, in Kazakhstan, the central and local authorities are closely interrelated and the regions are extremely dependent on the central administration both in the economic and social, as well as in the political respect.[26]

Remittances constitute the lowest percentage of regional income in the Atyrau and Mangistau provinces.[27] Consequently, these provinces are the least dependent on the republican budget and, on the whole, can provide for themselves, which means the western provinces are inclined toward greater independence.

The anticipated change in relations between the center and regions will objectively lead to comprehensive development of the fourth constant in the political system model—local self-administration.[28] In so doing, whereas the western provinces are interested in the development of local self-administration, the beneficiary regions of the south, the representatives of which also predominate in the upper echelons of power, oppose these trends. For example, based on an analysis of the origin of people's representatives alone according to the results of the elections to the Majilis in 2012, it can be seen that 14 out of the 107 deputies of the lower house come from the western provinces, while 15 come from the Almaty province alone.[29] This shows the low integration of the provinces of the western provinces in the existing political system.

In turn, alienation of the western provinces from the central power structures is leading to an increase in politicization among the youth. As social polls show, 79.4% of young people in the Atyrau, 45.7% in the Mangistau, and 36.4% in the Kyzylorda provinces strive to be engaged in politics.[30]

However, the problem is that young people in Kazakhstan have difficulty realizing their political and civil potential since there are no real social lift mechanisms either in the government structures or in political parties.

So the population in the western region is encountering problems that are caused by the uncontrolled migration of rural residents, which is putting pressure on the local labor markets and social infrastructure. On the other hand, the internal migrants in the western provinces themselves are encountering a whole other set of problems, which is also arousing negative moods. Special mention should also be made of the growing corruption that is penetrating all spheres of vital activity and is one of the main problems in present-day Kazakhstan. It is also a factor aggravating society's protest against the government. By voting for the opposition parties, this group of the population is expressing its protest against the current situation. However, the affiliation of the opposition parties with the government and the absence of an alternative political force have led to society's lack of faith in its ability to change the situation through voting. As a result, protest groups prefer not to participate in the elections, while the most radical part of society has begun using extreme methods to fight the authorities.

Political scientist D. Satpaev relates radicalization of part of the population and the transfer to forceful methods to the fact that the authorities have actively weakened the internal opposition that tried to act in the legal field and could have drawn some of the protesters to its side.[31]

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[26] See: S. Abdrakhmanov, "Sravnitelny analiz dokhodov i raskhodov mestnykh biudzhetov za 2008-2014 gg.," available at [budget.kz], 3 July, 2016.

[27] See: Ibidem.

[28] See: M. Ashimbaev, "Faktorny analiz perspektiv politicheskogo tranzita v Kazakhstane," available at [bibiliotekar.kz], 3 July, 2016.

[29] See: "Regiony Kazakhstana—lidery po kolichestvu deputatov v Mazhilise," available at [radiotochka.kz], 3 July, 2016.

[30] See: T. Umbetalieva, B. Rakisheva, P. Teshendorf, op. cit.

[31] See: "Satpaev: vlastiam sledovalo zanimatsia ekstremistami, a ne mitinguiushchimi," available at [newskaz.ru], 3 July, 2016.

The main reason for the emergence of social apathy is the people's ever greater alienation from the government, the state, and political decision-making. The meetings on the land issue that encompassed the entire country in the spring of 2016 are noteworthy in this respect. According to several experts, the amendments to the RK Land Code only served to detonate the general discontent over the current economic situation. This particularly applies to the drop in industrial production due to the cutback in oil export, the main source of hard currency income, devaluation of the tenge and the ensuing inflation, decrease in purchasing power, etc.

Conclusion

The analysis carried out has shown that in Western Kazakhstan forceful struggle methods and the emergence of protest moods have developed due to the lingering inability to resolve the region's problems. This has been aggravated by uncontrolled and spontaneous migration to the western provinces due to the government's inattention to the problems.

In turn, the fact that the government has blocked essentially all channels for manifesting disagreement with its current policy has led to part of the population assuming a radical position. And whereas the protest groups used to demand resolution of primarily economic and social problems, which they contested at elections and meetings, now the radical groups have moved toward extreme struggle methods. And this is not only posing a threat to the state and government, but also to society. According to the convictions of radical religious groups, they reject contact with non-believers, among whom they include all those who do not share their ideology.

In turn, the economic crisis in Kazakhstan as a whole and in the oil-producing regions in particular threatens a further increase in advocates of radical ideas among the marginalized population of internal migrants. And in this respect, the consequences could be lamentable, keeping in mind that it will be this group that is the first to encounter the main brunt of the negative trends relating to a worsening of the situation.

INDEPENDENCE AS AN "INVENTED TRADITION" IN GEORGIA'S POLITICAL IDENTITY (2014-2016)

Maxim KIRCHANOV

Ph.D. (Hist.), Assistant Professor,
Department of Regional Studies and Economics of
Foreign Countries, Faculty of International Relations,
Voronezh State University Federal State Budgetary Institution of
Higher Professional Education
(Voronezh, Russian Federation)

ABSTRACT

The author analyzes the "independence" concept as an "invented tradition" in Georgia's political life. The collective political ideas integrated into the emergence and development of political and ethnic identities are regarded as "invented traditions." The "invented tradition" of independence in present-day Georgia is realizing the continuity of the historical forms of Georgian statehood, of which the Georgian Democratic Republic (1918-1921) is part. The media, political class, and intellectual communities have invented, together with other groups, the traditions accepted in Georgia today. By "inventing traditions," Georgia (very much like any other recently emerged nation-state) superimposes contemporary collective ideas on its past. "Invented traditions" rely on history to create new political rituals and traditions. Symbolic and sacral levels of independence as an "invented tradition" are products of the imagination of Georgian intellectuals and politicians.

KEYWORDS: ***Georgia, invention of traditions, "invented traditions," constructivism, independence, identity.***

Introduction

Narratives that keep sovereignty, traditions of independence and the history of their statehoods up to date play a very special and important role in the ideological discourse unfolding in the political context of the newly independent states and of those that have recently restored their statehood. In different countries, the process may assume different or even diametrically different forms; in all countries, the ruling elites encourage and support different tactics, strategies, and practices designed to promote and cultivate ideas of statehood and independence. In some countries, the political class and intellectual communities keep within formal declarative practices to maintain ideas of statehood and independence at the desired level. In other states, ideas of freedom and independence as part of the political parlance are much more topical and much more required. They develop into new politically motivated "invented traditions" supported at the state level as part of a very intricate mechanism of social and cultural-political practices associated with historical and political memory. The concepts of freedom, independence, and statehood, which are equally involved in the reproduction and development of ethnic and political identities in the post-Soviet states, occupy a special place among the invented political traditions. Georgia is no exception.

Methodological Foundations

The "invented traditions" concept is a close relative of the "invention of traditions" theory formulated in the early 1980s by British historians Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger.[1] In a nutshell,

[1] See: *The Invention of Tradition*, ed. by E. Hobsbawm, T. Ranger, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1983; M. Klimchuk, "*Past & Present* Journal: Inventors of Traditions," in: *The Invention of Tradition,* ed. by E. Hobsbawm, T. Ranger, Transl. from the English by M. Klimchuk, Nika-Tsentr, Kiev, 2005, pp. 6-11 (in Ukrainian); *Representing the Nation: A Reader,* ed. by D. Boswell, J. Evans, Routledge, London, New York, 2007.

the theory says that many political traditions are not as old, or even archaic, as they seem; they are the product of the latest practice of myth creation and of the political and intellectual practices of the elites; they are invented traditions and imagined communities. On the whole, "invented tradition is taken to mean a set of practices, normally governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules and of a ritual or symbolic nature, which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behavior by repetition."[2] I believe that the "invented traditions" concept can be applied to contemporary Georgian political and intellectual history, or even be part of it.

Historiography

The contemporary history of Georgia has not been practically or factually described in the categories of constructivism, in the terms of "imagination" and "invention." Works on recent and actual Georgian history within these approaches are few and far between,[3] which makes this article pertinent.

Why This Article Has Been Written

The above explains why I have concentrated on the subjects discussed in my earlier publications[4] and on the concept დამოუკიდებლობის (damoukideblobis), "independence," as an "invented tradition" in the sociopolitical and intellectual discourse in Georgia today.

The Main Actors

In Georgia, very different actors are involved in formulating, producing, and developing the "independence" concept as an invented tradition. The media (including TV channels, Imedi among them, which keeps the "independence" concept current and serves the sociopolitical discourse) play an important role in the process. Imedi relies on a great variety of strategies and practices to promote the concept. Politicians, as public figures, are also involved in promoting and reproducing invented traditions in contemporary Georgia. It should be said that there is a latent and informal consensus among the media, politicians, and intellectuals who have agreed that the concept of "independence" is fundamentally important.

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[2] *The Invention of Tradition,* p. 1.

[3] See: Z. Andronikashvili, "Slava bessilia. Martirologicheskaia paradigma gruzinskoy politicheskoy teologii," *Ab Imperio*, No. 4, 2007; M.V. Kirchanov, "Obrazy Gruzinskoy Demokraticheskoy Respubliki v sovremennoy identichnosti Gruzii (na primere blogov i electronnykh SMI)," *Istoricheskie, filosofskie, politicheskie i iuridicheskie nauki, kulturologia i iskusstvovedenie. Voprosy teorii i praktiki*, No. 4, Part 1, 2014, pp. 90-92; idem, "Kontsept 'sovetskaia okkupatsia' v sovremennom gruzinskom natsionalizme," *Istoricheskie, filosofskie, politicheskie i iuridicheskie nauki, kulturologia i iskusstvovedenie. Voprosy teorii i praktiki,* No. 1, Part 1, 2015, pp. 72-75; idem, *Ot gruzinskogo dvorianstva k gruzinskoy politicheskoy natsii,* Kvarta, Voronezh, 2015, 476 pp.

[4] See: M. Kirchanov, "'Europe' and 'the West' in Georgia's Political Imagination and Nationalist Discourse," *Central Asia and Caucasus*, Vol. 11, No. 2, 2010, pp. 158-167; idem, "Kartvelism as a Development Paradigm of Georgian Ethnic Nationalism," *Central Asia and Caucasus*, Vol. 16, No. 1, 2015, pp 102-113; idem, "The Caucasian and Russian in Contemporary Georgian Nationalism," *Central Asia and Caucasus*, Vol. 14, No. 4, 2013, pp. 101-109; idem, "Russia as a Subject of the Ideology of Georgian Nationalism," *Central Asia and Caucasus*, Vol. 12, No. 1, 2011, pp. 150-157.

Invented Traditions and Imagined Succession of the State

In Georgia, the "independence" concept, as an invented tradition, appeals to historical continuity, in which the Georgian Democratic Republic[5] is perceived as the beginning of the contemporary political experience and contemporary political institutions.[6] In the context of the "invented tradition" of independence, the year 1918 is interpreted in Georgia's historical imagination as the symbolic and sacral date "when freedom came to Georgia."[7] This exposes the symbolic layer of "invented traditions" in Georgia; "invented traditions" are an attempt to keep current both historical experience and the continuity between different forms of Georgian statehood.

To a great extent, invented traditions are artificial novelties of our days. The Georgian intellectuals who insist on the continuity between the Georgian Democratic Republic and contemporary Georgia merely ascribe the current political values and collective ideas to the distant past. The newly invented tradition is legitimized in the eyes of the nation mainly through symbolic and sacral forms expected to actualize the continuity between different forms of the Georgian statehood.

Independence as an Invented Tradition: Civil Foundations

In the contemporary information discourse in Georgia, the "independence" concept reveals consistent European connotations[8] and is closely related to ideas of the political and intellectual classes, which prefers large-scale attempts to commemorate and promote independence as an invented tradition. By cultivating the invented tradition of independence, contemporary Georgian authors[9] compare the political experience of their country with that of the post-Soviet states that have made vast strides in European integration. The "independence" concept, as an "invented tradition" in Georgian political imagination, is frequently correlated with the similarly invented tradition of cultural and political Europeanism.

In 2015, Independence Day was marked by a theatrical performance "მამული 2015"[10] to demonstrate Georgia's political, linguistic, cultural, and historical continuity and different generations of the Georgian nation. In 2016, the Imedi TV Channel put out a video in which members of various age, as well as of national, religious, and ethnic groups, congratulated Georgia on Independence Day[11] in an attempt to keep current the tradition of independence and the ideas of the Georgian political

[5] See: "Independence Day—Readying for the Events Scheduled to 26 May," available at [http://www.imedi.ge/index.php?pg=nws&id=69023], 30 May, 2016 (in Georgian).

[6] See: "The Theorem: 98 Years Ago Independence was Proclaimed," available at [http://www.tabula.ge/ge/tv/teorema/108165-98-tseli-damoukideblobis-gamocxadebidan], 30 May, 2016 (in Georgian).

[7] "1991-2010: 19 Years of Independence," available at [http://www.tabula.ge/ge/story/52379-1991-21-damoukideblobis-19-tseli], 30 May, 2016 (in Georgian).

[8] See: "Independence Day—All Sorts of Organizations in the Main Prospekt Became Platforms of Festive Events," available at [http://www.imedi.ge/index.php?pg=nws&id=69912], 30 May, 2016 (in Georgian).

[9] See: G. Noniashvili, "Independence as a Victim," available at [http://www.tabula.ge/ge/story/108101-damoukideblobarogorc-msxverplshetsirva], 30 May, 2016 (in Georgian).

[10] See: "'Motherland 2015'—Choreographic Performance to Mark Independence Day," available at [http://www.imedi.ge/index.php?pg=nws&id=49962&tp=2], 30 May, 2016 (in Georgian).

[11] See: "Imedi Congratulates Georgia on Independence Day," available at [http://www.imedi.ge/index.php?pg=nws&id=69829], 30 May, 2016 (in Georgian).

nation, which looks at independence as an important "invented tradition" and a shared collective value. "Independence" as an "invented tradition" actively uses the latest technologies: in 2015, Google congratulated Georgian users with a Doodle[12] dedicated to Independence Day.

The invented tradition of "independence" helps to keep current the similarly new political invented traditions, which, in turn, help to keep current and visualize the national and state symbols, of which the Georgian flag is one.[13] The latter can be viewed as invented political traditions that keep the visual, symbolic, and sacral levels and dimensions of Georgian national identity up to date. Imedi's information discourse treats the independence concept as a national Georgian phenomenon[14] that was symbolically and sacredly localized in many places, including Rustaveli Prospekt.[15] This corresponds to the localization of independence as an invented tradition in the sacral space of the Georgian capital and consolidates the collective ideas about Rustaveli Prospekt as a collective "memorial place."

The invented tradition of independence helps to keep current the collective ideas of the founding fathers of the contemporary Georgian political nation, Merab Kostava, activist of the national movement of the Soviet period among them.[16] In this context, the invented tradition of independence in the form of a political ritual—Independence Day—promotes national commemoration and stimulates historical and political memory. The tradition is actualized in the context of narratives designed to describe and prove the historical and political continuity of Georgian statehood.

Public Politicians as the Serving Staff of "Invented Traditions"

From time to time, Georgian politicians refer to the concept of "independence," thus consolidating it and keeping it in circulation. On 26 May, 2016, in particular, Deputy Prime Minister Kakha Kaladze said: "We have covered a tortuous road to independence. It was a long road. It was very hard to restore freedom. All of Georgia was involved in the battle. Today, our country is independent, our country is free, each of its citizens is free. It is very important for independence and freedom that the statesmen continue working."[17] In 2016, Prime Minister Giorgi Kvirikashvili pointed

[12] See: "How Google Congratulated on Independence Day," available at [http://www.imedi.ge/index.php?pg=nws&id=50027&tp=2], 30 May, 2016; "Google Congratulates Georgia on Independence Day," available at [http://www.tabula.ge/ge/story/96548-google-i-saqartvelos-damoukideblobis-dghes-ulocavs], 30 May, 2016; "Google Congratulates the Georgian People on Independence Day," available at [http://www.imedi.ge/index.php?pg=nws&id=50032&tp=2], 30 May, 2016 (all in Georgian).

[13] See: "Independence Day—Several Tourist Attractions were Painted in the Colors of the National Flag," available at [http://www.imedi.ge/index.php?pg=nws&id=69910], 30 May, 2016 (in Georgian).

[14] See: "How was Independence Day Celebrated in Batumi?" available at [http://www.imedi.ge/index.php?pg=nws&id=31115&tp=2], 30 May, 2016; "Independence Day was Marked in Gori," available at [http://www.imedi.ge/index.php?pg=nws&id=31115&tp=2], 30 May, 2016; "The Events Timed to Coincide with Independence Day in Kutaisi," available at [http://www.imedi.ge/index.php?pg=nws&id=31114&tp=2], 30 May, 2016; "Independence Day—Celebrations in the Regions," available at [http://www.imedi.ge/index.php?pg=nws&id=69909], 30 May, 2016 (all in Georgian).

[15] See: "Independence Day—Gala Concert on Rustaveli Prospekt," available at [http://www.imedi.ge/index.php?pg=nws&id=69905], 30 May, 2016 (in Georgian).

[16] See: "Independence Day: In Memory of Merab Kostava," available at [http://www.imedi.ge/index.php?pg=nws&id=69900], 30 May, 2016 (in Georgian).

[17] "It is Very Important for Independence," available at [http://www.tabula.ge/ge/verbatim/108092-kaladze-dzalian-mnishvnelovania-damoukideblobis-tavisuflebis-shenarchuneba], 30 May, 2016 (in Georgian).

to the symbolical role of independence because, he said, "we have built our statehood and declared the aims that united the nation… We are a small state and unity is the only instrument of our continued existence."[18]

Two years earlier, President Giorgi Margvelashvili declared that "there is no freedom without independence… the freedom of the country is the sum-total of the freedoms of its citizens,"[19] while Prime Minister Irakli Garibashvili pointed out that "Independence Day is one of the most important days in our history; on that day, 96 years ago, history brought freedom to our country."[20] In 2015, the President of Georgia described independence as the quintessence of "many centuries of the country's history."[21]

The same year, the prime minister spoke of the importance of independence for Georgia's future: "Our country is an independent and sovereign state, this is the greatest achievement of our ancestors, our people, who paid for independence with their blood. We must protect and defend this victory … we must defend everything for which we have been fighting for many centuries … we must look after our country for the sake of its future. Today we are following the road of democracy … we are the only Georgian state that is moving in the right direction toward a united European family. Today we can say that we have moved closer to the cherished aim than ever… I am sure that we will be building a strong state that will be equally attractive for the Georgians, Abkhazians, Ossets, and other peoples and ethnicities living in our country. I believe that Georgia will be a united state and that our Abkhazian and Ossetian brothers will live together with us in a united and strong Georgian state that will occupy a worthy place among the developed and democratic countries."[22]

Ombudsman Ucha Nanuashvili described 26 May as "a symbol of the country's freedom and independence."[23] In 2016, on Independence Day, Minister of Culture Mikhail Giorgadze pointed out that it was extremely important "to protect the achievements of the last twenty-five years" and that "statehood must be developed."[24] On the whole, in the Georgian political discourse the invented tradition of "independence" is idealized to a great extent as a "holiday of pride."[25] The national Georgian parties that serve the invented tradition of "independence" are actively using the subject of independence. In 2016, the United National Movement (UNM) issued a statement timed to coincide with the anniversary of Georgian independence, in which it stated, in particular: "Ninety-eight years ago, on 26 May, 1918, the National Council ended the 117 year-long period of Russian domination by declaring the Georgian Democratic Republic. This is an important symbol … during the very short period of its independence, the Georgian Democratic Republic set up functioning democratic institutions—a directly elected parliament, a multi-party system, a jury, its armed forces, and the Central Bank…

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[18] "The Prime Minister: It Took Us 25 Years…," available at [http://www.tabula.ge/ge/verbatim/108096-premieri-saboloo-jamshi-saqartvelom-ghirseulad-gaiara-es-25-tseli], 30 May, 2016 (in Georgian).

[19] "The President: The Freedom of Every Citizen is the Sum-Total of the Freedoms of Others," available at [http://www.tabula.ge/ge/story/83618-prezidenti-qveknis-tavisufleba-aris-titoeuli-moqalaqis-tavisuflebata-jami], 30 May, 2016 (in Georgian).

[20] "Irakli Garibashvili Congratulated Georgians on Independence Day," available at [http://www.tabula.ge/ge/story/83621-irakli-gharibashvilma-jariskacebs-26-maisi-miuloca], 30 May, 2016 (in Georgian).

[21] "The President: Today We Mark the Victories…," available at [http://www.tabula.ge/ge/story/96556-prezidenti-dghes-momaval-gamarjvebebsac-vzeimobt], 30 May, 2016 (in Georgian).

[22] "The Prime-Minister: We Must Defend Our Country's Independence," available at [http://www.tabula.ge/ge/story/96545-premieri-valdebuli-vart-gavufrtxildet-qveknis-damoukideblobas], 30 May, 2016 (in Georgian).

[23] "The Ombudsman: 26 May is a Symbol of the Country's Freedom," available at [http://www.tabula.ge/ge/story/83607-ombudsmeni-26-maisi-qveknis-tavisuflebis-simboloa], 30 May, 2016 (in Georgian).

[24] "Giorgadze: This Day is a Stimulus for the Country's Development," available at [http://www.tabula.ge/ge/verbatim/108095-giorgadze-dghevandeli-dghe-aris-stimuli-da-valdebuleba-rom-ganvavitarot-qvekana], 30 May, 2016 (in Georgian).

[25] "Khaduri: Independence is a Holiday of Pride," available at [http://www.tabula.ge/ge/verbatim/108094-xaduri-da-moukidebloba-aris-siamakis-dghesastsauli], 30 May, 2016 (in Georgian).

Georgia achieved international recognition and became a full-fledged entity of international law. Its successful movement along the road of independence was cut short by Soviet Russia in 1921 when it perfidiously attacked Georgia … independence and sovereignty are the greatest achievements of our people."[26]

Independence as an "Invented Tradition" and the Imagined "National Body": Vitality, Muscularity, Militancy

The concept of "independence" as an invented tradition functions on the consensus of the main political parties, which, together with civil society and intellectuals, are drawn into all sorts of political, intellectual, and commemorative practices and strategies as the core of the public symbolically important and sacrificial use of "invented traditions." "Invented tradition" is used to stress the unity of the national body and its geographic integrity. This explains why the Georgian media are actively using independence as an invented political tradition in the context of Georgia's territorial unity with the "occupied territories";[27] this adds weight to the narratives about the united national body of Georgian national statehood.

In contemporary Georgia, independence, as an invented tradition, has been visualized to a great extent, a phenomenon related to the development of identity in an information society. Significantly, visual imagery keeps "independence" current as an invented tradition by adding other visual and impressive descriptions and qualities to further update its identity. In this context, the invented tradition of "independence" is supported by visualized images of children carrying national flags (realization of the nation's future), choirs (realization of ethnicity) and demonstrations of armaments and the military[28] (realization of the muscularity of national identity).

In the 2010s, militarization of Independence Day, as an invented tradition, became obvious.[29] Militarization was a direct product of the collective trauma of the events of August 2008 that transformed the national and political Georgian identities. Today, independence, as an invented tradition, realizes two levels of national identity—Georgia's national ethnic roots and European landmarks of contemporary Georgian statehood that should "occupy a worthy place in the European family."[30] This means that the invented tradition of "independence" keeps all the other invented traditions current. In this context, the media, which cover all levels of the concept of "independence," act as a servant. However, in this specific context, their servility is practically unavoidable: they are too deeply integrated into the mechanisms used to create and reproduce the visual images of the concept of "independence."

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[26] "UNM: Our Unity is the Only Instrument of Our Independence," available at [http://www.tabula.ge/ge/story/108086-enm-damoukideblobis-shenarchuneba-mxolod-ertianobit-aris-shesadzlebeli], 30 May, 2016 (in Georgian).

[27] "How Independence Day Should be Celebrated in the Immediate Vicinity of the Occupied Territories," available at [http://www.imedi.ge/index.php?pg=nws&id=50055&tp=2], 30 May, 2016 (in Georgian).

[28] See: "Georgia Celebrates Independence Day," available at [http://www.tabula.ge/ge/story/108083-saqartvelo-damoukideblobis-dghes-aghnishnavs], 30 May, 2016; "Independence Day in Batumi," available at [http://www.imedi.ge/index.php?pg=nws&id=69866], 30 May, 2016; "Independence Day—Attesting the Oath of Allegiance," available at [http://www.imedi.ge/index.php?pg=nws&id=69887], 30 May, 2016 (all in Georgian).

[29] See: "Independence Day—New Personnel of the Armed Forces will be Sworn in at Noon," available at [http://www.imedi.ge/index.php?pg=nws&id=69904], 30 May, 2016 (in Georgian).

[30] "The Prime Minister: Georgia Wants to Become the Regional Leader," available at [http://www.tabula.ge/ge/story/83608-premieri-saqartvelos-aqvs-ambicia-rom-gaxdes-lideri-regionshi], 30 May, 2016 (in Georgian).

Conclusions and Prospects for Further Study

To sum up the above, we must take the following factors into account. The "independence" concept has become an important and inalienable element of Georgian political life as the cornerstone of political, state, and civil identity. "Invented traditions" play an important role in the continued existence and reproduction of political identity in Georgia, and in any other nation-state for that matter, where the idea of "nation" and the concept of "statehood" have become products of enforced authoritarian modernization, while the "independence" concept was realized much later when the earlier traditional communities had been transformed into a nation able to reproduce its own political institutions connected, among other things, with independence.

Between the two world wars, political traditions, practices, and rituals related to the realization, reproduction, and promotion of Georgian identity gradually began developing. The very short pre-Soviet independence period, in the form of the Georgian Democratic Republic, stimulated the formalization of all sorts of nationalist practices and strategies. Formally a new state with developed political traditions of statehood and independence in the past, the Georgian S.S.R., as a form of statehood, elaborated its own invented traditions, most of them formal imitations with purely symbolic functions. This did not and could not help to reproduce Georgia's civil identity. The Soviet Union's demise actualized certain qualitatively new trends in the development of independent Georgia, which was fully aware of the deficit of legitimation.

The situation was unique. Georgia was one of the few post-Soviet nation-states with developed political and state traditions in the past that they could successfully integrate into the political myths of our time. Still, inventing and imagining new political practices, traditions, and rituals was expected to fill the gap in the historical and political continuity of Georgian statehood to eliminate and, in this way, suppress the dual discreteness inherited from the Soviet period and medieval and modern (the Georgian Democratic Republic) statehood.

It seems that "invented traditions" constitute the foundation of political identity connected with the fact that contemporary Georgia positions itself as a Nation-State and the Georgians as a political nation, even though the alternative (compared with the universal values and myths represented by the national state of modernity) also belongs to the factors that determine the main development trends of the Georgian political and intellectual discourse. Any analysis of the specifics of functioning and practices of the politically motivated use of new civil "invented traditions" in Georgia should take into account several factors. In contemporary Georgia, "invented traditions" are mostly secular and essentially function separately from the alternative religious identity-related projects based on the realization of traditional values and related to the role of the Church, even though this role is still considerable.

In the contemporary Georgian context, "invented traditions" are highly varied; they have developed into a collective and imagined idea. "Invented traditions" in the Georgian cultural, political, and intellectual contexts are largely "being invented." This keeps current the incomplete nature of national consolidation in Georgia where the Georgian nation is not only an "imagined," but also an "imaginary" community burdened with considerable traditions, different periods in its political and state history, the authoritarian political experiment, the unique experience gained within the democratic transit, the transfer from authoritarianism to democracy, ethnic conflicts, and the radical political reforms designed to bring about, no matter how late, determined and consistent Europeanization and Westernization of the political and legal space.

In this context, "invented traditions" are much more than all sorts of formal rituals and secular ceremonies (military parades, inauguration); they represent all manner of intellectual practices associated with writing and constructing national history, promoting and inventing the pantheon of the

"fathers of the nation" and ascribing to the distant past relatively novel political and ethnic identities. In this respect, the contemporary Georgian political nation is not very different from the analogous Western and non-Western nation-states that emerged as political constructs of nationally oriented intellectuals in the 19th-20th centuries.

This explains why "independence" was one of the most needed and, therefore, most developed political "invented traditions." This and similar situations and related political rituals and symbols in contemporary Georgia were used to consolidate the secular and civil trends and stimulate commemorative practices and intellectual strategies involved in writing/describing the history of Georgia in the nationalist system of coordinates. The existence and functioning of imagined political traditions and related political and civil rituals, as well as all sorts of practices, indicate that Georgian nationalism and the nationalist political project of the Nation-State has been, on the whole, developing within the Western system of coordinates.

In this context, Georgians, as a political nation, and Georgia, as a Nation-State, may be perceived and analyzed, to identical degrees, in the system of coordinates, the central reckoning points of which are "imagined communities" and "invented traditions." This keeps current the imaginary dimension of the contemporary Georgian political project and its affiliation with the greater Western intellectual and political discourse. This means that we can look at Georgia as the sum-total of collective historical, cultural, and political memory, as well as all sorts of commemorative practices and political rituals used to realize the historical, state, and political continuum and help to overcome political discreteness and historical ruptures. These universal practices of political imagination of contemporary Georgian nationalism rely on the intellectual strategies of inventing and constructing nationalism and its inevitable historical derivatives—the nation and identity—institutionalized in the regularly reproduced "independence" concept.

REGIONAL SECURITY

THE ISLAMIC STATE IN AFGHANISTAN AND REGIONAL SECURITY IN CENTRAL ASIA

Inomjon BOBOKULOV

D.Sc. (Law), Assistant Professor,
UNESCO Department of International Law and Human Rights,
University of World Economy and Diplomacy
(Tashkent, Uzbekistan)

ABSTRACT

The author analyzes the prerequisites, driving forces, and geography of the expansion of the so-called Islamic State in the territory of Afghanistan and the possible impact of Wilayat Khorasan, one of the IS cells, on regional security in Central Asia.

KEYWORDS: ***the Islamic State, al-Qa'eda, Wilayat Khorasan, the Taliban, the Islamic State of Uzbekistan, regional security, Central Asia.***

Introduction

There is no doubt that Wilayat Khorasan, a cell of the Islamic State that appeared in the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan (IRA), has added tension to the country's far from simple military and

political context. In fact, the newcomer is equally dangerous for the government of national unity, as a test of its legitimacy and efficiency, and for the Taliban, the dominant armed opposition in the Afghan theater.

While the presence of this new player on the Afghan scene is a reality, its future, which depends on whether there is a social basis responsive to its propaganda and population groups ready to join its armed ranks and whether it will overcome the Taliban to snatch control of the territory in the Af-Pak region, remains vague. Varied and even contradictory expert assessments make it hard to arrive at a more or less unequivocal conclusion.

In March 2015, when addressing the U.S. Congress, President of Afghanistan Ashraf Ghani described his country as the frontline of the struggle with the Islamic State. (It was with the same enthusiasm that he announced in February 2016 that the active phase of the military operation in the Nangarhar Province was over and that IS had been defeated in eastern Afghanistan.[1]) According to an analytical center generally regarded as one of the authorities on problems related to the antiterrorist struggle, "the Islamic State of Iraq and al-Sham (ISIS)'s affiliate in the Afghanistan-Pakistan region is effective, operational, and positioned to expand."[2]

The U.N. report, with reference to Afghan officials, states that "around 10% of the active Taliban-dominated insurgents are ISIL sympathizers… However, the viral spread of ISIL branding is in evidence, with sightings of groups with some form of ISIL branding or sympathy reported in 25 provinces in Afghanistan."[3] Official structures and analytical centers agree that there are about 3,000 IS fighters currently present in Afghanistan.

At the same time no less authoritative sources doubt these "obvious facts." Amrullah Saleh, former director of the National Directorate of Security, denies in resolute terms that this force is present in his country and says that its presence was imagined by the media.[4]

General Abdul Raziq, the omnipotent head of the police of Kandahar, likewise concentrated on the geopolitical dimension of IS activities: "It is the handiwork of the regional intelligence agencies … now they want to replace the Taliban's white flags with black ones and give it the name of IS."[5]

Lev Korolkov, a veteran of intelligence of the Russian Federation, has voiced his opinion: "In fact, DAESH has no strong positions in Afghanistan. The figures—some people quote 3,000, others, 15,000—came out of thin air. Nobody knows for sure how many of them have already come to Afghanistan. One thing is clear, though: *this is a small and structurally wobbly group* (italics mine.—*I.B.*)."[6]

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[1] See: "Ashraf Ghani: ISIL Defeated in Eastern Afghanistan, 6 March, 2016," available at [http://www.aljazeera.com/news/2016/03/isis-ashraf-ghani-defeated-eastern-afghanistan-160306093417163.html].

[2] H. Gambhir, "ISIS in Afghanistan," *Backgrounder*, ISW, 3 December, 2015, p. 1, available at [http://www.understandingwar.org/sites/default/files/ISIS%20in%20Afghanistan_2.pdf].

[3] *Sixth Report of the Analytical Support and Sanctions Monitoring Team submitted pursuant to Resolution 2160(2014)*, available at [http://www.securitycouncilreport.org/atf/cf/%7B65BFCF9B-6D27-4E9C-8CD3-CF6E4FF96FF9%7D/s_2015_648.pdf], p. 9.

[4] See: "Afghanistan's Future: Interview with Amrullah Saleh," 26 August, 2015, available at [http://intpolicydigest.org/2015/08/26/afghanistan-s-future-interview-with-amrullah-saleh/]; "Amrullah Saleh: ISIS in Afghanistan 'Psychological Warfare'," *Khaama Press,* 15 April, 2015, available at [http://www.khaama.com/amrullah-saleh-isis-in-afghanistan-psychological-warfare-3179].

[5] P.M. Molazehi, "Dvoinaia igra IGIL v Afghanistane," available at [http://inosmi.ru/politic/20151229/234952120.html].

[6] "Razgovor so spetsialistom. Lev Korolkov: 'DAISH nikogda ne ukorentisia v Afghanistane'," available at [http://www.fergananews.com/article.php?id=8807].

The Islamic State in the IRA: How It Appeared and Developed

Geography of Expansion, Prerequisites and Driving Forces

The presence of Wilayat Khorasan in Afghanistan meant de jure and de facto that IS has expanded beyond the Middle East and the Arab World, its traditional zone. This was predated by the *bayat*, oath of allegiance to Caliph Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi, sworn by a small group of dissatisfied commanders of the Pakistani Taliban and several less prominent commanders of the Afghan Taliban.[7] They met on 11 January, 2015 in the Kurram Tribal Agency in the Federally Administered Tribal Areas, Pakistan; on 26 January, 2015, they announced on the IS website that they had established a new province and appointed its emir.[8]

The post of the governor (wali) of Wilayat Khorasan was entrusted to Hafiz Saeed Khan, former front runner for the TTP leadership, Orakzai Agency; Mullah Abdur Rauf Hadem, well known as a field commander of the Afghan Taliban operating in the country's southwest, became his deputy. According to information published by the U.N. SC, upon returning from his secret visit to Iraq in October 2014, he doubled his efforts to draw Taliban fighters operating in Helmand and Farah provinces to the side of IS.[9]

It should be said that he acted in desperation and was driven by his loyalty to the aims and ideas of the so-called Islamic Caliphate, which never fit the region's reality. In fact, the "favorable" Afghan and regional (Af-Pak) context and the vacuum of power combined with the very logical and, therefore, expected expansion of the IS global ambitions made the appearance of Wilayat Khorasan in the border area logical and expected.

In the spring of 2015, IS began concentrating and, therefore, demonstrating a lot of activity in the east of Afghanistan, in the Nangarhar and Kunar provinces on the Pakistani border. According to the Institute for the Study of War (ISW), since June 2015, Wilayat Khorasan has been controlling about seven districts of the Nangarhar Province where it set up Shari'a courts and prisons and introduced taxes. "The ISIL leadership recognizes the leaders of this area as officials of the caliphate. Saeed is aided by a few Arabic-speaking emissaries from Iraq and Syria sent by ISIL central."[10]

Later, the Afghan National Army (ANA), supported by U.S. airstrikes, successfully dislodged IS from several districts of the Nangarhar Province and its primary base in the Achin District, the strongpoint of Wilayat Khorasan. To a certain extent, this explains the enlargement of the IS presence

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[7] In October 2014, Press Secretary of Tehrik-e-Taliban Pakistan (TTP) Shahidullah Shahidpublicly announced his allegiance to ISIS, along with the TTP's regional commanders for the Orakzai, Khyber, Peshawar, Hangu, and Kurram agencies. Later, jihadist leaders from Bajaur, Dir, and Waziristan in Pakistan and Kunar, Nangarhar, and Logar in Afghanistan joined Wilayat Khorasan (see: H. Gambhir, op. cit., p. 4; "Mapping the Emergence of the Islamic State in Afghanistan," 5 March, 2015, available at [http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2015/03/mapping-the-emergence-of-the-islamic-state-in-afghanistan.php]).

[8] See: "IS Spokesman Renews Call for Lone-Wolf Attacks in the West," SITE Intelligence Group, 26 January, 2015 (quoted from: H. Gambhir, op. cit., p. 4).

[9] See: *Sixth Report of the Analytical Support and Sanctions Monitoring Team...*

[10] B. Rubin, "ISIL Won't Get Very Far in Afghanistan—For Now," 2 November 2015, available at [http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/opinion/2015/11/isil-won-afghanistan-151101062739786.html].

in the Zabul, Ghazni, Paktika, Logar, and Laghman provinces bordering on Nangarhar.[11] This, however, should not be taken to mean that IS has become entrenched there: the ANA opposes its efforts to capture as much territory as possible and lure the largest number of supporters in Afghanistan; the Taliban, in turn, is demonstrating consistency in its struggle against IS.

There is a certain logic in the IS presence in Afghanistan: there are ideological, material, ethnic, military and other prerequisites of Wilayat Khorasan's presence/expansion. From the military point of view, the geographic location of Kunar, Zabul, and Ghazni is of great importance: "fortified" by mountains they are natural sanctuaries that "defined by the ability of a force to use the terrain to deny the technological overmatch of a stronger enemy force."[12]

The Pashtun belt is another factor. The geography of the IS presence in Afghanistan shows that it has spread to different degrees to the provinces that border on Pakistan and are populated by ethnic Pashtuns; this ensures close ties between the tribes on both sides. The IS militants present in the east of Afghanistan (the Nangarhar and Kunar provinces) are foreign citizens (mainly of Pakistan). This is confirmed by IRA officials and documentaries, Taliban vs. ISIL shown by Al-Jazeera TV, in particular.

Having established its control over the transit corridors of Nangarhar that lead to Pakistan, IS might acquire considerable economic dividends in the form of taxes and custom dues. This province serves as a transit area for Afghan narcotics, hence the interest displayed by the forces locked in armed struggle in Afghanistan.[13] On the other hand, this contradicts, to a certain extent, the official line pursued by IS, which has repeatedly stated that it has suppressed drug production and drug trafficking in the controlled territories.

The ideological dimension of the geography or philosophy of expansion deserves special mention. Both structures, al-Qa'eda and the Islamic State, which claim the right to set up a world caliphate, belong to the Salafi-Jihadist type; this means that to consolidate their ideas they need widespread Salafi-Jihadist sentiments as a solid foundation and "fertile soil."

There is nothing new in Salafism in Afghanistan; its followers have been in the minority, but lived in compact groups. Specialists have pointed out that the sources of Salafism go back to Ahl-e-Hadith, the religious organization that operated on the Afghan-Pakistani border in the nineteenth century. Beginning in the 1950s, its madrassas taught Afghan mullahs, mainly from Kunar and Badakhshan. It was these "graduates" who in the 1980s materialized the idea of the Islamic state in the form of the Islamic emirates in Kunar, Nuristan, and Badakhshan.[14]

The Kunar Emirate set up in January 1991 by the former warlord of Hekmatyar's Islamic Party of AfghanistanMawlawi Jamil al-Rahman, better known as Mawlawi Hussain, was one of the most active of such structures. His Wahhabi organization, which refused to take orders from the Peshawar

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[11] See: C. Forrest, R. Denaburg with H. Gambhir, "Afghanistan Partial Threat Assessment: The Taliban and ISIS," ISW, 23 February, 2016, p. 3, available at [http://www.understandingwar.org/sites/default/files/AFG%20Map%20Threat%20Assessment%20PDF].pdf].

[12] U.S. Army Field Manual 3-06, Urban Operations, October 2006, p. 3-3, available at [http://armypubs.army. mil/doctrine/DR_pubs/dr_a/pdf]/fm3_06.pdf] (quoted from: J.L. McFate, R. Denaburg, C. Forrest, "Afghanistan Threat Assessment: The Taliban and ISIS," *Backgrounder*, ISW, 10 December, 2015, available at [http://mercury.ethz.ch/serviceengine/Files/ISN/195406/ipublicationdocument_singledocument/d5dc8f6c-6e3f-4c50-bdfb-13afd978c922/en/Afghanistan+Threat+Assessment_The+Taliban+and+ISIS_3.pdf].

[13] See: S. Mahmood, "ISIS in Afghanistan: Is a Growing Threat to Pakistan?" *RSIS Commentary*, No. 221, 19 October 2015, available at [https://www.rsis.edu.sg/wp-content/uploads/2015/10/CO15221.pdf].

[14] See: O. Roy, "The Failure of Political Islam," Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1994, pp. 118-119; B. Osman, "Beyond Jihad and Traditionalism: Afghanistan's New Generation of Islamic Activities," *Afghanistan Analysts Network*, Thematic Report 01, 2015, p. 11, available at [https://www.afghanistan-analysts.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/06/AAN-Paper-012015-Borhan-Osman-.pdf].

"government," was funded by Saudi Arabia; its militants joined forces with hundreds of Arab mercenaries and volunteers to fight against the Kabul regime.[15]

In the 1990s, the Islamic Emirate of Mawlawi Hussain became a stronghold of the armed opposition to the Taliban. The Salafis from Kunar were the last of semi-autonomous armed groups (the Haqqani and Mansour networks and the Khales family) that recognized Mullah Omar as their leader.[16] Later, some of the Salafi commanders joined the government of Hamid Karzai and were rewarded with high posts. The alliance with official Kabul and with the Taliban, for that matter, was never stable.

Raids of private houses by the coalition forces and random arrests, as well as the policies of Shura-ye Nazar (Supervisory Council of the North), part of the Northern Alliance and the dominant force in the government of Afghanistan willing to place its people in the administration of Kunar Province, drove the local people toward the insurgents.[17]

Today, Salafism is still an inalienable part of the religious landscape in Kunar and Nangarhar.[18] It comes as no surprise that in July 2014, Abd al-Qahir Khorasani from Kunar and Abdul Rahim Muslim Dost from Nangarhar, the staunchest of the Salafis, were the first to support IS.[19] During the Soviet presence in Afghanistan, the latter fought in the Salafi ranks under Jamil al-Rahman.[20] Abd al-Qahir Khorasani and Abdul Rahim Muslim Dost maintained close ties with the TTP leadership and acted together in the territory of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan; they poured a lot of effort into recruiting Afghan refugees (mostly Salafis from Kunar and Nangarhar) for the armed actions in Iraq and Syria.[21]

The case of Mullah Abdul Rauf Khadim, one of the deputies of the emir of Wilayat Khorasan, is fairly eloquent. By 2010, Khadim, believed to be one of the most influential field commanders of the Taliban, shadow governor of the Uruzgan Province, and head of the movement's intelligence, was removed from all posts. His disfavor is explained by his devotion to Salafism, the views of which he had acquired as an inmate of Guantanamo, where he was imprisoned from 2002 to 2007.

So far, the best experts are very skeptical about the prospects for political Islam in Afghanistan because "it is the perception of Islam more as a political ideology than as a mere religion."[22] In fact, Afghanistan is one of the few Muslim countries in which radical Islamist movements are deeply rooted in the rural areas. "The Islamists think that a truly Islamic society could be established only though an Islamic State … while the [Afghan] fundamentalist mullahs rely on any de facto power to implant Shari'a"; "for Islamists the Sharia is just a part of the agenda."[23]

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[15] See: B. Rubin, *"*The Fragmentation of Afghanistan," *Foreign Affairs*, Winter 1989/90, p. 156; V.G. Korgun, *Istoria Afghanistana. XX vek,* IV RAS, Kraft +, Moscow, 2004, p. 440.

[16] The reference here is to Jama'at al Da'wa al-Sunnat (JDQS) that in January 2010 vowed allegiance to Mullah Omar, leader of the Taliban (see: Th. Ruttig, "On Kunar's Salafi Insurgents," 14 January, 2010, available at [https://www.afghanistan-analysts.org/on-kunars-salafi-insurgents/?format=pdf]).

[17] Ibidem.

[18] See: B. Osman, op. cit.

[19] Both participated directly or through their representatives in the "constituent assembly" of Wilayat Khorasan in January 2015.

[20] See: B. Osman, "Message in Chalk: 'Islamic State' Haunting Afghanistan?" 17 November, 2014, available at [https://www.afghanistan-analysts.org/messages-in-chalk-islamic-state-haunting-afghanistan/].

[21] Ibidem; Barnett Rubin insists that Abdul Rahim Muslim Dost severed his relations with Hafiz Muhammad Saeed after the inhuman and resounding execution of the elders of the local communities in Nangarhar and after failing to see eye to eye on the strategies of the IS cell (see: B. Rubin, "ISIL Won't Get Very Far in Afghanistan—For Now").

[22] O. Roy, "Has Islamism a Future in Afghanistan?" in: *Fundamentalism Reborn?: Afghanistan and the Taliban,*ed. by W. Maley, New York University Press, 2001, p. 199.

[23] Ibid.,pp. 204-205, 199.

Squabbles in the Taliban as a Factor of IS Expansion

It should be said that the most prominent feature of the Afghan and Pakistani Taliban is the never-ending squabbles inside it. In the wake of the death of Hakimullah Mehsud in November 2013, the TTP split with respect to the leadership issue and possible peace talks with Islamabad.[24] "Hafiz Saeed Khan had been the front runner for TTP leadership after Hakimullah Mehsud's death. Saeed Khan likely defected to ISIS because of his failure to secure leadership of the TTP. The other regional commanders may have joined due to ties with Saeed Khan."[25]

This explains why practically all the leaders of Wilayat Khorasan as a recently acquired IS administrative unit are defectors from the Taliban of Pakistan: six out of nine "founders" are citizens of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan; they are former field commanders of TTP and associated terrorist groups operating in the Afghanistan-Pakistan border area.

Under Mullah Akhtar Mohammad Mansour, the present leader of the Afghan Taliban, the inter-tribe struggle became a typical feature of the Quetta Shura, the movement's top structure. Mansour, who belongs to the Ishaqzai tribe, either demoted members of other Pashtun tribes, or pushed them out. Abdul Rauf Khadim from the Alizai tribe was demoted together with well-known field commanders and members of the Rahbari Shura Mullah Abdul Qayum Zakir, an Alizai, Mullah Mohammad Rasool Akhund, a Noorzai, etc. The struggle in the ranks of the Taliban leadership split the movement and alienated the field commanders. In November 2015, at a meeting in the Farah Province, the splinter group set up the High Council of the Islamic Emirate of Afghanistan. Mullah Mohammad Rasool (the governor of Nimroz Province under the Taliban) became Amir with two deputies, Mullah Mansoor Dadullah and Mullah Abdul Manan Niazi, governor of Kabul.

Contrary to what happened in the Pakistani Taliban, no members of the opposition created by internal strife among the leading field commanders of the Taliban movement who rejected the post-Mullah Omar leadership, joined IS, Abdul Rauf Khadim being the only exception.[26]

FATA, Fertile Soil for IS

In the regional context, FATA became a foothold of Pakistan's political activities geared toward its two neighbors—Afghanistan and India. This status was further consolidated by the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and global antiterrorist struggle.

"The global counterterrorist struggle tipped the balance of power in the Federally Administered Tribal Areas. Today, money and, hence, real power belongs to the Taliban leaders and allied forces. This undermined the authority and power of the agents and tribal chiefs and discredited the traditional mechanisms of social regulation. The traditional triangle—agent-tribal chief-tribe—has been replaced with the institutionalized power of Islamists. Today the FATA areas controlled by the Taliban live under parallel power structures complete with a taxation system and administrative structures."[27]

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[24] See: B. Roggio, "Pakistani Jihadist Groups, Lashkar-i-Islam Merge into the Movement of the Taliban in Pakistan," *The Long War Journal,* 12 March, 2015.

[25] H. Gambhir, op. cit., p. 4.

[26] It is said that Khadim, who always objected to the "monopoly on power of one tribe" in the leadership of the Taliban, detected a certain amount of marginalization in the top structures (see: B. Osman, "The Shadows of 'Islamic State' in Afghanistan: What Threat does It Hold?" 12 February, 2015, available at [https://www.afghanistan-analysts.org/the-shadows-of-islamic-state-in-afghanistan-what-threat-does-it-hold/]).

[27] F. Taj, *Taliban and Anti-Taliban,* Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2011, pp. 82-120.

Under the pressure of political and economic marginalization, the low level of integration into Pakistani society,[28] erosion of the traditional institutions of social regulation and traditional inter-tribal and inter-clan contradictions in Pashtun society, and the confrontation between religious and ethnic groups, FATA became one of the sanctuaries of global jihadism, IS included.

The Two Rivals—al-Qa'eda and IS

The rivalry between the Islamic State and al-Qa'eda for leadership in the global jihadist movement was one of the factors that forced IS to spread far and wide. In 2014, ideological confrontation developed into territorial clashes: in September 2014, al-Qa'eda "announced a revivified and more ambitious al-Qa'eda presence in South Asia called al-Qa'eda in the Indian Subcontinent, or AQIS."[29]

Wilayat Khorasan challenged al-Qa'eda in Af-Pak, the sphere of its traditional influence, leaving leader of al-Qa'eda Ayman al-Zawahiri with no choice but to swear allegiance to Mullah Akhtar Mohammad Mansour, Amīr al-Mu'minīn (Leader of the Faithful). He made this statement on 13 August, 2015 immediately after the sitting of the united shura of the Taliban convened on 5 August, 2015 to resolve the debatable issue of continuity of power and attended by over 200 top Taliban members and commanders. Al-Zawahiri's oath of allegiance to the Taliban has certain historical, geopolitical, and moral aspects.

- *First*, al-Qa'eda confirmed that it has accepted Akhtar Mansour's power in Afghanistan and in the tribal zone.
- *Second*, this was done to preserve and consolidate al-Qa'eda's influence in a region that serves as home for its leaders from which they commanded the global jihad.
- *Third*, this step is easily explained by the moral support extended to Mullah Akhtar Mansour in his struggle with the breakaway commanders of the Taliban.

The Afghan Context

The situation remains unstable: there is a stalemate between the ANSF and armed opposition.[30] There is a government of national unity in the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan and a shadow Cabinet of the Taliban trusted by part of the population in some provinces and ethnic enclaves in the country's north.

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[28] The following figures illustrate the state of the FATA's social infrastructure: population per doctor 7,670 (against 1,226 in the rest of the country); literacy ratio (both sexes) is 2.5 times lower (17.42%) than the country's average, which is 43.92%; male literacy ratio is 29.51%, female, 3%. There is no social infrastructure and no higher educational establishments (see: *Federally Administered Tribal Areas (Strengthening and Rationalization of Administration). Draft Report 2006,* Islamabad, April 2006, pp. 63-65 (quoted from: Sh. Nawaz, *FATA—A Most Dangerous Place: Meeting the Challenge of Militancy and Terror in the Federally Administered Tribal Areas of Pakistan*, Center for Strategic and International Studies, January 2009, p. 8).

[29] C.Ch. Fair, "Is Pakistan in ISIS' Crosshairs?" 16 October, 2014, available at [https://bostonreview.net/world/c-christine-fair-isis-pakistan-militant-foreign-policy].

[30] Today, the armed opposition is no longer united: there is the Taliban, the Haqqani network, which is relatively independent in the aims it pursues and the source of funding but formally remains part of the Taliban, the foreign terrorist organizations associated with the Taliban, and the armed groups loyal to Gulbuddin Hekmatyar, leader of the Islamic Party of Afghanistan.

The prolonged crisis of power, which cannot control the country's entire territory, and the inability of the political elite to reach an agreement on the most urgent issues speak volumes about the state of Afghanistan's political system. The legitimacy of power is not doubted—its competence is the key problem.

Despite the frantic efforts of the international community, the ANSF have not yet become disentangled from the net of its internal problems and are not ready to fight the armed opposition in earnest. In addition to the internal problems, they have no heavy armaments and completely depend on NATO air forces.

This and the inability of the people in power to achieve stability and establish law and order have made the irregular forces and, in particular, the Afghan Local Police (ALP) more important. Many of the prominent Afghan political figures, field commanders[31] and the American military in Afghanistan are convinced that these forces are battle-worthy and effective enough to fight the anti-government groups, an opinion enthusiastically supported at the local level. The officials of the country's Northern provinces and districts believe that they can rely on the ALP to ensure security where the army and police have failed.[32] This has been further confirmed by the fact that the government relied, in particular, on the ALP when liberating Kunduz, which the Taliban captured in September 2015, and fighting IS in Nangarhar.[33]

The ALP and other irregular groups are fairly influential and, as such, can perform certain state functions: administration of justice, tax collection, settling property disagreements, etc. Not infrequently, however, their random and illegal activities stir up instability, damage ethnic relations, alienate the people from the official government and undermine the position of the central government in the provinces. This causes discontent among the regional and ethnic elites and widens the geography of the unstable territories that refuse to take commands from Kabul. Furthermore, this might prove to be fertile soil for the more active involvement of IS and al-Qa'eda in larger territories.

The Taliban vs. the Islamic State

IS and the Taliban movement are, in fact, two very different organizations: while pursuing the same aim, namely, an Islamic state, they rely on very different ideologies and strategic aims and tasks. The scope of their action is different, as well as their interpretation of jihad as a holy war against the infidels.

As distinct from the Islamic State, which nurtures global ambitions, the scope of the Taliban, a national/Pashtun movement, is limited to the borders of Afghanistan, Kabul being the highest of its aspirations. Olivier Roy has put it in the following words: "There is no danger of a Taliban spillover elsewhere: the movement is strictly Afghan, Pashtun and tribal. They are expression of a maverick fundamentalism."[34]

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[31] Abdul Rab Rasul Sayyaf, Ismail Khan, Abdul Rashid Dostum, Salahuddin Rabbani, Ahmad Zia Massoud and others.

[32] See: S.A. Musavi, "Noor Claims He is Ready to Fight Insurgents in the North," *TOLO*, 11 June, 2015, available at [http://www.tolonews.com/en/afghanistan/19964-noor-claims-he-is-ready-to-fight-insurgents-inthe-north].

[33] "Private Militias to be Disarmed in Nangarhar: Gen. Shahim," *Pajhwok Afgan News*, 3 January, 2016, available at [http://archive.pajhwok.com/en/2016/01/03/private-militias-be-disarmed-nangarhar-gen-shahim]; "131 ISIS Loyalists Killed in Latest Clashes, Says Nangarhar Governor," *Khaama Press*, 26 June, 2016, available at [http://akudanquran.com/news/131-ISIS-loyalists-killed-in-latest-clashes,-says-Nangarhar-governor]; "Daesh-linked Terrorists Abduct 30 in Afghanistan's Nangarhar," *Press TV*, 25 June, 2016, available at http://www.aopnews.com/isisdaesh/daesh-linked-terrorists-abduct-30-in-afghanistans-nangarhar/]. According to recent information, the government plans to increase the numerical strength of ALP from 23 to 45 thousand, since, according to the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the IRA, the ALP is an important element of the national security forces.

[34] O. Roy, "Has Islamism a Future in Afghanistan?,p. 211.

The Taliban possesses a certain quasi legal status. As one of the sides in the armed conflict in Afghanistan, it has the status of a side in relations regulated by international law recognized by other states: in 2011, the Taliban opened its political office in Qatar. In 2010, the Afghanistan High Peace Council (HPC) was set up to organize a political dialog with the armed opposition through the newly established Quadrilateral Coordination Group (QCG) of Afghanistan, Pakistan, China, and the U.S. Today, in retrospect, the fact that the Taliban was represented at the Afghan talks organized by the Contact Group 6 + 2 in 1999 in Tashkent confirms this.

Without going into the doctrinal contradictions between the Deobandi Taliban and Salafi IS, it should be said that their ideologies are not identical. "The Taliban movement is the only contemporary Islamic movement whose basis is a network of rural madrassas" that functioned across the country, their greatest concentration found in the southern Pashtun belt and in the northwest.[35] After coming to power, the Taliban did not move far from its sources and traditional fundamentalism as an inalienable part of life of Afghan society. The Salafi-jihadist movement "encompasses a global network of scholars, websites, media outlets, and, most recently, countless supporters on social media."[36]

Today the Taliban is still the biggest and most effective military-political force in the Afghan theater. It is consistently moving into one after another strategically important administrative center in the south and southeast of the country, that is, the territories of the Pashtu majority and the traditional area of its influence. The same applies to the north, dominated by ethnic minorities, mainly Tajiks, Uzbeks, Hazaras, and Turkmen.

According to Barnett Rubin, a prominent expert on Afghanistan, IS might triumph

"(1) if the crises dissolve the Kabul government or the Taliban leadership;

(2) if Kabul loses the foreign assistance it needs to fund and defend the state; or

(3) if the Taliban lose their sanctuary in Pakistan and are forced back into Afghanistan without any political agreement."[37]

Continued international financial and military support of the Afghan government, the territories into which the Taliban spread in 2015 and its spring offensive, as well as involvement of the most interested and most influential states (China, Pakistan, and the U.S.) in the political settlement of the conflict, make the three "ifs" highly improbable.

The Future of the Islamic State in the IRA and Regional Security of Central Asia

The so-called Islamic State that suddenly appeared on the Afghan scene spoiled the game of the traditional forces and challenged the Taliban's domination in the Afghan theater and al-Qa'eda's leadership in the global jihadist movement. It left the expert community puzzled by the long-term perspective of this phenomenon in South and Central Asia.

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[35] See: O. Roy, op. cit., pp. 204-205.

[36] C. Bunzel, "From Paper State to Caliphate: The Ideology of the Islamic State," *The Brookings Project on U.S. Relations with the Islamic World*, Analysis Paper, No. 19, March 2015, p. 7, available at [http://www.brookings.edu/~/media/research/files/papers/2015/03/ideology-of-islamic-state-bunzel/the-ideology-of-the-islamic-state.pdf].

[37] B. Rubin, op. cit.

Khorasan, the name IS selected for its newly established province (it means "land where the sun rises" in Pahlavi), speaks volumes.[38] In the Middle Ages, this name belonged to a region between the Middle East and Central Asia. The Afghanistan-Pakistan border area, the place where IS officially declared that it set up Wilayat Khorasan, a new territorial unit, has little in common with the historical region. The choice of name suggests that the Islamic State's ambitions spread to Central Asia.

It should be said that the real threat to the Central Asian states is associated mainly with the factor of the so-called Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan (IMU) that presents itself as part of the Islamic State. It is expected that it could be used to achieve the aims of the Islamic State in Central Asia.

In 2014 and 2015, IMU repeatedly and openly confirmed its loyalty to IS, but its cohesion raised much doubt. For some time, experts were discussing a possible split in the IMU ranks on the issue of loyalty to IS. An analysis of the recent events has demonstrated that IMU is actively cooperating with the Taliban in the operations carried out in the north of Afghanistan. "According to some reports, the IMU fought alongside the Taliban in the September 2015 capture of Kunduz, despite ISIL-Taliban antagonism."[39] Some of the IMU militants under IMU leader Usman Ghazi replaced the white flag of the Taliban with the black flag of IS, a move explained by financial problems and the need to find new sources of money.

Weakened by the murders of its leaders,[40] the split, the outflow of some of its militants to other groups, and its financial problems, IMU degenerated into a marginal force that presents no real threat either to the national security of the Central Asian states, or their collective regional security.

If IS consolidates its position in the north of Afghanistan, it will become a real and obvious threat to the Central Asian countries. In February 2015, notorious Governor of Kunduz Province Muhammad Umar Safi said that "about 70 ISIL members were observed in the Dashti Archi and Chahar Dara districts of the Kunduz Province and that they were stepping up their activity in Badakhshan, Takhar, Baghlan, and Faryab provinces in the north."[41] Speaking at a sitting of the lower house of parliament of Afghanistan, General Nur ul-Haq Ulumi (nominated to be Minister of Internal Affairs by Abdullah Abdullah) spoke about the redeployment of the IS militants. "President Vladimir Putin's special representative for Afghanistan, Zamir Kabulov, said that thousands of fighters, mostly of Central Asian origin, have taken up positions and set up training camps near the borders of Tajikistan and Turkmenistan. According to Kabulov, these militants belong to the Islamic State; moreover, he claims IS has also deployed around a hundred fighters from its main base in Iraq and Syria to Afghanistan to supplement local fighters."[42]

It should be said that from the very beginning (January 2015) Wilayat Khorasan limited its activity to the country's east. Furthermore, Pashtuns constitute its ethnic component, while the north of Afghanistan is populated by ethnic Uzbeks, Tajiks, and Hazaras, the Pashtun presence being limited to small enclaves.

At the same time, the presence of the Islamic State in Afghanistan and the border area between Afghanistan and Pakistan may have strategic repercussions for regional stability. If it manages to entrench itself there it might use the territory to act against the Central Asian states; it might support the destructive forces resolved to remove the secular Central Asian regimes.

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[38] See: *Bobur entsilopediyasi,* Sharq, Tashkent, 2014, p. 551.

[39] B. Rubin, op. cit.

[40] According to the media, in November 2015, Mullah Mansoor Dadullah and IMU leader Usman Ghazi were killed in Zabul Province in a clash between two factions of the Taliban.

[41] N. Bahrom, "Tajikistan: Islamic State Militants Seen Near Border with Afghanistan," *Central Asia Online*, 13 February, 2015, available at [https://chainsoff.wordpress.com/2015/02/13/tajikistan-islamic-state-militants-seen-near-border-with-afghanistan/].

[42] B. Osman, "The Shadows of 'Islamic State' in Afghanistan: What Threat does It Hold?".

Its destructive ideology ignores the limitations created by territories and state borders; this means that the spread of its ideology is indirectly connected with the Afghanistan factor. Indeed, citizens of Central Asian states fight in Syria on the side of IS. Its agents find supporters among labor migrants in Russia; after fighting, they return armed with the ideas of the Islamic caliphate to become a potential threat to the security of the Central Asian states.

In the context of Central Asian regional dynamics, Wilayat Khorasan has a distinct geopolitical dimension. The Islamic State might consolidate its position in the IRA, especially in the north. This explains the continued and stronger military-political presence of certain powers in Central Asia.

Conclusion

Afghanistan, a country with a multinational millennia-old culture, civilization, history, and Islamic traditions, is not fertile soil for the ideology of the Islamic State.

Afghan reality—tribalism of the Pashtun majority, the rural roots of the main political and religious alliances, the ethnic configuration, and the ethnically conditioned political processes inside the country—is an important restraining factor to the spread of IS ideas in Afghanistan.

The comprehensive and transborder nature of the threats to regional security of Central Asia, the IS presence in the IRA being one of them, means that the Central Asian countries should strengthen their cooperation and contacts between their security structures and coordinate forces and assets on a bilateral basis with Afghanistan and other interested states.

ETHNOPOLITICAL INFLUENCE IN REGULATING NATIONAL SECURITY IN BORDER TERRITORIES OF THE COUNTRIES IN THE CAUCASIAN-CASPIAN REGION

Asiet SHADZHE

D.Sc. (Philos.), Professor,
Department of Philosophy and Sociology,
Adyghe State University
(Maykop, Republic of Adygea, Russian Federation)

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Irina KARABULATOVA

Academician, Russian Academy of Natural Sciences;
D.Sc. (Philol.), Professor, Chief Research Associate;
Head of the Sector of Ethnopolitical and Sociocultural Security and Communication Technologies, Institute of Socio-Political Research, Russian Academy of Sciences
(Moscow, Russian Federation)

Rashid KHUNAGOV

D.Sc. (Sociol.), Professor, Chancellor of the Adyghe State University
(Maykop, Republic of Adygea, Russian Federation)

Zuriet ZHADE

D.Sc. (Political Science), Professor,
Head of the Department of State and Law Theory and Political Science, Adyghe State University
(Maykop, Republic of Adygea, Russian Federation)

ABSTRACT

The authors' hypothesis affirms the assumption that ethnosocial considerations are one of the reasons of negative features in ethnopolitics, impairing state security. This dynamic is mainly characteristic of frontier regions. Besides the ethnic structure, of considerable significance for potential ethnopolitical threats to national security of Russia are such factors as religion and geopolitics. Ethnopolitics, religion and geopolitics are capable of creating conditions for strengthening their combined influence on national security in the border territories of Russia, which occurs, for example, in the Republic of Daghestan. In this frontier region of Russia, the resulting vector of ethnopolitics, religion and geopolitics generates a wide range of threats to national security of the Russian Federation that is expressed in a high level of terrorist activity, propagation of religious extremism, displays of ethnic separatism, etc. The authors believe it appropriate to analyze the particular features of ethnopolitical influence on national security issues in the boundary areas of the countries in the Caspian region. There are a lot of reasons for referencing the experience of the Caspian states: the availability both of different and similar features of their border demographics with that of Russia, particularly in the ethnopolitical aspect; the sharing of Russia's past with histories of Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan and Turkmenistan, which has affected their ethnic structure, especially in border territories; the further growth of the geopolitical value of the region, effected by the international agreements of 2015 on removal of economic, military, political and other sanctions from Iran; other countries' attempts to realize their political and economic aspirations in the Caspian region that affect the interests of all the Caspian states, et al. Ensuring ethnic security in the Caucasian-Caspian border regions depends on

ethnopolitical conditions, as well as the influence of transboundary factors formed in the frontier territories of the neighboring states of the Caucasian-Caspian region. Considering the importance, from the geopolitical standpoint, of the geographic location of the Daghestan and Chechen Republics, features of their ethnic structure, main religious preferences of the population, the authors consider the frontier territories of the Federation as most indicative of the influence of ethnic policy on national security in the border regions of Russia, eliciting research interest in the region as a whole.

KEYWORDS: ***the Caucasian-Caspian region, geopolitics, political stability, religious views, ethnosocial processes.***

Introduction

In the Caucasian-Caspian border areas, the element of co-dependence of ethnopolitical phenomena and processes and national security of the countries in the region under consideration, possesses certain similarities. Significant also is the fact that due to the already mentioned common historical and political past of most countries in the Caucasian-Caspian region and Russia, their contemporary ethnic structure is the result of a certain "ethnosocial diffusion," which in the times of the Russian Empire and the Soviet Union led to mass migrations.

It is necessary to consider that the Caucasian-Caspian region is one of the key geopolitical areas of the contemporary world, resulting from its economic, military and sociopolitical circumstances: the unique geopolitical and geostrategic arrangement, valuable transportation logistics hub, large-scale energy potential of the Caspian shelf, the "focus" of the world's religions, specific ethnic composition of the population of the Caucasian territories, etc.

Geopolitical value of the region has increased substantially after disintegration of the U.S.S.R., when on the perimeter of the Caspian Sea there emerged four independent states: Azerbaijan, Russia, Kazakhstan and Turkmenistan. The Caspian Sea, which for a long time was, as a matter of fact, regarded by a mutual agreement between the U.S.S.R. and Iran as their internal reservoir, became the body of water of formative, interlacing, and sometimes opposing interests of the five sovereign countries of international stature. In the post-Soviet era the Caspian region became the object of close scrutiny of the far flung and not so Caspian states. The basic geopolitical opponents of Russia (the U.S., the countries of the European Union) became "external" geopolitical participants in political and economic processes of the region.

Methods and Materials

The present research in its theoretical aspect is based on ideas and concepts of thinkers of the past, works of modern resident and foreign scholars on various directions of humanitarian knowledge (philosophy and political science, geopolitics and sociology, ethnopsychology and history, ethnology and cultural studies, religious studies, etc.), as well as on politological interpretations of separate demographic postulates, statistics, computer science, etc.

The work involved using philosophical and politological approaches, general scientific methods and private methods of politological researches. Among general scientific methods the analysis, synthesis, description, deduction, induction, analogy, modelling, structural-functional analysis, systemic approach and other theoretical methods, as well as the study of documents, observation, method of expert assessments, surveying, statistical analysis, social monitoring of public opinion and moods (empirical methods) were applied.

The practical orientation of research and specific character of its object and subject matter have dictated the application of mainly ethnopolitical scientific instruments. The authors used political extrapolation, studying political behavior (behaviorist method), analysis of political documents, articulation and aggregation of the most essential political interests, system modelling of policy, political approach to assessment of various social phenomena, development of scenarios of political progress, etc. Methods of computer modelling and formalization of databases were also used.

Results

In Kazakhstan, the Caspian Sea is adjoined by two regions: Atyrau and Mangistau. The West-Kazakhstan area does not have access to the Caspian Sea and borders with the Russian Astrakhan Oblast (Province). The composition of each of these administrative-territorial constituents of Kazakhstan is ethnically different from each other.

Despite sufficiently stable ethnopolitical climate in the Republic, increasing the gap between ethnic groups may potentially lead to escalation of social conflicts as well as create new ones.[1]

At the same time, the non-indigenous ethnic groups, in the perception of individual members of the titular nationality, are a hindrance to career opportunities and the attainment of prosperity. Representatives of the Kazakhstan academic community consider that "one of the central questions, defining the character and content of the civil code of the commonwealth of Kazakhstan, is the parity of civil and ethnic identification."[2] The negative role is played sometimes by economic conditions, which exacerbate the competition between ethnic groups.

It is necessary to consider that a certain influence on ethnopolitical conditions in the Caspian border area of Kazakhstan is exercised by other (apart from the Russians) ethnic minorities as well. They are much less numerous than the Kazakhs and Russians, but quite often show unity and organization. A.G. Dugin, specifying ethnic and religious minorities, candidly notes that investing them with "attention, funds and technical skills can achieve tremendous results."[3] Under certain conditions, social activity of even not so large ethnic minority can influence variations in ethnopolitical situation. In the Caspian border area of Kazakhstan, negative tendencies promoting extremist religious views are spreading. The number of Salafis (Wahhabis) in the Atyrau region has grown sharply. At the end of the first decade of the 21st century, in this region, they totaled no more than 90 persons, and at the end of 2011, as the Director of the Department on Religious Affairs, O. Kasymov, stated, "this num-

[1] See: I. Mkrtumova, A. Dosanova, I. Karabulatova, V. Nifontov, "The Use of Communication Technologies to Oppose Political-Religious Terrorism as an Ethnosocial Deviation in the Contemporary Information-Digital Society," *Central Asia and the Caucasus*, Vol. 17, Issue 2, 2016, pp. 54-61; G. Osipov, I. Karabulatova, G. Shafranov-Kutsev, L. Kononova, B. Akhmetova, E. Loskutova, G. Niyazova, "Ethnic Trauma and Its Echo in Today's Mental Picture of the World among the Peoples of the Post-Soviet States: An Interethnic Conflicting Discourse Unfolding in Russia's Ethnolinguistic Information Space," *Central Asia and the Caucasus*, Vol. 17, Issue 2, 2016, pp. 87-94.

[2] M.E. Shaikhutdinova, *Sovremennyi Kazakhstan—strategia uspekha*, IMEP, Almaty, 2008.

[3] A.G. Dugin, "Russkaia voina," available at [https://books.google.ru/books?isbn=5040022360].

ber has passed 1,500."[4] The state counteracts religious extremism, but to eradicate it completely has not yet been possible.

A province of Turkmenistan, the Balkan velayat, is the area of interest. During the years of the Soviet Union, this region was the most multinational in Turkmenistan. Currently, the Balkan province representatives of the titular nation (Turkmen) make up more than 85% of the population, about 4% of the share in the ethnic composition are Kazakhs and the same for Russians, 1.6%—Azerbaijanis. Also, the region's ethnic diversity is evidenced by the presence of Ukrainians, Tatars, Armenians, Lezghians, and Uzbeks.[5]

The republic of Turkmenistan in the ethnopolitical sense is relatively stable. Contentions between the overwhelming majority of representatives of the titular ethnicity and rather small diasporas of other ethnic groups are not capable of threatening the constitutional order, but have the potential of creating preconditions for compromising state security of the Caspian border territory.[6]

The founding principles of Turkmenistan were laid out so that the principal ethnos is prioritized in matters of political, social, educational and other aspects. Also, as political scientist, I. Strelkov, states, "the precept of 'Turkmenization' of other ethnicities is promoted by the Turkmen authorities as an inevitable and desired turn of events."[7]

Ethnoconfessional preferences of the Turkmen population at this time do not create obvious threats to state security. However, destructive ethnopolitical processes with religious undertones seep into the Republic and, gradually extending, create discontent both outside and inside the country, including the adjacent Russia's and other countries' Caspian border space. For example, the religious proselytizing of Salafis in the area of Makhtumkuli (on the border with Iran) has become more vigorous.

Thus, as well as in Kazakhstan, the most detrimental ethnopolitical hurdle to the state security of Turkmenistan is contained in religious issues, to whose domain the border territory of the country is particularly susceptible. Historically determined commitment of Turkmen, the dominant ethnic group of the country, to Islam, is used by adherents of radical Muslim movements as a social base to replenish their ranks. In the future, this can create a tangible threat to the state security of the Republic.

The Republic of Azerbaijan, as well as its contiguous Russian border space is multiethnic, but the predominance of representatives of the titular ethnicity is absolute: 90.6% of the population are Azerbaijanis. The second largest ethnic group are the Lezghians—2.2%. It is characteristic that these data are challenged by the leaders of Lezghians movements (Sadval in Russia and Samur in Azerbaijan), who consider themselves to be 3-4 times more numerous. Russians account for 1.85%, Armenians—1.5%, Talysh—1%, Avars, Turks, Tats and representatives of other nationalities—less than 1%.[8] Despite the status of the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict as the main ethnopolitical problem of the country, the national security of Azerbaijan is actively influenced by its other ethnopolitical factors.[9]

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[4] "Chislo salafitov rezko vyroslo v Atyrauskoi oblasti," 16 November, 2011, available at [https://tengrinews.kz/kazakhstan_news/chislo-salafitov-rezko-vyiroslo-v-atyirauskoy-oblasti-201707/], 10 June, 2016.

[5] See: L.B. Kristalinskiy, "Vliianie etnopoliticheskikh protsessov v pogranichnom prostranstve na gosudarstvennuiu bezopasnost stran Kaspiiskogo regiona," *Prostranstvo i vremia*, No. 4 (18), 2014, pp. 89-101.

[6] See: V. Paramonov, A. Strokov, "China in the Oil and Gas Branch of Turkmenistan," *Central Asia and the Caucasus*, Vol. 16, Issue 3-4, 2015, pp. 176-185.

[7] See: I. Strelkov, "Uzbekistan i Turkmenia: problema granitsy," 15 May, 2013, available at [http://www.cisnews.org/news/6833-uzbekistan-i-turkmeniya-problema-granicy.html], 11 June, 2016.

[8] See: A. Savchuk, "Azerbaidzhan: ego naselenie i etnicheskiy sostav," 18 January, 2015, available at [http://fb.ru/article/190401/azerbaydjan-naselenie-ego-chislennost-i-etnicheskiy-sostav], 21 April, 2016.

[9] See: K.S. Hajiev, *Kavkazskiy uzel v geopoliticheskikh prioritetakh Rossii*, Logos, Moscow, 2010, p. 260.

In Azerbaijan, the ethnic separatist aspirations are not caused by the Nagorno-Karabakh problem alone. Questions of amending the administrative-territorial arrangement of the country are also being raised by ethnic minorities. As it happens, one of potentially destructive factors is the residence of the Talysh people. They are settled in Astara, Lenkoran, and Lerik districts and the southeastern part of the Masally district. A certain portion of the Talysh inhabit large cities (Baku, Sumgayit). A lot of the Talysh live in Iran, a consequence of the events of almost 200 years past.[10] The most destructive effect on public security in the border territories of Azerbaijan may be the desire of the so-called "divided nations" to unite.

An example of the "divided nation" in Azerbaijan are the Lezghians, most of whom live in Russia (in the south of the Republic of Daghestan). Lezghians are basically settled in the northeast of Azerbaijan, in the Samur river basin and on the eastern spurs of the Big Caucasian ridge. The majority of the Lezghians (41.2%) occupy the area of the Qusar region (with an overwhelming majority of the population—90.7%). Lezghians comprise 14.7% of the population of Baku; their share of the population in the Khachmaz region is similar. Many Lezghians also live in the Ismailli, Quba, Gabala and Göyçay regions.[11] In addition, there is a certain fomenting of ethnic separatist tendencies among Azerbaijanis in Iran at instigations from Turkey.

Each of these ethnopolitical problems, if escalated into an open conflict, could destabilize the Caspian border territory not only in this country, but also in other countries of the region.

Iran also has the capacity for exerting potentially adverse ethnopolitical influence on the Caspian border regions. This area is mainly inhabited by ethnic groups, which are not a part of the state-forming ones (a situation largely relevant for cross-border republics of the Russian Federation). Characteristically, the ethnic groups, living in the Caspian Iranian territory along the borders with the neighboring Azerbaijan and Turkmenistan, also belong to the "divided nations," who, in the neighboring states, constitute the titular ethnicity.[12]

The spark to incite the destructive ethnopolitical processes in the Caspian Sea border of Iran may be the events that were originally not aimed at the escalation of the ethnopolitical contradictions. A positive element for the national security of Iran in the Caucasian-Caspian border space is the prevailing identification among the ethnic Azerbaijanis, Turkmen and other assimilated ethnic groups with the Iranian nation and the lack of trends toward ethnic separatism.[13]

Support for ethnic minority separatism is one of the most effective mechanisms to weaken a political regime. This method can be applied to Iran.

As is known, the problem of ethnic relations is particularly acute where there is an overlap, an imposition of one ethnic mentality over another. In Adygea, a considerable number of ethnic communities co-exist, including Kurds, residing in close proximity to each other in the Krasnogvardeiskoe district. Since their relocation, there appeared a "Kurdish problem," which is the cause of ethnic tensions in the region.

Proceeding from the above, we believe that, when examining the ethnic interaction in the context of the Republic of Adygea, the most effective research model is the one focusing on ethnic tensions.

We, therefore, examine ethnic tensions as an integral characteristic of multiethnic communities. In regions, inhabited by ethnic minorities, there is a spread of nationalist organizations, which, as was

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[10] See: S. Zhiltsov, "The Caspian Region at the Crossroads of Geopolitical Strategies," *Central Asia and the Caucasus*, Vol. 15, Issue 1, 2014, pp. 33-43.

[11] See: K.S. Hajiev, op. cit.

[12] See: E. Freedman, R. Shafer, "Press Systems in the South Caucasus: Impediments in the Transition to 'Democratic Journalism' in Armenia, Azerbaijan and Georgia," *Central Asia and the Caucasus*, Vol. 15, Issue 1, 2014, pp. 178-192.

[13] See: M. Darkhor, A. Salehi, "The New Geopolitics of Afghanistan and their Impact on Iranian National Security," *Central Asia and the Caucasus*, Vol. 15, Issue 1, 2014, pp. 54-67.

shown by the example of Ukraine, may become the "engine" destructive to public security processes. Today, the South of Russia is associated with conflict proneness, caused by ethnosocial and ethnoconfessional factors. This image was formed largely because the region is distinguished by a specific ethnic and cultural diversity. And today the spiritual sphere has become one of the determining aspects of ensuring national security.

The analysis of the ethnic diversity of the South Russian constituencies under consideration allows us to rank them in accordance with the calculated index:

Constituency of the RF	Ethnic Diversity Index	Degree of Ethnic Diversity
The Karachay-Cherkess Republic	0.7106	Super diversity of population
The Kabardino-Balkar Republic	0.605	High diversity of population
The Adyghe Republic	0.5302	Average diversity of population
The Stavropol Territory	0.340448	Monoethnic area
The Krasnodar Territory	0.216505	Monoethnic area
The Rostov Region	0.183026	Monoethnic area

The value of ethnic diversity index is determined as follows: the *more* ethnic groups, with a *larger* proportion, are represented in the population of a constituency of the Russian Federation, the *higher* the index value (closer to 1). The higher the index value, the greater the degree of ethnic diversity within the sector of society under consideration. Scientifically, the index value cannot be considered a determining factor of ethnic tensions, and we tend to agree with that. However, ethnic diversity is an important prerequisite for expanding and complicating ethnic interactions, including adversarial ones.

Representatives of the Caucasian-Caspian states work closely together, are actively involved in various immigration processes, often associated with other geopolitical entities, including ones very distant from the countries of origin. These border contacts form an intricate ethnopolitical system, affecting a wide spectrum of sociopolitical relations.[14] Almost any discontent in ethnically diverse republics of the Northern Caucasus could "spill over" into an ethnic aspect, affecting status quo, the scope of ethnosocial dynamic being very vulnerable and sensitive: it is specifically there that contradictions arising from economic conditions, social relationships, and cultural subtleties tend to accumulate.

State security organizations of the Russian Federation should consider manifold ethnopolitical processes in the border areas of the Caucasian-Caspian countries in terms of their foreign policy content and, consequently, inculcate national interests into the Caucasian-Caspian border territories of the Russian Federation by affecting external regional factors.

Modern conflicts have become one of the leading causes of instability, rippling around the globe. Being poorly managed, they often spread, gathering new members, which poses a serious threat not only to those directly involved in a conflict, but also to all of the Earth's population. However, the ethnic picture of the world is diverse and an individual's awareness of his/her ethnic affiliation is a necessary requirement, since it helps to define more clearly his/her place in the surrounding

[14] See: A.N. Asaul, M.A. Jaman, P.V. Shukanov, *Etnodemograficheskie faktory globalizatsii i regionalizatsii mira*, ANO "IPEV," St. Petersburg, pp. 43-48.

world. This role of ethnic identity must always be taken into account in all the studies of the ethnosocial processes and in the development of measures to contain their negative aspects.

Discussion

In the politological aspect, ensuring national security on the borders of the Russian Federation is an organic extension of state policy to counter encroachments upon national heritage and violations of sovereignty, territorial integrity and the constitutional order of the Russian Federation, as well as neutralize external and internal threats, coming from any entities regardless of their citizenship, organization and scope of activities. This approach should apply to the entire spectrum of sociopolitical relations in the border regions of Russia. It also allows us to formulate a set of hypotheses.

- First, the variety of approaches, insinuated in the definition of "national security," point to a certain theoretical and methodological pluralism.[15] An extensive theoretical base contributes to the freedom of the methodological choice and a search for new solutions in the study of national security in relation to specific areas of its existence. Expanding the limits of scientific analysis of the concept "national security," with specification of the ethnopolitical atmosphere of a border region, may lead to identification of its specific features and enrich the content of the study.
- Second, in connection with ambiguous development of ethnopolitical processes in a number of border regions of Russia, which creates preconditions for causing harm to its state security, the definition of the concept "boundary space" in the context of political science requires generation of a singular approach.[16] Its politological justification and legal consolidation will positively affect the neutralizing of destructive ethnopolitical processes in the border regions of the Federation, when there is a need to specify the framework of special agencies' activities to ensure national security of the Russian Federation.
- Third, numerous historical works describing the peculiar features of the expansion of the Russian territory, changing approaches to security, the transformation of public administration, the dynamics of ethnic composition of the population on the border of the Russian state contain an array of valuable scientific information for the analysis of the prevailing approaches to ensure national security in view of the multiethnicity of the border regions.[17] In this context, the experience of ensuring national security in conditions of multiethnic boundary space of the Russian state requires further study and assessment.[18]
- Fourth, from the moment of the disintegration of the U.S.S.R., in a number of countries neighboring Russia, new ethnic, religious, political, economic, etc. circumstances ren-

[15] See: I.S. Karabulatova, "Sovremennyi elektronno-informatsionnyi diskurs kak indikator etnopoliticheskoi bezopasnosti: mezhetnicheskaia tolerantnost vs etnokofliktogennost v XXI veke," *Nauchnoe obozrenie*, Series 2: *Humanitarian Sciences*, No. 2, 2016, pp. 3-14.

[16] See: I.S. Karabulatova, K.K. Koyche, V.N. Gultyaev, "The Dialogue of Kazakh Steppe and Russian Forest: About the Character of Turkic-Speaking Linguistic Personality on the Territory of Russian-Kazakhstani Border-Zone," *Middle-East Journal of Scientific Research*, No. 17 (7), 2013, pp. 853-858.

[17] See: L.B. Kristalinskiy, op. cit.

[18] R.D. Khunagov, A.Y. Shadzhe, "The Caucasian Factor in Contemporary Russia," *Sotsiologicheskie issledovania*, No. 3, 2001, pp. 77-80.

dered an appreciable influence on conditions of their national security, described in researches by both native and foreign scholars.[19] Many different works exhibit extraordinary views on ethnic policy and the corresponding political relations in the border areas. But a thorough, systemic understanding of the interactions of national elements in the border regions, political practice and public safety of multiethnic countries is absent from the writings of contemporary political science. With that, in the post-Soviet period, negative developments in ethnopolitics often posed a threat to the security of Russia and the neighboring countries.[20] Therefore, the analysis of such relatively similar processes is needed to reduce the vulnerability of national security in multiethnic border regions of the Russian Federation.

- Fifth, a wide range of scientific papers on specific aspects of ethnic policy, religious relations, national security and its variations, allows scholars to concentrate research efforts on the specification of the circumstances, which from the national security of the Russian Federation's standpoint are perceived to orchestrate the formation of ethnopolitical state of affairs in its border regions.[21]

It is important to understand that the need for social comfort is relevant only in the space of everyday life. However, during a course of stressful events people perceive as normal an otherwise often strongly unacceptable, lowered level of social comfort. Examples include long-lasting religious fasting, pilgrimage periods, war, etc. Therefore, the concept of social comfort is used in the context of Russian everyday life. Its dependence on identity is directly proportional to it.

The mounting social discomfort in the Caucasian-Caspian region elicits a whole range of responses, both at the grassroots level and at the level of social groups and communities. Most of these responses are defensive in nature and are aimed at improving adaptive abilities of individuals and social groups and communities.

Conclusion

One of the problems in ethnic and religious life of the countries in the Caucasian- Caspian region is the hidden impact of foreign Islamic foundations on the Muslims in Kazakhstan. There are positive aspects to this: support for children's homes, the construction of schools with intensive study of foreign languages (mainly Turkish and Arabic). But about the main activity of these foundations—their religious enlightenment—there is still little known to even the Kazakhstan public and secret services.

Noteworthy is not only the similarities, but many identical characteristics in the ethnopolitical situation of the border area of the Caucasian-Caspian region with the ethnopolitical situation of the Russian Federation border space. This fact is the basis for developing joint approaches to neutralize the destructive ethnopolitical processes, causing national security threats to all the countries of the Caucasian-Caspian region.

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[19] See: M.E. Shaikhutdinova, op. cit.; A. Savchuk, "Azerbaidzhan: ego naselenie, chislennost i etnicheskii sostav," 18 January, 2015, available at [http://fb.ru/article/190401/azerbaydjan-naselenie-ego-chislennost-i-etnicheskiy-sostav], 21 April, 2016; V. Paramonov, A. Strokov, op. cit.; M. Darkhor, A. Salehi, op. cit.

[20] See: I. Karabulatova, B. Akhmetova, K. Shagbanova, E. Loskutova, F. Sayfulina, L. Zamalieva, I. Dyukov, M. Vykhrystyuk, "Shaping Positive Identity in the Context of Ethnocultural Information Security in the Struggle against the Islamic State," *Central Asia and the Caucasus*, Vol. 17, Issue 1, 2016, pp. 84-92.

[21] See: K.S. Hajiev, op. cit.; E. Polyakov, "Structure of Political Violence and Terror in the Northern Caucasus in the 1990s-2000s," *Central Asia and the Caucasus*, Vol. 16, Issue 2, 2015, pp. 42-53.

Despite the existence of specific national interests, all the countries in the Caspian region are subject to threats from Islamic extremism, the destructive effects of "external" geopolitical policies, attempts to revise their administrative-territorial distribution, etc. The similarity of these and other prerequisites in the emergence of national security threats, on the one hand, and similar ethnopolitical factors, destructive to national security in the border areas of Russia, on the other, raises the possibility and voices the need for international cooperation to counter these threats. This will increase the effectiveness of measures to ensure national security in the border area of each of the countries of the Caucasian-Caspian region and have a positive impact on the collective security of these states.

ARMENIA'S NUCLEAR INDUSTRY: THREATS AND CHALLENGES

Maxim STARCHAK

Executive Editor of Pathways to Peace and Security journal, IMEMO, Russian Academy of Sciences (Moscow, Russian Federation); Fellow of the Center for International and Defense Policy, Queen's University (Kingston, Canada)

ABSTRACT

Soviet geologists estimated uranium reserves in Armenia at about 30 thousand tons, but actual reserves could be as high as 60 thousand tons or as low as 10 thousand tons, in which case uranium mining in Armenia will not be cost-effective. But the development of uranium deposits is hindered by difficult geological and mining conditions, and with low uranium prices their development does not make economic sense. It will also be necessary to address the problems of environmental and nuclear safety and security in connection with both uranium mining and the operation of nuclear power plants (NPPs), as various civil society organizations and the local population of Armenia have already pointed out.

Given the future construction of a new NPP and the supply of fuel by Russia at its expense, Moscow will be able to control the development of the nuclear power industry and uranium mining in Armenia without much competition.

KEYWORDS: ***Armenia, Russian-Armenian relations, uranium mining, nuclear industry, environment, nuclear safety and security.***

The History of Uranium Exploration

In view of the need to provide fuel for the Soviet Union's growing nuclear power industry, the state addressed the problem of ensuring the necessary supply of uranium ore. Prospecting was initially carried out in Kirghizia in the 1940s, first by the South Issyk-Kul Expedition and then by the Kavak and Jyrgalan expeditions. In the 1950s, uranium prospecting was continued in Kazakhstan by the Volkov Expedition and in Uzbekistan by the Krasnokholmsk Expedition.

The first attempts to find uranium deposits in Armenia were made in 1948 by the Gromov Expedition in the Syunik Region. Exploration works failed to produce positive results; the expedition was disbanded, and all its materials were transferred to the Koltsov Expedition, based in Yessentuki.

The Koltsov Expedition conducted investigations in the drainage area of Lake Sevan along the Getik River (Gegharkunik Region) in the period from 1965 to 1975, and it identified a number of uranium deposits and occurrences. But at that time, geologists came to the conclusion that uranium reserves in that area were of no commercial interest. According to the materials of that time, eight or nine commercial uranium deposits could only be found in the territory of the Syunik Region.[1] Uranium reserves in Armenia were estimated at 20-30 thousand tons. These deposits were only partially explored, and there is a view that uranium reserves are actually 50 to 100 percent larger. As for current proven reserves of uranium in Armenia, these do not exceed a total of 1,000 tons.[2] In the 1970s, uranium exploration continued in the village of Lernadzor, about two or three kilometers from Kajaran (Syunik Region). But these deposits were also seen as unsuitable for commercial development. The development of higher-grade deposits in Central Asia put a stop to uranium investigations in Armenia altogether.

Uranium Resources and Occurrences in Armenia

According to forecasts made in Soviet times, uranium reserves in the territory of the Republic of Armenia are around 30 thousand tons and could increase by 50 to 100 percent,[3] said Sergei Kirienko, the head of Rosatom State Nuclear Energy Corporation.

In particular, based on the results of Soviet exploration work, 34 deposits and occurrences of uranium (and partly thorium) ore were identified in several regions of Armenia:

- The Pkhrut occurrence is located on both slopes of the Voghji River valley. There are three sites (zones): Voghji, Lernadzor and Pkhrut. At the deposit, more than 20 ore bodies with a uranium content of 0.045% to 0.3% (0.2% on average) were explored to a depth of 300 m. Prognosticated uranium resources at the Pkhrut occurrence are around 20 thousand tons.[4]

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[1] The Syunik Region (Province) is located in southeastern Armenia, bordering on Azerbaijan and Iran; area: 4,505 sq km; population: 152,800; administrative center: Kapan.

[2] See: "Glava Goskorporatsii 'Rosatom' S. Kirienko posetil s ofitsialnym vizitom Respubliku Armenia," OAO Atomredmetzoloto, 9 September, 2008.

[3] See: "Armenia mozhet ne tolko dobyvat uran, no i eksportirovat yego: glava Rosatoma," IA REGNUM, 23 April, 2007.

[4] See: P.G. Aloian, *Uranonosnost geologicheskikh formatsyi Armenii*, GEOID, Erevan, 2010, pp. 20-21.

- The Nerqin Hand occurrence is adjacent to the Pkhrut-Lernadzor ore field and includes 22 ore bodies, of which the First Ore Body has been relatively well explored. The average concentration of uranium in the ore is 0.2-0.3%, sometimes reaching 1% or more. Prognosticated resources at the deposit total 5-10 thousand tons.[5]
- The Vayots Dzor group includes the Vardemess, Gortun, Zovashen, Yelpin, Amulsar, Getap, Vernashen, Vayk and Eastern ore occurrences. The most promising occurrences are Vayk and Amulsar.
- The Amulsar uranium occurrence is located 4 km southeast of the village of Kechut and 5 km northwest of the summit of a mountain of the same name. Uranium concentrations range widely from thousands of a percentage point to 0.5%, with an average concentration of 0.025-0.03% for the five largest sites. These five sites at Amulsar contain an estimated 76 tons of uranium, and taking into account the uranium at the thorium site, the overall figure could be as high as 100 tons. And according to Professor H.S. Avagian, the Amulsar deposit contains 195 tons of uranium.[6]
- In the area of the Vayk occurrence, the most promising zones are Malachite and No. 3.

  The *Malachite zone* has been traced over a strike length of more than 1 km in the meridional direction and over a thickness of 2-3 m with a steep easterly dip. Uranium concentrations range from 0.09% to 0.3%. The zone has been explored by drilling, which intersected quartz-carbonate-sulphide veins containing uranium black at a depth of 80-105 m.

  Zone No. 3 (or *Kayategh site*) with an average thickness of 75 m has been traced to the northeast over a strike length of 1.3 km and has been explored by surface and underground drilling at three horizons. Uranium mineralization is very irregular. Uranium concentrations range widely: from hundredths of a percentage point to 1.4%, with an average of 0.06%.[7]

  Prognosticated uranium resources at the Vayk occurrence are estimated at 20-30 thousand tons, and the prospects for the commercial development of its uranium-bearing ores are associated,

  - first, with the integrated use of these ores considering their gold content, and
  - second, with the commercial development of the explored Azatek gold deposit.[8]
- The Vedi group of occurrences includes the Autumn, Vedi, Ilansar, Ketuz, May, Zovashen and Etelin ore occurrences, the most promising of which are Autumn, May and Zovashen. All occurrences in the Vedi group are characterized by a common geostructural pattern of radiation intensity and are of interest for future prospecting and exploration. Prognosticated uranium resources total 10-15 thousand tons.
- In the Pambak group, two ore occurrences —Tezhsar and Antarayin (Forest)—are of particular interest.
- The Tezhsar occurrence (uranium-thorium-rare earth), known as Camp site, is located in the upper reaches of the Ulyashik River in the Pambak Mountains. Uranium concentration reaches 0.09%. Tezhsar is of commercial interest as a polymetallic deposit.[9]

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[5] See: Ibid., pp. 22-23.

[6] See: H.S. Avagian, *Puti i perspektivy razvitia gorno-metallurgicheskoi otrasli v RA*, Nauka, Erevan, 2011, p. 260.

[7] See: P.G. Aloian, op. cit., p. 29.

[8] G.P. Aloian, "Resursnyi potentsial radioaktivnogo syrya Armenii i perspektivy ego osvoenia," *Gornyi zhurnal*, No. 6, 2007, pp. 34-37.

[9] Ibidem.

- The Antarayin occurrence includes more than 20 identified and explored zones. Uranium concentration is quite high: 0.14%. Uranium mineralization extends to a depth of 186 m. The range of the uranium mineralization is 500-600 m, i.e. erosional truncation is not very deep, and the prospects are quite encouraging. Prognostic uranium resources at Antarayin are estimated at 30-40 thousand tons.[10]

The prospects for the Tezhsar and Antarayin occurrences are significant and are closely associated with the commercial development of ore deposits and the developing infrastructure in the Marmarik River basin with large reserves of gold-bearing, copper-molybdenum, gold-chamosite, and titanium-magnetite ores.

Available factual data show that in the next few years, given appropriate funding, it will be possible to create the necessary uranium feedstock for the republic's nuclear power industry so as to meet its current and future needs.

For Armenia as a whole, uranium concentrations range widely with an average of 0.2-0.3%[11] and inferred uranium resources of 25-100 thousand tons.[12]

Thus, historical materials showed that it was possible to create raw material inventories for the nuclear power industry in Armenia. It was only necessary to identify the most promising fields and sites in terms of radioactive materials.

The Role and Policy of Russia

Russia decided to pay attention to Armenia's potential for uranium production in 2007, when Rosatom made a proposal to the Armenian side expressing a desire to engage in the exploitation of its deposits. In 2007, the government of Armenia and Rosatom agreed a memorandum of understanding for the development of cooperation in uranium exploration, mining and processing, which was a continuation of the agreement for cooperation in the peaceful uses of nuclear energy, concluded between the governments of Armenia and Russia back in 2000.

That same year (2007), the then president of Armenia, Robert Kocharian, declared the intention to maintain and develop the nuclear power industry, and in September 2007 Armenia invited Russia to participate in projects for the joint development of uranium deposits and the construction of new NPP units in Armenia. Thus, one can say that an opportunity to look for uranium in Armenia was provided in conjunction with the construction of a new NPP, with Russia covering more than 20% of its costs.

According to the Minister of Nature Protection of Armenia, Vardan Ayvazian, "If we have our own nuclear materials, this will be yet another decided advantage for the construction of a new nuclear power plant in the republic. And if the new NPP is built, Armenia will become a country that is entirely self-sufficient in energy."[13] The construction cost of a new NPP with a capacity of 1000 MW in Armenia is variously estimated at around $5 billion over five years.

In 2007, Armenian specialists began work to update the estimates of uranium reserves in the country: they carried our reconnaissance work in promising areas, developed an exploration program,

[10] G.P. Aloian, op. cit.

[11] Ibidem.

[12] See: A.E. Vorobyov, *Otchot o nauchno-issledovatelskoi rabote v ramkakh federalnoi tselevoi programmy "Nauchnye i nauchno-pedagogicheskie kadry innovatsionnoi Rossii" na 2009-2013 gg. po teme: Razrabotka resursosberegaiushchei tekhnologii upravliaiemoi prirodnoi pererabotki mineralnykh otkhodov uranovykh rudnikov (zakliuchitelnyi etap No. 6)*, Moscow, 2012, p. 208.

[13] "V sluchae stroitelstva novoi AES Armenia mozhet stat energoeksportiorom," RIA Novosti, 23 April, 2007.

and began to collect and analyze existing records and to digitize archives from the Geological Fund of the Republic of Armenia.

During a visit by a Russian government delegation in February 2008, Sergei Kirienko and Vardan Ayvazian signed a Memorandum of Cooperation in the Field of Geological Exploration, Mining and Processing of Uranium Ores and an Action Plan for 2008. Two months later, the parties signed a Joint Venture Agreement for the geological exploration and mining of uranium and other minerals in the territory of Armenia, and an Armenian-Russian Mining Company (ARMC) was registered in July 2008.[14] The authorized capital of the new company was created on a 50/50 basis and was around $300 thousand (AMD 92.241 million).

Western players seeking to reduce Armenia's dependence on Russian and Iranian gas also attempted to take part in the construction of a new NPP. The United States signed an agreement with the Armenian government on cooperation in the field of nuclear energy. Under the agreement, the U.S. was prepared to provide about $2 million for a feasibility study for the construction of a new NPP and an estimate of its potential impact on the environment. The Minister of Energy and Natural Resources of Armenia, Armen Movsisian, said at the time (in 2008) that a major European company[15] was also prepared to provide 1 billion euros for the construction of a new NPP unit. He said: "This company has expressed a desire to invest in the construction of a new NPP in Armenia 'from scratch' and to be its only shareholder. A contract with this company is expected to be signed by the end of 2008, and construction is to start in 2010."[16] But in 2013, for economic reasons, the construction of a new NPP unit was postponed for two years. The Republic of Armenia remains the country with the lowest GDP among all countries that have announced plans to build NPPs. Due to a lack of funds for the construction of a new unit and the end of the design life of the existing Armenian NPP, the government decided to extend the life of the NPP by 10 years using a Russian loan.

Russia has always been the only player in the republic's nuclear power market. A contributing factor here is that Erevan is a debtor of Moscow for the supply of fuel to the Armenian NPP. Its normal operation requires $13 million worth of uranium, while the debt for past supplies is in excess of $19 million.[17] Russia has made concessions to Armenia in the supply of fuel, naturally linking this with an opportunity to control the exploration, mining and export of the republic's entire possible uranium and to build a new NPP, which opens much wider prospects.

Through investment in the development of uranium deposits, Russia intended to gain control of Armenia's entire nuclear and electric power industry. For example, in July 2010 Russia agreed to finance about 20% of the costs of a new NPP, and in August, the governments of the two countries signed an agreement to that effect. By investing in the construction of a new NPP, Russia planned to reap significant returns. From September 2003, the shares of the existing Armenian Nuclear Power Plant CJSC were held in trust by the Russian open joint stock company Inter RAO UES. On 4 December, 2008, the agreement was extended for another five years, following the acquisition of a 57.34% stake in Inter RAO UES by the state corporation Rosatom in November 2008.[18]

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[14] On behalf of Russia, the shareholder in the ARMC Closed Joint Stock Company (CJSC) was Atomredmetzoloto (ARMZ) Open Joint Stock Company (OJSC), and on behalf of Armenia, the Ministry of Energy and Natural Resources of the Republic of Armenia.

[15] By European company he meant the French company Areva NP.

[16] "Ministr energetiki Armenii: Evropeiskaia kompania gotova predostavit 1 mlrd ievro dlia stroitelstva novoi AES," *RBK*, 7 February, 2008.

[17] See: A. Maksimenko, "Armenia mozhet ostatsia bez gaza i urana," available at [http://armenianews.narod.ru/Energo_01.htm].

[18] See: "'Armiano-rosiiskaia gornorudnaia kompania' pristupila k poiskovym rabotam na uran," Nuclear.ru, 1 November, 2008.

By declaring its readiness to build a new NPP in Armenia and starting to design a new nuclear unit, Russia thereby increased the republic's need for uranium and for its production in the territory of Armenia. In addition, the construction of the NPP and uranium production were meant to promote the development of the International Uranium Enrichment Center (IUEC) and to provide it with contracts for enrichment services (in 2012, Armenia bought a 10% stake in the company).

In April 2009, the ARMC obtained a license for the geological exploration of uranium ore in Armenia for a term of five years. Later that year, it started drilling in the Sisian District of the Syunik Province, which borders on Azerbaijan and Iran. According to ARMC General Director Mkrtich Kirakosian, in the following two years the company would focus only on geological exploration. "We do not know the exact number of accessible deposits, but mining operations will cover a fairly large area in both northern and southern Syunik," he said.[19] Experts believed that the exploitation of uranium deposits could begin in five years.[20]

In 2009, the ARMC conducted field, office and analytical studies, which made it possible to identify and define the most promising uranium mineralization zones for further study in 2010. But the development of uranium deposits was disrupted by the global economic crisis. In January 2010, Russia froze its investment in Armenia's mining industry for an indefinite time. According to Russia's trade representative in Armenia, Alexander Zaitsev, Russia suspended its investment projects in the field of uranium exploration and the development of the Teghut copper-molybdenum deposit with the participation of the VTB Bank.[21]

But in 2010, the ARMC continued excavations and office studies for a more precise definition of promising uranium prospects suitable for long-term development. Drilling operations began in October, but when the drilling rig ignited, the work had to be stopped.

Zaruhi Postanjian, a member of parliament from the Heritage Party and an opponent of uranium mining in Armenia, said that she had received a 600-page report from the Ministry of Energy and Natural Resources confirming the presence of uranium near the villages of Pkhrut and Lernadzor in the Syunik Province. The information on the presence of uranium was also confirmed by Nature Protection Minister Aram Harutiunian.[22] But in late 2010, Yura Gevorgian, the president of ABVAN Ltd., which was engaged in uranium prospecting in Lernadzor, said that in the two holes drilled over the previous six months uranium had not been found.[23]

These words were confirmed by Areg Galstian, Deputy Minister of Energy and Natural Resources, who said that drilling operations conducted by the ARMC in 2010 had shown that uranium reserves in the republic were insufficient to attract commercial interest.[24] At the same time, the Minister of Energy and Natural Resources, Armen Movsisian, announced that uranium exploration in the country would continue for at least two or three years until it was established whether there were uranium deposits in Armenia, and if there were, in what amount.[25]

In October 2011, exploration works were resumed. According to Yura Gevorgian, that was "a continuation of the 2010 project and would last for a month. There were no plans to work in new

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[19] "Armenia: Joint Project with Russia to Mine Uranium Stirs Environmental Worries," EurasiaNet, 31 March, 2009.

[20] See: "Armiansko-rosiiskoe predpriatie po dobyche i pererabotke urana v Armenii planiruietsia sozdat v marte 2008 goda," *Nezavisimaia gazeta*, 15 February, 2008.

[21] See: "Rossia prekratila vkladyvatsia v dobyvaiushchuiu promyshlennost Armenii?" MetalTorg.Ru, 21 January, 2010.

[22] See: "V Armenii naideny zapasy urana?" IA REGNUM, 8 December, 2010.

[23] See: "Uranium Prospecting in Lernadzor Temporarily Stopped," Ecolur, 24 December, 2010.

[24] See: "Geoprospecting of Uranium Reserves in Armenia Has No Positive Results," Ecolur, 20 April, 2011, available at [http://www.ecolur.org/en/news/nuclear-energy/geoprospecting-of-uranium-reserves-in-armenia-has-no-positive-results/2325/].

[25] See: "Mestnye ekologi uzhe nachinaiut bespokoitsia," Gornaia entsyklopedia, 16 July, 2010, available at [http://www.mining-enc.ru/mining-news/year2011/month07/day16/Poisk_urana_v_Armenii_budut_dlitsya_esche_2-3_goda/].

areas."[26] In 2011, prospecting was carried out in areas of uranium occurrences and other anomalies located at a safe distance from population centers in the province.[27]

But geological exploration continued. According to the Atomredmetzoloto Annual Report for 2011, the field stage of greenfield exploration within the Pkhrut ore field was completed in 2011, with four wells totaling 592 m drilled, and 11 intervals with radioactivity of 800 to 1,520 mcR/h and a thickness of 0.35 to 2.30 m uncovered; office work was in progress.[28] The results were not reported. But according to Petros Aloian, a doctor of geological sciences and the president of the Center for the Protection of Mineral Resources, the republic's State Register still did not contain a single gram of uranium or other radioactive elements. There were even no reliable projections of the republic's radioactive potential because studies to that effect had not been conducted, while the results of joint Armenian-Russian investigations in Zangezur were disappointing, although these investigations had been carried out at well-known promising prospects.[29]

In 2011, Russian financing of the Armenian-Russian Mining Company for geological exploration purposes was coming to an end. On 29 December, the Armenian government made a decision to allow the ARMC to increase its authorized capital by AMD 590 million (about $1.3 million). The payment for the additional shares issued for that amount would come in the form of geological information. According to the government website, this would ensure continued work in looking for uranium in the territory of Armenia.[30] Until then, the ARMC had been funded by the Russian side. This information refuted the reports that uranium prospecting in Armenia had ceased. But low uranium prices were no incentive for an effective search for commercially attractive deposits.

Indeed, in early 2012 it became evident that Armenia had no commercially viable uranium deposits. The head of Rosatom, Sergei Kirienko, expressed dissatisfaction with the work done. "We could have found more, and it is very difficult to be satisfied, but there are still some interesting deposits and prospects,"[31] he said.

The head of Rosatom added, however, that uranium mining in Armenia would make sense only if uranium was recovered as a co-product along with other minerals. "For us it is important—and we have agreed on this point—that the Armenian-Russian Mining Company will explore not only uranium deposits, but also other related minerals, including rare earth metals. In this case, its work will be cost-effective over the long term,"[32] he emphasized.

Sergei Kirienko also admitted that the development of uranium deposits could be hindered by possible protests by people living in these areas. He said that when people demanded an absolute guarantee of environmental safety, he understood them very well; however, it could also happen that the evidence provided would not satisfy them, "but such things do happen because these people have lived on this land since ancient times."[33]

But further geological exploration led to nothing. In mid-2013, Armenian Energy and Natural Resources Minister Armen Movsisian reported that, according to the latest exploration results, uranium reserves in the republic were of no commercial interest. Prospecting by the company in the Syunik Province in 2009-2012 verified uranium reserves at the most promising site (Pkhrut). Considering the existing domestic demand for nuclear fuel, they could become Armenia's strategic reserve

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[26] "Uranium is Searched in Kapan," Ecolur, 19 October, 2011.

[27] See: "V Kapane vozobnovilis geologorazvedochnye raboty po poisku uranovykh mestorozhdeni," *Yerkramas*, 19 October, 2011.

[28] See: JSC Atomredmetzoloto Annual Report for 2011, p. 50.

[29] See: P. Aloian, "Ekologia trebuet spetsialnykh znanii," *Golos Armenii*, No. 60 (20133), 7 June, 2011.

[30] See: "V Armenii prodolzhatsia poiski urana?" ARMENIA Today, 12 January, 2012.

[31] S. Kirienko, "RF gotova obsuzhdat uvelichenie doli v stroitelstvo AES v Armenii," ITAR-TASS, 16 February, 2012.

[32] Ibidem.

[33] Ibidem.

for developing the national nuclear power industry after an improvement of the situation in the global natural uranium market,[34] said Nikolay Drozdov, Director of Rosatom's International Business Department.

Thus, one can say that commercial reserves of uranium have not been discovered in Armenia. It will be possible to develop uranium deposits found in the country only if global uranium prices rise. They should stay at a fairly high level of $70-80 per pound so as to stimulate sufficient additional supply in the uranium market. But in the last three years, uranium prices have not exceeded $40 per pound. In the opinion of Minister Armen Movsisian, Armenia's uranium reserves will be in demand, but only in 10 to 20 years' time at the earliest.[35] Today, the Armenian government would like to continue exploration at other sites, but for the time being Russia has abandoned further exploration work, while Armenia has no funds of its own for these purposes.

Technical and Political Problems

Prospecting and exploration work in Armenia is hindered by objective and subjective difficulties. For example, the ARMC had to operate in difficult geological and mining conditions. Syunik has virtually no flat areas; it is a mountainous region where high peaks alternate with deep and impassable canyons and gorges. It is a region where arid subtropical zones and thick forests cover a significant area.

Another difficulty in uranium exploration in Armenia is that gold and uranium usually occur in disseminated form and are associated with pyrite or, less frequently, with thucholite, which makes the ore hard to process, so that it is difficult to detect and extract these metals by conventional methods.[36]

The development of uranium occurrences was also hindered by neighboring Azerbaijan. Some mass media, citing U.S. sources, said that there was no uranium in Armenia and there was no sense in looking for it.[37] This was probably based on the negative experience of the American Global Gold Corporation, which conducted exploration for uranium in Armenia in 2006-2009,[38] but did not find anything.

Other Azerbaijani experts tried to persuade the public that uranium could be used to make nuclear weapons.

Actually, Azerbaijan is concerned because it could lose the opportunity to put pressure on Armenia if the latter becomes independent in energy and has no need for oil from Azerbaijan, which means it will be more difficult to pressure Erevan over Nagorno-Karabakh. Moreover, if exploration

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[34] See: "Rosatom Ready to Construct New Power Unit at Metsamor Nuclear Plant—Nikolay Drozdov," 6 June, 2015, available at [http://www.tert.am/en/news/2015/06/06/Nikolay-Drozdov/1698541].

[35] See: "Vstuplenie v Tamozhennyi soiuz oznachaet snizhenie tsen na gaz i uran: interviu s ministrom energetiki Armenii," IA REGNUM, 24 June, 2013.

[36] See: P.G. Aloian, op. cit., pp. 157-165.

[37] See: "Eks-ministr okhrany prirody Armenii: Realnye pokazateli zapasov urana mogut sostavit do 100 tys. tonn," IA REGNUM, 12 October, 2007.

[38] In 2006, Global Gold Corporation (GGC), an American company headed by an ethnic Armenian, declared its intention to mine uranium in Armenia. It announced the acquisition of a 27 sq km property lying along the Getik River in the Gegharkunik Province of Armenia, with an estimated 2-5 million tons of gold and uranium ore. But after investigations the company declared that the forward-looking statements regarding explorations were subject to certain risks and uncertainties that could cause actual results to differ materially from the statements made (see: *An Established Exploration Company and Emerging Gold Producer. Investor Presentation*, Global Gold Corporation, September 2009; *Armenia Getik*, Global Gold Corporation. No other foreign companies have expressed an interest in Armenian uranium).

confirms the presence of uranium, Armenia will be able not only to provide its own NPP with uranium, but also to turn into a uranium exporter.

Environmental Problems

In the period of geological exploration, environmental problems and public opinion have been the most pressing problems. Referring to surveys conducted jointly with the National Academy of Sciences of Armenia, the Ecosphere research center said that surface radiation in the Syunik Province exceeded the permitted level by more than three and a half times, and ground contamination by heavy metals was several times higher than allowed. In their opinion, these territories were already environmentally endangered, and uranium mining here would be inappropriate.[39]

In the opinion of Inga Zarafian, the head of the environmental NGO Ecolur, uranium mining would create a risk of contamination of groundwater, several reservoirs and possibly Lake Sevan. The environmentalists also drew attention to the short distance between the village border and the probable location of the waste repository and to the fact that it was located in the center of community arable lands and pastures. They also noted that the irrigation conduits of three villages were located very close to the site and that the area selected for the repository was inhabited by animals and plants entered in the Red Book of Armenia.[40]

Other environmental organizations raised other security and environmental issues: decontamination of radioactive water, socio-environmental programs for the local population, radiation monitoring, and safety of the Shikahogh State Reserve, part of whose territory is located in Nerqin Hand, which has potential uranium deposits.

Another argument against uranium development was that the territory of Armenia is too small. Only countries with vast unused territories, such as Australia, Canada and Kazakhstan, can afford to engage in such activities because uranium-contaminated areas cannot actually be reclaimed.[41]

The problem of risk is also important for the tourism business. There is a program for the revival of the Tatev Monastery, located several kilometers from Lernadzor. In the opinion of Zaruhi Postanjian, a member of the National Assembly of Armenia from the Heritage Party and the leader of the popular initiative "Against Uranium Exploitation," uranium exploration will discourage tourists from visiting Syunik Province, where the Tatev Monastery is located.[42] And in the opinion of the mayor of Jermuk, if uranium is mined in the area, the city may cease to be attractive as a health resort even though the president of Armenia has set the task of developing it.[43]

Although the Armenian authorities declared that one could speak of uranium mining only when the presence of commercially viable uranium deposits was confirmed, Ecolur environmentalists reported that Government Decision No. 228, adopted back in 2007, had approved the procedure for exploring, mining and processing radioactive materials in Armenia and finding a site for the construction of a final repository for hazardous radioactive and chemical waste. According to the environmen-

[39] See: "Armenia: Joint Project with Russia to Mine Uranium Stirs Environmental Worries," EurasiaNet, 31 March, 2009.

[40] See: "Demanding Transparency and Holding Public Hearings on New Waste Burial Ground Project for Radioactive and Hazardous Chemical Substances and Wastes," Ecolur, 31 May, 2010.

[41] See: "Uran dlia Armenii 'manna nebesnaia'"?, *Golos Armenii*, No. 85 (20158), 20 August, 2011.

[42] See: "Uranovye mestorozhdenia Armenii nakhodiatsia v neskolkikh kilometrakh ot Nakhidzhevana," NovostiNK, 17 October, 2010.

[43] See: "Zolotaia likhoradka tumanit turisticheskie perspektivy Armianskogo Dzhermuka," *Yerkramas*, 24 November, 2011.

talists, under Government Decision No. 836 of 23 July, 2009, work to construct repositories for radioactive and hazardous chemical substances and wastes was already underway in the territory of the Zangakatun and Urtsalan villages in 2010. It should be noted that drilling operations in the administrative lands of Zangakatun were launched in April 2010 without warning. In May, protests by local residents, who were concerned about the very close location of the repository to the village and the harm it could do to agriculture, water and living nature, led to a situation where the villagers blocked the road and forced the drillers to leave their territory.

Public Opinion

The lack of information from officials and the negative response from environmentalists disturbed the local community. At first, the population of the Syunik Province tried to voice their concerns at a public hearing held on 4 August, 2009, but without success. Rising tensions and the lack of dialog between society and government led to radical action by the villagers.

First, the residents of the village of Zangakatun blocked the road and forced the drillers to leave the site. And then, on 30 October, 2010, a drilling machine in the village of Lernadzor (Syunik Province) was set on fire. Responsibility for the arson was claimed by the film director and actor Ervand Manarian, who noted, however, that he was not an opponent of uranium mining at the deposit. "But this should be done using the latest technologies. Today one gets the impression, however, that the people behind this project simply want to line their pockets,"[44] he emphasized. The worsening situation compelled the project managers to appeal to the government for assistance in ensuring the safety and security of operations.

Dissatisfaction with the fact that uranium exploration was started without regard to public opinion spurred the formation of a movement against uranium in Armenia, which brought together nine environmental organizations. This helped to launch a signature campaign against the uranium program and to hold a protest rally in Kapan (Syunik Province) on 11 November, 2010. About 3,000 residents, mainly of Kapan, as well as Lernadzor and other Syunik communities, took part in the rally. Among the participants were also members of the public from Erevan and Gyumri and a representative from the Heritage Party, Zaruhi Postanjian. The participants in the rally expressed a lack of confidence in the authorities and their concern over the fact that exploration work had been started without a public debate. The councils of elders of three communities—Kapan, Lernadzor and Kajaran—appealed to the government to reverse the decisions on the uranium program.

Speaking on behalf of the governor of the Syunik Province, Suren Khachatrian, his deputy Vache Grigorian assured the protesters that the regional administration would fight against uranium exploration together with the people.[45] And the mayor of Jermuk, Vardan Ovanisian, said that they had already requested the government and President Serzh Sargsian to ensure impartial environmental expertise. "To begin with, the company should provide us with the full results of exploration work at the deposit so that we could discuss the problem with facts in hand,"[46] he summarized.

The participants in the rally also announced that the following year they intended to sue the government of Armenia in order to get it to invalidate all decisions on uranium mining. If they failed in Armenia, the environmentalists planned to go to international courts.

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[44] "Rezhissior Ervand Manarian soznalsia v podzhoge burilnoi ustanovki na mestorozhdenii urana v Siunike," Arminfo, 11 November, 2010.

[45] See: S. Petrosian, "Antiuranovoie dvizhenie v Armenii," *Vestnik Kavkaza*, 15 November, 2010.

[46] "Zolotaia likhoradka tumanit turisticheskie perspektivy Armianskogo Dzhermuka."

An attempt to reassure the population was made by Ashot Martirosian, Chairman of the State Nuclear Safety Regulatory Committee. He said that all the necessary measures would be taken to ensure that uranium mining was perfectly safe for both the environment and the population. "If there are any negative points, the work will naturally be halted. Work in compliance with international safety standards is a mandatory requirement for the implementation of the program," he assured the protesters.[47]

But in other respects the Armenian authorities did nothing to reassure the population or to explain the need and importance of geological exploration. There were no PR events or strengthening of measures to ensure the safety of uranium exploration. Moreover, there was no agreement on this issue. Whereas the deputy governor of the Syunik Province supported the protesters, Governor Khachatrian was convinced that uranium mining would only benefit the residents. "If uranium is not processed on site, mining will do no harm. The uranium ore will be removed," said the governor.[48]

The lack of objective information led to rumors and suspicions. In 2011, activists and environmentalists made inquiries to the prime minister and the Ministry of Energy and Natural Resources of Armenia expressing their concerns about the possible search for uranium in the territory of the Hrazdan iron ore deposit and the lead deposit in the area of Mount Amulsar. The Armenian National Congress also demanded information on geological prospecting and exploration.

Getting no response, a number of NGOs from the Syunik Province addressed an open letter to President Sargsian on 25 January, 2012, urging him to halt uranium prospecting and exploration and to annul all relevant legal acts. They reminded that more than 99% of the 14 thousand citizens polled in the Syunik Province were against the possible development of uranium deposits in Armenia. "Disregard for the results of the signature campaign will lead to a loss of confidence in the authorities and will be seen as a challenge to society and non-governmental structures," said the nine NGOs, adding that they were unanimous on this point.[49]

In 2013, when it became clear that there were no commercially viable uranium deposits in Armenia, Hakob Sanasarian, Chairman of the Green Union of Armenia, continued to sound the alarm, saying that deposits of radioactive minerals were being secretly developed in southern Armenia. "Concealment of the presence of disseminated uranium enables them to exploit deposits without any fuss or problems, and this means a contamination of Armenian territory and shorter life expectancy. Negotiations with the mining mafia and attempts to stop the implementation of deadly projects have now become almost impossible. They are backed not only by the Ministry of Nature Protection, but also by all government structures and the mass media they control,"[50] said the environmentalist.

Sergei Grigorian, a member of the National Academy of Sciences of Armenia and the president of the International Association for Cooperation in Ecology, Geology and Geochemistry, was one of the few non-governmental experts who supported uranium mining. According to the academician, only a small area will pose a threat: the tunnel entrances. The rest will be underground, so that the population's fear of radioactivity is unfounded. The world community has already gained extensive experience in the safe mining of uranium. There are effective ways to reduce radiation to a safe level. Uranium is dangerous only when it is being enriched, but not at the mining stage, he assured.[51] More-

[47] See: S. Petrosian, op. cit.

[48] "Zhiteli Siunikskoi oblasti Armenii mitinguiut protiv razrabotki uranovykh rudnikov," *Kavkazski uzel*, 11 November, 2010.

[49] See: "Riad obshchestvennykh organizatsyi Armenii protestuiut protiv razrabotki uranovogo mestorozhdenia v strane," *Vestnik Kavkaza*, 29 January, 2012.

[50] "V Armenii taino dobyvaiut uran," Kavkaz Online, 16 August, 2013.

[51] "Mining with Caution: Syunik Province Due to be Tapped for Uranium"?, Ecolur, 30 May, 2008.

over, it is rarely mentioned that, by agreement of the parties, uranium will not be mined in the area adjacent to Lake Sevan, which is of great environmental importance.

The Problem of NPP and Nuclear Safety

The existing NPP is outdated. Without new capacity, Armenia will experience an electricity shortage of 500 MW.[52] In March 2014, due to delays in the construction of a new nuclear unit, the Armenian government extended the service life of the NPP, which was to end in 2016. Under previously approved plans, the construction of the new unit was to start in 2018 and be completed in 2026. But investment for its construction has yet to be found.

Due to a lack of uranium, the only way to reduce the operating costs of the NPP was to extend its life. Under protocols signed with Russia, preparatory works for a life extension started at the Armenian NPP in 2015, with plans to complete them in the spring of 2017. But according to Robert Nazarian, Chairman of the Public Services Regulatory Commission of Armenia, the modernization of the Armenian NPP, planned for 2017, will make it necessary to shut down the plant for several months, and this may lead to problems in the energy system such as an increase in rates, which is why the NPP modernization period may be shortened.[53]

Despite the life extension, Armenia does not intend to cancel the construction of the new unit. But in order to lower construction costs, its capacity has been reduced from 1,000 to 600 MW.

The desire to reduce costs in the nuclear sphere is a questionable matter. And although Russia and Armenia have signed an intergovernmental agreement on exchange of information in the area of nuclear and radiation safety, thirteen incidents where Armenian citizens have tried to sell radioactive materials over the last 17 years call into question the country's ability to ensure nuclear security.

For example, in April 2016, the State Security Service of Georgia detained three citizens of Armenia and three citizens of Georgia for an attempt to sell 200 grams of uranium-238. It is also known that the group of three Armenian citizens previously worked at the Metsamor NPP. One of the detainees was identified as a former employee of the National Security Service of Armenia. This group planned to sell the uranium-238 to the Middle East, with al-Qa'eda or the Islamic State as the potential end buyers. The source of the uranium is still unknown, but it is clear that given the regular incidents of illegal trafficking and sale of nuclear materials, the operation of nuclear facilities in Armenia may serve to spread these materials and provide access to them for illegal terrorist groups.

This became even more relevant when, after the April defeat, high-ranking officials from Erevan began to threaten Azerbaijan with a "dirty bomb." Its presence in the arsenal of the Armed Forces of Armenia was announced by former Armenian prime minister Hrant Bagratian, who served as minister of defense in 1993, by Lieutenant General Norat Ter-Grigoriants, Chairman of the Dashnaktsutiun parliamentary group, and by members of parliament and other officials.[54] Naturally, Ar-

[52] World Bank data (see: "S 2020 goda Armenia mozhet oshchutit sushchestvennyi defitsyt elektroenergii," Radio Azatutiun, 31 March, 2015, available at [http://rus.azatutyun.am/content/article/26930690.html]).

[53] See: "Sroki kapremonta Armianskoi AES v 2017 godu mogut byt sokrashcheny," Rossiiskoie atomnoie soobshchestvo, 1 March, 2016, available at [http://www.atomic-energy.ru/news/2016/03/01/63790].

[54] See: "'Griaznaia bomba'—eshcho odin mif ob armianskom 'chudo-oruzhii'," 13 May, 2016, available at [http://news.day.az/politics/780172.html].

menia lacks the technical capacity to make a nuclear bomb or even to produce highly enriched uranium. But threats coming from Armenian government officials are dangerous in themselves and portray Armenia as an unreliable member of the non-proliferation regime.

Conclusion

We can identify the main problems that have appeared in the development of the nuclear industry in Armenia:

- *First,* the issue of exploration and drilling permits was a sufficiently long process, and geological exploration started later than planned. Armenia's mountainous terrain adds to the costs of any exploration project.
- *Second,* the mining industry has been adversely affected by the decline in uranium prices, which has led to a situation where Russia has suspended investments in this sector. This fact has also served to reduce the cost effectiveness of the project.
- *Third,* the activity of environmentalists and the general public has slowed down the pace of uranium prospecting, exploration and development. Armenian environmentalists have positive experience of struggle. In 2009, for example, they won a campaign against GeoProMining, which intended to build a gold recovery plant in the basin of Lake Sevan with a volume of 34 billion cubic meters of fresh water. The development of the nuclear power industry in the world in general and in Armenia in particular depends on the prompt provision of unbiased information to society. But the Armenian government did nothing to supply the population of the Syunik Province with objective information or to provide evidence of the safety and economic attractiveness of the uranium project. This led to unrest and protest action, threatened the development of the whole nuclear sector in Armenia, and reduced efficiency in the use of Russian investments in the republic's nuclear sector.
- *Fourth,* delays in the construction of a new NPP unit make it necessary to extend the service life of the old unit.
- *Fifth,* the lack of funds for geological exploration, mining, and NPP construction turns the Armenian nuclear industry into a threat to regional security and an area of potential corruption. Given the incidents with nuclear materials, all of this will only worsen the existing problems with nuclear safety and security in Armenia.

In the long term, uranium prices may increase 4-6-fold. Exploration and development costs will go down, and this will promote the development of Armenia's nuclear industry. But unless a long-term strategy for this industry is developed by that time, Armenia and the Caucasus will once again be faced with technical, political, environmental and nuclear problems.

COMBATING MONEY LAUNDERING AND TERRORISM FINANCING

Viktoria KIRILENKO

Ph.D. (Law), Acting Director of the Department of Criminal Law Discipline,
Institute of Service and Business (Branch),
Don State Technical University
(Shakhty, Russian Federation)

ABSTRACT

Combating money laundering and terrorism financing is considered to be the primary task of every state. Success in combating this kind of crime largely depends on international cooperation and coordination in this sphere, primarily in bringing the regulations of the corresponding legislation into harmony and drawing up unified regulatory acts that make it possible to punish persons acquiring super profit for financial activity that is detrimental to both state tax systems and property owners. Several international legal acts regulating the efforts to legalize money acquired illegally have been adopted to make this cooperation easier. These legal acts are called upon to eliminate the existing differences in the tightness and efficiency of financial control in various countries. The recommendations of the Financial Action Task Force (FATF), which is recognized as the international standard for combating money laundering and terrorism financing, are discussed. Viewing money legalization (laundering) as an international crime makes it possible to take a fresh look at the existing national system of regulations aimed at combating this crime, perceive the main ways countries can cooperate to fight this crime, and monitor the main trends in the development of criminal law in this sphere. The banking system needs to operate more efficiently; since it is there that money laundering can be exposed.

KEYWORDS: ***money or property legalization (laundering), economic crimes, terrorism, terrorism financing, the FATF.***

Introduction

Today, the fight against money laundering is a priority task of many states. Combatting the penetration of "dirty money" into the Russian economy has required the introduction of a full set of measures, including improvement of the current legislation and creation of a special structure—the Federal Financial Monitoring Service. However, this improvement has not prevented an increase in crimes involving the legalization of criminal income. The shadow circulation of cash has promoted this in particular.

Money Laundering as a Threat to the National Economy and Security

A. Korotkov, F. Zavidov, and I. Popov claim that there are around 40,000 companies in Russia controlled by criminal groups that engage in money laundering. The main channels of export are offshore zones, primarily Cyprus, where up to $12 billion are laundered every year.[1] Active use is also made of front companies in Switzerland, Austria, Lichtenstein, and the Persian Gulf countries.

The Russian Ministry of Internal Affairs, along with the Federal Financial Monitoring Service and Russian Central Bank, is taking measures aimed at revealing illegal economic operations and preventing legalization of money acquired by criminal means in especially large amounts with the participation of commercial banks, as well as Russian and foreign companies.

According to Art 174[2] of the Russian Criminal Code, the legalization (laundering) of funds and other property acquired illegally constitutes an economic crime. It is a financial transaction or other transaction in monetary funds or other property knowingly acquired by other persons illegally, that is, associated with the use of the said funds or other property for carrying out business or other economic activity.

The crimes envisaged by Art 174 of the Russian Federation Criminal Code are carefully camouflaged and they can only be exposed as the result of targeted comprehensive action undertaken by law-enforcement and monitoring structures. In practice, however, the contacts of these structures are episodic.

An analysis of investigatory practice shows that instances of money laundering are exposed during the establishment and documentation of the criminal action itself, or as additional facts relating to criminal cases initiated under different articles of the Russian Federation Criminal Code. In so doing, most of these offenses are not investigated by the law-enforcement structures. Task officers and investigators, sometimes aware that these crimes have been committed, are unable to instigate criminal cases since they do not have enough current information or access to bank documents.

Crime in the banking sphere is actively developing today and is usually associated with the export of funds and property abroad.

The banking system provides fertile ground for crimes due to large sums of money available and the wide variety of transactions that can be carried out with it. The opportunities to legalize monetary funds and property acquired by criminal means provide the main stimulus for organized crime in the economy, and the financial transactions used for this are being improved with each passing day.

The gist of legalizing illegal income lies is concealing the source of the income or the illegal use of income with the goal of bringing the appearance of legality to the said funds. In other words, it is bringing criminal income into legal circulation for the purpose of concealing its real illegal origin.

Money laundering implies methods that allow money acquired illegally to be transferred to other assets for the purpose of concealing its true origin and real owners.

The main danger of legalizing income obtained by criminal means is not determined by the degree of illegality, but rather by the uncontrolled introduction of this income into the legal economy, which violates the normal functioning of the economy, including the social functions of economic activity.

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[1] See: A. Korotkov, F. Zavidov, I. Popov, "Prestupleniia v sfere ekonomicheskoi deiatelnosti i protiv interesov sluzhby v kommercheskikh i inykh organizatsiiakh," *Pravo i ekonomika*, No. 7, 2000, p. 57.

[2] See: Criminal Code of the Russian Federation of 13.06.1996, No. 63-FL (rendition of 03.07.2016). Art 174. Legalization (Laundering) of Funds and Other Property Acquired by Other Persons Illegally.

At the first stage, money laundering aims to place criminally acquired funds in credit organizations. This is when laundering can be most easily exposed. Therefore, increased control over the placement of funds in credit organizations could significantly complicate criminal operations. The main task of the regulatory structures at this stage is to establish conditions that secure the banking system to the extent possible against the risk of money laundering and make it possible for the law-enforcement agencies to expose specific criminal operations in the activity of credit organizations.

Another problem related to legalizing dirty money is terrorism financing.

Several countries have adopted a large number of legislative acts and elaborated different tools for exposing money laundering and terrorism financing. For example, a mechanism has been envisaged for keeping account of financial operations and a procedure determined for banks and other financial institutions to provide the necessary information on dubious financial transactions. In many countries of the world, special agencies have been created that are engaged in combating money laundering. Money laundering and terrorism financing are viewed as serious crimes punished by long prison terms.

Combating money laundering and terrorism financing should be based on the requirements of the Federal Law on Combating the Legalization (Laundering) of Criminally-Acquired Income and Terrorism Financing and the recommendations of the Bank of Russia. This system should apply to the bank organization and all of its departments, branches, and structural subdivisions. This system should include the following functions:

— minimalizing the risk of using the banking system as a mediator in criminal economic operations and terrorism financing;

— protecting the bank from financial risks that could arise when attempting to use the banking system for criminal operations relating to money laundering and terrorism financing;

— carrying out banking operations and rendering services only to conscientious customers;

— identifying operations that are subject to compulsory control and operations that are suspicious;

— providing the financial intelligence service with information on operations carried out;

— presenting documental evidence when carrying out an investigation regarding a customer suspected of being involved in money laundering and terrorism financing.

The schemes exposed by the now abolished Federal Financial Market Service looked legal in most cases and did not violate the legislation on securities or on combating legalization. However, when carrying out on-site audits and audits of license contenders, the FFMS regularly identified the same people at different posts in companies, regarding whom the FFMS and law-enforcement agencies "had information about their involvement in shadow operations." "The authorized capital and equity capital of such companies are frequently filled with the same securities that formally correspond to FFMS requirements," stated the Federal Financial Monitoring Service.

The Financial Action Task Force on Money Laundering (FATF) and regional organizations of the same profile—the Asia Pacific Group on Money Laundering (APG), the Caribbean Financial Action Task Force (CFATF), the Eastern and South African Anti-Money Laundering Group (ESAAMLG), the Financial Action Task Force of South America (GAFISUD), and the European Committee on the Evaluation of Anti-Money Laundering Measures and Terrorism Financing (MONEYVAL)—rank top in international cooperation.

The FATF is an intergovernmental organization for drawing up and implementing policy aimed at combatting money laundering. The FATF includes 29 countries and two international organiza-

tions: all of the OECD member states, Hong Kong, Singapore, the Latin American countries, Australia, the Cooperation Council of the Persian Gulf Countries, and the European Commission. The Russian Federation became a full member of the FATF in 2002.

One of the main vectors in the FATF's activity is drawing up 40 recommendations to counter the legalization of criminal income—a system of measures the commission recommends that all countries adopt and which are compulsory for the FATF member countries. These recommendations were first drawn up in 1990, and in 1996, they were reexamined keeping in mind the experience accumulated over the six-year period and the changes that had occurred in money laundering. The recommendations are offered only by way of basic universal principles for organizing the fight against money laundering, which every country must incorporate in compliance with the specific situation and the special features of their constitution.

The recommendations consist of three main sections: recommendations for improving the national legislation system; measures in the financial sphere relating to the role of credit and financial institutions in combatting money laundering; and measures for stepping up international cooperation in countering money laundering.

The FATF keeps constant tabs on how these recommendations are being observed. In addition to this, the member states of this organization are obliged to carry out mutual control over the execution of its requirements. During the work, it became obvious that as the efforts to combat money laundering intensify in certain countries, criminal structures begin looking for transactions in countries that do not take active measures to fight money laundering and do not cooperate in this sphere with the world community in order to make active use of the gaps in their legislation. The FAFT deems it necessary to step up work with such states. A special report was prepared regarding the indicated states. It sets forth criteria for determining states that do not take adequate measures to combat money laundering, lists the problem countries, and offers a system of measures for carrying out operations with them.

In particular,

— the FATF member-states were asked to ensure that their financial institutions obtain bone fide information about the owner of the account before permitting applicants to open new accounts;

— financial institutions were asked to be extremely cautious when carrying out any operations with countries that do not wish to cooperate with respect to combatting money laundering. In particular, it was recommended that information be supplied to the law-enforcement agencies on a regular basis about operations that exceeded a certain amount and were carried out with physical or legal entities of the above-mentioned countries;

— in certain cases, the possibility of limiting operations with the corresponding countries, or even ceasing them entirely, should not be excluded.

However, these measures are not compulsory, and it is up to each financial institution to decide whether to use them or not.

Any state classified as a country that does not take appropriate measures to fight money laundering and fails to cooperate with the law-enforcement agencies of other countries in this sphere suffers a blow to its investment appeal. Recognizing a state as corrupted means that developed countries consider it extremely risky for carrying out business there.

This situation also has a negative effect on the work of financial institutions and companies in these countries, which are subjected to strict control in the FAFT member states (and this applies to most developed countries) and which have to constantly prove that they have nothing to do with the criminal community and are not engaged in money laundering.

The FAFT recommendations on international cooperation in combatting money laundering and terrorism financing are compulsory both for FAFT members and for the main entities of economic activity. Their adherence and performance are ensured by applying FATF economic sanctions against those territories that do not carry out their obligations for any reason.

According to experts, the total volume of shadow (illegal) economic activity in Russia exceeds 25% of GDP. The volume of shadow retail circulation of goods and services has reached 58% of their legal circulation in the consumer market. In 2013, Minister of Finance Anton Siluanov determined the share of the gray economy at 15-20% of Russia's GDP. According to experts from the Higher School of Economics, since November 2014, the number of people engaged in the shadow sector of the Russian economy has risen to 3-4 million. The reason for the increase in the shadow sector is the cutback in number of small businesses. During the past two years, 600,000 private executives throughout the country have stopped working (at the end of 2013, according to the Russian Statistics Board, there were 5.4 million private executives in Russia). Another 250-300,000 private executives might lose their licenses if the tight monetary and fiscal policy is retained, predict HSE experts.

According to the Russian Federal Tax Service, illegal income from the non-payment of excise tax alone amounts to no less than 5 trillion rubles. The illegal income of financial companies acquired from evading their obligations to stakeholders amounts to 20 trillion rubles.

The increase in the shadow economy is attended by the steady rise in economic crime, which is increasingly acquiring features of legal entrepreneurship.

The failure of the state to apply legal measures to combat the legalization of illegal income is promoting the criminalization of economic ties. According to the Russian Ministry of Internal Affairs, there are more than 40,000 economic entities of various forms of property under criminal control, including 1,500 state enterprises, 4,000 joint-stock companies, more than 500 joint ventures, 550 banks, and almost 700 wholesale and retail markets. The morals of the criminal world are permeating into economic life. Countries with a lot of experience in fighting organized crime have drawn up an effective system of measures to prevent this state of affairs. This system essentially aims to seek out and intercept the money a criminal organization uses to engage in its illegal activity, launders, and uses to reproduce criminal business. Making it impossible to use the income thus acquired is one way to warn and intercept mercenary-minded law violators and destroy the financial base of organized crime, as well as promote enhancement of the economy.

Most of the income from illegal, including criminal, activity in the economic sphere is used to expand the economic base of shadow and criminal business, penetrate guaranteed and high-income capital investment markets in the Russian Federation, export capital abroad, and attain other goals relating to the uncontrolled introduction of the monetary funds comprising such income into legal circulation (legalization).

Ways and Methods to Combat Money Laundering

At present, there are plans to create a system of organizational and legal measures necessary for ensuring efficient combatting of the legalization (laundering) of money acquired not only from committing crimes, but also by other illegal means. This is stipulated by the regulation on criminal responsibility for the said deed (Article 174 of the Russian Federation Criminal Code), according to which the legalization (laundering) of illegal income is deemed a crime. It would not be expedient

to draw up a system of measures for combatting the legalization (laundering) of income acquired only from committing a crime, while the same actions involving income acquired by other illegal means are also deemed a crime. Furthermore, an analysis of the amount of income acquired from illegal economic activity and the ways to recover it shows that income acquired both by criminal and simply by illegal means forms the economic base of the progressive criminalization of economic activity.

In correspondence with this, we suggest establishing the following:

— introducing additional requirements for identifying participants in operations with monetary funds or other property, their registration, and storage of documentation on financial operations;

— compiling a list of operations subject to compulsory control, due to signs of illegal origin of the monetary funds or other property that are the object of the given operation;

— obliging credit or other organizations that carry out financial operations which may fall under the need for compulsory control to inform an authorized state body of this;

— giving state bodies access to the information of credit and other organizations carrying out financial operations, including information comprising a commercial or bank secret, when performing their obligations to prevent, expose, remove, and confiscate income acquired illegally;

— releasing legal and physical persons who justifiably inform authorized state bodies of financial operations subject to compulsory control from responsibility for violating banking, commercial, or other professional secrets.

Thus, competence is defined and targets established for law-enforcement and monitoring bodies combatting the legalization (laundering) of income acquired illegally, as well as measures envisaged for international cooperation in this sphere. For example, in February 2012, the FATF introduced renewed standards—40 recommendations, which are a compilation of 40+9 old recommendations, as well as those including new provisions that apply in particular to combatting the financing of distributing weapons of mass destruction and applying a risk-oriented approach nationwide. In February 2013, a new Methodology for Assessing the Technical Correlation of the FATF Recommendations and the Efficiency of the National Money Laundering and Terrorism Financing Systems was approved. However, can it be claimed that the established system of FATF financial monitoring is beneficial for Russia? This question does not have an unequivocal answer. The imposed financial monitoring is shutting off investors from the economy, who do not wish to come out of the shadows. Nevertheless, Russia is gaining several indirect advantages from combating this money laundering system. First, its own financial system will finally become more transparent and controllable for the domestic authorities. The authorities will be able see the direction of financial flows in Russia. Second, it will become easier for Russian banks to establish correspondent relations with their foreign colleagues.

The following will be recognized as crimes and require applying the corresponding measures of criminal responsibility:

— illegal refusal to present a tax agency, inquiry or preliminary investigation agency, prosecutor, or court with information about the execution of operations by legal or physical entities involving monetary funds or other property subject to compulsory control;

— deliberate exposure of information about measures taken by authorized state bodies to prevent the legalization (laundering) of income acquired illegally.

It is envisaged that a person who helps to expose a crime involving the legalization (laundering) of illegal income and voluntarily hands over monetary funds or other property comprising such income to the state shall be released from criminal responsibility for actions to legalize such income.

Conclusion

Based on the fact that the Russian Federation Constitution envisages the formulation "business or other economic activity," it is necessary, in our opinion, to define the concept "other economic activity" directly in the Russian Federation Civil Code, and change the title of Chapter 22 of the Russian Federation Criminal Code[3] "Crimes in the Sphere of Economic Activity" to "Crimes in the Sphere of Business and Other Economic Activity."

Deliberate evasion of the repayment of debt (Art 177),[4] which entails the failure to perform property obligations, and the illegal receipt of credits (Art 176),[5] should be included among crimes that do not generate income subject to legalization. Non-return of funds in foreign currency from abroad (Art 193 of the Russian Federation Criminal Code)[6] should be excluded from crimes that do not generate income subject to legalization, since such a crime, due to the change in legislation on currency regulation and currency control, is subject to exclusion from Russian Federation criminal legislation.

Federal Law of 7 August, 2001 On Countering the Legalization of Illegal Earnings (Money Laundering) and the Financing of Terrorism uses the term "operations in monetary funds or other property," to which the said law relates both operations and transactions (Art 6). Therefore, we suggest changing the formulation "financial transactions and other transactions in monetary funds or other property" in Arts 174[7] and 174.1[8] of the Russian Federation Criminal Code to "operations in monetary funds or other property."

Only a guilty court verdict can give proof of the criminal origin of legalized property. At present, the qualification "commitment of a crime by an organized group" does not apply to Part 1 of Art 174 and Part 1 of Art 174.1 of the Russian Federation Criminal Code, that is, legalization (laundering) of illegally acquired monetary funds or other property not on a large scale, cannot be committed by an organized group. We believe this to be an editorial inconsistency. Given the increased public threat of a crime committed by an organized group in any amount, we suggest making amendments to Arts 174 and 174.1 of the Russian Federation Criminal Code and rendering Part 4 of Art 174 and Part 4 of Art 174.1 as follows: "the deeds provided for by Parts 1, 2, or 3, committed by an organized group shall be punished…" Part 3 of Art 174 and Part 3 of Art 174.1 of the Russian Federation Criminal

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[3] See: Criminal Code of the Russian Federation of 13.06.1996 No. 63-FL (rendition of 23.06.2016. RF CC, Chapter 22. Crimes in the Sphere of Economic Activity.

[4] See: Criminal Code of the Russian Federation of 13.06.1996 No. 63-FL (rendition of 23.06.2016). RF CC, Art 177. Deliberate Evasion of the Repayment of Debt.

[5] See: Criminal Code of the Russian Federation of 13.06.1996 No. 63-FL (rendition of 23.06.2016). RF CC, Art 176. Illegal Receipt of Credits.

[6] See: Criminal Code of the Russian Federation of 13.06.1996 No. 63-FL (rendition of 23.06.2016). RF CC, Art 193. Non-Return of Funds in Foreign Currency from Abroad.

[7] See: Criminal Code of the Russian Federation of 13.06.1996 No. 63-FL (rendition of 03.07.2016). RF CC, Art 174. The Legalization (Laundering) of Funds and Other Property Acquired by Other Persons Illegally.

[8] See: Criminal Code of the Russian Federation of 13.06.1996 No. 63-FL (rendition of 03.07.2016). RF CC, Art 174.1. The Legalization (Laundering) of Monetary Funds or Other Property Acquired by a Person as a Result of an Offence Committed by Him/Her.

Code should be applied to Part 1 of Art 174 and Part 1 of Art 174.1 of the Russian Federation Criminal Code in the same way, respectively.

The results of the study carried out have made it possible to identify the main ways used by organized crime groups to legalize (launder) illegally acquired monetary funds or other property that are characteristic for the Russian Federation.

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ETHNIC RELATIONS

ETHNIC TENSIONS IN THE SOUTH OF RUSSIA IN THE OPINIONS OF EXPERTS

Svetlana LYAUSHEVA

D.Sc. (Philos.), Professor,
Department of Philosophy and Sociology, Adyghe State University
(Maykop, Republic of Adygea, Russian Federation)

Rashid KHUNAGOV

D.Sc. (Sociol.), Professor, Chancellor of the Adyghe State University
(Maykop, Republic of Adygea, Russian Federation)

Zuriet ZHADE

D.Sc. (Political Science), Professor, Head of the Department of State and Law Theory and Political Science, Adyghe State University
(Maykop, Republic of Adygea, Russian Federation)

Asiet SHADZHE

D.Sc. (Philos.), Professor,
Department of Philosophy and Sociology, Adyghe State University
(Maykop, Republic of Adygea, Russian Federation)

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ABSTRACT

Increasing interest in the theoretical and practical aspects of the problem of ethnic tensions is due both to practical considerations and the changed methodological situation in domestic sociology and political science. The inclusion of the majority of the territories currently in the Southern Federal District in Russia has not gone smoothly. At the end of the Caucasian war, particular judicial writs for the implementation of the policy of the Empire in the region were developed—the Regulations "Regarding the Caucasus' Governance" (1865) and "On the Caucasus Military-Civic Administration" (1880). The system of military-civic administration combined the All-Russia system of governance with local, traditional self-government and legal proceedings. The developed blueprint for governance and government support for the spread and establishment of Islam in the Northern Caucasus contributed to the gradual integration of the region into the united single political unit of the Empire. The legal recognition of the need for specific forms of population management in a region and introduction of special territorial bodies for this task were the first steps in legitimization of ethnic origin within the Empire. But now this construct is used for infiltration of radical Islamists and formation of ethnosocial deviations.[1] Soviet Russia, since its political inception, has proclaimed the political right of nations to self-determination, approved in one of the first legal acts by the Soviet Government—The Declaration of the Rights of the Peoples of Russia (2 November, 1917). According to this declaration, the Soviet governance was construed as a Federation of nations.

Complexity of the phenomenon "ethnic tension" has caused difficulties in the organization of the social and economic work focused on prevention of sociopolitical, religious, ethnic tensions. Ethnic identification plays the key role in a life of an individual and society, providing special severity to ethnic conflicts.[2] The regular recurrence of violence testifies to these conflicts' close connection to crime, in particular, against private individuals, as well as state and public authority, governmental security and order.[3] Considering ethnic tensions in the Southern Federal District (SFD), we are addressing not only political, ethnic and religious causes of conflicts, but also their dependence on the ethnic groups themselves, these groups' unifying parameters, the national policy pursued in a country and regions, the research methods used for studying ethnosocial processes and ethnic tensions, etc.

[1] See: I. Karabulatova, I. Mkrtumova, Z. Polivara, B. Akhmetova, S. Galiullina, E. Loskutova, E. Abylkasymov, "Protest Behavior of Present-Day Russian Youth as Ethnosocial Deviation in an Ethnopolitical Conflict-Prone Situation," *Central Asia and the Caucasus*, Vol. 17, Issue 2, 2016, pp. 94-103.

[2] See: G. Osipov, I. Karabulatova, G. Shafranov-Kutsev, L. Kononova, B. Akhmetova, E. Loskutova, G. Niyazova, "Ethnic Trauma and its Echo in Today's Mental Picture of the World among the Peoples of the Post-Soviet States: An Interethnic Conflicting Discourse Unfolding in Russia's Ethnolinguistic Information Space," *Central Asia and the Caucasus*, Vol. 17, Issue 2, 2016, pp. 87-94.

[3] See: I. Mkrtumova, A. Dosanova, I. Karabulatova, V. Nifontov, "The Use of Communication Technologies to Oppose Political-Religious Terrorism as an Ethnosocial Deviation in the Contemporary Information-Digital Society," *Central Asia and the Caucasus*, Vol. 17, Issue 2, 2016, pp. 54-61.

KEYWORDS: ***ethnic relations, ethnic congruence, identity, ethnic tension, expert opinion, the national policy, the South of Russia.***

Introduction

The issue of ethnic relations has always stood out keenly due to the federal structure of our State. Historically, the resettlement of nations in the South of Russia has always featured ethnic diversity; nowadays, the Southern Federal District is inhabited by more than 200 nationalities and ethnic groups, on whose peaceful coexistence hinges the social stability of the region.[4] However, today the threat of the twenty-first century, i.e. the rapid spread of extremism, is causing particular concern not only in Russia, but also in many countries of the world.[5]

In Soviet times, the important fact of institutionalization of the notion of ethnicity were legislative acts, for example, the presence of ethnic identification description in a passport and other legal certificates. But a significantly more powerful influence on the consciousness and ethnic identity as an important attribute of a person in the region has become the tragic event in the history of a number of nations—the deportation of 1944. In the Northern Caucasus, Germans, Ingush, Chechens, Balkars and Karachay were subjected to it. The fact of deportation based on nationality fixed in the public consciousness of the peoples in the region ethnicity as a principle, constituting communal ethos, while generally determining a life of a member of a given ethnic culture. This traumatic occurrence has become fixed in the ethnic self-awareness of the peoples of Russia.[6]

Thus, it is possible to ascertain that besides the traditional institutions recreating ethnic characteristics (language, family, residential community, customs, forms of material culture), for the past century in the region special social institutions were formed supporting re-emergence of ethnic characteristics. The forms of state organization, the educational system, and legislative acts can belong to such institutions, which continually cultivate, reproduce and regenerate the fabric of public (in this case, specific ethnic) relations.

Southern Russia represents the most multinational region of Russia, with a complex ethnic religious composition of the population and different types of a constituent entity of the Russian Federation. As an integrated regional unit, the South of Russia has a complicated socioeconomic, ethnopolitical and administrative structure. In our view, the ethnosocial and ethnopolitical processes taking place here must be regarded as complex and multidimensional phenomena.

In the beginning of the twenty-first century, the key value has been assigned to the study of religiousness in the context of the national civil self-identification of the population, its attitude toward the most acute domestic ethnic problems, as well as the international and inter-state ones in connection with the analysis of the ideological and political preferences and ethnic tolerance.

Ethnic tensions are vividly manifested at the grassroots level as well, where they are a source of conflicts in residential communities, among colleagues, and in political parties. Extremely active role in these processes is played by national elites using ethnic factors as powerful arguments for

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[4] See: A.V. Kariagina, "Mezhetnicheskaia napriazhennost kak faktor rasprostranenia ekstremizma na Iuge Rossii: prichiny i vozmozhnye puti preodolenia," in: *Etnosotsialnye protsessy i riski na Iuge Rossii: materialy Vsesoiuznoi nauchno-prakticheskoi konferentsii, posviashchennoi 75-letiu AGU (25-26 September, 2015, Maykop)*, ed. by R.D. Khunagov, AGU, Maykop, 2015, pp. 146-149; R. Garagozov, "Collective Memory in Ethnopolitical Conflicts: The Case of Nagorno-Karabakh," *Central Asia and the Caucasus*, No. 5 (41), 2006, pp. 145-155; R.D. Khunagov, "Etnosotsialnye protsessy Iuga Rossii: upravliat ili napravliat?" in: *Etnosotsialnye protsessy i riski na Iuge Rossii*… pp. 11-15.

[5] See: V. Akaev, M. Soltamuradov, "Islam: Local Traditions and Innovations in the Context of Russia,"*Central Asia and the Caucasus*, Vol. 17, Issue 1, 2016, pp. 77-83; I. Mkrtumova, A. Dosanova, I. Karabulatova, V. Nifontov, op. cit.; A. Magomedov, R. Nikerov, "Rebel Caucasian Regions on the Brink of Energy Wars," *Central Asia and the Caucasus*, No. 11 (2), 2010, pp. 47-59.

[6] See: G. Osipov, I. Karabulatova, G. Shafranov-Kutsev, L. Kononova, B. Akhmetova, E. Loskutova, G. Niyazova, op. cit.

political discourse.[7] Of great importance is the establishment of a new system of ethnosocial stratification and the changed political and economic statuses of ethnicities. The destruction of the old system of values and norms of conduct significantly increased the importance of ethnic identity and accelerated the processes of forming national self-awareness.

Methods and Materials

The theoretical and methodological basis of the study employed systemic, comparative and stratification approaches, methods of conflict resolution, sociohistorical analysis and concepts of social identification. When writing the article, works of a number of scientists involved in the study of ethnosocial processes and ethnic tensions and who have definitely contributed to the development of theoretical provisions dealing with ethnic relations, were used. In analyzing the development of the regional community of the South of Russia, we consider it necessary to address the methods employed in studying the ethnosocial processes. The authors used the interdisciplinary approach, which has been conducted on the basis of the principles of systematicity, as well as comprehensive and synergistic approaches.

Thus, the scientists of the Adyghe State University were the first to research ethnic identity in the Northern Caucasus, having successfully applied integrated approach to the analysis of different levels of identity in the collective monograph *Mnogourovnevaia identichnost* (Multilevel Identity) (Z. Zhade, E. Kukva, S. Lyausheva, and A. Shadzhe).[8] In 2010, the same team of authors presented the scientific community with the monograph, *Rossiiskaia identichnost na Severnom Kavkaze* (Russian Identity in the Northern Caucasus), whose main idea is described as follows: At the root of nonconfrontational co-existence and interaction between different types of identities lie spiritual values, which evoke in the collective conscience of Russia's citizens a feeling of belonging, a membership in the Russian State, i.e., a Russian identity common to all citizens. This is important both for Russia and for its southern region, since the integration of ethnic, regional, and national identities is a supporting factor for the stability of the region.

R.D. Khunagov's monographs should also be noted: *Lichnost i tsivilizatsia v mire autentichnosti i identichnosti* (Person and Civilization in the World of Authenticity and Identity)[9] and *Globalizatsia kak faktor integratsii chelovechestva: regionalnyi aspekt* (Globalization as the Factor of Integration of Mankind: Regional Aspect), using different contexts in considering ethnosocial and identification processes. The problems of interaction of cultures, ethnic harmony, spiritual values and traditions as antecedents of social stability, social identity, formation of social, ethnic and religious tolerance, the role of education and religion in public life—that is just a small roster of questions being developed by the Scientific School "Sociocultural Processes in the Northern Caucasus: Current Problems" (Chair—Doctor of Sociological Sciences, Professor T.I. Afasizhev).

To resolve given tasks, in-depth surveys and expert surveys were carried out in 2015-2016 in the Republic of Adygea, Krasnodar and the Krasnodar Territory, Rostov-on-Don and the Rostov

[7] See: T.A. Ostrovskaya, I.S. Karabulatova, Z.R. Khachmafova, S.A. Lyaucheva, G.V. Osipov, "The Discourse of the Russian Elite in the ERA 'Liquid' Modernity as a Problem of Ethnic, Social and Cultural Security," *Mediterranean Journal of Social Sciences*, Vol. 6, No. 3S4, 2015, pp. 147-154.

[8] The collective monograph *Multilevel Identity* was acknowledged to be the "best scientific book of 2006," according to the results of the competition for the best scientific book among the instructors of higher educational institutions (Sochi, 2007), and obtained the Diploma of the Foundation of Domestic Education Development and the reward of the Yu.A. Zhdanov Competition of Scientific Works on the Study of the Caucasus and Regional Development of the South of Russia (2007).

[9] See: R.D. Khunagov, *Lichnost i tsivilizatsia v mire autentichnosti i identichnosti*, AGU, Maykop, 2012.

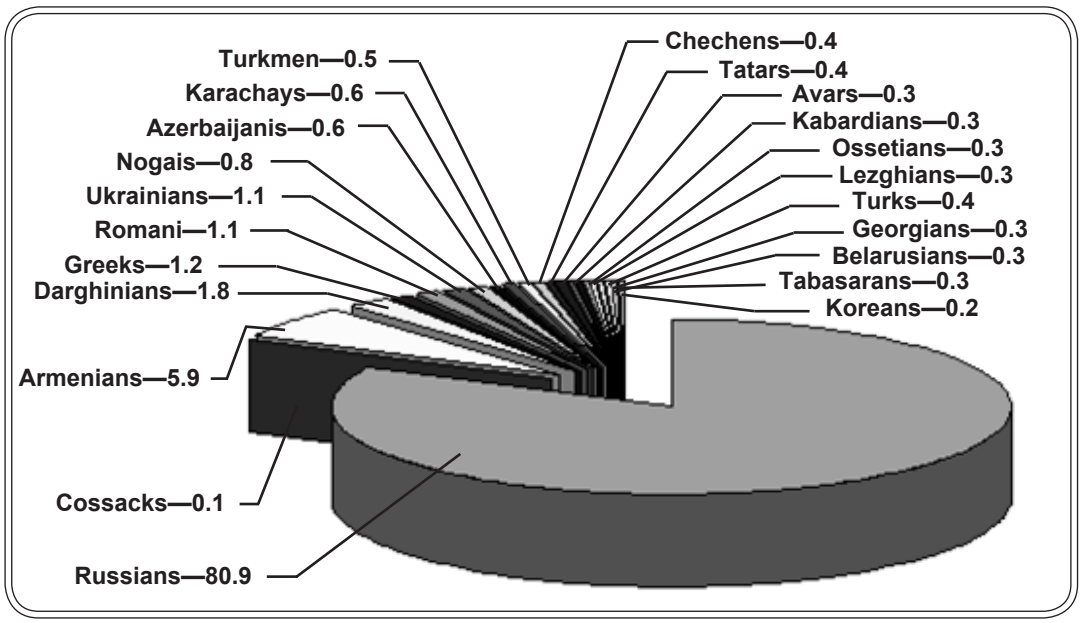
Region, the Republic of Kabardino-Balkaria, Karachay-Cherkessia Republic, in Stavropol. The experts were doctors and professors, public figures from Adygea, Kabardino-Balkaria, Daghestan, Chechnia, Moscow, Krasnodar, Stavropol, Rostov-on-Don—20 people altogether.

Results

Ethnic contradictions possess hierarchical structure: at their basis lie the economic and political interests of national elites, while on the surface the psychological intolerance is exhibited in the form of juxtaposing "us" to "them" or "others," i.e. "hostile."

Figure 1

National (Ethnic) Composition of the Population of the Stavropol Territory (%)



The situation in the Stavropol Territory, which has become the new de facto frontier region of Russia, is typical of the Russian part of the Northern Caucasus. On the one hand, here was formed a centuries-old tradition of peaceful coexistence of many nationalities. On the other—the geopolitical situation of the region, which has become the southern outpost of Russia in the center of ethnically varied population of the troubled Caucasus, makes it a high-risk zone. The massive influx of migrants belonging to different cultures has the effect of stoking ethnic tensions, affecting the attitudes and political biases of the population.

A new geopolitical situation of the Stavropol and Krasnodar territories as border areas, almost "front-line" regions, combined with uncontrolled migration influx from the Southern Caucasus and Daghestan, had a pronounced adverse effect on the ethnic relations in the region.

The nearby North Caucasian republics are perceived by the Stavropol residents mainly as sources of crime, political and social instability. Hence, there is a growing desire to shut themselves off from Chechnia and Daghestan with an "iron curtain."

Figure 2

National (Ethnic) Composition of the Population of the Krasnodar Territory (%)

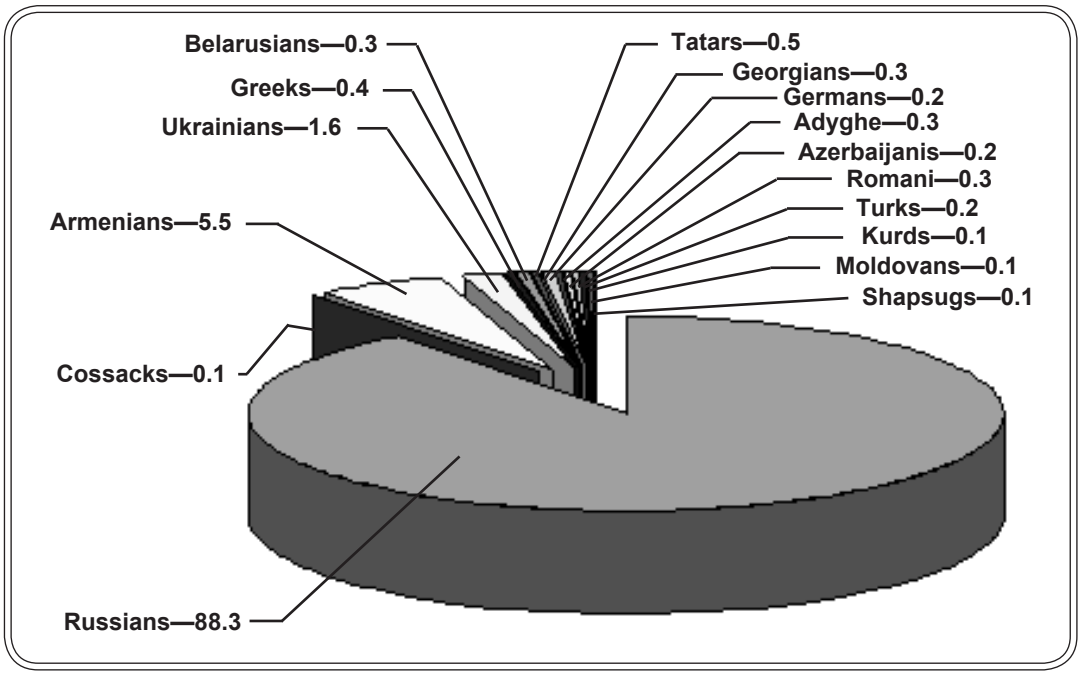
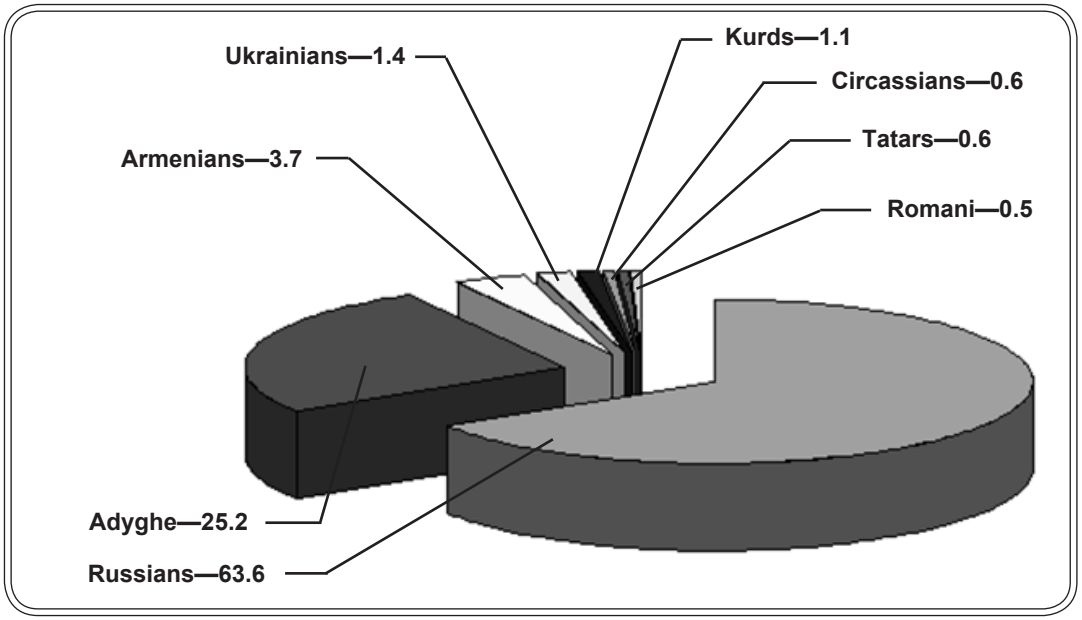


Figure 3

National (Ethnic) Composition of the Population of the Republic of Adygea (%)



In matters of religion, the Stavropol Territory constitutes a border zone between the Orthodox-Christian and Islamic cultures. However, the social impact of these two religious cultures is not the same: the proportion of believers among the Slavic population of Stavropol is 42%, and among the traditionally Muslim ethnic groups—69%.

The current situation in southern Russia is largely determined by the ethnic relations developing in the ethnically varied republics of the Northern Caucasus. Multidirectional ethnic interaction in the region takes place against the background of the North Caucasian ethnic groups' shared desire for self-organization, in the course of which the ethnic component of social identification is effected. Ethnic conflicts are extreme, open forms of ethnic differences.[10] The definition of conflict as "ethnic" is based on categories of measures: the impact of ethnic factors in the development of a conflict must exceed a certain threshold.

In addition to its socio-cultural protective functions, ethnic identity nourishes group cohesion and individual psychological protection, which provides socio-psychological adaptation in difficult conditions of protracted social instability and uncertainty. All this makes ethnicity relevant and, moreover, makes it a means of daily reflection, which determines the nature and orientation of ethnic communication at both the personal and inter-group levels.

Discussion

The extent to which the problem is developed is caused by the following factors. Ethnic sociology emerged only in the second half of the twentieth century. At the same time, it builds on the outstanding theoretical advances in the field of sociology and social anthropology—the works of M. Weber, E. Durkheim and M. Mauss, C. Lévi-Strauss, R. Dahrendorf, P. Sorokin, and others. The 1960s-1970s were dedicated to the process of collecting and processing empirical material: M. Banton, T. Shibutani, and others. The 1980s have enabled a number of theoretical and methodological concepts of ethnicity to be formulated (P. van den Berghe, E. Gellner, and D. Horowitz). The 1990s are marked with a special focus on the applied aspects of ethnic conflicts, development of solutions and their prevention (E. Azar, J. Alexander, J. Coakley, J. Richardson, M. Ross, J. Rothman, T. Saaty, and J. Toland).

In sociology there are two basic approaches to the notion of ethnicity: objective and subjective. The objective approach is predicated on the historically determined homogeneity of culture, language, customs, and territory, and the sense of ethnic identity based on these factors. The subjective approach considers the interests of certain social and political groups (elites), mobilizing ethnic arguments to achieve their goals. There exists the integrated approach that attempts to combine these approaches. The more reasonable approach seems to be the objective one, with its recognized interpretation of ethnic group's dynamics based on objective properties.

In the opinion of the researchers, writing about the ethnopolitical and ethnosocial processes taking place in the Russian Federation is difficult for two reasons. The first difficulty is associated with the complexity of the object of the study: in the country where more than a hundred and fifty ethnic groups live, these processes, of course, are very convoluted and varied. Also complex are the consequences of the efforts that for many decades have been attempted and are still ongoing to manage these processes. The second difficulty facing the researcher of ethnic processes and relations in Russia is related to the status of national scientific and political discourse on the topic. Decades of

[10] See: A. Buttaeva, "Ethnic Relations in Daghestan: Special Features and Current Problems," *Central Asia and the Caucasus*, Vol. 13, Issue 2, 2012, pp. 63-73.

discussions by the participants were not able to produce a single terminology, nor the general understanding of the tasks. In academic and political circles, implicated in ethnic policy, there emerged two approaches on many issues, diametrically opposed to each other. And since everything that has to do with ethnicity is perceived and discussed very emotionally, due to the high value this aspect of human existence has, the confrontation between the representatives of these approaches tends to be very unforgiving.

Many significant theoretical-methodological results in ethnosociology have been obtained by the Russian and Soviet researchers: the development of the theory of ethnos by Yu. Bromley, M. Levin, S. Lurie, S. Shirokogorov, N. Cheboksarov; L. Gumilev's theory of ethnogenesis. The ethnosociological problems were studied by Yu. Arutyunyan, M. Guboglo, L. Drobizheva, S. Tokarev *et al*. The socio-psychological thematics of ethnicity has been investigated by V. Ageev, G. Andreeva, I. Kon, N. Lebedeva, G. Soldatova, and P. Shikhirev.

Ethnopolitical problems became the focus of A. Zdravomyslov, V. Ivanov, G. Mirskiy, E. Pain, E. Stepanov, G. Osipov, V. Tishkov, etc. An important contribution to the development of ethnosociological problems was made by the works of A. Andreev (the concept of two ethnically stained economies), A. Akhiezer (cultural foundations of ethnic conflicts), M. Mnatsakanyan (integral theory of ethnos), V. Radaev, S. Riazantsev (ethnic entrepreneurship), Z. Sikevich (social and psychological foundations of national relations), N. Skvortsov (socio-anthropological approaches to ethnicity).

A special place is given to the problems of the Caucasus, actively being explored by A. Avksentiev, A. Borov, S. Vostrikov, G. Denisova, K. Dzamikhov, V. Makarenko, M. Radovel, R. Riabtsev, B. Khanakhu, R. Khunagov, A. Shadzhe, and others. Volumes of facts on ethnic relations in the national republics and the diasporas has been collected and summarized in the works of M. Arenov, G. Balakina, E. Bondarenko, V. Vinokurova, N. Vitkovskaia, R. Galliamov, L. Zainetdinova, R. Irnazarov, S. Kiselev, Yu. Novak, R. Ryvkina, S. Savoskul, R. Simonian, F. Faizullin, Yu. Khairullina, A. Khalmukhamedova, and E. Yarkova.

However, the collected materials need further study and generalization and a closer examination of socio-structural factors of ethnic relations.

There is a certain investigative implication in implementing practices of psycho-social diagnosis in ethnosocial processes and ethnic tensions. In this regard, the experts were asked to express their attitude toward the research potential of the technique indicated in the context of the study of ethnosocial processes and ethnic tensions.

Most experts are certain that the research methods, tools and instruments used in studying ethnosocial processes and ethnic tensions in the South of Russia are not exhausted and may be expanded both by conducting the research of ethnic interaction jointly by humanitarian and natural sciences and by including methods of social forecasting in studying ethnosocial processes.

Thus, ethnosociological interpretation of ethnosocial processes brings to a focus the consideration of social processes in an ethnic variety and ethnic processes in view of the general social process (studying ethnic processes in various social groups); revealing the influence of various ethnic environments and commonalities on a course of private social processes (social mobility, migration, urbanization), as well as on general social processes (stability and dynamics of social systems and institutions, the level of conflict in a community); the impact of the ethnic factor on mass consciousness (ethnic identity as a form of ethnosocial manifestations, as well as the dynamics of ethnic identity in the context of social change).

In the context of the above, from our point of view, it is necessary to say that it is up to ethnosociology, specifically, to integrate the two inseparable sides of human existence—social and ethnic.

Conclusion

Ethnic conflicts are some of the most dangerous features of our society of the past decades, a source of wars and deaths of people, numerous clashes on a microlevel, and humanitarian problems. In the meantime, ethnic differences themselves do not necessarily lead to tension and conflicts; they only exist when there is an objective shortage of critical resources and, especially, owing to the activity of national elites, designing ethnic identity for solutions to their political problems.[11]

The problems being studied have a solid tradition of research in the various disciplines of socio-humanitarian knowledge: by representatives of political, philosophical and cultural, historical and sociological sciences, each of which operates with the universal and special methods, investigating various aspects of ethnosocial attitudes and processes. Scholars actively study the essence of ethnic interaction; the nature of ethnic conflicts; manifestations of ethnic competition; methods of preventive maintenance of ethnic and religious tension.

In our opinion, the concept "ethnic tension" does not possess such negative connotation as "ethnic conflict" and can be attributed to a society, in which positive and negative stereotypes and identities are presented simultaneously, causing a uniform orientation toward ethnic interaction. We investigate ethnic tension as the integral characteristic of a society, the subjects and objects of which are ethnic groups or their separate representatives, as well as a certain indicative measure of not only social, but also psychological intensity, inherent in any society, irrespective of its ethnic make-up.

In the conducted investigation the majority of the surveyed experts unanimously noted that ethnic tension is a variety of social tension, in which emerging problems acquire an ethnic cast.[12]

By ethnic tension the experts also imply a fixed strain in the relationships between the subjects of social interaction, which identify themselves or other subjects in ethnic categories. A part of surveyed experts, however, assumes that ethnic tension is a form of social tension, which appears as a result of ethnic contradictions, frequently latent. Individual experts emphasize that the ethnic tension is engendered by nonacceptance of diverse particular values or ideals by different ethnic groups, bordering on conflicts and direct confrontations.

At the same time, almost unanimously, experts see ethnic tension as the state of society, in which the contradictions are perceived as ethnically determined and cause alienation, and subsequently, enmity between the ethnic groups. Even in the first approximation, obtained data makes it possible to understand that the problem of tension in ethnic relations has several interconnected measurements.

At present, an increase in ethnic tension is observed by many experts and, obviously, a lot of thorough study of this phenomenon and long work are necessary toward removing and averting conflicts. Since our point at issue is the ethnosocial processes, let us also focus the attention on their difference from the ethnopolitical processes. If the latter examine ethnic groups in the context of the varied forms of their political activity, vis-à-vis the distribution of resources, connected with the power of the state, then ethnosocial processes characterize the distribution of ethnic groups in the social fabric of society and are connected with the social stratification of ethnic groups.

Under the present conditions, the research methods themselves are becoming more sophisticated when applied to the regional community, which is a complex, self-developing system.[13] Discussing this, scholars stress the role and place of the existing traditional and nontraditional dialog institutions in a so-

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[11] See: S.A. Lyausheva, O.I. Kuskarova, "Sushchnost vzaimosviazi sotsialnoi, kulturnoi i etnicheskoi identichnostei v sovremennom rossiiskom obshchestve," *Sotsialno-gumanitarnye znania*, No. 7, 2014, pp. 22-27.

[12] See: A.S. Alamakhina, "Etnicheskie stereotipy na Iuge Rossii: genesis i znachenie v mezhetnicheskom vzaimodeistvii," in: *Etnosotsialnye protsessy i riski na Iuge Rossii*… pp. 60-62.

[13] See: R.D. Khunagov, Z.A. Zhade, "Etnosotsialnye protsessy kak ob'ekt nauchnogo poiska," *Sotsialno-gumanitarnye znania*, No. 9, 2015, pp. 136-142.

ciety, on the perfected basis of which it may be possible to build a model for innovational development of the region.[14] Therefore, the principal way of resolution of ethnic conflicts consists of their depolitization, transfer of ethnic energy into the sphere of culture, where it is capable of becoming a fruitful source of unique development of different civilizations. The awareness of having membership in a specific ethnic group does not invalidate the awareness of simultaneous belonging to the multinational Federation, the territory of which can provide for peaceful coexistence of tens and hundreds of ethnic groups.

[14] See: A.Yu. Shadzhe, S.A. Lyausheva, "Dialog: metodologia formirovania mezhetnicheskogo soglasia v regione," *Sotsialno-gumanitarnye znania*, No. 9, 2015, pp.150-157.

TRADITIONAL ADYGHE STEREOTYPES WITHIN THE ETHNIC TOLERANCE/INTOLERANCE DICHOTOMY AS A FACTOR OF ETHNIC EVOLUTION IN THE NORTHERN CAUCASUS

Rashid KHUNAGOV

D.Sc. (Sociol.), Professor, Chancellor of the Adyghe State University (Maykop, Republic of Adygea, Russian Federation)

Asfar SHAOV

D.Sc. (Philos.), Assistant Professor, Department of Philosophy and Sociology, Adyghe State University (Maykop, Republic of Adygea, Russian Federation)

Svetlana LYAUSHEVA

D.Sc. (Philos.), Professor, Department of Philosophy and Sociology, Adyghe State University (Maykop, Republic of Adygea, Russian Federation)

Vyacheslav NEKHAI

D.Sc. (Sociol.), Assistant Professor, Department of Philosophy and Sociology, Adyghe State University (Maykop, Republic of Adygea, Russian Federation)

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ABSTRACT

The ethnosocial processes unfolding in the sociocultural space of the Adyghe have demonstrated that globalization is more than an entropic challenge to ethnocultural identity; it expands the space of ethnic communication through cooptation of universal humanistic values, while preserving ethnocultural authenticity.[1] *The cultural impact of the Western and Eastern (Islamic) civilizations and the Russian culture in particular in the Northern Caucasus has not engulfed the very specific local culture. This impact can be felt, but cultural elements are never borrowed.*[2] *The external and internal cultural impact in the Northern Caucasus is transformed and reshaped into the region's civilizational and cultural specifics during extremely complicated and dynamic integration/disintegration interaction. The sociocultural processes in the Northern Caucasus, which civilizationally remains a multi-layered structure, are fairly risky.*[3] *This unique sociocultural phenomenon rests on the specific autochthonous culture of local societies with Arab Muslim, Russian, and Western cultural layers.*[4] *Its transformations are caused by narrowing down the spheres of the Russian and Western layers or squeezing them out altogether, as well as an expansion of the Arab-Islamic cultural component. In this context, we should analyze the region's negative image stemming from the ethnic stereotypes tagged to the local peoples. Today, the commonly shared opinion of the North Caucasian peoples are based on outdated and yet very much alive stereotypes to a much greater extent than before, even though the rising regional tension makes it much more important to arrive at adequate and unbiased ideas about them. It should be said that people with superficial ideas about members of any ethnicity tend to rely on stereotypical opinions. To look into the genesis and assess the importance of the Adyghe ethnic stereotypes and their role in ethnic interaction, we have discussed the role of ethnic stereotypes in the region and identified the most common and the most substantiated among them. Study of the ethnic stereotypes of the Adyghe as regulators of internal social behavior when dealing with "others" ("aliens") has supplied us with an idea of the evolutionary processes among the North Caucasian peoples.*

[1] See: I.S. Karabulatova, "The Problems of Linguistic Modeling of New Eurasian Linguistic Personality in Multilinguistic and Mental Environment (by example of onomasphere)," *Middle-East Journal of Scientific Research,* No. 17 (6), 2013, pp. 791-795.

[2] See: N.G. Khairullina, I.S. Karabulatova, M.F. Shvedova, K.K. Koyshe, "Tatars of Siberia: Religious Rebirth and Identity Problems," *Terra Sebus: Acta Musei Sabesiensis*, No. 7, 2015, pp. 565-583.

[3] See: R.D. Khunagov, A.Y. Shadzhe, "The Caucasian Factor in Contemporary Russia," *Sotsiologicheskie issledovania*, No. 3, 2001, pp. 77-80.

[4] See: O. Bubenok, "The Adyghe Factor in the Ethnopolitical Development of the Northern Caucasus," *Central Asia and the Caucasus*, Vol. 16, Issue 2, 2015, pp. 131-142.

KEYWORDS: ***ethnic stereotypes, ethnic attitudes, intercultural communication, ethnic harmony, tolerance/intolerance, the Adyghe, the Northern Caucasus.***

Introduction

We all know that ethnic stereotypes dominate in interethnic attitudes. Indeed, all sorts of distinctive features normally crop up as stable social, mainly ethnic, prejudices, stereotypes, and clichés. In

most cases, they are negative and very tenacious. Social clichés and stereotypes (this refers to all, not only ethnic stereotypes) are riveted to clear and distinctive specifics built around tenacious ideas about the appearances of a certain people, its historical past, the specifics of its way of life, and its work habits. Ethnic stereotypes are widely used by political technologists for modeling and fanning ethnic conflicts.

In Russia, a country with the world's greatest number of peoples and nationalities, ethnic conflicts occupy a special place. Confronted with frequent ethnic conflicts, Russia has elaborated all sorts of tools and devised all kinds of means and methods of conflict settlement. This fully applies to the Russian Empire and the Soviet Union. Many of the methods employed in the past have proven their efficiency; therefore, they should be studied and used today. All experts agree that the failures in this sphere played an important role in the Soviet Union's disintegration.

Ethnic problems are very noticeable at the micro level as the cause of conflicts among neighbors and colleagues and in political parties. The fact that the old system of values and norms of behavior crumbled has added special importance to ethnic identity and accelerated the processes of forming national self-awareness. National elites that rely on the ethnic factor as a powerful argument in political discourse have an important role to play in these processes. A new system of ethnosocial stratification and the changed political and economic statuses of ethnicities are, likewise, of great importance.[5]

The ethnic sphere is very sensitive to all sorts of problems and very vulnerable. It accumulates all the contradictions that emerge in the economic, political, and the social sphere. Indeed, a far from easy economic situation, plummeting living standards, and undeveloped infrastructure might cause ethnic tension in any polyethnic region. In fact, ethnicity was and remains an argument in the struggle for power, property, and regional privileges, hence the trend toward decentralization and isolation of the administrative regions according to ethnic origins. The Northern Caucasus with its polyethnic republics is obvious evidence of the above.

Methods and Materials

The range of problems outlined above relies on a fairly long tradition of studies by political scientists, philosophers, culturologists, historians, and sociologists who relied on universal and special methods to look into various aspects of ethnosocial relations and processes: the essence of interaction among ethnic groups; the nature of ethnic conflicts; signs of ethnic rivalry, and ways to prevent ethnic and confessional tension.

This work was carried out within the neo-classical meta-paradigm of sociological studies based on the principles and attitudes of classical and non-classical science. The poly-paradigmatic approach, a combination of the provisions of primordialism, constructivism, and instrumentalism, was used as the main, indispensable, and theoretically justified methodological approach to the analysis of ethnic identity. It was used because it is otherwise impossible, for objective reasons, to identify the correlation between the types of social identity (ethnic, local, regional, religious, and national-civil) and the components of ethnic identity within the framework of one theoretical trend.

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[5] See: S.V. Ryazantsev, I.S. Karabulatova, R.V. Mashin, E.E. Pismennaya, S.Yu. Sivoplyasova, "Actual Problems of Human Trafficking in Illegal Immigration in the Russian Federation," *Mediterranean Journal of Social Sciences*, Vol. 6, No. 3S1, 2015, pp. 621-626; I.S. Karabulatova, B.Z. Akhmetova, "Characteristics of Social-Cultural Vitality of Modern Russian Settlements of the Former Gorky Line of Kazakhstan," *Mediterranean Journal of Social Sciences*, Vol. 6, No. 3S4, 2015, pp. 201-206; E.S. Kukva, "Severo-Kavkazskiy region kak prostranstvo sotsiokulturnykh riskov," *Rossia i musulmanskiy mir,* No. 4 (274), 2015, pp. 57-64.

This article relies on the structural-functional approach (the interpretation of an individual as an active subject of action); the systemic approach, which takes into account the functions and structures of the social system in shaping ethnic identity; the humanistic approach, which analyzes the sociocultural attitudes designed to establish the principles of tolerance in society; and symbolic interactionism, which points to the importance of symbols fraught with social information.

In our study of the ethnosocial processes at the individual and group levels, we relied on Erik Ericson's theory of identity development; Henri Tajfel's theory of social identity and its provision of intergroup comparison and social categorization; the theoretical concepts of social stereotype (V. Ageev, H. Duijker, O. Klineberg, L.H. Strickland, V. Trusov, P. Shikhirev, and T. Shibutani); Galina Soldatova's conceptual provisions of transformations of ethnic identity; problems of ethnic tolerance, interconnections, and positive ethnic identity (N. Lebedeva, A. Petritskiy, and G. Soldatova); and concepts elaborated by psychologists, ethnographers, and sociologists that reveal the main content of ethnic identity (Yu. Arutyunyan, Yu. Bromley, B. Viner, L. Drobizheva, I. Zarinov, A. Zdravomyslov, I. Kon, E. Kolpakov, S. Lurye, S. Rybakov, G. Soldatova, Yu. Semenov, S. Sokolovskiy, T. Stefanenko, S, Cheshko, and others).

The vast number of documents on archeology, ethnography, and pre-Soviet history of Adygea comprises a valuable foundation for the study of the ethnopolitical processes of the latter half of the 20th-first quarter of the 21st century, since all of the individual and highly specific features of these processes were inherited from the Adyghe's traditional way of life. Ethnographic and archeological works occupy an even larger place than the contributions to historical research. The ethnographic works related to the state of the spiritual and material culture of the Adyghe in the studied period and their everyday life are extremely important for our understanding of the key ethnopolitical processes among the Adyghe, partly because they rely on the authors' field studies. They have filled the gap, inevitable in contemporary conditions: some traditions have disappeared, while people of certain ages cannot be interviewed because these age groups can no longer be found.

Our research relied on statistical data, folklore materials registered earlier, the authors' empirical studies, and the results of sociological polls.

We analyze the ethnic stereotypes of the Adyghe largely based on their traditional socionormative system. It should be said that all ethnic cultures in the West and the East have carefully preserved a certain code of honor based on concepts that determine the moral and ethical rules for all social groups. These codes of ethnosocial rules are called "yola" among the Bashkirs; "apsaura" among the Abkhasians; "nokhchalla" among the Chechens; and "adygag'e" among the Adyghe.

Adygag'e, the traditional social regulatory system of the Adyghe is supported by Adyghe khabze. The term is a combination of two parts:

(a) feudal law and its civil, labor, judicial, administrative, etc. branches;

(b) traditional Adyghe etiquette: generally accepted principles and rules of behavior. This means that Adyghe khabze is both a moral and legal code. The word "khabse" means the universal method or mechanism of production and reproduction of social contacts and relations, associated in everyday life with norms, customs, rituals, rites, traditions, and habits.

According to Barasbi Bgazhnokov, Adyghe khabze is a truthful reflection of the syncretism of the socionormative culture of feudal Circassia, in which legal and moral-ethical norms and attitudes have been functioning and actively interacting within one and the same system.[6] Perfectly suited to

[6] See: A. Cherkes, "Ideologiya adygstva," 2011, available at [http://www.aheku.org/page-id.- 2320.html], 28 June, 2016.

the conditions and everyday requirements, khabze became the regulatory skeleton of the phenomenon of Adyghe-ism.

The organizational unity of Adyghe khabze and adygag'e raised the role and authority of each of them. Indeed, on the one hand, moral justification of the legal norms added to their social value and, therefore, efficiency; the role of norms of behavior and etiquette grew for the simple reason that some of them were also legal norms. In this way, the moral-ethical and legal code of the Adyghe was internationally recognized and, as such, promoted integration of the peoples and cultures of the Northern Caucasus. The Adyghe etiquette rests on common human and, therefore, global communicative (everyday) norms of behavior and ways people can communicate and express their respect of others. They are supported by habits and public opinion and sanctions practically always limited to reproaches and censures. Adyghe khabze includes ritual and ceremonial khabze: marriages, funerals, births, feasts, and hospitality.

Results

We have hypothesized that ethnic identity among the Adyghe is coming to the fore to oppose the unifying impacts of globalization and the increasingly variegated identity caused by mutual cultural impacts.

One of the key mechanisms for overcoming ethnic tension and establishing peaceful interaction between the hosts and the migrants could develop into unofficial peacekeeping or people's diplomacy. We all know that since ancient times the Caucasian peoples have not only been actively developing the art of warfare, but also the traditions of peacekeeping and the related procedures, a reverse side of their militancy and aggression, that is, a type of compensatory mechanism of tension containment.

Each type of social identity has its own configuration that determines, in the final analysis, the conditions of ethnic stabilization in a polyethnic region. The ethnic identity of the North Caucasian ethnicities is multilayered with regional identity playing the main role. Crisis and stronger awareness of ethnic identity have intensified the Adyghe's religious identity, the two identities being closely related. The crisis of ethnic identity has added consequence to the sociological analysis needed to reveal the best strategies of interethnic behavior of smaller ethnicities (based on the example of the Adyghe) in conditions of ethnic tension and potential conflicts. The Adyghe etiquette presupposes that children should be raised as physically and morally healthy individuals able to discern the strong and weak sides in all people.

Circassian hospitality, very much like all other social institutions, goes back to the distant past; its content has corresponded at all times to the socioeconomic conditions of the society in which it functioned. The unique nature of Adyghe hospitality rests on basic principles, such as the guests' safety, greeting rituals, ways of communication, etc. that are identical to the main requirements of diplomacy of all times and among all peoples; these principles make the Adyghe hospitality similar to the ancient Greek institution of proxenia. The guest was sacralized by the host, a folk Adyghe saying, "Guests are sent by God" (Хlэщэр Тхьэм и лIыкIуэщ), being ample confirmation of the above. The Adyghe built special guest houses (*kh'achesh*) to help their guests feel free and comfortable. Richer Adyghe built guest houses at some distance from the main house so that guests could come and go as they pleased.

The following sayings can be described as a hospitality code of sorts of the Adyghe:

A closely-knit herd is not afraid of wolves.	Іэхъогъу зэдэзыштэмкІэ тыгъужъыри щынагъоп.
If you permit one man to trick you three times, you are a fool; if you fall into the same pit thrice, you are blind.	А зы нэбгырэм щэ уигъапцІэмэ—удэл, а зы машэм щэ уифэмэ—унэшъу.
The Adyghe guest is safe as if he is in a fortress.	Адыгэ хакІэ пытапІэ ис.
Reasonable people know how to control themselves.	Акъыл зиІэм щэІагъэ иІ.

N o t e: The sayings are taken from [https://aheku.net/articles/adgb/psalalexer/psatle], 20 June, 2016.

At the moment a stranger enters the house of a Circassian he can count on his host's special patronage, who should feed the guest, offer him a place to sleep, look after his horse, and accompany him along the safest of roads or, if he is in danger, take him to one of his friends in the nearest village. "Not infrequently, this chance encounter develops into friendship: the host and the guest become kunaks."[7]

The Adyghe code of honor says that any man, even an enemy, should be respected as an individual. This means that the host should receive anybody, whether an Adyghe, a foreigner, or a deadly enemy, as a guest. Adygag'e, a system of tolerance in relations with other peoples conducive to friendly ties and contacts and, therefore, to the export of their norms to the global sociocultural milieu, helps the Adyghe join globalization.

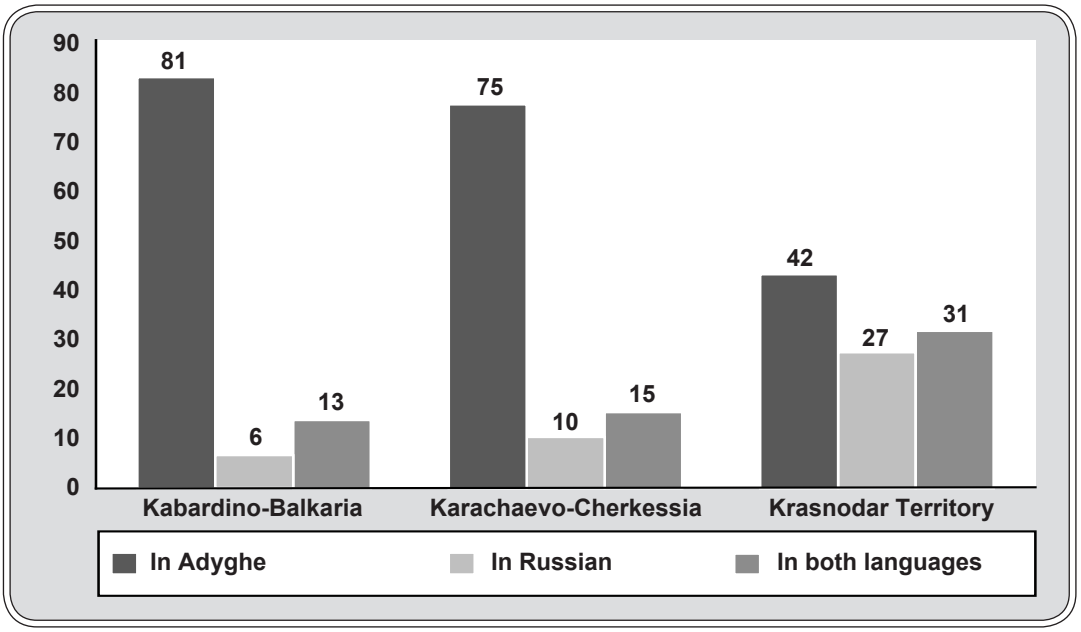
The common linguistic space might help the small peoples survive in conditions of globalization. From time immemorial, language has been a form of the existence of consciousness, a tool of cognition of reality, and a method for preserving and transferring information from generation to generation. This makes it a factor of social integration by creating a sustainable linguistic environment that produces a unified perception of reality. The national language dominates in the hierarchy of ethnic diacritics; it is important for the continued existence of an ethnic community and reproduction of ethnic identity. The ethnic ties in the studied communities are strong and help preserve ethnic homogeneity. In the context of stable national relations, positive ethnic identity based on objective cultural distinctions rather than on ideological and political differences predominates. The current processes of unification of ethnocultural specifics, openness to different ethnic cultures, and education in non-native languages, coupled with the weakly developed social sphere and economy, have devalued many of the ethnic components and inflated the status of other ethnic determinants.

This is especially noticeable in conditions of globalization that imports standards of interaction (language, clothing, and etiquette) and plays down the integrating functions of an ethnic language. Globalization is spreading the languages of international communication (the English language in particular) among the Adyghe, which is rejecting Adyghe words from the typical Adyghe recitative. The problem is even bigger: among the Adyghe, bilingualism is gradually cutting down the number of those who use the Circassian language. According to the sociological poll (the sampling of 601) carried out by the collective of authors in 2006-2007 in the Republic of Adygea, 57% of the respondents used the Adyghe language, 16% used Russian, while 27% preferred two languages in their families. In 2010-2011, the share of those who used their native language in families dropped to 51%; while 22% preferred Russian; the share of those who used both languages remained the same—27%.

[7] A.T. Afasizhev, T.I. Afasizhev, *T.I. Nogmon i Khan-Girey: sotsialnye idei Adygov,* AYAKS, Maykop, 2000, p. 128.

Diagram 1

Distribution of the Respondents Using Their Native Languages, Russian or Two Languages in Kabardino-Balkaria, Karachaevo-Cherkessia and the Black Sea Shapsugia, and the Krasnodar Territory (*in % of the number of the polled*)



The diagram shows that the native language is highly popular among the Kabardians and Circassians, and that it is actively supported by the conservative-minded groups. In the Krasnodar Territory, on the other hand, where the Adyghe comprise less that 1% of the total population (the 2010 and 2011 all-Russia population census) and live in the polyethnic milieu and actively communicate with other peoples, the Adyghe language is less widely used.

Monitoring ethnopolitical processes and forecasting events lead to timely and justified decisions.

Discussion

Three approaches—primordialism, constructivism, and instrumentalism—stand apart from the multitude of concepts produced by the study of ethnic identity that offer different interpretations of the functioning and reproduction of ethnic identity in contemporary Russian society. This confrontation is overcome within the poly-paradigmatic approach orientated toward study of the functioning of ethnic identity in its three-dimensional manifestation and serving as the foundation of the methodological construct of this analysis. Used within the poly-paradigmatic approach, the main provisions of each of the concepts no longer contradict one another, since the multitude of identity types justifies or even calls for the use of this approach as the most acceptable: it reveals all sides of ethnic identity and explains the ethnic processes going on in polyethnic societies that refuse to fit the theoretical

constructs of any individual contemporary concept of ethnic identity.[8] Applied to the study of ethnic macro identities, the poly-paradigmatic approach calls for the use of constructivism and instrumentalism, ethnic mezoidentity and microidentity, and the provisions of primordialism on the highly stable nature of ethnicity and its objective origins.[9]

The activities of the national elites that rely on ethnic arguments to achieve their political aims are an important, or possibly the most important, factor in forming ethnic identity. People en masse are unaware of these manipulations and remain convinced that nationality is mainly an objective feature. In a polycultural milieu, it is wise to remain tolerant and try to understand what others are saying.

Conclusion

Today, the nature of ethnic relations in Adyghe society allows us to identify the degree of tolerance in this polyethnic region as fairly high; this, however, does not exclude latent intolerance in the public consciousness and behavior. Ethnic tolerance relies on positive ethnic identity, while highly expressed ethnic identity stirs up ethnic and religious differentiation and, hence, ethnic intolerance.[10]

On the whole, however, the Adyghe are tolerant in their relations with other peoples, while their weakly expressed intolerance speaks of their clear ethnic identity and an inadequate integration policy.[11] Intolerance is fanned by the ideological constructs of ethnic intelligentsia, the members of which tend to set the North Caucasian peoples against one another; they prefer to keep the old insults and national humiliation alive, thus preserving the foundations of ethnic intolerance.

After analyzing the region as a complex system, we concluded that to continue functioning as a successful and developing system, the Northern Caucasus needs the best possible interaction of ethnocultural, regional, and Russian national identities, and that the varied structures, which are far removed from one another, should be brought closer together.

We should replace the lineal paradigm of thinking with the non-lineal if we want to understand the processes of self-organization and management of the complicated ethnosocial systems. This means that we should move toward harmony and agreement achieved through dialog and acceptance of the different interests of different social groups and, therefore, should learn to be tolerant. The admission that management and directing are interconnected and that ethnosocial processes should be administered in this way will allow us to arrive at the much needed strategies of innovational development of the North Caucasian region.

It should be said that ethnic tension might increase if we fail to actively promote the culture of ethnic relations and if the balance of interests of different ethnicities living in the same territory is destroyed. This means that the state power bodies should preserve this balance in ethnocultural de-

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[8] See: G. Osipov, I. Karabulatova, G. Shafranov-Kutsev, L. Kononova, B. Akhmetova, E. Loskutova, G. Niyazova, "Ethnic Trauma and its Echo in Today's Mental Picture of the World among the Peoples of the Post-Soviet States: An Interethnic Conflicting Discourse Unfolding in Russia's Ethnolinguistic Information Space," *Central Asia and the Caucasus*, Vol. 17, Issue 2, 2016, pp. 87-94; A. Salgiriev, "The Northern Caucasus: Tribal-Clan Structure of the Political Elites as a Factor of Political Tension," *Central Asia and the Caucasus*, Vol. 17, Issue 1, 2016, pp. 29-35.

[9] See: R.D. Khunagov, A.Y. Shadzhe, E.A. Sheudzhen, E.S. Kukva, "Cultural Identification Processes in the Modernizing North Caucasus," *Mediterranean Journal of Social Sciences*, 2015, Vol. 6, No. 5, Supplement 1, Rome, Italy.

[10] See: S.A. Lyausheva, "Sviashchennoe v religioznom soznanii adygov," in: *Mir kultury adygov*, ed. by R.A. Khanakhu, GURIPP Adygea, Maykop, 2002, pp. 139-146.

[11] See: E.S. Kukva, op. cit.

velopment to arrive at a high and sustainable culture of ethnic interaction and an All-Russia identity in the members of ethnic communities living in the Republic of Adygea. We should improve the normative legal basis related to the educational, cultural, linguistic, ethical, and other interests of the people. The relations between different nations require flexible state policies in the nationality sphere and new technologies to create new ideas about the coexistence of peoples based on traditional Adyghe etiquette.

THE TRADITIONAL ADYGHE CULTURE IN THE CONTEXT OF GLOBALIZATION: SOCIAL INTEGRATION AS A FACTOR OF DEFUSING ETHNIC TENSION IN THE CAUCASUS

Svetlana LYAUSHEVA

D.Sc. (Philos.), Professor,
Department of Philosophy and Sociology, Adyghe State University
(Maykop, Republic of Adygea, Russian Federation)

Vyacheslav NEKHAI

D.Sc. (Sociol.), Assistant Professor,
Department of Philosophy and Sociology, Adyghe State University
(Maykop, Republic of Adygea, Russian Federation)

Rashid KHUNAGOV

D.Sc. (Sociol.), Professor,
Chancellor of the Adyghe State University
(Maykop, Republic of Adygea, Russian Federation)

Bela SHKHACHEMUKOVA

Post Graduate Student, Adyghe State University
(Maykop, Republic of Adygea, Russian Federation)

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ABSTRACT

The phenomenon of Adygag'e as an institutional determinant of integration of the Circassians, together with religion as an ideological and language as an instrumental determinant, may act as a factor of sociocultural unification of the Adyghe ethnicity. Their common social-integrative potential may help the Adyghe culture preserve its unique axiological world and forms of organization of social existence. The authors have studied the specifics of the emergence of the Adyghes' social-integrative potential in its historical perspective based on "Adygag'e" as a social-regulatory system. On the one hand, globalization, which irrevocably intrudes into the spiritual sphere of the smaller peoples, the Circassians being one of them, is destroying the national partitions and importing global (not necessarily American or Western) values, thus unifying ethnic cultures. On the other hand, its positive achievements can be used to obtain advantages unheard of prior to the 3rd millennium: each ethnicity can give the world the unique features of its culture. In the postcontemporary world, in which globalization creates localization, while localization, in turn, leads to globalization, it has become especially important to study all transformations of the ethno-linguistic cultures.[1] *The North Caucasian peoples will have no choice but to adjust themselves to the development of world civilization. They will have to look for their place in the emerging world order, as well as their road to the future and a new self-identity in the context of the sociocultural and geopolitical processes unfolding in the region and around it. It seems that the time has come to study the role ethnic cultures have played at different times in history and in different political contexts and to identify the principles and methods of an analysis of culture as a social phenomenon, its aims and potentials within a sociocultural analysis, and the conditions, tasks, and boundaries within which cultural policy can be realized in the Caucasus. The social transformations going on in Russia in the conditions of globalization are changing the way of life of the peoples and their cultural landmarks. It remains to be seen which of the structures of ethnic culture will be affected and to what extent, as well as the direction in which these changes will move. The answers to these questions are of immense importance for a better understanding of the sociocultural practices in Russia as a whole and in its polyethnic regions in particular (Adygea being one of them). The peoples of Russia, the Caucasian peoples in the first place, are keenly aware of the critical reassessment of their cultural-civilizational identity, which is manifested in forms of sociocultural, ethnopolitical, and national self-awareness.*

[1] See: I.S. Karabulatova, "The Problems of Linguistic Modeling of New Eurasian Linguistic Personality in Multilinguistic and Mental Environment (by example of onomasphere)," *Middle-East Journal of Scientific Research,* No. 17 (6), 2013, pp. 791-795.

KEYWORDS: ***socio-integrative potential, socio-normative system, globalization, Adygag'e, traditional culture, modernization.***

Introduction

Today cultural dynamics of the ethnicities of Russia, the Adyghe ethnicities among them, has attracted a lot of attention from scholars of all disciplines, ethnology, religious, cultural and political

studies, sociology, and other related disciplines. At the current stage of the development of Russian society, the place and role of culture in Adyghe society has acquired special importance, as well as its correlation with other social sciences and its structure and functioning in various social strata, classes, and groups. This is equally true of the social content of Adyghe culture, as its social-integrating potential is very much needed to reduce ethnic tension in the Caucasus and to overcome crises of all types.[2]

Social culturological studies are intended to identify the multicultural forces of the Adyghe ethnicity responsible for the dynamics of the Adyghe culture in the past and today, when it has become acutely aware of the drama of sociocultural transformation.

This explains the theoretical and practical importance of studying the core (inherited from the past of the sociocultural space of the Northern Caucasus) and the periphery in its later transformation. It is equally urgent to discuss the Adyghe culture in the context of identifying its central part (the core) and components or environment—institutions of culture and elements and components of culture. This stimulates specific studies in the sphere of sociology, the sociology of culture in particular. The core of any culture absorbs the values, rules of activities, standards and norms of behavior produced during the course of history of the ethnicity. This means that we should pay particular attention to the structures in which the cultural component of the core of the Adyghe culture is realized in order to be able to analyze the content of different spheres of public activities and its sociocultural practices.

The new era of globalization, the transfer to the market economy, and democratization of the social and political sphere, which has imposed new and fairly alien cultural patterns on the Adyghe, has put the traditional Adyghe culture to a test of strength. On the one hand, globalization, which incorporates the values of mass culture into the consciousness of smaller ethnicities, deprives the cultural core of its values and erodes its basic elements.[3] On the other hand, the electronic-information society eliminates state borders, while globalization gives the smaller ethnicities the opportunity to translate the values of their cultures worldwide and support economic, political, and cultural ties between the ethnicities and their diasporas. This means that the Adyghe people (there are from 3 to 7 million, according to different sources, living in more than 70 countries) should work hard to preserve their identity. In fact this means that the traditional Adyghe culture should be adapted to the process of modernization and, on the other hand, adapt innovations to the cultural core.[4]

Study of the traditional in the Adyghe culture clarifies the role of the traditions that connect the past, present, and future and their responsibility for the homogeneity of the cultural core that shapes the history of the ethnicity throughout its existence. This explains the current sociocultural processes unfolding in the Republic of Adygea and across the Northern Caucasus.

We have turned to this subject to identify the specifics of the ethnosocial processes in the context of implementing the project of forming a civil nation and ensuring civil unity in Russia.

The polyethnic nature of the population of Russia makes the search for ways to optimize the ethnosocial processes an objectively necessary condition of social and political stability, as well as ethnic and confessional harmony. This is the key task of state governance; no dynamic functioning and development of the country is possible unless this task is resolved.

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[2] See: E. Ermakova, M. Jilkisheva, G. Fayzullina, I. Karabulatova, and Kh. Shagbanova, "The Media and Fiction: Postmodernist Discourse of Contemporary Terrorism in the Context of Apocalyptic Rhetoric," *Central Asia and the Caucasus,* Issue 2, Vol. 17, 2016, pp. 61-69.

[3] See: B. Ghosh, "Cultural Changes and Challenges in the Era of Globalization," *Journal of Developing Societies,* SAGE Publications, No. 27 (2), 2011, pp. 153-175.

[4] See: S.A. Lyausheva, "Sviashchennoe v religioznom soznanii adygov," in: *Mir kutury adygov*, ed. by R.A. Khanakhu, GURIPP Adygea, Maykop, 2002, pp. 139-146.

Methods and Materials

The transfer from the state-centric to the national-civil matrix of a common Russian identity needs an interdisciplinary approach.[5] Actualization of the ethnic factor in the life of many states and the world community as a whole that took place late in the last century not merely triggered numerous studies of ethnicities and the related processes and phenomena, but also required wider scientific generalizations, theoretical models of ethnosocial and ethnopolitical processes, and mechanisms of their regulation. The theoretical and methodological approaches to the study of these processes and the technologies of their administration formulated at that time have become inadequate today.

At the same time, our studies of culture as a metaprogram of human activities relied on the ideas of G. Drach, A. Lubskiy, and V. Stepan; study of the structure of culture and its dynamics were based on the ideas of A.L. Kroeber, B. Malinovskiy, T. Parsons, and P. Sorokin. When studying the conditions in which the core of a culture takes shape, we proceeded from the ideas found in the works of G. Drach, A. Druzhinin, B. Erasov, C. Kluckhohn, A.L. Kroeber, W. McNeill, A. Rakitov, J. Stuart, S. Sushchiy, A. Toynbee, E. Shils, O. Spengler, and Sh. Eisenstadt. The theoretical constructs and concepts found in the works of B. Bgazhnokov, S. Lyausheva, R. Khanakhu, and A. Shadzhe played an important methodological role in our understanding of the core of the Adyghe culture.

Our studies of the axiological invariants of the core of the Adyghe culture are based on the ideas of G. Vyzhletsov, F. Znanetskiy, M. Kagan, H. Rickert, M. Rokeach, G. Allport, and W. Thomas. The works of A. Rakitov, A. Toynbee, S. Huntington, E. Shils, and Sh. Eisenstadt helped us reveal the structure of the periphery of the Adyghe culture. When analyzing the transformation of the Adyghe culture in the 16th-20th centuries we proceeded from the theory of diffusion and the concept of cultural circles of E. Nordenskiöld and F. Ratzel, as well as the theoretical propositions of F. Graebner, W. Koppers, L. Frobenius, and W. Schmidt about the development of culture and its elements.

The traditional ethnic cultures contain the ideas of the moral and ethical code that every population strata accepted: it is called *yola* among the Bashkirs, *nokhchalla* among the Chechens, *apsaura* among the Abkhazians, and *Adygag'e* among the Adyghe.

Barasbi Bgazhnokov looks at the Adygag'e as a complicated axiological-ethic system based on terminal (basic) and instrumental values. In the system of Adyghe ethics, humanity plays the role of the terminal value, all other values forming an instrumental subsystem of the Adygag'e. In practical terms, it expects the individual to be kind, responsive, respectful, and magnanimous for the sake of the supreme value, humanity. Barasbi Bgazhnokov has built the architectonic of the Adygag'e based on the above:[6]

This is confirmed by the results of the sociological study titled *The Cultural-Ethical Phenomenon of Adygag'e in Contemporary Consciousness and Behavior of the Adyghe* carried out by the Department of Philosophy and Sociology of the Republican Institute of Humanitarian Studies (ARIGI) in 1995-2000 in Shapsugia (the Black Sea), Adygea, Kabardino-Balkaria, Karachaevo-Cherkessia, Moscow, St. Petersburg, Krasnodar, and Istanbul. A random sampling of 2,500 ensured highly reliable results with a deviation of +5. It turned out that over 30% of the respondents associate Adygag'e with humanity.[7]

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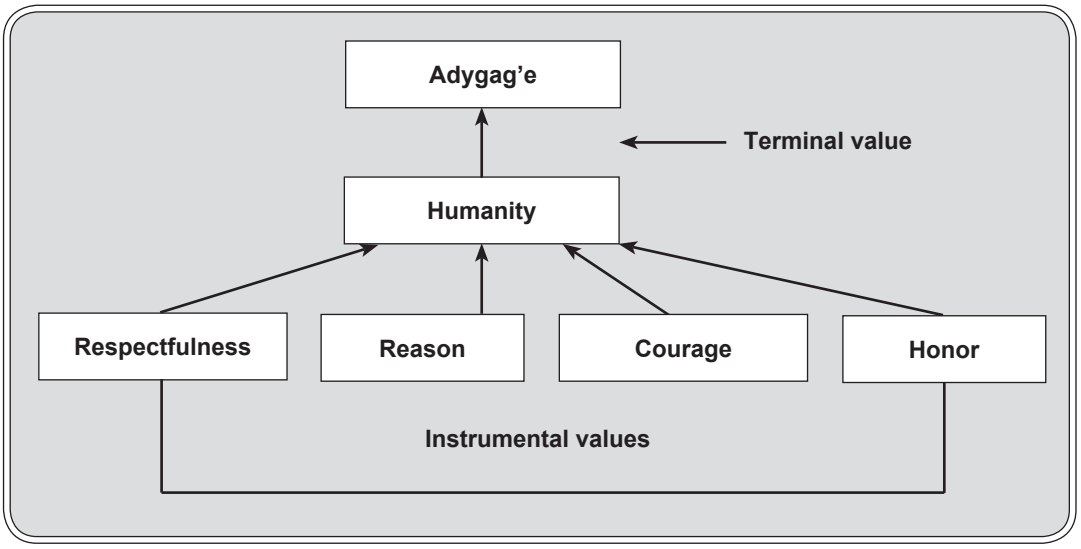
[5] See: G. Osipov, I. Karabulatova, G. Shafranov-Kutsev, L. Kononova, B. Akhmetova, E. Loskutova, G. Niyazova, "Ethnic Trauma and its Echo in Today's Mental Picture of the World among the Peoples of the Post-Soviet States: An Interethnic Conflicting Discourse Unfolding in Russia's Ethnolinguistic Information Region," *Central Asia and the Caucasus*, Vol. 17, Issue 2, 2016, pp. 87-94.

[6] See: B.Kh. Bgazhnokov, "Adygskaia etika kak socionormativnaia systema," 2011, available at [http://www.ethics.kbsu.ru/book.htm], 18 June, 2016.

[7] See: R.A. Khanakhu, "Moralno-eticheskiy fenomen agygag'e—osnova narodnoy kultury," *Mir kultury adygov,* p. 516.

Table 1

Architectonics of Adygag'e by Barasbi Bgazhnokov



Fifty-five percent of the polled confirmed that they tried to follow the principles of Adygag'e in everyday life; 21% could not always do this; 20% invariably followed the principle; and 30% never did this. According to 27% of the respondents, Adygag'e was applicable in person-to-person everyday relationships more often than in any other circumstances, while 10% believed that it should be applied when talking to children and older people.

The results thus achieved perfectly correlate with the results of the sociological studies carried out among the Adyghe of the Krasnodar Territory and in the Republic of Adygea, Karachaevo-Cherkessia, and Kabardino-Balkaria in 2010-2011 (stratified sampling of 1,650 based on ethnicity and place of settlement). The Adyghe respondents were spread territorially as follows:

(1) Republic of Adygea—900 people;

(2) Republic of Kabardino-Balkaria—200 people;

(3) Republic of Karachaevo-Cherkessia—200 people;

(4) Krasnodar and the Tuapse and Lazarevskoe districts of the Krasnodar Territory—350 people.

The respondents were divided into four age groups:

(a) 15 to 17 years—10%;

(b) 18 to 30—34%;

(c) 31 to 60—32%; and

(d) over 60—24%.

The project was based on the neoclassical paradigm of sociological-cultural studies that presupposes a synthesis of the classical and neoclassical approaches to the study of ethnic cultures and the creation of multidimensional constructs of their scholarly discussions. The Adyghe culture, for example, was never discussed from the point of view of the core-periphery methodology, which means

that despite the rich spectrum of research approaches to the study of traditional culture, many problems remained little studied, or not studied at all.

It is commonly believed that the "ethnosocial processes" concept is a comprehensive phenomenon with a lot of aspects and no generally accepted explanations; however, we deem it necessary to emphasize this once more. Contemporary social-humanitarian science treats ethnosocial processes as a combination of the ethnic and the social. These are specific social processes associated with ethnic features of the groups involved. We believe that the ethnosocial process can be defined as a variant of a social process with a large number of ethnic actors involved.

Results

It should be said that in recent years efforts have been invigorated to develop the national strategy very much needed to address the task formulated above. The Strategy of the State National Politics of the Russian Federation until 2025 based on the fundamental idea about Russia as a nation-state and, at the same time, a nation-civilization was the first step on this road. Administrative decisions and measures of the federal center followed suit. The Government of the Russian Federation adopted the Federal Program on Consolidating the Unity of the Russian Nation and Ethnocultural Development of the Peoples of Russia (2014-2020). These highly important political and legal documents stressed the fundamental nature of the national question for Russia with its diversity of languages, traditions, ethnicities, and cultures.

It seems that the answers to these "eternal questions" lie in the nature and factors of the current ethnosocial processes, the study of which is of immense practical importance for Russia: today the country is living through noticeable changes of its ethnic composition. Indeed, the inflow of barely educated migrants, who know neither the Russian language nor culture, fans ethnic tension and makes the study of the theoretical aspects of ethnosocial processes and the practical experience of managing these processes necessary and urgent.

The traditional values that are generally accepted by traditional Adyghe society are treated by each and every Adyghe as an objective fact of collective (social) consciousness, the axiological content of which must be reckoned with.

In the system of the Adyghe culture, values are important as they determine behavior patterns and serve as the core of culture.[8] It should be said that the values of Adygag'e as the core and the values of the etiquette of the Adyghe culture as information channels are marked by their high ranking in the cultural hierarchy, which explains their importance. This also explains why these levels (arranged into layers) form the basic structure of the Adyghe culture. We should bear in mind that the hierarchy of the core registers an interdependence between humanity, respectfulness, reason, courage, and honor, while the information channels are responsible for the sustainable content of this interdependence. This means that the content of etiquette (channel) and its place in the life of any community are determined by the specific historical conditions in which this ethnicity lives and develops.

In the core of culture respectfulness is a borderline value of moral consciousness and as such shows the essence of genuine self-value. It stands apart from all the other values and permeates the core of the Adyghe culture.

According to our sociological studies, 52% of the polled try to adhere to the demands of Adygag'e; 17% do this sporadically; and 19%, never waver from them. At the same time, the number

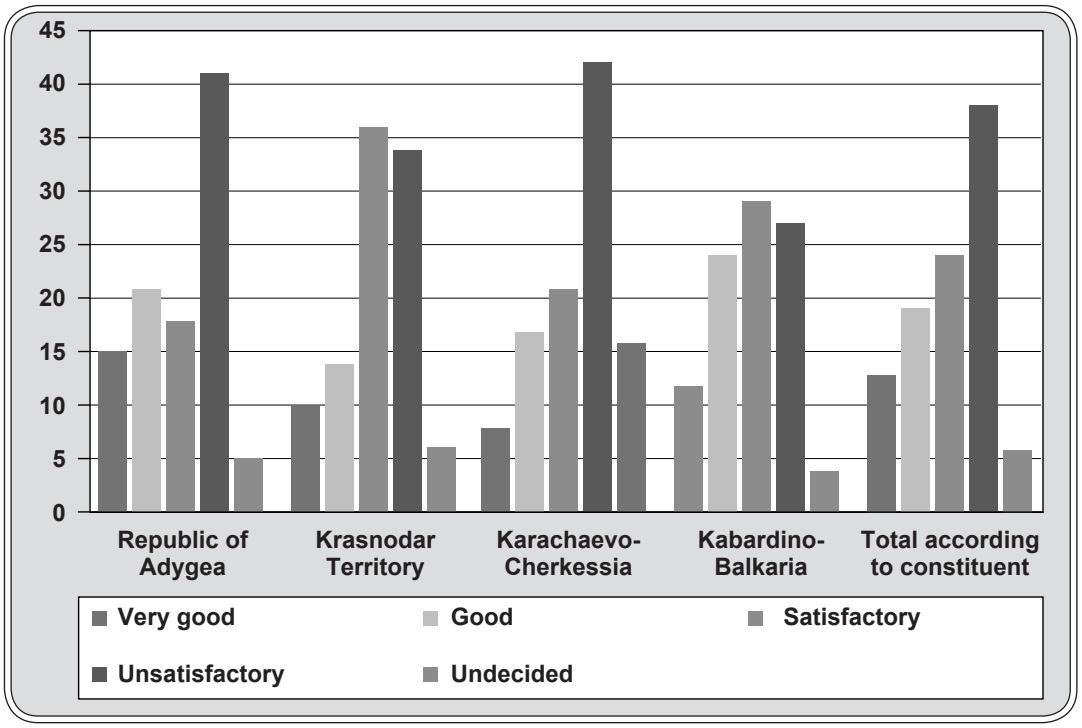
[8] See: S.A. Lyausheva, "'Yadro kultury' i 'bazovye kulturnye kharakteristiki' kak kategorii teoriy kultury," *Filosofia. Sotsiologia. Kulturologia,* ARIGI AGU, Maykop, Issue 5, 2006, pp. 39-47.

of Circassians who neglect the Adygag'e principles is on the rise. Most of them live in the Krasnodar Territory (32%) and Karachaevo-Cherkessia (23%). In Adygea, their share is much smaller (16%) and it is even smaller in Kabardino-Balkaria (11%), confirmation of the great socio-regulatory role of Adygag'e in the social life of the Circassians.

To decide whether it is possible to fit the Adygag'e system into the life of the Adyghe, ARIGI researchers invited the polled to assess the current state of Adygag'e. It turned out that only 9% believed that it was prominent and respected by the Adyghe; 43% spoke of its state as satisfactory; while 48% as unsatisfactory. This probably means that this socio-integrative principle has been gradually disappearing from the spiritual life of the Adyghe.[9] Ten years later, the question "How do you assess the present state of Adygag'e?" invited the following answers (see Diagram 1):

Diagram 1

Assessment by the Respondents of the Present State of Adygag'e
(% of the total number of the polled)



The results explain the gradually diminishing number of those who follow the principles of Adygag'e, even though the majority of the polled insisted that they tried to remain devoted to the moral-ethical Adygag'e traditions. On the one hand, the Adyghe world remains devoted to Adygag'e in defiance of territorial disintegration of the Circassians in the 19th-20th centuries. On the other hand, the academic community of Adygea is concerned with the obviously lesser role of Adygag'e in everyday life of the Adyghe ethnicity.

Adygag'e, the traditional social-regulatory system of the Adyghe, is supported by *Adyghe khabze*. The term is a combination of two parts:

[9] See: R.A. Khanakhu, op. cit.

(a) feudal law and its civil, labor, judicial, administrative, etc. branches;

(b) the traditional Adyghe etiquette: the generally accepted principles and rules of behavior. This means that Adyghe khabze is both a moral and legal code. The word khabze means the universal method or mechanism for producing and reproducing social contacts and relationships, associated in everyday life with norms, customs, rituals, rites, traditions, and habits.

Etiquette is an axiological principle that ties together the core and the periphery.[10] It should be regarded as a channel present on the periphery of culture, through which the institutions, components, and elements of this culture interact. Cultural communication affects the periphery of culture and the very conditions in which it takes shape.

Discussion

The history of study of the Adyghe culture rests on rich scholarly traditions: historians, philosophers, culturologists, journalists, and writers investigated various aspects of this culture; in Soviet times, historians regarded culture as a social subsystem, while ethnographers were interested in the rites, traditions, religious beliefs of the Adyghe.

Asiet Shadzhe (2015), Sventlana Lyausheva (2006), Rashid Khanakhu (2002), and Barasbi Bgazhnokov (2011) have written a lot about Adygag'e as the core of the Adyghe culture and etiquette, as well as its role and place, etiquette being described as its most important feature. Practically all experts on the Caucasus are convinced that etiquette as a core of culture is present in the cultures of all the Caucasian peoples as their highly specific feature.

On the other hand, in the absence of a scientific description of the Adyghe ethnicity as a whole and a profound and comprehensive analysis of the main specific features of its history, culture, art, religion, language, folklore, literature, and education, any number of debatable issues have appeared related to study of the Adyghe culture.[11]

Adygag'e is not only and not so much an ethical system that permits varied means and styles of ethical behavior—it is an institution with highly important functions of orientation and control expected to influence individual moral codes and prevent deviations that might tip the balance of social ties and relations.[12] Adygag'e is a mechanism of mental organization and ethical rationalization of real facts and relations, as well as a socially conditioned method of constructing social reality. In other words, it is a traditional mechanism of ethno-socio- propaedeutics of ethnic conflicts.[13] It offers freedom of choice and freedom of realization of the required and the possible within the framework of the moral continuum, when the spirit and the general trends of the moral laws are preserved, despite the diverse styles of thinking and behavior.[14]

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[10] See: R.A. Khanakhu, op. cit.

[11] See: S.S. Sitimova, "Razvitie adygeyskogo yazyka na sovremennom etape," in: *Bilingvizm v teorii i praktike,* ed. by Z.U. Blyagoz, AGU Press, Maykop, 2004, p. 200; A.D. Tleuzh, *Etnokulturnye arkhetipy adygskogo naroda: opyt filosofsko-kulturologicheskogo osmyslenia,* Doctorate thesis, Krasnodar University of Culture and Art, Krasnodar, 2007.

[12] See: T.A. Ostrovskaya, I.S. Karabulatova, Z.R. Khachmafova, S.A. Lyaucheva, G.V. Osipov, "The Discourse of the Russian Elite in the ERA 'Liquid' Modernity as a Problem of Ethnic, Social and Cultural Security," *Mediterranean Journal of Social Sciences,* Vol. 6, No. 3S4, 2015, pp. 147-154.

[13] See: R.R. Zamaletdinov, I.S. Karabulatova, I.E. Yarmakeev, E.N. Ermakova, "Linguo-propaedeutics of Ethnic Conflicts as a Basis for Stability in Complex Polyethnic Regions," *Asian Social Science,* Vol. 10, No. 20, 2014, pp. 164-173.

[14] See: B.Kh. Bgazhnokov, op. cit.

This means that the traditional mechanism for preserving ethnic harmony can be used to consolidate Russian identity.[15]

The wealth of its internal possibilities has allowed the socionormative culture of the Adyghe to outstrip the culture of production and life support; this has made it an engine of sorts of the development of spiritual and material culture of the Adyghe and allowed it to preserve its authenticity.

Conclusion

The history of the Adyghe culture is a long one brimming with collisions and trials, feuds, the Russian-Caucasian War, the Muhajir movement, and the social, political, and cultural earthquakes of the twentieth century. Despite these and many other factors that have affected the Adyghe culture to different degrees, it has survived as a consistent system, while demonstrating its openness to all sorts of novelties and its readiness to change.

In the context of our studies, the main meaningful aspect of Adygag'e is that it calls for relating to all men, even enemies, as human beings and respecting their individuality.[16] This means that the host should greet any man as a guest, irrespective of his ethnicity, even if there is blood feud between them.[17] Adygag'e is a factor that helps the Adyghe join the globalization processes, since it offers a system of tolerant interaction with other peoples conducive to friendly relations and contacts with them that can later develop into favorable conditions for transferring their norms to the global sociocultural environment.

Analyzed in the context of systemic axiological, active, and civilizational approaches, the Adyghe culture supplies answers to many topical questions relating to the study of Adygea. Scholars regard the Adyghe culture as an entity with its own structure and integral "axis."[18] On the other hand, so far many questions remain unclarified. There is no clearly arranged idea about the structure of the core or the mechanism of interaction with the periphery of culture and its rich diversity of elements, ties, and connections. This means that we need theoretical prerequisites to undertake an analysis of the Adyghe culture in order to arrive at a clear conceptual model. The novel approaches to the Adyghe culture have pushed us into theoretical depths.

By way of a conclusion, it should be said that further elaboration of this subject is gaining pertinence in socio-humanitarian science; in fact, study of the ethnic aspect of social development has become a sphere of scientific knowledge in its own right.

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[15] See: R.D. Khunagov, A.Yu. Shadzhe, E.S. Kukva, "Innovatsionnoe upravlenie regionom v kontekste ukrepleniia rossiyskoy identichnosti," *Sotsiologicheskie issledovania,* No. 3 (371), 2015, pp. 127-132.

[16] See: A.D. Tleuzh, op. cit.

[17] See: S.A. Lyausheva, "Sviashchennoe v religioznom soznanii adygov."

[18] See: S.A. Razdolskiy, "Yadro adygskoy kultury i uslovia ego formirovania," *Nauchnaia mysl Kavkaza,* No. 3, 2008, pp. 53-59.

TRANSFORMATION OF ETHNOCONFESSIONAL IDEAS OF THE ADYGHE OF THE NORTHERN CAUCASUS WITHIN THE ADYGAG'E CODE AS THE FOUNDATION OF ETHNIC HARMONY

Asfar SHAOV

D.Sc. (Philos.), Assistant Professor,
Department of Philosophy and Sociology, Adyghe State University
(Maykop, Republic of Adygea, Russian Federation)

Rashid KHUNAGOV

D.Sc. (Sociol.), Professor, Chancellor of the Adyghe State University
(Maykop, Republic of Adygea, Russian Federation)

Svetlana LYAUSHEVA

D.Sc. (Philos.), Professor,
Department of Philosophy and Sociology, Adyghe State University
(Maykop, Republic of Adygea, Russian Federation)

Vyacheslav NEKHAI

D.Sc. (Sociol.), Assistant Professor,
Department of Philosophy and Sociology, Adyghe State University
(Maykop, Republic of Adygea, Russian Federation)

ABSTRACT

In the course of history, the religious ideas of the Adyghe have been intertwining to form the ethnic, religious, and cultural core of their ethnicity (Adygag'e). Together with religion, it has been the dialectical social integrator of the Circassians, who acquired their homogenous ethnic and religious consciousness by the early twenty-first century. The rich inner potential of the social-regulatory culture of the Adyghe has made it the driving force behind social development and the spiritual and material culture, which has outstripped the culture of production and life sustainability and helped to preserve cultural authenticity. Historical studies were and are invariably interested in spiritual culture, and religion as its foundation. This was especially obvious in the 4th-16th centuries when religion was a central issue, while religious ideas permeated the spiritual culture of any society. It is next to impossible to identify any other factor in the spiritual life of humanity that has played a greater role than religion. It has been pres-

ent in global social upheavals and in the secret and most intimate aspects of human activities. Study of the religious ideas of the Adyghe makes it possible to reconstruct not only the course of social life in any given period of their history, but also the individual subjective sentiments demonstrated through spiritual transformations and the evolution of images and ideas. Religion can be described as a very specific type of life, or the goal of an individual to assert himself in eternity. The recently revived interest in this subject in the Northern Caucasus is explained by the gradual consolidation of the position of Islam in the region under the pressure of the missionary activities of all sorts of foreign Muslim organizations and Adyghe repatriation. The formally Muslim autochthonous population has not moved far away from pagan and Christian elements (which are mainly manifested in burial rites). In recent years, however, they have been gradually pushed aside by Muslim elements, which have greatly simplified burial and other rites. Overall, despite the consistent interest in the evolution of the religious ideas and rites of the Adyghe, many related problems that call for a systemic and comprehensive approach have not yet been studied.

KEYWORDS: ***the Adyghe, religion, evolution, traditional beliefs, the Northern Caucasus, ethnic harmony.***

Introduction

Issues related to the evolution of religious ideas and rites in the traditional culture of the Adyghe are still pertinent, because these ideas and rites represent the national culture in its concentrated form and are closely related to the problems of education and upbringing.

Today, in the era of electronic information, the deepest foundations of reproduction of the entire system of social relations are changing. In the ethnonational sphere, these changes can be discerned in the greater scope of integration, the emergence of inter-national and supra-national regional communities and sub-, super, and mega-ethnicities. Economic, social, and cultural globalization has intensified the national self-awareness of the peoples living in Russian territory from time immemorial and/or who settled in it under the pressure of all kinds of social cataclysms.

Many of the ethnic communities, which in Soviet times were believed to be assimilated with their neighbors or kindred peoples, have revealed their ethnic specifics and very specific self-awareness. They have reappeared as ethnicities that preserved their special cultures and, therefore, identified themselves as ethnic cultural communities.

In recent years, the Northern Caucasus has become a scene of acute contradictions related to the national-state arrangement and ethnic relations caused by the rivalry between ethnic and political forces over resources—land, industrial facilities, power, and money sources. These forces have turned into movements of the North Caucasian peoples aimed at rehabilitation of the repressed peoples, upgrading the status in the national-state hierarchy, or at separation from the Russian Federation. So far, there is no well-tuned mechanism that can be used to create a so-called normal ethnic identity, that is, the type of identity perfectly suited to a multiethnic society. The role of ethnic cultures and traditions in the self-awareness and social self-assertion of ethnicities amid globalization and the stronger national trends in the economic, social, and cultural spheres of Russian society in the second decade of the twenty-first century remains as topical as ever.

Methods and Materials

Today, interdisciplinary and empirical approaches have been integrated to address the applied tasks of stabilization of the social, economic, and political systems and relieve national tension.

Very much in line with the formulated tasks, the data of our study were heterogeneous.

We mainly relied on the synergetic approach elaborated by H. Haken, H. Bergson, and A. Nazaretyan. Systemic methodology, which brings together the societal and comparative approaches, makes it possible to unite the study of the vast social and political transformations going on in Russia and the CIS countries within the unfolding ethnic, social, and cultural policy and the local regional practices. Today, the academic community is showing an interest in so far little studied ethnocultural and national ideas closely related to the idea of ethnicity, specifics of ethnographic interpretations of national culture, national thinking, the psychological type of the nations, and the spheres of human consciousness. In the period of national revival of culture, the problem of determining national self-awareness has become especially important in the context of the ongoing ethnocultural processes ambiguously manifested in Russian reality.

Results

The "parade of sovereignties" and the desire to achieve self-identification (translated as a desire to belong to any group in which "similar worlds" can be discerned) are the logical results of the Soviet nationalities policy, which can be described as assimilation under the flag of internationalism. This fully applies to the Adyghe.

Let us discuss the ethnic composition of the Republic of Adygea based on the results of the All-Russia Population Census of 2010[1] and Boris Ekkel's method,[2] calculated using the following formula:

$$P_j = 1 \frac{m}{i=1} S\,(p_i)^2,$$

where m is the number of nations (ethnic groups) in j-country (region) and

p_i is the share of the i nation in the country's (region) total population.

We should take into account that the more ethnicities live in the studied territory, the higher the value of the index of ethnic diversity (from zero to 1). According to the methods employed, $P_j<0.4$ indicates that the territory is monoethnic; $0.4<P_j<0.6$ points to average ethnic mixing; $0.6<P_j<0.7$ relate to very mixed populations; while $P_j>0.7$ indicates super-mixed areas.

With a total population of 439 996, the Republic of Adygea looks like an ethnic patchwork: Russians comprise 63.6%; Adyghe, 25.2%; Armenians, 3.7%; Ukrainians, 1.4%; Kurds, 1.1%; Circassians, 0.6%; Tatars, 0.6%; and Gypsies, 0.5%.[3]

The ethnic diversity index is 0.5302.

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[1] See: All-Russia Population Census, available at [http://www.gks.ru/free_doc/new_site/perepis2010/croc/perepis_itogi1612.htm].

[2] See: B.M. Ekkel, "Opredelenie indeksa mozaichnosti natsionalnogo sostava respublik, kraev i oblastey S.S.S.R.," *Sovetskaia etnografia,* No. 2, 1976.

[3] [http://www.gks.ru/free_doc/new_site/perepis2010/croc/perepis_itogi1612.htm].

According to our poll, 68% of the Adyghe consider themselves to be Muslims; in Kabardino-Balkaria the share is 91% and in the Krasnodar Territory, 63%. Six percent of the Adyghe are atheists; 2% are Christians; while 23% remain undecided. According to the 1999-2000 sociological poll (sampling 400) conducted by R. Khanakhu and O. Tsvetkov, only 35% of the polled were confirmed Muslims; while only 10% followed all the Islam rules.[4] This correlated with our results: 12% of the polled follow all prescriptions; 38% do this sporadically; 16%, during religious holidays; while 36% do not observe them. This means that religiosity among the Adyghe is fairly formal and the ideas of Adygag'e are much deeper rooted. When answering the question, "What is more important to you, Adygag'e or religion?" 58% pointed to Adygag'e, while 9% preferred religious identity; 7% were undecided; and 27% were convinced that the provisions of Adygag'e and Islam were identical. This means that the share of people ready to accept these two values as equally important for national psychology is growing. These results perfectly correlated with the results obtained by Svetlana Lyausheva in 1999-2000, according to which 16% of the respondents were convinced that Islam and the traditional culture were identical.[5] This means that the Adyghe world prefers to look at certain cultural elements and religion as united, sharing many common points and being a component part of culture.

In the Northwestern Caucasus, ethnic identity has dominated over religious identity at all times: it us much more important to be an Adyghe than a Muslim. The Adyghe consciousness created ideas about the ethnic moral code, about Adygag'e as a creation of Allah, and about the Creator in Heaven and his gift of Adygag'e to the people on Earth. They are analogous to those present in the national consciousness of many other Caucasian peoples. This thesis looks doubtful: our conversations with Adyghe people revealed that the majority make a distinction between Adygag'e khabze and Islam. The two are very close ideologically: high morality, respectfulness, and the sense of measure of Adyghe morality do not contradict the dogmas of Islam. On the other hand, true Muslims do not approve of gaiety and merry-making, while entertainments and feasts are prominent features of the Adyghe culture. The Dzheguako (an actor, troubadour, or singer) is an inevitable feature of all feasts. In fact, the gay, sharp-tongued, and completely relaxed figure, an embodiment of pagan love of life, contradicts the rather somber Muslim philosophy. The folk songs of the Adyghe avoided the Muslim impact; they contain practically no names associated with Islam, which means that it is alien to the Adyghe.

Despite the Islamic impact, the Adyghe rites (with the exception of the funeral rites) are free from the traces of Islam. The local traditions as a combination of paganism and Christianity have survived. It should be said that different social groups followed different confessions: the nobility and the peasantry orientated at adat or the Sharia, depending on circumstances. The Adyghe effendi had mostly peasant roots. They devoted their lives to preaching Islamic piety and teaching and, therefore, had no strong economic positions and no vast landed estates. This fully applies to the rest of the Northwestern Caucasus. The Russian authorities found no permanent Islamic institutions and no stable social stratum of the Islamic clergy in the conquered region. This means that the Russians and the local government had to establish these institutions and this social group from scratch. It also meant that Russia's Islamic policy in the region included, among other things, organizing and regulating the activities of the clergy.

The reasonable and polite behavior cultivated in the Adyghe culture made the clergy very open in their dealings with all social groups and very close to the people. Their piety depended in equal shares on the idea of Islam of "following the will of God and His law" and the traditional prescriptions

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[4] See: R.A. Khanakhu, O.M. Tsvetkov, "Neomifologia kak predtecha rossiiskogo postmodernizma," available at [http://globalistika.ru/congress2008/Doklady/21710.htm], 9 July, 2016.

[5] See: S.A. Lyausheva, "'Yadro kultury' i 'bazovye kulturnye kharakteristiki' kak kategorii teoriy kultury," in: *Filosofia. Sotsiologia. Kulturologia,* ARIGI AGU, Maykop, Issue 5, 2006, pp. 15-17.

of Adygag'e, and corresponded to the expectations of Adyghe society. Late in the nineteenth century, numerous mosques built with support of the Russian czarist administration were highly prominent in the social and cultural sphere as religious centers, schools, and places where local people gathered to discuss common problems. For a long time, religious schools remained the only opportunity for peasant children to rise higher on the social ladder. Early in the twentieth century, Adyghe effendies started writing books and articles—poetical biographies of the Prophet Muhammad and articles on the usefulness of education. In this way, by 1917, the region had acquired an atmosphere conducive to the study, preservation, and reproduction of the Muslim culture by successive generations. There was a well-functioning network of Muslim education, while annual hajj connected the Adyghe Muslims with the ummah.

It should be said that the ancient beliefs with their numerous cults or Christianity, the religion of small groups of feudal lords and western and eastern Circassians, never possessed enough ethnic-consolidating potential. Christianity proved unable to consolidate the Adyghe, because the religious identity that had taken shape by the early twelfth century was too amorphous and too weak to penetrate the core of Adyghe culture, the vehicle of the moral and ethical complex of Adygag'e. In these circumstances, Islam proved to be the most successful religious system, which, unlike all other religions, became a socially integrating tool of the Circassian ethnicity.

Discussion

Our concept has been developing under a strong influence of the works of L. Levy-Bruhl, E. Cassirer,[6] A. Kosarev, A. Losev, K. Levy-Srauss, B. Malinovskiy. E.B. Tylor,[7] S. Tokarev,[8] and A. Elkin, who studied myths, and the works of W. Wundt, E. Durkheim,[9] M. Mead, J. Frazer, and M. Eliade, the classics of Western sociology, cultural studies, anthropology, and ethnology.

Philosophers N. Berdyaev,[10] S. Bulgakov,[11] V. Soloviev, P. Florenskiy, S. Frank,[12] and others studied culture as a phenomenon of religious metaphysics. The term "culture" reappeared in the culturological, mythological, and psychological concepts that reestablished the homogenous and multidimensional ideas of man about the world.

Moisey Kagan relied on a systemic approach in his study of culture.[13] Russian scholars and their foreign colleagues have been paying a lot of attention to the ethnic aspects of the contemporary cultural process. Myth and reality were intertwined in the archaic ideas of the Adyghe about the world. According to ancient myth, the territory of historical Circassia was a "frozen" illustration of life and deeds of the deities that ruled the main natural processes. The phenomenon of Adygag'e attracted many scholars, T. Afasizhev, B. Bgazhnokov, and S. Lyausheva among them, who concentrated on the interconnection between Adygag'e and the religious practices of the Adyghe, as well as M. Meretukov, K. Unezhev, R. Khanakhu, and Kh. Khapsirokov.

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[6] See: E. Cassirer, *Philosophy of Symbolic Forms (1923-1929)*, Transl. into English, Yale University Press, New Haven, London, 1953-1957.

[7] See: E.B. Tylor, *Mif i obriad v pervobytnoy kulture*, Rusich, Smolensk, 2000, p. 624; idem, *Pervobytnaia kultura,* Politizdat, Moscow, 1989, p. 573 (E.B. Taylor, *Primitive Culture,* Vols. 1 and 2, John Murray, London, 1871).

[8] C.A. Tokarev, *Rannie formy religii,* Politizdat, Moscow, 1990, p. 622.

[9] See: É. Durkheim, "Sotsiologia i teoria poznania," in: *Khrestomatia po istorii psikhologii,* Moscow State University Press, Moscow, 1980, pp. 212-235.

[10] See: N.A. Berdyaev, "Dukhovnoe sostoianie sovremennogo mira", *Novy mir,* No. 1, 1990.

[11] See: S.N. Bulgakov, *Izbrannye statyi*, in 2 vols, Vol. 2, Nauka Publishers, Moscow, 1993, p. 750.

[12] See: S.L. Frank, *Realnost i chelovek,* Respublika, Moscow, 1997, p. 479.

[13] See: M.S. Kagan, "Eshche raz o vzaimootnoshenii nauki i iskusstva," *Filosofskie nauki*, No. 2, 1979, pp. 37-46.

In one of her works, Svetlana Lyausheva rightly points out that the Adyghe ethnic consciousness consolidated at the same time as their religious consciousness. The Adyghe acquired their pantheon of deities and cults during the patriarchal clan system. The cult of ancestors, stones and mountains, trees and forests, smithery, horse, fire, and hearth are part of the tradition culture of the Circassians, their consciousness and memory. Veneration of trees known in the culture of many other peoples (pagan Slavs, Lithuanians, Mordva, Greeks, ancient Romans, etc.) was very special in Adyghe everyday life: it was a living creature with a soul of its own. Gradually, veneration of individual trees developed into veneration of forests; still later, they were regarded not as deities, but as the abode of the gods that (Tkha) could leave. The tree became an inert and lifeless mass sporadically visited by a supernatural force that turned the forest into its abode. Initially this was patroness of the trees Zhig-Guasha; later it was god of the forests Mazitkha. He was venerated in the holy Elburgan forest in Circassia, the "holy places" in the Koshekhabl and Teuchezh districts of Adygea.[14]

Holy trees grew along the rivers Psashva and Shakhe (the tulip tree at Golovinka in Sochi), in the forest at Akhintam (Sochi), and at the entrance to the village of Bolshoe Pseushkho (the Tuapse District). There are still several people who venerate the holy oak.

Christianity reached the Northwestern Caucasus and Crimea by the middle of the first millennium A.D. In Kerch, there is a Christian burial dated 304. According to information that goes back to the early Middle Ages, at the turn of the fourth century, the Roman Empire exiled its Christians to Zikhia and Abazgia.

The Tmutarakan princedom (the 10th-11th centuries) was one of the outposts of Christianity in Zikhia and Kasogia; the religion outlived the princedom. Early in the thirteenth century, the Adyghe city of Matrakha, in which "the prince and the people who called themselves Christians had Greek books and Greek priests," appeared at the site earlier occupied by Tmutarakan.[15]

The Roman Empire tried to spread Catholicism to Circassia where Orthodoxy had already been accepted in places. Late in the thirteenth century, Catholicism reached the Adyghe from the Genoese colonies on the Azov and Black Sea littoral of the Caucasus. In 1439, there were one Catholic archbishop and two bishops among the Adyghe; the people, nevertheless, remained loyal to Orthodoxy and paganism: there was a residence of Greek metropolitans of the Zikhia eparchy; sources mention the Right Reverend Metropolitan Iosif of Matrakha under the year 1396.[16]

In the seventeenth century, Italian Arcangelo Lamberti wrote that the Adyghe "call themselves Christians, but there is nothing Christian either in their faith or piety."[17] Later, the position of Christianity among the Adyghe weakened; the rapid spread of Islam and the Caucasian War squeezed Christianity out of the Adyghe world, with the exception of a small group of Circassians (14 to 15 thousand) in the Mozdok District (North Ossetia).

According to Naima Neflyasheva, Islam reached the Adyghe and started spreading in the early fourteenth century through trade and military contacts with the Golden Horde. Later, this faith poured into the Northwestern Caucasus from Daghestan, Crimea, and the Ottoman Empire.[18]

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[14] See: S.A. Lyausheva, "Sviashchennoe v religioznom soznanii adygov," in: *Mir kutury adygov*, ed. by R.A. Khanakhu, GURIPP Adygea, Maykop, 2002, pp. 139-146.

[15] See: S.Kh. Khotko, "Legendy o cherkessakh v evropeyskoy kartografii XVI veka," *Vestnik Adygeyskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta*, Series 1: Religious Studies, Philosophy, History, Sociology, Jurisprudence, Political and Cultural Studies, No. 4 (148), 2014, pp. 88-93.

[16] See: N.V. Anfimov, B.M. Dzhimov, R.Kh. Emtyl*, Istoria Adyghei (s drevneyshikh vremen do kontsa XIX veka)*. Posobie dlia uchiteley 8-9 klassov, Maykop, 1993, 213 pp.

[17] Quoted from: S.Kh. Khotko, op. cit.

[18] See: N. Neflyasheva, "K istorii islama i adygov (cherkessov) na Severo-Zapadnom Kavkaze," available at [http://www.adygi.ru 2006], 9 August, 2011.

The process acquired much larger dimensions in the eighteenth century. In 1717, the Ottoman Empire made Islamization of the Circassians its state policy, a far from easy task. The Adyghe staunchly opposed the spread of Crimean and Turkish domination, which made the work of Islamic missionaries, who had to overcome the local peoples' devotion to their faith, extremely difficult.[19]

Islam did not spread steadily and consistently among the Adyghe; there was no steady growth in the number of new converts either. It gained lands and souls in waves: after acquiring new lands, it had to later retreat. Different sources quote different dates of complete Islamization of the Kabardians—the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. It seems that the Kabardians had to reconcile with Islam under Crimean pressure, but as soon the pressure weakened, their loyalty wilted. This means that for three centuries, the Circassians merely copied the new religion, without even trying to fit it into their culture; their religious consciousness rejected a faith imposed by force. Those members of the Islamic clergy who were admitted for the sake of a shaky peace with the Crimean Muslims were merely tolerated. The Shari'a regulations were not hailed, since the Adyghe had their own adats. This explains why, in Circassia, Islam was gradually incorporated into the local pre-Islamic beliefs and moved away from its Koranic version.

By the late eighteenth century, Islam had spread far and wide in Adyghe territory, but the position of paganism among the local Muslims (Shapsugs in particular) remained strong. At that time, religious perception of the world among the Adyghe became somewhat modified: Islam was gradually adjusted to the local cultural specifics, which, on the one hand, was ready to accept the new faith and, on the other, refused to retreat under the pressure of its spiritual values. At no time did religion play a significant role among the Circassians; until the Caucasian War, the Islamic factor was not prominent in their spiritual life.

In the nineteenth century, the social and political situation in Circassia changed: the Caucasian War and active ideological propaganda of gazawat carried out by Turkey and the naibs of Shamil forced the Adyghe to close ranks. In these conditions, Islam gradually seeped into the Adyghe cultural structure. In the face of Russian expansion and with the active involvement of the Ottoman Turks, Islam became an ideological banner of the national-liberation struggle and ethnic consolidation. In the 1830-1880s, the Adyghe embraced Islam in great numbers against the background of their confrontation with czarist Russia and the threat to their continued existence as an ethnicity. This phenomenon developed into a tool of innovation; the ideological crisis of Adygag'e was caused by its failure to consolidate the Circassians during the war. Previously indifferent to Islam, the ethnicity, which needed new axiological landmarks to rely on at historical turning points and amid spiritual crises, turned to the Muslim faith.

In the Soviet Union, a self-proclaimed country of "militant atheism," Islam retreated, while the number of Muslims decreased manifold. Amid the widespread struggle against religion and religious feelings and for objective reasons, religion lost its role of an integrating factor for Adygag'e. At the same time, the Adyghe culture preserved several formal rituals (funerals, births, etc.). Unlike other North Caucasian peoples (Chechens, Ingush, and the ethnicities of Daghestan), the Adyghe never faithfully obeyed all the canonical Islamic regulations, they prayed, but never fasted in the month of Ramadan.

After the Soviet Union disintegrated and the right to freedom of religion was recognized, Islam, like the other traditional confessions, began gradually reappearing in Russia. In Adygea, this process has been much smoother than elsewhere, because the religious consciousness of the Adyghe correlates with their ethnicity, a fact confirmed by numerous sociological studies.

[19] N. Neflyasheva, op. cit.

EXPERT ASSESSMENTS OF THE ETHNOSOCIAL PROCESSES IN THE CAUCASUS TODAY: REPUBLIC OF ADYGEA

Zuriet ZHADE

D.Sc. (Political Science), Professor,
Head of the Department of State and Law Theory and
Political Science, Adyghe State University
(Maykop, Republic of Adygea, Russian Federation)

Asiet SHADZHE

D.Sc. (Philos.), Professor,
Department of Philosophy and Sociology, Adyghe State University
(Maykop, Republic of Adygea, Russian Federation)

Svetlana LYAUSHEVA

D.Sc. (Philos.), Professor,
Department of Philosophy and Sociology, Adyghe State University
(Maykop, Republic of Adygea, Russian Federation)

Nadezhda ILYINOVA

Ph.D. (Sociol.), Assistant Professor,
Head of the Department of Philosophy and Sociology, Adyghe State University
(Maykop, Republic of Adygea, Russian Federation)

ABSTRACT

The authors analyze expert assessments of the minimization of ethnic tension, the specific roads leading to ethnic harmony, the main scenarios of the ethnosocial processes unfolding in the Republic of Adygea, and the obvious need to use an interdisciplinary approach to study of the ethnosphere. Our analysis is based on the results of expert polls/interviews related to the state of the ethnosocial processes in Adygea, a republic in the piedmont area of the Greater Caucasus in southern Russia. The authors reveal the main factors of ethnic tension in the region: economic, ethnoconfessional, and migration. It turns out that the effects of ethnic tension on the ethnosocial

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processes can be both positive and negative.[1] *Study of the ethnosocial processes and ethnic tension in the South of Russia confirms that we should rely on multidimensional approaches; this, in turn, stimulates scholarly discourse designed to reassess the commonly accepted approaches. With respect to migration processes, the recent events in the region relating to the events in Ukraine have strongly affected the local context and stirred up an academic discussion about the ethnopolitical situation, the nature of ethnic relations, the level and causes of ethnic tension, and the specifics of regional ethnonational policy. The region is living under the pressure of intensified Islamic radicalism.*[2] *Today, in all the national constituents of the Russian Federation, ethnic awareness is on the rise; it serves as the basis of ethnic ideologies that are gradually replacing the Soviet principle of internationalism that regulated national relations and kept them under control. This makes ethnic segmentation an important social and political resource. Ethnopolitical structures in many of the polyethnic regions of Russia mean that social differentiation is not free from ethnic aspects. Transformed and invigorated, the ethnosocial processes in the North Caucasian republics have already triggered considerable changes in the system of ethnosocial relations. The authors investigate the specific ways ethnic harmony is achieved in the region and the scenarios of ethnosocial processes that are unfolding there. They also concentrate on the efficiency of the state nationalities policy in the region. The unifying parameters of the Russian ethnicities that help preserve the unity of our state have not been forgotten either. The authors conclude that study of the regional self-developing sociocultural systems requires an interdisciplinary approach.*

[1] See: G. Osipov, I. Karabulatova, G. Shafranov-Kutsev, L. Kononova, B. Akhmetova, E. Loskutova, G. Niyazova, "Ethnic Trauma and Its Echo in Today's Mental Picture of the World Among the Peoples of the Post-Soviet States: An Interethnic Conflicting Discourse Unfolding in Russia's Ethnolinguistic Information Space," *Central Asia and the Caucasus*, Vol. 17, Issue 2, 2016, pp. 87-94.

[2] See: I. Karabulatova, B. Akhmetova, K. Shagbanova, E. Loskutova, F. Sayfulina, L. Zamalieva, I. Dyukov, M. Vykhrystyuk, "Shaping Positive Identity in the Context of Ethnocultural Information Security in the Struggle against the Islamic State," *Central Asia and Caucasus*, Vol. 17, Issue 1, 2016, pp. 84-92.

KEYWORDS: ***ethnic relations, ethnosocial processes, identity, ethnic tension, expert opinion.***

Introduction

It is common knowledge that the ethnic sphere is extremely responsive to all sorts of problems and is, therefore, highly vulnerable. It accumulates all the contradictions that emerge in the economy, politics, and the social sphere.[3] Indeed, a far from easy economic situation, plummeting

[3] See: I. Mkrtumova, A. Dosanova, I. Karabulatova, V. Nifontov, "The Use of Communication Technologies to Oppose Political-Religious Terrorism as an Ethnosocial Deviation in the Contemporary Information-Digital Society," *Central Asia and the Caucasus*, Vol. 17, Issue 2, 2016, pp. 54-61; E. Ermakova, M. Jilkisheva, G. Fayzullina, I. Karabulatova, Kh. Shagbanova, "The Media and Fiction: Postmodernist Discourse of Contemporary Terrorism in the Context of Apocalyptic Rhetoric," *Central Asia and Caucasus*, Vol. 17, Issue 2, 2016б pp. 61-69; A. Salgiriev, "The Northern Caucasus: Tribal-Clan Structure of the Political Elites as a Factor of Political Tension," *Central Asia and the Caucasus*, Vol. 17, Issue 1, 2016, pp. 29-35; Z.A. Zhade, A.Yu. Shadzhe, S.A. Lyausheva, "Sostoyanie ethnosotsialnykh protsessov i uroven mezhetnicheskoy napriazhennosti na Yuge Rossii: ekspertnoe mnenie," *Teoriya i pratika obshchestvennogo razvitia,* No. 5, 2016, pp. 18-23.

standard of living, and undeveloped infrastructure could stir up ethnic tension in any polyethnic region. In the 1990s, ethnicity was widely used in the struggle for power, property, and regional privileges,[4] reproducing a trend toward decentralization and ethnic self-isolation of the administrative regions.[5]

Ethnic and ethnoconfessional relations are an important component of scholarly studies in the South of Russia and should, therefore, be continued. They are of strategic importance and are a potentially efficient tool for consolidating the peoples of the South of Russia around the idea of systemic and consistent integration in Russia. A breakthrough in the study of the entire set of problems related to the ethnosocial processes requires the concerted efforts of all experts, who should concentrate on the key and conceptually important issues.

Methods and Materials

The synergy of the post-nonclassical paradigm allows us to go deeper into social and ethnic reality to reveal the geographic, socioeconomic, ideological, and political determinants of the Russian civil and cultural identity in the region and the degree to which they affect the ethnosocial processes. This means that analysts should look for new methodological approaches.[6] Here we concentrate on the poly-paradigmatic approach to the study of ethnic identity as a combination of primordialism, constructivism, and instrumentalism as the basic, indispensable, and theoretically justified trends. Indeed, for objective reasons, it is impossible to specify the correlation between types of social identity (ethnic, local, regional, religious, national, and civil) and components of ethnic identity within one and the same theoretical trend.

We also rely on the structural-functional approach, that is, the approach to the individual as an active subject of action; the systemic approach, which takes into account the role of the social system and its structures in shaping ethnic identity; the humanistic approach, which studies sociocultural attitudes designed to shape principles of tolerance; and symbolic interactionism, which points to the importance of symbols fraught with important social functions.

The sphere of ethnic relations in Russia (which has changed a great deal throughout the last decades under the pressure of the very dynamic ethnosocial, ethnopolitical, migration, confessional, and demographic processes) still remains in the focus of attention of ethnic and political science analysis, the accents and approaches of which are gradually changing. The "ethnic tension" concept has been actualized within the framework of the analytical methods and methodology applied to ethnic conflicts. It is understood as a description of ethnic relations, within which ethnic groups, or their representatives, are in a state of either negligible opposition or rivalry.

The Center for the Study of National Conflicts identified the level of ethnic tension in the Republic of Adygea as low.[7] Certain problems, however, persist, while the seats of tension that appear from time to time are primarily caused by the relations between migrants of alien ethnicities and the

[4] See: Z.A. Zhade, E.S. Kukva, S.A. Lyausheva, A.Yu. Shadzhe, *Rossiyskaya identichnost na Severnom Kavkaze,* Sotsialno-gumanitarnye znania, Moscow, 2010, p. 248.

[5] See: R.D. Khunagov, A.Y. Shadzhe, "The Caucasian Factor in Contemporary Russia," *Sotsiologicheskie issledovania,* No. 3, 2001, pp. 77-80.

[6] See: S.G. Karepova, I.S. Karabulatova, V.S. Novikov, S.V. Klemovitsky, D.I. Stratan, A.E. Perova, "New Approaches to the Development of Methodology of Strategic Community Planning," *Mediterranean Journal of Social Sciences*, Vol. 6, No. 3S6, 2015, pp. 357-364.

[7] "Grozdya gneva. The Rating of Ethnic Tension in the Regions of Russia," available at [http://club-rf.ru/rating/], 9 October, 2015.

local ethnic majority. These processes, caused by potential conflict situations stirred up by the presence of Kurds in the republic, resound far and wide.

We all know that ethnic problems flare up in regions where different ethnic mentalities are superimposed. Adygea is one of those places where fairly large ethnic communities (the Kurds who live in compact groups in the Krasnogvardeysk District being one of them) live side by side and cooperate. The Kurdish problem appeared along with the Kurd settlers and became a source of ethnic tension.

This means that the study of ethnic interaction in the specific conditions of the Republic of Adygea will produce better results when relying on the ethnic tension methodology. It seems that the suggested interdisciplinary approach, namely, the carefully selected sociological, social-psychological and psychophysiological indicators of ethnic tension and conflicts, will suggest the methods to be used to regulate the situation in the South of Russia. The selected tools can be described as innovative; they have not been used in the world study of the Caucasus and Russia and are being applied for the first time to the studies of the region under review.

An integral approach to the study of conflicts in the South of Russia is achieved with the help of studies not only of the conflict fields per se, but also of the interaction between the main actors and key resources.

In our study of the ethnosocial processes at the individual and group levels, we relied on E. Ericson's theory of identity development; H. Tajfel's theory of social identity and its provision of intergroup comparison and social categorization; the theoretical concepts of social stereotype (V. Ageev, H. Duijker, O. Klineberg, W. Lippman, T.G. Stefanenko, L.H. Strickland, V. Trusov, P. Shikhirev, T. Shibutani); Galina Soldatova's conceptual provisions of transformations of ethnic identity; theoretical insights into ethnic tolerance and its interconnections with positive ethnic identity (N. Lebedeva, A. Petritskiy, G. Soldatova); and the concepts elaborated by psychologists, ethnographers, and sociologists that reveal the main content of ethnic identity (Yu. Arutyunyan, Yu. Bromley, B. Viner, L. Drobizheva, I. Zarinov, A. Zdravomyslov, I. Kon, E. Kolpakov, S. Lurye, S. Rybakov, G. Soldatova, Yu. Semenov, S. Sokolovskiy, T. Stefanenko, S, Cheshko, and others).

We polled/interviewed 52 experts on regional conflicts and the ethnic problems of the Republic of Adygea.

We relied on statistical data (population censuses of 1928, 2002 and 2010) and the authors' empirical studies.

The empirical part of our research is based on the following results:

(1) a sociological poll of experts on ethnic tension and ethnosocial processes going on in the South of Russia (2010-2016) and the ethnolinguistic processes in Russia's North Caucasian republics (2010-2014);

(2) a sociological poll based on snowball sampling related to study of the ethnic identity of the peoples living in the Republic of Adygea (2010-2016) intended to reveal the ethno-integrating and ethno-differentiating markers of ethnic identity of the peoples living in Adygea; types of social identity; specifics of ethnic interaction; and the way the level of social and economic development affects ethnic feelings and the attitude of the Ando-Tsezian peoples to certain regulatory acts;

(3) a sociological poll designed to identify the specifics of the ethnolinguistic processes and linguistic behavior of the peoples of the South of Russia (2011-2016) conducted in the form of interviews to establish the specifics of the ethnolinguistic situation and the linguistic behavior of the peoples living in this area.

The work reflects the results of sociological polls obtained by the authors' collective in different years in the Republic of Adygea,[8] the Northern Caucasus,[9] and the South of Russia.[10]

The polls were intended to identify the degree of ethnic self-awareness and the factors of transformation of ethnic self-awareness reflected in the expert assessments. We also relied on the results obtained by the Institute of Sociology, Russian Academy of Sciences, and the Institute of Sociopolitical Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences, during polls carried out to establish the national-civil identity of Russia's citizens, transformations in the ethnosocial processes, and the way Russian people respond to economic, social, and political reforms.

Results

The recent events in the Northern Caucasus and the South of Russia relating to the migration wave triggered by the events in Ukraine strongly affected the region and generated an academic discussion of the ethnopolitical situation, the nature of ethnic relations, the level and causes of ethnic tension, and the specifics of the current ethnonational policies in the region.[11]

The first stage of the expert poll presupposed conceptualization of the terms. The obtained results made it possible to analyze the acquired information in order to identify the parameters of national policy at the national level and its regional specifics. The results of the poll were generalized and conclusions were drawn. Our analysis of expert assessments suggested that these were social processes with ethnic hues.

Ethnosocial processes are one of the components of the social processes that affect different organizational levels of ethnic communities living in specific territories and in a specific state, while insisting on, preserving, and developing their ethnocultural values. During the discussion of the highly complex nature of the ethnosocial processes unfolding in the region, the experts specifically pointed out that the ethnosocial processes should be understood as a comprehensive concept that requires a correct academic definition absent in Russian sociology, political studies, and the study of nations. This means that the academic community has to rely mainly on subjective definitions.

The experts treat ethnosocial processes as a social process closely related to ethnic identity. An expert well-known for his study of the conflicts in the Caucasus defines ethnosocial processes as an interaction of actors who represent the "we-groups" based on common identity. This brings us to a discussion of the conflict of identities in a polyethnoconfessional region.

An ethnic vigilante conflict is a conflict between the local ethnic community and ethnic migrants, initiated by the local people who perceive the behavior of ethnic migrants as deviational. Such conflicts are normally protracted and occur between periods of peaceful coexistence, albeit marked by mutual hostility, and periods of confrontation (mostly provoked by migrants) in conditions of poor integration of ethnic migrants into the local society and a low level of mutual cultural adaptation of the local people and ethnic migrants. Prevention of confrontations, timely resolution, either legal, or through negotiations, of ethnic disagreements, and development of tolerance are the main ways to deal with vigilante conflicts.

In Adygea, the Krasnogvardeysk District can be described as a zone of vigilante tension: the local people are not happy to see Kurdish migrants and are irritated by their holidays, rites, dances,

[8] See: R.D. Khunagov, A.Y. Shadzhe, op. cit.

[9] See: Z.A. Zhade, E.S. Kukva, S.A. Lyausheva, A.Yu. Shadzhe, op. cit.

[10] See: Z.A. Zhade, A.Yu. Shadzhe, S.A. Lyausheva, op. cit.

[11] See: G. Osipov, I. Karabulatova, G. Shafranov-Kutsev, L. Kononova, B. Akhmetova, E. Loskutova, G. Niyazova, op. cit.

strange sounding music and songs, their methods of upbringing children, their attitude toward education, and their rejection of generally accepted hygienic norms.

This means that local administrations should, among other things, prevent ethnic conflicts and all sorts of migrant phobias and master every possible method to add efficiency to the adaptation strategies applied to both sides. Today, the following phenomena of ethnic interaction should be regulated to achieve a lower level of ethnic tension: phobia of migrants, ideas that force could and should be used to resolve ethnic disagreements, involvement of large masses of people in conflict forms of interaction, and the widespread idea that the government does not do enough to take the interests of the people into account.

It seems that the experts have agreed that ethnosocial processes presuppose that ethnicities change in the course of historical development and interaction with other ethnicities. Today, the economy undervalues production activities high in the mountains, causing extremely ambiguous social and economic repercussions: the standard of living of people living high in the mountains is decreasing. A simple comparison of the economic results of the North Caucasian republics shows that the peoples living in favorable natural conditions are better-off: Adygea, Karachaevo-Cherkessia and, to a lesser extent, Kabardino-Balkaria. Official statistics placed Adygea and North Ossetia among the regions of scanty means, Daghestan, Kabardino-Balkaria, Karachaevo-Cherkessia, and Ingushetia among the poor regions, and Chechnia among the depressive regions.[12] These assessments are based on a comparison of the indices of the republics' economic development.

The poll among experts revealed that the opinions and assessments of ethnosocial processes vary. Some think that ethnosocial processes are nothing more than an attempt to paint social statistics and dynamics with ethnic hues to allow certain groups to promote their corporate interests. Ruslan Khanakhu, a scholar from Adygea, has offered an extensive description of traditional culture compared with contemporary culture: "Traditional culture differs from contemporary culture in its much lower pace of innovation of stereotypes and relatively smaller number of alternatives, much stricter selection of innovations, higher level of autonomy and isolation, and the priority nature of 'imitation' of habitual norms of behavior and thinking compared with rationality and willpower."

Each of the above approaches has enriched our understanding of ethnosocial processes. The fragments of our analysis of the results of the poll of experts discussed above show that the multifaceted nature of ethnosocial processes presupposes an interdisciplinary approach to their study and the need to study the specifics of their social and ethnic components. Let us say once again that this term, which is frequently used in several social-humanitarian disciplines, has not acquired an unambiguous definition. It reflects ethnic processes and phenomena in the context of their interaction with social processes. It should be said that there is a more or less commonly shared opinion that ethnosocial problems as targets of study are highly challenging; this probably explains why in most cases ethnosocial processes are treated as social processes with certain ethnic specifics.

By way of a preliminary conclusion, let us say that, on the whole, exceptions being few and far between, the expert community understands the ethnosocial processes as the sum-total of the action and interaction of ethnic groups, as well as the results of these interactions that greatly change the correlation of group statuses and positions in the system of social hierarchies.

Discussion

The study of the social structures, stratification, and statuses of different social groups is fundamental for sociology. The classical works in this field belong to E. Durkheim, M. Weber, P. Sorokin,

[12] See: V.A. Tishkov, E.B. Belyaeva, G.V. Marchenko, *Chechensky krizis,* Analiticheskoe obozrenie, Moscow, 1995.

T. Parsons, R. Merton, and P. Bourdieu. In Russia, the following prominent scholars have studied the problems of the transformation of social structures: M. Rutkevich, Yu. Arutyunyan, V. Radaev, O. Shkaratan, and Z. Golenkova.

The problems of social transformation of society, modernization, and the democratic transit have occupied and still figure prominently in sociology abroad (Sh. Eisenstadt, P. Sztompka, and E. Allardt). In Russia, study of transformation processes occupies a central place in the research of V. Inozemtsev, T. Zaslavskaya, G. Osipov, R. Khunagov, and others.

B. Anderson, E. Gellner, F. Barth, L. Hagendorn, Yu. Bromley, and others have paid a lot of attention to the problems of ethnicities and the phenomenon of ethnicity.

Contemporary Russian experts concentrate on ethnosocial processes, which are coming to the fore in Russian social studies: V. Tishkov, Z. Sikevich, L. Drobizheva, and others have published the results of their studies in a collective monograph and collection of articles. A. Zdravomyslov, E. Pain, V. Barsamov, M. Mnatsakanyan, and others have studied and continue to study national and ethnic movements, elites, migrations, diasporas, conflicts, etc.

G. Denisova and V. Belozerov have made great contributions to the study of ethnosocial and ethnopolitical processes; the problems of ethnic migration and ethnic crime in the region have been studied by V. Petrov, S. Ryazantsev, V. Belozerov, and V. Rakachev. O. Bubenok,[13] S. Vorobyev, and A. Erokhin have written a lot about the ethnic aspects of social inequality in the region. Prof. Khanakhu has written about the ethnocultural specifics of the North Caucasian peoples, provided an integral analysis of the region's traditional culture, and outlined the foundations of the North Caucasian identity.

The ethnosocial structure of the Northern Caucasus has objective social, economic, political, and cultural reasons for its reproduction. It is regarded as the result of the interaction of individual ethnic subsystems with institutional structures and cultural traditions of their own. Indeed, in polyethnic societies, cultural specifics of interacting ethnicities are as important as their common social mechanisms of transformation. The political status, the social and economic specifics of ethnicities, their social potential, and the social distances that separate them can be regarded as important indicators of the ethnosocial structure. Much has already been written about the various aspects of the culture of the North Caucasian peoples[14]; the religious aspects of the life of ethnicities have been discussed by Svetlana Lyausheva, while the ethnic values of the Northern Caucasus as a sociocultural system have been analyzed by Asiet Shadzhe.[15]

The topics are highly varied; however, many of the studies are highly fragmentary, which makes it next to impossible to identify the common and systemic nature of the ethnosocial problems of the studied region. This work is intended as a wide-scale generalization and theoretical formulation of the problem of transformation of the region's ethnosocial structures.

Conclusion

The recent common trends have demonstrated that the social and political situation in the Caucasus is fairly stable despite the crises in some spheres of social relations.

Experts have rightly pointed out that the ethnosocial processes in Adygea intensified as the region moved toward the Sochi Olympics: the wide-scale construction projects created jobs for the

[13] See: O. Bubenok, "The Adyghe Factor in the Ethnopolitical Development of the Northern Caucasus," *Central Asia and the Caucasus*, Vol. 16, Issue 2, 2015, pp. 131-142.

[14] See: B.Kh. Bgazhnokov, *Ocherki etnografii obshcheniya adygov*, Elbrus, Nalchik, 1983; K.Kh. Unezhev, *Fenomen adygskoy (cherkesskoy) kultury,* El-Fa, Nalchik, 1997; K.Kh Unezhev, Zh.A. Kalmykov, A.B. Etuev, *Kultura i ethnologia narodov KBR,* KBGU, Nalchik, 2004.

[15] See: Z.A. Zhade, A.Yu. Shadzhe, S.A. Lyausheva, op. cit.

region's young people. These processes were marked by mutual penetration of ethnic cultures, their enrichment, and social integrity of sorts as the starting point for forming a common Russian identity. It has been developing through a gradual blending of the evolutionary and transformational development vectors.

According to most experts, ethnosocial processes can be evolutionary and transformational at one and the same time. This means that one part of an ethnicity might evolve, while another transforms. The evolutionary side corresponds to the development of large ethnic communities with titular or subject-developing statuses, while the transformational side corresponds to the minor ethnic communities surviving under strong assimilation pressure and autochthonous ethnic groups living compactly amid other ethnicities.

Some think that the current ethnosocial processes in the Caucasus are evolutionary in most cases, that is, they are unfolding within the framework of specific ethnicities. Today, ethnic migrations have already changed the ethnic balance in all of the North Caucasian republics of the Russian Federation. The following trends dominate in the general process of the ethnic changes in the region:

(1) colonization of the valleys by the mountain peoples;

(2) greater ethnic diversity of the Russian sub-region of the Northern Caucasus (the Krasnodar and Stavropol Territories and the Rostov Region);

(3) a noticeable decrease in the number of Russians in all of the North Caucasian republics;

(4) greater monoethnicity of some republics (Ingushetia, North Ossetia, and Chechnia).

Ethnic migrations are mass movements of ethnocultural groups from one place to another. In the last few decades, the migration flows in the Northern Caucasus have developed into ethnic and closely interconnected phenomena. Migration of autochthonous peoples is caused by inner ethnic circumstances (demography and changes in employment structure), while Russian and other non-autochthonous groups migrate under the pressure of external causes (ethnic tension and conflicts in their places of settlement, crises in industries that provided most of the Russian population with employment). The region's expert community has pointed out that ethnic tension is the one of the states (characteristics) of society; it presupposes ethnic cooperation identified by goals, axiological-philosophical orientations, and the requirements of ethnicities. This means that its content should not be reduced to negative interpretations. To conceptualize ethnic tension we should understand its heuristic potential for the study of society.

Ethnic mobilization has allowed the titular ethnicities (not necessarily the largest ones, but those possessing significant political resources) to largely determine the nature of the legal, social, and economic processes in the North Caucasian republics. In some cases, this has triggered ethnic conflicts and stirred up migrant outflows from the region.