

INTERNATIONAL FOUNDATION ECC  
(Kurguinjan Foundation)

Dr. Serguei Kurguinjan

# LESSONS OF BLOODY OCTOBER

October 3-4, 1993 in Moscow,  
in Russia and in the World

Analysis and prognosis

Moscow 1994



# RUSSIA XXI

**Analytical politological journal «RUSSIA XXI»  
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**It is edited by International Foundation ECC leadered by Serguei Kurginjan  
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Theory and practice of political games

**Dr. Serguei Kurginjan**

LESSONS  
OF BLOODY OCTOBER

October 3-4, 1993 in Moscow,  
in Russia and in the World

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**File of inter-related political documents  
which orient the new opposition  
after October events**

From mountly review  
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**MOSCOW 1994**

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# *Mass Media: the Scandalous Popularity*

## **Serguei Kurguinjan**

The name of Serguei Kurguinjan is not new for our readers. Together with the corporation «Experimental Creative Center» (ECC) it is frequently mentioned in press. It is said, that this Corporation possesses the status of an omnipotent empire.

Kurguinjan and his (ECC) «not only control the policy in the USSR, but the policy of many governments of other countries as well». That's what was said on TV by St.Petersburg journalist Alexander Nevzorov. In one of the «Moscow News» article they even dropped a hint, that after the seizure of power in the Kremlin, Kurguinjan was planning to seize it in the «White House» as a mysterious adviser... of the President of Russia himself.

Moreover, only on the supposition(!) of some relations of Kurguinjan with one or another figure in the government of the Russia Federation they are bringing up the question of the credit to the government.

The dossier of Serguei Kurguinjan goes from one edition to the other. He is called «Our Soviet Grigory Rasputin», «a mysterious advisor of the Kremlin leaders», «the bird Phoenix of the provocation», «the script writer of political theater»... And everywhere we see some touch of mysticism, of secrecy.

«Nezavisimaya Gazeta» («Independent Newspaper», No 22, 19.02.91) wrote: «The agony of political institutes... produces political shamans... Grishka Rasputin received an opportunity to break down and to nominate the ministers. The whole world is the stage... For example, high-ranking persons of the Soviet state (who are playing roles in the theater of stage manager Kurguinjan) are studying zealously the roles, which have been hastily written for them».

«Sobesednik» («Interlocutor») (No 28, 1991) announced: «Serguei Kurguinjan is a mysterious personality. He is a producer of the theater «On Boards», an assistant to the partisans of the «Pamyat» («Memory») and the «inters», the last mystical hope of neo-Bolsheviks, the saviour of the CPSU, theoretician of the communism as a new religion, the head of a secret corporation «Experimental Creative Center»... He also is the author of the program of taking the country out of the crisis and of a much-talked-of story on «the conspiracy of western bankers».

They write about some incredible privileges «bestowed» to the ECC. Moreover, they beware («Nezavisimaya Gazeta» from 17.09.91): «ECC Corporation is the brain center of the group of the deputies «Soyuz», of the «inters» from the Baltic states, of the State traitors from Moscow... And this Corporations proceeds working on the same conditions as before. And it would be very sad, if the new Russian and the all-Union administration decided to make use out of

advises of this authoritative organization. Even the vice-Premier of Russia Oleg Lobov had found time, right on the eve of the Putsch, to sign the order No 910-r on the tax privileges for Kurguinjan's department, presented by Valentin Pavlov. It is interesting to know, whether the new authority of the KGB took back their employers, who had been working in the ECC over the courtly whispering».

But when one sees real documents concerning activity of S.Kurguinjan and his Corporation, it becomes obvious, that thoughtless journalists have created a lot of myths.

## Facts of Real Biography

**Serguei Kurguinjan** is Ph.D. in physics and mathematics and a professional stage manager.

**First stage of activity (end of 70ies, beginning of 80ies).** He is the head of the theater «On Boards». He was always in confrontation with authorities and with an official ideology of that time, as we may see from publications in press of the beginning of the 80ies. In spite of many scandals he created probably the most refined and elite theater in Moscow for the intellectuals. In 1986 he created and developed a new mechanism of creation and functioning of new, self-dependent professional theaters.

**Second stage (from 1987 till 1989).** The group of specialists is formed around S.Kurguinjan, among them sociologists, economists, culturologists and politologists. They opened an active discussion of the processes, which occur in our country. Then appeared the idea of creation of a multilateral creative center, which could unite the efforts of scientists with new non-ordinary ideas and which could give them an opportunity to form independent scientific groups to effectuate and realize these ideas. Such collectives are called «venture» ones in the countries of the West, but in Russia at that time there were no any of this type. New, peculiar idea of Kurguinjan consisted in uniting cultural, educational and research programs under the same roof. He was convinced, that this could give a significant effect.

Beginning from 1988 the group of politologists is regularly going to the «hot points» and makes there situational analysis. The concept of the «arch of instability» was born at that time (and later it was proved). They were making prognoses of the situation development. The new method of systematic research is formed gradually, a new model of geopolitical process appears, and this model is presented to the public (by means of publications in the open press) and to the authorities (by means of a series of analytical papers). But nobody wanted to listen to their bewaring of the forthcoming tragedies.

**Third stage (from 1990 till now).** Edition of the book «Postperestroika» (autumn of 1990) and publication in «Moskovskaya Pravda» of the article «Lithuanian syndrome» (February of 1991) brought to Kurguinjan's group a sensational popularity. In spring 1991 the same daily published a number of his

articles and two conceptual works: «To Prevent Catastrophe, to Provide for the Society Development» and «The Destiny of the Communism».

The analysis of these publications as a whole allows us to speak of Kurguinjan as an ideologist of pragmatic orientation, who wants to relate new, «post-industrial» trends in the development of the leading countries with the objective possibilities of our society. Kurguinjan himself declares, that his political aim is to maintain all political forces in the limits of reality, independent of their orientation.

In parallel with active publishing activity, Kurguinjan remains at head of the theater and of the ECC, which now attracts attention of high-ranking authorities. But, naturally, the tendency to discredit ECC, to cut down its contacts with the leading figures grows simultaneously.

As a result appears the series of publications in the daily «Nezavisimaya Gazeta», concerning some incredible rights, as if «bestowed» to the ECC by the ex-Premier Pavlov. But if one sees the real text of the Order No 200 (20.03.91) signed by V.S.Pavlov, it becomes evident, that there are no any financial or commercial privilege.

As for political prognoses, the group of politologists of ECC in the last few years has given a number of analytical materials to the governing authorities of our country. These materials have described beforehand the course of events with a very high exactitude. But as Kurguinjan sees it, neither the Council of Ministers of the USSR, nor the President, who had shown a great interest in Kurguinjan's analytical work, did really make practical conclusions out of his analysis.

Even in spring of 1993 the leaders of Russia did not make practical conclusions out of this analysis. Kurguinjan at that time was invited by Khasbulatov to the post of his political adviser. Kurguinjan was the partisan of political methods of solution of the conflict between the «White House» and the Kremlin. The other «special adviser», Stepan Bobkov (from the KGB) pronounced himself for the military methods. Bobkov won. On September 30, 1993 Kurguinjan was turned out of the White House at machine-gun points.

The rest of the story is known: the battles of October 3-4, 1993.

## PRELIMINARY WORDS

The events of October 4th and the following «elections» have definitely divided the opposition into «proper» one, that means those, who are ready to play with the rules, proposed by «October» winners, and into «improper» one, i.e. those, who cannot accept such games. I believe I belong to the second, «improper» part of the opposition movement. I do not blame the others to be collaborationists, but any one has his own way. Everybody had his own experience with the October tragedy. Here, in this system analysis I propose my understanding of what had happened.

The fundamentals here lie not in the schemes and equations, but in the perception of ill reality, of lie and reservations where they should not be. So, to go through the mist of general words, exclamations and interjections I apply to the catharsis of numbers.

My work is destined to those, who having been burned by the fire of October 4th, do not give rise to their passions and emotions, and realize necessity of the «other way».

«Yes, we will take another way, burning in the fire of impassible numbers and equations the half-truth, which is worse than lie», that is what I'm saying in this series of reports only to those who hold the same views as I do.

**Block I**

**WHAT HAVE SHOWN  
THE EVENTS  
OF OCTOBER 4th, 1993**

Tragic events of October 4th, 1993 have shown, that in general the hope on the active support of the Supreme Soviet and the Congress by different forces, capable to contradict to the executive power, was vain. The facts speak for themselves.

1. There were not even those 100.000 participants, who had taken part in the manifestation of May 9th, 1993. The street leaders did not fulfil their obligations. The problem «why» must be studied (I would not say «investigated») calmly and objectively. Any party willing to win should make the analysis of its defeats.

2. There was not any political strike. In general the factories and plants did not show any reaction to the presidential Decree No 1400. Where were the syndicates «supporting» the Supreme Soviet? Where was the Corps of directors, faithful to the Parliament? Where were those organizations, presumptuously declaring themselves «concentrators of the will of the workers and directors»? Instead of a definite response to this question we have the mutual complements of the cuckoo and the cock («the cuckoo praises the cock because he praises cuckoo») and some vague late damnations to the «yeltsinism and yeltsinists». And — is that all?

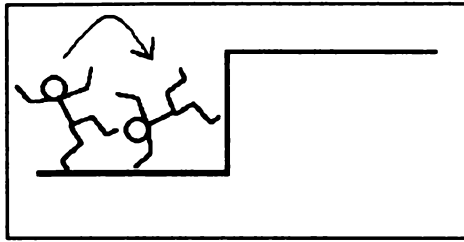
3. There was not any support, promised by the force structures. All those officers' unions, clubs of high-ranking military men, murmuring in the corners about the mundialism and Euro-Asianism, all those new force ministers — what was that? Was that a bluff or a double game? And what kind of the opposition is that, that does not try to find the answers even to these questions.

4. The behavior of regional «nomenclature» needs a special analysis, as the main part of the leaders of the Soviets in republics and regions, belonging to the old party-administrative elite, has demonstrated to the society its political inability. The Soviets in province could not (feared, did not want to) lead the political struggle for the Soviet power (that is, for their own selves!) even in such case, where there was a 100%, absolutely legal cause, the forcing of the Constitution by the executive power. And we must make the corresponding, and not in the least particular deductions.

Obviously, the said «leaders» (with all their administrative experience) suffer the paralysis of political will. They exist in the world of steady forms, reflecting the only one reality — their ill collective «Ego». «Nomenclature» in its main part fears the Politics as the concentrate of the Time, it can not go away from the bureaucratic world of Statics, Metaphysics to the political world of Dynamics and Dialectics. Its will is suffering in the Hell of repressive phobias and revengeful strives. It wishes to take back all and at once. In its misty night dreams everything happens effortlessly, on its own, by the move of the magic bar. And these apolitical dreams the «nomenclature» is trying to make pass for political reality.

I'd like to give there the graphic scheme (picture 1, 1a). There is some political barrier of the height  $h$ . The «nomenclature» person strives to take it. He does not think what will happen, when he is on the top of it. The most important is the power.

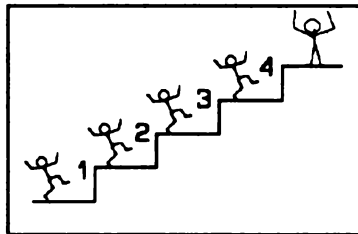
*Picture 1*



So, such person is trying to jump on the top, but he cannot achieve this, as the barrier is too high. He falls after every jump. And, as we know, there is also the blood of the simple members of the movement, who are behind such a «leader». The leader remains intact and jumps again. He prepares himself, he lets his muscles grow and... falls again, causing the death of those who are behind. So, what is he unable to understand or does not want to?

The obvious thing. That he should move step by step, that he should create the movement and go ahead with it.

*Picture 1a*



Why? The thing is, that in this case the opposition leader (either the former party person, stricken by the defeat of the party «nomenclature», or the «marginal client» of such a person, suffering from the complex of his marginal inferiority) is often afraid, that on the very first stair he will be pushed back, as his incapability shows itself, and the power will be gone from him. And they reason only in the categories of their personal power. I was present on many of such discussions (to construct or not to construct political staircase) and had a lot of chances to see, that it is my scheme, that works.

So, the classic «nomenclature» and its clientele — oppositional non-formal leaders — cannot create a political work. For them: everything or nothing, they are ready to jump infinitely, trying to take the barrier of the power (of the power absolute and without any control, as they understand the power), in order not to create the staircase, not to do the dirty work of creation of political constructions, which only can help to achieve the top. So, did this political jumping, this political

arrogance, this insolence to the real political labour and the constant revelation of political inadequacy in evaluation of the events receive any negative attitude? No! But can it lead to a new defeat? Yes! Let us finally accept the obvious thing.

5. Analysis of the declarations of oppositional leaders shows, that they make the stake on the weak strata, first of all on the so called civil, non-military budget workers. Here I mean, that the Power will find the ways to give the necessary resources to the force, military structures. There is not a single move to recur to the aims and interests of the «strong» groups of population, able to bring the opposition to the power and then to change the situation really for good. Alas. And the democrats are not going to hand over the power without any struggle. The struggle, where the oppositionists are going to send their civil workers of the budget enterprises.

6. We must stress the unclearness in the understanding of the meaning of October seizure of power.

We must admit, that the Decree No 1400 means the change in political life of our country. Not only the Parliament was dismissed, not only the Constitution was forced, but at the same time (according strictly to the idea of bourgeois revolutionariness, proclaimed by the Bourboulis team) the political institutes of Russia were changed voluntarily, the power was taken from the Soviets, and that means, that what happened, was the bourgeois coup d'etat. Then we must accept one or another attitude towards such an act. Any time and in any situation the bourgeoisie creates the new form of public relations by means of dictatorship and blood and civil wars. Do we want the bourgeoisie to come, do we accept as legal inevitable bloody coup with the changes it will bring to public and political situation in the country? If we want — and the main part of bourgeois patriotically oriented parties admits that the establishment of bourgeois relations is good, — so what do they want from the «octiabrists»? If we do not want (which, obviously, must be the position of the communists), so how can we bless this coming of a «new boss» by our going to the elections? And, finally, where are we leading to? To the restoration of political situation, which existed before 1985? Then we must say that clearly! But these institutes were destroyed as a consequence of objective causes. Its intrinsic defects made this building so weak and rotten, that with a little push it fell down. Obviously, there was a conspiracy of different internal, «nomenclature» elites, including the secrete services of the country, party and comsomol apparatus, the part of intelligentsia close to the nomenclature. This conspiracy was aimed namely to the change of public and political institutes of the country. But did these forces disappear from political scene? Or did the alternative structures become stronger? Did the classes (here included the criminality), who were the moving force of this bourgeois coup, disappear from political scene? Did the national elites of the former Soviet Union republics, who were striving for power, relax and stop to transfer their money to the foreign banks? Are they ready to restore the powerful political Union? So, what is the strategy of the struggle and which are the resources? There is no answer for this question.



7. Here we see the underestimation of the humiliating participation in elections and State Duma activity. Moral and political losses, concerning the acceptance of the rules of the game, established by the octiabrists, are not taken into account. But these losses are immense! Here I give an example.

Let us imagine, that the two parties (the Congress of the People's deputies and the executive power) are playing political chess, and one of the parties (the executive power) begins to lose. One step before the mate (the forthcoming November Congress and the amends to the Constitution, limiting the presidential power), and the losing party throws the pieces away from the board, takes the board and hits with it in the face the people's deputies, who were going to win. Hits with all his forces, just when the blood shows up. Then he puts the pieces on the board again and says to the hit: «Let us sit down and play again, only wash your face first!» And they wash their faces and sit to play again. Sometimes even with the fresh bandages on their political and physical faces from the blows received on October 4th.

8. We see the astonishing alliance of liberal, human right defending and communist, patriotic opposition. This alliance appeared, metaphorically speaking, on the linguistic territory of the liberals-human right defenders. The patriots were forced to admit their priority, to accept their symbolic and semantic row, and then to apply in a choir to democracy, human rights, general human values etc. In the same united way they had to blaspheme the imperial interests of the yeltsinists, to praise «Amnesty International», «Helsinki Watch», to create the American committee on the human rights defence in Russia, to apply for the international control of elections. But this is not a small detail! This is not a tactical trick! That means the refutation of their own political language, and hence, of their right to the power! As the language is the power! And there is nothing more pragmatic, than the care for political and linguistic self («das Selbst»). The lack of such care shows the absolute absence of this self («das Selbst»), the absence of strategic will, changed for reflex of «politicism» with all the coming out consequences. What are them? We will discuss it in the first report of the series.

## **Block II**

# **HOW DESTRUCTION PROCESSES WILL DEVELOP**

In this report I shall try to describe the model of destruction in the most abstract, mathematical form. In such models the processes, participants, steps, results and risks are used and they are common both in Western and in Russian politology. But here we will propose the model of description of explosive processes on the bases of the theory of cycles and hypercycles, probably, in the first time. Such models have been successfully used by both natural and human science. But I personally know nothing about the use of such models in politology. Some political practicers may ask, is it worth now, in a so difficult moment, try to find new methods of quantitative description of political process? I believe, it is just necessary, as further discussions on general humanitarian level do not correspond to new tasks standing before the analytical science. Humanitarian politology trends more to describe than to change the world. Practical struggle for victory in new realities demands not only qualities, but quantities as well. Even the best humanitarian model may also be accused in ideological preferences. And as I am not an impartial person at all, and I would never neglect it, so here I would like to use only the language of strict definitions and numbers.

Mathematical model of the cyclic process supposes the group of operators, changing some starting political resources into the series of intermediate products (half-finished products, ready-to-use products, blocks of ready-to-use products, mechanisms, made of these blocks, etc.), and, at last, the extended reproduction of the starting resource. Depending which type of the curve follows the development of a resource, one may speak about explosion, growing pressure of the non-explosive type, stationary reproduction or the fading of the process and coming to the stage of stability.

What do we have at the moment?

First, the resource. Let us consider as a resource the discontent of the people (DP). This resource of political process may show up only on the certain type of its growing on the various stages of the complex political process. Taken alone, it is everything and nothing. It is «less than victory, but also more». It is a condition, and not a result. Energy of the masses (the dream of Lenin, by now forgotten by his political heirs) needs reformative political operators.

1. The first operator is the «energy collection» (EC). This operator changes the discontent of the people to the force pressure effected upon the Power (FP). Here we imply some integral index, defined by the levels of the meetings' activity, signatures' collections, strength of the criticism in the mass media, intensity of the propagandistic campaign, scale of the force actions (conflicts in the streets, open action on the seizure of power, terroristic actions, etc.). The first equation of the process, corresponding to the first stage of the cycle, may be written as follows:

$$DP - (EC) - FP \quad (1)$$

So, here we have the reformation (scalar or matrix) of the people's discontent (DP) into the force pressure on the Power (FP), realized by means of the linear or non-linear operators of the energy collection (EC). Thus, EC is the first

operator of the cycle.

2. The second operator is the maintenance of the power positions in response to force pressure (MPP). It needs one or another force response to the actions of the opposition. The force pressure on the power suggests inevitably the strategy of force response (SFR). MPP is an operator, that changes by means of some combination of actions the force pressure of the opposition (FP) into the strategy of force response (SFR). When we are speaking about the SFR, we mean some integral characteristic, averaged on the number of elements. (Examples of the elements-actions: scattering of the demonstrations, arrests of the leaders, shooting to the crowd, decrees, aimed at restriction of political interests of the leading groups of population, elimination of the power structures, closure of political organizations, etc.) Here we enclose also the action of the policy of «cake» along with the policy of «whip»: privileges to the military forces and other force structures, to the supporting population groups, new ideological and political gestures, political shows of the desired trends, etc. The second equation of the cycle can be written as follows:

$$FP - (MPP) - SFR \quad (2)$$

I should stress again, that the strategy of the force response may be presented, as the other variables, not only in the integral-scalar, but in the vector form as well. Then relationship between the vectors is realized by means of the reforming matrix (MPP) — tensor of political tensions. I remember, how in the daily «Dyen» («The Day») one of the key experts of the corporation ECC (Experimental Creative Center) was accused in ignoring the use of tensors and the rules of creation of systems of tensor equations. But then in the daily «El-Cods», close to the accuser from the «Dyen», a scheme of political actions of the opposition was given without any scalars, nor tensors. There was only political naivety in the worst traditions of socialist political art. This article is so illustrative, that it merits to be entirely reproduced here.

*Appendix: Boris Polytsev  
«El-Cods» No 10, august 1993.*

## *THE FIRST THREE HOURS AFTER YELTSIN*

*Yeltsin's power ends up shamefully, in the fire and blood. Our descendents will see his name in the textbooks along with the names of Grigory Otrepyev, Getman Mazepa, General Vlasov and the prince Alexis. The devastating invasion of the wild hordes of Chinguis-han and Batyi, overflow of the Vermacht gangs and Guderian tanks did not bring to Russia so many losses as a few years of «democratic» ruling. And many centuries after us Russian children will startle in their cradles at the words «Bourboulis», «Bonnair», «Starovoitova».*

*The end of Yeltsin's era is inevitable. Hence, the main task standing before*

*all the sane forces of Russia is to provide for peaceful and bloodless process of taking the presidential powers from Yeltsin and giving them to the vice-president Rutskoy. The forthcoming events depend upon success or lack of success of this action. According to the new Constitution of Russia Federation it may become possible in three cases:*

- the death of the President;*
- impossibility for the President to fulfil his obligations because of the state of his health;*
- impeachment.*

*It is really possible, that all the three cases occur. Here, in case of Yeltsin's death the process of resigning of his commission will be the least difficult. It is impossible to conceal the fact of the President's death, as a large number of people from the Presidential guard and other services will know this fact at once.*

*It is also impossible to keep back the fact of a serious disease of the President, which may lead to the loss of brain control functions. If the data on the periods of Yeltsin's dipsomania are known to Russian and foreign mass media, then the data on any irreversible change in his health will be known at once too.*

*The most difficult question is what will happen in case of impeachment. In the spring this year Yeltsin with the court of force ministers informed, that in case of impeachment he would not obey to the Constitution and to the decision of the Parliament and would go to the direct confrontation. It is almost impossible, that he has changed his view. As we consider the possibility of the impeachment very high, our aim will be to examine the first steps, most probably taken by the President, vice-president and the Congress, respectively.*

*It is obvious, that the logic of behavior and acts of concrete high-ranking officers and politicians to some extent has the character of prognosis. Still, this scenario of events is made using the results of detailed analysis of their personal qualities and of their previous activity.*

### *Beginning of events — time «H»*

*After the declaration of the votes on the impeachment (the decision is made), Yeltsin remains in the Kremlin trying to concentrate in his hands all the instruments of state and administrative control. He leaves his working room and moves to the underground bunker in order to avoid probable (to his mind) bombardment by the military aviation faithful to the Supreme Soviet. The head of the Main Administration of the Kremlin General-Lieutenant M. Barsukov takes the measures of defence: the gates from the sides of Red Square and Alexander Garden are blocked, as well as the underground transport communications; the heavy tanks of the presidential regiment enter the Kremlin; on the Kremlin walls appear additional guards with machine-guns. On the roofs of the governmental buildings the snipers and the air-defence patrols occupy their places.*

*The supporters of Yeltsin are called to the Kremlin to make the urgent consultations on the situation, among them: Mayor of Moscow Yu. Luzhkov,*

*Minister of Defence P.Grachev, Minister of Internal Affairs V.Yerin, head of Moscow and Moscow region department of the Ministry of Security Ye.Savostianov, General K.Kobets, M.Poltoranin, S.Yushenkov, A.Kotionkov, G.Bourboulis, the members of the presidential Council and Government, the heads of television, radio and other pro-presidential mass media, as well as the leaders of «democratic» parties and movements.*

*The head of the KGB Ye.Primakov declares himself ill and refuses to come to the Kremlin.*

*All the departments of the presidential administration start twenty four-hours working regime. The meeting of Yeltsin's supporters opens in the bunker.*

*The work of the Congress of the People's Deputies moves to the «White House» (the parliamentary building on the Krasnopresnenskaya embankment) in order to avoid the internment of R.Khasbulatov, A.Rutskoy and the leaders of the Supreme Soviet of the Russia Federation.*

### **«H» + 30 minutes**

*The Congress proceeds with its work in the White House on Krasnopresnenskaya embankment. Alexander Rutskoy issues the Decree declaring his acceptance of the post of the President of Russia and of the functions of the General-in-Chief of Russia Military Forces.*

*Direct television and radio-transmission begins from the Congress-hall. All the decisions of the Congress and Decrees of the new President go directly to the local administrations of the regions of the Russia Federation.*

*Generals Grachev and Yerin and the Minister of External Affairs Kozyrev are dismissed by Rutskoy's Decrees, approved by the Congress. Their places are taken by General-Colonel A.Achalov (Minister of Defence), General-Mayor A.Gourov (Minister of Internal Affairs), General of the Army V.Barannikov (Minister of Security), I.Andronov (Minister of External Affairs).*

*The General Headquarters disconnect the centers of the commutation of strategic nuclear forces from the communication net of Yeltsin and Grachev.*

*Newly appointed force ministers with their guard go to their Ministries.*

*Rutskoy calls for the FAPSI (KGB service) president.*

*Supporters of the ex-president proceed with their discussions in the Kremlin. The automatic system reports on the absence of communication with the nuclear weapons. Yeltsin, furious, enraged orders Grachev to find out, what's going on.*

*The drivers of the heavy trucks, on the order of Luzhkov begin moving their machines to the streets of Moscow. Their dislocation is coordinated by the services of the Mayor House. The active members of the democratic movement organize non-sanctioned meeting on the Red Square. Here come the groups of the fighters headed by Boxer, workers of the private guard organizations and detective structures. The cars bring hot food and drinks. Khassids are seen in the crowd. The «authorities» of the criminal world are hiring gangs of criminals and racketeers. The crowd of brokers stops the transport movement on Miasnitskaya street and*

*begins to move to Loubianka square with the huge three-colored banner, shouting anti-constitutional slogans. Someone throws the stone to the window of Russia Commodity and Primary Matters Exchange. Panic spreads inside: they believed it was a bomb.*

*The radio station «Echo of Moscow» calls for the moscovites to «defend the legal President Yeltsin» against the «nomenclature-communist Congress».*

*A.N.Yakovlev calls the commutator of the USA embassy and asks the Ambassador for political refuge. Others in a huge wave follow him. The Gorbachevs come through the gates of American embassy on Volvo. Some minutes later they are followed by the car of Bakatin. Militiamen from the guard look at them angrily but do not stop them.*

*Hundreds of thousands of moscovites are looking attentively at the TV screens. They are congratulating each other: «Today is our day! It is our festival!» Aeroflot offices are overcrowded by the people trying to get tickets to the nearest flight out of Russia. They are giving packs of dollars to the cashiers, eager to get the tickets to the flights abroad.*

### **«H» + 1 hour**

*Yeltsin calls through the radio to the citizens of Russia to step forward against an «attempt of political revanche». He gives an order to the head of Moscow military region to bring to the full military readiness the 2nd moto and the 4th tank divisions, the 27th special moto brigade and to wait for the order to enter Moscow. The similar task is given to the head of internal military forces of the Ministry of internal affaires of RF concerning the special moto division of internal armed forces named after Dzerzhinskiy.*

*The General Barsukov is nominated Commandant of Moscow. He imposes the curfew in Moscow beginning from 23:00.*

*A.Rutskoy gives the order for General-Colonel L.Kuznetsov, the head of Moscow military region, to accept the post of the first Deputy Minister of defence of the RF and prohibits for him to obey to the orders of Yeltsin and Grachev.*

*The Congress of the People's Deputies calls for the soldiers of the Military Forces, for the employees of security services and internal affaires to maintain calmness and remain faithful to the Constitution.*

*V.Achalov comes to the office of the Minister of defence and gives the order to convoke the leading corps of Military Forces and to proceed with the open board meeting of the Ministry of Defence of the RF. The same actions are done by the Generals Barannikov and Gourov. Departments of counter-intelligence service and the service of self-security of the Ministry of Security of the RF give Barannikov the documents and full operational information concerning those, who are considered to be the agents of foreign secrete services. The documents are given to the General Public Prosecutor of the RF V.Stepankov. The regiments of airborne troops, brought back from the Baltic states have declared their full support to Rutskoy and Achalov.*

*Savostianov is dismissed from his position.*

*The Constitutional Court meets to consider the situation in the country. The judge Ametistov begins swearing and cursing at Zorkin in an attempt to stop the meeting, but nobody in the Court supports him.*

*On Krasnopresnenskaya embankment on the calls of FNS (Front of National Salvation), CP RF, «Trudovaya Moskva» («The Working Moscow»), «Trudovaya Rossia» («The Working Russia») more than 300.000 participants are gathered, they begin constructing the barricades to defend the «White House».*

*The Commandant of the General Headquarters refuses to let Grachev enter the building of the Ministry of Defence. The driver of the special car and the officers receive the order from the General-Colonel M.Kolesnikov to hamper further resistance of Grachev.*

*Through the channels of the ITAR-TASS is published the communication of Nikolai Riabov on his unconditional support of Rutskoy and Khasbulatov.*

## **«H» + 2 hours**

*In Moscow the criminal gangs begin destruction of commercial and private shops. The sellers leave their working places, frightened to death.*

*Militiamen begin struggling with the gangsters. Moscow OMON declares, that in the present situation its functions consist only in struggle against the organized criminals, and that they are not going to fight against the people.*

*In the Mayor House Shahnovsky and Dontsov begin burning the documents.*

*The heavy trucks are taking places around the Kremlin. The drivers look perplexed, many of them are leaving trying to avoid the problems. On the Red Square there is a meeting of a huge crowd of people. The crowd is roaring, many of the people are drunk to deafness.*

*On the order of S.Filatov two planes «IL-62» come to 15-minutes attention in the aviation squadron No 235.*

*The session of the assembly of Defence Ministry begins. The Military Chiefs unanimously pronounce themselves faithful to the Constitution and in favour of the new President A.Rutskoy. The assemblies of Security and Internal Affaires Ministries end with the same result. This information immediately goes to the mass media.*

*The verdict of the Constitutional Court on recognition of the Congress decisions is declared. The judge Ametistov this time did not show his «separate opinion».*

*Grachev comes back to the Kremlin. Yeltsin shouts at him and orders to go to the Stuff of Moscow region Military Forces and try to change the situation.*

*The result is null.*

*The Chief of division of internal Military Forces refuses to the cry of Luzhkov to «support the President».*

*The Head of FAPSI breaks all the lines of governmental communications with the Kremlin. Panic and perplexity are spreading among the supporters of the*



*President.*

*The border control guards in the airport of Sheremetievo-2 ask their chiefs for permission for the citizen of Russia G.Kh.Popov to leave the country. When the negative answer is received, the Mercedes-Benz with Popov goes to Moscow on the vertiginous speed. Here the traces of Popov are lost. The Minister of Security of RF A.Nikolayev signs the list of persons, whose leaving of Russia is prohibited till their role in the damages, caused to the State of Russia is clarified.*

### **«H» + 3 hours**

*The heads of Moscow bodies of military forces are swearing allegiance to Rutskoy. The bodies of the students of Military Academy after M.Frunze are going to Krasnopresnenskaya embankment. The people gathered around the «White House» are shouting to them hurrah! The information is announced about the support of the Congress decisions by the local authorities. The Minister of Defence, General Achalov reports to the Congress, that the Chiefs of Military regions have declared their full support to the Congress and the Constitution. Local officers of the Ministries of Defence and Internal Affairs also declared their loyalty to the Constitution.*

*It is announced, that the Prime-Minister Chernomyrdin has separated himself from those members of the Government, who are staying in the Kremlin.*

*The supporters of Yeltsin begin to understand, that they has not a single chance to change the situation. They are looking attentively at the large map of Moscow spread over the huge table. Suddenly the light goes out — the electricity is disconnected from the Kremlin. When two minutes later the light comes back, some people, frightened and perplexed are coming from under the table. Luzhkov dismays and is taken away on the stretcher.*

*Serguei Filatov proposes to fly to Urals on the government planes of the squadron No 235 and there proceed with struggle against Rutskoy. Someone proposes to go abroad. Poltoranin falls in prostration. His guards take him away after the ex-President.*

*The cortege of armored limousines goes through the Borovitskiye gates to Vnukovo airport. The people on the Red Square understand, that they have been betrayed. The crowd rushes to GUM and begins to plunder and break the show-glass. The Minister of Internal Affairs orders the body of «speckled caps» enter the center of the city. The organs of the airport do not give the permission to fly for the presidential plane. It is announced to the board of the plane by the emergency UHF channel, that in the case of non-sanctioned flight, the anti-aircraft forces will stop the flight by means of «corresponding measures».*

*The first Deputy Minister Oleg Lobov says to Yeltsin: «We must obey to the circumstances. We cannot go against the Constitution, public opinion and the common sense. I am ready to begin talks with Rutskoy to find sensible and adequate compromise». After some minutes of difficult thinking the ex-president pronounces: «Yes, I agree. The ambitions of political person must not go against the will of the*

People».

*Kozyrev is sobbing in the corner of the plane.*

*So, what then, may you ask. And then in three month, in accordance with the Constitution new president elections take place. There are many candidates.*

*This elections will definitely turn over the black page of the history of our motherland, the page that has begun in 1985.*

*All the radical democrats, who push Yeltsin to the abyss of non-constitutional actions, must think first. Don't you touch the Constitution and the Supreme Soviet of RF, as the end will be sad for you.*

## Comments of S.Kurginjan

That is what was modelled by the «system thinkers» of the National Salvation Front.

By the way, some writers of the «Literature Russia» accuse «some paradoxalists» in incorrect prognoses for October seizure of power. But, at the same time there is a danger, that will prevail the logic of «El-Cods» with its struggle of the «iron heroes of the opposition» with the «coward bastards», who are at the rule now, in the style of Arabic-Indian movies. That's why I must attract attention of political leaders of the opposition to the true realities of political struggle during those days of September-October.

First of all, it was clear, that on the other side there were sufficiently active and strong leaders. Neither Shumeiko, nor Gaidar, nor Bourboulis are those worthless contemptible individuals, as they are depicted by the journalists of «El-Cods». And the least weak, trembling and stupid of them is Yeltsin. The underestimation of the rival (and it shows itself in every line of this pseudo-scenario) is one of the worst features of the oppositional movement. So; the psychological strength of the rival is under-estimated. What next? And next they are speaking about astonishing over-estimation of their own strength, which seems arrogant, presumptuous, but which is given as «objective numbers» to the leaders of the representative power. And as there rules the spirit of suspicion, spy mania (which is intrinsic to the nomenclature arrogance), so these estimates are suggested as something objectively given as it is, not subject to any discussion.

Then there is psychological resource of the oppositional mandarins. Their behavior in the crucial moment should be studied separately, as well as their inability to proceed with political struggle. Then, there is the resource of 10 units of armored technique produced by the authorities on the 15th day of the struggle (as a result of strange actions of the opposition) and zero (!) potential, shown by the opposition. Their helplessness was under-estimated even by me, as I must admit, with all my extreme negativism. And even then it was necessary for the opposition to make so horrible and shameful mistakes to be able to lose in such situation, that I could not believe that at the moment. So, the limits of the power control from inside, the limits of the double-sensed «struggle» for power inside the opposition were under-estimated by me. It is not that I do not admit my

mistakes. No. I admit them and I make my deductions. But still I'm astounded by the colonialism of political behavior and its main component — the fighting anti-intellectualism — peculiar to our oppositional movement, which they do not want to overcome with amazing persistency. All I would like to ask them is not to mention the tensors at least.

The vector of the strategy of force response (SFR) is exactly this desired resource, which can be adopted by the «second» opposition, peaceful, liberal, human rights defending, commutating with the West. We have already discussed its alliance with the first opposition, and here we state, that it is this alliance, that is the crucial condition of destruction development, bringing death to the regime, but not to the regime alone.

Let us describe in details, how it all happens. The strategy of force response, transforms itself into the system of functions INW (images, not acceptable by the West) by information-interpretation operator (IIO), which is in the hands of the «second» opposition. And here again we can talk either about some vector description, or about unification of the function to some average value. The second is easier to represent on the paper, if we do not want to «mathematize» excessively our report. So, let us put down the third equation:

$$\text{SFR} - (\text{IIO}) - \text{INW} \quad (3)$$

4. The system of the images, not acceptable by the West, may include an excessive grand-imperialism, chauvinism (as inevitable ideological «cakes»), as well as centralism. Here are also attempts to close the mouth to «glasnost», as well as the limits to the force actions against the constitutional organs, which are not so elastic, how Yeltsin might see, as the western opinion contains a lot of elements, which must be taken into account by American President (which is different from the attitude of the Russia President). Here also are «the intermediary elections» in the USA, the opinion of referent groups of the USA, evaluations of the USA experts, significant for these groups, and at last, simply traditions and stereotypes of American perception, actions of internal opposition to Clinton's administration, which is not so obedient to Clinton itself, as ours to Yeltsin, and so on and so forth. As a result, earlier or later, the transformer of the images, non acceptable to the West is converted into the pressure of western groups on the politicians of the West (PPW). The operator, transforming the INW into the PPW, we will call the operator of the balance dislocation (BD).

The fourth equation looks like this:

$$\text{INW} - (\text{BD}) - \text{PPW} \quad (4)$$

5. The western politicians possess their own resource of strength and are able to make decisions, in some cases not taking into account public opinion of the West. Sometimes they ignore even the opinions of their experts. Let us remember the discussions of Clinton with Goldman, Brzesinski, Kissinger. The President has shown them the door and effectuated his own (alternative!) strategy towards Russia. I remember, that Kissinger has reacted to this action in the sense

of the child refrain: «the giraffe is big, he can see better». But we could note the difference between the experts and the risk of personal responsibility (operator RPR) of Clinton for making the decision without taking into account the opinion of competent experts. At certain RPR value the western politician yields to the pressure and makes a political decision in the trend of the pressure. This is reflected by the fifth equation, where the pressure on the western politicians (PWP) is transformed by the operator RPR into decision taking by the western politicians (MDWP). The fifth equation is:

$$\text{PWP} - (\text{RPR}) - \text{MDWP} \quad (5)$$

6. The autonomy of certain economic circles from political decisions of the western power is not so strong, as it may follow from the Marxist theory, which supposes the absolute government of the western capitalists over the politicians. The bases, certainly, defines the super-structure, but to a certain extent and within certain limits. In that sense, we must speak about making corrections, related not only to the influence of transnational capital (TNC) over the State, but also the influence of the State over the TNC, as well as taking into account the phenomenon of super-imperialism, related to the special type of the making statutory of the TNC and the structures, standing above it. But there are their own limits, the limits of economic and political risk. As a result, the process of taking the decisions in the West will inevitably lead to the changes in the economic strategy of the West (CESW). The operator here will be the transformer of MDWP into CESW by the process of the weighing of the system of political and economic risks (SER). Here we include a relatively complex account for balance of acquisitions and losses, as well as an account for the direct commands, given by the politicians to some or other subjects of economic activity, which is not so rare in the West. The sixth equation:

$$\text{MDWP} - (\text{SER}) - \text{CESW} \quad (6)$$

7. The changes in the economic strategy of the West are sufficiently significant for our open economy. But Boris Yeltsin now cannot «close» the economy, as he will lose at once support of the most powerful group in our society, that is, of criminality. And this group is interested in the export of raw materials, in the security of their accounts in western banks, in the possibility to proceed with the robbery of our country and in other conditions, closely associated to the «open» economy. And that means, that the changes (in the undesired direction) of the economic strategy of the West with the help of OE («open economy») operator will be transformed into the worsening of economic situation (WES). So, we have the seventh equation:

$$\text{CESW} - (\text{OE}) - \text{WES} \quad (7)$$

8. The worsening of economic situation (WES) by means of the operator of social-economic discomfort (SED) will increase the starting resource — discontent of the population (DP). But there is one important detail: the worsening of

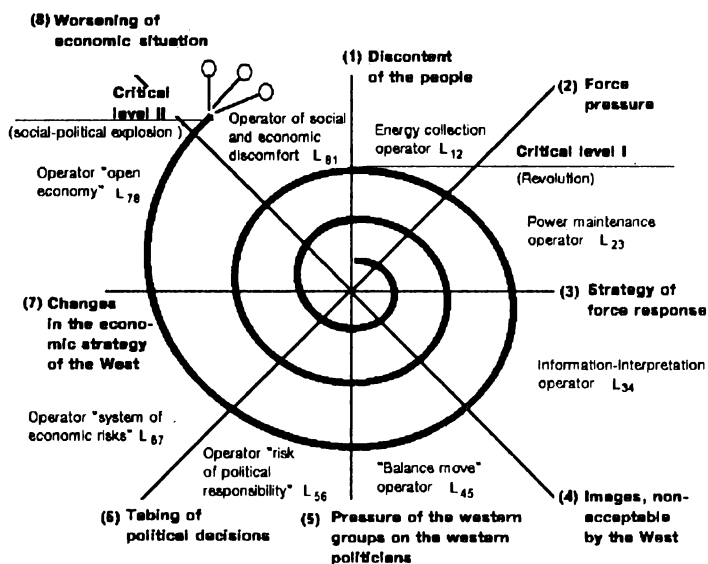
economic situation in itself causes the discontent of the population, but not automatically, as it is seen by some nomenclature leaders of the old opposition. A lot of gaps lies here, which are described by the operator of social discomfort. As in some situations the population will bear relatively significant discomfort, and in the others it will not bear the least significant pressure on its social status. Besides, there is an effect of accumulation of discomfort, doing this operator essentially non-linear.

Eventually, we must know how to calculate and forecast the discomfort, and not to proceed at random. So, the eighth equation is:

$$\text{WES} - (\text{SED}) - (\text{DP}) \quad (8)$$

So, now the circle is closed. The cycle of eight equations defines the dynamics of social explosion, which will inevitably throw away the regime, but at the same time it threatens with deadly consequences for our society and the State. So, all political forces of the country have come to a dilemma: political struggle by means of destruction or something else? But what may be this «something else»? Where are the bifurcation points of the process?

Picture 2.  
The spiral of post-October destruction.



Cycle time —  $t_i$

$$L_{t_i} = L_{\text{cycle}} = L_{12} \cdot L_{23} \cdot L_{34} \cdot L_{35} \cdot L_{56} \cdot L_{67} \cdot L_{78} \cdot L_{81}$$

II  $L_{II} > 1$  — chain reaction

The resulting curve is the spiral with a definite cyclic period. Sooner or later the spiral comes across such a value of one of the two fundamental indexes (DP and FP), where the non-controlled social explosion will begin (at the critical value of DP), or the change of political regime will occur (at the critical value of FP). The new regime in its turn will come to new tensors, cycles and spirals, resulting from its potentials and possibilities. Where and how will the process explode? That is the main question of systematic analytics. Here one may also raise a question of the methods of fading and damping of explosion processes.

The example given above has its particular character. It depicts new political situation, arisen after October 4th, 1993 in only one, but crucial aspect — the aspect of unification of the two oppositions, and shows the opening here field of destructive possibilities. Analysis of this field, comparison of the variants of exploitation of the opening here possibilities and the strict limitations (limit conditions, in mathematical language) are necessary both from pragmatic and moral points of view for responsible and serious politicians. Let nobody speak afterwards about their not knowing what they have been doing, not to create political and historical myths. In fact, what does mean the term «defectiveness» of oppositional structures, so frequently used by me? In mathematical language that means also inability to put down the system of political equations, to make on their bases the curve of the process dynamics (in the given case, it is a spiral), to foreknow the points of catastrophes and their type (!) (instead of pretending to be the «thunderbird»), to impose the limiting conditions.

The population has its right to show discontent essentially energetically. But let us see again, what happens with the energy.

(1) It is collected and transformed into force political action.

(2) Authorities, struggling for maintenance of power positions and acting inadequately, begin to apply the strategy of force response (which took place in the form of presidential Decree No 1400 and the seizure of the «White House»).

(3) This is exactly what was expected by the «second» opposition, and this is why all the parliamentary affair had begun.

This is a very serious political declaration. And I do it with all my responsibility, and that's why I must suggest to the readers my version of events, that took place in our country between August, 1991 and October, 1993.

There are people, who need the false version on the model: «we were living in the Paradise, and those from Belovezhskaya Puscha converted it all into the Hell». Is that true? Let us remember the recent events. After August, 1991 events, caused by non-constitutional process of «new-Ogariov» type, which was going along with the existence of the Parliament of the USSR, which have done a lot of geopolitical crimes against our country (including the acceptance of Yacovlev's model of revision of the results of the 2nd World War by means of «simple censure» of Molotov-Ribbentrop pact, the support of the false version of Sobchak of «Tbilissi bloody crimes of the Soviet troops», etc.), Gorbachev and the leaders of the Republics, again in the non-constitutional manner, dismissed the supreme representative organ of the country (on its own agreement), and that was

accompanied by shameful cowardice (not of all the deputies, but of the main part of them, frankly speaking). So, the strange order was established in the country, some strange reforms having been prepared, and a strange trial against the high-ranking leaders of the Union on some strange legal bases. All that happened before the Belovezhsky conspiracy. It aggravated the situation, but the situation was not created by it. And let us be honest: the events could have been a lot more horrible, with the profound rotting on every level of every territorial and ethnic element of our country, including the heart of the Russian territories — the Russian Federation. At that time, the relative stability of the heart of Big Russia was bought at awful price. And this price was the Belovezhsky agreement.

Now they are trying to reinterpret that situation and to show, that before August (December), 1991 everything was legal and adequate, and then the well-known political hooligans made something «between them three». I consider such interpretation feloniously desinformatory and I suggest to put it down constantly into political documents of the opposition.

Then — after December — political reform of Gaidar began. It was not a reform in the essence, but the problem of establishing the balance of production and consumption on account of restriction of the vital interests of the majority of the population. Even at that time the DP was ready to reveal itself in the form of political actions. Why it did not happen? Because of inadequate energy collection, of showing to the authorities inadequate force actions. This is the first and the second. The coming to the side of the power of the liberal holders of information-interpretation operator, who helped to create the image of the red-brown, the image, not acceptable by the West (INW) and by the majority of the population of our country. A lot of efforts was used to create such an image. At the same time all the efforts to correct the defects of the opposition, to come forward against really fascist phenomena inside the opposition, caused only aggressive attacks of the ultra-liberal press. What was the matter? The fact was, that conversion to fascism was made by those, who were crying with crocodile tears about the blood shed on October 4th, by those, who converted themselves into the allies of the opposition. But where were they before? What's the measure of their responsibility for the blood? We must put this question, and only in such manner we will be able to create non-defect opposition, capable to collect the energy more effectively and having some mechanism of self-defence against hostile information-interpretation actions.

Here I would stress again the importance of the principle of moral and political responsibility for the past. Who participated then in the informational war against its own people? Who brought us to those, massacred on October 4th? Was that those, who are crying them over today? Yes, the very same people, the same structures, the same mass media, the same television channels. Naturally, the people do change. The people change their views. And we must be glad about it. But does that mean concern about the maintenance of integrity of the RF? How then can you explain the fact, that the people, who were preying first for the bourgeois dictatorship, suddenly began crying about the blood? I would prefer

the bonapartists (as obvious enemies) to such persons and forces, who, having brought ideological bases to such a dictatorship and to the disintegration of the country, are crying with crocodile tears either because they had not had the opportunity to shoot at their hateful adversaries (whom they are now giving the hugs), or enraged by the fact, that the country is not desegregating as fast, as they wished, that some potentials still remain, that the remnants of historical logic are still maintained. If Bourboulis team openly declares the bourgeois Western-style dictatorship as their aim and uses the adequate political technologies, so what the fathers and the teachers of the Bourboulis, Yushenkovs, Kostikovs and Poltoranins do want? What are their aims? Which are their models of development? Interests of which classes and groups do they represent? Who supports them? The bosses do not say anything on these items; they only put on work the information-interpretation operator (IIO) and create the system of non-acceptable images, that is being the parasites on the shed blood and the vampires of political process. But what does the opposition think about it? Which is its role in all this? Which direction chooses the smaller mechanism of interpretations, which is still in the hands of the opposition ? The accurate analysis shows, that it works in the same direction, as its «big brother», it is simply connected to this «big brother», and is his yes-man. The political struggle does not disarrange itself in the zero circle — between the people's discontent, collection of the energy, political action and the interpretation of this action in the interests of control of the process. The energy is dissipated, energetic traps has destructive or provocative character, political actions have double meaning and are dislocated with respect to the aims, which are not declared. These are the features of colonial politics. We see the formation of the opposition of colonial type, and its main characteristic feature is the exaggerated role of interpretational schemes, orientated to the West. It seems, that it is not the struggle for the right to choose one's own course, but it is the struggle for the right to be the slave-driver for one's own population. Hence, the following process arises: the strategy of the force response («finally, Boris has opened himself to the blow!» — to the joy of certain persons) is brought to the information-interpretation operator, then partially by the system of back links goes to the population, increasing the people's discontent (DP) in some concealed, hidden, latent forms, but mainly (I insist!) it is translated using various channels to different addresses in the West, creating the system of non-acceptable for the West images of horrible nightmare, existing on the given territory under the guidance of Yeltsin.

Here I want to be properly understood. The massacre in the White House is the crime, as well as the Decree No 1400, and the guilty must be punished. But who are the judges? New Duma deputies? I beg your pardon! They have no right to this because of their political behavior. They approved as legal new elections by the very fact of their participation. Liberals-human rights defenders? The Little Red Hood of Gorbachev Foundation, afraid of Howly-Growly the Wolf of sinister yeltsinism? And who created all this? Who had modelled this Wolf, who took him on his personal plane to Petrozavodsk to take part in the elections for



XIX CP conference? Have you forgotten all this? Don't you remember, how the delegates were elected to the Party congresses? Didn't you know, that the will of the General Secretary was decisive in this actions? Didn't you know, what was the meaning of October (1987) show with Yeltsin's participation? The meaning was to create the second radical «Ego» in the form of Boris and thus create the confrontation to Yegor and then to balance in the center and direct them both. And the question of Boris Yeltsin being the creature of Yegor Kuzmich is not at all accidental, as it was put by the most genial political actor of the XX century. And by some reasons nobody reacted to that deliberateness. We must say clearly: «You wanted it all, you did it all, and now you want to judge? It will not go! And if the old opposition agree, the new one in our persons declares, that it will not accept such a game».

We reject the idea of collective fault, we do not want vengeance, and we also neglect the idea of reservation, of the conspiracy made behind the curtains, of the cynical alliances on some unclear bases. Yes, October 4th is the beginning of a series of lies, series of pushes towards inadequate force responses (IFR), of a moving of these IFR through the system of interpretation operators, and of simultaneous creation of the system of non-acceptable images. This is exactly the development of informational war against state leaders in the state mass media, which is very well known to us. It is a familiar technology. This familiarity must attract attention of every oppositional politician, who knows to distinguish between anti-governmentalism and anti-state actions. And the oppositional state leaders also should pay more attention to the direction of this image system only to the West, that means an attempt to use the West as an instrument in the struggle for power. And this idea must be rejected by the opposition entirely and from the very beginning. Let Bukovskiys and Siniavskiys do this, as they have had a good school of political prostitution, they know how to call for the foreign invasions to our country and how to appeal to the intervention. This is their code and their strategy of informational war. Let the rotten nomenclature do all this. But the movements, considering themselves patriotic ones, have no right to participate in all this. It is mean and strategically incorrect. I do not call for the closeness, for the lack of contacts abroad. But the question is, the contacts with whom and to what extent? In the interests of the State and without losing one's face. Either it will be not a contact, but a posture of dependence. And such a pose is unacceptable for those, who are struggling for the future of their country. In this case, what's the difference between them and Kozyrev, who on one of official meetings hurried to take from the floor the handkerchief, lost by Baker? It is the same, and even worse, as it pretends to capture and transform the people's energies.

As I come back to the evaluation of the events between August, 1991 and October, 1993, I am still insisting on the double meaning of what had happened. Gaidar's reform (which I have discussed in my analysis) should explode our country by March-April, 1992. The aim was this and only this. But the Supreme Soviet and its leader Khasbulatov hampered all this. They did it to save themselves (we do not need unnecessary heroisation) and Yeltsin (I insist upon this), as

well as the idea of reforms of a certain type, to which Khasbulatov had faith. He was trying to save the society as well, which was condemned to the long and lasting process of mutual massacres. That was why Khasbulatov was attacked by the mass media. That was when the leaders of democracy Khasbulatov and Rutskoy were converted into satanic figures. That was when the term of «damned chechen» was first used in the Nazi's manner and the company of cursing of the high-ranking persons of Russia in the streets was utilized. The president-puppet, the president-marionette, who allowed all this, condemned himself to the use of the same methods against his own person. And in the situation of the system crises there are no states, no regimes, who can bear such pressure of the information-interpretation operator without any limiting conditions. Why it all happened? There was the only one objective: to forbid the stabilization under the roof of the Parliament, not to permit legal, respectable dialogue of the elites of different orientation, which was possible only using the parliamentary «scene». Such a dialogue was opening the way to the peaceful development. So, I am convinced, that Khasbulatov and Rutskoy were not forgiven for their not fulfilling of the number of directive orders aimed at explosion of the situation, for their attempt to become self-sustained subjects of political process. We can illustrate this by one phrase from the article of Yuri Senkevich, political adviser of Khasbulatov: «Khasbulatov seems to seriously imagine himself the second figure in the State». And who was he, must we ask mister Senkevich? Who was the head of the representative power of the country, the leader of the Congress, which was the highest organ of the power according to the Constitution? To the mind of Senkevich, he was not even the second figure. Then he was the puppet, who imagined a hell of fantasies about himself, and that's why he suffered a hysterical company in the mass media with such information-interpretation operators, as may be applied only to the most horrible traitor.

And how else can we interpret the tone of mass media in summer of 1992? The yesterday's idol of the democrats had become «a faithful Khas, who was told 'fass'», «the dog of Ruslan», «the dog of the communist regime», «the evil chechen», «narcobandit». And all this occurred on the certain emotional wave, in certain informational systems, covered by certain «sign-semantic raws». So we will come to the key phase of development. The failure of the March-April explosion and the lasting combats in spring and summer brought to such an effect, that the disintegration of the country and its very specific reintegration did not occur. In November, 1992, new geopolitical situation arose, which caused the serious changes in the plans of our Euro-Asian elite. And only by March, 1993, the new strategy was formed, which was aimed at the damage of the unity of branches of power. And that strategy lead to the referendum deadly for both of them. But even here it was not possible to bring the situation to an end, and new technologies were applied. The critical move to the right of the mass of the deputies, the certain type of information-interpretation strategies, used by the opposition, a series of non-adequate actions, provoked almost openly by those, who now are wishing to demonstrate the flight «over the battle» and their astonishment on the cause of

the blood so «unexpectedly» shed... All this was causing damage to the unity of the power center, orientated to the search of some ways to move for the devastated, but still existing State to move. To move on some field of its own (let them be not so adequately understood), but still historical meanings. Political clinch of the end of September, 1993, the Federation Council, trying to usurp the functions of both branches of power, as illegal, as the Decree No 1400... Sokolov rebellion on the Congress «with the candlelights», the failed attempt to change Khasbulatov for some other, more obedient figure... All that had failed. The fast combination with the disintegration of Russia by means of the third force, has failed. There was too short period of time, and then... then the fighting, the elimination of the legal center, the spotting of the regime with the blood and new portion of IIO, that time with the company against Yeltsin, that is, as I put it immediately after the events, with the non-linear elimination of his image. Now even the blind may see, that I have had the reason, and that my model of the chain processes, given in the present article, is not a chimeric one. IIOs of the former Yeltsin's allies, which captured his not adequate strategy of the force response, with the fighting to the White House, with the allegations concerning the national «limit» for the Russia President (shouted also by his former friend and brother Riazanov in the most Jesuit provocative manner), with the posturing with the colonel's epaulettes, all this could translate to the West the system of non-acceptable images. We may count with all this, use it in our calculations, as we are dealing with the real policy, but not a single person have right to be overjoyed because of this, nor to play in this direction, if only he considers himself to be a State person and a representative of political opposition. But let us proceed.

(4) Who spoke against Yeltsin yesterday in the Western mass media? Only two or three unimportant newspapers. Who is against him now? All of them, beginning from «New York Times» and «Washington Post» to «Times», «Wall Street Journal» and others, as well as all the sovietology stars like Kissinger, Goldman, Brzesinski, Steve Coen and other important persons as Susan Eisenhower... That is, it appeared to be possible to connect the resource of errors and non-adequate actions to the information-interpretation operators, making use out of political failures and creating the multi-directional series of not acceptable images. And afterwards this the new situation is being created with the help of operator of dislocation of the balance in public opinion balance sensitive to its referent organs and figures; and in the course of this situation one may see the real pressure of the Western groups on the politicians, who define the attitude towards Russia. What next?

(5) The risk of political responsibility of Clinton and his administration is extremely high. The pressure will be transformed into political decisions. This may occur right after parliament elections. Maybe, by the end of winter. In this complicated process we do not know everything, though we understand the meaning of NAFTA, of the Pacific consultations, of the discussion on the NATO (to widen NATO is in the interests of United Germany, to limitate it is in the interests of the USA), of the declarations on the NAFTA-2 (extending from Arctics

to Antarctica), of the American-China talks, of the new regimes in the South-East Asia (Hokosawa and its South-Korean twin). We do understand the relation between the Riazanov's «changes» and a number of proposals, made during the US vice-President's Gore visit to Russia, here included the question of notorious Shneerson library. We understand, why Clinton's visit to Russia will probably turn into his visit to China. We would like to discuss it in more details, but, alas, the main part of opposition politicians are not interested in geopolitical problems, except the notorious «conspiracy» and sacred geography. By the way, this is also some sort of colonial type of geopolitical interests also, and that is very far from pragmatic realities. How they say, «let the child play» to make him lose one direction of the real policy after another. And it is evident, that those real political directions fail. As to the democrats, it is easy to see, that what was said by Gore, was done by Kozyrev. And no thoughts about future at all. Patriotism and cosmopolitanism of Kozyrev are entirely directed from Washington, and this fully corresponds to colonial external policy. But where is the alternative policy of the opposition? The struggle of pro-American and pro-German colonial politicians as the essence of political process? I believe I express the general opinion when I say, that we do not need such political hockey.

(6) Will political decisions have economic consequences?.. Yes, inevitably! Surely, this will not happen automatically and not at once. The pie is too tasty, the profit is too large! But there are forces, that control general strategic economic interest of the West. And there are forces, that can put to their places uncontrolled individuals, even when they are of the level of Agnelli or the key figures of three German banks («Gross-Banks»). This is done by means of policy, or by means of controlled bankruptcy, or by means of «maleficent Mafia». By means of policy: Goy Hokosawa managed to blow not only LDP, but its supporting businessmen from the construction complex. They are in prison now, these partisans of internal objectives and interests. And they will be in prison. And who wants this? Let the others think it over.

Other example is the struggle with corruption in Italy. The blind may see, that there are no struggle with corruption, but the demonstration of the role of the operator, transforming political decisions with the help of the system of economic risks (SER-operator) in the changes of economic strategy. So we are talking about not scholastic, invented equations, but about the realities of the big policy. Here I must talk again about the old and non-productive interest of our «ancient elites» towards the penetration into political forces of Europe with the help of the export of capital. That was the «point» of our oligarchy for many years. It participated in the USSR destruction aiming at such a penetration. That was the aim of perestroika. We must agree, that it has failed, and make serious corrections, as I stress again:

**THE CLEARANCE OF INTERNAL ELITES IN RUSSIA IS TOO UNFORGIVABLY AND UNACCEPTABLY LONG.**

Those, who do not believe, may read attentively the declaration of Von Emmirongen, who is responsible for the interests of German foreign trade. Here

all of it is openly declared. Today or tomorrow its own Hokosawa will appear in Germany. And then someone will respond for the failure of enormous strategic project, and not in the «other world», but here, on our sinful Earth.

(8) We are dealing with the operator of the open economy. Here is the strategy of our elites, reflected in so-called gaidaronomics. And nothing will be changed, till this vector is changed, without going into isolationism, but with the exact understanding of necessary proportions and dimensions of state economic resource, directed to the strategic development programs on the competition bases (and this resource is at least US \$ 150 billions, needed right now, and not to be wasted at once). Economic decisions of the West are transformed and will be transformed by the operator of the open economy into deterioration of political situation. Here remains only one step to the closure of the cycle.

(9) It is important not to forget the nature of the operator of social-economic discomfort (SED). As I stated once, in certain conditions the population is ready to bear significant difficulties. But the present course makes such patience useless. The regime cannot answer, what for one must suffer? And the elite groups will not suffer along with the population. The robbery will go further. The aggravation will be increasing with the arrogant luxury of the minority. And that will transform the aggravation of economic situation by means of the operator of social-economic discomfort into increasing people's discontent.

And here, coming to the end of analytical review, I come to the most important. The people's discontent can only program the situation towards the general tumult and death. Here everything depends upon the operators of energy collection and the transformers of collected energy into productive actions. What we will have on the bottom of the catastrophe in the hour of people's uprising? Tumult and death with more discontent than actions? That is where we are pushed by the different forces. Or we will have the change of political paradigm, with more actions than discontent? Everything depends on this. The man, who said «there is such a party» in 1917, somehow kept his word. Everybody is saying this now, but will anyone keep the word? And where is it, this new paradigm, which will come instead of presumptuous neocolonialism, which pretends to pass for modernization?

### **Block III**

**ON THE DISCOVERED  
DISEASES  
OF OUR POLITICAL  
MOVEMENT  
AND THE POSSIBILITY  
OF THEIR CURE:  
«WHAT WE ARE  
AND WHAT WE MAY BE?»**

In the delirium Ophelia said: «Lord, we know what we are, but we know not what we may be». Here lies the pain, despair and hope of oppositional movement. This pain, this despair and this hope cannot be described by the system of equations, and I understand this perfectly. That's why I propose a series of communications in different genres and not a single report. I do not separate myself from the opposition. I do not try to stand «above the battle». But I understand, that only when we give the answer to the question «Who we are?» we may become somebody. The main task of our opponents is not to give us the opportunity either to revive, or to die. Not to die now (I stress this now) in order not to give us the chance to revive. Either death right now and then revival, or death tomorrow, but without revival at all. Yes, there will be death tomorrow, if the oppositional dream of mind continues today. But then that death will be the death for ever, without revival. Then they will say, using the words of Dante: «The memory of them will not revive, the judgement and the mercy are far from them, they are not worth of words, just look at them and pass by». To avoid this in future, one must be merciless to oneself now. Such a merciless demand for love is intrinsic to all the movements, who have will for life, will for victory, and I am talking only to those, who have such a will. It is not enough to analyze the situation, one must be able to feel it deeply, to live it. My second report is dedicated to this political feeling.

Algebra cannot prove the harmony. And politics cannot be reduced to simple numbers (though it cannot exist without numbers). But we must look at what had happened from political-ethic, political-esthetic, even political-religious points of view. And that will not be an escape from reality, quite not. The tragedy of oppositional movement lies in the fact, that this creature of the failed nomenclature does not possess its own anthropos, its own model of a man, its definite political, culturological, ideal dimension. And there is nothing more pragmatic, than conscious cultivation and construction of this part of the highest meaning in the mechanism (or in the structure), which leads many-level political struggle for the right to maintain, to conserve, to develop and to find out historical and meta-historical constants of its own civilization, its own people, its own culture. This highest (apparently not pragmatic) part possesses enormous specific practical value.

And do not talk about political common sense, trying to oppose it to the highest dimensions, in the struggle for salvation of the country and the people. If there are no high dimensions, everything will turn into mouse struggle, into dirt, into the stinking cesspool of stupid and arrogant political games.

This is fully understood by our political enemies. Thus, having looked attentively at the numbers and having felt them in the previous block, let us now look at what had happened in terms of easy, clear language of feelings and mind, and let us begin discussion with ourselves, and not with the others.

## WHAT FINALLY DO WE WANT?

Events of last months have shown, that the opposition must put higher demands to themselves. The question: «What do you want?» arises more sharply, along with the question: «What can you do?» There is even the third question: «Who are you?»

### THE FIRST QUESTION

#### Chinguis-hans or Dmitriys Pozharskiys?

The dissolution of national self-conscience has begun in the oppositional press. If in the daily «Dyen» («The Day») someone called Fedotov is talking about Minin's and Pozharskiy's arrival from the East, and then puts in the same row von Ungern and Chinguis-han, then the case is not in the exotic taste of such identifications, but in the fact, that they really break the conscience of their reader. Hence, «Dyen»... or «Zavtra» («Tomorrow») acts along with some social-cultural paradigm, indistinguishable from the paradigm of democratic mass media in the first years of «perestroika». We speak about the break of stereotypes and archetypes of mass consciousness, i.e. of throws, collisions and socio-cultural mutations, done with some other, beneficent (from the authors' point of view) objective, but which create the same emptiness, the same vacuum of meanings. Putting together von Ungern, Chinguis-han with Minin and Pozharskiy is the socio-cultural virus, which penetrates into spiritual, moral core of the people and which succeeds, because it passes for friendly corpse, for normal genome. Such a disguise is the law of virology and the law of psychological war, where the socio-cultural modulation is used. One of two: either «Zavtra» does not understand this, or here are some extremely dangerous tendencies in the oppositional press, which will not be discussed by our patriotic mandarins because of their loyalty to the clan or because of some other feelings.

Surely, it seems, that the opposition betrays our people, bringing into the people's body deadly poisons and succeeds in doing this even more, than notorious yeltsinists. For those even the entrance is denied. And here the bait is swallowed together with the social and patriotic populist slogans because of naivety and credulity of the people.



## **THE SECOND QUESTION**

### **Unforgiving «conspirators» or politicians of consensus?**

The sane and sound leaders of the opposition scorn their adversaries in electronic mass media. This is done in the style: «Hello, I'm talking to you from the underground!». Oppositional writers appear on the dictator Yeltsin's TV with some revealing speeches, which resemble the romance of the times of the civil war in Russia. Do you remember Bagritskiy's: «They shot at us, but could not kill us, they hit us, but still not to death, those days, which went right through...»

Given the unity of time, place and circumstances, they do not even understand the double sense of such pathetic.

## **THE THIRD QUESTION**

### **The «State partisans» or Western allies in the affair of destruction of Russia?**

Yes, without the reference point, without the social base and without the program our opposition appears to be all-eating and ready to make friends with anyone who is against Boris Nikolayevich.

This time (as we have already shown), the union is made with liberals, regionalists, «the friends of the peoples of the USSR», the enemies of the Russian chauvinism. And this union is made on the field of such an ally, which knows very well, where is his own territory and where is the others' one, which are his own «codes» and which are the others «codes». Human right defenders made the patriots take their words back and come to the West as to the ally in the struggle against «Russian awful policeman». And that means, that they are no longer the patriots, but they are the ram of liberal-human rights defending grinding machine, which worked and continues working to eliminate the Russian State.

In this case «the patriots» are but the wall-crashing machine in the hands of liberal-pro-Western elite, they are the carte blanche in the foreign, anti-patriotic game. This perspective becomes more evident, when one begins to analyze one more trait of new patriotic consciousness.

## **THE FOURTH QUESTION**

### **Zionists or anti-Semits?**

After the fire of the White House all the talks about the anti-national policy of Yeltsin's government, all the discontent with the over-saturation of mass media by the Jewish people, who condemn with disgust everything, that is Russian, - all

this discontent exploded and came to a new quality. Here we are not talking about anti-semitism, but about psychic resonance of furious indignation of the massacre, with its obvious approval by those, who yesterday was crying on the item of «the child's tear». Then it appeared, that there were the blood and the blood, the tears and the tears. It fills one with indignation, and I understand and I share this indignation. But I ask myself again and again, in whose hands will be all this indignation, who will use it, and how? And here I can not but point at some strange phenomena, born in the cradle of the oppositional movement.

**FIRST.** In parallel with the slogans of «de-Zionization», they are citing from Brzesinski, Weissman, «Nezavisimaya Gazeta» («Independent Newspaper») and «Moscow News».

**SECOND.** The hysteria on the communist fascism has stopped in liberal press and in the other mass media, as if on someone's order, and all the phrases about «the damned Jews» are paid no heed to, as if they are not heard.

**THIRD.** There is a magazine «Slava» («Fame»), printed and mailed in Richmond, USA, who beat all the records in anti-semitism. This magazine reanimates the theme of «the bloody matzoth, prepared with the blood of the Russian children», it proclaims the killing of the «Jew-Eltzin», — and all this is mailed to direct addresses free of any charge. Let someone call for shooting Clinton! I assure, there will be a lot of protests. And here — not a single word against this from the part of Kozyrev's Ministry, which is aware of this edition. One may say, that Ministry of Foreign Affairs is not obliged to respond to private editions. But then why the other side reacts so furiously to the talks on the same item in our private editions? It is obvious, that there is a double game. Don't you understand, what's it all about? You do? Even after provocations of Barkashov-Dugin, which contributed a lot to October defeat, which is not thought over, but which is being put a heroic tinge.

## **THE FIFTH QUESTION**

### **Revolutionaries or Tolstoi followers?**

There were heroes in the White House. But not those, who are on the pedestal. The simple officers, comsomol members from Ukraine, the people of honor came to fight against «speznaz» («special regiments») of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, against the people of Boxer and OMON. They perished on the battlefield with honor. Honor and respect to them, even to the people of Barkashov, despite the provocative role of their pro-fascist leaders of the patriotic movement.

But why was it all so stupid? And was this dullness accidental? Why did the battle resemble more the slaughter? Where was the defence of the White House? Where were the serious arms of the White House defenders, e.g. grenade-launchers and Stingers? Should they be proud about the absence of it? Should they be proud, that Stinger was no more, than a nickname of Khasbulatov's assistant? And that was the only one Stinger in there? Wasn't it better to take care about

solid, stable and reliable technical equipment of the Defence department of the White House, for the case of defence from the anti-constitutional actions of the executive power? If it was not achieved, so the question was, either to defend oneself by force, but do it effectively, with all one's strength, and not to by making strange attacks, or to obey pacifically to the force «limitlessness» of the executive power. But either one or the other. One of the two. One can not mix variants, invent hybrids and change the pureness of the genres. The integrity and consistency of one's behavior is extremely important, if Yeltsin followers still do expect support from the people. One must not swear, that one will die with the arms in hand, and at the same time demonstrate the oiled machine-gun. One must not, preparing oneself to the deadly fight («sacred, people's fight with the occupation regime»), at the same time show such an absolute indifference to defence of the White House and to the practical realities of the people's war in general. One must not call for peace or for war, depending on who is losing, you or your adversary. The mass will not forgive it. The people, who are ready to fight to the end, will not understand it, and they are the most important resource of any serious political movement. When one proclaims war and has right to it, one must fight to the end and be able to change the situation. And, at last (here I'm talking not as a politician, but as a reserve officer of moto-shooting troops, military speciality 001), 10 or 15 anti-tank grenade-launchers SPG-9 could change drastically the situation on October 4th. So, the fact, that they were absent,- what was it? Was it the result of dullness, of the provocation, of irresponsibility for the words about the death with the arms in hands, while there were no arms at all? But where is the shame for those words?

## **THE SIXTH QUESTION**

### **Professional military men or «suitable for the non-combatant service»?**

S. Kara-Murza writes, that on the night between the 3d and the 4th of October the people went to White House to die. He personally was frightened and he left. And he is sorry for that.

For the first time I cannot agree with respectable Serguei Georguievich. The unarmed crowd in the night of attack — what is it for? And why one should stand in the sights of M-16 as a blank?

It appeared, that the unarmed people on the barricades were in the shooting zone of both sides. Hence, the White House defenders should have sound the retreat and should have not shoot at the attacking armored troop-carriers of Boxer and by this manner slow down their fighting power drastically? Or to open the fire to hit at their own defenders and hit them in the backs?

The first step of any military man is to take the crowd out of the fighting sector, even by means of force and rudeness. In fact, whom are we preparing — the fighters or the suicides, the cannon meet for the Boxers? Try not take a posture of the offended

innocence, while responding to this question. Nobody wants to offend anybody. But what is needed, is a professional, impartial discussion.

## **THE SEVENTH QUESTION**

### **Restaurateurs or the people with the idea about the future?**

They do not give to Russia the opportunity to die, neither to revive. It is maintained, and maintained in the condition of being half-alive, in the condition of ideological, political, organizational chaos. Belief in the old conscience, old habits, old propagandistic type, old organizational models... The support on those who have lost. They are entering the game one by one. The article about the role of Filipp Denisovich Bobkov was published in the daily «Moscow Pravda». I do not know, whether it is true (I have no honor to be introduced to Filipp Denisovich), but if that is true, then there is an element of notorious socialist event in all this with the commutation of the direct control with the so called «direction on the motivations». Let us compare Vilnius of 1991 with Moscow of 1993. The same people (Achalov and FDB, as they call Bobkov in certain circles), the same «Fronts of Salvation», the same tricks as the conference on the Russian phobia, the same defect, hollowed schemes of «military actions», up to the seizure of the TV center, whose switch (I will disclose the secret, which is known to everybody) is situated on the distance of 5 km from the center. Yes, in 5 km, and if Yeltsin's dictatorship was needed, so the attacking people would have been let in, then allowed to commit errors and after that put into darkness. But that was not needed. As even Yeltsin is condemned. As the whole of our Motherland is condemned, which is being converted into the dustbin of the old scrap, political, technological, ideological, etc.

But despite all this I keep believing, that new forces will come out of non-existence in the name of salvation of the Motherhood and humanity.

And they will do everything in the other manner. Cruelly, they will calculate everything, without any pathetics. With what will they come? I was looking for the answer to this question after the October events, making discussions with different political forces in various conditions and with different results. Still, I propose to my readers two reports in the frame of one, fourth, block, dedicated to the problems of political theory.

There could not be any stake on the past. That, what had lost and does not want to make lessons out of the losses, cannot win. It is impossible to come back to the past and repeat the lost battles in this past. One may be touched by the principal position of some of the heroes of revanche, by their persistence, but this is the case for poets, not for politicians. For us, who are thinking about political future of Russia, there must be another position. In a political process there is a place to those, who are able to die politically and then to revive in another political form. The rest of them are on the other side of political process. They are political

dead corpses, the ghost politicians, and if they are taken back to political scene, then that will be done only to make them lose again in the other, even the most sure and safe situation.

I repeat, I do repeat that again and again! That, what is going on, is not even the mittelspiel. There is very little time left. But there is even less time to understand, that the old is condemned to death.

The opposition — helpless,  
the opposition — without the new vision,  
the opposition — trying to bring us back,  
the opposition — as the playing ball of the strange forces,  
the opposition — which discredits,  
the opposition — as a bugaboo and as a rotting enzyme —  
out of our way!

**Block IY**

**THE WEST  
AND  
RUSSIA**

# Introduction

Where is the global alternative to the modernization,  
proposed to the world by the West?  
And whether there is any?

*Two reports on this item were prepared by me after the October events in two very different political situations. The first one, «Anti-Americanism or new paradigm», was delivered on the conference in Athens, where I have been invited from the part of Europarlament. Together with my colleagues of a very moderate orientation (Rumiantzev, Lipizkiy, Polosin and others) I unexpectedly found myself in a very radical audience in the hall of the Athens University, on the conference of left forces, dedicated to the struggle with the new order. By some strange disposition, Islamic fundamentalists and the representatives of Saddam Hussein were among them. However, such paradox alliances are very typical to the conferences, where modern Trotskyist circles (both on the level of their patriarches and of the young generation) are making complicated socio-cultural experiments. I was very much impressed by the fact of participation in this experiment of Ye.K. Ligachev, one of the former CPSU leaders, whose rating in the circles of the fourth International is exceptionally high, as I could see. The conference, with all its eccentricity, was very interesting, and I'd like to give my thanks to the representatives of the left movement, who invited me there. But when I came to the Athens on November 7th, I was still under the deep impression of October events, and I made a number of my personal discoveries, which I would like to share with my readers. In short, the fact is, that the notorious Front of National Salvation (FNS), which was created on the «anti-» principle, uniting political forces of different and sometimes even contradictory orientation,- this Front is a stage in the system of global social and cultural modelling, and in its entrails some strange ideology is being prepared, which further will convert any sensible opposition into double-sensed and hopeless riot against the «states-giants» (USA) or «transnational collusion». Thus, the struggle is made by the super-forces, which are impossible to defeat. It is possible only to revolt against them, while it is known in advance, that this rebellion is doomed. At the same time, this rebellion is the bases for that new world order, as when the rebels are in the common stock, they present such an ideologem, that needs a mondial saviour from the followers of a such «threatening set of ideas» (partisan nuclear wars, terror, sacred occult war, etc.). So, there appears the question, whether such a «boiling of all together» under the same lid in this «anti-cauldron» (on a scale of Russia, or even of the entire world) is the action of a global control. That same global control, which is often struggled against by very pure, but not clearly aware of the logic of their own actions, persons and structures. The question is: «who does this boiling?» And the other question*

*concerns the behavior of world community, which allows and stimulates such a «boiling» with unpredictable results. Is this behavior not so presumptuous and thoughtless, as the behavior of Russian imperialist forces, when they were stimulating revolutionary process in Russia and hoped to control it? If this stimulation occurs on the global scale, its results would be comparable to Hitler's victory in the Second World War, and even worse, considering the danger of nuclear weapons. These thoughts induced me to accept the proposal of the hosts to deliver a report on this conference. I present here the text of this report. I believe, it will help to clarify the contradictions between us, the representatives of the new opposition, and the old opposition, which is persistent in its eclectics and which contributes to the creation of riot ideology. It is very important to outline these contradictions for the future oppositional patriotic movement.*

## **Anti-Americanism or the new paradigm**

**Report, made by S.Kurguinjan in Athens, on the  
International conference, dedicated to the problem of a  
new world order on November 7th, 1993.**

**Respectful colleagues!**

My profession is analysis of political processes in Russia and in the world. Thus, though I understand the role of emotions, calls and declarations as an indispensable component of politics, I would like to draw your attention to a number of substantial aspects, that still did not find the understanding on this conference. For shortness, I will speak in the form of theses.

### **THE FIRST THESIS**

**On the essence of the world process of the last decade**

Here we were talking about the establishing of the new paradigm North-South and the creation of the adequate discrimination world order. But is this the true essence of the world process? I daresay, that in this case everything would not have been so bad. The world has been always divided into the leaders and the outsiders. The problem of their relations is resolved by means of redistribution of the part of the products to the benefit of the outsider, who hampers the movement of the entire humanity and especially that of its leading part. And the problem of redistribution is always very sharp one, it means different forms of political struggle for non-discriminating, or minimal discriminating redistribution. This



struggle composes some, I would say, political code, some philosophical essence of the concept of social democracy, in its most general, theoretical sense.

Basically, there is the recognition of a real arrangement of the forces, the fact of the leadership and of the type of historic movement. As the social democratism of the past accepted the capitalist paradigm (i.e. the aims, objectives, forms of the capitalist society), and insisted on the redistribution of the ready product in some more just proportions, in the same manner modern social-democratism demands the redistribution of the product on the global level to the benefit of the countries-outsiders. And the problem of the essence of historical process is not brought up, and the right to the leadership is not discussed, and an alternative paradigm is not put forward, and some existing order is not changed.

Is it sensible? Sure, when we are dealing with the normal process of movement of the countries and the peoples in the non-turbulent stream of History. And here the moderate position, the tactics of dialogues and compromises, which have been worked out during the decades, I believe, will be more effective, than the extremism, radicalism with its pathetics, slogans and declarations. But the meaning of the world process has changed drastically, and without establishing of the new meaning, which consists in the impetuous augmentation exactly of the turbulence of historical process, — all the uncompromising forces should better calm down and dissolve in what is calling itself the new mind, that is, in the ideology and philosophy of the compromise, parity and the end of history.

So, are we talking about theoretical and ideological development of the notion of historical turbulence, that is of establishing of the paradigm mutations of the world process, — or the «global opposition» will proceed with auto-narcotization, with the anguish for the «deeds of the days, that passed long before»? Will they indeed be talking about the recurrence, the nostalgia of the left of the 60es, who are remembering the past days and declaring that they are not yet licked, while they do not believe themselves and their own declarations?

I could not manage to understand, what's it all about. I would say, that many of these questions caused me a real bewilderment. But now I would like to announce my (together with my friends in political organization the Club «Postperestroika») evaluation of the general world process in its new real quality. That means, to decipher our understanding of turbulence of the stream of the world history as principally new characteristic of the world process.

We believe, that principally what we have here, is not the division into the South and the North, which in itself would be a normal phenomenon. But, in our opinion, we have the transition from the stage of the growing gap between the South and the North (in the situation of accelerating stream of history) to the stage of the real rupture of the world into the two substantially different parts of a once united humanity, that is about the existence in the context of historical turbulence. We have here an attempt to realize the fundamentally fascist process, trying to camouflage it to the establishment of a new world order. And in the course of its realization not only democratic rhetorics is denied, but even (attention!) the values of two-thousand-year old Christian culture(!), so proper

to the West. Here we see an attempt to throw away the accumulations of the last two thousands of years. The same technique of the throwing away is worked through in Russia in the course of notorious struggle against communism and totalitarianism. This throwing away is the spiritual and political dimension of the process of a global «fascization»! I assure you, that without the clarification of the content of this notion in its relation with the notion of «historic turbulence» it is meaningless to discuss any of the «struggles», as it is absolutely unclear, with whom and for what this struggle is conducted.

## **THE SECOND THESIS**

### **About the whole-world crisis**

It is extremely important to note, that this throwing away occurs on the background of and in parallel with a number of the whole-world processes, which themselves need an adequate understanding. I mean here the sharpening of many problems, energetic and ecological crises, and the whole number of the problems, arisen with the second wave of technological revolution. These problems appeared with the transition of the leading countries into the new post-industrial paradigm, which supposes the necessity of a real planetary integration, which is not invented by some sinister forces, but imposed by the real state of the real humanity.

What do the theoreticians, conceptualism and ideologists of the South answer to these questions? What is it all about? About the theory of the whole-world village and the whole-world town or about something more adequate to the modern realities? I did not understand that from what had been said on this conference, where, alas, the emotional noises prevail over the useful signal.

## **THE THIRD THESIS**

### **About the sharpening of the contradictions on this very (transitional and cross-road) stage between political subjects inside that very North**

What is the essence and the meaning of these contradictions?

In such conditions it is extremely important for the countries of the South to maintain an adequate vision of these concrete real geopolitical processes and not to allow the mythologization and primitivization of the really existing contradictions.

Here could help the analysis of destruction processes of the USSR, based upon the observation, made from inside. The perestroika, that occurred in the USSR and which is further proceeding in Russia, had already brought us to the spiritual catastrophe (throwing off), geopolitical catastrophe (falling into the turbulent type of historic movement), geostrategic catastrophe (the practical pulling down of ethnic and confessional balance in Euro-Asia). That's why we

have all the reasons to call it «technology of a global destabilisation». Is this the result of successful actions of the USA, which were the geopolitical opponent to the USSR? To some extent, yes. But I would not exaggerate the meaning of this factor and, generally, I would say, that this factor has only a secondary meaning. As I fully understand the significance of such a statement, I would allow myself a short deciphering of this thesis.

Even at the very beginning of perestroika we could notice, that the internal (I stress it!) elites of the USSR and Russia (which were absolutely different in their political orientation) were consciously and accordingly accelerating the process of destruction of Eastern Europe and of its reintegration in the very specific sense of, I would say, notorious medium Europe.

Even our political leaders with **opposite (!) ideological orientations** were struggling for this. Truly, there is something to think upon! Even then, in 1987-88, and even earlier, it was clear, that the obvious conflict between the USA and the USSR had some other, almost obscure (but very significant), geopolitical essence. And this conflict is only the instrument of solution of the problems for the so called «third force», that force, for whom both the USA and the USSR are not more, than two Yalta predators.

It is spoken a lot about the victory of the USA over the USSR, but I cannot see this victory. I see quite a different thing.

Mr.Cristofer comes to the CIS countries and is trying to solve only one question, that of nuclear weapons in Ukraine and Kazakhstan. What is that he receives? In fact, a resolute and decisive refusal with a double sensed proposal to bring to these republics, that is, to the independent states, the president Clinton itself. I know, that a visit of Mr.Gore, and then of the president of the USA to Russia will also have a number of objectives, related to dismantling of nuclear weapons on our territory together with the question of dismantling of our intelligence community and of the buying of the territories in our country, which contain raw materials.

**Not a single question of these will be solved!** Let us consider also the fact, that after Mr.Christopher has left the CIS countries, China leader Mr. Den Siao Ping declared resumption of nuclear weapon tests. Then the nuclear tests were resumed in Nevada, and all that means, that a strong blow is given to the policy of Clinton and Mr. Gore. So, here again we see the victory of American course, isn't it? Then why one should mystify oneself and the others by the shouts about great achievements of American imperialism? Where are those achievements? What are they?

On the other hand, we see the processes in Yugoslavia. We know, that these processes go into the limits of the term «medium Europe», we remember, that analogous processes had already taken place in history and were accompanied by the calls for «the widening of the living space», for «the outlet to the warm seas», for «the conservative revolution», etc.

**If the USA and American analysts see there their victory, then their position is short-sighted.**

On the emblem of our conference there is the loop with American flag, which

holds the whole Earth, and the people, looking at this loop are standing below the Earth. In development of this metaphor, I would say, that the Earth cannot be held by the loop, that it will inevitably slip out of it and fall down on the standing below humanity. And, maybe, they are going to strangle somebody in this loop, possibly it will be the owner of the flag. Well, this had happened a lot of times in history.

The crash of Potsdam and Yalta in Europe was the first step towards global destabilisation. This step had already been done in the times of Gorbachev. The similar failure on the Far East was the second step towards this destabilisation. It became real after Yeltsin's visit to Tokio. In totality these two steps represent the consistent movement towards the sharpening of the contradictions, which may be only resolved in the course of a global force conflict of a new type, i.e. in the course of the Third World War.

## **THE FOURTH THESIS**

**Yalta-Potsdam agreements is an iceberg, on which surface there is all this, that determines the visible realities of the post-war world. But on the bottom — there are the mechanisms of the planetary stabilization. To break them means to begin the Third World War**

As me and my colleagues evaluate the current situation, we insist, that with the disintegration of the USSR the danger of the Third World War was not diminished (as many are trying to persuade the people). On the contrary, it has increased.

This phenomenon of the 90-ies of the XXth century has a fundamental meaning, which is understood by the West to a very small degree, and which is absolutely out of the vision of the forces, represented on this conference.

Even at the end of 80-ies we (the representatives of a certain political and analytical school of the USSR) came forth with the idea of geopolitical waves. In short terms, it means, that the destabilisation in a certain point of space may have by its aim some other process, in some other place. We are talking about geopolitical models, that describe the world processes differently, than the models of Mr. Brzezinski. From this point of view, the destabilisation in the USSR has by its aim the perestroika of the Europe in the vector of the medium Europe.

For Greece, where we find ourselves now, that means the realization of the concept of concentric Europe of Delor, and hence, the expulsion of the cradle of the European civilization to the periphery of the European house. The symptom of this is the arc Bulgaria — Macedonia — Albania, which is designed to perform the role of a sanitary cordon in the South. Here it is in the West, where such a control is provided by notorious Baltic-Black Sea Federation. But this is only the first phase of the process. As, as we have Germany in the kernel of Europe, and in the South there is Turkey as a super Power (here I do cite the definition of

the leading politicians of the USA), so Greece will receive two opponents at once, willing to squash it for the only reason to break through to each other. Nothing is new beneath the Moon. And we are seeing the formation of the axis Berlin — Baghdad, which brought humanity to the global conflicts. But nowadays these conflicts are going to be more sharp.

But as for Baltic — Black Sea Federation, then the more firmly are the USA and Russia related, the more solid alliances will be formed between Ukraine and Germany, Kazakhstan and China, Central Asian Union (CARS) and Turkey. In both cases Russia will find itself between two fires. And the geopolitical stability of the Europe will be undermined, and not to the benefit of notorious «American imperialism». Alas, it is more tragic and more complex.

## THE FIFTH THESIS

**Hence, I am worried by any consolidation of the type «against somebody». There is a saying: «Whom will we make friends *against* now»? But, one cannot make friends *against* someone. We must struggle *for* something. And the question arises — what for?**

This question needs not a «redistributional», but an «alternative» paradigm to be resolved. Communism and socialism were and remain such a paradigm. But this paradigm needs not simply modernization, but a qualitative change in the realities of a new world. Which class will in fact play the role of a humanistic leader? Which ideal will be opposed to the Western one, that of the consuming society? Which strategy must be chosen by the forces, that cannot accept new tendencies, especially neo-fascist ones, which were reinforced after the disintegration of the USSR? I would permit myself to make some observations on this item.

First, the compass of such forces is and must be the struggle against fascism. Anti-fascism and once more anti-fascism! Always and in any circumstances. It is not at all an idle question, as in all the situations, where anti-Americanism substitutes anti-fascism, the left movement becomes a plaything in the hands of the right, and sometimes even ultra-right political forces, which we could see to some extent in Russia in the course of October tragic events.

Second, even the anti-fascism it is not an idea yet, it is an «anti-», and for us not a single «anti-» must represent a political paradigm. We need a new understanding of the red idea, which corresponds to the new conditions of humane development, to the new world processes. Yes, we must recognize the integration of the Western working class, and of the working class of the world to the capitalist values. We must recognize existence of a new type of alienation, which makes from the worker the simple appendage not to machine, but to the goods. We must recognize existence of new forms of exploitation, and the exploited accept them much more easily, than it was a century ago. We must recognize the supremacy

of pseudo-cultural models of mass media, which destroy the cultural identity. We must recognize phenomenon of the gap between the playing elite of the West («Homo ludens») and the producing-consuming majority of the citizens of that very West, brought down to the role of the ruminating beasts, «Homo faber», so to say. It all do exist. But behind all these phenomena one must see also the weak points of our opponents. The capitalism satisfies almost all human needs, except one, the most intrinsic humane need, the need of immortality.

And this is the need, that will blow up from inside the so called Western lifestyle. But this will happen only, if the left movement makes some fundamental corrections. What is the essence of such corrections?

We must agree, that socialism is not only a different way of distribution of the products, and, henceforth, to refuse in principle the struggle inside the limits of the distributional paradigm, as the one, that does not correspond to the new fundamental world realities.

The socialism is a different principle of conjugation of culture and technology. It is not that the culture is subdued to technology, but, on the contrary, technology is subdued to the culture. And that is the essence of a real socialist innovation. And here the question arises on the fusing together of spiritual and cultural essences with the technological paradigm of a new epoch. That is, the question of an alternative paradigm of historic movement. And I would permit myself to identify this alternative humanistic project with a new socialism and a new communism. Without understanding of this new quality of the red idea, the South will be simply the outsider, which strives for the leavings from the manorial table of the North. But the South may and must demand for something a lot more significant, for the subjectiveness, for the purposefulness. The time is ripe, when in fact we are for all or nothing. When in fact there is either modernization together with the capitulation, or the new alternative model of the development of the humanity as a whole. The new stage of the general crisis excludes other approaches, which appear to be absolutely ineffective.

That's why I am very much worried about the internal noises, as they are the most dangerous for the new movement.

Islamic anti-communism is an enormous danger, which has shown itself fully in Tadjikistan. But the alternative Islam was also born there as a new word in the confessional policy. How it will be established? Will it not be strangled in the embryo by the hands of the other Islam, in the interests of so called «third force»?

The eclecticism of the movement is its another disease, as without distinctive orientations the concoction of the different movements, united only by the commune hatred, could easily become black, which will certainly be used in some alien interests. It is not a philosophization, believe me, it is a much suffered experience, as that was in such a concoction, that the faulty oppositional movement was born in our country.

So, my main deduction is: the main question of the present moment and of the nearest five years is the philosophical, geopolitical, educational and scientific-cultural subjectiveness of the South. And only after the solution of this question

it will be possible to speak not about the riot, but about the struggle, not about the resistance, but about the victory.

## **Geoglobalistics and communism**

### **Report on the seminar of Academician N.N.Moiseev «Russia and XXIst Century» («Gorbachev-Fund»)**

**H**ere we heard a very interesting thought about the rise of a united planetary intellect. But is the model of its formation not simplified? As the intellects have an extremely complex composition. And their synthesis is the task, which is «significantly non-linear». The systems of cognition contain receptor operators (the means of energy perception), operators of the primary processing of this information, then the buffer filters (some sort of separators and decanters), and, at last, what we call the long-term (and extra long-term) information deposit (LTD, ELTD). This is the space of formation and storage of linguistic and meta-linguistic codes, symbols and «semantologems».

What do we mean by integration of the planetary intellect? On the «zero level» is means the unification of reception levels with addition of electronic and optical means of communication. Then the problem of the «first level» arises. Here we have the problem concerning the bearers of the information and the systems of primary fixation and processing of information. These systems join with each other with a lot more efforts, they are significantly desynchronized in different cultural and civilization types. The structures of the «second level», the buffer, coordinating, evaluating, translating, accumulating and filtering operators, all of them join even more difficult. They cannot be unified quickly. By the way, all the systems of accumulators and filters (as well as the systems of translators and others) are different not only for the separate nations or civilizations, but sometimes even for more powerful groups. Experiments are known, where some groups with equal means of collection and treatment of the primary information interpret and perceive the information differently in principle, which fact is related to the varying systems of «filters» and «accumulators».

And, finally, the operators of the «third level» format and regulate the processes in the «intellonuclei», in the long-term deposits (LTD, ELTD, etc.). Unification of these structures on the «inter-civilizational» level is practically impossible. Or, at least, it requests other periods of time and other technologies.

I foresee, that when the planetary intellect is formed, the «vertically progressing desynchronization» could appear. The highest receptor levels will be joined easily. But even on the small depths there will appear some small quasi-linear desynchronization, and then... On the deeper levels the non-linear

desynchronization will begin, related to the principal non-compatibility of mental matrices and symbolic codes, deposited in LTD and ELTD. The joining of receptors on the superficial level, combined with the simultaneous ruptures in the deeper layers, may bring us to the collapse of cognition, that is, «to the process, absolutely opposed to that, expected by the «integrators». We must remember, that really it is exceptionally difficult to be God.

Here I would like to attract your attention to the fact, that if we cannot find the means of construction of transistors between the LTD, that is, what I call the many-modal humanity, the human race will die. Because universal and unified humanity is impossible. Only many-dimensional and many-modal humanity is possible, but united at the same time. It must certainly be united.

The key question is: whether it is possible to create the many-modal humanity? And what must be done by means of construction (as we are short of time) and what must be included from organics? The most important is not to perceive the human intellect as a small cube, which could be joined with some other cube. It is all a lot more complicated. I do repeat once again: if the intellects are going to be joined non-evenly, then it is significantly worse, than in the case of a bone fracture. As this threatens with the asymmetric mutation.

And here arises the question of the true nature of the global crisis. We state here, that there are some limits of growth, but we do not say the most important, that we are talking about the limits of extensive growth, about the limits of linear (!) growing of technologies with the simultaneous blockade of true innovations. Scientific science of Aristotle type, which is responsible for this crisis, has exhausted itself. As this type of knowledge is related only to the linear and extensive growth. Here lies the linearity of the operator of cognition, linear principles of hybridizations and elections and a lot many other things of the same style! And that way of information processing has exhausted itself, as well as that way of knowledge accumulation and that way of thinking. Nothing will change, if intellectual and spiritual revolutions do not happen, both at a moment and in accord.

In this connection I would like to say a few words about both socialism and communism, which seem boring today, but which will seem very attractive tomorrow. For the people of my school (who have read Bogdanov's works very attentively) the socialism is such a way of «joining» of culture and technology, where the culture dominates technology, and not vice versa. And it seems at least naive to reproach socialism in its immobility because of this fact.

As the question was about the same type of the movement, and not about its velocity. And how can one measure this velocity? It is not a Newtonian system, where velocity could be measured between two moving bodies. No, this process is a lot more complicated.

If culture dominates technology, then technology will certainly be developing slower (in extensive metrics!). But in this case what shall we receive on the joints of the phases, so to say, between the stages? And this question is a crucial one! I respond: we shall have another smoothness of the process. As we may see,



some of the knowledges (intensive!) have been developing swiftly in socialist times. And the system did not hamper their development. Here I mean fundamental science and... A lot of things, in general. The previous speaker said, that despite all this we were still one of the most educated societies in the world. How can we unite this with the apparent ossification and apparent liquidation of diversity?

And the problem was, that an attempt to build up the domination of the culture over technology is certainly related to the damages of extensive technologies, to technologies of so to say «E-group». But nobody informed us, that this experience of deceleration of E-technologies would be invaluable for the whole humanity even after 20-30 years. As we will need to slow them down somewhere between 2050 and 2090. And then everything will be solved basing on the potential of intensive technologies of another type, let us call then «I-technologies».

I know, that I am breaking down the stereotypes, when I talk about «intensiveness» of the socialism, when everybody is crying about its extensiveness. But by intensiveness I mean here «production of fine things», or noospheric production, and not production of consumer goods at all. Consumer goods are always extensive.

And the last. What are we to do after 2090? One cannot prolong an agony. What will be then? In this sense the socialism «is always a non-stable system». And the socialism will suffer accelerating cyclic crises, even if it is going to appear again (and I am convinced, that it will appear). Up to which moment will this quasi-stability (of quasi-instability, I do not know, which is the best term here) be maintained? Up to the moment, when the very type of science is not changed, as in horizontal dimension the culture and technology cannot be joined stably with the domination of culture. It is only possible to create a vertical vector in both joined «systems» and wait for some joining of them on another vertical level.

In other words, here again appears the question, whether the values of culture may be integrated into the science and on which bases? Whether it is possible for a new type of science to exist, related to these values? Will not appear super-technologies (S-technologies) on this basis? Whether it is possible to overcome ecological crisis on some alternative, other than on the bases of S-technologies? Here and in such a manner (!) the problem of communism shows itself again. Communism as a break-through into a new Intellectual-social quality. Communism as an attempt to create S-technologies! Popper had it very clear! The task is to create this new scientific type, related with the integration of cultural values into the science. But I, opposite to Popper, put this problem with + (plus) and not with — (minus). As an intensive development of humanity is impossible without S-technologies, and their construction is in its turn possible only on the bases of a new type of science. The problem is not to regulate the consumption, but it is how to break through to a new quality. Where is it possible to make this break-through? That is the question! Where must we slow down our scientific and technical development (and how) and where we should accelerate to a great speed, but in some other direction? The communism has at least posed this question. And I do not see any other search, adequate to this scale. The place of

the communism is not occupied still. Here we see the deficit of macro-models and, what is more important, of macro-ideas. That's why now (and in the situation we are living in especially!) there is a special basis for the intellectuals not to leave everything, that is related with the communism. Otherwise we will be constantly rejecting the only possible way of solution of our super-problem and we will be looking for something very-very proper and respectable, but fruitless to the same extent.

When I'm told repeatedly, that the West has been developing both fast and intensively, I do not know what to say. How could one explain to the ideologists of consumption, that intensive technical development in the paradigm of comfort is exactly the refined extensiveness, based upon the inflation of expenses? The payment for technological development by the culture, the velocity, acquired at the expense of adaptation of the cultural nucleus to technological needs means practically hyperinflation, it is concentrated expression of philosophy and ideology of «E-technology» and «E-technologists».

The arms race and the comfort race are «E-technological» to the same extent. «We are not on the same level!» «We are losing the race!» «We are left behind!» But maybe this slowness contains the chance to some other type of movement, which satisfies the liminary conditions of the new epoch?

And allow me two more words about perestroika. In reality it has begun somewhere in 1947. It began with the clear understanding of the fact, that one may easily come to the Bay of Biscay, but the «damned» scientists had invented some «nuclear rubbish», and one must think about living under the same roof. From this moment began the invention of new technologies of building of the world power. In general, they were thinking and thinking... And by 1956 they came to an idea, then they invented some «details» by the end of the 70-ies. And it appeared, that, if one is going to come forth with perestroika, then it should be done by means of a sharp growth of the instability on the geopolitical level (!). And this must be followed by the radical restructuralization of all the Systems.

That's why I believe, that the apparatus was not so dull, not so simple (as Nikita Nikolayevich said), that it did not lose the control over the processes and nowadays it has the aims of a lot more big scale, than it may seem at first sight. But that is my hypothesis.

**Block V**

**THE FUTURE  
OF RUSSIA**

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# **Results and perspectives**

**Report on the session of «Postperestroika» club on  
December 20, 1993**

## **Preamble**

**I**t may seem strange, that after so turbulent political events, that lead to the creation of a new organ of representative power, I will not pay much attention to its perspectives for the future participation in political life of the country. But from the very beginning I was not inclined to over-estimate the significance of new political organs in the processes, which I prognosticate as highly probable for the end of 1993 and the first half of 1994. In many aspects the situation will be developing in a certain direction, irrespective of position of the State Duma and the Council of Federation. Other factors determine the strategic characteristics of political process, and when I am speaking about them, I am showing my attitude towards what is happening on the surface of political process. It may seem snobbish, but I am sure, that Future will confirm the truthfulness of the priorities, that I suggest in the present report.

## **Part 1**

### **Russia, Post-Industrialism, New Socialism**

**T**hese three notions form the entity and represent the triad, inside the limits of which the question of power will be solved on its strategic dimension. Here I must make an excursion into history.

First, about the deeds of the days that passed, but which are of the vital importance for us now. Here I see many young men, who understand the period of Stalinism in the codes of «political journalism of perestroika». But this language is dead now, and the youth must learn a new, more rude and pragmatic attitude towards the Past. But this does not exclude the feelings of indignation, compassion and love. And still, professional terms will become more and more important. New opposition will have to learn to be professional, if it does not want to repeat the fate of its predecessor.

So, the question of political formula of Stalinist society appears to be not so meaningless. The terms «dictatorship, totalitarianism, Stalinism, administrative-command system», all of them are the monstrous terms from the epoch of perestroika, which is as remote from us, as the epoch, related with the name of Stalin.

They had played their role in the making fools of our society and together with the democratic phraseology prepared bloody events of October 3-4, 1993.

They came out of our life together with the sharp rhetorics of the opposition leaders of the FNS (Front of National Salvation), who then hurried to new elections and calmed down in the armchairs of new people's elected representatives.

But, alas, all this is chimerical, all this is not for long. The trouble is already knocking at our door, and it is hardly possible to avoid it by means of exorcisms. The parliamentary rhetorics is as ineffective here, as a mockingly ferocious roar of the executive power. Neither ones, nor the others have definite objectives. None of them do determine the structure of power. Their vision of reality is too linear and too plain. Their political technologies are equally crippled, and everywhere there is a mark of bad journalism of the times of perestroika.

In professional language, the fundamental political formula of the Stalinist society is the bloc of the communists with the non-Party people.

Such a bloc did really exist, it was not a fiction, as it may seem to those, who are not good enough acquainted with the real life of that remote epoch. In fact, the carrier progress at that time was determined not only by one's Party membership. Many of the key figures of that society were non-Party people. The main part of scientists had not any relation to the VCP(B) (All-Union Communist Party (of the Bolsheviks)), and in some fields of science the Party committees were simply prohibited and the membership in the Party for the leading scientists was considered almost a big drawback. All the fathers of atomic project were non-Party men: Kurchatov, Zeldovich, Khariton, Sakharov, that did not prevent them from becoming three-times Heroes of the Soviet Union and from the being the absolute leaders of big scientific collectives, distributing on their will enormous investments.

How could the Central Committee interfere in their activity? The genius of Stalin's narkoms Vannikov and Slavskiy was in that they did not intervene in any thing, but were only asking «how they could help». Even the chief of atomic project with the horrible name Beria was not a ferocious boss for the scientists, but one of the participants in collective project, so to say, everyday assistant.

Everything was determined by the interests of the work. Competence was the main point. And in such conditions they could reach a lot. Stalin had his own specific attitude towards the Party as a whole. He knew personally every narkom and even the chief of every trust, and he had a lot more reserved attitude towards the Party members.

Still, even at that time ideological monopoly and shortsightedness were causing many damages to the country and to common deeds. In my first article (dated to 1989, but written two years earlier), published in many newspapers, I cited the sinister phrase of Zinoviev, pronounced in April, 1923 on the XIIth Party Congress and addressed to Leonid Krasin, one of my favorite heroes of the Revolution. The phrase was: «We ask some of our comrades, who come to us too often with the word «non-competence», to forget this word». And I wrote after

this: «And they did forget. This story must not be repeated».

But, alas, the story does repeat itself, and without understanding, what in fact did happen and why it all happened, we cannot move further.

The criteria of the competence were maintained with great efforts even after the times of Stalin, and still it was possible to conserve a lot instead of Zinoviev's invocations. And that was possible only because in some space the role of the competence was maintained.

The Second World War was won by professionals. And their hierarchy was not determined by their Party affiliation. Petrovsky, the rector of the Moscow State University did not belong to the ruling Party, but he played a very important role in construction of our educational system.

Cosmos and aviation, fundamental and applied science, the key fields of defence and technical construction were touched by the rotting non-competence not so significantly, as it is shown by our journalists of perestroika. Even the persecutions in the sphere of cybernetics and genetics, though they are vivid examples of disastrous «zinovievshchina» («zinovievism»), were not so destructive towards respective scientific fields, as the notorious Article No6 of the Constitution, invented by Brezhnev's surroundings, which brought to the non-productive total pseudo-partization of our society. By the way, the time is ripe to make clear, who was the author of this formula of the all-embracing and leading role of the CPSU.

We must establish the truth, despite the names, and those names come not only from the «chargers» of so called double-dyed brezhnevism. But even the young «progressive» functionaries of that epoch, which were called afterwards below the banners of Gorbachev's liberal reform, took a hand in the total «CPSU-ment» of our society in Brezhnev times. And afterwards they made the ideology of the dissidents the last real ideology of the moribund CPSU.

Here we cannot omit the names of Arbatov, Shahnazarov, Burlatskiy and even Jury Kariakin. The time will dot the «i's», and the country will know, what stands behind the term «zavidovtsy» or «the crew of Leonid I. Brezhnev from Zavidovo».

Here it is important not to make accounts, but to tell the truth and to understand, where and how this total turn of our society was made towards the all-embracing power of some rotting doctrine, stated by the Constitution and towards corrupted organizational structure.

This total turn, this penetrating ideologization, this conversion of the Party card into the necessary pass to any leading position in every sphere of life of our society, - all this happened in the epoch of brezhnevism, on its mature stage and not without the help of liberal experts, whose role even at that time was «many-sensed».

The advent to power of Gorbachev after a number of gerontocrats was accepted with joy by many and many people. Even I, who knew very well the complexity of the situation on the highest level of the Party nomenclature, granted for good the coming of a young Party leader. Our society could not live more from

one old man to another. It could not hear more the «good» of the moribund. It could not find itself more in the grip of the ossified and repugnant ideology. It could not function using the recipes of 30 years old in the sphere of scientific and technological management. We all understood the polisemantics of what was happening. But we also understood, that our country was losing its technological parity and then it would lose the war parity, and that the new and very dangerous social structure was being created, that of the criminal class, striving for a real power. And in that sense, Gorbachev's report to the XXVIIth Congress of the Party and, even more, Yeltsin's speeches on this Congress and on the not so important at that time scientific and practical conference were the events of enormous importance for all, who expected changes.

Though the hopes were vain, though we slid into the abyss and we are still falling down with the growing speed, let us still not adopt the style of our opponents from the democratic camp and let us not affirm, that perestroika was a total evil and the worst variant of development of the events.

I stated earlier and I stress it again, that the worst variant could have been some other helpless ancient man in addition to the fastening of the nuts, to the clutching of the society into a rigid political armour of the out-of-time mono-ideology with the gradual eating of the live social tissue, with the strangulation of everything true and living, with the killing of any vital knowledge, that does not enter into the dead dogmas, with the oppression of the stubborn competence and with the adoration of the mediocrity, which feigns to be true subject and on the quiet accumulates the rage not only against the ideology and not only against the State itself, but even against the society and against its history.

Such an ossified society could have been lead from the outside by certain technologies during the long period of time. We could have been the source of the raw materials, the war bugaboo, which served to consolidate the West, the object for the special measures of Western secrete services under the roof of the «communism and totalitarianism».

But what are the defects of the idea of CIA conspiracy as the main cause of the USSR destruction from my point of view?

First, any intelligence service is making conspiracies against its adversaries, but this does not explain their defeats. In other words, one may say, that the rain was guilty for him being wet. But here remains the question, where was his umbrella?

Second, that means the concealment or underestimation of the roles of many internal players.

Third, here lies the syndrome of defeat.

Fourth, if even the everywhere-penetrating special services of the USSR appeared to be impotent, what should we do then? Create some new more potent services in the weakened country? Proceed with the building of the curtain till we all suffocate? No, it is somehow not appropriate.

Fifth, the West is speaking a lot more about their agents. But as such idle talks are not the rules of special services, so why to believe it all?

Sixth, is the CIA «so powerful and so wise» to be able to destroy the Great Potency?

Seventh, if it is so wise and powerful, then whom does it work for? For its own «State interests»?

Really, if the Western intellectuals from the secrete services had so precious net of agents and even controlled the General Secretary of the CPSU, so why did they destroy this system and cut the bough, where they were so securely placed? Was it not better for them to program the necessary effects and maintain the semblance of the ossified totalitarianism, and at the same time to enlarge their agents' net in the highest organ of power of the adversary country, in the apparatus of the CPSU Central Committee?

One representative of the nomenclature, not at all dull and extremely honest person, told me once, that if in 1986 they had been given the order to draw up in winter on the bridge across the Neva-river and then to jump down head first, - all of them would have jumped without any hesitation, even if there had been a thick ice layer beneath.

So, what I can not understand is how the West could lose such a perfect instrument, as the CPSU, and crash it, though with its help the West could control such key figures, as the main part of our highest functionaries.

Or not, we must leave too primitive explanations. Moreover, we have no right to take for the «black hole» not only the 70 years of the Russian history, but even 7 of them.

Let us remember, that the boys who were 10 or 12 during these 7 years, now are 19, and they are to enter the real political activity. What shall we say to them? That they were living and growing inside the anti-system? That they are not the «sovki» (the scornful name of our compatriots, given by the perestroishchikies), but the «pestki», the children of the madness of perestroika? So, who we are after this? The people, who accept technologies, given to them by their enemies, technologies of falling out of the history, of the demonization of historical periods, of the breaks of the bonds of times?

I declare, that the people, that accepted perestroika, was not so stupidly naive. They did it consciously, sensibly, and they should not be ashamed of their choice. The energy of masses, that greeted perestroika, was not at all black. But later it was moulded into the black shapes. But the initial impulse was good. And any attempt to deny it, to call for the restoration and reaction, is criminal and destructive.

But still, what had happened? And why we are where we are? I'll try to answer this in the second part of my report.



## Part II

### Two Perestroikas

Russia had to take the post-industrial barrier. Without this it was doomed to death. And now, in a lot more difficult situation, the task is the same. And Russia must solve this problem. Or it will perish.

What does that mean, to take the post-industrial barrier? I was speaking many times, that the society, build up in 1956, was a real industrial socialism in the form, that was only possible to create in Russia in such a short time after the period of the catastrophic development from 1915 to 1927.

Russia managed to create something greater. Russia managed to take the industrial barrier without destruction of traditional society. But that was at the cost of heavy sacrifices. Let us remember, that destruction of the roots, the break of traditional structure were done in all the countries at a very high cost. Let us remember, that the similar destruction, the damage of the roots hampers the movement to the post-industrial period. As the post-industrialism in some aspect is negation of industrial negation of pre-industrial relations, that is, it means some sort of transformed return to the pre-industrial existence, new coming back home in a new quality.

If there is nowhere to return, if the house is burned, and even its basement is destroyed, so, is there any reason to be happy about industrial successes? As one must move to a principally new quality! The Bolsheviks (some of them willingly, some unwillingly) did a great historic deed, and the society, that they had built, with all its defects, opened the ways to the accelerated movement in the evolutionary mode, with a series of very serious corrections, but without any revolutionarism.

Evolutionary post-industrial vector of movement was quite possible. It demanded the change of the paradigm inside the limits of the socialism. It demanded transition from ideological priority to the priority of the competence, it demanded some other principle of positioning of the social aspects. The corpse of engineers in the country, its truly elite scientific personnel, its highly qualified proletariat of the cities and of the villages had to receive new impulse for the social move. The society had to be taken out from the wage-levelling and egalitarianism.

Control of production and wages should be changed drastically. The quality of work should be paid ten times better, than its quantity. But here is nothing new. The soviet society in the time of Stalin had already known, that there was a real difference in the payment for the good work. Certainly, this was not so in all the fields, surely, there was a semi-slavery in the village, surely there was a terror and compulsion, but still... But in the moment, when perestroika began, it was not necessary to copy all of this. They should, on the contrary, find out the

sensible tendencies, to bring out of oblivion the brilliant experience of the soviet economists, to take into account the high rating of Andropov's reforms with all their apparent insignificance, short life, insipidity and the lack of clear understanding of their essence in our society. But the people remembered and accepted this will for the purification of Augean stables of the rotting society, which it attributed to the Chief of the KGB, who was not a simple figure at all.

I state, that the initial impulse in the whole party and among the main part of its leaders in 1985 supposed exactly transition into the post-industrial paradigm of development of the soviet society with the obligatory taking of the barrier of monoideology, with the obligatory provision for the freedom of information, with the obligatory changes of the social and political priorities.

When was this unexpected turn to the other side done? When was destroyed the establishing post-industrial socialist paradigm of evolutionary development?

It happened in the moment, when the cooperative movement began, when the stake was made at new property relations. That was this stake, that broke the backbone to the society and made this society begin the redistribution of the property and an inevitable struggle for the power redivision between the corporate clans, groups and gangs, looking for the cover for their avid longings in one or another pseudo-ideology (pseudo-nationalism, pseudo-democratism, pseudo-patriotism etc.). These ideologies are not more than a screens for the accumulation of initial capital, for the unprecedented redistribution of national wealth, which accounts trillions of dollars. Why the party did not want to accept the ideology of post-industrialism and to lead the post-industrial break-through? There may be various answers.

Answer No 1. Deformed mentality of the Party cadres could not even accept that new paradigm of the socialist development. The Party was too archaic and could not be changed to the needed direction. It is in fact so, but we should not bring it all only to this. I remember, what was the influence of the book «Postperestroika» on some Party circles, how the initiatives of the Moscow Party Committee in the times of Jury Prokofiev were perceived, and the programs of reforming of the Party and society in the post-industrial style. There was not repulsion, though there were not a clear understanding of the aims of the group of the Party reformers of 1989-90, which included so different people, as Oleg Shenin, Jury Prokofiev, Liudmila Vartazarova and your humble servant.

And still the union of the cities-heroes, created on the initiative of the Moscow Party Organization in 1991, took some new orientations. The calculations showed, that these orientations could have been taken also by the XXIX Party Congress. But the putsch broke it all. And it is very difficult to find out today, to what extent that was the concealed aim of the August putsch.

Thus, not all the Party forces did reject the idea of post-industrial break-through, given in the book «Postperestroika», even when this idea was criticized from the right and from the left, by the orthodoxes, who maintained the purity of Marxism-leninism and by the liberal Party elite of Gorbachev-Yakovlev's followers. So, what's the cause?

**Answer No 2.** When they were thinking in categories of power and when we had the concealed idea of perestroika, the nucleus of the Party elite had a clear understanding of the fact, that the refusal of the ideology meant the refusal of the power. It did not want to lose the power in the course of a post-industrial break-through, which it could not lead. They preferred to move along cooperative way, believing, that they could restrain it and that in the situation of nomenclature capitalism they could maintain the power, having given it to the so called democrats, apparently, but that in order to make them guilty in all the troubles of the people. In that way they expected only to strengthen the potency of their power because of the changed property relations.

Such an explanation looks more plausible, but there is one defect. Here we must suppose a certain lack of competence in some circles of the ruling elite.

Maybe, this is true towards the external carcass of the power of the pre-perestroika period and of the initial period of perestroika. But internal elite groups, which had concentrated in their hands the real power (especially the elites of special organizations), possessed sufficient competence to lead the process and send it to the post-industrial direction. Certainly, that demanded hard measures inside the Party itself and its leaders. But such measures could have been done easily by a young General Secretary. Maybe, the cruelty of these measures would have been supported by our society to the same extent, as the limitless criticism. I remember my own words, pronounced in 1986, that I was ready to lead a number of battalions of special troops to purify the rotten and littered anti-elite, that is, the nomenclature elite of the CPSU. I believed then, that we could not do without surgery in this question, that our society as a whole did not need surgery, but the inhabitants of a hundred of buildings (the stout bureaucrats) did. I was surprised by the spinelessness of Gorbachev in the question of a so much needed for all of us «jun-fyng», and I was even more surprised by the non-adequacy in this question of the first secretary of Moscow Party Committee Boris Yeltsin. But, as for the President Yeltsin he, with all his extreme anti-communist sharpness, has, in fact, reconstructed all the realities of Brezhnev's regime. And that fact seems to my mind more dangerous, than his apparently authoritarian ways. By the way, I believe necessary to give here my attitude towards authoritarianism.

Authoritarianism, as any other political technology, do not determine the main point, the space of objectives. Authoritarianism can be an instrument of the degradation of society. Here it relates to the leader of the Brezhnev style, who played the role of the disintegrator on his long-lasting late period. There is also modernization authoritarianism. And Yeltsin is trying to experiment this type. But it is only an attempt. It is easy to depict Peter the Great on the emblem of «Vybor Rossii» («The Choice of Russia»). It is much more easier to choose the State Emblem and make a series of nothing promising gestures. But it is very difficult to be Peter in fact.

I shall say more: in post-industrial conditions even this image is not adequate and useful nowadays, taking into account the situation. Now we do not need

modernization, its time is in the past. What we need now, is the growing degradation, or some other alternative paradigm of development with due regard to the cultural and historic specific conditions and with the orientation to the post-industrial perspective. And that is possible only in the frame of a new socialism, without excessive radicalism and national extremism, as we are being provoked, but of the socialism in a national form with regard to the cultural and historic tradition, and with confessional tinge. When I was looking through the theses of one of the important figures of the catholic church, I envied the catholics, whose leaders are able to analyze sufficiently fast the changes in the geopolitics and to make adequate ideological and political steps. So, today we may talk about alternative (that is, not modernization) paradigm of Russia development in the post-industrial vector with regard to its cultural and historical peculiarity and with due use of the whole of its spiritual and ideal potential.

If our society perceives this idea in more catastrophic conditions, than we have now, so the political technology of the realization of such a model will be not simply authoritarianism, but a rigid dictatorship. Shall I be the opponent to this dictatorship? Never and by no means. I was not against it five years ago, and I do not understand absolutely, why I should refuse my thoughts and principles for the sake of some general places and general discussions on the item of some compromised realities. The other case is, that the model of a necessary process of development and stabilization must contain some guarantees from its transformation into non-effective, ruinous tyranny. This model must contain also the mechanisms of gradual alleviation of political regime towards the real power of the people, maybe, more profound and productive, than the forms, which are recommended by the West as the most realistic and the most effective ones.

So let us discuss this. And not to hide behind the fig-leaf of democracy the struggle with the non-productive regime, which leads our society to a catastrophe. One thing is the maintenance of the legality resource and carrying of the struggle with political, and not force methods, as it is possible on the present stage. Here I am an adherent of legal methods with construction of political subjects of full value, which correspond to the epoch of intellectual wars, informational antagonism, competitions on the level of the post-industrial demands. Here the labour decides everything, the everyday dedicated labour, and not convulsions. Here decides the discipline, ability to do the practical actions, and not the rhetorics. All that does not mean, that this opposition can not be relatively sharp. But this sharpness is something opposite to the provocations, which we observed partially during October events. I say «partially», because in the White House many people were killed, and they belonged to the cream of the nation. But we must remember the provocations and learn from such experience. Only then we may believe, that the blood was shut not in vain. We must avoid sentiments and we must not make heroes of those, who have lost, as it is the quality, characteristic to the flabby dying elites, to the classes and the groups of yesterday. And the post-industrialism apply to the forces of the Future.

And to finish this review of possible answers to the question, why did the

process take another way, than the post-industrialism, I must share with you my understanding of behavior of sufficiently competent elites, who participated in perestroika.

So, here is my version.

**Answer No 3.** These elites were in full understanding of the need for post-industrial break-through and they were not afraid of their place in this process. But they realized the other thing: that, if they appeal for new forces as forces, they should share the power with them. The process was not possible without this. And they did not want and do not want to share the power with anyone. Here is almost unconscious effect of repulsion. Yes, there will be more power, if it is shared, and if the process is turned to sensible direction. Yes, it is possible to lose everything. But we do not want to share anything, and that's it! As they say: «For the life of me!» Maybe, what is needed, is a profound catastrophe, which concerns not only the mass of people, but also the elite nuclei, - for our political players to perceive the inevitability of essential changes, and not of the changes of decorations. So, let us cure the elites.

And to build up ourselves at the same time.

## Conclusion

**The main theses are sufficiently obvious, but here I will formulate them again.**

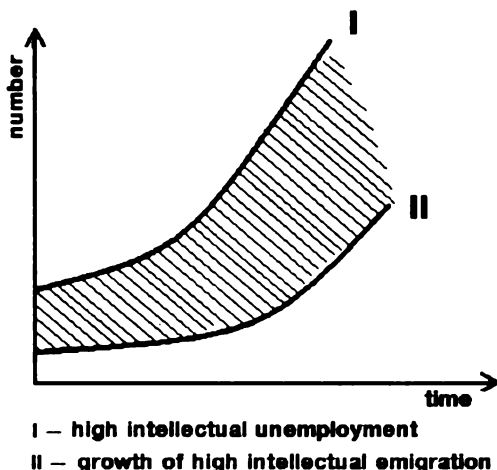
1. The only one way for Russia is the post-industrial break-through.
2. In the present situation such a break-through will be based on the growing authoritarianism in the best of the cases, and on the growing dictatorship in the worst one.
3. We must struggle against the variants of the degradation dictatorship, as well as against the chaos and further destruction of Russia.
4. The degradation dictatorship will come from the part of executive power. The priority in the question of destruction may belong to the old opposition. It will be cherished for this by the West and by our old liberals. As the old opposition, which moves in the paradigm of nomenclature, may create some controllable economy and provide for the stable raw materials import, but it cannot mobilize the force of the people for post-industrial break-through. But if it decides to realize the rigid degradative policy, then we must take another way, and we must declare this definitely and immediately. We must remember, that we began the struggle with the old opposition not today, but long ago. And that we are struggling not with the people and not for the good posts and positions. We are struggling against non-adequate actions — for Russia, for its right for independent development in the XXIst century.
5. The force, that is able to be at head of this break-through, is new intellectual class. It is being formed now swiftly, in the situation of catastrophe, when there began the unprecedented mass intellectual unemployment. This will be the leading class. On the picture No 3 I show the model of development of a

new class. The curve I is the high-technology unemployment. The curve II is the growth of a high-technology emigration. The difference between them is the source for the new class formation. The new class is created by the existing regime itself, and this new class will be its grave-digger.

6. Humanitarians and technocrats, the workers and the highly educated personnel will come together in the new class. What is important, is the competence and professionalism. New class is a meritocracy, the power of the merits, and not of money.

7. New class will give rise to a new party. This party will not be industrial socialist party, nor the capitalist one. This party will be based upon a new socialism with cultural and historic dominant, with national and confessional specifics.

*Picture 3*



8. This party and this class in the situation of crisis will act in the interests of Russia, unconditionally and uniformly from the state positions, without the power ambitions, but with the clear understanding of its historical role. They will act according to ideas, objectives and circumstances.

9. In any case, political ideal of this class is not the monopoly of power, and not the monoideologism of the most perfect type. And new political system will be professional democracy with professional, and only professional censure.

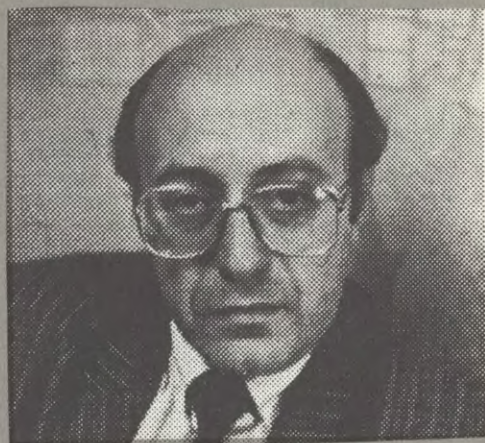
**THE IDEAL IS THE STATE, DEVELOPMENT AND COMPETENCE.**

# CONTENTS

<b>Mass Media: the Scandalous Popularity Serguei Kurguinjan .....</b>	<b>3</b>
<b>Preliminary words .....</b>	<b>6</b>
 <b>BLOCK I</b>	
<b>What have shown the events of October 4th, 1993 .....</b>	<b>7</b>
 <b>BLOCK II</b>	
<b>How destruction processes will develop .....</b>	<b>12</b>
<b>Appendix: the fantasies of anti-Yeltsin opposition     (daily "El-Cods"; No 10, 1993) .....</b>	<b>14</b>
<b>Comments of S. Kurguinjan .....</b>	<b>20</b>
 <b>BLOCK III</b>	
<b>On the discovered diseases of our political movement and the possibility of their cure: "What we are and what we may be?" .....</b>	<b>32</b>
 <b>BLOCK IV</b>	
<b>The West and Russia .....</b>	<b>40</b>
<b>Introduction .....</b>	<b>41</b>
<b>Anti-Americanism or the new paradigm     (Report, made by S. Kurguinjan in Athens     on November 1993) .....</b>	<b>42</b>
<b>Geoglobalistics and communism     (Report on the seminar in "Gorbachev-Fund") .....</b>	<b>49</b>
 <b>BLOCK V</b>	
<b>The future of Russia .....</b>	<b>53</b>
<b>Results and perspectives     (Report on the session of "Postperestroika" club     on December 1993) .....</b>	<b>54</b>

*"RUSSIA XXI" ... is a very serious and a very diversified journal, just for any taste, and it challenges to argue. It is not intended to be an easy reading. And at the same time it is extremely modern, it manages to inform about the latest events of today and to remain a long-play, not a one-day thing at all.»*

*«Nezavisimaya Gazeta»  
1994.*



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