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**INVENTING THE FUTURE:  
DEVELOPMENT SCENARIOS OF CONTEMPORARY RUSSIA**

*The future cannot be predicted,  
But futures can be invented.  
Dennis Gabor*

The future always fascinates, attracts and scares at the same time. Thinking about the future, we may experience not just anxious feelings, caused by objective reality, but even sense of collapse, having been actively injected into consciousness by Hollywood disaster movies and literary dystopias. However, we may also feel incredible joy about unknown, based on knowledge and scientific and technical progress of our civilization, on belief in human ratio's win over darkness of his on earth animal instincts, on hope for the Era of Meeting Hands on our planet, as the eminent Soviet fantast Ivan Efremov wrote. Thinking about the future is not an idle session at all, as it applies directly to each one of us. Inventor and vice-president of General Motors Charles Kettering noticed quite right: "My interest is in the future because I am going to spend the rest of my life there".

Furthermore, it should be remembered that the future does not only depend on no one else but us in many respects, it is getting more and more of a designed character. It can be invented, and those who do invent it are far from being some scientists on their own; indeed, they are numerous research institutes, analytical centers, intelligence and military agencies. Predominant majority of development scenarios for the countries and peoples has been elaborated in West Think Tanks to include ones, which have been actively realized within the last twenty years. It is enough to remember so called "color revolutions", which started in Belgrade in 2000, and then having swept over the Post-Soviet area, now have been shaking the North Africa and the Middle East for more than a year.

The largest and the most known Think Tank is famous RAND Corporation (the USA). It is a huge transnational organization, including intellectual resources of many countries of the World. Officially, there are about 1700 scientists and researchers from 50 countries working there, total number of projects – over 500. Besides the Head office in Santa-Monica (California), RAND branches are located in Arlington, Pittsburgh, Boston, New Orleans, Jackson, Mexico-city, Cambridge,

Brussels, Doha and Abu-Dhabi. Tasks that this unit accomplishes are high-scaled by both the resources involved and temporal extension. Among major orientations of research of this knowledge multinational there are studying of the current status and development trends of global security; perspectives and potential of the second net war, where the “ratio” is input into objects and materials of our everyday life; policy design for global climate change and energy-saving, as well as for net wars; analysis of global changes in population and many others<sup>1</sup>.

Besides RAND, numerous scientific and research units do future designing; they are located in all countries of the West, however the USA remain the absolute leader in this activity. Here it cannot help separately mentioning Santa Fe Institute, Freedom House, the National Endowment for Democracy, Ford and MacArthur Foundations, Joan Shorenstein Center on the press, politics and public policy at John F. Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University, Berkman Center for Internet and Society at Harvard Law School, Oxford Internet Institute, Columbia and Yale Law Schools, that intensively elaborate scenarios of democratic reforms, wider known as “color revolutions”. Similar units are actively developing in Japan, China and India. Russia has not had such worldwide known think tanks yet, nevertheless there are still several widely known intellectual corporations here. These are Center for Strategic Research Foundation, Center for Strategic Research “North-West” Foundation in Saint Petersburg, Center’s branch in the federal district of Povolzh’e, resided in Nizhny Novgorod, Governance and Problem Analysis Center, Institute of Contemporary Development (INSOR), Experimental Creative Center, and others.

What scenarios have been elaborated and what projects might be tested in modern Russia – all these are questions of the greatest significance. Maintenance of Russia as the entire state organism, Russian length in History depends much on answers to these questions. Not pretending for an exhaustive answering, I will mark some essential, as it seems facts and assumptions.

### ***Future of the Russian statehood and stateness: western project***

For a start, it is necessary to make some explanations about the nature of the “State system”. In contemporary political science these definitions are the most often used as a synonym to the “State”, and also to determine a stage in the development of a state of concrete historical period (for example, Russian or Post-Soviet stateness), what seems to be too much superficial view on the problem.

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<sup>1</sup> Official web site of RAND Corporation. – URL: <http://www.rand.org>. For more information on “Think tanks” see: Диксон, П. Фабрика мысли – М.: АСТ, 2004. – 505 р.; Якунин В.И., Багдасарян В.Э., Сулакшин С.С. Новые технологии борьбы с российской государственностью. - М.: Научный эксперт, 2009. – 424 р.

I assume that “State system” should be examined as a complex conceptual category, which includes definitions “statehood” and “stateness”. While stateness defines an internal development of the stratum, which may result in efficient and all-sufficient state, statehood allows determining an external status of this state on dependence on size and international functions in the World system. In the most complete sense the State system is a result of historic, economic, political and of foreign politics activity of certain people/society in order to create relatively hard political frame, which provides territorial, institutional and functional unity, e. i., native stateness, all-sufficient political system.

Modern stage of state system development is characterized by duality of state building processes. On one hand, “states, slowly growing in accordance with age-old logic of historical process, have suddenly begun to divide as cells of living organism affected by lethal disease, to multiply threateningly, to regenerate and to lose their original nature – sovereignty”<sup>2</sup>. On another hand, at the same time with this fragmentation process of once unified state organisms integration tendencies are developing and supranational bodies are actively forming (EU, OSCE, NATO).

Transformation of Russian state system has simultaneously run in two dimensions and with different levels of activity. On one hand, it is an attempt to build national state within political and geography frames of the former RSFSR, on another – attempt of its political and economic involvement in supranational units, in new hierarchy of governing. Contemporary Russia, being a part of the World system, turns out to be tied up with globalization processes, in other words directly incorporated in global projects. According to all aforementioned above and with no going into detail projects’ analysis, one might imagine three major directions of designing the future of state system in general and of the Russian one in particular, that are elaborated in the West.

First direction will be conditionally named “Supranational governing and global controlling system”. One of the active guides of this idea, French economist and high-rank political figure Jacques Attali considers that values of the market and democracy are “the most important condition for harmonious development on a planetary scale”, and insists on necessity “to create instruments for realization the principles of *global sovereignty*: parliament, government, attachments to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, putting into practice decisions in the field of labour law accepted by the International Labour Organization (ILO), central bank, common currency; planetary taxation system, police and justice; All-

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<sup>2</sup> Ефтич З., Вучкович М., Младенович М. Интеграционные тенденции и проблема европейской идентичности. – URL: <http://www.rikmosgu.ru/publications/3559/4538/>

European minimal income and rating agencies, overall control after financial markets”<sup>3</sup>.

Understanding that all this will not come soon and the process will be long and complicated, Attali offers for now “to amount to nothing more than creation of *unassuming* world governing (italics supplied – E. P.)”, what will require arrival of five decisions and efficient passing through five stages: extension of G-8 up to G-24; to create on the base of G-24 and UN Security Council one Governing Council having economic authority and effecting political regulation on legal grounds; to subdue International Monetary Fund, World Bank and other international financial institutions to Governing Council; to reform staff and voting procedure in international financial institutions, including IMF and WB, and to extend changes on UN SC and to equip named institutions with necessary financial resources. Such organizational and financial grounds of the “planetary state” may be evaluated only as realization of Warburg’s aim of more than half a century old: “We shall have World Government, whether or not we like it”.

Is this scenario acceptable for Russia? If one proceeds from interest of the majority of people in our country, the answer would be no. For the sake of a small minority, hoping that in structural branches of supranational governing, or to say easy of the “world government” they will take leading positions, apparently this scenario looks acceptable. For instance, as far back as 2009 Gavriil Popov gave publicity to model of way out of on-going economic crisis by means of the World government. Specifically, former Moscow mayor assumes that crisis posed a task of “forming of a new civilization, in which globalism will constantly *overcome* (read: destroy – E. P.) national-state and national-territorial forms”<sup>4</sup>.

Specifically, so called “overcoming” should become apparent in following. First, it is an implementation of world guaranteed currency. Second is a withdrawal *of nuclear weapons, nuclear energy and all rocket-space equipment* out of national competence and transfer under *international supervision*. There is also a need of transferring under global control all resources of our planet, primarily hydrocarbon raw supply. Preservation of the environment and of the World climate should be transferred under world control as well.

Third, strict limits for birth rate should be settled taking into consideration labor productivity level and the size of cumulative wealth in each country: beggary ought not to multiply faster than others. Forth, in accordance with Popov, there is a need to work up new system of human being and new civilization basis. The case

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<sup>3</sup> *Аттали, Ж.* Мировой экономический кризис... А что дальше? – Спб.: Питер, 2009. – Р. 19, 160–163.

<sup>4</sup> *Попов, Г.Х.* Кризис и глобальное управление. – *Московский Комсомолец*, 2009, № 25014, 25 марта. – URL: <http://www.mk.ru/social/article/2009/03/24/243834-krizis-i-globalnyie-problemyi.html>

in point is civilization of little power consumption, which can be achieved by *genetic control on the stage of an embryo and as a result by “permanent cleanup of humanity gene pool”*. Fifth, new civilization forms through the whole complex of educational measures in order to work out a new mankind who is a stranger to religious, ethnic, cultural and other display of incompatibility and all the more of intolerance.

It is obvious that no society with self-esteem and elementary common sense still kept may agree with the “perspective” like the one above. Nevertheless, there was a political and organizational mechanism, consisted of another five elements, offered to achieve this “perspective”.

The first element is *new* Organization of the United Nations, in which on the base of individual membership will enter *not all the countries*. In order to become an individual member of the UN, potential member should have certain population size as well as certain size of cumulative national wealth and certain size of income per person: the UN for the selected ones. There are to be 30-50 such members. The rest of the countries may join the new UN through collective organizations, uniting several states. Any of these groups of countries must meet same criteria to join the UN as in case of individual membership.

The second element is World parliament with two chambers. One is elected by direct vote all over the planet. Let us say, each candidate received a million of votes becomes a delegate to this chamber. Deputies of another chamber are elected from individual and collective UN members by majority system.

The third one is World government. It is to be formed by the UN with the advice and consent with World parliament. At the government World armed forces and World police are necessary to have.

The fourth element contains units created by the UN and independent from the World government: World nuclear agency, World rocket agency, World space agency, World bank, World court, world scientific, research and expert centers, educational, cultural and sport organizations.

The fifth one is World system of independent information, television, radio and Internet above all, independent even from the UN itself.

Obviously, such scenarios of Russia to be included in these global, western projects, indeed intend a rejection of based on millennial history of stateness and statehood of our country and mean extermination of our state system together with Russia as it is.

However, these are projects of the distant future; that is why other scenarios are actively elaborated. They present the second trend and may go under the name of “Democratic empires”. Authors of those scenarios purpose to dismantle national states, because sovereign states indeed “are paradoxically able to become a threat to freedom and democracy, because they are capable to revive old conflicts or to

produce new attitudes of rivalry and hostility”<sup>5</sup>. The most complete grounds of this process is presented in paperwork of Center for Strategic and International Studies in Washington’s Professor and “Academia Europaea” member Josep Colomer. His main idea lies in dependence of the peoples’ wealth on “such spacious *democratic empires* (italics supply – *E. P.*), as the USA and EU”.

To do justice to Kolomer, he singles out five modern empires (America, China, Europe, Japan and Russia) and five large associations related to an imperial type (Indonesia, India, Brazil, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Australia and Canada) which are equitable to empires in sense of territorial size, but are not populated enough. However, the future as per Kolomer belongs to *democratic* empires. Current trends of world development, from his point of view, lead first to increasing of amount of democratic “independent and autonomic countries” of a small size, appearing on the place of middle-size stateness’. This leads to gradual “deletion” of the last ones on the World political map. Second, new states or areas of non-democratic empires operate “to satisfy the World politics power lines with diverse potential”<sup>6</sup>.

In other words, the result of “transformation by separation” depends on “transformation by unification”, on involvement of “small nations” into supranational units of empirical size. Kolomer records: “today’s world is more and more organized due to reciprocal imposition of spacious areas of “imperial” size with simultaneous increase of self-governing smaller societies”; and singles out three fundamental relationship networks: “defense and security associations, trade and economic agreement and zones of language and communications”<sup>7</sup>.

This scenario, based on the priority of democratic (read: western) values, is a delayed-action mine, because it forms in public perception of non-democratic empires’ population the only and sole way of development – to strive for inclusion in democratic empires through creation of “self-governing smaller communities”. In essence, it is nothing else but sequel of so called Harvard project of demolition of the Soviet Union<sup>8</sup> but on Russian area this time.

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<sup>5</sup> Colomer J.M. *Great Empires, Small Nations: The Uncertain Future of the Sovereign State* (L., N.Y.: Routledge, 2007), p. 114.

<sup>6</sup> Ильин, М.В. Возможна ли универсальная типология государств. – *Политическая наука*, 2008, № 4. – P. 29.

<sup>7</sup> Colomer J.M. *Great Empires, Small Nations...* P. 31.

<sup>8</sup> Якунин В.И., Багдасарян В.Э., Сулакшин С.С. Новые технологии борьбы с российской государственностью. P. 46–48. Also see Норка, С. Заговор против России. М.: Вагриус, 2004. – 816 p.



There is no lack of argumentation for inability of Russia to save its stateness. Zb. Brzezinski's position, which has been actively perfected in the Institute of Contemporary Development<sup>9</sup>, could serve as a good example. It says that in distant perspective Russia possibly will understand that joint to NATO will enhance its borders' security, especially on the Far East, where Russian population is swiftly growing thin. It is not inconceivable that finally this consideration turns out to be the most persuasive. At some moment depending on evolution of China, growing stronger cooperation of Russia and NATO on questions related to concrete threats of different kind to global security (as foreseen by Council Russia-NATO) could of laying the foundation for building up trans-Eurasian security system, which would spread over the significant part of the continent, covering China itself<sup>10</sup>.

Joint to the EU, if this is possible at all, "will require complete reorganization of social, economic and legal bodies" of Russia. According to Brzezinski's opinion Russia had already made the only available for her choice – inclusion in Western project, what in turn became a strategic chance for the West. This choice "created prerequisites for progressive *geopolitical expansion of west community more and more far deep into Eurasia* (italics supplied – E. P.). Bonds' enlargement between West and Russia opened to penetration of West, of America first of all, in former times reserved zone of Russian "nearest abroad". In the long run, there will be no alternative for Russia if it wants to save the most valuable one out of its territorial belongings. Incalculable natural wealth of Siberia – that is what promises Russia the most cheerful perspectives, but *without western help Russia cannot be positive in keeping its sovereignty over this land* (italics supplied – E. P.)".

The third direction of designating the future may be named as "*Pax Americana*". Hundreds of books have been written on American hegemony in the World. As for me, I would dwell on papers by the American futurologist George Freedman, a founder of the American private intelligence and analytic company Strategic Forecasting Inc., well known as Stratfor<sup>11</sup>.

According to the analyst's opinion, the XXI century will be the century of the USA and here is the reason why. First of all, being engaged in a long war with the Muslim World and come off second-best to a first approximation, in geopolitical dimension the USA politics has generated chaos in the region for many years ahead. It had cut out an opportunity for consolidation of radical Islam. Arabic East is an excellent example of the USA's putting into practice the strategy of "guided

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<sup>9</sup> Пономарева, Е.Г. Политика дальнего прицела, или три способа оказаться под калпаком НАТО. – Фонд стратегической культуры. 09.09.2010 – URL: <http://www.fondsk.ru/news/2010/09/09/politika-dalnego-privcela-ili-tri-sposoba-okazatsja-pod-kolpakom-nato-191.html>

<sup>10</sup> Бжезинский, Зб. Выбор. Мировое господство и глобальное лидерство. – М.: Международные отношения, 2005. – P. 139. Further cited by this edition.

<sup>11</sup> Friedman D. *The Next 100 Years: A Forecast for the 21<sup>st</sup> Century* (N.Y.: Doubleday, 2009).

chaos”, or possibility to continuously exert influence upon non-stop conflicts, setting on to fight different Islamic states and religious streams between each other. As we can see, process of going and consequences of the “Arab spring” confirm opinion of the analyst.

Second, total control over the World Ocean and international financial and trade systems, containment of any other state from opportunity to challenge global military, strategic and informational power of America, created situation when no one is able to effectively impact the USA. However, all this does not mean absence of protest displays against American hegemony, but all of them will have regional not global character. Appearance of new leader of Islamic World – Turkey – will primarily have an effect on Europe; China and Japan will fight for dominance in Asia-Pacific region, being incapable to get free from the American hegemony even with military approaches involved.

Third, on-going “decay” of the Post-Soviet area will lead to gangrenous lesions of Russia itself. RF will lose control over the Caucasus, “inside regions of Russia will be devastated and the state in the beginning of the third decade of the XXI century will fall into pieces, going backwards its medieval borders”<sup>12</sup>. This will unavoidably lead to chaos in the entire Eurasia, what will enhance positions of the only guarantor of stability and arbitrator – the USA. Speeding up the process of falling into pieces of the RF should be provided by different kinds of development limitation of our country. Primarily, it is a question of “qualitative leap in research and introduction of new energy sources”, as well as alternative shipping ways for delivery of natural energy supply in Europe.

Here it should be mentioned that ignorance of own scientific elaborations in all directions, including military one, lack of strategic vision of the future, anti-modernization of the country and archaization of all everyday-life forms, greed and corruption of power institutions’ representatives, indeed, may cost us a future. Weak, suffering from inside conflicts, devoid of an army, a weak heart state becomes an easy plunder for marauders. Or, as Karl Marx had said, “for a nation as for a woman there is no excuse for a minute of negligence when the first comer can do violence with her”.

Forth, the Third World War, forethought as a way not to allow threatening to the dominance of the USA development of regional leaders of Eurasia and their joint within a united state. In accordance with futurologist’s opinion, the war will start after the conflict of Polish and Turkish over the Balkans in 2050 and become unexampled if speaking about a method of warfare. Success will depend not on mobilization of the whole society, but on high-precision equipment and state-of-the-art technologies. Major result would be enhancement of the USA’s dominance

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<sup>12</sup> XXI век: до и после Третьей мировой войны. – *Политический класс*, 2009, № 5. P. 26–46. – URL: <http://www.nigru.ru/docs/class/2059.html>



not on the earth, in water and air only, but in outer space too. As for Russia, per being “direct strategic threat” to the USA it must be eliminated up to 2030.

### *Eurasian project versus “new world order”*

I am positive that I am not the only one who is not suited by aforementioned scenarios. In this context one of the most acceptable projects of the future of the Russian state system as some kind of an empirelike unit may become the Eurasian project, originally presented in the article “A new integration project for Eurasia – future in the making”<sup>13</sup> by Vladimir Putin, Russian Prime minister for that period of time.

It should be mentioned that ideas, introduced in the article, provoked a large amount of opposed assessments, baring essential conflict of values and orientations in both, our country and abroad. There is a complete concord on one pole; and on another there are smacking of hysterics appeals not to allow revival of the “Soviet empire”, fears’ pressing-in around an endless stream of migrants, who right after creation of Common economic space will fill out the European part of Russia and so on. A part of critics perceived the integration thesis just as “political Utopia”, which Russian politicians use in order to frequently tempt the people<sup>14</sup>.

Not going deeper in review of different point of view on “new integration project”, I will note that for myself the most indicative was indeed the aggressive aversion of the article, like some sort of litmus paper, displaying true attitude to the place and role of Russia in World politics. Attitude of obvious malevolence and even hostility.

What is this reaction concerned with? Why does Russia again become an object to attack? Why are respectful western publishing houses again gay with titles, reminding the coldest days of the “Cold War”? By what do initiatives of Russian Prime minister scare the “independent” media?

The point is that the **ideas, expressed by Putin, in case of successful realization, can lead to serious geopolitical and geo-economic changes, which do not fit the “new world order” concept.** Integration project for Eurasia is claim for self-dependent position, independent from having dominated for the last twenty years all over the World supranational bodies (NATO, IMF, EU...) and emphatic hegemony of the USA. Today Russia is ready not just to initiate but to create a new

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<sup>13</sup> Путин, В.В. Новый интеграционный проект для Евразии – будущее, которое рождается сегодня. – *Известия*, 3 ноября 2011. – URL: <http://www.izvestia.ru/news/502761>

<sup>14</sup> Серова, Н. Путин придумал СССР 2.0 – URL: <http://www.utro.ru/articles/2011/10/05/1002653.shtml>

supranational organization, based not at all on principles of Atlanticism and neo-liberalism.

During live broadcast on December 15, 2011 the Prime minister confirmed seriousness of stated earlier ideas. “This is a real integration with further planning to pass a part of functions to supranational bodies... This is not a rebirth of the Soviet Union, this is entirely maintaining of these states’ independency, political independency, but for increasing of our competitiveness in the world economy, for attaching an impulse for development, for providing a higher level of life for our citizens”. More than that, he underlined that only “after starting common economic space it is possible to move to forming the Eurasian Union”, supposed to have and common currency among the rest<sup>15</sup>.

Special significance of Russian initiative is added by last events. Now many projects of the West, having been elaborated before the certain moment, are moved to a stage of practical realization. Primarily it is reorganization project for Europe, closely concerned with the Balkans and economic crisis, activated in Greece and Cyprus; formation project of the Greater Middle East by rebuilding of political regimes in the whole list of countries; then so called New Asian project, which active phase was a tragedy in Japan.

There had been no **such grand geopolitical moves**, which we have observed starting the beginning of 2011, since the time of collapse of the USSR and world socialism system. All leading states and supranational bodies are involved in going processes. Decision of one or another problem of the world politics by power had already become a normal practice. It is enough to remember squall of indignation, rained down on Russia after its veto on SC UN Resolution on Syria on October 5, 2011, which in case of passage could lead to repeat of the “Libyan scenario”.

The main thing, arousing outrage of our western “partners”, is the obstacles and inconveniences, which Russia, in some cases together with China, produces on the way of “new world order”. Russia offers exactly something able to destroy world dominance of the West – “a model of powerful supranational body, capable to become one of the poles of contemporary World and at the same time to play role of effective “connective” between Europe and dynamic Asia-Pacific region”. Putin’s words about competitiveness of the Eurasian Union “in industrial and technological race, in competition for investors, for job creation”, about capacity of this joint “side by side with other key players and regional bodies – such as the EU, USA, China, APEC) to provide stability of global development” are the alarm signal for western politicians.

Doings of the past decades, as it would seem, had for long set for hegemony of the West in Europe, Central Asia, partly in the Middle East and even in Russia. However, as it turns out, this could be ended. Neo-liberal model of globalization,

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<sup>15</sup> Разговор с Владимиром Путиным 15 декабря 2011. – URL: <http://www.1tv.ru/news/polit/193930>

which became a ground for a “new world order”, is failing. Western, Chinese and Russian scientists have written about this for quite a while. Proper time came and now politicians are formulating these ideas.

“New integration project” is important for Russia and its allies, and equally dangerous for its enemies as an opportunity to oppose pressure of the Atlanticism, to stand up for originality of own culture, to provide national security in all senses. In modern conditions, neither Russia nor other countries of Post-Soviet area could survive by their own. However, it is Russia, being one of the geopolitical centers of Eurasia, having the most powerful in Post-Soviet ojkumena economic, military and political resources, who must and can become a start point for beginnings of new architectonics of the World.

However, it should be remembered that inventing the future it is necessary to have not just resources and technologies needed for its realization, but iron will as well. Merely by application of tremendous efforts “new integration project for Eurasia” indeed will become the future in the making.

*«The future had already come»*

These words said by Australian futurologist and publicist Robert Young in 1952 in the best way possible reflect the contemporary status. The future gets born every day and immediately depends on our yesterday and today actions or inactions. Tragic mistakes and errors, made by the country during last twenty years, cannot help telling upon the future of Russian state system. Taking into consideration current social and economic status, geopolitical position of Russia, and situation all over the World in general, it should be admitted that any negative scenario for our country is possible, but it should not mean that there is no place for the optimistic projects. In existing conditions, the following variants for Russia are available.

The first variant is *Stagnation*. This is a short-tern scenario, because it can last for several years only (from 2 to 5) – up to total pauperization of population, destruction of infrastructure and utilities, loss of military, informational, food supply security and so on. Stagnation is a natural precursor of the second scenario of the future – half-disintegration of the country.

Half-disintegration or Dayton scenario, in other words actual decay with formal reservation of integrity. Dayton agreements in 1995 secured actual partition of Bosnia and Herzegovina per two self-dependent units – Muslim-Croatian Federation and Republika Srpska – under direct and hard control of international community. In fact Bosnia represents protectorate under governance of the Peace

Implementation Council and its charge – High Representative, Implementation Force (IFOR or NATO) and European Union Force (EUF or EUFOR)<sup>16</sup>. Upgrowth of separatist trends against the background of worsening social and economic state of affairs, unemployment and inflation increase may result in chaos making of the territory of Russia, what will force her to apply for help to NATO and EU. Further – “rolled” technologies start working.

The third variant may be marked as “The cycle of decay”. Global crisis will detonate collapse of global system, which is accompanied with permanent and hard armed conflicts. Consequently, the entire collapse of Russia will take place, what nevertheless does not mean the end of Russian stateness. Global crisis indeed will bring many dangers, misfortunes and tragedies, but at the same time, it will give us “a space to breath” and chance together with luck, as it happened many times in our history. Russia had extricated itself out of downfall exactly in the moments of European and World crisis: the second quarter of the XVII, the second quarter of the XVIII, the second quarter of the XX century.

The forth variant I named Russian Black swan, whose appearance may clash global crisis. The concept of the Black swan was formulated by famous financial analyst Nassim Nicholas Taleb<sup>17</sup>. The Black swan is an event which is not simply abnormal and unpredictable, because nothing had foreboded it in the past, but has tremendous power of impact.

Variant Russian Black swan in fact means Russian miracle. On one hand, it may happen as a reaction to desperate situation, in which the country may occur. On another hand, technological, informational, psychological innovations, “inherently unpredictable” (K. Popper), more and more often are carried out by Russian specialists. It is well known, that there is one of the highest for the World educational standard in Russia, approximately 99.4%. It is intellectual potential of Russia where its gap lays. However, this gap must be politically and economically stimulated. Mechanisms of taxation, distribution and redistribution must go under total revision; principles of organization for education and health systems must be changed. Main thing, political elite must decide whether to keep running for the train and build itself into western project or to build up the future of own country.

In this case, the state must become the main moving force for development, “leaders of the country must program current, active and perspective tasks, in other words they must work out the entire development concept for the state, its future place in the World system. Development strategy for the state does not lie in tight

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<sup>16</sup> Пономарева, Е.Г. Параметры государственной состоятельности: Босния и Герцеговина. – *Сравнительная политика*, 2011, № 3. – Р. 86–95; Ponomareva E. Dayton: Pitfalls and Dilemmas of the Peace Agreement, *International Affairs*, 2 (2011), 207–219.

<sup>17</sup> Taleb, Н.Н. Черный лебед. Под знаком непредсказуемости. – М.: Колибри, 2009. – 528 р.

economic frames only; but comes out to the stage of politics, culture, and public life in general”<sup>18</sup>. Strategy of development must take into consideration thoughtful long-term aims and tasks for the state, as well as directions of investments of those resources that are available and mean for set goals achievement. In other words, to have a miracle happened means to have it been prepared well. In order to make it several requirements should be met.

First, it is necessary to strive for grimly honest knowledge about ourselves, about our country, interests and aims of global environment. Second, we have to learn working for ourselves only, what means for own country as well, and to do it in a manner to feel self-esteem and proudness. Third, the major and sole vector of developing should be an imperative “my country must be and must always be”<sup>19</sup>. Only in this case western scenarios might be thrown to the garbage heap of history, and the door into the future for Russia will remain open as we will be the ones to invent our own future.

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<sup>18</sup> *Текеев, А.Р.* Стратегия развития России как научная и политическая проблема. – Информационный гуманитарный портал *Знание. Понимание. Умение*, 2011, № 5. – URL: [http://www.zpu-journal.ru/e-zpu/2011/5/Tekeev\\_Russia%E2%80%99s-Development-Strategy/](http://www.zpu-journal.ru/e-zpu/2011/5/Tekeev_Russia%E2%80%99s-Development-Strategy/)

<sup>19</sup> *Сулакшин, С.С.* Критерии и основания модернизации России. Центр проблемного анализа и государственно-управленческого проектирования. Труды центра, Выпуск № 17. – М.: Научный эксперт, 2010. – Р. 8. – URL: <http://problemanalysis.ru/text/tr17.pdf>