

## SECURITY IN THE CONTEXT OF THE DIALOGUE OF CIVILIZATIONS

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In the frames of existing now politological schools and trends there are, some well-known methods and factors (at least in theory), which let the states that unexpectedly de facto set free from the patronage of powerful states reach the definite degree of security. These states, and among them Mongolia are now facing the problem of choice. As it is known, the search of the possible allies that was undertaken by Mongolia in 1990s, was completed by the third neighbor conception. It has a polivectorial direction. The cooperation with the USA and European countries is explained by the concern for strategic security. Highly developed northeastern countries will help Mongolia overcome technological and, on the whole, economical backwardness. Meanwhile, the Buddhist world, and first of all India is regarded as an ideological and cultural accumulator. It goes without saying, this conceptual approach has some definite basis, but most probably it is good as a speculative model. In the presented paper we consider the regional variant of Russian-Mongolian cooperation, first of all in the field of economical security under the conditions of new political realities, con..fined by the elements of civilizational community and without infringing the sovereignty and independence of Mongolia.

One of the common approaches to the subject consists in the fact that Russia in its "spreading" in a certain geographic space has always had the eastern direction. This thesis refers to the Eurasians who underlined the orientation of the Russian State from the West to the East on the basis of their geopolitical observations. The recent investigations of the modern specialists in the field of the socio-natural history also prove this tendency, when the so I called including landscapes are discussed, Russia, having mastered the western geographic zone, started its movement in the eastward direction and in a short period of time reached the natural boundaries, such as: oceans from the North and from the East, and mountain chains (the Pamirs, the Altai, the Sayan) from the South.

The economic mastering of Siberia which accompanied the eastward movement of Russia had a strongly marked extensive character .

During the socialist period of the Russian history Siberia remained mainly the resource base. Sooner or later this situation makes the region look for its self-development. The region can use not only the inner possibilities, but the external components as well. Moreover, it is one of the most important conditions of the survival of the region taking into consideration a weak center.

For Eastern Siberia the Mongolian market became a very attractive external component because of its proximity. The established connections let the main part of the Siberian society, from the one hand, strengthen itself in its destination as a very important peripheral part of the indivisible state. From the other hand they let it gain the urge towards



the active interaction with its eastern neighbors for the sake of its own survival, because the center is far away and the region has to live here and now.

Russia and Mongolia have old and traditional connections, that have their grounds in the past. For many centuries Mongolia has taken one of the most important places in the Russian foreign policy in the East. The process of mastering of Eastern Siberia and Far East by the Russians practically coincided in time with the beginning of the Manchurian conquests. In the interrelations with the important Mongolian knights Russia had to take into consideration the interests of the powerful neighbor. Nevertheless, Russia managed to consolidate in the Central Asian and Far Eastern directions.

Eastern Siberia became the territory through which diplomatic and other connections with Mongolia were carried out. The population of Siberia had to undergo a difficult period in the history of the Russian-Mongolian relations when the problem of the belonging of some territories was being solved with the help of military forces. With the end of the opposition the process of establishing of peaceful connections and development of mutually profitable trade has started. Eastern Siberia becomes the main Russian trade partner of Mongolia and China.

Since the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century the Russian-Mongolian political, economical and cultural connections have achieved a more intensive and many-sided character than in the previous periods. In all the undertakings the leading role belonged to the representatives of Eastern Siberia.

In my report I would like to touch upon some important characteristic features of Siberia and present my idea of the place and role of this huge region in the civilizational environment.

I'd like to note, that my choice to speak on this very topic came to me mainly after reading 'About Russia. The Primordial Look of the North' by a well-known Japanese writer of historic books Siba Retaro. This book appeared in the Russian language a year ago.

During the previous years there appeared many estimating points of view on Russia as a civilizational phenomenon. They were given by both Russian and foreign politicians and by scientists of different orientations. Mainly all these estimations can be divided into two groups. The first one is "Russia is both Europe and Asia", the second one is "Russia is neither Europe nor Asia".

I'm not going now to speculate upon this problem, but I want to point out that no matter what estimations exist, we must take into account the following reality. If we compare Russia with a giant bird, the wings will evidently look asymmetrical. The Eastern wing is much larger than the Western one. From the economical point of view the Eastern wing is "unwell", it pulls "the bird" down and does not let it make a normal stroke.

The Eastern wing in the broadest geographical sense is Siberia. Siba Retaro whom I have already mentioned, wrote 'Europeans see from the West traditional Russia. They judge Russia by its European part, but we (he means the Japanese) feel Russia through Siberia'. It is possible to suppose that Russia is also felt through Siberia by 3 Mongolians, Chinese and Koreans. However the Japanese writer in the larger part of his book defines exactly Siberia and Mongolia as a powerful continental nucleus. Of course, we take into consideration that Siba Retaro's ideas are rather debatable. For example, he postulates that



Russia in the period of mastering of its Eastern territories persistently looked for contacts with the "closed" Japan in order to feed the constantly increasing population of Siberia.

From my point of view, for Russia it was not the matter of paramount importance because of at least three reasons. Firstly, kinds of food, traditional for Japan could not solve this problem; secondly, the newcomers very quickly got used to agricultural work, whenever it was possible; thirdly, Mongolian and Chinese food markets were situated much nearer to the main continental part of Siberia.

It is only one example of many interesting debatable problems, that arouse in relation with the ideas of the Japanese writer. The only thing is certain, and here we can agree with Siba Retaro, that Siberia is pre-determined to develop in the Asian world. On this basis the following conclusion is to be made:

1. The mastering and then development of Siberia is often compared with America. In my opinion, there are no grounds for such a comparison.
2. Taking into account its huge territory, the Russian East in its development will have different directions: Japanese, Korean, Chinese, Mongolian, or their variations.
3. For Eastern Siberia, Mongolia represents a special value as a partner in the dialogue among civilizations. From my point of view, in the 21<sup>st</sup> century a unique opportunity to develop a specific civilizational symbiosis of an industrial-resourceful region and a region with nomadic economy will become apparent.

Globalization is a complicated, controversial and many-sided phenomenon. A number of specialists state that there exists no center and no periphery any longer. The nets of globalization envelop nations, territories, industrial complexes, but only a part of them is directly included into the global economics, while the rest appear to be deeply affected by it. From the first sight this thesis can be trusted.

Nevertheless, in the frame of global, but still not universal economics, it is possible to observe the contours of its specialized segments, or original large spaces. Their entire mosaic is united by cultural-historical codes, the common style of economy, social-economical interests and strategy plans. All these arguments prove that the regional specificity, being an important guarantee of the resistance to the globalization in its aggressive forms, can simultaneously promote some global processes which are directed to the steady development of some countries and regions. Here there is no contradiction.

The very geographical position of Russia predetermines its bent for the East. However this bent should not be based on the resources of the region. The same problem seems to be crucial for Mongolia, too. In possessing powerful natural resources Siberia and Mongolia are very much alike and present great interest for the surrounding Asian world. It goes without saying this world looks at our regions through the prism of their own interests. At the same time we are very interested in the elimination of the disproportions which have formed in our region due to different historical and economical reasons.

The solution of this problem presupposes the use of both external and internal factors. The external factor in perspective will allow us to overcome the major economical contradiction of the eastern part of the Russian economics between the richest natural resources, accumulated intellectual potential of fundamental science, well-developed economical basis, especially in the field of military complex, from one hand, and undeveloped infrastructure and the low level of population, from the other hand.

According to all geo-strategical characteristics, Mongolia and Siberia are in the center of the Asian macro system while all the Asian-Pacific region countries form the environment. The whole system does not function normally because of the underdevelopment of the mentioned continental center. To improve the situation, the territories of Mongolia and Siberia can become a certain experimental ground where the efforts of all interested countries can be applied for the active adaptation of these territories to the regional Asian system.

The current state of the Russian-Mongolian relations makes us think over quite seriously the possible steps towards their factual revival and the establishment of new forms of cooperation. Basing on the historical experience of the long-termed connections of Eastern Siberia and Mongolia it is possible to suppose with certainty that this vast region will keep one of the most important places in the Russian-Mongolian relations in the 21<sup>st</sup> century.