

rather something akin to a ‘Russian revolt’ [16]. There is a probability of the first, and the second, and the third. However, as Russian social historians suggested a good while ago, in the longer term of a few decades we shall more probably be observing a specifically Russian ‘cycle’, that is, alternate motion: a modernization breakthrough – a slow and painful retreat – a new head start (Akhiezer, 2006). But such is a picture seen in historical perspective. As to the people, they ‘have to make existential choice actually every single day. They have to survive overcoming apathy – the reaction of the collective unconscious to the terrible 20th century,... to go on living and not degrading but becoming more sophisticated – that is how the task for the Russian intellectual stands today’ (Mirzoev, 2011: 20).

Notes

1. Most probably, this will not last long. That is why the ideology of Eurasian community has been called into play once again by the power elite, this time with a definite purpose: to recreate the core of the former Soviet Union. ‘In the last months <of 2011 – *O.Ya.*> Russia, Belarus and Kazakhstan achieved considerable progress in the matter of cooperation by signing a declaration on Eurasian economic integration’ (Zhiltsov, 2011: 11).

2. In accordance with some unofficial calculations, there are about 60 thousand small settlements without population at all.

3. In this way, large cities confirmed once again their role of political and social centres even in the presence of a network community.

4. During one year the protest environmental movement ‘Save Khimky Wood’ in a Moscow suburb turned from a one-point drive for preserving an oak grove into a symbol of movement against the destruction of Russian living environment. A. Chirikova, leader of the drive, became one of the leaders of the all-Russia movement ‘For Fair Elections’ in December 2011. One more example: A small volunteer group led by Doctor Liza who helped victims of forest and peat fires in 2010 turned into an international public charity organization ‘Fair Aid’ in 2011 (<http://doctorliza.ru>).

5. *Novaya Gazeta* published letters of students who allegedly had been organized and rewarded for voting 12 times for one and the same candidate to the State Duma (Garmazhapova, 2011: 3-7).

6. For the technologies of revealing the scope of falsification and the positions of citizens themselves with regard to election stealing see a description of the ‘Citizen Observer’ project. The author points out in particular that ‘today, along with the fast growth of the number of new observers, the old ones convert, if and when necessary, into legal advisers on election disputes’ (Oreshkin, 2012: 8). That is, there happens that about which many Western analysts have been writing: the emergence of citizens-experts and citizens-advisers is a real way to democratise society (Fisher, 2003).

7. For instance, how quickly the Americans have forgotten their own history. I mean the African Americans struggle for civil rights led by Martin Luther King in the 1960s. African Americans attained equal civil rights then (Branch, 1999).

8. The American protestors’ slogan ‘We are 99%’ corresponds to the slogan of their Russian counterparts: ‘We are 140%’ meaning that the protestors were expressing the demands of 140 million citizens of the Russian Federation.

9. Protest camps were practised in post-Soviet Russia, but mostly in the provinces. Chiefly radical environmentalists and anarchists used this form of protest.

10. Russian law stipulates not announcement-followed but sanction-followed procedure for holding meetings. It is a quite strict procedure: the applicants must notify the authorities in advance about the place, time (from – to) and the number of attendants. Violation of any of these requirements can entail a fine or administrative arrest of both meeting organizers and attendants who have violated this order.

11. The tradition of mass action embodying the unity of government and people in the communist period was broken in post-Soviet Russia: on the Red Square in Moscow (close to the mausoleum with the body of Vladimir Lenin), a skating-rink was arranged, concerts of Russian and visiting pop stars, and the like. Political acts were strictly forbidden there. Political events

remained to be the prerogative of highly-placed authorities and a source of mass consciousness splitting.

12. Meetings in Moscow were held on Chistye Prudy boulevard (November 14, 2011, 35,000-50,000 participants), Bolotnaya square (December 10, 2011, 35,000-50,000), pospekt akademika Sakharova (December 24, 2011, 70,000-100,000), a rally in Yakimanka street, then a meeting on Bolotnaya square (February 4, 2012, 80,000-120,000 participants), on Pushkin square (March, 2012, about 15,000), etc.

13. Later these demands were made more radical: liberation of political prisoners too, a system political reform, pre-term parliamentary election in 1.5 years, pre-term presidential election in 2 years.

14. This way of gathering donations at once quashed all accusations to the effect that mass meetings in Russia had been allegedly inspired by US State Department and other foreign sponsors.

15. The non-system opposition are aggregated political parties and movements denied registration by the Ministry of Justice of the Russian Federation and therefore unable to take part in the legal political process, primarily in elections to the State Duma and other representative government bodies.

16. Such like outburst of protest emotions was caused in its time by the Russian Federation Government decision on 'Monetization of benefits'. In the near future, in consequence of Russia joining the WTO mass dismissals are quite probable owing to the closure of uncompetitive industrial enterprises and bankruptcy of part of farms.

References

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