

Arbeitspapier zur Tagung:

Globalisierung als Aufgabe

Handlungsmöglichkeiten und Gestaltungsoptionen der Politik

Expertenkolloquium der Evangelische Akademie Loccum

vom 10. bis 12. Dezember 1999

Dr. Olga A. Vorkunova

The Security Agenda Around the Black Sea-Caspian Sea Region in the Context of Subtura, Globalisation and Region-Building

Introduction

To meet today's and tomorrow's challenges in world development we need new concepts and principles, new institutions and mechanisms. Traditional terminology and the views associated with the notions of a state, a society are largely becoming outmoded. Threat perspectives in the international system are undergoing fundamental changes. There is general challenge to the stability of modern society dealing with regard to the continuous process of globalization and societal transformation.

For this purpose it is required to overcome uncertainty in notions and the contents of concepts and to explain new definitions. There is a necessity for updating of the formal language. We offer to enter a number of new concepts not only therefore to depart from psychologically narrowed terms, but mainly because of new definitions allow to consider the phenomena as many-dimensional objects. By turning their separate side for particular consideration, we avoid the linear image and receive volumetric picture subordinating furthermore to a holographic principle.

The term subtura is a new term invented by the author.

The suggested short version of the SUBTURA theory, which is a multi-facted theory of the development of human civilization, is considered here in terms of the globalisation, security and conflict.

At this point I would like to introduce new concepts in order to facilitate comprehension of the material that follows:

Subtura - *the community of all the interests uniting the social formation for its normal evolutionary development.*

Social formation - *generality of the people, arisen on base unified interests in economic, political, ideological, cultural life.*

Platform - an integral part of the subtura consisting of the community of interests in a given sphere. It is possible to select core groups of interests in economy, culture (including philosophy and religion), in military area. Each platform in turn has its own structure or divided into basic elements. In accordance with the golographic principle which is operational in a certain subtura, each platform repeats basic proportions of that subtura.

Given the complexity of this subject, I offer one clear and familair illustration:

- imagine the subtura as a kind of aura surrounding the formation and composed of a large number of layers, rather like a multi-layered cake. Each layer corresponds to a given sphere of interests, that is, to one platform.

It is important to realise that the theory of subtura does not set itself the aim of describing the internal laws governing each platform. That is the object of study of individual disciplines (economics, politology, philosophy, history, etc.), and existing theories of social development. The theory of subtura provides the key to understanding the system of interaction between subtura, and the link between subtura and social formations, and thereby enables us to select those mechanisms which further human progress, or to explain the phenomenon of social regression and find a way out of this regressive situation.

Tension and relaxation, conflict and stability occur in the life process of a certain subtura. They usually coexist with one another, sometimes one becomes dominant. What is the interrelatedness between the "crisis" and the "order" periods in the life history of various subturas when they are taken in a long-term perspective? Are the periods of social conflicts something extraordinary and abnormal?

A Subject and Functions of a General Theory of Subturas

Subject of our consideration are general legitimacies of action and development of a subtura and social formation. Objectives are to study forms and typology of certain subturas, basic legitimacies of construction of a system of a subtura, its functional effect on social formation.

The feature of functions of a general theory of subturas is, that it implements in the form of theoretical thinking, which by a logical way reveals causes and functional interaction of the concept of a certain subtura.

The methodology of the considered concept are sets of certain theoretical principles, logical methods and special ways of study basic legitimacies of occurrence and development of certain subturas.

Definition of the Subtura

Subtura is the community of all consolidating factors for stable development of social formation

Subturas can be divided into two types: socio-historically determined and politically determined.

The lowest class of subtura is the one between two individuals. With the development of social formation structure of subturas become more complicated and their class is going higher. At the same time, the structure of a subtura of a higher class becomes complicated to a certain level, after which its structure becomes more simple and a subtura of a higher class has a less number of platforms in comparison with a subtura of a low class.

Besides that, subturas may be defined by their types using the dominating platform in their structure.

The main dominating platforms are:

- a - ideological-culturological,
- b - economic,
- c - military, and
- d - very rare the dominating platform might be of different type.

Kinds and Types of Subturas

Subturas can be divided into types and levels.

The structure of group interests determines the subtura, which is classified in terms of level. The lowest level is the supraindividual structure. The subtura develops from the lower level to the higher level and acquires more and more complex structure.

Thus, it is possible to select the following levels of a subtura:

- Superstructure global (macrolevel) - subtura I;
- Subtura II - subtura regional;
- Subtura IV - corresponds to the concept of state, but is not identical;

- Subtura VI - regional derivations (federal lands, provinces, states, districts, etc.
- Subtura X - independent(autonomous) national derivations;
- Subtura XII - association of urban derivations;
- Subtura XYI - urban derivation;
- Subtura XYII - village derivation

At the same time, the internal structure of a certain subtura becomes complicated up to a certain level. After a certain level the subtura becomes visually more simple in terms of vertical structure. The higher the level of the subtura, the simpler the visual diagram of the community of interests. However, the indicator of the dynamic strength of the community of interests of the higher subtura is greater than of the lower subtura.

Development Trends and Interactions of the Subturas

The development and interactions of subturas are considered vertically and horizontally: internally or domestically and internationally (between different subturas).

The subtura develops from simple to complex and the development process has a spiral character. Politically determined subturas are more vulnerable. They are affected by regressive tendencies, and stagnation in relation to the socio-historically determined subturas. Neighbouring subturas of one type form a zone of stability and peaceful conflict resolution. Neighbouring subturas of different levels may be a source of conflict and instability. The period of subtura disintegration is especially dangerous as its internal destabilization affects neighbouring subturas.

The presence of the subtura of the higher level is important for the politically determined subtura of the lower level. In the stagnation stage, politically-determined subtura may be destroyed, and needs the construction of the subtura of the higher level, even if it is politically determined. Politically-determined subtura may actively use conflict-generating policy as the simplest way of mobilizing society while seeking a consolidating idea.

The Subtura and a Conflict

A subtura is a self-organising system. Similar to a complicated organism, it reacts to factors which threaten its stability and mobilizes its internal reserves for protection from destruction. Thus, any subtura is a self-regulating structure, in which weakness of one platform is balanced by strengthening of another as well by the totality of other platforms. Such development explains such a phenomenon when critical parameters of socio-economic and political stability are present, but beginning of destabilization does not bring to escalation of internal conflicts and neutralizes due to an intensive development of some other phenomena. Each subtura as a complicated system gives way to a qualitative description. A socio-historically determined subtura depends on objective nature of corresponding processes and evolves by an inherent to it manner. In its turn, a politically determined subtura depends to a certain extent from inadequate expectations. The new qualitative level of the subtura arises as more complicated, highest one and begins to influence the rest of lower levels. Applicably to all phenomena and processes which are included in the term "subtura" it is possible to speak about some quantity of complication levels.

Many scholars which investigate the ways of solving some conflicts describe dynamics of a conflict itself, paying no attention to socio-economic, political and other conditions. Another aspect of conflicts' analysis is connected with defining of some factors which allow to understand in what manner the process of "controlled instability" is going on, how power elites form and manipulate conflicts and how a conflict in its turn helps to keep political order or on the contrary, to destroy it. Thus, a conflict is considered mostly as an independent phenomenon or as a process which has a beginning, development and the end. Such an interpretation presents a conflict as a result of certain factors.

Cause-and-factor analysis of conflict formation explains a necessity or inevitability of its appearance. However, a rise of a conflict by itself takes place as a result of certain factors more often, or more often as a consequence of decisions taken or some actions of potential participants of conflicts. Fortuity is a form of showing a necessity. Fortuity always arises on the basis of necessity. The concept of fortuity includes such factors as accelerators and triggers of a conflict.

Considering appearance of a conflict only as a result of a number of factors or causes, which influence on it we take chances to be in captivity of traditional notion, that by determining correct causes of the conflict, we can prevent an appearance of it. At the same time, simple enumeration of factors is not enough. A majority of root causes are still acting even after the conflict is resolved, but part of them, for example, economic factors are aggravated and strengthen a conflict-generating effect.

In other words, conflicts are not a form to resolve certain contradictions in economy or politics and ideology, etc., but they do not eliminate problems which cause a conflict. Cause and effect ties do not lock on concrete conflict but they are spread further. However, a cause of a conflict is often a consequence of development of some kind of phenomena which are not in a sphere of influence of that conflict. Consequently, a conflict itself is a disturbance of local character system. This disturbance is connected with impulses spreading in a more wide space.

A conflict is a state that arises as a result of an upset of balance of community of interests between two or more parties. A conflict arises on the ground of community of interests and does not exist outside of the community of interests. Therefore, the main precondition of a conflict is presence of the community of interests.

Early prevention of conflicts forms from a system of retaliatory actions to possible jeopardy of subtura's stability.

In order to determine some critical parameters it is necessary to evaluate a state of the platform, its dynamic strength, its stability or instability. In this case it is possible to make a correlation of state of different subturas platforms with the purpose to determine whether a balance of subtura's internal structure is possible. In other words, if there is a state of instability of one or several platforms, i. e. there is a totality of critical parameters with which a distraction or weakening of subtura is inevitable. In this case, is the state of instability balanced by stability of another platform or by several platforms? If all or majority of ingredients of the subtura are in the state of instability then a weakening or disintegration of a given subtura is possible. In case of weakening of a high class subtura, a rapid development of a lower class subtura starts. In outward appearance it is expressed in strengthening of centrifugal tendencies, in aspiration for decentralization, separation and self-determination.

Security, Stability, Destabilization

The most favorable conditions of development of a subtura is the balance between interests and tools of their implementation. Or it can be presented as the balance between interests of social formation and course of development of a subtura which ensure them for certain time.

In this case the whole subtura is in balance and develops as a rule without active conflict zones. If one varies even from conditions (t, i, g) of balance. The subtura compensates it by reduction of other conditions in conformity with the occurred changes.

The accordingly definition of security includes two levels and three measurements: security of a certain subtura and security of the social formation; an objective assessment of security of a certain subtura and social formation, subjective perception of security of social formation and behaviour of social formation.

In the post-Cold War era the sources and locations of emerging threats are widely dispersed. Potential challenges for regional and global security now emerge out of an array of social, political, economic, and cultural conditions and actions such as price fluctuations, popular demonstrations, governments' policies, religious trends, political infighting within regimes, leaders attitudes, and flow of small arms.

Stability as well as destabilization of a subtura are interconnected processes of development of complex social systems. Thus it is necessary to distinguish stability and destabilization with signs plus and minus pursuant to by vector of development, that is containing an impulse to further development or causing to stagnation and destruction of a system.

The crisis is the qualitative characteristic of destabilization and stability processes in separate platforms of a certain subtura. By other words the crisis includes as a phase of destabilisation, and phase of stability.

Thus, condition of stability, understood as " unessential variability of the basic characteristics of processes of existence and operation of the given system in time in a combination with unconditional or rather high predictability intermediate and - or of eventual results called processes, received at specific or at certain conditions of their course " (Forum of Stability Studies, No 2, 1998, p.7), itself provokes future shape of destabilization, crises, conflicts and catastrophes in relations to the selected strategy of management.

Types of subturas and their differences

The case of Russia is not typical, as it is multifactoral subtura.

A specific feature of the formation of the Russian empire is that it is the result of formation of a single state whose constituent parts are politically interdependent. The formation of the Russian supra-ethnic structure was necessary for the Russian ethnos to survive.

The Russian subtura was formed on the basis of dominant ideological and religious community of interests. It included also community of economic, military, political and cultural interests in terms of dynamic strength.

In comparison with the Western European nation states, the subtura which have developed through the process of the assimilation and of different races and ethnoses, the Russian ethnos has developed on the basis of bringing together within one state different ethnic, religious and cultural identities. Russian administrative and economic mechanisms were constructed in such a way that the Center played the role of distributor of material and cultural assistance to the provinces.

However, the decisive feature of the Russian subtura of the pre-Soviet period was the existence of considerable ideological and religious community of interests regarding the subjects of the Russian Empire.

The manifestation of the imperial mentality of the Russians is then subconscious grasp awareness of the supra-ethnic structure, whenever they are living within the Russian Empire.

The Soviet Union was established on the basis of the Russian Empire. The Bolsheviks came to power in 1917 and changed the ideological content of dominant factor in the community of interests from monarchical and religious to communist. The existence of the Soviet Union contributed to the emergence of new identity - the Soviet people.

According to the theory of subturas, the UN is a politically-determined subtura. The broad international representativeness of the UN, whose members share its basic concept, acts as guarantor of its stability. It is necessary for the UN to emerge from the period of formation of a regional identities. Thus, the UN objective is to contribute to the construction and development of region-based associations or subturas of the higher level than nation-state. In other words, the UN should be transformed into a union not only of states, but subturas of the higher level. At the same time, the UN, while developing, should establish internal structures at two levels: one for states, and the other for socio-historically determined subturas of the higher level. Both levels should function in parallel, as a mixture of different levels of subtura could destabilize the global system.

The Security Agenda Around the Black Sea-Caspian Sea Region in the Context of Globalisation and Region-Building

Regional and subregional initiatives for security and co-operation complement the broader processes in the institutionalization and integration of Europe.

The Black Sea-Caspian Sea region conveyed an image of a trouble spot. Antagonistic relations prevailed between some of the major actors, above all the former Soviet Union states and Russia, turning the region into a scene of tension. The regional setting in the Caucasus (both North Caucasus and South Caucasus) is characterized by common trends in dynamics and driving forces behind internal conflicts, but differences in political issues.

The Caucasus is a highly complex society. Attitudes and behaviour are influenced by affiliations with a multitude of social identities: ethnicity, religion, clans, political party, gender, educational and occupational status, place of residence, etc.

The strategies pursued, on the basis of the primitive way of thought, easily involve negative identification. Moreover, they tend to lead to restrictive coalition-building and the rejection of the claim that a meaningful analysis of the security of any given state also has to take into account the situation of its adversaries. Instead of co-operation across the divides, the aspiration then becomes one of searching for strong allies and maximal support from powers perceived as friendly in confrontations with opponents. Increased arms levels are preferred to arms control and disarmament, and confrontational politics goes before dialogue and confidence-building. This goes for Georgia, Azerbaijan, Ukraine, Russia as well as to Bulgarian policies in some particular questions. The burden of the past and stereotypes of thinking as the demise of the Soviet Union, tends to produce a political landscape setting with mutual misunderstandings and lack of confidence.

Russia has had obvious difficulties in coping with the fact of Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Ukraine, Moldova, Kazakhstan and Turkmenistan independence which has been reflected in the concept of the "near abroad".

For their part, the South Caucasus countries aspired to distinguish themselves as clearly as possible from and to do away with any dependency on the Soviet Union and later, Russia. The need of the South Caucasus countries to carve out a sphere of their own and to relate to their own past in order to legitimize their projects brought a number of sensitive issues onto the agenda. They pertained to various historical events, past agreements, the division of property, especially military, questions of citizenship.

The exclusionist policy pursued was either based on views of Russia, with its brutal history of imperialism, as inherently aggressive, or it was thought that the turmoil and instability that Russia experienced would at some juncture spill over, to the detriment of the security of the South Caucasus countries. Developments in Russia was considered as a main source of danger to the South Caucasus states and even internal disturbances in the South Caucasus countries considered as "the Hand of Moscow". Instead of non-alignment - which was still on the agenda in 1989 - the aim became one of alignment with Western powers. Security has become synonymous with military preparations and particularly security guarantees. Little space was left that these aggravate the situation and result in increased demands and a growing risk of intervention.

Threats and Challenges to the Region-Building

The security problems facing the Black Sea-Caspian Sea region today are multifaceted. Many of these problems are not of a military nature. Some belong to the level of states, involving issues which can be contained within one state or solved on a state level. Other issues extend across borders.

Environmental issues are extreme in this respect, often involving several states and frequently needing the framework of an organization for their solution.

Today's problems are also likely to interact with each other, thereby escalating the process of hostilities and obstructing their resolution without recourse to the comprehensive solutions available only through international organizations.

One example of this complexity is the above-mentioned situation in the Caucasus, a conflict complex region which is seen as highly vulnerable for the European security. The Caucasus contains problems

of a demographic, social, environmental and economic nature which the EU seeks to address through the regional organization arrangement, involving a range of measures intended to result, inter alia, in the completion of a free trade zone.

The security agenda around the Black Sea-Caspian Sea region is evolving together with the changes on the European scene at large. The disintegration of the Soviet Union and the increasing weakness of Russia affects the Eurasian security policy situation as a whole. Regional powers Turkey and Iran have reaffirmed their aspirations for a greater influence in the Black Sea-Caspian Sea region. They make use of their religious and linguistic affinities. Control of the Caspian oil is an issue of potential conflict. The US seeking to take over the control of the Russian nearby countries. A number of Russians fear that during a struggle for power in the region the US might make use of what is understood as Russian weakness. As for Russia it is interested in strengthening her sphere of influence in the whole ex-Soviet space, promote integration on her own terms and keep other powers out of it. The most explicit disagreement has concerned NATO membership and an extension of security guarantees. The military assistance available has been characterised as help to make it possible for the new democracies to help themselves.

A range of factors are often equally important in determining the positions of states on various issues. Geographical proximity to problem areas can lead states to argue for attention to be given to their particular fears of approaching dangers. The Caucasus is one example of a region containing a host of problems, the solutions to which are likely to be costly, and which serves to underline the competition between regional and outside powers: Turkey, Iran, Russia and the US. In addition, while enlargement is highly supported in Bulgaria, Romania, Azerbaijan and Georgia, scepticism is prevalent among some East Christian countries (Armenia, Greece) to an enlargement which, it is believed, will bring with it the scrutiny and probable reconstruction of well as regional and structural funds from which they benefit.

Significant decisions have been taken and solutions are emerging in key processes constituting a multi-institutional security order for Europe and affecting the situation in the Black Sea-Caspian Sea region.

Some new democracies in the Black Sea-Caspian Sea region decide to apply for membership in NATO motivated by political goals and political reasons rather than dealing with security calculations. A deep wish to become a part of the Western community constituted the dominant feature of foreign policy in many of these countries. Membership of NATO has thus appeared as a final guarantee of a full membership in the Western community. Through membership of NATO has it seemed possible to carry out the heavy modernisation and reconstruction of the defence system that many of these countries are faced with.

European solutions of security policy have been kept down, or at least subordinate to Atlantic co-operation. Through its leadership in NATO, the United States has contributed to a consensus between the European states which otherwise would have been difficult to reach.

Key elements in the region-based order are the ability of the participating states to take common and concerted action in managing conflicts and supporting compliance with the common norms and principles.

It is necessary to establish a regional civil society through introducing and consolidating a uniform human and minority rights regime that includes the new democracies of the Black sea-Caspian Sea region.

The Black Sea Economic Co-operation shows the potential of regional institutions for creating "soft" security by advancing economic co-operation, addressing new risks and facilitating non-governmental and transnational networking.

Within the security complex around the Black Sea-Caspian Sea Rim the main concern is to deepen political and economic integration and mutual responsiveness among existing democratic societies and new democracies that goes beyond security. The goal of a common security space, based on co-operation among states and institutions, aims at a common identity and a workable culture of conflict prevention. Integration and region-building as well as conflict prevention and peaceful conflict resolution contribute to the construction of a common security space.

Security and stability in the Black Sea-Caspian Sea area is a combined outcome of regional and wider European co-operation, unification and integration. The dynamics of regional security in a transforming Europe.

The concept for bilateral and concerted assistance to the Black Sea - Caspian Sea states is needed in developing the basic internal and external security functions of an independent state such as effective administration, law enforcement and border controls as well as national defence.

Another direction is to create a joint regional capability for participation in international peacekeeping and crisis management and developing a multilateral defence related infrastructure as well as establishing an institution for military education.

The complexity of the problems themselves explains the complicated nature of the problem-solving process. The problems of today are often of a civilian nature. They are therefore thought to be most easily solved on the civilian level, before an escalation to military means takes place. This does not mean that military forces are not used at all: they are well suited to a number of tasks such as, for example, rescue operations and other humanitarian actions for which a military organization is necessary. Problems arise when such tasks are performed alongside military tasks, such as the bombardment of Serbia in former Yugoslavia. The two tasks are hard to reconcile militarily, since troops engaged in humanitarian tasks may easily be taken hostage after such bombardments. It might also be difficult to make the distinction between, on the one hand, giving humanitarian assistance to the civil population and, on the other, deterring the combatants, clear to everyone in a confused war situation.

In addition to the coordination of civilian and military tasks, there are other factors which may lead to complexity in problem solving. These may occur on the organizational level where conflicts related to security belong to the second, inter-governmental, pillar. The economic and other means available for solving the problem are, however, often found in the first pillar, which is largely supranational.

In addition, even when seeking to create stability in the long run, and thus acting within the civilian sphere only, there is a complexity in the means used. This is related to the two sectors of society - the governmental and the private sectors. It is widely recognized that without trade contacts and investments by private companies there is little chance to create stable societies in which people can rely on a future with a reasonable standard of living. Stability thus depends on a well-functioning private sector, whose mechanisms governments should ideally leave well alone. At the same time, governments must be involved in the creation of possibilities for private companies to establish themselves in formerly non-market economies.

The factors which create diversity in the Black Sea-Caspian Sea region counterbalance by a number of factors which unite states at the same time as they serve to improve co-operation within organizations.

The primary unifying factor is the similarity of societal systems which now exists in the region. Second, the need for states to cooperate in order to solve problems.

Third, states share the understanding that organizations have to work with some efficiency.

Security in the Black Sea-Caspian Sea Region

The states bordering the Black Sea-Caspian Sea Region present examples of most of the forms of associations that exist in NATO and the EU. In addition there is an important division between states which are applying for membership of NATO and the EU, and Russia, a state which does not accept the consequences of the process of the enlargement of NATO, in particular when this concerns the former Soviet Union states.

The new types of cross-border problems are represented here too. Above all, problems related to minorities and environmental issues are potentially dangerous ones and need to be dealt with. Regarding the difficult issue of Russia's non-acceptance of FSU NATO-membership, the discrepancies between the views of Russia and other countries are still wide. The position and policy adopted by Russia is of equal importance to the Caucasus. In the first hand Russian attitudes towards the Caucasus have a great influence upon their functional capacities and sphere of action.

The complexity of organizational structures, with several forms of association and with overlapping memberships and tasks, has given the Black Sea-Caspian Sea region countries the scope and freedom to participate in initiatives proposed by various organizations TRACEKA, GUUAM, BEC. This has permitted all of them to participate in Partnership for Peace activities and the activities of the newly formed Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council, when appropriate. At the same time, the Caucasus countries have been able to pursue their own regional and bilateral cooperation within, as well as outside, the Black Sea-Caspian Sea area, for example, in the form of regional organisation on cooperation and security.

The challenge is to create a zone of increased security and economic integration in the Black Sea-Caspian Sea area of a character which overarches the organizational affiliations that separate the various countries. In this endeavour economic cooperation is likely to be the dominant form of cooperation: as the necessary basis for stable societies and as the area in which interests converge. Generally, the size of Russia also tends to accentuate the dominance of cooperation among states rather than organizational co-operation and integration.

In a situation of new security threats in Europe there is need of efficiency through institutional change. The enlargement EU faces some fundamental problems, above all the problem of effective governance and flexibility. With the unanimity as the dominant principle of decision-making in security the enlarged body of the EU may be less effective. Flexibility in the economic field is likely to become a reality with the introduction of the third stage of EMU. As some members of the EU become part of the EMU, and others are left, or prefer to stay, outside, the differences between them might become substantial.

The logic of governance favours a joint solving of common problems. It transforms, as an approach, the meaning of security by moving away from conceptions of narrow self-interests and zero-sum type of calculations regarding gains and losses.

The stronger the impact of the logic of governance, the smaller the danger of a relapse into exclusionary politics and a return to binary divisions into friends and enemies.

The presence of competitive and nervous energies that exist in the region can be directed and channelled away from exclusionary and confrontational politics. This is done by introducing separate regional measures and processes, but above all by integrating the Black Sea-Caspian Sea area into the positive tendencies that have been underway in Europe at large, and by implementing a variety of changes in order to overcome the region's past. The core issues consist of dynamisation, integration, free flows and a pooling of the strengths of the region in order to bolster its position in a Europe-wide competition for influence and centrality.

Security, to the extent that it enters the discourse, also turns into a unifying theme, as there is a joint interest in downgrading and settling problems in order to be eligible for European politics. Even outside powers have an interest in ensuring that they are not too automatically brought into the picture once local tensions flare.

Security, in its "soft" form, generates a fairly co-operative political scenery. Security turns into the promotion of increased communality and joint endeavours to counteract the negative trends.

©by Dr.Olga A.Vorkunova
Director, Center of Development and Peace
Studies FORUM,
B.Nikitskaya, 49-96,
Moscow, 121069, Russia
tel/fax: +7 (095) 332 1770
e-mail: deos@cityline.ru