

ON THE ISSUE OF THREE-DIMENSIONAL POLITICAL SECURITY OF THE POLITICAL SYSTEMS OF POST-SOVIET SOCIETIES

ASHOT ALEKSANYAN

The relevance of the research topic of this article lies in the fact that the transformations and market relations of the post-Soviet countries constantly give rise to various threats of an economic, social, and political nature in relation to political parties, CSOs, and individuals. At the same time, public policy as a system of reasonable measures to limit the negative consequences of transformation and market activity is designated as political security, because its actor is a mainly public authority, that defines all its actions as political actions using political tools. However, comparative analysis in post-Soviet studies is more focused not on political security, but national security, as a system for protecting the vital interests of the individual, society, and the state, while in the theoretical aspect it is more correct to talk about political security as a set of various measures of public authorities aimed at producing relations that do not threaten the individual, society and the state. On the other hand, the relevance of the study also lies in the fact that national security is presented in political studies as a system of civilizational protection, which has a biopolitical character and comes from an effective system of checks and balances. Whereas security is also dynamic in nature, that is, it depends on the state of the actor, on his position in the political system of existing institutions, relations, consciousness, culture, values, norms, traditions, etc. At the same time, security in post-Soviet studies is considered one-sided, ideas about it are formed mainly from expert assessments that do not take into account the social, economic, political, and cultural position of the actors. Comparative analysis of political security is carried out with less intensity than other spheres of biopolitics. The circle of post-Soviet researchers involved in political security in recent years is not as wide as required.

Key words: *political security, political security space, political security time, political security speed, political system, post-Soviet societies, transformation, civilizational protection, civil society, public policy, culture*

The past 30 years of the existence of the newly independent countries are of great interest from the point of view of analyzing the dynamics and factors of political security, which are very different for them, the features of their chosen development strategies, the role of economic disintegration and integration processes in the economic development. Since gaining sovereignty, the newly independent countries began to move along diverging trajectories of political security, gradually moving away from the Soviet legacy. The common choice was the transformation of the political system and regime, as well as the market economy. But the post-Soviet countries used different models of economic reform, had different structural priorities, carried out reforms at different rates, and were involved in regional and

international relations in different ways. At the stage of the formation of statehood, the economic, social, cultural, and political differences between them, differences in interests, and strategic orientations intensified. The strengthening of the divergence of countries was also due to the interest of third countries in them, which sought to expand their spheres of influence and markets for their products, provide alternative energy supply, strengthen geopolitical positions in the post-Soviet space, etc. The scale of the recession of the 1990s actually showed how close the ties were among the republics of the USSR within the framework of a single political, social and economic complex. During the period of economic recession and the formation of statehood, it was impossible to move along the path of reintegration, but mutual trade preferences and visa-free regime played a role in curbing the economic decline. The dynamics of mutual cooperation among the CIS countries during this period was strongly influenced by European integration processes, the enlargement of the EU and NATO to the East, 'color' revolutions, the rise in world prices for hydrocarbons, strengthening the position of the EAEU and the CSTO in the Eurasian rapprochement, the desire of the USA and Russia to strengthen their positions in the global economy and politics.

The relevance of the research topic of this article lies in the fact that the transformations and market relations of the post-Soviet countries constantly give rise to various threats of an economic, social, and political nature in relation to political parties, civil society organizations (CSOs) and individuals. At the same time, public policy as a system of reasonable measures to limit the negative consequences of transformation and market activity is designated as political security, because its actor is mainly public authority that defines all its actions as political actions using political tools. However, comparative analysis in post-Soviet studies is more focused not on political security, but on national security, as a system for protecting the vital interests of the individual, society, and the state, while in the theoretical aspect it is more correct to talk about political security as a set of various measures of public authorities aimed at producing relations that do not threaten the individual, society and the state¹. On the other hand, the relevance of the study also lies in the fact that national security is presented in political studies as a system of democratic protection, which has a biopolitical character and comes from an effective system of checks and balances. While security is also dynamic in nature, that is, it depends on the state of the actor, on his position in the political system, existing institutions, relations, consciousness, culture, values, norms, traditions, etc. At the same time, security in post-Soviet studies is considered one-sided, ideas about it are formed mainly from expert assessments that do not take into account the social, economic, political and cultural position of the actors. And, as you know, the main actors who

¹ *Guedes da Costa T.*, Political Security, an Uncertain Concept with Expanding Concerns. In: *Brauch H.G.* et al. (eds) *Globalization and Environmental Challenges*. Hexagon Series on Human and Environmental Security and Peace, vol 3. Springer, Berlin, Heidelberg, 2008, pp. 561-568. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-540-75977-5_42.

make history, and thereby determine their own security and the security of the country², are civil activists, CSOs, political leaders and elites. Ignoring the activity aspect in safety analysis distorts, infringing on the role of people who make their lives either more dangerous or safe.

Comparative analysis of political security is carried out with less intensity than other spheres of biopolitics. The circle of post-Soviet researchers involved in political security in recent years is not as wide as required. In modern political science comparative research, there are practically few works related to the understanding of the political security of post-Soviet political systems. Comparative studies of protest movements are rare, touching upon the significance and role of political opposition at the present stage of sustainable development of post-Soviet countries, as well as clarifying the tasks of the opposition movement, thereby exploring the global, regional and national aspects of political opposition. Forms of conflict such as hybrid war and terrorism are analyzed in depth. The theoretical understanding of this phenomenon becomes relevant, and the degree of development is deeper. The tragic events of recent years in the post-Soviet countries, especially the Turkish-Azerbaijani aggression against Nagorno-Karabakh in September-November 2020, forced political scientists to study these phenomena in detail. In this context, it is important to note that the essence of modern terrorism, hybrid and proxy war, like any conflict, is determined by social conditions and relations of citizens, which, obeying the rules of the economy, do not withstand their pressure and turn into an instrument of the same policy, into a means of competition, dominant in post-Soviet societies. The political nature of the conflict also presupposes political means of struggle, against terrorism, hybrid, and proxy war. Terrorist acts as illegal acts can and must be fought by force; but terrorism as a social phenomenon and regularity must be fought with social methods aimed at eliminating exploitation, social differentiation, people (unemployment, poverty). In these conditions, the mere strengthening of the level of protection of citizens by expanding the rights of special forces, the police, and the army is fraught with a distortion of the line of public authorities aimed at democratizing the political system of post-Soviet society.

The political security that is developing in modern post-Soviet countries is formed from the elements and factors of the political system that post-Soviet transformational societies currently have. Since the state is the central institution for the formation of security, based on those administrative, legal, economic, social, cultural, and other means that it possesses, security takes the form of political security. Many post-Soviet political parties and CSOs, which have the right to accept and take part in the formation of political security, are alienated from this process and only through a conflict forces the state to periodically review its political security system. The paradox is that the space, time, and speed of political security is narrowed when public authorities and institu-

² **Aron R.**, Clausewitz: Den Krieg denken. Frankfurt a.M.: Propyläen-Verlag, 1980.

tions cannot provide effective communications for the articulation of civiliar-chic engagement, for the participation of political parties and CSOs in the implementation of their group interests and goals³. Opposition political parties, CSOs, and civil movements in the formation of political security use conflict as the main way of interaction.

In the post-Soviet CSOs, actors, and agents of the conflict are developing in the format of various opposition platforms, which are subdivided into legal and illegal opposition. If the legal opposition uses various legal instruments, civiliar-chic and non-civiliar-chic mechanisms in the formation of political security, then the illegal opposition uses means prohibited by constitution and law. The more illegal oppositions are represented in the political systems of post-Soviet societies, the more they use the tools of populism, extremism, and even terrorism, the more noticeably the channels of opposition influence on the formation of political security narrow. Therefore, for the legal opposition, populism, terrorism, and extremism do not give it the opportunity to make the widest use of the channels of influence on civil society, public administration, and political security.

The changeable nature of political security expands the social space and makes the subject of security not only the rights and freedoms of a citizen, the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the state, the material and spiritual values of society, as the strategies and doctrines of national security are supposed to be, but also conflict as a way of constantly adapting the political security system to the needs political parties and civil society. The conflict, its forms, degree of violence, constructive and destructive behavior are an active side of political security. Thus, the problem of maintaining or ensuring security is directly related to the prevention, management, and resolution of conflict. The theoretical foundations of the post-Soviet countries' security policy are various strategies, concepts, and doctrines of national security. One of the significant shortcomings of these documents, which are guided by the post-Soviet countries, is the excessive objectification of security, not taking into account that security is a process and is determined by the activity of citizens, CSOs, public institutions, national values, and traditions that determine these activities. Thus, the political security of the post-Soviet countries characterizes relations in a transformational society, their qualitative state, which consists of positive results for each institution and actor of the political system. Political security is such an attitude, the result of which is the satisfaction of institutions and actors with their position.

The political system, in which there is a large number of political parties, CSOs, and people who are not satisfied with their social status, acts as the basis for contradictions and conflicts in political processes. Thus, the state of the political system, in which political and social tension and conflict are generated, be-

³ *Inoguchi T.*, Political Security: Toward a Broader Conceptualization // *International Studies*, Vol. 40 (2), 2003, pp. 105-123. doi: 10.1177/002088170304000201; *Wæver O.*, Politics, Security, Theory // *Security Dialogue*, Vol. 42, No.4/5, 2011, pp. 465-80.

comes the task of close attention on the part of public administration and institutions. Security as the flip side of the conflict becomes a dimension of politics, acquires the form of political security, defined as non-conflict relations arising from the social status of satisfied political parties, CSOs, and individuals. The political security system that is being formed in modern post-Soviet countries is being built as a system for protecting the vital interests of citizens, CSOs, and public authorities. Without refusing to understand security as a system of protection against threats generated in all spheres of public activity, it is also necessary to understand that threats to internal political security come from the social structure of society, its deep differentiation, and social inequality of citizens. These threats by action, and not the situation in which the economies of the post-Soviet countries, the information, and communication space are, are the most dangerous for the safety of individuals, whose interests are fully protected under a given social structure, transformational societies and its values, public authorities and institutions, territories and sovereignty is nothing more than actions of a conflicting nature, aimed at changing the social position of entire social strata.

The admission of political conflict as a way of interaction in a transformational society imposes on the public authorities the obligation to establish the rules of conflict interaction. A political conflict, carried out according to the rules and law, is called competition. Competition is becoming the main mode of interaction, the main political instrument. Social differentiation resulting from competition is the basis for political differentiation and the level of security that political parties, CSOs and citizens are endowed with. Security is differentiated and distributed in unequal shares between each actor in the political system. In this regard, dissatisfaction with the security system proposed by the authorities for this actor and the social position he occupies arises in political parties and civil society. The way in which this discontent is expressed is through conflict, as it is a symptom of a movement emerging in a transformation society demanding a revision of the political security system.

Obviously, discontent is the organizational and personal side of political security. It potentially threatens its established post-Soviet political system. Discontent becomes a real threat when there is a force in a transformational society capable of organizing the existing group and individual discontent and expressing the political and other demands of the public authorities corresponding to this discontent. And at the same time, a conflict is a threat to the existing security system, since it is a tool for changing the existing security system. Thus, the conflict included in political security is its active element and the driving force behind the constant reform of the political security system, its elements, which are emerging as a public protection system.

The political system of modern post-Soviet countries is characterized by contradictory political processes, which often have a regional and global scale and

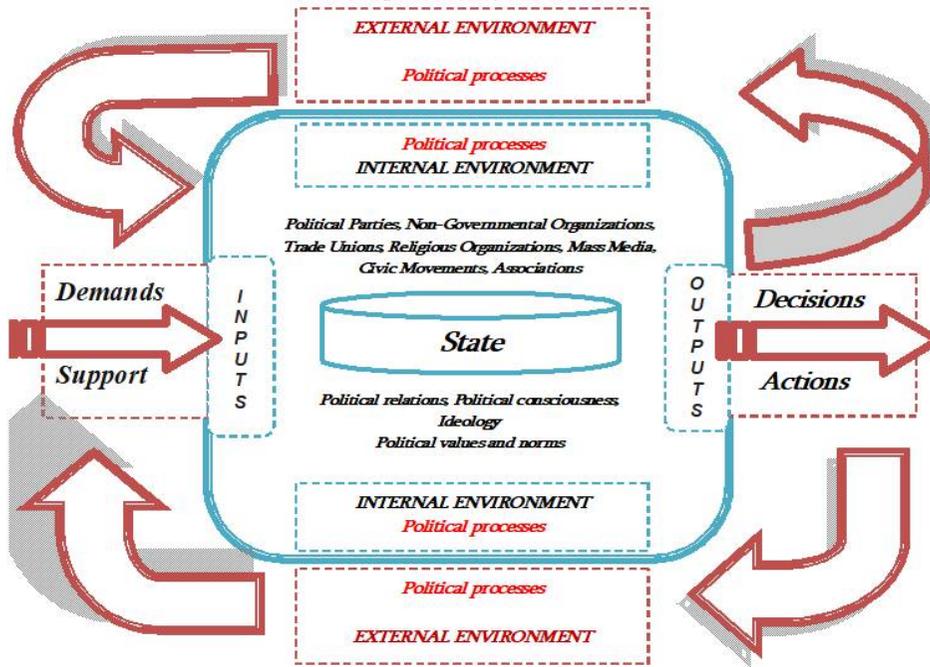
differ in multidimensional content. The most powerful actors in geopolitical processes are interested in the inability to defend their interests by other participants in international relations. At the same time, the constitutional foundations of the post-Soviet countries are becoming the subject of encroachments both from the outside and from internal constructive and destructive actors. Ethnic conflicts and religious contradictions cause significant damage to the social and political stability of the post-Soviet countries. Enmity among civilizations is escalating, political regimes are being transformed, military conflicts arise, state borders are changing. For the post-Soviet countries, these processes are especially significant. Ethnic and political conflicts within the post-Soviet countries or in their border areas, the growth of religious extremism in certain border regions, the intensification of the processes of politicization of ethnicity in a number of post-Soviet countries destabilize national unity, encroach on sovereignty, territorial integrity, national self-determination and the foundations of the constitution. The growing threats in the ethnic and political spheres required a modern rethinking of the problems of political security. There was also a need to clarify the features of the political security of the newly independent countries, which in the post-Soviet period became the most unstable territory in the ethnic and political aspect.

The political system is a holistic, dynamic, integrated set of political actors, institutions and relations that express the interests of political parties, NGOs, trade unions, religious organizations, the media, as well as a wide range of movements and social networks, through which power decisions are made and implemented for of this society, its political leadership is carried out (*see Figure 1*). The political system is that specific historical form, ideological and value foundations, as well as the culture, traditions and norms of interaction of policy actors, which organizes political relations among institutions, associations and networks into a certain set, powerfully orders, formalizes and encloses their activities in a certain framework (*see Figure 1*). It ensures political security and integration of post-Soviet societies, the effectiveness of its activities to achieve common goals, is a system of values and public institutions that organize the use of public power and communication between CSOs and citizens.

The post-Soviet political system is, on the one hand, a complex formation that ensures the existence of society as a centrally controlled political power, and on the other, the institutional form in which political actors realize their common and group interests through power or the struggle for its conquest and use of public authorities. The concept of “political system” is broader than the concept of “state”, it substantially complements the concept of “political governance”. The idea of the post-Soviet political system presupposes fruitful theoretical approaches, for it emphasizes the interconnectedness of various parts of the political process and the correlation of the political system with other subsystems of society.

Figure.

Impacts of political processes on the internal and external environments of the political system⁴



The post-Soviet political system is characterized by a number of specific features: 1) The supremacy of the political system in relation to other public spheres since it is with the help of the political regime that public power is exercised in post-Soviet societies. Demands and assistance, as well as decisions and actions taken within its framework, are obligatory for the whole society and each of its subsystems. The main function of post-Soviet political systems is to mobilize resources to achieve the goals that its leading political leadership and elite put forward for the transformational society; 2) Conditionality and dependence on the nature of the social environment, social, economic, and cultural structure of post-Soviet societies; 3) Relative independence and separation. It is also formalized to a certain extent since relations within its framework are usually governed by legal and political norms that are appropriate for the political leadership and the elite⁵.

The security level of a political system is influenced by three main dimensions of polity, policy and politics⁶, in order to analyze the internal and external conse-

⁴ *Easton D.*, An Approach to the Analysis of Political Systems // World Politics, Vol. 9, No.3 (April), 1957, pp. 383-400.

⁵ *Habenstein A., D'Onofrio S., Portmann E., Stürmer M., and Myrach T.*, Open Smart City: Good Governance für smarte Städte. In: Meier A., Portmann E. (eds) Smart City. Edition HMD. Springer Vieweg, Wiesbaden, 2016, pp 47-71. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-658-15617-6_3.

⁶ *Gong X., Liu Y., Sun T.*, Evaluating Climate Change Governance Using the "Polity-Policy-Politics" Framework: A Comparative Study of China and the United States // Sustainabil-

quences of political processes, thereby being able to control changes in the internal among the political system (see Figure 1). From the point of view of strengthening political security, the post-Soviet countries are interested in understanding how integration, globalization and regionalization affect internal changes in their political system, as well as positive results and negative consequences of these changes. These processes at the national, regional and global levels affect the effectiveness of political institutions that must solve political problems that develop interaction among actors. This is understood as the process of institutional, normative and value formation at the national level with the aim of comparatively studying how this process affects public administration and the state. In this context, with a structural and functional approach, attention is focused on the disclosure of the main functions of post-Soviet political systems, the interaction of their elements and sub-systems is analyzed. In the institutional setting, the political system is considered primarily as a set of political institutions and institutions that organize political processes, and its dynamics are taken into account. The elite approach draws attention to the role of political elites and leadership, concentrating power over economic resources, governance and the legal system. The most fruitful approach to the comparative study of post-Soviet political systems is the approach of political security, which involves a comprehensive analysis of this phenomenon, taking into account the institutional, normative and regulatory, communicative, ideological and political consciousness, political, cultural, political participation and other features.

Figure 2

The relationship of Political institutions (polity), Political processes (politics) and Political content (policy)

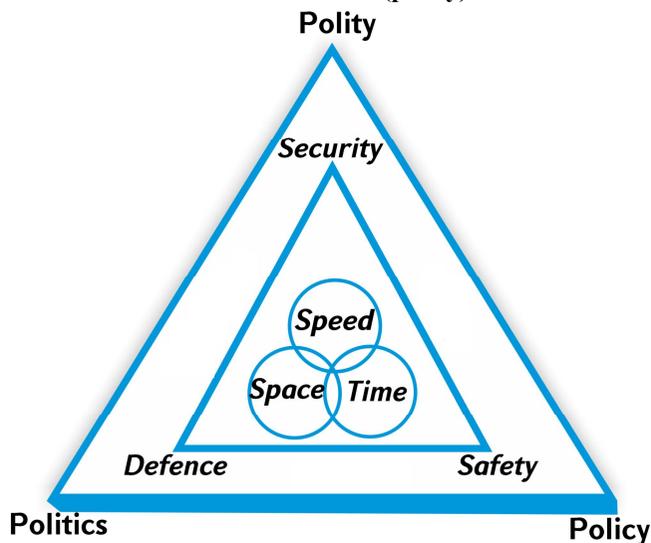


Figure 2 shows how the impact of polity, policy, politics, security, defence and safety can be measured, as well as how they depend on space, time and speed. In this sense, in post-Soviet political systems, the constructive and destructive interconnection of political institutions, processes and content manifests itself in a specific political space and time at a certain political speed (*see Figure 2*). The main importance here is the spatial dimensions of the post-Soviet countries and the political organization in the form of which political security exists and, if necessary, is ensured and the population is protected. Equally important is the location of the post-Soviet countries in the historically developed civilizational coordinates and, of course, its external environment and landscape.

Figure 3

Spatial, temporal and velocity dimensions of Political Security (PS)

$$\begin{aligned} \textit{Political space} &= \textit{Political speed} \times \textit{Political time} \\ \textit{Security space} &= \textit{Security speed} \times \textit{Security time} \end{aligned}$$

$$S_{PS} = v_{PS} \cdot t_{PS}$$

$$\begin{aligned} \textit{Political speed} &= \textit{Political space} / \textit{Political time} \\ \textit{Security speed} &= \textit{Security space} / \textit{Security time} \end{aligned}$$

$$v_{PS} = S_{PS} / t_{PS}$$

$$\begin{aligned} \textit{Political time} &= \textit{Political space} / \textit{Political speed} \\ \textit{Security time} &= \textit{Security space} / \textit{Security speed} \end{aligned}$$

$$t_{PS} = S_{PS} / v_{PS}$$

The political security life of post-Soviet society always unfolds in political security space and time (*see Figure 3*). Political security space is a social three-dimensionality of space, firstly, as a prerequisite for the political organization of a transformational society, secondly, as the goal of political processes and, finally, thirdly, as a condition for the formation and implementation of political decisions and actions (*see Figure 3*). This means that politics and security are interconnected in space, speed and time, thus demonstrating multi-level influences and multidimensional factors of security and safety. Regardless of whether public administration is focused on polity, policy or politics, it is obvious that political processes affect all elements of the political system (*see Figure 1; Figure 2; Figure 3*). If among institutions, values, interests, norms and other elements, a consensus and a compromise is formed regarding the fact that a particular process has a constructive, destructive or neutral influence, then, depending on this, the political system remains stable or becomes unstable. In

the case of stability, the political system has the ability to evolve, and in case of instability, it can be in a zone of turbulence, which can transform into chaos or collapse. To better understand the political security of a political system, it is necessary to distinguish between three dimensions of security: political content (policy), political institutions (polity) and political processes (politics) (*see Figure 2*). This distinction is used to better analyze the relationship, dynamics and development of political events, as well as to be able to assess the transformation of the political system. Within the political system, all dimensions should be understood as coherent and equally significant, since no dimension within the political system has priority over other dimensions⁷.

Transformations of political systems and radical changes take place in the political space and time, in its security rules, it becomes more and more saturated with information and extremely dynamic. At the same time, not only information communication of technology but also safety act as the main systemic factor of space, time and speed. It is within the framework of political security that the process of information and communication interaction of the main political actors is largely taking shape, their political goals and strategies are being realized. It should be noted that the strengthening of the political security of the post-Soviet countries is taking place in very difficult conditions. Reforming the system of public power and deepening political modernization, with the underdevelopment of political systems of political communications and civil society, as well as constant hybrid wars and external information pressure, slow down the speed of development of the safe space of the post-Soviet countries, and hinder the strengthening of its integrity and unity, as well as optimal inclusion in global information and communication space.

The political security of the post-Soviet countries is the protection of the political system of transformational societies from external and internal threats, which involves the following elements: 1) the strength of public authorities and the constitutional regime of the country; 2) effective formation and functioning of the political system, as well as all institutions of public authorities in the interests of the majority of citizens; 3) the inadmissibility of pressure from outside and gross interference in the affairs of public authorities by external actors. The effectiveness and constructiveness of these elements will ensure the functioning of a system of certain measures, bodies and functions of public authorities and civil society to protect the political interests of the country, institutions and citizens.

⁷ *Raiser S., Schneider A. and Warkalla B.*, Simulating Europe: choosing the right learning objectives for simulation games // *European Political Science* 14, 2015, pp. 228–240. <https://doi.org/10.1057/eps.2015.20>; *Lyons M. E.*, The Europeanization of social inclusion: an examination of the EU's Impact on Irish politics, policy and polity (Doctoral Thesis). University of Limerick, 2014. URI: <http://hdl.handle.net/10344/4229>; *Börzel T. A. and T. Risse*, Conceptualizing the Domestic Impact of Europe, In: *The Politics of Europeanization*, ed. by K. Featherstone and C. M. Radaelli. NY: Oxford University Press, 2003, pp. 57-82; *Souchon L.*, Strategy in the 21st Century. Springer, Cham, 2020, pp. 69-114. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-46028-0_5.

A comparative analysis of the political security of post-Soviet political systems allows us to conclude that public authorities and state institutions still retain their leading positions in the exercise of political power, despite the processes of globalization and integration, a significant increase in the political influence of transnational corporations and other actors. In conditions of intense competition between political security, public authorities and state institutions are faced with the need to constantly strengthen their activity within the framework of sustainable development policy and make optimal use of all possible channels for promoting their national interests and goals. However, the regulatory and legal framework of the post-Soviet countries in the field of political security is not yet fully consistent with the principles of developing an effective knowledge society. In this context, it is necessary to further systematize it, deepen and strengthen its implementation in practice, with strict observance of traditionally understood civilizational human rights and freedoms. For the successful implementation of the political security of the political systems of the post-Soviet countries, it may not be enough just to effectively use various channels for organizing political communications, as well as normative and legal regulation. This requires a conceptual framework that will link the security and protection policy into a single system of guidelines for the ruling party and the elite. Such a basis can be the adoption of new doctrines of political safety, which will designate a set of national strategic goals, ideals and values and direct the integration policy of the post-Soviet countries towards their implementation.

An analysis of various modern concepts on the place and role of political security in the integration processes of post-Soviet countries shows that it still remains one of the main forms of filling the modern political sphere with value and symbolic content and performs a number of functions that are essential for ensuring their integrity. This is especially true for the EAEU and CSTO countries, which are carrying out complex processes of modernization of the social and political system.

The doctrine of political security will be able to carry out its most important functions of uniting a transformational society only if it corresponds to its historical traditions, culture and mentality, as well as to the social, economic and political interests of citizens. This is a certain range of values that are significant for social strata and groups of a transformational society: civilism, civilizationalism, traditions, social justice, unity of personal and national well-being, humanism, effective protection of human rights and freedoms, market economy, sustainable development, etc.

ԱՇՈՏ ԱԼԵՔՍԱՆՅԱՆ – Հետխորհրդային հասարակությունների քաղաքական համակարգերի եռաչափ քաղաքական անվտանգության հարցի շուրջ – Հռոլվածի հետազոտական թեմայի արդիականությունն այն է, որ հետխորհրդային երկրներում փոխակերպումները և շուկայական հարաբերություններն անընդհատ առաջացնում են տնտեսական, սոցիալական և քաղաքական տարբեր սպառնալիքներ կուսակցությունների, ՔՀԿ-ների և անհատների համար: Մինևույն ժամանակ, պետական քաղաքականությունը՝ որպես փոխակերպման և շուկայական գործունեության բացասական հետևանքները սահմանափակող ողջամիտ միջոցառումների համակարգ, համարվում է քաղաքական անվտանգություն, քանի որ դրա դերակատարը հիմնականում պետական իշխանությունն է, որն իր բոլոր գործողությունները սահմանում է որպես քաղաքական օգտագործելով քաղաքական գործիքներ: Այնուամենայնիվ, հետխորհրդային ուսումնասիրություններում համեմատական վերլուծությունն առավելապես կենտրոնացած է ոչ թե քաղաքական անվտանգության, այլ ազգային անվտանգության վրա՝ որպես անհատի, հասարակության և պետության կենսական շահերը պաշտպանելու համակարգ, մինչդեռ տեսական առումով ավելի ճիշտ է խոսել քաղաքական անվտանգության՝ որպես պետության տարբեր միջոցառումների ամբողջության մասին, որն ուղղված է անհատին, հասարակությանը և պետությանը չսպառնացող հարաբերությունների արտադրությանը: Մյուս կողմից, ազգային անվտանգությունը քաղաքագիտական ուսումնասիրություններում ներկայացված է որպես քաղաքացիավարական պաշտպանության համակարգ, որն ունի կենսաքաղաքական բնույթ՝ բխելով զսպումների և հավասարակշիռումների արդյունավետ համակարգից: Մինչդեռ անվտանգությունը նույնպես դինամիկ է, այսինքն՝ կախված է դերակատարների վիճակից և քաղաքական համակարգում նրանց զբաղեցրած դիրքից, ինստիտուտների հարաբերություններից, գիտակցությունից, մշակույթից, արժեքներից, նորմերից, ավանդույթներից և այլն: Մինևույն ժամանակ, հետխորհրդային ուսումնասիրություններում անվտանգությունը դիտարկված է միակողմանի, քանի որ դրա վերաբերյալ գաղափարները ձևավորվում են հիմնականում փորձագիտական գնահատականներից, որոնցում հաշվի չեն առնվում դերակատարների սոցիալական, տնտեսական, քաղաքական և մշակութային դիրքերը: Քաղաքական անվտանգության համեմատական վերլուծությունն իրականացվում է ավելի քիչ ինտենսիվությամբ, քան կենսաքաղաքականության մյուս ոլորտներինը: Վերջին տարիներին քաղաքական անվտանգության մեջ ներգրավված հետխորհրդային հետազոտողների շրջանակն այնքան էլ լայն չէ, որքան անհրաժեշտ է:

Բանալի բառեր – քաղաքական անվտանգություն, քաղաքական անվտանգության տարածություն, քաղաքական անվտանգության ժամանակ, քաղաքական անվտանգության արագություն, քաղաքական համակարգ, հետխորհրդային հասարակություններ, փոխակերպում, քաղաքացիավարություն, քաղաքացիական հասարակություն, հանրային քաղաքականություն, մշակույթ

АШОТ АЛЕКСАНЯН – К вопросу о трёхмерной политической безопасности политических систем постсоветских обществ. – В статье исследуется трёхмерная безопасность политических систем, созданная в постсоветских обществах. Сравнительный анализ показывает, как обеспечить эффективное функционирование политических институтов, процессов и норм и как справиться с социально-политической изоляцией, продвигаясь к социальной интеграции на национальном уровне. В силу низкого уровня безопасности постсоветских политических систем и их институциональной изоляции они являются постоянной проблемой для политических элит и лидерства трансформационных обществ. В результате более чем за тридцать лет на постсоветском пространстве создана противоречивая и широко обсуждаемая государственная политика.

Ключевые слова: *политическая безопасность, пространство политической безопасности, время политической безопасности, скорость политической безопасности, политическая система, постсоветские общества, трансформация, цивилиархия, гражданское общество, государственная политика, культура*