

10-1-2004

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Are you for Bush or for Kerry?

A Discourse Analytical Study of the Russian Mass Media Response to the 2004 United States Presidential Elections.



Matthew Thomas Calvin

Independent Study Project

December 1, 2004

SIT Russia: Ethnic and Cultural Studies

Fall 2004

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Abstract:

This research project seeks to combine a Russian Language component with a look at Russian foreign politics by performing a discourse analytical study of the Russian mass media reaction to the November 2004 United States Presidential elections. Discourse analysis is a method by which a language or speech sample is analyzed to discover the greater social and societal meanings and implications hidden within those words. The attempt was made to gain a greater understanding of Russian society and culture through an analysis of answers given to the question “*Are you for Bush or for Kerry?*”, posed to various members of Russian society in the November 18, 2004 issue of the Russian weekly analytical magazine *Vlast*.

Acknowledgements:

I would like to acknowledge a few people that helped me through the tedious process of imagining, beginning, researching, writing, and completing this independent study project. I would like to thank my Project Advisor, Professor Евгений Васельевич Головки, for advising me in my quest to learn about discourse analysis, helping me to find my media sources for analysis, and helping me to put my ideas into tangible form. Most of the background information that I have about those people mentioned in this paper came directly from him as well. I would like to thank Ольга Александровна Ткачёва and Юлия Владимировна Шабарова for helping me in the reading of the often extremely difficult political articles that I chose to read during my research. Finally, I would like to thank Алла Николаевна Орлова for the countless hours of help that she gave me in every aspect of my project, including the inspirational and motivational aspect as I felt lost at times. Without the help of everyone here, especially Алла, this project would never have come to be.

Introduction:

General Introduction:

The conception of this research project arose from a desire to combine my two main interests, Russian language and international affairs, into one single project. Any research project conducted in Russia and focusing on a Russian topic would involve the use of Russian language, but I wanted to place an active emphasis on its involvement in my research. The idea of doing a discourse analytical study of a political topic in Russia made this a possibility. As the time came for my project to take shape, the abundance of news and discussion about the upcoming U.S. Presidential elections helped to give the project its final form. By analyzing the response in the Russian mass media to the upcoming elections, I was able to combine an extensive study of the language involved, as understanding the language is a vital part of the chosen analytical method, with a chance to better understand the Russian reaction to the elections and the general mood in Russia towards America and its President.

Before diving into the details of this research and its results, the shortcomings of this project need to be elaborated upon. As I am not a student of linguistics, the analysis conducted in my research was done at a very basic linguistic level, rather than taking a deep look at specific usage of grammar and semantic details. While the mass media responses that were analyzed could be looked at in a much more complex linguistic manner to reveal much more than has here been uncovered, I was unable to conduct my analysis at that level due to my lack of linguistic background and detailed knowledge of

the Russian language. As the type of analysis that was carried out is explained and the results of the research is elaborated upon, the meaning of these shortcomings will become more clear.

American Elections:

With the end of the Cold War and the collapse of the previously existing bipolar world, the United States was left as the one remaining superpower, the most influential and powerful country on the world stage. Whether economically, politically, militarily, or culturally, the omnipresence of America has come to be felt around the world in all spheres of life. As the leader of that powerful presence, the position of the President of the United States is a figure recognized around the globe. The man filling that position may be despised or loved, respected or ridiculed, slandered or praised, but regardless of how the world sees him, his influence is unquestionable. With the growing list of controversial actions taken during his first term in office, current President George W. Bush has become an especially active and contentious figure on the international stage. As a result, the Presidential elections on November 2, 2004 were watched intently around the world, covered as closely around the globe as within the borders of America itself. Many watched hoping that a man they have come to associate with needless warfare and a new wave of imperialism would be brought down from his post. Many watched hoping that a man who has vowed to fight terrorism and defend the ideals of freedom will be left to continue his work. Many watched hoping that a figure they have grown familiar with

will remain in place. The fate of the most powerful man in the world was something in which the whole world had an interest.

Media Source for Analysis:

The intense coverage of the election was no exception within Russia. From newspapers to television news to conversations on the street, many people were forming and expressing their preferences for the election outcome. Even weeks before the election, the faces and names of the two candidates could be seen and heard in even the most mainstream Russian media sources, a testament to the intense coverage and importance of the American election results to Russian society. Власть (Vlast'), one of the most respected and well-known analytical weekly magazines in Russia, poses a question in each issue that is relevant and important to the present situation in Russia. In the October 18, 2004 issue of Власть, the question was posed: “Вы за Буша или за Керри?” - “*Are you for Bush or for Kerry?*”. The appearance of this question in such a major Russian magazine over two weeks before the election itself attests to the intense coverage in the media. A diverse list of people from Russian society submitted answers to the question – politicians, business people, writers, and other prominent members of Russian society. The responses varied in preference and intensity, but all of them were highly revealing. There was more hidden in their comments though than just a simple answer to a question of personal preference. Within the words of each respondent are clues to a deeper understanding of many aspects of Russian culture, both directly connected to politics and the American election and completely separated from it. To

uncover these clues though requires a deeper analysis of the responses than a simple surface reading. This project was conducted to carry out such an analysis. Using a discourse analytical method, the words of respondents giving a preference for the 2004 US elections were analyzed to uncover their deeper meaning with respect to the larger societal picture.

Discourse Analysis:

The analytical method used in conducting this research was actually a variation of a specific discipline of discourse analysis known as critical discourse analysis (CDA). Discourse analysis, and CDA particularly, is a relatively new analytical practice, having been created to analyze and better understand political speech and the way in which different meanings and ideas are hidden within much of the discourse surrounding the political arena. As noted above, a *variation* of CDA was used in the sense that the linguistic limitations of the researcher kept the level of analysis above many specific details at times and concentrated on overall collective meaning hidden in the words.

The term *discourse* itself is not easily defined, and the way in which to attempt to define it depends upon the way in which it is being used. In defining the term, Garrett and Bell refer to the following statement by Cook about discourse analysis:

*[It] is not concerned with language alone. It also examines the context of communication: who is communicating with whom and why; in what kind of society and situation, through what medium; how different types of communication evolved, and their relationship to each other.*¹

¹ Bell and Garrett. P. 3

Thus *discourse* is distinguishable from *text*, defined here as nothing more than just the words themselves as they are written or spoken and the associated intended meaning, in the sense that it goes beyond simply the words initially written on a page or spoken aloud and the initial meaning ascribed to those words at the moment of their conception. When a reader is reading or a listener is listening, they each ascribe meaning to the words at that moment, beyond and partly independent of the meaning intended for them by the writer or speaker. Discourse carries with it an interactive sense, as meaning is negotiated between the readers or listeners and the initial text.² In the sense of the question posed about the election in Vlast', the discourse that is being analyzed is the interactive meaning ascribed to the responses, attempting to take into account both the meaning intended by the speaker and the meaning ascribed to the words by the reader. As mentioned in the quote from Cook above, discourse analysis as an analytical method that examines this meaning beyond simply the semantic level and places it within the greater social context within which it exists.

Many factors must be taken into account when attempting to understand the meaning of words within any discourse. In his introductory text on discourse analysis, Gee writes that "meaning is not merely a matter of decoding grammar, it is also, importantly, a matter of knowing which of the many inferences that one can draw from an utterance are *relevant*. And relevance is a matter deeply tied to context, point of view, and culture."³ He defines a specific term which he calls *situated meaning*, which he defines as "an image or pattern that we assemble 'on the spot' as we communicate in a given context, based on our construal of that context and on our past experiences. They

² Bell and Garrett. P. 2

³ Gee. P. 34.

are often negotiated between groups of people, rather than being strictly an individual definition.”⁴ When constructed between groups of people, much of what forms these situated meanings is derived from history. Thus the literal meaning of a specific set of words may contain a much deeper meaning within a certain social context, taking into account the history of those words. A word or a set of words may have a history in the sense that they may draw reactions or feelings when used that are connected with historical events rather than with the actual literal use of the word.⁵

The condition of the present as it exists within any discourse is as vital as history though. Gee writes that in any situation, the specifics of who is involved and what they are doing in that instance are absolutely necessary to fully understand and analyze that situation.⁶ Gee notes that in any event there are a number of different aspects present, one of which he calls a *political aspect*, defined as “the distribution of ‘social goods’ in the interaction, such as, power, status, and anything else deemed a ‘social good’ by the participants in terms of their cultural models and [d]iscourses, e.g. beauty, intelligence, ‘street smarts’, strength, possessions, race, gender, sexual orientation, etc.”⁷ The presence of this *political aspect* and the way in which it develops is the main defining factor of CDA, in contrast to the more generic idea of discourse analysis.

As mentioned earlier, the main reason for the creation of CDA as a practical method was to uncover and analyze the uses of deception and hidden intentions within political discourse. While the uncovering of deception is not the main focus of this research project, when analyzing personal intentions of each respondent in giving certain

⁴ Gee. P. 80-81

⁵ Gee. P. 54.

⁶ Gee. P. 13.

⁷ Gee. P. 83

answers, this aspect of discourse analysis will be utilized. Deception itself has no linguistic form. Deceptive acts, as described by Galasinski, are “parasitic on other uses of language in the sense of speakers non-overtly using conventionally anchored speech acts to further their deceptive goals”.⁸ Thus deception is detectable above the exclusively linguistic level, and can be analyzed by looking practically at the meanings behind the words rather than the grammatical peculiarities of the words themselves. In many of the responses, the hidden reasons behind certain responses are as revealing and interesting as the responses themselves.

The success of a discourse analytical study, as a study of the usage of language, is dependent upon the quality of the language sample being analyzed. When doing an analysis of a sample translated from one language to another, certain valuable intricacies of the original language sample can be lost in translation. Fairclough, in an article about discourse analysis, states that “discourse analysis papers should reproduce and analyze textual samples in the original language, despite the added difficulty for readers”.⁹ While much of the analysis done in this project remained above the complex details of a deep linguistic analysis, in instances where the inclusion of the original Russian text provides more specific meaning than is available in a translation, the original language will be used, with explanations included for speakers of the English language. In instances where the relevant idea can be conveyed as well in a translation as in the original text, the English translation will be included with a reference to the Russian original text included in the appendix for those who wish to further investigate the source. As each response is quoted, a footnote is given with a reference to the particular number in the appendix

⁸ Galasinski. P. 115.

⁹ Jaworski and Coupland. P. 186.

where the original text can be found. This is done for the ease of the reader and to improve the consistency of the paper, as it is written in English. In cases where the translation is quoted, it will be placed in italics in order to distinguish it as a translation.

Within the context of this project and the responses given to the question posed in *Vlast*, “Are you for Bush or for Kerry?”, the use of discourse analysis takes into special consideration a number of factors. The political situations in both Russia and the United States, as well as relations between the two countries, need to be looked at as well when analyzing the responses. For obvious reasons the specifics of American politics are relevant to the question, but Russian politics are also vital, as a respondent may consider the opinions of those in power, namely President Vladimir Putin and his administration, when framing his response. Various cultural aspects specific to Russia are also vitally important and will be considered as well during analysis.

Identity of Respondents:

Before discussing any of the responses, the people that submitted those responses need to be introduced. They cover a wide range of backgrounds, from the former Russian Foreign Minister to an American writer. In total, 22 responses were given in the article in *Vlast*. A list of the respondents and a brief description of each is given below:

1. **Vasilij Aksyonov:** Writer
2. **Victor Erofeev:** Writer.
3. **Victor Geraschenko:** Chair of the board of directors of company Yukos.
4. **Vadim Gustov:** Chair of the Federation Council committee on CIS affairs.
5. **Leonid Ivanchenko:** Vice head of the political bureau of the Communist Party of Bolsheviks for Russia
6. **Leonid Ivashov:** Vice President of the Academy of Geopolitical Problems, General.
7. **Anatolij Karachinsky:** President of the group of companies IBS.
8. **Andrej Kozyrev:** Former Foreign Minister of Russia.
9. **Sergej Leontjev:** President of “Probusinessbank”

10. **Michail Margelov**: Chair of the Federation Council committee on international affairs.
11. **Ivan Mel'nikov**: Vice head of the central committee of the Communist Party of the Russian Federation.
12. **Oleg Morozov**: First Vice Premiere of a faction of "United Russia"
13. **Boris Nadezhdin**: Secretary of the Federal Political Council for the party Union of Right Forces.
14. **Boris Nemtsov**: Chair of the board of directors of conglomerate "Neftyanoi".
15. **Alexander Osovtsov**: Project manager of NGO "Open Russia.
16. **Sergej Rogov**: Director for the Institute for the U.S.A. and Canada.
17. **Evgenij Satanovsky**: President of the Russian Jewish Congress
18. **Michail Shvydkoi**: Director of the Federal agency for culture and cinematography.
19. **Eduard Topol'**: Writer, American citizen.
20. **Julij Vorontsov**: Former ambassador of Russia to the U.S.A.
21. **Dmitrij Yakushkin**: Executive Director of the Russian-American affairs council.
22. **Vladimir Zhirinovskiy**: Leader of the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia (LDPR).

The list above is given in alphabetical order by last name, and the names of the respondents are written in the Latin alphabet for ease of reading. The Cyrillic spelling of the names listed above and the comments from each person are included in the Appendix under the same number as in the above list.

Figure 1 below makes the distribution of the different backgrounds of the respondents more clear.

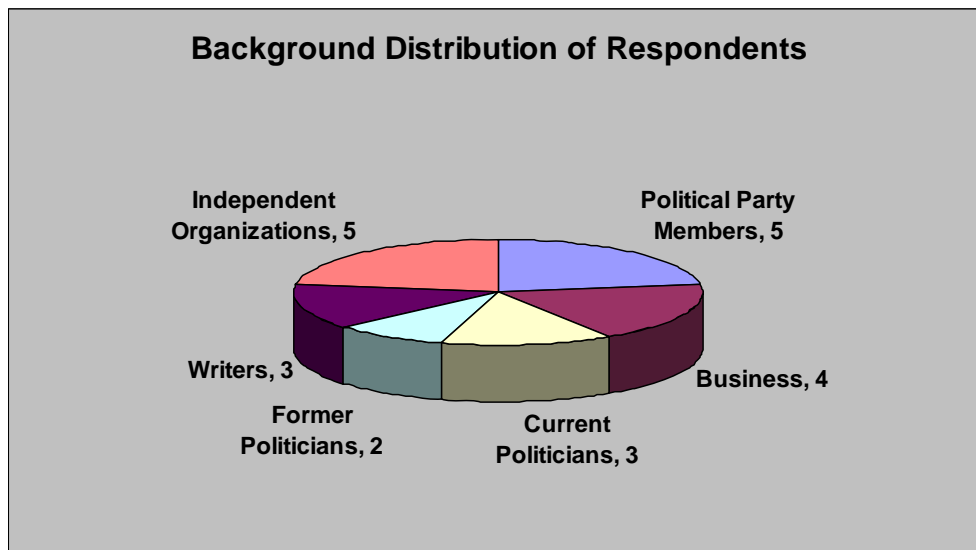


Figure 1: Background Distribution of Respondents

As is visible in Figure 1 above, the largest number of respondents are from the political arena, either currently working in the government, having formerly worked in the government, or members of various political parties. The category of *Independent Organizations* includes the respondents from independent councils and boards residing outside of the government.

Overall Summary of Reactions:

While responses were given both for and against either candidate, a large majority of those given favored Bush. A significantly smaller number favored Kerry, and in a few of the responses no preference was made clear. Figure 2 below shows the distribution of responses, in terms of preference for candidate:

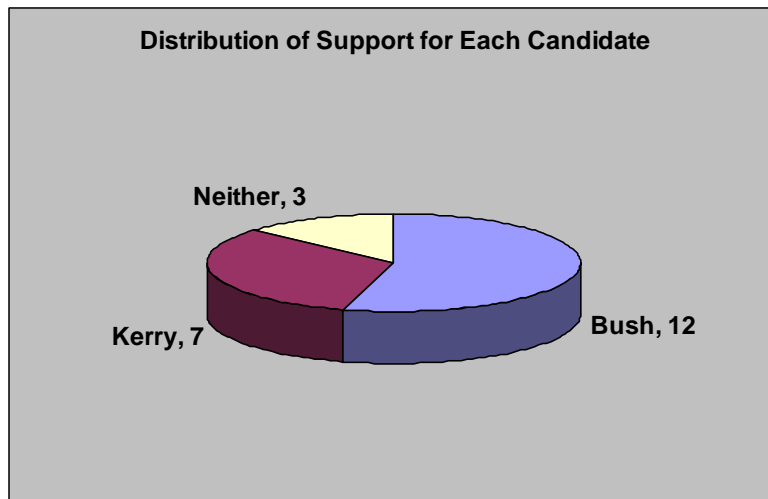


Figure 2: Distribution of Preference by Candidate

The number shown in Figure 2 above for those supporting Bush includes those who did not strongly declare their support overtly but made comments that placed favor in his direction. Two of those candidates that chose Kerry even noted that, despite their preference, Bush would be a better choice for Russia as a country. These distinctions will be elaborated upon later, but for now the number of those supporting Bush, regardless of the level of support, are clearly much larger than those for Kerry. The reasons for this extend beyond purely political preference, and some of the most common reasons serve to reveal cultural and social trends that exist within Russian society.

Major Themes:

Aside from actual candidate preference, a number of common reasons were given to justify responses either way. The nature of some of the reasons lend them to occur more frequently in responses supporting one candidate or another, but generally they derive from ideas independent of any particular candidate. The frequency of these recurring reasons can be analyzed to reveal various important aspects of Russian culture and society. The reasons being discussed here are only those that were overtly declared in the responses. While there are more covert reasons hidden within the words of the respondents that are also revealing, looking only at those reasons declared outwardly allows focus to be extended beyond personal motivations to the level of societal beliefs and trends. Listed below are a number of the most common reasons provided for supporting either candidate:

- Predictability and Stability
- Personal Characteristics
- Strength and Strong Leadership
- Preference for Candidate Not Interfering in Russian Internal Affairs
- General Support for Republicans versus Democrats
- Personal Relationship with Putin

Figure 3 below shows the number of occurrences of each of those reasons listed above, independent of stated candidate preference:

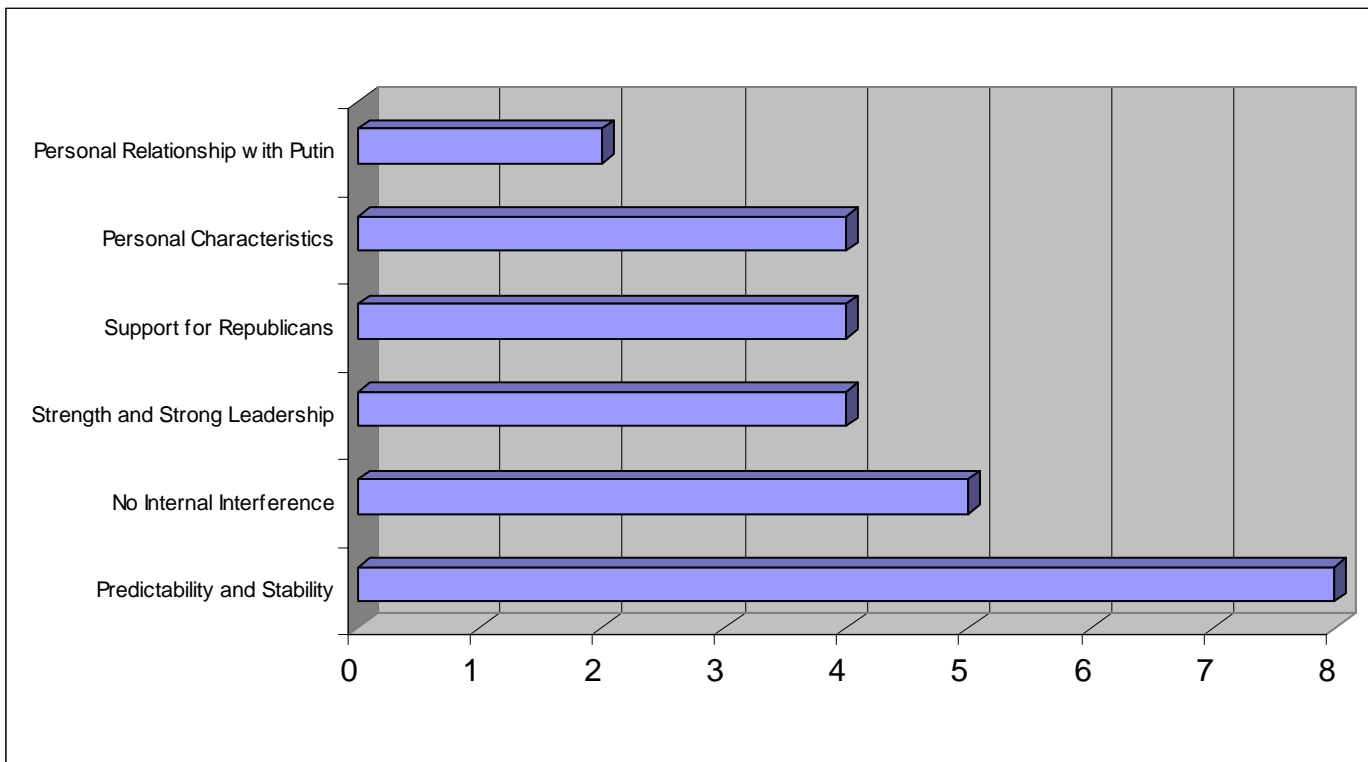


Figure 3: Frequency of Particular Reasons Given for Supporting a Candidate

There were instances when more than one reason was provided within a single response, and in those cases, each instance of each reason was counted when determining the numbers for Figure 3 above. As is visible in the figure, the most common reason for giving preference to a particular candidate was a desire for predictability and stability.

The second most frequent reasoning was a desire to minimize the efforts of the United States in interfering with internal matters within Russia. The frequency of these particular ideas within the responses are far from coincidental. These reoccurrences derive from specific ideas and values prevalent within Russian society. By analyzing how and why these ideas occur within the responses, a better understanding of those ideas and values can be reached.

Предсказуемость и стабильность:

Predictability and Stability:

As mentioned above, the most frequently occurring reason provided for supporting a particular candidate was a desire for predictability. Because of this desire for predictability and the associated desire to avoid change, this reason was used exclusively to justify support for Bush. Part of the lure of predictability was a desire to see a familiar figure sitting at the highest American post. There is no exclusive group that favored stability either. Mention of predictability was made from all ends of the political spectrum. Alexander Osovtsov, director of the pro-democratic organization “Open Russia” said that he is “*For Bush: he is more predictable than Kerry...*”.¹⁰ Oleg Morozov, *United Russia* party member and thus highly pro-governmental, stated that, “*I am for predictability and, that means, for Bush...*”.¹¹ Even Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, head

¹⁰ See Appendix, Number 15

¹¹ See Appendix, Number 12

of the extremely nationalistic LDPR party declared his support for stability, saying that he is “*For Bush. We already know him...*”.¹²

References to the promise of stability should Bush again become president can be found in responses not only from those who like Bush but from those who despise him as well. Michail Shvydkoi, from the Federal agency for culture and cinematography, answered that he imagined himself on Kerry’s platform personally, “...*But for Russia, Bush is more preferable – He is predictable and habitual.*”¹³ Vadim Gustov, chair of the Federation Council committee on CIS affairs, said that Bush and Kerry are politically equal, “...*But Bush is more predictable...*”, and thus he gives his support to Bush.¹⁴ Dmitriy Yakushkin of the Russian-American affairs committee, said that he personally likes Kerry better, “... *But for Russia, Bush is more comfortable, because we have lived through four years with him...*”¹⁵ The statements made by these three respondents mentioning the predictability of having Bush as U.S. President all begin with a conjunction containing the equivalent meaning of “but,” revealing the attitude that, even though they may not generally approve of or support Bush, predictability and stability are important enough to allow some of his faults to be overlooked.

In a country where so many dramatic changes occurred throughout the past century, from the communist revolution in its early years to the eventual collapse of the USSR near the end, major changes are extremely unwelcome. Hopeful and promising ideas of change in the past have resulted only in more troubles and disappointment. Victor Geraschenko, chair of the board of directors for Yukos, said in his response that

¹² See Appendix, Number 22

¹³ See Appendix, Number 18

¹⁴ See Appendix, Number 4

¹⁵ See Appendix, Number 21

*“...From Bush we are not waiting any special surprises. Maybe Russia will not lose if he is again elected.”*¹⁶ The last phrase in his response reveals that he is not enthusiastic of the promise of Bush being reelected, saying that “Maybe Russia will not lose” rather than something similar to “Russia will win”, but he regardless grants his support for protection from any unwelcome changes in the form of “special surprises”.

When changes are mistrusted and stability is desired, there is no reason to want to change something unless there is an absolute need. Reflecting this idea directly, Andrej Kozyrev, former Russian Foreign Minister, asks in his response, *“...Why would we want a new President of the USA if good relations with the current are being formed?”*¹⁷ Political details and minor disagreements aside, relations between the U.S., with Bush as President, and Russia are not bad, and the quality of life in Russia is better in many ways than it has been in recent years. The Russian mentality of avoiding change and seeking stability then holds the possibility of maintaining the current stability through the predictability and familiarity of Bush as more important than any other issues.

Не Вмешивайтесь в Наши Дела

Interference in Internal Russian Affairs:

Second in number to comments concerning predictability were those dealing with American behavior towards Russian internal affairs – specifically, supporting a candidate that would avoid interfering in those affairs. Like the references to predictability

¹⁶ See Appendix, Number 3

¹⁷ See Appendix, Number 8

described above, this track of reasoning tends to support Bush, due to the importance that he places on the War on Terrorism, in which Russia is an American ally, at the expense of other issues. The fact that some of the respondents recognize this is revealed in their answers. Leonid Ivashov, a general and supposed authority on geopolitical problems, noted as a reason for supporting Bush that “...[he] is interested little in our internal problems, he is more worried that Russia support the foreign policy course of the USA...”¹⁸ Zhirinovsky, in his support for Bush, notes as well that “... he interferes little in our affairs...”¹⁹ The importance of this issue is actually related with the issue of predictability and stability discussed above. Some of the predictability that comes with supporting Bush is the belief that he will continue with his current policy of ignoring Russia’s internal problems in return for support in the War on Terrorism.

This reasoning appears not only in comments directly supporting Bush but in comments given specifically against Kerry as well. In his response, Julij Vorontsov, former Russian ambassador to the U.S., says about Kerry that “...If he is elected as President,, then he is going to torture us with his protests about human rights and their infringement in Chechnya. And Bush did not take notice in such political actions.”²⁰ In this response, no denial is made about the infringement of human rights in Chechnya, and support is given for Bush because he will leave Russia to solve her own problems. In another response, Victor Erofeev, a well-known Russian writer and public figure, personally supports Kerry but feels that “...Although with Kerry the USA will relate worse to Russia. There will be more moral components to our relations. Kerry will not, like Bush, cynically excuse us for everything so that we also close our eyes to his

¹⁸ See Appendix, Number 6

¹⁹ See Appendix, Number 22

²⁰ See Appendix, Number 20

mistakes".²¹ Erofeev ridicules Bush and his actions on the world stage initially but then eventually admits that Bush as President is better for Russia, feeling that "better for Russia" means an American President that leaves a moral component out of bilateral relations between the two countries and excuses Russian problems, rather than putting more pressure on the Russian government to address them. There is no attempt here to hide the negative connotation of the actions that Bush would be excusing, and even a writer, with no connection to the government itself, feels a defensive instinct to avoid foreign intervention in Russia's own internal problems .

This issue is actually elevated by some of the respondents beyond the individual level to an issue concerning the two major American political parties. As mentioned earlier, a number of responses were made that either supported the Republican Party or denounced the Democratic Party, and these responses were made in a way that directly relates to the matter of American intervention in internal Russian matters. Dmitriy Yakushkin adds as a final comment in his support for Bush that "*...in general, Republicans are traditionally less nagging towards the different nuances in our bilateral relations.*"²² What began with comments about Bush and Kerry elevate to the level of political parties and support for the Republicans who are seen as less intrusive into Russian matters.

An even larger number of responses reveal an outright negative view towards Democrats and the increased role that they attempt to play in Russia's internal issues. Sergej Rogov states directly that, "*...if the Democrats come into power, they will*

²¹ See Appendix, Number 2

²² See Appendix, Number 21

interfere in the internal affairs of Russia...”²³ He generalizes beyond the issue of any particular candidate and speaks out against the entire Democratic party. Vorontsov, along with his comments mentioned earlier about Kerry, says that “...*Besides that, he belongs to the Democrats. And they are a nagging people...*”, holding one of Kerry’s faults to be his simply belonging to the Democratic party.²⁴ Evgenij Satanovsky, President of the Russian Jewish Council, states strongly that “...*The more democrats there are in power, the worse it is for relations with Russia. The Democrats love us so madly that they are ready to fight for the rights of our people to the very last person.*”²⁵ As a representative of the Jewish community in Russia, this denouncing of foreign intervention is particularly strong, as foreign assistance, especially in the area of human rights, has in the past been frequently directed towards helping Jewish persons. Again though, the Russian distrust of intervention from outside forces and dislike of having its own authority challenged in internal affairs overpowers any other feelings and the Democrats are denounced for their desire to intervene.

In all of these comments, the fact that Bush is more likely to simply leave Russia’s internal problems alone garners him increased support. Russia has been a powerful and important country on the world stage for centuries, and for most of the past century it reigned as one of the two world superpowers. Russia has dealt in the past with foreign forces threatening the authority and power of the reigning government, including nearby Germany twice in the last century. When the authority of the country to govern itself and solve its own problems is challenged, the strong nature of Russia and her people generates a strong reaction and desire to deal with their internal problems on their

²³ See Appendix, Number 16

²⁴ See Appendix, Number 20

²⁵ See Appendix, Number 17

own. As was the case with the comments about predictability and stability, the wide variety of respondents that expressed a negative view of American intervention in Russian affairs show that this defensive trait extends beyond just the question at hand and derives from a firmly held Russian cultural value.

Сила

Strength and Strong Leadership:

Aside from the predictability that Bush has gained in the eyes of many Russians as a result of his first term in office, his time as president has allowed other aspects of his personality and leadership abilities to become known. During his first four years in office, Bush acted in an argumentatively decisive and strong manner, and many see this as a sign of his personal strength and strong leadership style. As strength and toughness are important personal characteristics in Russian culture, a number of the answers given in *Vlast'* provide support to Bush on the basis of his apparent strength. Kerry on the other hand is a relatively unknown leader and has not had the chance to show whether or not he too has this strength, thus all of these comments grant their support to Bush. Bush's relentless campaign against international terrorism have earned him a reputation in the eyes of some Russians as a leader with exceptional strength. Boris Nemtsov, former member of rightist political party SPS and current businessman, who personally grants his preference to Kerry, follows his compliments for Kerry with the argument that,

*“...But Bush, by character, is a strong fellow.”*²⁶ The juxtaposition of the comment about Bush’s strong character with the personal comments about Kerry serve to place the above comment on an argumentative, and thus relatively equal, plane with the Kerry comments that seem to dominate the answer. This juxtaposition combined with the above comment appearing as the final words from Nemtsov place added weight and importance to the reference to Bush’s strong character. Kerry may have other attractive qualities, but Bush’s strength serves to contrast any qualities that Kerry may possess and stand alone as support for the current American president.

The remainder of the responses that carried strong leadership and character as a reason for supporting Bush addressed his actions as examples of his strength rather than simple declarations of his character. Andrej Kozyrev gives his second reason for supporting Bush as his *“...precise and decisive position in the fight against terrorism...”*²⁷ This seemingly strong position that Bush has taken against terrorism even garners him support from those who do not generally support him or his actions. Vasilij Aksyonov, another well-known writer, begins his response right away by saying that he has not liked Bush from the very start of his presidency, then softens slightly by saying that, *“On the other hand, Bush gave a very worthy response to the terrorist attacks on September 11...”*²⁸ Even Bush’s position as a militarily oriented President, beyond his actions against terrorism, were used as a reason to support his reelection. Vadim Gustov noted that *“...During Bush’s time in office, the military expenditures grew strongly, and he has the powerful support of the military industrial complex...”*²⁹ Just the importance that

²⁶ See Appendix, Number 14

²⁷ See Appendix, Number 8

²⁸ See Appendix, Number 1

²⁹ See Appendix, Number 4

Bush places on his own military and the support he has from the military that he has in return demonstrate a measure of his strong and powerful leadership position to many people, and thus serve to earn him the recommendation of a number of the respondents to the question posed in Vlast'.

The decisive action that Bush has taken against terrorism since the tragic events of September 11, 2001 and his position as a militarily oriented President earned him the approval of some because of the value placed upon strong and tough leadership in Russian society. Putin himself gathered support for his presidency early on with his promises to act resolutely against Chechen terrorists in Chechnya. Russia has a history of strong leaders, and those leaders continue to be admired and celebrated even today. The strong cultural memory and celebration of Peter the Great, who defeated Sweden militarily to found the city of St. Petersburg in the middle of a northern swamp, attest to the honor and respect that strong leaders earn from the Russian people. While many Russians disapprove of Bush because of his seeming disrespect for international law and intrusive actions in many places around the world, there is still a sense of respect held by some for his strong character and for the tough leadership decisions he has made. Admiration of strength and power, especially in leaders, has a powerful root in Russian history and culture that places strong character and actions above many other qualities when judging a person.

Личные Симпатии

Personal Characteristics:

The lure of strength and power is not everything that was considered in the responses when analyzing the candidates. Personality, physical attractiveness, and personal qualities that demonstrate the humanity of the candidates were held by a number of respondents as important when answering the proposed question. Unlike the previous three reasons, this particular one tended to support Kerry, who many of the those who answered felt was personally and physically more attractive than Bush. Ivan Mel'nikov a high member of the Communist Party of the Russian Federation, began his response with a statement that *"Purely on a personal level, I like Kerry more..."*³⁰ Before mentioning politics or foreign policy or any other issues, Mel'nikov expresses his preference for Kerry on a personal level. Boris Nemtsov stated that, *"personally – meaning physiologically – I like Kerry more. He appears more educated and attractive..."*³¹ Here, the commentary is even elevated to include strictly physical characteristics and appearance. In Russian society, the appearance of a person is often held as a reflection of that person as a whole. The actual Russian words used in the answers mentioned above to express favor for Kerry are all forms of the word симпатичный (*simpatichnyi*), which refers to the pleasantness of a person's appearance.³² There are other words in the Russian language than can express approval of someone, but this word was still chosen by many of those who commented to describe

³⁰ See Appendix, Number 11

³¹ See Appendix, Number 14

³² See the Appendix for actual context of the Russians words mentioned here.

their preferred candidate. The frequency with which this word was used in these responses is a testament to the value with which physical appearance is taken into account in Russian culture when judging a person. The fact that members of Russian society are comfortable with using physical appearance as a means of answering the question of candidate preference in such a popular and important magazine serves to demonstrate the general acceptance of this practice.

Aside from a pleasing physical appearance, actions can serve to reveal the humanity that sometimes eludes politicians. Something as basic as a seemingly friendly relationship between two politicians shows that even those in the highest parts of the government can have friends, just like the rest of the population. In their comments, some of the respondents referred to Bush's personal relationship with Putin as a reason to support him. Andrej Kozyrev said that "*Bush is more comfortable to us because Putin knows him well and, it appears to me, sympathizes with him. And how relations with Kerry would form is unknown...*"³³ This coincides directly with the desire for predictability described above, but it has a sense of humanity to it as well. Kerry is an unsure choice because he might not develop a friendly relationship with Putin. Dmitriy Yakushkin, after his comments about the predictability in supporting Bush, comments that, "*...Besides that, Bush has developed good relations with Putin...*", again adding personal relationships with the Russian president as a positive characteristic.³⁴

Whether an attractive personality, pleasing physical characteristics, or simply a friendly side, revealing a touch of humanity is viewed to be an important characteristic by a number of respondents. For many Russians, it is much easier to relate to a politician,

³³ See Appendix, Number 8

³⁴ See Appendix, Number 21

and thus support him, if he shows this sense of humanity and is not separated from the people as some inhuman force that makes no mistakes and wields the power of the government. The occurrence of comments addressing this theme of humanity in the Vlast' responses again reveals a Russian cultural value that goes beyond strictly political commentary. More than just for judging potential presidential candidates, the characteristics that make someone appear human - physical appearance or friendly personality – are extremely important in a society that values personal relationships so dearly.

Reactions of an American Reader:

Conducting this research as an American and stranger to much of the peculiarities of Russian culture, I was at a disadvantage in many ways. Having this foreign outlook though did provide a unique perspective on the comments given by the respondents and the greater meaning of those responses with regards to American and Russian politics and culture. In this section I will elaborate on some of the impressions that I have and conclusions that I have made after conducting my analysis of the Vlast' question “*Are you for Bush or for Kerry?*”.

I will begin with the expectations that I had before I even began my coverage of the Russian mass media response. Before I left the United States, the general consensus was that the rest of the world despised Bush and supported Kerry completely. During my time in Russia before beginning this project, almost every person I spoke with about the

election, members of the general population, upheld this idea and expressed dislike of Bush, but almost everyone also showed a dislike for Kerry. The general idea revealed by most people was that Kerry was the lesser of two evils. This was the impression of the Russian reaction to the election that I carried into my research.

Right around the time I began to read the mass media coverage of the election, weeks before it actually took place, Putin began to publicly express his support for Bush. Stating that a loss for Bush would mean a victory for international terrorism, Putin placed his full weight behind a Bush victory. It was not until I read the responses given in the *Vlast*' *Question of the Week* that I understood how popular this preference for Bush really was in the higher levels of Russian society. As I looked closer and closer at the responses during analysis, some of the findings ran very contrary to my expectations. A look at these contradictions paints a troubling picture of both the current American and Russian administrations.

The most immediately unexpected ideas were from those persons that voiced support for Bush from positions which should seemingly want him removed from office. The Russian political party SPS, the Union of Right Forces, despite being a party on the "right", is one of the most allegedly active parties in defending human rights in Russia. Despite this reputation though, Boris Nadezhdin, a high official from SPS, wrote that, "*I am for Bush: He is on the right. He supports lower taxes and making niggers work. I also support this...*"³⁵ Such a blatantly racist remark from a member of a political party that supposedly supports human rights was shocking. The fact that he granted this jaded support to Bush, who places human rights issues far behind the War on Terrorism, was even more seemingly absurd. In another case of counterintuitive preference, Victor

³⁵ See Appendix, Number 13

Geraschenko, chair of the board of directors for Yukos, also admitted that, “...*Maybe Russia will not lose if he is elected again.*”³⁶ The head of Yukos, a company under attack from Putin and his government, does not have any hope for a change in the American administration that could bring added pressure against Putin to stop his assault on Russian big business. While the chance of this pressure making any difference is extremely minimal, it is more than is imaginable with Bush as president. There are a number of other responses that praise Bush for the lack of attention that he pays to human rights abuses in Chechnya, and criticism for his actions in Iraq and elsewhere are conspicuously left absent from many of the comments. As an American citizen, it is slightly troubling that our current President can be relied upon to ignore human rights abuses in exchange for support in his own foreign policy course. It is understood that there is nothing Bush can do to help the situation in Chechnya and that it is not the place of The United States to seek to actively preserve human rights around the world, but having a President that is known to ignore their infringement without a word otherwise is slightly disturbing.

The picture described above sheds a sad light upon the current Russian administration as well. It was noted above that criticism of Bush’s actions in Iraq and elsewhere remained conspicuously absent from many of the responses, but what needs to be further remarked is that they are mostly absent from comments made by those currently involved in the Russian government. The only strong criticism came from writers, business persons, or members of opposing political parties – those people who have nothing to fear from opposing the current party line or offending the American administration. These opinions are consistent with those of the common people, from

³⁶ See Appendix, Number 3

whose views I formed my initial expectations. Those who currently have power ignored Bush's faults for one collective reason beyond those described earlier in this paper – to preserve their own positions and status. It is disturbing to imagine what else is worth ignoring by those in power as long as their paychecks keep coming and they have an office to drive to each day.

In looking at my reactions to the answers given in Vlast', I feel that the seemingly close relationship that Bush and Putin have formed is symbolic of the relationship between their two countries. In the West, the Russian government under Putin is framed as a weakly disguised dictatorship opposed to the American ideals of freedom and democracy, where Putin continues to grab power and do as he pleases. Yet Putin and Bush seem to get along so well that perhaps the two governments are not quite so different after all. I understand that it is ideological naivety that leads me to place these high moral expectations on my government, but I still have not reached the point of pessimism where I can completely disregard these ideals. I would like to hope that American elections still provide real choices for the people, and that those elected are still held accountable to those people once in office. Perhaps the situation in Russia is not as desolate for democratic freedoms as has been portrayed in the West. Perhaps American democracy has lost the meaning that it once had and Bush now runs his own form of dictatorship from The White House. I cannot be sure which of these is closer to the truth, but either way, my research in this project has taught me that our two governments are not as different as I once thought.

Conclusion:

While the answers given to the question “*Are you for Bush or for Kerry*” were certainly revealing on a political level, the hidden trends revealed through taking a discourse analytical look at those answers revealed values and ideas that extend beyond that political level to the whole of Russian society and culture. Respondents from all over the political spectrum, business world, and beyond considered certain important factors when deciding whom to lend their preference. Stability and predictability carries a high value in a country where gambling on change frequently brings even greater problems. In dealing with their own internal problems though, Russians prefer to do so themselves, without outside interference. A history of foreign assaults and interference disguised as benevolent assistance combined with the rich and powerful history of Russian statehood have led her people to mistrust aid and defiantly refuse when Russian authority in dealing with her own problems is challenged. When considering Bush, his predictability carries with it a promise of limited intervention. This desirable predictability is derived from his first four years atop the Executive Branch, which in turn gave him the chance to show the toughness of his leadership style and strong character. These traits were picked up on as well by many of the respondents, as strong and tough character are highly important traits in Russian culture. Strength is not the only quality that can win the hearts of the Russian people though. A show of humanity, whether a pleasing personality, welcoming appearance, or sign of friendship, can warm relationships and create trust with the Russian people. All of these values have deep historical and cultural roots, and manifest themselves even in a simple question of

political preference for a foreign politician. By taking an analytical look at the answers submitted in 'Vlast', an understanding was reached far beyond the geopolitical issues at hand – opening a window to the heart of Russian culture and the ideas that penetrate the lives of the Russian people.

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Appendix:

Question Responses and Translations:

In Alphabetical Order by Last Name (Latin Alphabet)

1. **Vasilij Aksyonov:** Writer

Василий Аксенов: писатель

«Буш мне не нравится с самого начала, когда произошло мошенничество с выборами, а Керри – демагог. С другой стороны, Буш дал достойный ответ на теракт 11 сентября. Керри внешне симпатяга, но он политик 80-х годов – то сатанистов поддерживает, то левых. Я был с ним знаком, он принадлежал к ультралевому крылу сената. Я не уверен, что он будет настоящим президентом.

“I did not like Bush from the very start when the swindle with the elections happened, and Kerry is a demagogue. From the other side, Bush gave a very worthy response to the terrorist attacks on September 11. Kerry is outwardly a nice guy, but he is a politician from the 80’s – from Satanists to leftists, he supports them. I knew him, he belongs to the ultra-left wing of the Senate. I am not sure that he will be a real president.”

2. **Victor**

Erofeev:

Writer.

Виктор Ерофеев: писатель.

«Я не люблю Буша, поэтому Керри мне более симпатичен. – это воплощение интеллектуальной тупости, наглости и цинизма. Из него прет американизм, когда американские ценности ставятся выше всех мировых ценностей. Думаю, что именно это и породило исламский фундаментализм. А Керри – это воплощение той Америки, которая очнулась от безумного самолюбия. Он пытается разделять мировые ценности. Хотя при Керри США будут хуже относиться к России. В их действиях будет больше нравственного содержания. Керри не будет, как Буш, цинично нам все прощать, чтобы мы тоже на его промахи закрывали глаза.»

“I do not like Bush, therefore I like Kerry more. Bush is the embodiment of intellectual stupidity, impudence, and cynicism. From him flows Americanism, when American values are placed above all of the world values. I think that Islamic Fundamentalism arose out of exactly this. But Kerry – he is the embodiment of that America which regained consciousness from an insane self-love. He is trying to share world values. Although with Kerry the USA will relate worse to Russia. There will be more moral components to our relations. Kerry will not, like Bush, cynically excuse us for everything so that we also close our eyes to his mistakes”.

3. **Victor Geraschenko**: Chair of the board of directors of company Yukos.
Виктор Геращенко: председатель совета директоров компании Юкос.

«Даже не знаю, но Буш по сравнению с папой какой-то недотёпа. А про Керри сказать что-либо сложно. От Буша мы особых сюрпризов не ждём. Может, Россия и не проиграет, если его опять выберут.»

“I do not even know, but Bush in comparison to his father is some kind of duffer. But about Kerry it is difficult to say anything. From Bush we are not waiting any special surprises. Maybe Russia will not lose if he is elected again.”

4. **Vadim Gustov**: Chair of the Federation Council committee on CIS affairs.
Вадим Густов: председатель комитета Совета Федерации по делам СНГ.

«Скорее за Буша, хотя политики они равные. Но Буш более предсказуем, и у него больше шансов на победу. При нем сильно выросли военные расходы, и у него мощная поддержка ВПК. Конечно, его есть за что поругать, например за Ирак, за снижение показателей экономического роста. А у Керри ничего нет – ни плюсов, ни минусов.

“Rather for Bush, although politically they are equal. But Bush is more predictable and he has a greater chance of victory. With Bush in office, the military expenditures grew strongly, and he has the powerful support of the military industrial complex. Of course, there are things to criticize him about, such as Iraq, the reduction in the economic growth index. But Kerry has nothing, no pluses, no minuses.”

5. **Leonid Ivanchenko**: Vice head of the political bureau of the Communist Party of Bolsheviks for Russia
Леонид Иванченко: зампред политбюро ВКПБ.

«Керри, потому что сегодняшняя мировая напряженность, экономический спад и высокие цены на нефть – заслуга администрации Буша. Это последствия её агрессивных действий после 11 сентября. К тому же Буш мне не нравится чисто по-человечески.»

“Kerry, because today’s world intensity, economic slump, and high oil prices are merits of the Bush administration. These are consequences of its aggressive actions after September 11. Additionally, I do not like Bush personally.”

6. **Leonid Ivashov**: Vice President of the Academy of Geopolitical Problems, General.

Леонид Ивашов: вице-президент Академии геополитических проблем, генерал-полковник.

«Хрен редьки не слаще, но Буш всё-таки меньшее зло. Нынешняя администрация более благосклонна к России. Буша мало интересуют наши внутренние проблемы, его больше волнует, чтобы Россия поддерживала внешнеполитический курс США. Его окружение рассматривает Россию как некую автономию, включенную в глобальную империю во главе с США.»

“Horseradish is no sweeter than radish, but Bush is over all less evil. The present administration is more favorable towards Russia. Bush is interested little in our internal problems, he is more worried that Russia support the foreign policy course of the USA. Those around him consider Russia like a certain automaton included in the global empire headed by the USA.”

7. **Anatolij Karachinsky**: President of the group of companies IBS.

Анатолий Карачинский: президент группы компаний IBS.

«Скорее за Буша. Когда Керри заявляет о том, что надо лишить компании права использовать труд программистов из других стран, это звучит по меньшей мере странно. Этот труд просто не может ухудшить положение других компаний. Значит, напрашивается один вывод: Керри не очень хорошо знает экономику. Буш, конечно, тоже, может, знает экономику не лучше, но он, по крайней мере, таких заявлений себе не позволяет.»

“Rather for Bush. When Kerry says that there is a need to take away the right of a company to use programmers from other countries, it sounds at least strange. This work simply cannot make the position of a company worse. That means, one conclusion arises: Kerry does not know the economy very well. Bush, of course, may not know the economy any better, but he, at least, does not allow himself such statements.”

8. **Andrej Kozyrev:** Former Foreign Minister of Russia.

Андрей Козырев: бывший министр иностранных дел России.

«Буш удобен нам, так как его хорошо знает Путин и, как мне кажется, симпатизирует ему. А как сложатся отношения с Керри, неизвестно. Во-вторых, у Буша четкая и решительная позиция по борьбе с терроризмом. Зачем нам новый президент США, если с нынешним складываются неплохие отношения?»

“Bush is more comfortable to us because Putin knows him well and, it appears to me, sympathizes with him. And how relations with Kerry would form is unknown. Secondly, Bush has a precise and decisive position in the fight against terrorism. Why would we want a new President of the USA if good relations with the current are being formed?”

9. **Sergej Leontjev:** President of “Probusinessbank”

Сергей Леонтьев: президент Пробизнесбанка.

«**Я за Керри.** После 11 сентября 2001 года США взяли на себя роль такого «всемирного полицейского», администрация Буша фактически закончила оформление монополярного мира, которое началось после развала СССР. Исходя из этого, России гораздо выгоднее общаться с миролюбивым демократом Керри и параллельно держать курс на Европу как нашего ближайшего геополитического и экономического соседа, а также на единственную реальную альтернативу гегемонии США.

“I am for Kerry. After September 11, 2001, the USA took upon itself the roll of such “world police”. The Bush administration actually finished the forming of the unipolar world which began after the collapse of the USSR. Arising from this, for Russia, it is much more favorable to communicate with the peace-loving democrat, Kerry, and simultaneously hold course towards Europe as our closest geopolitical and economic neighbor, and also the only real alternative to the USA hegemony.”

10. **Michail Margelov**: Chair of the Federation Council committee on international affairs.

Михаил Маргелов: председатель комитета Совета федерации по международным делам.

«Кого бы американцы ни избрали своим президентом, он станет значимым и войдёт в историю. А мы будем договариваться с любым президентом.»

“Whoever the Americans choose as their president will become important and enter into history. And we will negotiate with any President.”

11. **Ivan Mel’nikov**: Vice head of the central committee of the Communist Party of the Russian Federation.

Иван Мельников: первый зампред ЦК КПРФ.

«Чисто по-человечески мне симпатичнее Керри. Что касается высоких цен на нефть и прочего, что нам якобы обеспечит внешняя политика Буша, то всё это временно. Зависимость экономики от высоких нефтяных цен вредна для страны не меньше, чем низкие цены на нефть.»

“Purely on a personal level, I like Kerry more. What concerns high prices of oil and others that Bush’s foreign policy allegedly guarantees us is all temporary. Dependence of the economy on high oil prices is no less dangerous for the country than low oil prices.”

12. **Oleg Morozov**: First Vice Premiere of a faction of “United Russia”

Олег Морозов: первый зампред фракции «Единая Россия».

«Я за предсказуемость и, значит, за Буша. К тому же республиканцев можно отнести к консерваторам. А наша партия «Единая Россия» тоже умеренный консерватор.»

“I am for predictability and, that means, for Bush. Additionally, Republicans ascribe to conservatism. And our party, “United Russia” is also moderately conservative.”

13. **Boris Nadezhdin**: Secretary of the Federal Political Council for the party Union of Right Forces.

Борис Надеждин: секретарь Федерального политсовета СПС.

«**За Буша: он же правый.** Он ратует за то, чтобы было меньше налогов, а негры работали. Я тоже. А вообще, нам не всё ли равно, кого выберут американцы? И для Керри мелкая тема – уважать Россию или нет. Но это складывается не из того, кого мы больше любим, а из экономических составляющих, например цен на нефть.»

“I am for Bush: He is on the right. He supports lower taxes and making niggers work. I also support this. And in general, does it really matter to us who the Americans choose? For Bush and For Kerry, it is of no major importance whether or not to respect Russia. But it is formed not from who we love more but from economic components, such as the price of oil.”

14. **Boris Nemtsov**: Chair of the board of directors of conglomerate “Neftyanoi”.

Борис Немцов: председатель совета директоров концерна «Нефтяной».

«**В личном плане – в смысле физиономии – мне симпатичнее Керри. Он выглядит более образованным и привлекательным.** А Буш по характеру крепкий парень.»

“Personally – meaning physiologically – I like Kerry more. He appears more educated and attractive. But Bush, by character, is a strong fellow.”

15. **Alexander Osovtsov**: Project manager of NGO “Open Russia”.

Александр Осовцов: директор проектов общественной организации «Открытая Россия».

«**За Буша: он более предсказуем, чем Керри.** Хотя для России всё равно, это важно для Ирака или Северной Кореи. У США нет ни врагов, ни друзей, а есть интересы, и Россия для Америки – мелкий интерес.»

“For Bush: he is more predictable than Kerry. Although for Russia it does not matter, it is important for Iraq and North Korea. The USA has no enemies, no friends, but it has interests, and Russia for America is a minor interest.”

16. **Sergej Rogov**: Director for the Institute for the U.S.A. and Canada.

Сергей Рогов: директор Института США и Канады.

«**Оба хуже.** Принципиального различия между ними нет. У Буша слабая внешняя политика, позиция Керри в этом вопросе ближе к российской, но, если демократы придут к власти, они будут вмешиваться во внутренние дела России. В любом случае после выборов произойдут изменения в отношениях с Россией.»

“They are both worse. Principally there are no differences between them. Bush has a weak foreign policy, the position of Kerry on this question is closer to the Russian one, but if the Democrats come into power, they will interfere in the internal affairs of Russia. In any case, after the election, changes will occur in the relations with Russia.”

17. **Evgenij Satanovsky**: President of the Russian Jewish Congress

Евгений Сатановский: президент Российского еврейского конгресса.

«**Я бы голосовал за Буша.** Чем больше демократов у власти в США, тем хуже отношения с Россией. Демократы нас так безумно любят, что готовы биться за права нашего человека до самого последнего человека.»

“I would vote for Bush. The more democrats there are in power, the worse it is for relations with Russia. The Democrats love us so madly that they are ready to fight for the rights of our people to the very last person.”

18. **Michail Shvydkoi**: Director of the Federal agency for culture and cinematography.

Михаил Швыдкой: руководитель Федерального агентства по культуре и кинематографии.

«**Я представляю себе платформу Керри и его команду, и за него будут голосовать люди, мне хорошо знакомые и симпатичные, - интеллигенция.** Но для России предпочтительнее Буш – он предсказуем и привычен.»

“I imagine myself on the platform of Kerry and his team, and people whom I know well and are nice to me – the intelligentsia, are going to vote for him. But for Russia, Bush is more preferable – He is predictable and habitual.”

19. **Eduard Topol'**: Writer, American citizen.

Эдуард Тополь: писатель, гражданин США.

«**Я пока не решил этот вопрос.** Мои знакомые американцы советуют мне голосовать за Керри. Но у меня есть время подумать, поэтому я не спешу с окончательным решением, кому отдать свой голос.»

“I still have not yet decided that question. My fellow Americans advise me to vote for Kerry. But I have time to think, therefore I am not hurrying with the final decision, to whom to give my voice.”

20. **Julij Vorontsov**: Former ambassador of Russia to the U.S.A.

Юлий Воронцов: бывший посол России в США.

«**Как ни странно, я бы отдал предпочтение Бушу.** Керри всегда был незаметным политиком, поэтому мы мало что о нём знаем. Когда я работал в Вашингтоне, то я даже не обращал внимания на какого-то сенатора Керри. Кроме того, он принадлежит к демократам. А они приставучий народ. Если его изберут президентом, то он нас замучает своими протестами по поводу прав человека и ущемления их в Чечне. А Буш в таких популистских действиях замечен не был.»

“As strange as it is, I would give my preference to Bush. Kerry was always an unknown politician, therefore we know little about him. When I worked in Washington, I did not even take notice of such a Senator Kerry. Besides that, he belongs to the Democrats. And they are a nagging people. If they elect him as President, then he is going to torture us with his protests about human rights and their infringement in Chechnya. And Bush did not take notice in such political actions.”

21. **Dmitrij Yakushkin**: Executive Director of the Russian-American affairs council.

Дмитрий Якушкин: исполнительный директор Российского-американского делового совета.

«**Лично мне симпатичнее Керри.** Он производит впечатление более ответственного, думающего и трезвого политика. А вот для России удобнее Буш – хотя бы потому, что мы с ним уже прожили четыре года. Кроме того, у Буша сложились неплохие отношения с Путиным. Да и вообще, республиканцы традиционно менее придирчивы к различным нюансам в наших двухсторонних отношениях.»

“Personally I like Kerry more. He creates the impression of a more responsible, thinking, and sober politician. But for Russia, Bush is more comfortable, because we have lived through four years with him. Besides that, Bush has developed good relations with Putin. And in general, Republicans are traditionally less nagging towards the different nuances in our bilateral relations.”

22. **Vladimir Zhirinovsky**: Leader of the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia (LDPR).

Владимир Жириновский: лидер ЛДПР.

«**За Буша. М Мы его уже знаем, и он мало вмешивается в наши дела.** А Керри заявил, что он будет заниматься Ираном, а нам это невыгодно.»

“For Bush. We already know him and he interferes little in our affairs. And Kerry stated that he will look into Iran, and that is not advantageous for us.”