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HISTORY OF RUSSIA: NATIONAL AND REGIONAL MEASUREMENT

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PATRIOTIC ACTIVITY OF THE RUSSIAN ORTHODOX CHURCH DURING GREAT PATRIOTIC WAR (1941-1945)

The work offers a historical analysis of the impact of the Russian Orthodox Church in the field of Patriotic movement during the Great Patriotic War. It is shown that in spite of three decades of persecution and exclusion the ROC actively supported the USSR Government in its efforts to defend the country from invasion with the use of all available resources. The ROC organized fundraising, supported the guerrilla movement, organized hospitals at the monasteries and helped to mobilize believers to join the fight for their Fatherland. The activities of the ROC helped to realize the necessity of normalizing relations between the ROC and the government.

Key words: *Russian Orthodox Church, I. Stalin, clergy, Church interaction, guerrilla movement.*

The Great Patriotic War was the most dramatic event in the history of Russia. Formation of patriotism through respect for the Fatherland and knowledge of history was really important. In modern conditions, when the issues of patriotic education of citizens and, first of all, of young people become really acute, formation of a respectful attitude to the history of the country, pride in the Fatherland, the study of examples of high moral and psychological mood of the people during the war is extremely important.

In this regard, the activities of the ROC in the field of strengthening patriotism are of great interest. Instead of exacerbating contradictions between the secular and the church that could have existed as a result of three decades of the state control, there was unity and the Orthodox, who made up half of the country's population joined the struggle [8. P. 51].

Metropolitan Sergius issued his message to «Pastors and faithful» the same day the German army invaded the territory of our country. In it he called on the faithful to protect the Fatherland from «fascist robbers» and urged them to believe in the victory of the Fatherland. Addressing the bishops' council in 1943 Metropolitan Sergius made the following statement about the beginning of the war:

“We did not have to hesitate what position our Church should take during the war [9. P. 7]...”.

During the first three years of the war, Metropolitan Sergius addressed the faithful more than thirty times, reflecting in his speech the key events of the struggle against fascism [4].

The position of the Orthodox Church in relation to the patriotism of believers in the USSR was of high importance to them, millions of them fought in the regular army and joined the partisan movement, continued to work in the rear. At that difficult time for the country, the clergy went to the fronts, participated in the underground movement, a significant number of soldiers and officers turned to the Orthodox faith. Many witnesses say that the Chief of the General Staff B. M. Shaposhnikov (who was colonel of the tsarist army) had the image of St. Nicholas the Wonderworker with him throughout the war. Religious feelings were repeatedly and publicly expressed by the commander of the Leningrad front, Marshal L. A. Govorov. At the end of the 1940s, on the way to the place of his service – the Odessa military district – G. Zhukov, when in Kiev, presented the Church with his “military” icon of Our Lady of Kazan [5. P. 21]. Repeatedly from the front, the command asked the clergy of the Russian Orthodox Church for materials with sermons for soldiers. In the besieged Leningrad, even in the most difficult winter, services continued in churches, which gave the faithful support and comfort. In addition, during the siege, there was an increase in religious feeling, and at the same time, prayers were added to the Liturgy for the victory of the Red Army and for the fate of the captives. Marshal L. A. Govorov also participated in such services, in particular, those held in the Nikolsky Cathedral, the command of the Leningrad front also attended and Marshal L. A. Govorov [9. P. 53]. The faithful Leningraders also resisted behind enemy lines. So, from October 1941 to April 1942, the 2nd Leningrad Special partisan brigade belonging to the intelligence Department of the headquarters of the North-Western front carried out daring raids behind enemy lines, causing huge damage to its forces.

Understanding the importance of the people's militia in the rear Metropolitan Alexy appealed to the faithful who had joined the partisan movement with a request to contribute to the victory over the enemy by all means. Through the headquarters of the partisan movement, the appeal of Metropolitan Alexy was received and distributed in the rear among the population and partisans. “Your agitlistok played a significant role among the occupied population in helping the partisans, and at the same time in the fight against fascism,” wrote a soldier of the 2nd partisan brigade A. G. Golitsyn addressing Metropolitan Alexey [8. P. 53].

The persistence and strengthening of the patriotic activity of the Church community led the enemies to a state of rage. How else can we explain the increased bombing carried out on the Easter night of 1942? On this day, the Prince Vladimir Cathedral was almost destroyed. In the ruined city, donations have steadily increased. In the winter of 1942, they exceeded 3 million rubles, of which more

than 2 million rubles went to the construction of a tank column. More than 25% by the end of 1944, the amount of donations collected by the clergy and faithful parishioners exceeded 13 million rubles [8. P. 54].

Collection of donations and their transfer to the state and the Red Army became the basis of Patriotic activities of the clergy and parishioners during the war.

On October 14, 1941, Metropolitan Sergius called upon the believers "to help our valiant defenders with work and donations," but in fact collection of material aid started earlier, in the summer of 1941, almost all parishes began collecting donations in the form of money and valuables for defense. The clergy of Gorky, Kharkiv and Saratov were particularly active. It should be noted that the parishioners of Gorky in 1942 collected and transferred to the defense Fund more than two million rubles and prepared a lot of warm clothing and shoes. The parishioners also supported the issue of cash and prize lottery, which resulted in 35,000 rubles being transferred to the defense Fund for the Red Army. In the Saratov region during 1943, the parishioners of the Russian Orthodox Church collected 2.3 million rubles, and by September 15, 1944, an additional 1.35 million rubles were collected, about half of the cost was one million rubles, about half of the amount needed to equip the Alexander Nevsky squadron with six aircrafts [1. P. 71].

During the two years of the war, despite the lack of a certain legal status, the ROC showed real strength in the fight against the fascist invaders.

On December 30, 1942, Metropolitan Sergius appealed to the faithful to raise funds for the formation of the Dmitry Donskoy tank column. This initiative was supported by the entire Russian Orthodox Church. Fundraising was also carried out behind the enemy lines, and it is necessary to note the feat of priest Fyodor Puzanov from the village of Brodovich-Zapolye, Pskov region. He managed to collect donations of about 500 thousand rubles among the faithful and transfer them to the needs of the Red Army [2. P. 6]. At the appeal of the Patriarchal Locum Tenens, Metropolitan Sergius, the clergy and parish of the Cemetery Church in Kazan collected donations in the amount of 390 thousand rubles, which were spent on the equipment of a tank column [3].

Cash transfers from the parishioners required opening of a separate state bank account, the Government assisted in such opening which required an exchange of telegrams between Stalin and Metropolitan Sergius.

As a result, Stalin started the process of establishing relations with the Church. One of the reasons (as mentioned above) was an active patriotic position of the ROC. In the conditions of changing ideological work the masses were again considered as the support of state patriotism.

The Moscow Patriarchate was also assigned the role of controlling the spontaneously reviving church life in the areas liberated from fascism in the late 1942 and early 1943. For this purpose, up to half of all bishops were sent from the Patriarchate to local parishes.

As we know, the Tehran conference was planned to be held in the autumn of 1943, it gave hope for the opening of the Second front. To influence the allies,

it was decided to use the Anglican Church, the leadership of which repeatedly asked the permission for its delegation to visit Moscow. Such a meeting would deflect a significant number of charges against the USSR for the persecution of religious activities.

A new period of religious policy pursued by the USSR Government started after the reception held by Stalin on September 4, 1943, to which the Patriarchal Locum Tenens, Metropolitan Sergius, Metropolitan Alexy of Leningrad, and the Exarch of Ukraine, Metropolitan Nicholas of Kiev and Galicia, were invited. During the meeting, Stalin said that the Government would not prevent the formation of the Holy Synod. As a result, on September 9, 1943, Sergius was elected Patriarch of Moscow and all Russia by the Council of bishops of the Orthodox Church.

A week after his enthronement, Sergius received a delegation from the Church of England, represented by Archbishop Garbett of York. At the same time, the first religious publication in the USSR, the Journal of the Moscow Patriarchate, began to be published. It was decided to resume Church education, in particular, even before the end of the war, the Council of People's Commissars decided to allow the opening of the Epiphany Institute and pastoral courses.

During the entire period of the war, the Patriarchate conducted active patriotic anti-fascist propaganda. A year before the end of the war, a tank column named after Dmitry Donskoy and a squadron named after Alexander Nevsky were built on donations from the clergy and churchgoers and sent to the front. In 1944, all parishes of the Russian Orthodox Church collected the total amount of about 200 million rubles [11. P. 52]. Kazan and Ayu clergy and laity have also contributed to the defense of the country. During the period from 1942 to 1944, they've collected 1.821.7 thousand rubles and about 4 pounds of gold [3].

The amount of cash collected each year was constantly growing. However, of particular importance was the collection of donations to the Fund which assisted children and families of soldiers, which was launched in October 1944. On October 10, 1944, in a letter to Stalin, Metropolitan Alexy, who headed the Russian Orthodox Church after the death of Sergius, wrote: «The care of the faithful for the children and families of our defenders will make their great feat easier, and will unite us with even closer spiritual ties with those who do not spare their blood for the sake of freedom and prosperity of our Fatherland [10. P. 2].

It is impossible to list all that the clergy did to raise the patriotic spirit during the war. We should also note the anti-fascist appeals sent by the Orthodox clergy to the captured peoples of other countries, as well as the Message "Condemnation of traitors to the faith and Fatherland" issued by the Bishops' Council on September 8, 1943. The temples of the frontline zone gave shelter to the elderly and children and organized there medical and dressing stations. During the retreat in the early years of the war many parishes began to take care of the wounded left behind the enemy lines. The clergy together with their parishioners took part in the construction of trenches and air defense activities, and at the same time

performed their direct duty comforting the faithful who lost their relatives and family members, as well as their homes. In the rear the priests urged the faithful to go to work on collective farms left in the villages in a situation of almost complete demobilization.

During the war, the clergy often combined service with work in medical institutions in particular, hospitals were established in a significant number of monasteries, which were fully served by monastics.

Such hospitals appeared in the territories liberated from the invaders immediately after liberation, for example, in November 1943, Pokrovsky Convent organized a hospital on its own in Kiev, in which the abbesses and sisters served as nurses and orderlies. The Convent has repeatedly received commendations for the high-quality care of the wounded, and its Abbess Archelai was awarded a government award – the Order for active work in the field of patriotism. The abbess of the Odessa Mikhailovsky Convent Anatolia (Bugach) was awarded the medal “For valiant labor during the Great Patriotic War” for her efforts in supplying the Army with everything necessary – clothing and shoes, medicines, and food.

However, some of the actions of the clergy met with resistance, for example, Bishop Luke (Voyno-Yasenetsky), who occupied the post of chief surgeon of the evacuation hospital, began each operation with a prayer and was criticized for this by G. Karpov, who even sent a corresponding petition to Metropolitan Sergius on May 4, 1944 with a request to take measures and “influence” the bishop. However, it was Bishop Luke who received the Stalin Prize for his fundamental work “Essays on purulent surgery,” most of the prize bishop has donated to help orphaned children [12. P. 330].

The government recognized the contribution of the Church and repeatedly awarded the clergy and monastics for their deeds. G. Karpov in his report to the Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU(b) A. A. Kuznetsov on the status of the ROC, dated 27 August 1946, cited numerous occasions when the clergy and monastics were awarded orders and medals of the Great Patriotic War, in particular, it was stated that the priest Packs (Tatar ASSR) was awarded the Order of the Red Star, the archdeacon Zverev and deacon Chitkul (Crimean region) – each received several medals. Over 40 representatives of the clergy received awards, including such as the medals “For the Defense of Leningrad,” “For the Defense of Moscow,” more than 50 representatives of the clergy were awarded for work in the rear with such medal as “For valiant labor during the Great Patriotic War,” several of the received medals “Partisan of the Great Patriotic War” [6. P. 57-58].

We can conclude that the Second World War did not increase the differences between the state and the Church. At the same time, it was the clergy who became the mainstay of the patriotic movement, strengthened mobilization by personal example and spent a lot of energy and money to repel the enemy. This position of the ROC contributed not only to the growth of religiosity during the war among the civilian population and military personnel, but also created moral conditions

for the victory. All this, in the end, contributed to a change in the Soviet government religious policy.

And today, despite the formal separation of the Church from the state, it plays a major role in all spheres of society and the state, being an important factor in the functioning of our country, which cannot be ignored. Therefore, a well-balanced state policy in the religious sphere is necessary, since this reality directly concerns each of us. The Church, in turn, must meet the conditions of today's difficult life and give spiritual guidance to millions of people in our country, especially young people.

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FOOD AND DRINKS IN THE EVERYDAY LIFE OF A PROVINCIAL NOBLE FAMILY (ACCORDING TO THE DIARY OF THE SERVANT IN THE FAMILY OF URAL LANDOWNERS GOLUBTSOVS IN THE YEARS FROM 1872 TO 1875)

Based on the published Diary of a servant in the family of the Ural landowners Golubtsovs, the author reconstructs the food culture of noble provincial families in the 1870s. The family lived at an estate located in the Perm province. The Diary describes the menu, ingredients of food and drinks, etc. The food culture of the noble family combined traditions of the Russian, French and English cuisines, that were considered integral parts of everyday life of the provincial gentry.

Key words: *the Golubtsovs, food culture, provincial noble estate, Perm province, Ural, nobility, gastronomic culture.*

The food system as a mandatory attribute of everyday life, despite the seeming periphery of the topic, has become a subject of study for specialists in various fields who consider gastronomic culture as a complex phenomenon, a symbolic system, a cultural code of national identity [1. P. 47-54; 2. P. 80-92; 3. P. 201-205; 9. P. 149-155; 5. P. 373-379; 6. P. 54-75; 7. P. 183-185; 8. P. 7-16]. Eating is a process that is necessary to maintain the physiological component of the human body. It is something that happens several times a day, something that is often not realized, becomes routine, ordinary, everyday, which is actually the basis of everyday practices and represents “sustainable lifestyles.” But, as T. Y. Zagryazkina correctly pointed out, “the boundaries of everyday life are not clearly defined, although it is believed that its antithesis as a routine and everyday phenomenon is something exclusive and festive,” although the everyday and festive, routine and exclusive are concepts that are “interconnected and changeable [9. P. 150]”. Therefore, it is no accident that such experts in the field of everyday life history as K. Levi-Strauss, F. Braudel, M. de Serto and others in their authoritative works paid attention to food as a sign system and an obligatory element of material life.

The problem of the source base for reconstructing the practice of food culture of different classes is solved in different ways: literary, artistic works, sto-

ries, impressions, cookbooks, works of cooks, and, finally, documents of personal origin: memories, letters and diaries can be taken the basis. Turning to such a published source as the Diary of Matvey Andreev, servant of the Ural landowners Golubtsovs, allows us to consider how the food system was organized in a middle-class noble family living in an estate located in the Perm province, near the County town of Krasnoufimsk in the estate of the village of Alexandrovskoye in the 1870s [4. P. 400].

Matvey Andreev's diary contains daily entries from 1872 to 1875, that is, for three years and 5 months, and for one day on June 24, 1876, about events that took place in the estate of Vladimir Platonovich Golubtsov (1832-1887), a collegiate adviser, Zemstvo figure, honorary majistrate, who in 1864 moved to the Urals to his family estate together with his family: his wife, lady Varvara Alexandrovna, nee Polovtseva (1836-1890) and children, young gentlemen: Vladimir (1856-1892) and Alexander (1858-?).

The Golubtsovs were service nobility, members of this family held important posts in the state and military service and were related to the famous ancient high-ranking clans of nobility, who have made a significant contribution to the cultural, political and economic development of individual provinces of the Russian Empire. Six generations of this family owned land in Perm province, the Ural region, from the second half of the XVIII century.

In addition to other carefully recorded events, Matvey Andreev in his Diary paid special attention to the table: who, what and at what time ate. It might be that the main range of Matvey's duties was associated with the master's table: he was supposed to set, serve, clear the table. Perhaps this was his favorite activity, so the Diary carefully recorded time of each meal.

From the Diary it becomes clear that in that noble family, the meal time was not clearly defined, and if it was, it was not observed. Breakfast, as a rule, was in the time interval from 10 a.m. to 1p.m., most often-at 11 a.m. Breakfast at 10 a.m. was considered early and was caused, as a rule, by the pre-planned trips either on business to the county town of Krasnoufimsk or a departure from the estate for a long time. For example, on March 16, 1874, Vladimir Platonovich had breakfast at 10 a.m. and left the estate at 11 a.m. At 10 a.m. he had breakfast on September 17 and 18, 1875, after which he went to the district town of Krasnoufimsk for meetings of the district Assembly, of which he was the Chairman [4. P. 224-225, 364-365]. The latest breakfast was at 1 p.m. An entry for November 29, 1873 reads: "Master had breakfast at 1 p.m." [4. P. 201].

There were days when there was no breakfast at all, in particular, on June 24, 1873 because guests were invited to a festive dinner and on July 29, 1875 because an early lunch was planned on the occasion of a trip to the city of Krasnoufimsk [4. P. 166, 349].

Before breakfast, as a rule, the landowner and members of his family had time to do something: visit the Church and attend the services [4. P. 201, 251,

253, 343, 352, 254, 367, 363], go to the fields for the harvest, to the glass factory or a barn yard (depending on the time of year) [4. P. 96, 108, 175, 253, 343, 251], in good weather, they went for a swim [4. P. 248, 249].

The lunch time was not clearly defined either and often an early lunch was instead of breakfast or a late lunch replaced dinner. The earliest lunch time was 11 a.m., it's mentioned on March 7, 1875 [4. P. 310]. The dinner time depended on what the inhabitants of the estate were doing. From November to March, lunch was served early: at 12 noon, 1 or 2 p.m., in particular, this is reflected in the entries for January 4 and 5, February 17 and 23, March 8, 10 and 19, 1875 [4. P. 283, 284, 300, 302, 310, 311, 315]. The entry for January 25, 1875, clearly states that "Master ordered an early lunch at 12 noon [4. P. 290]".

During the busy period of household chores from April to October, the lunch time was moved to a later period: 3, 4 or even 5 p.m., in particular, this was recorded on May 19, 14, 20, 23, August 6, and September 25, 1872, February 9, 1874, June 20, 24, July 14, 18, August 7, 8, September 9, 1875, etc. [4. P. 79, 105, 108, 109, 112, 118, 215, 338, 347, 356, 357, 362]. And, finally, the dinner could be quite late, so, for example, on August 11, 1872, they dined at 9 p.m. [4. P. 104]. As a rule, the late dinners were caused by trips to the city or household chores at the estate. There were situations when plans suddenly changed: for example, on August 10, 1872, the Golubtsovs had breakfast at 11 a.m., planned to have lunch at 2 p.m., but at 12.30 p.m. guests from Krasnoufimsk arrived, and all together, including the servants, they went to the fields to pick berries. Matvey Andreev wrote in his Diary: "At 2.30 p.m., our lady, the magistrate's wife and his two children went to pick cherries in a carriage. An hour later our carriage started with Vladi [mir] Vlad [imirovich], Alek [sandr] Vlad [imirovich] and Kerber, Natalia; in the cart: Fekla, Pasha, Lisa, a two-bucket bottle of water, a samovar and carpets, everything was taken. An hour later, nanny and I went to Nikitin's log with the tea things. We arrived [at] 4 p.m., put a samovar in a row, and drank tea. The master and[o] Svedomsky arrived there and also drank tea." We dined on our return at 9p.m. [4]".

As the records show, Master always dined, unlike other members of his family, who, because of the late dinner, had only tea. Only once the author of the Diary noted that on September 13, 1873, V. P. Golubtsov arrived in the county town of Kungur at 1 a.m., did not have dinner or drink tea and went to bed [4. P. 184]".

On February 5, 1874, at a quarter past one, the Perm Governor N. E. Andreevsky arrived at the estate. Despite the late hour he dined in the green room [4. P. 214]. At 8 p.m., V. P. Golubtsov dined on January 29, February 13, March 8, March 17, 1875 [4. P. 292, 299, 310, 315], however, most often his dinner was from 9 to 10 p.m.: this time is recorded on November 1 and 16, 1873, February 20 and 28, 1874, March 3 and 9, June 30, July 25, 1875, and other days [4. P. 199, 195, 219, 222, 308, 310, 341, 348].

Meals in the Golubtsov family did not always take place in a close family circle. Most often, guests took part in the meals, guests were representatives of

the local Krasnoufimsk district society and members of their families: a bailiff, a lawyer, a magister, surveyors, a district doctor, etc. Representatives of the provincial administration also stayed at the estate: Perm Governor Nikolai Efimovich Andreevsky twice visited the estate: in February 1873 and February 1874, Perm Vice-Governor Vladimir Andreevich Lysogorsky also twice spent the night at the estate: in July 1872 and July 1875 [4. P. 137, 213, 214, 94, 345, 346]. Moreover, it seems that there were always some guests staying at the manor, and cases of their absence were rare: for example, the author in his records for May 21, 1872 wrote that “there were no strangers at the breakfast.” Similar entries we see on August 15 and 17, 1872 “no strangers for breakfast or lunch,” on August 19 and September 30, 1872 “no strangers for lunch” [4. P. 80, 106, 107, 119]. When the family left the estate and Master was left alone, he dined with the nanny.

Tea and coffee enjoyed special attitude in the noble family. The day began and ended with these drinks, tea and coffee were drunk in between the meals, tea from the samovar was drunk during trips to nature, tea or coffee finished breakfast, lunch and dinner. Tea was drunk in warm weather on the balcony and in cool or cold weather – in the rooms. Practically every day, the author made entries in his Diary, noting: tea, coffee. Sometimes, instead of coffee, he wrote tea twice, which indicates that the meal was delayed and it was necessary to re-brew and pour tea. But the author never mentioned what was served with tea or coffee.

As a rule, the author did not specify the composition of dishes for breakfast and dinner, but noticed that the quality of food was excellent. For example, on July 17, 1872, Vice-Governor V. A. Lysogorsky had breakfast that “was very good” and after which a dessert was served “in the green room, where they ate raspberries and strawberries with sour cream [4. P. 94]”. Only once Matvey Andreev described breakfast that was served on July 21, 1875 to the above-mentioned Perm Vice-Governor V. A. Lysogorsky and the provincial engineer who accompanied him. Breakfast consisted of the following dishes: “a bowl of broth, cold roast beef, cold turkey, cheese, butter, asparagus, fried chicken, cucumber salad and garden berries with sugar and cream.” “Lysogorsky liked it very much,” said Matvey Andreev [4. P. 346]. As you see, breakfast was quite heavy, it included several dishes and dessert. Broth with “chicken” was served for breakfast on July 05, 1872 to the recovering Vladimir Golubtsov. From the text it becomes clear that such a breakfast was modest and not complete, but on the same day the young master dined with everyone: “He ate everything that was served on the table” [4. P. 91].

Lunch was also a heavy meal of several courses and a dessert. Soups were a mandatory component. From the text, we see that there could be traditional Russian soups or French vegetable soup *prentagnier*, fish soup, crawfish soup or even just “pure broth” without ingredients. The main dishes were fish, meat or poultry. Moreover, both fish and meat were served simultaneously. Fish was fried, stewed or used for pies. They ate sterlet, muksun, nelma, sardines or “sea”

fish. Fish was bought at fairs, in shops or stores of the district city of Krasnoufimsk. The Diary has records that its author and the cook caught fish in rivers and lakes, including pike, bream, perch, but it is impossible to say for sure whether this fish was used for food. One can only make a guess about this. Meat – pork and beef – was stewed and fried. Records show that meat, as well as fish was purchased at fairs, in stores and shops. They used chicken, geese and turkey cooked in various ways. Traditional Russian pies occupied a special place, they were always on the table and included several “varieties.” Another mandatory element was vegetables: asparagus, cauliflower, etc. in the manner of European cuisine. The menu included all sorts of sauces and salads made from vegetables, usually radishes and cucumbers. For dessert, they prepared dry cakes, ice cream: fruit, cream, or strawberry. In summer they ate berries grown in the garden: strawberries and raspberries with sugar and cream, grapes. Thus, on August 6, 1873, the guests came from Krasnoufimsk, and they “ate berries, grapes, and cakes on the balcony [4. P. 176]”. Another sweet treat was jam, which was made by the lady, Varvara Alexandrovna, herself from the berries grown in the garden: raspberries, strawberries, black and white currants [4. P. 94, 96, 103]. Jam was probably served with tea. There was a special attitude to gingerbread: it was baked and eaten on Church holidays, distributed to all employees and residents of the estate in the courtyard of the manor.

Here are different versions of dishes served at lunch: thus, on February 9, 1874, lunch “was as follows: soup, pancakes, boiled nelma, roast goose, pies, jam” [4. P. 215]. On December 4, 1874, V. P. Golubtsov had lunch with magistrate I. A. Svedomskiy and bailiff K. G. Sebyakin. They were served: “sturgeon soup, pie with fresh sturgeon and muksun, aspic fish, beef stew, fried fish, fresh [e] muksun, champagne, cake, strawberry jam [4. P. 274]”. On December 15, 1874, Master had a very bad toothache, but the dinner, however, took place, Vladimir Platonovich sat at the table with a certain Petrov, they were served: “crawfish soup, veal cutlets, roast beef, cake, jam. Master could not eat anything, his teeth were very sore [4. P. 276]”. On June 15, 1875, on the occasion of Master’s name day, he invited guests. Here’s how the author of the Diary described the event: “They ate on the balcony at 4 o’clock: soup patenier [so in the document, it should be: printanier – M. L.], asparagus, pies of three varieties, roast beef, mayonnaise, fish, grilled chicken, salad, sliced light-salted and fresh cucumbers, cake, two varieties of ice cream: vanilla and strawberry. The food was all cooked to taste. After lunch we served coffee and tea and more tea [4. P. 344]”. On January 5, 1875, lean lunch was served at 1 p.m. But Matvey Andreev wrote: “at half past four, the police officer Paltov arrived from Perm. I served him half-lunch: broth, cutlets, and sardines as an appetizer. He ate it all with great appetite [4. P. 284]”.

The noble family strictly observed fasts and during these periods ate exclusively lean food. So, on February 12, 1874, the author of the Diary was sent to the store “with an instruction to buy lean food, fish, etc.”, M. Andreev wrote [4. P. 217].

They also ate mushrooms picked by family members: thus, on August 3, 1874, “the nanny, Alex [andr] Vladimirovich, the cook, Lisa and three clerks and Olga – the cook went to pick porcini and milk mushrooms. The cook found 15 pieces, Lisa-2, Olga-3, and baskets were supplemented with milk mushrooms [4. P. 248]”. The author of the Diary noted that on June 24, 1876 “lunch was cooked from mushrooms and fish” [4. P. 366].

Finally, the family consumed food produced on the estate: cheese, butter, sour cream, eggs. For example, Vladimir Platonovich ate for dinner eggs soft-boiled on a samovar [4. P. 353, 367].

The family drank alcoholic beverages, both traditional Russian beverages, like honey, home-made liqueur and vodka, and European beverages. On holidays, they always drank champagne, white sweet French wine Chateau-Ikem, white fortified wine sherry, Madeira, liqueur, and maraschino. On January 19, 1874, Master had guests, they dined and drank “two bottles of foreign red wine,” [4. P. 209] on December 3, 1873, in the evening, Vice-Governor V. A. Lysogorsky “sat with Master until 3 a.m., they had dinner and drank one bottle of “Chateau and Clicquot” at the price of 3 rubles [4. P. 202]”.

Food was cooked in the kitchen, located in a separate wing, by at least three persons: the cook, Olga-the cook and the pastry chef. Olga’s exact duties as a cook are not defined by the author, except for the nickname indicating that she performed them, but it is indicated that, in addition to the main work, she went to pick berries and mushrooms with other servants, participated in holidays (riding horses, etc.), mass gatherings in the manor yard on the occasion of various events (saw off / met the master, etc.).

The pastry chef, most likely, was from the former serfs: the text says that he had his own house, bath, garden, and in October 1873, his bath was robbed. He had relatives in Kiev: a certain “Vasilyevna” worked with him in the manor house (unfortunately, it was not possible to establish a more precise name and position). On July 29, 1872, she received a letter from Kiev with the news of the death of a certain Erast, who bequeathed 1000 rubles to the pastry chef in the Kiev Bank.

During the period covered by the Diary, the Golubtsovs changed two cooks. The first cook, Afanasy Timofeyevich, served for at least three years. His last name, unfortunately, could not be established, so we have information about him only from the Diary. In addition to his immediate duties, he loved to hunt, often he accompanied Master’s children with guns around the neighborhood in search of various kinds of game (“Alexander Vladimirovich and the cook went to Achitskaya mountain and killed two black crows with both guns in one shot. ... The cook went to the bushes under the Cossack mountains to spend the night, but did not kill anything. ... The cook spent the night at the Smirnov Bush and killed two drakes of the Shiloh-tailed breed. ... The gentlemen went with the cook to the Stone log, killed a Mallard duck”), fished, helped with the household: in particular, he took care of the cattle during the epidemic and mass pestilence of 1873).

He caught thieves together with other servants, watched that strangers did not fish in the lake, accompanied the gentlemen for berries and mushrooms, making preparations. In February 1874, the cook and the employees of the estate had a conflict that turned into a fight. The case ended in a trial in the master's house, the latter did not defend the cook, apparently, it was not the only case when something happened to him. Eventually, Afanasy Timofeevich was dismissed and, according to fragmentary information, went to Perm to look for a job. The new chef was brought by Vladimir Platonovich Golubtsov on his return from a trip to the capital or the Central provinces. The author of the Diary met the new cook Semyon in Perm on June 18, 1875, when he went to meet his Master: "They also showed me the new cook Semyon, with whom I moved all things [4. P. 337]".

Despite his complicated character Afanasy Timofeyevich, apparently, knew his business very well and cooked very well. Both he and the pastry chef were often asked by the County officials to prepare treats for home celebrations. In particular, on February 1, 1873, the cook went to Krasnoufimsk to prepare a table for the wedding of the official Ksenz Nagrodsky, the author of the Diary himself served at the event, both returned back to the estate only on February 3 [4. P. 133, 134]. On January 12, 1874, the chef prepared a festive dinner for 18 persons on the occasion of the close of the regular session of the provincial Assembly of the County of Krasnoufimsk. The next day, January 13, 1874, he was again sent to Krasnoufimsk to prepare snacks: "80 sandwiches: 1st grade with veal, 2nd – with roast beef, 3rd – with ham, 4 – with cheese. In addition, there was cheese, butter and caviar as appetizers. Vodka more than ¼ buckets, sherry, liqueurs, red wine – all cleaned up, 2 bottles of champagne – finished," wrote Matvey Andreev. On October 10, 1873, the cook was again instructed "in the morning tomorrow to prepare for assessors." Matvey wrote: "On October 11, I started with the cutlery at half past eleven. I arrived at noon, went to Shavkunov's shop, bought caviar, sardines, oil of Provence, Swiss cheese from Sorokin, Madeira, red wine, white wine from Bedlinski's cellar, sherry and champagne from Shchegolkov, and I brought all this to Yumashev. There, I sorted the dishes (the box I took from the estate) and set the table. And by 3 o'clock, the cook's breakfast was ready. I went to the police station and let Master know that it was ready." On January 24, 1874, the cook was sent to Krasnoufimsk to Yumashev "to prepare dishes. Tomorrow is his birthday" [4. P. 208]. On August 11, 1875, the cook went to prepare a festive dinner at the Krasnoufimsky Real School [4. P. 354].

Finally, on July 9, 1873, both the cook and the pastry chef were invited to prepare treats for Grand Duke Alexey Alexandrovich during his stop at Achit station. Here's how it happened: "... we set to work. The cook was busy with his work, and we – with the arrangement of dishes. At half past five, Pavel and the gardener arrived with berries and bouquets ... We laid out berries, bouquets. The cook made burettes on 5 plates. And at 10 o'clock Prince Alexey Alexander[ovich] arrived and washed himself. The samovar was placed on the table. His man made

the coffee, and I made the tea and the Prince himself poured the coffee and tea, and the Governor drank with him, and the adjutant. Then the Prince ate some pastry cookies. After that, he ate a sandwich. After that, he ate 10 strawberries with fine sugar, praised them. ... And when the Grand Duke was drinking coffee, I watched what he would eat: he took 2 cookies and ate them..." [4. P. 168-169].

Perm officials carefully prepared for the meeting with the Grand Duke: on the eve of July 6, a bailiff from the Governor himself came to the Golubtsovs "to ask for dishes and silver for the Prince". The dishes were really impressive, "the Prince studied the dishes and asked the Governor: "whose dishes should this be?" The Governor said that they were our dishes. In short, the Prince was satisfied with the entire reception and stayed for an hour. Then he left," wrote Matvey Andreev [4].

The Golubtsovs also took their dishes to the County town of Krasnoufimsk to organize gala dinners on the occasion of the opening/closing of County Assembly meetings. In some cases, the author of the Diary recorded what cutlery he put on the table, for example, he wrote that guests who came to see his Master on October 28, 1873, dined from the "blue, Kiev" dishes [4. P. 194]. From the Property inventory we know that the Golubtsovs, in addition to the mentioned silver dishes, had sets with the family coat of arms.

Thus, the system of catering in the provincial landowner family in the Urals combined Russian and European traditions, adopted from the capital's rich landlords and imported to the far Perm province. Various dishes of Russian, French and English cuisine were prepared from natural products grown on their own estate. Despite the frequency of events related to the food culture, we cannot talk about a clearly accepted regime and a single meal time. We cannot say either that the noble family limited themselves in food, on the contrary, the simultaneous reception of various dishes: soups, fish and meat, and desserts, indicated to a very dense diet, whether it was breakfast, lunch or dinner, regardless of whether it was a holiday or an ordinary weekday. As evidenced by Matvey Andreev, the Golubtsovs very rarely ate in a close family circle: as a rule, there were some "strangers" at the estate, and the accepted traditions of hospitality did not allow not to treat people who came to the estate. So, the cook always had to be ready at any time to serve a snack, or put on the table as many dishes as necessary, so that everyone was fed. Perhaps it is this uncertainty that has led to the fact that every meal in the Golubtsovs' house was a rich feast.

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INFLUENCE OF THE POLISH UPRISING OF 1830-1831 ON THE TURN IN RELATION OF OFFICIAL PETERSBURG TO THE POLISH QUESTION

The article is devoted to the characteristics of the main principles of the policy of the Russian Imperial Government regarding the Kingdom of Poland before the uprising of 1830-1831, when the Constitutional Charter was in effect, and after it, when it came to the introduction of martial law. The author sees the essence of this turn in the fact that before the uprising of 1830-1831, the Russian authorities included the Polish gentry among the political and cultural elite of the Russian Empire, assigning it the role of “locomotive” in the process of rapprochement of Russia with Western European civilization. The article emphasizes that the main state task – to unite the Slavic peoples, incorporate the Polish lands into the Russian Empire and make its population citizens of the Russian Empire in the absence of the poles’ ability to have an independent sovereign state was resolved on fundamentally different grounds after the uprising. The implementation of the unification program acquired the character of a necessity to submit to the existing law, to the state and the Emperor. It is shown that the uprising also changed the attitude of public opinion in Russia to the problem of participation of poles in the all-Russian affairs. The problem is personified and viewed through the prism of such personalities as Emperor Alexander I, Prince A. Czartoryski, Emperor Nicholas I, General Field Marshal I. F. Paskiewich, Prince of Warsaw and Count of Erivan.

Key words: Kingdom of Poland, Constitutional Charter, Union of Slavic peoples, revolt of 1830-1831, Organic Statute, martial law, Alexander I, A. Czartoryski, Nicholas I, I. F. Paskiewich.

One of the most difficult issues in the political history of Russia was the issue of interethnic relations. It is even more difficult for a Westerner to understand it. It is very difficult even to translate it, say, into English, because it acquires a different meaning – a meaning of international relations. The main problem is that

the relations between peoples and countries are mixed in one issue, and it is very difficult to separate these aspects from each other. Meanwhile, this issue remains the most important for understanding in Russian history at the present time.

Echoes of the Russian-Polish confrontation of several centuries are still felt in the sharpened historical memory of our peoples [6. P. 317; 7. P. 320]. The Polish people did not have an independent sovereign state after the partition of 1795. In 1815-1917, the Kingdom of Poland was part of the Russian Empire as its constituent part.

In history there are three major anti-Russian rebellions of the poles: in 1794, in 1830-1831 and in 1863. The most notorious case was the first uprising associated with the famous names of T. Kostyushko and A. V. Suvorov. The third uprising caused the most heated discussions in Russia, in a sense, it even split the public opinion and marked a twist in the attitude of the St. Petersburg authorities to the Polish question. Such turn occurred in connection with the events of 1830 and its essence that before the uprising of 1830-1831, the Russian authorities included the Polish gentry among the political and cultural elite of the Russian Empire, assigning it the role of “locomotive” in the process of bringing Russia closer to the West European civilization and classical culture, as well as contributing to the material well-being of the Polish population. But after the 1830 uprising, the vector changed. The former task certainly remained – to unite the Slavic peoples, to incorporate the Polish lands into the Russian Empire and make its population citizens of the Russian Empire, but it has acquired the character of a necessity to submit to the existing law, to the state and the Emperor.

This turn was personified by such personalities as the Emperor Alexander Pavlovich and Prince Adam Czartoryski, on the one hand, and the Emperor Nicholas Pavlovich and Count Ivan Fedorovich Paskiewich, on the other.

Alexander I openly declared himself a friend of the poles, viewing in the Slavic origin of the poles a guarantee of unity with Russia. After defeating Napoleon, he achieved the decision of the Vienna Congress of 1815 that the Duchy of Warsaw (its main part) would forever join the Russian Empire, and by virtue of its Constitution would be inseparable from Russia for all time. His Majesty added the title of Tsar (King) of Poland to his existing titles [4]. Alexander “granted” a special Constitutional Charter to the Kingdom of Poland, according to which it was recognized as a separate (Autonomous) state united with Russia by a personal Union, with a separate Treasury and a separate army [1]. Residents of the Kingdom of Poland took an oath of allegiance to Alexander Pavlovich, the Emperor of the Russian Empire.

As a rule, describing the Constitutional Charter of 1815 as the most liberal at that time in Europe [2. P. 416], researchers and publicists pay attention to the rights given to the Polish society, to the proclamation of the provision that the Polish people would have a people’s representation in perpetuity – the Sejm, which was to be convened once every 2 years for a period of 20 days. Russian

Emperor and the Sejm, however, were not to ignore the fact that the legislative power was exercised jointly by the Russian Emperor and the Sejm, because the Sejm consisted of the Tsar and two chambers, and that the Russian Emperor, as the Polish king, had all the executive power. He had the right to determine the budget of Poland, to postpone the convocation of the Polish Sejm for an indefinite time and finally to appoint and recall the Governor, who was to remain in the Kingdom of Poland in the absence of the central government. The Governor played a major role in the implementation of the executive power. The highest governmental institution was the State Council, which consisted of the Administrative Council and the General Assembly, and the Governor was the Chairman of the Administrative Council. The implementation of the principle of Personal Union assumed that the representative of the Imperial dynasty – the Grand Duke of the Russian Empire – would be appointed Governor, but the Charter indicated that this could also be a local native. Everyone expected Alexander I to appoint Prince Adam Czartoryski as his Deputy. The young Prince Adam Czartoryski was the son of an influential Polish nobleman, he became a confidant even before the accession of Alexander and for many years remained one of the closest associates of the Emperor. A. Czartoryski was a member of the Secret Committee that developed the program for the transformation of the country, and later he became the Minister of Foreign Affairs. Thanks to his powerful influence, the entire educational system in the Western region – as we would now say, in the disputed territories – was under the supervision of representatives of Polish culture. It was Polonized to an extent that was not even seen in the times of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. However, Alexander appointed General Jozef Zayonchek, who did not prove to be a great historical figure, as Governor. The head of the Russian military forces in the territory of the Kingdom of Poland was Emperor's brother, Grand Duke Konstantin Pavlovich, he became the real "Vice-Tsar," without whom Yu. Zayonchek, who remained Governor until his death in 1826, did not take any serious step [5. P. 446]. The military were disappointed in their expectations, but it was not the Constitution that was the main reason for the uprising of 1830, as confirmed by an active participant M. Mokhnatsky [8]. The poles did not associate the struggle for defending their constitutional rights with the struggle of the Decembrists against the autocracy in Russia, although the general movement of the Decembrists included "The society of United Slavs," they did not support the Decembrists. Colloquially, this uprising was called the war between Russia and Poland over Lithuania.

After the suppression of the uprising, a significant part of its participants led by Adam Czartoryski emigrated mainly to France and England. A new uprising was prepared and an attempt to begin it was undertaken in 1833, this can be mainly connected with the activities of Yuri Zalivsky.

Before the uprising, Emperor Nicholas Pavlovich was loyal to the rights of his Polish subjects as he was crowned by the Polish Crown in Warsaw and solemnly

swore to the Constitution of 1815. After the uprising of 1830-1831, he deemed himself free from any obligations assumed in connection with the Constitution of 1815. He declared that the Kingdom of Poland as a country conquered by Russian arms constituted one of the parts of the Russian Empire and was to be governed on the basis of an Organic Statute, which, however, left significant political rights to the Polish population in comparison with Russia as a whole. Despite the dissolution of the Sejm, the Administrative Council headed by the Governor did not lose its importance, the State Council was preserved, the irremovability of judges was preserved, and the principle of electability of many positions was preserved [4]. But after a new attempt to raise a revolt headed by Yuri Zalizvsky, Nicholas I did not put the Organic Statute into effect, but imposed martial law, which was in effect until 1856.

The personification of the new management system was one of the greatest military figures in our history, a man represented on the monument commemorating the 1000th anniversary of Russia in Veliky Novgorod, a man who was awarded all the Orders of the Russian Empire, including all four degrees of the Order of St. George (there are only four such personalities in the history of Russia) – Field Marshal Ivan Fedorovich Paskiewich, Prince of Warsaw, Count of Erivan. He suppressed the revolt of 1830-1831 and pacified Poland, as they said at that time and he was appointed Governor of the Kingdom of Poland. He was also the commander-in-chief of the Active army. The system of government was based on the confidence of Nicholas I in the Field Marshal, who remained Vice-roy in the Kingdom of Poland until his death in January 1856.

The peculiarity of management in the conditions of martial law was that a special military administration functioned along with the civil administration. The University of Warsaw, as well as the University of Vilna were closed and the Imperial University of St. Vladimir in Kiev appeared, as well as law courses in Poland, Moscow and St. Petersburg. In 1839, a special educational district was established, subordinate to the Ministry of Public Education of the Russian Empire. In 1834, an Orthodox diocese was founded in the Kingdom of Poland.

In general, the policy of the Paskiewich era, perceived by poles as a dark period, was characterized by the following trends.

An important direction of work was associated with the stratification of Polish subjects outside the historical area of residence and their involvement in the public service. In addition, strict legal regulation of marriages between poles and Russians become a reality. It was a mandatory to raise common children in Orthodoxy, and this was a big obstacle to the inter-confessional marriages. Society did not encourage such marriages. Meanwhile it was the descendants of mixed marriages who made up the majority of Orthodox poles in the Russian Empire.

We would like to draw attention to the colonization of land in Poland by Russians. The government has activated such forms as grants (with the rights of conditional holding or ownership), preferential land sales and voluntary or even forced relocation.

As a result of many-sided activities aimed at “pacifying” the region, the goal was achieved – it was a period of peaceful progressive development, although it did not mean great success in bringing the Russian and Polish peoples closer together. In subsequent periods, on the basis of the achieved reconciliation, the official authorities of the Russian Empire developed and implemented other programs, but the policy characteristic of the first quarter of the XIX century, which was described by the slogan “Let’s turn our face to Poland,” was no longer in force.

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ACTIVITIES OF NATIONAL CULTURAL ASSOCIATIONS OF THE KRASNOYARSK TERRITORY FOR THE PRESERVATION AND DEVELOPMENT OF ETHNIC AND CULTURAL TRADITIONS

The article deals with topical issues of development of national cultural centers of the Krasnoyarsk territory in modern conditions. The preservation of history, culture and traditions is the most important feature of an ethnic group, so it is very important, especially in a multi-ethnic environment, such as Russian society, to objectively study the problem of preserving culture and unity of each people. The national policy of modern Russia is aimed at maintaining and developing the multicultural history of our country.

Key words: national culture, ethnocultural associations, traditions, customs, language, diaspora, national politics.

In modern Russia, transformative processes aimed at preserving and developing national and ethno-cultural centers and associations are taking place. Their key functions are to preserve the spiritual identity of citizens of different ethnic groups and nationalities, as well as to stabilize interethnic relations. The main direction is unity of representatives of the national diaspora, creation of conditions for the use of cultural values with the account for ethnic traditions and needs, preservation of native language and traditional forms of leisure.

Currently, due to the processes of globalization, there is an urgent need to preserve and develop traditional culture and public organizations in all regions of the Russian Federation where representatives of different nationalities reside compactly. In general, national-cultural organizations are supported by all levels of government.

The process of formation of national-cultural associations was initiated by the perestroika policy. Various movements, parties and associations began to form in the Krasnoyarsk territory. Today, officially registered organizations are:

- Krasnoyarsk regional Finnish national cultural society “Ingria”;
- Krasnoyarsk regional voluntary society of Estonian culture “Eesti”;

- regional society of Latvian culture “Dzintars”;
- regional society of Russian Germans “Vozrozhdenie”;
- national and cultural autonomy “Dom Polski”;
- regional society of Lithuanian culture “Lituanika”.

“Dzintars.” One of the first national cultural centers was the Krasnoyarsk regional Latvian cultural society “Dzintars” (Amber) established in November 1990. A. K. Leylas, co-Chairman of the Krasnoyarsk Memorial society, became its leader. Since 1993, the society was headed by the Professor of Krasnoyarsk Academy Y. A. Mai, and in 2001 – a former design engineer A. D. Vanzant. From the beginning of its existence, “Dzintars” began to lead an active and busy life. The main goal was to establish cultural and business ties and study cultural, historical and spiritual values, traditions and lifestyle of the Latvian people, as well as their native language. Already at the early stages of formation, work in these areas was carried out under the leadership of Erna Churakova. Every year, the society organizes national celebrations, such as Latvia’s Independence Day (November 18) and Jan’s day-Ligo (June 23-24), celebrations are accompanied by dances, songs around the fire and ceremonial Ligo treats [4. P. 197-198].

Krasnoyarsk society is closely linked with Russian and foreign Latvian associations, as well as with the historical homeland. Researchers are actively engaged in the study of local history, conduct archival activities. In June 1996, Krasnoyarsk hosted Congress of Russian Latvians. With the support of the Republic of Latvia, Dzintars is provided with Latvian newspapers, magazines and books, as a result an extensive library was organized. Many residents of Krasnoyarsk are offered opportunity to visit summer family camps in Latvia.

In 1991, the school in the village of Nizhnyaya Bulanka resumed teaching the Latvian language thanks to teachers T. J. Heidemane and A. K. Brunia, an ethnographic Museum was established. In 2000, in honor of the 140th anniversary of the school, a large celebration was held, which was attended by guests from all over the region.

In 2007, at the initiative of the Dzintars society, a Latvian delegation headed by Latvian Ambassador Andris Teikmanis, as well as artists from the Daugavpils theater, visited the Karatuz district, where the village of Nizhnyaya Bulanka is located.

“Ingria.” Krasnoyarsk regional Finnish national cultural society Ingria was formed in November 1991. The teacher A.V. Smirnova was elected its Chairman. The main direction of the society’s work is cultural and educational activities, the revival and preservation of national culture and identity, traditions and customs, the study of history, the revival of national sports, the development of friendly relations with other nationalities and the historical homeland. A lot of attention is paid to the study of the native language (it is now a Sunday school), musical and folklore groups were organized (in particular, youth club Ingriya and the eponymous studio theatre). Connections have been established with the government, public and Lutheran associations of Russia and Finland.

Ingria society participates in various international events: festivals, Day of Krasnoyarsk city, seminars, conferences and the exhibition "History of Siberian costume." Celebrations by the society of the Day of Finish Culture, of the epos "Kalevala" and the national Juhannus holiday (Midsummer day) have already become a tradition [3. P. 147-149].

The society is actively engaged in local history work. Several expeditions are conducted to the regions of the Krasnoyarsk Territory where Finns lived. The collected materials are included in the book "Finns in Russia," edited by Professor at the University of Helsinki R. Parviainen. A special event, memorable to all Finns in Ingria, was the opening in Krasnoyarsk in 2004 of the monument to the Children of Besieged Leningrad.

"Dom Polski." In 1990, a regional Polish public organization was created, later transformed into the national-cultural autonomous "Dom Polski." Its leaders at various times were: V. F. Ossovsky (since 1990), B. L. Zavatsky (since 1994), V. V. Kiminsky (since 1996), O. L. Podborskaya (since 1997), S. N. Kutitskaya (since 2000), Yu. O. Skidan (from 2003 to 2010). Currently, the Chairman of the Board is Dmitry Gorbachev. "Dom Polski" carries out a lot of work to preserve and develop national traditions, culture and native language.

In 2001, to mark the 10th anniversary of "Dom Polski," art festivals, Chopin evenings, exhibitions, and screenings of Polish films were held as a part of the Days of Polish Culture. The event was attended by Polish diplomats and guests from abroad. In November 2003, Krasnoyarsk hosted the first Siberian folk polonium festival, which brought together Polish bands from all over Siberia.

Members of the autonomy conduct serious research and archival work on the study of the life history of poles in the Yenisei region. Research is published in various Russian and foreign publications, including the Polish newspaper *Zgoda*, and the almanac *Yenisei*. The book "Poles on the Yenisei" has been prepared for publication. The research results were used to create a monument to the fallen poles, opened in 1996 in the Memorial complex "Norilsk Golgotha" [6. P. 212-215].

The community is working to develop contacts with the historical homeland. Siberian poles are given the opportunity to go to Poland for various language and historical courses, internships, and children go for holidays in children's boarding houses. Students from the Krasnoyarsk Territory have the opportunity to get an education in many Polish universities.

To date, "Dom Polski" has branches in many cities of the region: Zheleznogorsk, Lesosibirsk, Yeniseisk, Minusinsk. Since 2000, the national-cultural public organization "Polonia Minusinsk" under the leadership of E. M. Lyaskovskaya has been working in Minusinsk.

The Polish diaspora actively cooperates with other national communities, participating in such joint events such as the nationwide festival "We become friends in Siberia," days of the city of Krasnoyarsk, Christmas and Easter holidays.

“Lituanika.” At the end of 1992, the regional society of Lithuanian culture “Lituanika” was formed, in 2004, it was reorganized into the regional Lithuanian national and cultural autonomy “Lietuva.” In different periods, this organization was headed by S. S. Zablotskis (1992-1998) and A. A. Rasyulis (1998 – present). Head of the youth direction is G. A. Romaso.

Lithuanians make a great contribution to the social life of the Krasnoyarsk Territory. Most active is the “Youth Union Žalgiris.” Children take part in various international projects such as “Festival of gloves” and “City of masters.” From 2010 to 2011, volunteers from Lithuanian, Latvian, German, Estonian and Polish societies took patronage of orphanages in the Krasnoyarsk Territory.

In May 2012, a number of exhibitions and concerts were held in Krasnoyarsk as part of the Days of Lithuanian culture, among them were an exhibition of works of the famous artist and composer M. K. Čiurlionis and a concert attended by the soloists of the Lithuanian state Philharmonic society.

In 2017, in order to mark its 25th anniversary “Lietuva” organized an event for its guests and prepared a very interesting and expressive program “Window to Lithuania,” which included the opening of an exhibition of Lithuanian graphic artists. Guests had the opportunity to look at the works of artists of the Soviet period and of the turn of the XX-XXI centuries. Cultural and historical center hosted a concert by the famous pianist R. Zubovas, great-grandson of M. K. Čiurlionis.

In 1997, the society opened a Sunday school. Its main activity is to study the native language, history and traditions of the Lithuanian people. The lesson was taught by both local and invited teachers from Lithuania. The society is proud of the Ruta academic choir, which takes part in various international festivals both on the territory of the Krasnoyarsk Territory and abroad. In addition, the choir often goes on tour to Vilnius, where the song festival of the world Lithuanian society is held.

Society “Lietuva” have been held to different social and historical-memorial program. Graves of Lithuanians in exile, in the village of Ovsyanka and the village of Ust-Mana are being put in order.

Lithuanians are very careful about the history of their people. In August 1989, on the 50th anniversary of the deportation of Lithuanians, memory days Lithuania-Siberia were held in Krasnoyarsk. Such events are held by the society “Lietuva” every year, in close cooperation with the Krasnoyarsk Association of victims of illegal political repression.”

At present, the relations of the Lithuanian society in the Krasnoyarsk Territory with the historical homeland are actively developing thanks to the state structures and public institutions. Teachers of the Lithuanian language come to Krasnoyarsk, and schools are provided with methodological and educational aids. In the 1990s, in addition to the society “Lietuva,” the Union of Lithuanians of Igarka (President E. P. Kigene) and Union of young Lithuanians of Siberia “Žalgiris” (President A. A. Palenis) also functioned in the Territory.

“Eesti.” In October 1991, the Krasnoyarsk regional voluntary society of Estonian culture “Eesti” was formed. Since its formation to the present day, Chairman of the society is a philologist and translator Vladimir Nikolayev-Eunet.

In 1992 and 1993, the society held regional Estonian festivals and holidays “Jaani Piaev” in the villages of Haidak and Nova Pechora. In 1995, the regional festival of Finno-Ugric peoples of the Krasnoyarsk Territory was held. In 2001, as part of the Days of Estonian culture in the Krasnoyarsk Territory, a photo exhibition of the Estonian national Museum in Tartu was presented, entitled “Estonian society of the Krasnoyarsk Territory,” and a documentary film was shown about contemporary Estonian Setu. The company “Eesti” conducts various exhibitions and events. The most widely known exhibition of Estonian postcards Eestipostkart was held in Krasnoyarsk. Members of the society took an active part in the preparation of the exhibition of works by graphic artists of Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia (1960-1980) – “Baltic Suite.”

Every year, the society organizes national holidays: Estonian Independence Day, Jan’s day, Mother’s Day, Christmas and always invites representatives of other nationalities.

The “Eesti” society has established strong ties with its historical homeland, and representatives of the Embassy of the Republic of Estonia in Russia often visit the Krasnoyarsk Territory. Close cooperation and joint projects are being implemented, so in 1998 an exhibition “Estonians in Siberia” was held at the National Library of Estonia in Tallinn.

The delegation of Krasnoyarsk Estonians regularly participates in various events and music festivals held by foreign compatriots. Children of Estonians from the Krasnoyarsk Territory have been coming to language camps in Estonia every year since 1998, and young people have the opportunity to get higher education in Estonia under the special program “Tribesman.” Also, Estonian colleagues regularly send textbooks on the Estonian language, as well as magazines and newspapers for the Krasnoyarsk Sunday school and the library of the “Eesti” society. One of the most significant achievements of “Eesti” is the creation of the Museum of National Culture in the village of Haidak in the Partizansky district and its participation in the International Museum Biennale in 2007. Every year, the village of Haidak organizes a folk festival “One day in the Kingdom of Setu.”

Over the past decades, the Estonian folklore archive from the city of Tartu has collected about 9,000 pages of handwritten material, 370 hours of sound recordings, 90 hours of video recordings, and 2,200 photographs. In 2012, the album “Songs of Siberian Setu” was published, which was presented at the Krasnoyarsk fair of Book Culture in 2013.

The village of Verkhny Suetuk, Karatuz District, is one of the centers of Estonian culture in Siberia, the majority of whose inhabitants speak the Estonian literary language. There is a Church built in 1888 and restored in 2003. The local brass band celebrated its centenary in 2000. Its Director is the distinguished Rus-

sian cultural figure Arni Lel. The village has the only Estonian school in Siberia today. For the last 6 years the native language has been taught by a teacher from Estonia.

Preservation of culture and traditions. State authorities interact with national and public centers through the public chambers of nationalities and the chambers of the Civil Assembly of the Krasnoyarsk Territory, the Interethnic cultural center at the Krasnoyarsk Palace of Labor and Accord, the Council of chairmen of youth national associations of the region and other negotiating platforms.

Attracting the attention of the younger generation to the cultural heritage is an important activity of civil organizations. There is a Council of youth national associations of the region. It is the most promising area of activity, since young people are the most maximalistic group of the population, subject to the influence, including ideological.

Thanks to the activities of the International cultural center, the Krasnoyarsk Palace of Labor and Accord hosts national holidays with the participation of creative teams, many of which have received the status of national.

It is worth noting that during cultural events, the national communities' priority is to attract representatives of other nationalities. They are guided by the following thesis: "the more we know about other people, the less reason there are for suspicion."

Today, the state faces the task of stabilizing inter-ethnic relations, the village of Kondopoga in 2006 is a sad example of what happens without such stabilization. In this regard, the state provides financial support to national communities. There are such documents as the Strategy of the state national policy of the Russian Federation for the period up to 2025 [7], where the importance of national policy is emphasized. A system of priorities, goals, tasks and ways to solve the issue has been developed. The Krasnoyarsk Territory is considered a fairly stable region as far as the national relations is concerned. But first of all, there is no sharpness here due to the work of state structures that interact with national communities.

Today, interethnic relations in the Krasnoyarsk territory are generally stable. Each nation and its culture is unique and has its own value. Therefore, it is necessary to preserve the continuity of the traditional cultures of the peoples with whom we are neighbors, cooperate and have direct contacts.

The national culture of each nation is directly connected with the history, so the centers of national culture should promote research in the field of history and ethnography. In general, creation of ethno-cultural public associations has a significant impact on the development of the multicultural space of the Russian Federation. They serve as a factor in the effectiveness of ethno-cultural relations, preservation of ethnicity, language and religious communities, and adaptation of their representatives to the ongoing social, economic, and socio-political transformations of society.

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REACTIONS OF THE LINGUISTIC AND CULTURAL SPACE IN RESPONSE TO POLITICAL PROCESSES

“Culture, like all alive things, is formed by combining the native with the alien.” [Frydenberg] But, breaking into a new space, the alien context is translated in accordance with the code of culture, supplemented by its context, thus forming a new text. It clarifies the semantics of an alien text, eliminates irrelevant meanings, promotes the acquisition of a new meaning, and only then is accepted by members of the society. Modification or change of culture inevitably leads to new forms of behavior.

If we take the word as a semiotic sign within a certain culture, it gives us an idea of the world and encourages action according to a certain pattern of behavior. Therefore, substitution of some concepts with others leads to a violation of harmony in the human mind, the appearance of other ideas and, accordingly, the correlation of behavior which affects the life of society.

The modern era is an era of information wars, of attempts to destroy the cultural memory of individual peoples and transform their linguistic and cultural space. To resist these processes, you need to understand their mechanism.

Research in the field of linguoculturology is designed to explain these mechanisms and promote the adoption of effective measures aimed at the preservation and progressive development of the semiotic space of each culture, deliberate intervention in it during state reforms, research for optimal models of organizing state language policy and its implementation in the national regions of the Russian Federation, as well as beyond its borders.

Key words: *cultural semiotic space, text, etymology, communicative behavior, stereotype.*

Today, we witness a comprehensive process of mixing cultures, of destruction of the identity of national languages and the substitution of national values. All these processes are caused by the impact of globalization, economic, socio-political and cultural factors and internal language reasons for the development of language as an open dynamic system.

Currently, in order to define a clear directive for the development of a particular social institution or phenomenon in connection with the demands of our time, the ruling elites and politicians replace some concepts and names with others, without caring about the consequences for the functioning of the cultural space. Very often this happens thoughtlessly, for the sake of fashion or imposing canons of cultures that are alien to the people and new national values. But, in either case, such substitution does not go smoothly.

Replacement of concepts leads to the violation of harmony between the established form of existence and functioning of a particular cultural sphere of society and a new component introduced into it, planting new ideas in people's minds. At this stage, the very existence of the above sphere is questioned. The system is ruled by chaos and destruction.

The formation and further functioning of the cultural sphere in the direction of progressive development is possible only if the society consciously accepts the new components and correlates individual behavior.

Thus, it is better to determine the vector of movement to the new through gradual changes, instead of explosive dynamic processes. New ideas are implemented with more success if they are carried out according to the laws of gradual dynamics.

The above social processes determined the choice of the research topic. The purpose of which is to show how the substitution of some concepts with others leads to a violation of harmony in the human minds, the appearance of other ideas and, accordingly, the correlation of behavior, which affects the life of the society.

This article discusses the content of such concepts as "Manager and Head of," "medical service and medical care," and "education." As part of the research, a survey of 200 respondents was conducted regarding the content of these concepts. Based on the survey, we can track how the content of concepts and behaviors change over time, based on a comparative analysis of the opinions of respondents in the 1990s and today regarding these concepts.

As you know, thinking is a form of social consciousness. Reality is a factor in all thinking. The conceptual thinking of a person today is characterized by causality, i.e. formal-logical causality, deduction of the effect from the cause.

A word endowed with a certain meaning in a particular language at a certain stage of development of the society plants in the mind specific ideas about the object, phenomenon or action, as well as psychological associations. Perceptions conditioned by a system of representations encourage people to act according to a certain behavior model. Therefore replacing any concept with another often leads to an unconscious change in the attitude and behavior.

Unpredictable explosive processes begin, the reason for which is the fact that there is no transfer of information, inside which there is no memory. In other words, the sender and receiver have their own memory, which does not allow them to achieve complete identity in understanding the transmitted information.

According to Yu. M. Lotman “language is a code plus its history,” it “unconsciously causes us to imagine the historical extent of existence” [3. P. 15]. Therefore, when replacing some concepts or names with others, one should take into account the postulate that “the normal functioning of the language involves the assumption of the initial non-identity of the speaker and listener” [3. P. 15].

As a positive example we can site the organic incorporation of the French language into the Russian at the end of the XVIII-early XIX centuries. The French language served the Russian educated society primarily as a means of transmitting scientific and philosophical thought.

In fairness, it should be noted that at present the same function is performed by the English language.

However, in many ways, the process of intrusion of an alien, so-called, dominant Western culture and, along with it, the English language into all other cultures is taking place in a crude way, with attempts to impose alien ideas and values.

At the end of the last century, namely in the 90s, a huge number of new realities invaded our reality and everyday life. Many religious and charitable organizations have appeared, imposing willy-nilly their way of life. The mass media abounded in anglicisms and promoted Western norms of behavior and values. Thus, the so-called new text intruded our culture, and a contradiction arose. Speaking Russian created a sense of internal discomfort and disharmony.

In the 90-ies of the last century, in the field of business and production, such concepts as “Leader and Director” were replaced by the concept of “Manager.” Of course, this replacement was partly dictated by the events of the time. But not all of society was ready for the upcoming changes. At that time, the concept of “Manager” itself was alien to most people. Moreover, since the processes of economic restructuring have not always been consistently successful, but often, on the contrary, have been accompanied by the destruction of enterprises, unemployment and deterioration of the material and emotional situation, the word “Manager” got negative connotations.

What content is included in this concept? Let’s turn to the definition given in Large Modern Explanatory Dictionary of the Russian language: Manager-1. “production management specialist; hired manager of an enterprise or division. 2. an entrepreneur who organizes creative, sports, etc. activities of a group or individual” [1].

The key words in these definitions are “hired” and “entrepreneur.” There is nothing wrong with these words, only in the subtext of the first definition at that time it was an image of an alien, and the subtext of the second implies “making a profit” for the work done, which in the minds of the Soviet person was outside the list of basic values, especially if it was about personal profit. The content of these definitions does not even hint at such concepts as “participation and mutual assistance,” so close to the Russian cultural tradition. In contrast, the concept of “Manager” is in tune with the key concepts characteristic of the Anglo-American

cultural tradition: subjectivism, following the letter of the law, distancing oneself from subordinates [7].

Now as for the definitions of “Leader” and “Director,” a leader is a person who directs something, who leads something, who is someone’s mentor. It’s position of a person in charge of something. Director (lat.) means manager, head of a unit, department or institution [1]. In both concepts, the dominant elements are “to direct, to know, to lead” implementation of the set goals. No shadow of profit. The contents of these two concepts read the image of a person who directs and leads others for a common goal, and who is part of a team, interested in his subordinates and the common cause, not the profit. That makes one think of the Directors from Soviet films and works of Russian and Soviet writers.

The survey included a survey of 200 respondents who were asked the following question: Manager and Leader: who do you think they are? As a result of the analysis we have the following idea about these two concepts:

	Definition	Number of respondents	%
Manager	– motivates and encourages his subordinates to perform tasks set by the Manager (tactician); – has less authority than the Manager; – hired hardworking responsible employee; – does not always manages people, line staff, relies on the system	190	95%
Leader	– selects and leads the staff; – has more responsibility and authority, has a permanent status (i.e. permanent position) and manages the company; – more experienced, more far-sighted (strategist); relies on people	190	95%
Leader=Manager		10	5%

As is clear from the results of the survey, this concept has eventually fit into the canvas of our linguistic and cultural space and gained a clearer definition.

In the same years, due to the undertaken reforms and the desire to change people’s minds, the concept of “medical care” was replaced with the concept of “medical service.” This made it easy to transfer free medical care to the sphere of paid medical services worsening the plight of many Russians due to the lack of a legal concept of “medical care” in medical and civil legislation, which led to difficulties in regulating relations in the field of health protection.

Following the replacement of concepts, the behavior model was automatically changed according to the perception and interpretation of the concepts under study by the people at that time.

According to the S. I. Ozhegov's Explanatory Dictionary, help means "assistance to someone in something, participation in something that brings relief" [5]. D. N. Ushakov defines the concept under study as "participation in someone's work, facilitation, assistance to someone's" [9].

Modern dictionaries of the same authors define "service" as "an action that helps or benefits another person." The crisis management dictionary states that a service is "any paid benefit that cannot be separated from its source." If we take the concept of "medicine," then according to the translation from Latin, it means "healing art" and is related to the verb *medeor* "to heal." We can say that medical activity in the medical sense is the art of healing or the healing art of providing medical care by a healer (doctor, healer, etc.). But our task is to leave out the legal definitions of the concepts in question and focus on the image that has been formed in the minds of Russians for generations.

It is appropriate to recall that according to A. N. Leontiev, "an image is a semantic field, a system of meanings. The image does not depend on the subject's sensory impressions. It includes invisible properties of objects that can be grasped modally, experimentally, or by thinking, as well as supersensible components represented in meaning" [2. P. 252].

Here are some examples from social networks and surveys regarding stable stereotypes formed in the minds of Russians in respect to these concepts.

Here is the opinion of one doctor: "Medical care is when I try to help a person using my medical knowledge. First of all, I need a patient to help. To provide medical services, I do not need a patient, a patient even prevents me from providing high-quality medical services. All I need from him is his insurance number. And I will write a beautiful document about how I treated this insurance policy number in accordance with the Ministry of Health standards and recommendations. It's true that it is much more interesting to provide care than fill out paperwork, but they pay me for the paperwork, not for improving health, and in both places: public hospital and a private clinic. But then the times were different" [4].

This opinion is currently held by the majority of survey participants. In their opinion, it is unacceptable to talk about the services of a doctor when it is a question of life or death. "They serve you in a store, and doctors TREAT you. Medicine is an art of healing that cannot be provided according to the standards" [4].

Thus, the model behavior of the doctor and his attitude to the patient differs sharply when he provides medical services from his model behavior when he provides medical care.

The same thing is true in respect of education. The understanding of education as a service sector was formed in Russian society largely thanks to the Minister of Education A. Fursenko. Here is one of his statements: "*it is necessary to ensure that the system of education is primarily focused on consumers of ed-*

Do you think “medical service” and “medical care” are the same things or not?

	Definition	Number of respondents	%
Medical service 89 % (171 people)	– provided for remuneration by professionals only	119	63%
	– for the sake of money	4	2%
	– for remuneration	17	8%
	– in non-critical situations (cosmetology, tests)	8	4%
	– ensures understanding of the problem only in clinics (30%)		
	– a set of measures aimed at treating the disease	24	12%
Medical care 89% (171 people)	– is provided free of charge not only by professionals, altruism (30% -40%)	10	5%
	– is provided free of charge. Aimed at improving health, saving people (60%-70%)		
	– in emergency cases, it is more important than a medical service	146	76%
	– is carried out regardless of the doctor’s desire due to the sense of duty and one’s understanding of one’s aim	4	2%
	– a set of measures aimed at maintaining health		
	– help is provided free only to people with the appropriate medical polis	12	6%
Medical service =medical care		22	11%

educational services” (2008). In 2009, the same Minister instructed to develop a strategy for developing export of Russian educational services. The idea that the concept of services can be applied to education is currently considered erroneous by many, since the educational system is considered as a fundamental platform for the development of society and the country’s security, and the service is considered as a category of market economy. In other words, the concepts of “education” and “service” are located in different non-touching compartments of Russian consciousness. The national encyclopedia of philosophy defines ed-

education as “the process of transmitting and assimilating cultural and historical experience, values and knowledge accumulated over generations, and purposeful activities for the education, training and development of the individual.” The idea of considering the process of education as a service did not stand the test of time, because in the semiotic space of our culture, these concepts collide and contradict each other. In the minds of Russians, there is a conflict between these concepts leading to an ambiguous model of behavior of the education process participants.

The following situation can be used as an example. A student came late to a lecture and in response to the teacher’s remark said: “You are providing a service, so go on and I come when I want to.”

Here is an opinion of a children’s writer, a father of five: “When you consider it you see that school is providing services, but intellectual services. And if it provides my child with educational services, then I must pay for them” [8].

According to a social networks participant: “Services imply meeting the client’s needs.” When you have your hair cut, your hair shaved, your boot repaired, your tooth repaired, it’s a service. Training is a complex production process, the purpose of which is to meet the needs of society in specialists and professionals of various types. It is not a service it’s a direct duty of the state” [8].

That is why, many years later, the necessity to exclude the concept of “educational services” from legislation has come up on the agenda. On January 29, 2018, deputies from the Communist Party faction introduced a corresponding bill to the State Duma. “Services are provided exclusively by the service providers. Educational process is a joint activity of an educational organization, a teacher and a student aimed at the implementation and development of educational programs. Thus, education is not a service,” the explanatory note to the bill read [6].

As we can see, the transfer of education to the service sector has changed the attitude to education and behavior patterns for several years, as evidenced by the results of the survey:

Modern post-Soviet elites have learned to do business, but they are not competent in the ability to analyze historical processes and treacherously manipulate meanings. This is evidenced by the events in Ukraine, where streets are being renamed, monuments are being demolished, textbooks are being rewritten and even amendments are being made to the works of their classics like N. V. Gogol and T. G. Shevchenko, which helps to the form a new linguistic and cultural space, even at the expense of the authenticity of the history. By the way, the change of the preposition in the Russian phrase “in Ukraine” is supposed to emphasize isolation from the Russian state and non-involvement in its affairs.

A striking example of an unfortunate naming is the situation that took place in Irkutsk in 2017. In the hope of getting a higher profit from sales, a company Legat LLC named its bathing concentrate “Hawthorn.” As a result of mass poisoning with this drug 48 people were dead and 30 in serious condition and a state

**How do you understand the term “University education”?
Do you consider it a service?**

	Definition	Number of respondents	%
University education is a service ...	– a service aimed at meeting the desire for knowledge – a service, since it depends on the person ‘s desire (usually paid)	138	69%
150 people 75%	– a service for those who pay for education. They become a privileged class and behave as if they are owed money – University is a restaurant where students are visitors and professors are the staff	12	6%
University education is	– professional training process, General subjects (for those who study free). It is provided by the state free of charge – strategic task of the government	32	16%
25% = 50 people		18	9%
Educational services	– provided on demand (tutoring, courses), provided for commercial gain – are higher in quality	50	25%

of emergency was announced in the city. The Kremlin called the poisoning a terrible tragedy. Marketers did not take into account that in the minds of Russians hawthorn is considered a medicine.

In the end, the following conclusions can be made. Considering culture as a semiotic space, the elements of which are in a certain mutual relations, acting, in the terminology of Yu. M. Lotman, “as colliding meanings” “fluctuating in a space between complete identity and absolute non-contact” [2. P. 146]. Having a historical memory, elements endow the cultural semantic space with multiple volumes in synchrony and diachrony. On the one hand, this space is integral and has a certain definition that determines its self-consciousness. On the other hand, it can change and become involved in “explosive processes.” Any information in order to become an element of a particular culture have to be translated into the language of that culture and become its memory. Otherwise, any gross interference in this space by any foreign information, including state-political initiatives, leads to dramatic consequences, since it can be regarded as the destruction of memory and culture. The events in Ukraine, Syria and other regions of the world illustrate the tragedy of such interference.

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REGIONAL GOVERNMENT AND BUSINESS OF THE REPUBLIC OF BURYATIA: STATE AND PROSPECTS OF INTERACTION

The article notes the increased importance of business communities, including at the regional level. The author briefly highlights and analyzes the problems of interaction between regional authorities and business in the Republic of Buryatia. First of all, the author notes an inefficient institutional environment, generated primarily by the lack of clear understanding of goals and objectives, an opaque mechanism for providing support and other. Second, there is a decrease in the number of entrepreneurs associated with a low level of confidence of the regional businesses in government authorities. This trend is explained by the formal approach of the regional authorities and the inefficient work of public institutions created with the participation of state bodies to improve interaction with business communities. Third, other factors (consumer distrust of products, legal incompetence of entrepreneurs, etc.). The author notes that the resolution of the above problems requires formation of several basic factors: trained, motivated to create a favorable investment climate, public servants, competent entrepreneurs and developed infrastructure based on public-private partnership.

Key words: *regional government, business, entrepreneurship, investment climate.*

In recent years, issues related to the state support for business have become more relevant than ever. The increased importance of business communities and their influence on the socio-political situation in the Republic is becoming an undoubted fact of Russian reality.

Especially considering that out of 85 regions, only 12 are not subsidized, the rest (despite the budget “leveling”) belong to the category of subsidized, i.e. they need constant financial injections from the Federal center.

This forces the Federal authorities to create the so-called advanced development zones with preferential tax conditions in the hope to attract investors.

However, attracting investments to the Republic’s economy faces a number of difficulties, first of all, because of the inefficient institutional environment.

Law No. 284-I. of the Republic of Buryatia “On the state forecasting and programs for socio-economic development of the Republic of Buryatia” was adopted as far back as 1996 and within the framework of this law the following strategic planning documents were adopted:

- Strategy of socio-economic development of the Republic of Buryatia until 2025;
- Program of socio-economic development of the Republic of Buryatia for 2011-2020;
- Long-term forecast of socio-economic development of the Republic of Buryatia for the period up to 2030;
- Territorial planning scheme of the Republic of Buryatia;
- State programs of the Republic of Buryatia and other documents [2. P. 15].

Despite the long list of documents developed by the Republican authorities, experts note that there is still a lack of clear explanation of goals and objectives, an opaque mechanism for providing support, etc. and as a result, there is low investment activity in the Republic, which affected a significant decrease in the growth rate of the economy of the Republic of Buryatia: from an average growth of GRP of 4.6% in the period from 1997 to 2007 to 1.2% in the period from 2008 to 2012.

As a result, the Republic of Buryatia occupies the 63rd place among the 79 regions, finding itself in the group of outsiders [4. P. 76].

Second, the number of entrepreneurs in the Republic has decreased. According to the Federal State Statistics Service for the Republic of Buryatia, the number of individual entrepreneurs is constantly decreasing over the past 5 years starting 2012, the number of medium-sized and small businesses only decreased from 32,476 to 19,716 in 2017, i.e. by almost 60.7% [3].

It should be noted that regional business has passed a difficult path of development, starting from the 1990s, when the first entrepreneurs representing the large business appeared in the Republic (among them: Ulan-Ude Stalmost, Ulan-Ude Aircraft factory, Buryat Meat processing plant, Milk of Buryatia, Baris Trade House, etc.), to the present day, when the formation of medium and small businesses is taking place. This negative trend is associated with a low level of trust of regional business in public authorities. This is due to several factors including a formal approach of the regional government, inefficient public institutions, created with the participation of the state bodies to improve communication with the business community (Chamber of Industry and Commerce, Union of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs of the Republic of Buryatia, Fund for the support of small business, etc.). At the same time, representatives of regional businesses, in general, do not seek to leave the “shadow”. The lack of “transparent rules of the game,” clear laws and predictable government policies has contributed to the fact that almost all the offices of large public and private companies are located in the large cities of federal importance (Moscow, St. Petersburg, Kazan, Yekaterinburg, Krasnoyarsk, etc.). This means that the lion’s share of cash receipts

from them goes to the budgets of these regions and contributes to their significant socio-economic development.

Third, there is also consumer distrust of the products and services of local businessmen, as well as legal illiteracy of entrepreneurs, leading to an increase in their legal costs.

All of the above does not contribute to the growth of the number of regional businesses. Significant efforts are needed to build an effective mechanism for business and government relations that would contribute to the dynamic development of the region. First of all, regional authorities should be ready to create positive conditions for the activities of business structures and protect their interests: reducing administrative barriers, providing government orders, assisting businesses in obtaining credit resources, production facilities, etc. [1. P. 169].

To achieve these goals, it is necessary to form a competence-based approach, which implies the formation of basic factors. First of all, it is professional training of civil servants, who should be motivated to create a favorable investment climate in the Republic. Secondly, it is the training of entrepreneurs themselves within the framework of various educational and business projects. Third, it is the creation of infrastructure conditions based on public-private partnership.

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HISTORY AND CURRENT PROBLEMS OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

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STUDY OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS IN ARGENTINA

This article examines the features of teaching the discipline “international relations” in Argentina. The work uses sources and literature in Spanish, English and Russian. A comprehensive analysis of the research topics and activities of the most relevant educational and scientific centers in Argentina was conducted. The academic programs of higher educational institutions in the specialty of international relations are considered, and the comparison of these programs with the teaching of specialized disciplines at the corresponding faculties is made. The article presents the main theories of Argentine scientists, as well as features of the study of international relations in the academic community of Argentina.

Key words: *Argentina, international relations, history of international relations, teaching at a university, higher education.*

In the 1990s, there were about seven training programs in the field of international relations (hereinafter – “IR”) in Argentina, while by the mid – 2000s, the number of educational programs in this area had increased to twenty. In addition, over the past decades, the differentiation between the areas of training in political science and IR has increased (8). A number of public and private universities are creating research groups, developing postgraduate education programs, and conducting various academic events with the possibility of publishing research results, which is an indicator of the steady growth in the number and quality of research in the field of IR in Argentina [1. P. 31-64].

In recent years, the field of international relations in Argentina has achieved significant institutional development, due to the emergence of discussion forums, specialized journals and intensive work of researchers. The development of

the field is largely driven by private education, but there is a growing number of researchers in the National Council for scientific and technical research (NNTIS), as well as in other government research centers. At the same time the number of educational programs in this specialty is also increasing.

The main sources of funding for the research activities are national public funds. Over the past ten years, the number of public-funded research projects in the field of IR has increased in Argentina. Currently, CONICET finances about 1,850 projects, which involve 70% of employees in the scientific and technical sphere, as well as dissertations of the Agency's fellows (2). The field of Social Sciences and Humanities includes 2,299 researchers (22.42% of the total staff of the organization (2)). Projects in the field of Social Sciences and Humanities in 2017 accounted for 19.02% of the total number of studies. Most research centers are located in major cities such as Buenos Aires, Córdoba, Santa Fe, Tucuman, Rio Negro, and Mendoza (2).

Development of key theories and concepts. The development of theories of international relations in Argentina took place in the middle of the XX century. Since the 1950s, despite the existing legal framework, new theoretical methods and approaches have gradually been applied. The process of development of the industry was influenced by internal political instability, which significantly limited the country's relations with the outside world and was accompanied by a consistent crisis of academic and scientific activities, especially after the coup d'état of 1966 mainly, the spread and development of the theory and methodology that initially appeared in the United States [1. P. 43].

The leading researches in the study of the IR was the work by Roberto Etcheperabord, who conducted a historiographical study of Argentine diplomacy from 1860 to 1920 entitled "History of international relations of Argentina" (1978) [3], and also the work by Juan Archibaldo Lanus, the author of the classic scientific work on the history of Argentine diplomacy, covering the period from 1945 to 1980 and entitled "From Chapultepec to Beagle" (1984) [4].

Gradually, the so-called theories of peripheral realism were approved, reflecting the point of view of Argentina on the world and regional political processes; the works of Juan Carlos Puig and Gustavo Ferrari are devoted to this issue. With the work by Juan Archibaldo Lanus and Carlos Perez Llana, the research of political decision-making processes began. In the 1990s, Carlos Escude, speaking from a position of criticism of the previous theories, developed one of the most important approaches in the field of IR research – the concept of peripheral realism [1. P. 42, 45].

K. Escudet's works are distinguished by three key elements: an eclectic theoretical construction; a solid empirical foundation; and a claim to the practical application of the theory of peripheral realism as the basis for decision-making on foreign policy issues. The emergence of peripheral realism occurred in the early 1990s in the context of strong structural changes both in the field of international

politics and in relations between the state and society; against the background of the transition of the cold war processes to a heterogeneous polycentric multipolar world, and the replacement of a socially-oriented economic model with a market one. Faced with these changes, the states reacted differently, and in the Latin American context, Argentina's position was characterized by radicalism and determination, which marked a rapid turnaround in both domestic and foreign policy. The paradigm shift took place under the governments of Carlos Menem and then under Fernando de La Rúa, whose government had to face a deep economic, social and political crisis at the end of 2001. In practice, the concept of peripheral realism was applied during the presidency of Carlos Menem in 1989-1999. In general, the experience was not very successful, Argentina was not able to cope with the crisis, and its economic situation deteriorated [5. P. 79].

Also worth mentioning is the study of the history of foreign policy in Argentina by C. Escude; together with Andres Cisneros, they prepared fifteen volumes on the general history of the Ministry of Defense in Argentina, the most detailed and fundamental work on the country's foreign policy [2].

Among the modern Argentine researchers in the field of IR should be distinguished such specialists as Mario Rapoport, Leonardo Morgenfeld, Roberto Russell and Alejandro Simonoff.

Spreading the influence of Argentine theories: the example of China. The two most popular outside Argentina theory, reflecting the opinion of the researchers of this country and, more broadly, Latin America and countries of the global South in international relations are the theories of Raul Prebisch and based on it the empirical basis of the critical theory of peripheral realism by Carlos Escude.

In turn, the ideas and concepts of K. Escudet were applied by the Chinese academic community in the discussion about the fundamental lines of China's domestic and foreign policy. This demonstrates scientific and practical potential of the theories developed by Latin American and Argentine scientists, as well as the intellectual recognition of their ideas that have been spread abroad [5. P. 75-87].

In turn, the ideas of R. Prebisch are very convincingly used in the Chinese foreign policy strategy in relation to the whole of Latin America and are cited by China as arguments for the mutual benefit of regional cooperation for the purpose of international cooperation of developing countries of the global periphery [5. P. 84].

Research topics and directions. The main topics of research on international relations in Argentina are international politics and security, regional security in Latin America, US relations with the region, the current political agenda, security in Argentina and in neighboring countries, regional integration processes, international economic relations and foreign economic policy of Argentina. Moreover, a significant part of the literature necessary for such research is local, Argentinean (9).

Not all regions of the world are equally interesting to the Argentinean researchers. The greatest interest is mainly to the Western hemisphere, the dynam-

ics of relations between the United States and Latin America. Processes in the Central American and Caribbean region are not studied in detail. As for other regions of the world, the attention of the Argentine academic science is focused on Asia, outside of the field of view are studies of the regions of Europe, the CIS, the Caucasus, the Middle East and Africa. In a geographical sense, the degree of interest in regions decreases as we move away from the Western hemisphere.

Educational programs on the theory of international relations at universities in Argentina. In 1956, the University of El Salvador became the first private University to open a field of study in political science and then international relations (4). Changes in the field of IR studies started with the opening of the master's program in this field at the University of Belgrano (5) in 1977; the University still recruits students for an annual course of IR. At the Catholic University of Santiago del Estero (1) the IR theory is a fairly voluminous course and is divided into four parts. University of San Andres (6) the IR theory is a fairly voluminous course and is divided into four parts. At the University of San Andres (3) the IR theory course lasts four years. At the University of Torcuato Di Tella (7) the IR theory course lasts one semester compared to two semesters of political theory and three semesters of economics. The greatest emphasis on the study of international relations is indicated in the educational programs of the Universities of Rosario, Usal, Moron.

Summing up the research, we note that international topics play a central role for Argentina in both political and academic fields, despite institutional fluctuations and violations of the democratic regime that have suspended development at certain historical moments. If we consider the scale of Argentina in the international context, the contribution of this country is broad-minded and has a significant degree of authority and influence. At present, new generations of scientists and specialists are being formed in the field of international relations in Argentina, and their intellectual work reflects continuity of the past achievements.

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(1) Catholic University of Santiago del Estero. <http://newsite.ucse.edu.ar/files/planes-estudio/grado/LICENCIATURA-EN-RELACIONES-INTERNACIONALES.pdf>

(2) National Council for scientific and technical research. <https://www.conicet.gov.ar>

(3) National University of Rosario. <https://fcpolit.unr.edu.ar/rrii/licenciatura>

(4) Program of the University of Del Salvador. <http://csoc.usal.edu.ar/csoc/cfd-rrii?template=solapa&fbclid=IwAR0ZdB8hZOIdt98M-INOGxeS4lkNDPf6kVPU3-04vAyyFKnvIRtIW55dK0>

(5) Program of the University of Belgrano. <http://www.ub.edu.ar/facultad-de-estudios-para-graduados/maestria-en-relaciones-internacionales>

(6) Program of the University of San Andres. <https://www.udesar.edu.ar/departamento-de-ciencias-sociales/relaciones-internacionales/plan-de-estudios>

(7) Program of the University of Torcuato Di Tella. https://www.utdt.edu/ver_contenido.php?id_contenido=3058&id_item_menu=6122

(8) Such differentiation is typical for the private universities, but among public universities there are also institutions that divide these areas, among them are the National University of Rosario, where international relations are distinguished as a separate area, the same is true for the National Central University of the province of Buenos Aires and the National University of Lanus.

(9) The territorial conflicts of Argentina with Brazil over the Itaipu dam and with Chile around the Beagle Strait in the 1970s and 80s, as well as the military conflict with Great Britain over the Malvinas (Falkland) Islands in 1982 deserved the attention of Argentine researchers. The Falklands war marked a new qualitative frontier in historiography and influenced the development of critical approaches to the national history and foreign policy of Argentina. For more information see: Escudé Carlos. "Los conflictos territoriales e internacionales en la historiografía argentina" en Guglielmi, Nilda (coord. gral.) "Historiografía Argentina (1958-1988)", Comité Internacional de Ciencias Históricas, Comité Argentino. Bs. Aires; 1990.

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MANIFESTATIONS OF ETHNOPOLITICAL CONFLICT IN THE POST-COLD WAR REGIONS OF EAST AND SOUTH-EAST AFRICA (ON THE EXAMPLES OF SOMALIA, ETHIOPIA AND MOZAMBIQUE)

The article considers the essence and specifics of the development of the ethno-political conflicts based on interethnic contradictions. Most of the world's countries are multi-ethnic, which creates many problems regarding the internal stability and democratic stability of the state. Democracy aimed at creating homogeneous national societies is doomed to failure because it does not take into account the needs of the various ethnic groups constituting the population of the countries, which is especially important for the countries of Eastern and South-Eastern Africa whose populations are closely tied together by the historical unity of territories, but was separated by borders in the process of colonization and imposition of contradictions, based on economic interests of the metropolises.

In addition, the article examines the main aspects of the emergence and development of ideas of political regionalism in East and South-East Africa, related to the factors of historical, ethnic, religious, natural resource and socio-economic origin. The article also examines the relationship between the aggravation of internal ethnic contradictions, the strengthening of manifestations of separatism and irredentism with foreign intervention, formally aimed at resolving such contradictions.

Key words: *ethnopolitical conflict, political regionalism, transnational relations, ethnic minority, interstate relations, strategic intervention, ethnic irredentism policy.*

The relevance of this issue does not raise any objections, because in the vast majority of countries, there are numerous national minorities. The specific distribution of the population in the regions of East and South-East Africa leads to the aggravation of the problem of political regionalism, which in this work will be defined as a set of ideas and aspirations that exists in the form of ideological constructs and requirements and reflects attempts by individual regions to get greater

autonomy in the matters of economic, social and cultural-educational life as well as the resulting behaviour of political actors which corresponds to the worldwide trend in the public political development. The practical implementation of the ideas of political regionalism can be the achievement of a fairly wide range of political transformations – from the expanding powers of the regions without radical institutionalization or an escalation of the confrontation between the center (capital) and the regions to an open confrontation in the form of demands for a radical change in the political and administrative structure of the country and even open separatism as an extreme manifestation of the ethno-political conflict.

The topic of ethno-political conflicts and their development in connection with the activation of the processes of political regionalism is widely covered in foreign studies and in particular in the works of such famous scientists as R. Aron, J. Ziller, J. Loughlin, M. Kiting, A. Paas, Denis de Rougemont, and many others. The works of Russian authors [2; 3; 4; 5; 6; 7; 10. P. 124-128], published in recent years, are focused on a wide range of issues in this subject area. However, there are not many researches of the essence of ethno-political conflicts and processes of political regionalism in the today countries of Africa despite the fact that there is a successfully running Institute of Africa of the Russian Academy of Sciences and periodic scientific magazine “Asia and Africa today,” still there are insufficient scientific publications on this issue. Given the growing interest in East and South-East Africa, the presence of our military in the international peacekeeping units in hot spots in Africa, as well as an expansion of economic contacts with individual countries, the topic of resolution of ethnic and political conflicts and the issues of political regionalism will be relevant for many years to come.

Political regionalism as an ideology and political process in the last decades of the twentieth century has spread over the countries of Europe, but with the formation of the European Union, it has become predictable and relatively manageable. In the world of today, the trends of political regionalism are very clearly manifested in the Muslim world, and in recent years, the aggravation of contradictions between individual regions and capitals has become characteristic of the African continent, where these processes are quite complex and unmanageable and the external impact is quite significant. Such influence, however, does not pursue the interests of the population of African countries, but the interests of major actors of the world politics that affect the government and socio-political structures in the countries of the African continent.

The emergence and periodic escalation of ethnopolitical conflicts is associated with the trends of political regionalism in African countries caused by the characteristic features of the neocolonial policy of the world powers in respect of the African countries, the general poverty and political instability of the latter. At the same time, it should be noted that among the countries interested in the new redistribution of spheres of influence we see not only European state, former metropolises and the United States. The list of such countries evidently includes

China and Russia (interested in the deployment of military bases in the African region and currently conducting negotiations on the topic with Djibouti and neighboring states) and in the future, it will include India and some states of the Persian Gulf.

At the moment, competition is unfolding for certain regions of East and South-East Africa, rich in natural resources, as well as the regions of special interest from the military and strategic point of view. Support for separatist movements in certain regions of African countries is becoming an effective tool for the achievement of greater political, military and economic influence in the world as a whole. It is easier to ensure political stability, contain tribalist confrontations and take care of economic growth in a newly separated territory, relatively small in area and population, where local leaders experience boundless gratitude to their benefactors, although the assistance they receive, often only declaratively, does not lead to the resolution of the ethnopolitical conflicts, but only to their temporary muting and subsequent escalation. In this regard, it is appropriate to identify the main elements of the inter-ethnic conflicts in East and South-East Africa and their current trend.

Causes and forms of manifestation of ethnic conflicts in East and South-East Africa. Historically, European states in their colonial policy took into account the ethnic structure of dependent territories in different ways. For example, an attitude to the ethnic characteristics of the local population in the British colonies was relatively tolerant and the areas of residence of ethnic communities were taken into consideration in the process of establishing administrative borders. At the same time, French colonial policy was aimed at the maximum erasure of ethnic differences among the enslaved Africans, so often one colony combined ethnic areas of several tribes often leading to an aggravation of ethnic contradictions and conflicts that some countries used in their own interests.

As the French researcher R. Roger noted, “44% of interstate borders on the African continent run along meridians and parallels, 30% – along other geometrically straight or arched lines, and only 26% – along natural and geographical borders that roughly coincide with the borders of settlement of ethnic groups.” As indicated in the reference scientific literature, “40% of the entire length of state borders in Africa are generally under-marked and virtually unprotected due to the lack of funds, while 44% are drawn along parallels and meridians, 30% – along arched or curved lines, and only 26% – along natural borders, partially coinciding with ethnic borders [8. P. 117]”. Under-marked borders and borders drawn without taking into account ethnic divisions are easily crossed by refugees who leave their homes and move due to the threat of famine, persecution in their countries on ethnic or religious grounds, due to the threats, devastating consequences of natural disasters or local armed conflicts.

The legacy of colonialism provoked an escalation of inter-ethnic conflicts in the post-bipolar period due to the redistribution of spheres of influence between

the strongest actors of international politics. The legacy of colonialism is also manifested in the territorial and linguistic division and control of territories, at the moment, French is the official language in 17 African countries, English is the official language in 11 countries and in many countries official languages are still combined with local languages. The borders cut through 177 areas of settlement of the same people, which is especially acute where they hinder the usual ways of people's access to centuries-old roads, markets and civilizational centers, as well as sources of fresh water. For example, the border between Kenya and Ethiopia cuts through the settlement areas of 14 tribes, 13 landlocked African states are largely restricted in their relations with the outside world, which significantly increases their cost of imports and exports since customs tariffs in African countries are mostly arbitrary.

It's worth noting that after gaining independence, almost all African states were formally mono-national, except for the Arab states of North Africa, Somalia, Swaziland and Lesotho, at the same time many countries are still torn apart by internal contradictions related to the unsettled relations of the tribes inhabiting their territories.

The religious factor has long occupied a secondary place among the reasons for the aggravation of ethnopolitical conflicts and the strengthening of threats of separatism. In sub-Saharan Africa, the position of non-classical Islam has always been strong. Even major religious holidays are celebrated by Africans not so much with ceremonial prayers as with flamboyant actions, including singing and dancing to the drum. Faith in Allah does not prevent Africans from seeking the services of local marabout (healers) who protect from diseases and misfortunes. However, Islam is increasingly becoming an integral part of African countries' policies due to the temporary market benefits. Often, poor African states need financial assistance that they can get from rich Muslim Gulf states declaring religious allegiance with their leaders. Such assistance comes only in conjunction with frequent visits by Islamic preachers contributing to the imposition of fundamentalist religious ideas.

Thus, the joint life in the same state of considerably different ethnic communities, with racial religious and confessional differences leads to an increased tension in relations sometimes resulting in the outbreaks of armed conflicts, such as those that escalated due to political and socio-economic contradictions in 2017 and led to a political destabilization and seizure of a part of the territories of different countries by Islamist militants supported by nomadic tribes that differ significantly in their religious and ethnic beliefs from the Negroid ethnic groups which live to the south of them. Similarly, armed conflicts based on ethnic and national interests regularly break out in Somalia, where for almost three decades there have been internal armed clashes between militants and government forces, and clashes with Ethiopia.

It is important to keep in mind that Somalia appeared as a result of a unification of the former Italian colony-Italian Somalia and the former British colo-

ny-Somaliland. The civil war going on in Somalia required the African Union states to interfere at various stages of the confrontation, a regional peacekeeping mission was established to support the transitional Federal Government of Somalia (the mission was supported by such regional powers as: Kenya, Djibouti, Burundi, Uganda, Nigeria, Cameroon and others), as well as the US armed forces and UN peacekeepers. In order to counter the Somali pirates who hijack ships in the Gulf of Aden, operation Atalanta was established, its headquarters and operational center is located on the territory of Djibouti

The escalation of the conflict and the threat of its spread to the neighboring countries and East and South-East Africa, where individual tribes, torn apart by borders drawn without the consideration for the ethnic divisions, are in a state of permanent inter-ethnic conflicts and in particular the geostrategic interests of major players of the world politics, have forced an external intervention leading to a periodic relative stabilization of the conflict with the assistance of the UN peacekeepers.

European states mostly involved in the ethno-political conflicts in East and South-East Africa are: France, whose colony in the past was also the Republic of Djibouti (currently trying to maintain neutrality and relative stability by providing its territory for the deployment of military bases of a number of major countries), Italy and Great Britain, involved in the inter-African political regional conflicts in connection with the armed confrontation in Somalia, and also Portugal, whose former colony Mozambique is also in a state of permanent armed conflict.

Interethnic cooperation as a condition for the implementation of the conflict. The contents of ethno-political conflicts can be adequately considered only in the context of interethnic interaction, since it is implemented as a phenomenon in interaction of different components of ethnonational structure of the polyethnic population of the state, so it worth to at least represent the structure of inter-ethnic interaction in general terms, and determine the field of implementation of the structural elements of the conflict as a whole, it's also worth finding out at what stage of such interaction the conflict occurs.

In the analysis of these points, the paradigm of relations of the American sociologist P. J. Rose, expressed in the formula “we and they,” is significant for the understanding of the essence of the modern ethno-political conflict [9. P. 72]. The essence of this theory is that people, entering into contacts and relationships with other people, distinguish themselves from others (sometimes contrasting and more often not contrasting themselves against the others), compare themselves with the others and build their relationships, especially at the individual level, based on their experience.

Thus, the concept of “inter-ethnic interaction” means an interaction of representatives of various ethnic groups living within a single ethno-political organism (state), who through direct and indirect contacts at the individual level in all spheres of public life exchange ethnic information and under the influence of

such information form images of the others (ethnic stereotypes), adjust images of themselves (ethnic auto-stereotypes) and develop corresponding ethno-national situation in the country.

At the same time, interethnic interaction, according to the concept of many Western researchers [1; 9. P. 83] (which can be accepted) is an interaction in the context of ethnic differences, and many researchers of inter-ethnic conflicts connect them with such differences.

However, it seems that ethnic differences do not always generate conflicts. They become a generating factor in certain circumstances for example, when negative stereotypes in respect of a particular community are formed artificially. In addition, interested actors can create conditions for turning such factors into influential factors. Proceeding from this concept we can trace two opposite trends of inter-ethnic interaction:

- 1) ethnic segmentation and ethnic isolation;
- 2) ethnic homogenization (homogeneity).

Given the great importance of primary contacts, which, of course, occur in the presence of ethnic differences, it is worth considering that, in the course of its development, the socio-economic and political conditions of a particular country have a decisive influence on the nature of ethnic interaction. This is also relevant in a situation when we consider ethnopolitical conflicts as the embodiment of negative interethnic interaction.

Accordingly, it is reasonable to deduce such a structure of inter-ethnic interaction: contacts of an inter-ethnic nature, communication at the inter-ethnic level, inter-ethnic links and inter-ethnic relations. Since ethno-political conflicts occur exclusively within the framework of inter-ethnic interaction, which includes the above stages, it seems appropriate in order to prevent ethno-political conflicts to turn to the practice of ethno-political management, which in the narrow sense is the management of such conflicts. Such practice can be studied on the example of the analyzed situation in the countries of East and South-East Africa. Traditionally inter-ethnic conflicts develop at two levels: 1) majority – minority, as a rule, the authorities – ethnic communities; and 2) minority – minority. The system of their prevention should be formulated taking into account these features.

However, there are general conditions on which the possibility of preventing ethnopolitical conflicts and resolving them depend. They include, first of all, the existence of an effective legislative framework that presupposes the concept of ethnic and national development, effective laws and regulations. No wonder, for example, that at the beginning of mass migrations to the United States and Canada (the end of the XIX – first half of the XX century), these countries adopted laws regulating migration flows and formed a policy for the adaptation of newcomers to the new societies. As a rule, such laws were drawn in such a way that prevented the situation of “inconvenience” for the dominant majority in the American or Canadian societies (even for a certain period of time), and we cannot

find any situation that could be characterized as an ethnopolitical conflict in these countries. Moreover, in the XIX and XX centuries, the concepts of ethno-national development of the United States and Canada were formed for the adaptation and integration of new immigrants and ethnic communities. Their content, in particular in the XIX – early XX century, was aimed at a conflict-free (trouble-free) integration of new immigrants into the society.

It cannot be said that these concepts were officially approved at the government level, but they became official doctrines of the US and Canadian governments in the sphere of ethnic and national development even without such approval. They include, for example, “Anglo-conformism” and “melting pot” (which can be classified as assimilation concepts), “cultural pluralism,” “multi-culturalism,” “ethnicity,” etc., which can be classified as the concepts of pluralistic development of a multi-ethnic society.

In conclusion, it should be noted that it is possible to build an adequate management of an ethnopolitical conflict within the framework of political regionalism, provided that the structure of such a conflict is clarified and the laws and features of interaction of its individual elements are understood. To a certain extent, the analysis conducted above forms the basis for both understanding the phenomenon itself and resolving situations that arise in the context of the functioning of an ethnopolitical conflict.

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