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Article

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FEATURES OF FORMING THE MANAGEMENT STATUS OF INTER-POPULATION TERRITORIES AND THEIR POPULATION NOT ONLY AS AN OBJECT, BUT ALSO AS A SUBJECT

Abstract: *The article examines social space that more or less clearly falls outside the system of territorial organization of power - inter-settlement territories, which from the point of view of the government observer are "empty" space. The conditions under which these spaces turn out to be not only "empty" for the power observer, but also invisible, are analyzed, since statistical observations are limited to the level of settlements, which are absent here. Thus, in intersettlement areas there is no object of management (population, enterprises, infrastructure), and the maintenance of the management system becomes meaningless. But, at the same time, these territories remain part of the state, and there is a need to manage them. The practices of such remote control are defined in the article as the "periphery of power." The latter is by no means an anarchy, but a special type of power practices, formed at the intersection of formal and informal connections, a special type of mobilization of power and law in these spaces. This article examines management practices in relation to "emptiness", the formation on the periphery of the phenomenon of the population (both formally present and "invisible") acquiring the status of not only an object, but also a subject of management, the formation of self-governing communities and jointness.*

The article analyzes the social processes taking place in a space that, from the point of view of power, turned out to be "empty" and has lost its social dimension as a result of the compression of social space. There is nothing left in it that is of interest to the authorities and power agents capable of representing power in the territory. Such space turns into a territory understood as a purely geographical formation, suitable only for political presentation and development within the framework of certain global projects. To manage such a territory, a special regime is emerging, which we have designated as the "periphery of power." However, the lack of interest of the authorities and formal structures for collecting information in such a territory does not exclude the presence of social processes

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here that occur outside the boundaries of government reflection. Description of the features of social processes and key actors on the periphery of power is the purpose of this article.

During a series of expeditions in the areas of the upper reaches of the river. Lena (2018–2022) it was discovered that a special local order, a partnership, is emerging in this territory, existing next to global projects, but not intersecting with them; he is invisible both to them and to the authorities. For the power of the state, it is only important that in the “emptiness” no other, alternative source of power arises, representing different rules of the game. It is assumed that the presence of large corporations on the territory will make it possible to once again turn it into a social space and revive life here. However, as the study showed, corporations exist in a space that does not overlap with local residents. In order to connect the spaces formed in this locale by authorities at various levels, corporations and the local world, a mediator is needed who could, on the one hand, act in the “emptiness”, that is, not be power, and on the other, be able to mobilize this power. A variant of the appearance and activity of such a mediator, discovered during field research, is described in this work. It seems that he produces that local order that is able to coexist with power, remaining invisible and harmless to it.

Key words: intersettlement territories, social space, “emptiness”, subject of management, periphery of power, social invisibility, social space, spatial compression, “social emptiness”, periphery of power, territory, global law, local order, power, corporations, mediator.

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Introduction

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The development and application of the territoriality regime are one of the most important features of power, at least state power. The state is always connected with the territory, with images of this territory as a certain integrity. Moreover, to organize space, to make different things uniform, is the fundamental task of the state, on the success of which all subsequent management procedures in turn depend. And the more heterogeneous the social landscape of a country appears, the naturally greater efforts the state has to make to streamline it. In this regard, the USSR and its successor the Russian Federation pose a gigantic territorial problem. Composed of extremely heterogeneous material, differing in climate, population density, cultural specifics, and way of life, this space was constantly, at least formally, transformed into a more homogeneous one. More precisely, this was the imperious intention. At the same time, its heterogeneous nature and the impossibility of bringing all territories to a single basis still manifested themselves one way or another. One of these manifestations will be discussed in this article. We will try to describe the features of informal practices, primarily managerial ones, in relation to one of the options for social space that falls outside the general logic of the territorial organization of Russia - the space of intersettlement territories.

Over the past decades, a relatively coherent system of territorial organization has developed in the Russian Federation. The country was divided into federal districts, which included the territories of federal subjects (territories, regions and republics).

This, according to the authors, should strengthen the control of the federal center over the executive power on the territory of the constituent entities of the federation. The latter consist of municipal districts, which in turn include settlements, and they can include several settlements and constitute the lowest level of government, as close as possible to the population. It is clear that the formal legal picture of the territorial organization of the country is not the only possible one. At the intersection of formal (existing in the form of laws and regulations) and informal management practices, a model of “local federation” arises, extended from the level of the federal center and the subject of the federation to the level of the municipality. Here, the operation and management of the territory includes structures that are not formally involved in territorial management, or rather, that do not act as its direct participants. Objects of control arise that have a complex form of connection to the territory and no less complex ways of interacting with the authorities, for example, the otkhodniks already described in the literature. However, the general principles of the organization remain the same.

However, already in the initial version of the law on local self-government, a variant of the territory was mentioned, falling out of the general structure and described by the concept of “inter-settlement (non-included) territory.” Such legal concepts are not at all a unique invention of domestic jurisprudence: in world practice, similar formations take place in Germany, the USA, and some other countries, and there we are talking about territories that, for one reason or another, are not included in the community. As a rule, these are the territories of military units and the settlements that serve them, specially protected

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natural sites, etc. However, in domestic realities we are talking about other spaces. In contrast to the German experience, their constitutive characteristic is not so much natural features or the level of secrecy as the extremely low level of population. Moreover, it is so low that maintaining any management structures in this territory seems simply unprofitable. There are not only few residents here, but there are also no enterprises that may be of interest to the fiscal services, there is nothing that would make sense to supervise. Here there is simply no one and nothing to manage, and therefore the existing management structures turn out to be redundant and are being reduced (optimized). Accordingly, the powers to organize management in this territory are transferred to a higher structure (administration of the municipal district). We have designated this situation by the term “periphery of power.” In essence, we are talking about a space not covered by the settlement structure, about the lower level of organization of territorial administration in the Russian Federation. At each level of state or municipal government we have an enforcer (authority) or his agent who has the ability to mobilize the enforcer, which creates the possibility of management from the federal level to the level of settlements.

Against this background, inter-settlement territories act as a rather specific formation. They, of course, are subject to all formal and legal norms of state legislation, as well as the powers of the district level of local government. But the structures themselves, as such, ensuring the implementation of legislation (enforcers, authorities) are not here: the strongholds of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, supervisory services and even the municipal authorities themselves are located in settlements and regional centers. Here, directly on the territory, there is neither an enforcer nor an agent who could legitimately mobilize it. According to prevailing ideas, these are so-called promising territories, i.e. territories where there may be something, but there is nothing yet: there may be recreational spaces, there may be spaces for creating new settlements, economic facilities, etc., but that’s all this is only assumed in the future. So far, in inter-settlement territories there is only a statistically recorded “absence” and uncertainty, in which some, often indefinite, number of people live somewhere: data on the population of the district and region for this territory varied quite significantly, as did the location of this population. At the same time, inter-settlement territories are the space of the state, which one way or another must be covered by management. This issue becomes especially acute in remote and hard-to-reach areas, characterized not only by low population density, but also by the lack of transport routes. How is governance structured in such “empty” territories? By whom and in relation to whom is it built? We will try to consider these circumstances in this work. The empirical basis of our analysis is the

study of inter-settlement territories in the Irkutsk region (the leader in the number of such territories in Russia according to Rosstat) in 2018 and 2021, where inter-settlement territories were examined at the junction of the Zhigalovsky and Ust-Kutsky districts along the river. Lena. The main method is observation. Additional methods included analysis of government statistics, retrospective informal interviews with former residents of these territories, and conversations with informants living in the territories under study.

However, before moving on to describing the features of management in inter-settlement territories as in “empty” space, it is worth defining what exactly we mean by “empty” space, what exactly is missing here, why this space turns out to be “empty”.

This article is devoted to an attempt to comprehend and describe the forms of local order and the characteristics of the agents who create it in a space that, according to the general belief recorded in official documents, turned out to be “empty” as a result of the compression of the developed, inhabited territory. At best, it is interpreted as a “territory of development”, where there is only a certain mega project that is carried out in the “emptiness” and fills it. Such a space makes the objects it contains indistinguishable to the gaze of government statistics and management. At the same time, this state of affairs is by no means socially exotic. It is found not only in inter-settlement territories, but also in the Arctic, northern and simply remote areas, where the distance between settlements is such that close attention to them from state and municipal administration turns out to be excessively expensive, and the territories themselves, in the eyes of the authorities, acquire a virtual character. Actually, we are not talking about some geographical specifics, but about a special situation, which we designated by the term “inaccessibility.” We do not reduce this concept to the concept of “remoteness”, which is actively being developed in anthropological research, but we understand it as a situation when the costs of control over space for the power structure turn out to be fundamentally higher than the benefits that the government receives from this control. Under these conditions, compression is recorded, the absence of what the authorities (with the help of statistics) can “see”.

Today, the view is becoming increasingly widespread that studies of spatial compression are not particularly relevant in the perspective of sociological and anthropological presentation. The process is clear and described, the consequences are also more or less studied. However, it seems that this is not so, or not entirely so. The study of the processes occurring in the space remaining after compression has significant theoretical and methodological meaning for understanding modern Russian society par excellence. The point, of course, is not that the results of a completely local socio-anthropological analysis are

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supposed to be extended to the entire social space of Russia. At the same time, it is precisely this space remaining after compression that can overcome the “naming paradox,” which complicates and sometimes makes impossible the study of other localities. Social space, in the interpretation carried out in our article, acts as a “text” and ways of reading it by an observer/participant of this space. This “text” is formed, on the one hand, by material artifacts, and on the other, by repeating configurations of social events and agents included in it. The combination of repeating social configurations and their material environment gives rise to the endowment of the artifacts themselves with social meanings, which are “read” by an agent or observer as elements of a “text.” But, having organized itself as such, this space simply obscures reality from the view of the observer. Further research is directed not at reality, but at the “text”.

Under standard research conditions, the objective state of affairs is recognized and comprehended by people in a very specific set of terms. It is not so important that these terms are drawn from the Economix textbook, television programs or the editorials of a popular tabloid. It is important that it is in these terms that people conceptualize themselves, their activities, and the world around them: an agent defines himself and acts as an “entrepreneur,” “official,” “civil activist,” etc. Each of these concepts is associated with a very specific set of practices and ways of explaining oneself and others. The agent attributes very specific meanings to his actions, simply without having a name for others.

In the reality defined by these concepts, the social agent exists.

But the external observer is forced to comprehend what is happening in these terms; he simply has no other option. Even if we assume that the observer creates a certain metalanguage for describing reality, allowing one to escape the logic of confrontation, its relevance will not be obvious to the social agent. If this language is translated into the language of everyday self-description, then it is redundant for the agent (“I have already named it”); if it is not translated into this language, then it is simply incorrect (“this does not exist in my reality”), thereby making the research completely impossible. It fits into the logic of the formed discourse, becoming not a research act, but a political (social, ethical, aesthetic, etc.) act; accordingly, it itself must be researched. In this form, it does not reduce, but increases the mass to be analyzed, or is simply rejected as hostile. A strictly defined object, social reality, turns out to be “bewitched”, not amenable to reflection and rejecting it. “Disenchanting” the object of study (society), breaking through the dominant discourse in these conditions is the most important task. The study of what happens in space after compression allows, in our opinion, to do this. From the point of view of the powerful observer, the bearer of the dominant

discourse, there is nothing found in it that could be “read” as the filling of this space. It is in this sense that we talk about “emptiness”. Empty space turns into territory - a certain extent, devoid of readable social and economic content. Social meanings do not disappear completely, but their volume is reduced so much that the territory falls out of the usual forms of understanding social space.

The process of compression itself, reflected in the dramatic visuality of abandoned villages, gives rise to a transitional (liminal) space where focal settlement and a minimum number of permanent residents remain. But in the dominant discourse, such liminality is by definition temporary and attributes the almost inevitable transformation of space into territory. It is no coincidence that the term “territory” is used in statistical and normative descriptions of “empty space” (“inter-settlement territories”), and is also actively present in government and corporate vocabulary (“to go to the territory”, “to work on the territory”). Such dehumanization (or more precisely, desocialization) of space takes work with it beyond the scope of social interactions, making local residents and communities conditionally “invisible” or, at least, insignificant. Territory is a kind of locality in the view of Zygmunt Bauman, stigmatized and pushed to the periphery of life by global processes: ““Locality” in a globalized world is a sign of social deprivation and degradation. The inconvenience of “localized” existence is enhanced by the fact that in conditions when public spaces have moved far beyond the framework of “local” life, the concept of “locality” loses its meaning-forming potential, becoming increasingly dependent on guiding and explanatory actions that are at the local level uncontrollable.”

The territory, which has lost most of its social meanings, has a serious specificity regarding the developed and meaningful space, which is rapidly turning into a space of discourse of total confrontation. Firstly, it exists, has an official status, is included in land cadastres, the system of territorial administration, that is, this territory undoubtedly exists, at least on maps and in documents. Secondly, it is distinguished by the recognized status of the other, the “empty”; has geographical and political meaning, but lacks social meaning; “empty” social space has no usual names. Accordingly, it can be called, comprehended, and carried out as a research, rather than a political or ideological act.

Externally, the processes and territories described below are similar to the situation in remote, isolated villages of the Russian North. But there is a significant difference, specific specifically to the East of Russia and partly the Arctic territories. In the first case, we are talking about the advantages and disadvantages of the isolated existence of a completely living local society. In our study, both the former society itself and the former structure of social space are destroyed. This is not about how an isolated

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society survives, but about how new models of sociality emerge that produce modern forms of social space, how the process of (re)development of space occurs, how actors emerge who again endow the territory with social meanings that connect the disintegrated parts into some semblance of unity, and restoring social space.

At the same time, an important condition for the existence and activity of these actors is that they remain “invisible” for the dominant discourse, like all the inhabitants of the “emptiness”. These actors are designated by us by the term “mediators” - intermediaries between the elements that remain in the “emptiness”, between the “empty” and the “filled”. Their activity transforms the “emptiness” into a frontier between dense, specified space and unnamed space. These mediators will be discussed.

As will be shown below, through the work of mediators, new forms of social interaction arise in a rarefied space, which can later spread to other, more populated areas. This experience already took place in Russia in the 1980s – 1990s, when marginal economic practices of the Soviet period (“tsehoviki”, “loan sharks”, etc.) began to drift into the social center and became dominant. Particularly important for our purposes is the fact that people in a “shrunked” space do not strive for publicity and do not present themselves. Accordingly, they themselves, their reality, turn out to be much less tied to discourse and allow much greater freedom in both understanding and interpretation. However, before moving on to analysis and hypotheses, it is necessary to describe the object itself as it appeared during the expeditions of 2018–2022.

Main part

So, what gives us reason to identify inter-settlement territories and “empty” social space? Three circumstances can be distinguished here. The first is the process of spatial compression, which has been repeatedly described in the specialized literature. The population of Russia is actively migrating from small villages to larger and economically developed settlements, regional centers, and flows into megacities. This is especially noticeable in the eastern regions of the country, where for many years there has been an outflow of population as part of the “western drift”. Urbanization in the region (with all the differences in individual cases) is largely associated with a radical change in the spatial aspects of development caused by the transition to market economic models and a sharp reduction in state participation in the social sphere. This leads to a radical narrowing of social infrastructure to large cities and increasing inequality in the quality of life between the center of the region and the province. From this perspective, urbanization in the region relies heavily on the flow of people from the provinces seeking a shrinking package of social services and

educational opportunities for children. These “modern refugees,” despite the stigmatizing image of representatives of tradition and backwardness, try to integrate into city life, using all possible forms of assets and connections.

The areas of origin are gradually losing population, production is curtailing, and social infrastructure is degrading. At some stage, this space for power turns out to be unclaimed; the costs of maintaining the government infrastructure turn out to be higher than the income received, and it is at this moment that inter-settlement territories arise. In other words, these territories are currently simply not of interest to the authorities and cannot be effectively controlled. Then, perhaps, the situation will change, which is why they become the subject of “planning for the future,” but for now they are simply set aside. True, there are reasons that make the occurrence of such a future unlikely.

The second circumstance is related to what A.F. noted. Filippov’s perception of social space by any observer as a text with a specific mechanism for “reading social space”. The concept of “social space” has long been in relative oblivion. It was assumed that social action occurs in time, and space is nothing more than a container for bodies. Even where, as in the works of P. Bourdieu, spatial images appeared, they had the nature of a metaphor, allowing a more or less convenient description of the system of social statuses. The question of where exactly this or that social actor is located within the framework of such a description seemed simply incorrect. The origins of the “spatial turn” in the social sciences were two interviews with Michel Foucault (1967 and 1982) about the special role of space for the study of power techniques. His thesis that “space is a privileged place for understanding how power operates” has not lost its relevance to this day. The rapid development of human geography led to an increase in interest in spatial research in other social sciences, especially since at the time of its final formation (at the turn of the 19th–20th centuries) in sociology, this interest was quite obvious, giving rise to its own classics of the study of social spaces. Later, this interest continued in works on the sociology of the city in the works of R. Park, A. Lefebvre, D. Harvey and others. Here, although in a slightly different connection, ideas were formulated that are extremely important for our problems. Among them, we should highlight the activist reading of spatial strategies of both power and society (the production of space), the localization of spatial strategies at the core of the Marxist analysis of peripheral capitalism, and the key role of space for understanding the specifics of the regime of territoriality.

Social space and its characteristics presuppose the presence in it of a certain kind of objects and types of social action and prevent others from occurring. For example, in a city apartment you can set up a

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vegetable garden or a livestock farm, but it is more convenient to use it differently, as a certain type of housing. Moreover, only from this point of view (an apartment is a city dweller's place of life) will this space be filled, but as a vegetable garden or grazing place it will be "empty". There are no expected objects-signs that will have at least some meaning for the observer. In other words, to the observer, space represents text that can be read in a certain way. The inability to read the text (lack of expected objects, different reading rules) leads to the statement that this space is "empty".

In our case, the observer is the government, since it is they who extend the status of inter-settlement territories to these spaces. In the ideas of power, quite clearly articulated in legal and economic works, completeness (mastery) is read in the presence of economic and administrative infrastructure, governing bodies, etc. Moreover, the economic structures themselves are fully defined in two versions: urban - plant, factory, social infrastructure, a specific type of building; rural - farm, used in accordance with the cadastre of farmland, etc. If the expected objects are not found, the space is perceived as "empty", endowed with the status of inter-settlement territories, and only the space filled in this way acts and is recognized as an object of management. The presence of something else in a given space that cannot be read by an observer does not make it full.

But there is a third circumstance. This space objectively turns out to be invisible, and the "organ of vision" of power is statistics. The settlement level turns out to be the lowest level here, at which statistics continue to record reality. However, we do not yet ask ourselves how adequate this fixation is. What is more important is that the counted population and other counted objects are not tied to the territory of a specific settlement, but are assigned to a larger municipal entity (district) as a whole. Considering the scale of the municipal districts we are considering in the north of the Irkutsk region (the area of the Zhigalovsky district is more than 24.8 thousand sq. km, the Ust-Kutsky district is about 34.6 thousand sq. km), residents of inter-settlement territories dissolve among the great Nowhere. Such deterritorialization of the object of management not only makes inter-settlement territories invisible to the power observer, but also calls into question the effectiveness of the territorial organization of power as a way of managing them.

At the same time, inter-settlement territories, already according to the 2010 census, cease to be domestic legal exotica, often covering up to half the space of the subject of the federation, and they are located not only in incredible distances, but often very close to actively developing settlements and territories. One of these territories, or more precisely, the peculiarities of the behavior of the authorities in

these territories, will be discussed in this article. Even in the previous period, this territory represented the periphery of the industrial civilization of the USSR, the periphery of power, but not a "emptiness." We will consider further the process of transformation of the periphery into "emptiness" in the absence of a control object.

From 2018 to 2021, the authors of the article conducted a series of studies (expeditions, observations, interviews, studying statistical data, conversations with informants) of inter-settlement territories in the Zhigalovsky and Ust-Kutsky districts of the Irkutsk region, located along the river. Lena is 500–800 km from Irkutsk, one of the centers of attraction of the macroregion. The survey was carried out from the village of Ust-Ilga, Zhigalovsky district, to the village of Turuka, Ust-Kut district (part of the Ust-Kut urban settlement) by water along the river. Lena.

The total length of the territory along the river, where settlements were previously located, is 320 km. Population (registered) in these territories in 2012–2020 ranged from 161 to 187 people. There are no economic facilities or registered enterprises in this territory, as well as permanent roads. The main route is the river. Lena: in summer - by boat, and in winter, communication with regional centers is possible on the ice of the river; There is no message in the off-season.

These spaces received the status of inter-settlement territories in 2012; Before that, there was a settlement structure there, albeit a degraded one. During the Soviet period, the maps of which the expedition members relied on during the preliminary study, about 30 settlements were noted on the territory, including those with a population of more than 1,000 people. (Orlinga village, Boyarsk village). In preparation for the expedition, in retrospective interviews with former residents of these territories, it turned out that most of the settlements had schools, including full ten-year schools, paramedic stations, clubs, and post offices; active communication was carried out along the river. Lena with regional centers; Most settlements had a centralized supply of electricity and had boiler houses. The main occupation of the population was hunting (hunting farms) and breeding valuable breeds of fur-bearing animals, and auxiliary activities included gardening, livestock farming, fishing, gathering wild plants, and some other types of economic activity. The main occupation of the residents also ensured a fairly high educational level (higher or secondary specialized education of hunters and game managers, specialists in breeding fur-bearing animals).

The relations of power/governance also turned out to be specific to the times of the USSR: Soviet power, like other administrative bodies, was relatively weak in the territory. According to the recollections of former residents, the main authorities were

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representatives of the procurement office, who bought the results of the activities of hunters and gatherers, which provided not only relatively high salaries, but also a high level of material supplies. Hunters, the elite of the local population, had a special status: respondents noted that on the site the hunter had almost complete power and freedom of action, limited only by the need to supply products (furs).

The settlements located in these territories were inhabited not only by the descendants of pioneers and graduates of game management faculties and pedagogical institutes who ended up here by distribution: people fled here from collective farms, from the hypercontrol of the Soviet government, from ideological pressure. Remoteness, traditionally viewed as a problem, a disadvantage that must be overcome, here acted as a resource that ensured relative freedom of life. But an extremely important point should be noted: the very possibility of such freedom and its material support were guaranteed by the state, while freedom arose in connection with its remoteness and disinterest in control. We have designated this position by the term “periphery (not absence) of power.” In essence, this territory for the government observer was a “black box”, where the input was some resources and the maintenance of social infrastructure, and the output was a valuable product, including an export one, while all government bodies were present on the territory. The difference between their work and the work of similar structures in other territories was based on a complex system of informal practices, the analysis of which is not included in our tasks. For us, the very fact of the existence of a territorial organization and the usual governing bodies (Soviet, party) is more important. In this case, we are not talking about “emptiness”, but about special conditions of management, in some sense reminiscent of modern conditions in the northern territories controlled by large corporations.

The situation began to change at the end of the Soviet era: the remote government that provided the local hunter with the status of “master” (the most common definition in interviews) degraded and eventually disappeared, and the “master” became an entrepreneur from Ust-Kut, Bratsk or Irkutsk. Accordingly, the status of the hunter himself changed: from the “owner” he turned into a hired worker, therefore, his remuneration also decreased. As a result, the process of population outflow, which was only weakly outlined in the 1980s, began to rapidly gain momentum: the social infrastructure was deteriorating; As a result of predatory timber extraction in the upper reaches of rivers and tributaries of the Lena, the main channel also became shallow.

The construction of the Baikal-Amur Mainline also had a significant impact on the formation of “empty” space. Until this time, it was along the river. Lena from the village of Kachug through the village of Zhigalovo and further, northern delivery was

carried out, which made it necessary to maintain conditions for navigation on the river, intensified navigation, and reduced the costs of maintaining social infrastructure in the territory. After the completion of the construction of the BAM, northern deliveries began to be carried out from Ust-Kut, and the space above the city along the river fell out of the regular flow of goods, which created difficulties in maintaining social infrastructure and led to its degradation. It should also be noted that the new (private) owners preferred to make a profit without investing any funds in the development of the territory. As a result, the outflow of the population turned into flight, especially since there was no need to run particularly far: at that time, the village (district center) of Zhigalovo became one of the strongholds for the development of the Kovyktinskoye field with several large enterprises and a relatively developed social infrastructure. The city of Ust-Kut looks even more successful: in addition to the key point of northern delivery to Yakutia, the center of the Verkhnelensky river shipping company, large timber and oil production enterprises are concentrated in the city.

As a result, legal economic activity in the described territory has practically disappeared. During the expeditions, 29 villages were examined, marked on old maps and directions (at present there are no formal settlements here); 19 of them are no longer inhabited; Secondary forest cover had already formed on the site of four villages. Somewhere, reinforced concrete slabs imported in the distant past, abandoned barges, rusted tractor parts, and other traces of a vanished industrial civilization have been preserved. In some former settlements, there were destroyed houses, outbuildings, stoves in place of houses, and village streets could be discerned.

In populated villages, the number of inhabitants ranges from one (minimum) to 37 (maximum); in most of the still “living” villages there are from one to five local residents, and only in the village. There were more of them in Orlinga and Boyarsk (17 and 37 people, respectively). In populated areas there is no centralized electricity supply, water supply, or telephone communications, while many abandoned buildings with signs reading “club”, “shop” and even “museum” have been found. Along 320 km of the river, two shops operate unofficially, one of which sells only bread, vodka and snacks, the second has a slightly wider assortment, but the store itself opens only “on demand”.

In almost every village you can find a building or its skeleton with a “school” sign (in the village of Orlinga there is even a two-story building); the last functioning school (in the village of Boyarsk) was closed on the eve of the expedition, in May 2021. The only legal form of employment in the territory turned out to be two boiler houses, the closure of which is expected in the near future, and post offices in five

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settlements, performing the functions of an Internet distribution center, pension service, etc. Not a single paramedic station was found along 320 km; There was no power there either - officials with formally assigned powers. Two villages had an elected head, although he did not have official status, since the status of the settlement itself did not exist. The closest employees of the Ministry of Internal Affairs were, respectively, in the village of Zhigalovo or in the city of Ust-Kut. Other representatives of law enforcement and environmental agencies were also located in the regional centers.

It cannot be argued that power is completely absent here: during the expedition, the authors met several times with employees of the Ministry of Internal Affairs and representatives of environmental protection. But, according to our observations, this activity is partly related to forest fires and the ban on hunting during this period. According to local residents, the presence of authorities is very sporadic. The latter is quite understandable: in the absence of visible force majeure (fires, floods, murders, etc.), the “emptiness” is not of particular interest to the authorities. On the other hand, it is the absence of power that sets the boundaries of space, since at some distance, on the borders of the territory, power still exists.

In general, this description reproduces the classic example of a “shrunked”, “empty” social space, already described many times in the works of domestic social scientists. It probably would not have been of particular interest if it were not for the people and objects accidentally discovered in this “empty” space.

Already during the first expedition (2018), a completely comfortable estate was discovered in the “empty” space (absent in statistical descriptions, but quite visible on images from space), consisting of several large buildings located nearby - the master’s house, a bathhouse, outbuildings, houses for workers, etc., provided with autonomous water supply and electricity. At the same time, no traces of official registration of this estate were found. The actual owner of the estate (though without the formal status of owner) turned out to be an entrepreneur from the regional center. Such a building, located near a large city or at least a busy highway, would look like a completely ordinary place of recreation (or permanent residence) of a rich person. But we are talking about a territory hundreds of kilometers away from a big city, devoid of roads, mobile communications and communications. All materials for construction and life support products had to be transported along the winter road (river ice). In other words, we are talking about a fabulously expensive structure that has no practical use, since the expedition members did not find any economically active activity.

An attempt to understand the meaning of such an investment of tens, and perhaps hundreds of millions

of rubles became the starting point of the study. During preparations for the main expedition, it was found that the described case was by no means unique; similar cases were noted by informants in the Khabarovsk Territory and Altai, and in a number of other regions. And in each case, the common point was the distance from a large city and the controlling structures concentrated in it, and the special status of the place where the estate is located (inter-settlement or specially protected areas). Thus, it could be considered proven that such construction is not an isolated case, but a mass phenomenon that deserves careful study.

During the main expedition (June 2021), this was fully confirmed (expedition materials). Six similar estates were discovered in the “empty” territories: three fully built and three more under construction. At each of the estates lived workers, builders, watchmen, often making up the main population of the villages, an order of magnitude larger than the officially registered residents. At the same time, it was quite obvious that there was no income-generating activity in these estates. In addition to the estates themselves, other new or “renovated” buildings of a slightly different type were identified, which can be conditionally divided into dachas and dachas. According to informants, the owners of dachas, as a rule, are the heirs of deceased village residents who moved to regional centers (Ust-Kut, Zhigalovo village). In the case of dachas, two types of buildings are clearly distinguished, corresponding two types of owners: the first are rather modest buildings, often converted village houses; the second are two- or one-and-a-half-story buildings (with a mezzanine) with a balcony overlooking the river and a large fenced-off area. One of the informants defined: “The first are entrepreneurs like me, and the second are bandits.” The authors were unable to find out why the second category is bandits; from the interview it followed that “bandits” are people whom the respondent fears. At the same time, for both the former and the latter (“entrepreneurs” and “bandits”), the presence of such dachas was not so much a place of recreation as an object of status consumption. According to one of the informants, the usual dachas (near the regional centers) are either lazy or poor, while the “cool” own dachas and land right here, in the “emptiness.” Moreover, estates, estates and dachas differed significantly from traditional village buildings in Siberia. Firstly, there were no or almost no vegetable gardens and other forms of agricultural activity; secondly, these buildings often had gazebos and barbecue areas, which were not typical for village households. Even those houses that remained from the previous inhabitants were subjected to radical alterations. Thus, gates and gangways were cut into the walls of quite ordinary village houses for entry inside, i.e. the house was used as a garage for a motor boat and other equipment, only simultaneously

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serving as a temporary home. In some cases, the barn attached to the house served as housing (easier to heat), and the house itself was used as a warehouse and garage. In other words, there was something similar to a hunting or fishing winter hut, temporary housing, storage of tools and a vehicle for a hunter or fisherman, while no hunting or fishing enterprises were found on the territory.

The owners of dachas and farmsteads, as a rule, were residents of regional centers. The legal status of their possessions was determined there: in the case of borrowings, it was more often about inheritance; these were “former locals” who moved to the regional center and settled there. In the dacha variant, inheritance was less common; it was a purchase, albeit a rather specific one. It was not so much about the exact definition of the object becoming property, but about the legalization of one’s own presence in the “empty” space. Thus, one of the owners of the dacha said in an interview:

“I bought two hectares here in the village of Vysokovo. Yes, there is nothing there. There was a house, but it was burned down. This house was burned by the former mayor, who is now sitting in Irkutsk. And the house is good. I thought it could be repaired. <...> Now there is nothing there. Well, I thought, let it be” (male, 32–35 years old, resident of Ust-Kut, entrepreneur).

It should be noted that not only is there nothing in the village of Vysokovo - officially there is no village itself, as well as other settlements in the inter-settlement territory. There are no dachas and farmsteads, since there are no settlements, and certainly no estates with numerous buildings, maintenance personnel of up to two dozen workers, autonomous heat and electricity supply (solar panels with a total capacity of up to 100 kW), satellite communications and sewerage. As the survey showed (where possible), out of six estates, three had the status of an organization base. At least, this is what the informants said, although they could not always say which organization this base belonged to. In one case, we were talking about a long-term environmental project (stocking a tributary of the Lena River with fish, breeding wild boars and deer), carried out at the expense of a “socially responsible” businessman, who thereby received not only a form of legalization in the “emptiness” of himself (the project manager) and their workers (fish and wild boar caretakers), but also the actual possibility of “privatization” of up to a kilometer of the river bank where stocking was carried out, and more than 30 hectares of land for “restoring the population of ungulates”, in other words, unique opportunities for exotic hunting and fishing. At the same time, despite the presence of dozens of buildings, solar panels comparable in area to a swimming pool, and a significant number of workers permanently residing in the estate and near it, officially there is simply no village, but there is a place

where one person lives, recorded in statistics as resident of inter-settlement areas.

This situation, characterized by the remoteness of power from the place of action, leads to the fact that these territories simply fall out of the state system of organization and control of space. But they certainly exist, and often very significant: for example, in the Irkutsk region, more than 20 territories, constituting about a third of the entire territory of the federal subject, have the status of “inter-settlements” where people live. But existing management practices based on statistics do not work in this case: there are no tools that would allow this space to be included in the system of habitual, routine management, and there is no interest for government, law enforcement and control services to address these spaces. Therefore, it becomes, at best, a space of “prospective development, planning for the future” [Kovaleva, Makurina 2017].

The situation is further complicated by the fact that government officials also live in the same territory or close to it. In any case, local residents can include representatives of the district level of local self-government, employees of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, environmental protection, etc. Due to the status of “local resident”, they know that the “empty” space of inter-settlement territories is inhabited. And if the owners of dachas and farmsteads are still temporarily located in the surveyed area and their main housing, families, and sources of income are located in the regional center, then the employees of the estates live here year-round, often for several years, although they are registered in other places. Thus, in a conversation with an informant, a builder of one of the estates, it turned out that the entire team of builders consists of residents of the city of Tulun, Irkutsk region, which suffered from a flood.

“We are all from Tulun. When the city was washed away, we moved to Irkutsk. The owner there had already hired us and sent us here to build a base. Everything is there, there is a bathhouse, water, electricity, a satellite phone. We live normally. Pays well too. <...> The owner himself arrives by helicopter. Sometimes alone, sometimes with guests. Here they have everything: hunting, fishing, barbecue. <...> And us? We are building, there is still a lot of work to do” (male, about 45 years old, builder).

Of course, construction ends someday, and the hiring period for the hired crew also expires, leaving unregistered but relatively numerous residents in the “empty” space. As a study of already built estates shows, the builders are replaced by service personnel, also quite numerous. Moreover, more or less regular relations are established between the “locals” and the estate workers, and this is not the usual purchase of rural handicraft products by townspeople, but quite conscious mutual assistance.

“Well, we are helping the grandmother (village resident - interviewer’s note). If necessary or if asked.

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Why not help? Renovate a house somewhere, plow it, if necessary. And she will always help us. Different things happen. Somewhere she helps too. We live normally, and the people are normal” (male, about 45 years old, estate builder).

There is a fairly calm (as if they were “our own”) attitude towards the workers in the estates both from the local population, including residents of regional centers, and the attitude towards the owners of the estates, albeit with some wariness (“oligarchs”), is rather positive.

“M. (owner of the estate - interviewer's note) - well done. Others build houses for themselves in Europe, on warm seas, but he invests in his native places. Before him, there was nothing here. He built a church and all the houses. Well done, in a word” (male, retirement age, the only officially registered resident of a locality with an estate).

What emerges is, if not a community with established forms of interaction, then, in any case, a community, a group of people connected by the use of common spaces (in our case, rivers). Such compatibility is well known to residents of regional centers (including officials) as a type of relationship, but it is not recorded in any way in statistical descriptions.

But a person (official) cannot exist in a divided state, being an official during working hours, and a simple resident of the district the rest of the time. This is precisely what the technology for the presence of power in this territory is based on. Next, we will describe power and management in the “empty” space of intersettlement territories, based on a case in the Irkutsk region. Of course, there is absolutely not enough material for generalizing conclusions, however, we will try to put forward a fairly substantiated hypothesis.

The absence of a common territorial structure for the country (settlements as administrative units, local self-government bodies, social infrastructure, etc.) does not mean a complete absence of power in this space. Already in the first interview with an informant, a resident of one of the villages, they spoke about a female colonel (“a woman in our language”), the head of a police department, who “rides on a boat with three machine gunners and fines everyone.” However, the same informant said that “the police don’t interfere in our affairs, we sort it out ourselves. If they got into a fight somewhere and burned someone, then they did it themselves. Now, if there’s a murder or something else, then the colonel will come.”

Interestingly, as a local resident, the female colonel is quite aware of the estates in the territory. The manager of one of the estates complained that “the owner (the owner of the estate – authors’ note) swore strongly” when she (the colonel – authors’ note) was not allowed to spend the night in his absence, although “he himself said that strangers should not be

allowed in.” There are several interesting points in this case. Firstly, she, as a resident of the area, is aware of the presence of estates, the possibility of a comfortable stay in them, but as an official, she “knows” only about the environmental project, accordingly, the estate workers have the opportunity to not let her in. Secondly, it is significant that for the manager who is constantly on the territory, it is a “stranger” (“don’t let strangers in”), since he does not live in an “empty” space. At the same time, for the owner of the estate, the female colonel is “one of his own,” a necessary element of his presence in the “empty” space, and as an element of power, she is located and acts remotely, but it is with her (remote power) that relationships need to be built, through her (not only, but also) try to legalize their presence.

What a colonel is needed for, besides the fact that it can cause trouble, became clear from the following case. Along the expedition route on the bank of a stream flowing into the river. Lena, a new bathhouse was discovered, near which there was a gazebo, a barbecue and an equipped descent to the stream. According to the survey, this is a relatively new building; the first bathhouse built was burned down. According to the informant, since the construction of the bathhouse in the early 2010s. the development of this territory by newcomers began. The relatively large community of local residents at that time was dissatisfied with this circumstance, deciding to deal with it in the usual way. It was assumed that, as usual, the police would not be interested in local troubles, but it turned out differently: a full-fledged investigation took place with real punishment for the perpetrators, after which the “oligarchs” (estate owners) and their property were no longer touched, and the new bathhouse built stands on the same place, not locked and not guarded by anyone.

Moreover, a local resident, in the process of discussing a place for an overnight stop, dissuaded the expedition members from the proposed point, since there are “oligarch’s fields”: the “oligarch” is not just looking for opportunities for legalization in the “emptiness” (an environmental project, a base for a point of an environmental structure, etc.) d.) – he can mobilize the law, attract power into the “empty” space. Another informant also spoke about this option (to attract, mobilize power) in relation to “bandits”. Apparently, this opportunity makes them an elite among the local population, including not only official residents, but also other owners of dachas and farmsteads.

In other words, power exists remotely, visits this space sporadically, but under certain conditions can be mobilized. The most important condition for the mobilization of power is the preservation of the specific status of “invisibility” for new residents of the territory. Let us note that the most extensive forms of legalization of stay in intersettlement territories are aimed at maintaining this status. The most important

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common feature of local residents (and legally residing residents of former settlements, and new “dacha residents”, and “oligarchs”) is that they are not interesting to the authorities, are not visible to statistics, and even to the public opinion of the region. Violation of this rule can have the most unpleasant consequences both for the violator and for other inhabitants of the “emptiness”. Thus, the owner of one of the estates located on the surveyed territory was the ex-mayor of the city of Ust-Kut. Judging by the size and amenities of the estate, it began to be built before its owner became mayor. That is, being a “local resident”, the owner of Lenaleservice LLC, one of the largest enterprises in the city, he behaved like an “oligarch”, but, having received the status of an official of a fairly high level in the region, he found himself in a difficult situation. His legalization in the “emptiness” as an “oligarch” (“bought a couple of hectares”) was not enough for the mayor. In conditions of very fierce competition for power over a wealthy city and region, the presence of an estate and the privatization of farmland caused a scandal that attracted the attention of not only the district, but also the regional authorities, which resulted in a criminal case that is still ongoing and a year of imprisonment.

Staying on the “empty” lands of the “oligarch” under study while performing not particularly complex actions for his own legalization turns out to be quite acceptable. At the same time, being in the “emptiness” of a person in power, even the head of a local self-government, puts both him and the “emptiness” at risk; under these conditions, the mobilization of power begins not by an internal agent of space (“oligarch”, “bandit”, natural disaster), but by external forces.

It is quite understandable that this is a one-time action related to political events (elections of the head of the district), but it reveals the position that the authorities occupy in this territory, which we have designated by the term “periphery of power”: the authorities are present here remotely, at a distance. Regular control over space in this case (in the case of inter-settlement territories) is much more expensive than everything that this space can provide in the future. Moreover, in the gigantic territories of eastern Russia, such control often turns out to be simply unrealistic, due to which a remote form of control becomes the only possible one. But the periphery of power is not anarchy: it is precisely it that defines the boundaries of spaces where its presence is possible only at a distance; it allows/does not allow certain forms of legalization in this space; it sets behavioral boundaries, beyond which the visible and invisible population of “empty” spaces is strongly discouraged; and finally, it can be mobilized by certain actors located in this space.

The authors of the article, during four expeditions (from 2018 to 2022), examined the area in the upper reaches of the river. Lena from the village

of Ust-Iлга to the confluence of the river. Lena and r. Vitim, with entry into the river. Kirenga from the village of Okunaysky to the city of Kirensk. Existing and disappeared villages were surveyed (bypass, observation) for more than 1,400 km along the course of the Upper Lena and its tributary river. Kirengi, in total there are about 90 existing, disappearing and disappeared settlements. A total of 36 interviews were collected, including three interviews with former residents of the site, two interviews with the manager of a large company operating in the area; the rest of the interviews (conversations) were conducted during the expeditions. These were mainly village residents (17 respondents); Some respondents (14 people) were registered in regional centers, but more or less permanently lived in villages. Some of them did not indicate a permanent form of employment; three people noted entrepreneurship (farming, recreation) as their employment; two respondents introduced themselves as heads of settlements, although the rural settlement itself did not have an administrative status; eight respondents worked as river workers, loaders, sawmill workers, and construction workers. The respondents were predominantly men aged 35–55 years. We described the research technology in detail in previous publications devoted to this space. It should be noted that no differences in responses and interpretation of events were found either by gender or age. In addition to respondents, informants (random interlocutors) were used to complement the overall picture.

The expeditions made it possible to form three research cases, connected territorially, but representing different options for social space. The research strategies were more or less similar. Each expedition was preceded by a fairly long preparatory period (“long table”): statistics on the future research site were collected, media publications, maps from different times, and satellite images of the future route were studied. If it was possible to find a former resident of the territory through which the route was proposed, then a retrospective interview was taken. This made it possible to imagine the conditions of communication in advance, prepare a guide for future interviews, and determine the object of research. During the expedition, observations, photographs and video recordings of the route and the villages located on it (usually in former status), conversations and interviews with residents and visitors of the territory were carried out. When comparing the information received with the previously collected information, a more or less clear picture of what was happening in the territory was obtained.

The first case, including a section of the river. Lena, with a length of about 320 km south of the BAM, mostly consisted of inter-settlement territories assigned to the direct jurisdiction of the region, while the researchers excluded from the route the administrations of settlements that were not identified

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in this territory. Due to the absence of a settlement structure in this space, there are no (physically) representatives of the authorities, or rather, the latter are present at the borders of this huge area, in the regional centers, appearing sporadically in the intersettlement space. As a rule, the arrival of authorities (police, representatives of district administrations, environmental protection, etc.) is associated with force majeure circumstances - forest fires, dangerous crimes, etc. Visits of power also occur in cases where someone located in this space mobilizes it. Then, according to local residents, “the colonel, a woman in our opinion, appears with machine gunners.” Under normal conditions, power does not disappear, but is present on the periphery, maintaining the role of the main controller.

There is practically no social infrastructure in the territory: there are no schools, first aid stations and legal shops; After the BAM was put into operation, regular shipping, previously associated with northern deliveries, was stopped. Local residents (mostly from regional centers) move around this space on their boats in the summer and across the ice in cars in the winter. In fact, the very status of an intersettlement territory fixes a situation where in this space there is nothing that would be of interest to the authorities as a subject of ownership, control or regulation. From the point of view of the authorities, these hundreds of kilometers along the river represent a bare territory, without people, without economic entities, etc. Speaking in the terms of A. Lefebvre, power in this area ceases to “produce space”, to impart meaning to the objects of this space, that is, social space is replaced by geographical space, becoming just a territory.

But such a replacement of space by territory, a compression of space, exists only from the point of view of power. For the few residents of intersettlement territories and regional centers (Zhigalova, Ust-Kuta), everything looks somewhat different: space has shrunk exclusively for an external observer, while for a local resident directly included in this space, it has freed up, making many previously prohibited or, at least hard-to-reach activities - hunting, fishing, gathering, various forms of recreation; they build houses in “empty space” and inhabit it. Moreover, the “oligarchs” from the regional center are already starting to settle in here. We heard about such an “oligarch” almost in our very first interviews. In the village, where one person officially lived, there was an estate of several permanent buildings and houses for servants (about 20 people). The territory of the estate included plowed fields, a powerful system of solar panels that supplied electricity to the farm, a pen for keeping deer deer, a fenced-off section of the river, etc. The new “owner” began to develop the “emptiness” as a new local resident, joining in the production of the discourse of the vacated space. But all the mentioned objects were

simply not documented: officially there was a center for stocking a section of the river with fish, created by a socially responsible entrepreneur.

In this space, where “there is nothing,” quite complex social connections and hierarchies arise, associated not only with property stratification, but also with the role in the local division of labor, status (local / newcomer), opportunities to mobilize power located at a distance, the degree the legality of your stay in place, etc.

The second case (expedition in May–June 2022) is a section of the river. Kirenga is about 300 km long north of the BAM and has completely different characteristics. Regular navigation in this territory, as in the first case, is absent; Not everywhere (as well as on the Upper Lena) power lines are laid. However, unlike the first section, there are large settlements and enterprises (corporations) of the all-Russian level here. The official dominants of this space are the BAM and the Kovyktinskoye field, developed by Gazprom. Large settlements located on the river are mostly reoriented towards these dominants, especially in the Kazachinsko-Lensky region, where the deposit is located. Local activity is pushed to the periphery by large companies; At the field itself and in areas related to it, local residents are practically not involved. As interviews with oil company managers show, there are several reasons for this. Firstly, the qualifications of local residents do not correspond to the needs of the company, as a result of which local residents can only be used in auxiliary jobs. But here comes the “second thing”: high demand for temporary housing from corporations for visiting workers has led to a rapid increase in rental prices. Income from renting out real estate significantly exceeds the level of salaries offered for low-skilled labor (the rental price of a modest Soviet three-room apartment can reach up to 120 thousand rubles per month). Therefore, a significant part of the residents of the village of Magistralny (the closest relatively large settlement to the field, located on the BAM) en masse rent out their housing to employees of Gazprom and related enterprises (leaving their housing, they move to the regional center of the village of Kazachinskoye, located 15 km away). In addition, the very fact that a large number of highly paid oil and gas industry workers are located near the settlement creates additional earning opportunities: thus, unlike the first case, the “roadside economy” is actively present here. However, the poverty of the trading and service infrastructure, combined with rigid schedules and labor rules at the field, led to the emergence of a kind of local “Dutch disease”.

Next to a large corporation, all sorts of options for informal entrepreneurship have arisen in conditions of an acute shortage of everything necessary, especially housing and any forms of recreation. As you move away from the village of Okunaysky, where the main gas terminal is being

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built, from the regional center of the village. Kazachinskoye, Magistralny village (BAM), farms and recreational areas (hunting, fishing, leisure) appear that are not in the official register and on maps, but all these enterprises are within daytime transport accessibility (35–50 km on roads of varying quality) to large settlements and fields; Further large settlements along the river to the city of Kirensk are much less common.

It is important that, according to retrospective interviews with local residents, before the start of active development of the Kovyktinskoye field and the arrival of big money (until 2022–2023), the space gradually turned into an analogue of what was observed in the first case in intersettlement areas. In fact, a significant part of the surveyed territories had this status until 2022: “bandits from Ust-Kut” appeared here, dachas and bases were built, they fished, but then “the people rose up” and they disappeared. It is difficult to say how much the people took part in this, but at that time Gazprom began active work in this territory. Former inter-settlement territories were included in the nearest settlements, power became somewhat closer, and the territory again turned, at least at the level of declarations and legal norms, into a social space. Apparently, all agents who could impose their rules in this space were simply removed from the sphere of interests of the corporation. The district authorities now have an additional resource - tax contributions to the district budget, which made it possible, if not to breathe life into it, then to compensate for the most unpleasant aspects of degradation. Thus, in several villages included in the Kazachinsky municipal formation, solar panels were installed to provide local power supply, roads were built to allow access to the regional center by car in summer and winter, etc.

However, corporate control seems to be significantly more selective than state control, since only those areas that are in one way or another related to the company’s core activities are monitored, everything else is controlled much less or not controlled at all. Moreover, large firms consciously distance themselves from local problems and build settlements for their employees outside the villages in order to avoid additional payments and costs associated with the need to participate in the life of these settlements. The capabilities of regional authorities, as well as settlements, parts of which are sometimes 60–70 km apart from each other, are also quite limited. As a result, local life arises in the “gaps” between the zones of control on the part of the corporation and the municipal government: “farms” and “recreational zones” do not interfere, but in some ways help the corporation, for example, supplying its workers with high-quality meat and dairy products. At the same time, district or settlement authorities take on certain specified functions: for example, in one of the interviews, a woman farmer said that until very

recently (before the installation of solar panels in the village at the expense of the district budget), the village was illuminated by her diesel engine. However, as you move away from the resource center, the situation changes - there are fewer roads, but more villages with an extremely small number of remaining residents. Formally, these are not inter-settlement territories, however, from the center of the municipality (rural settlement) to the villages included in it, there is often such a significant distance that not legally, but in fact, their residents are in conditions of distant power; many of them officially live in the regional center, coming to their villages for the summer.

“My brother and I used to live here, the rest – some moved away, some died. Then my brother died, he was the eldest. So I was left here alone, living somehow. I’m planting potatoes and eating fish. In the summer people come from Irkutsk to go fishing. I also rent out the bathhouse to them, well, for housing. And when it’s autumn, I return to the village [district center of the village. Kazachinskoe - approx. authors]” (resident of a village along the Kirenga River, 72 years old).

In the above excerpt, it is important not only that the respondent does not live permanently in the village, but also the type of income - renting out housing to external agents who come for fishing, which is a quite common practice. As it turned out during conversations with residents of villages on the border of the Kazachinsko-Lensky and Kirensky districts, a specific situation has developed here with the distribution of powers in the field of environmental protection. Territory of the river The Kirenga and its tributaries (a spawning site for valuable species of fish) were placed under the jurisdiction of the Ust-Kut Fishery Conservation Center of the interdistrict department of the Angara-Baikal Territorial Administration of the State Fisheries Committee. The latter is located more than 500 km along the river from the study area, and in conditions of a shortage of funds for the purchase of fuel, regular monitoring of the river by environmental structures becomes simply impossible.

Thus, if in the first space power simply “leaves” legally, making the entire space “unobservable,” then in the second it still remains, but disappearing in one extremely important area - environmental protection, and it is here that other informal relations most actively arise. Their most common form is informal recreation: it can be a quite comfortable recreation area with houses for rent, with barbecue areas, fishing spots and boat docks; Three such recreational areas were discovered during the expedition. In conversations with their owners, it was constantly mentioned that this is not just a business, but the revival of a once-vanished network of settlements, the revival of the “native land” that became “empty” as a result of unreasonable government policy. At the same

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time, the consumers of such services, according to the same informants, are not locals, but visitors, however, these recreation areas have always been located near large settlements (Magistralny village, Kazachinskoye village).

But recreation can also be much more modest: in most villages in this area, rental houses were noted for those who came for fishing, and in this case a number of points should be noted. Renting can be carried out not only by residents of a given village, but also by their descendants, who have been living in the regional center for quite a long time. Often it is not a house that is rented, but a converted barn or bathhouse, and the house is used as a boat storage area or warehouse. However, it should be noted that currently or previously this building did not always belong to the renter: in “empty” villages, any abandoned building can play this role. The test takers themselves, although not always residents of the village, must have a constant connection with the village and be local. The influence of city money on the village economy has been written more than once [Ilyin, Pokrovsky 2016]. But in our case there are some differences: firstly, this craft is not the main one, but one of many crafts of the local population, and secondly, strictly speaking, this is a craft, not a business, and its content is not determined by a visiting city dweller, but local. Moreover, not everyone has the opportunity to rent temporary housing for hunting or fishing: they rent houses for the most part to “good people” who were recommended by mutual friends living in the city or regional center, they show due respect to the renter, etc. Different behavior may well cause not only refusal, but also aggression towards the “newcomer”.

Several interviews mentioned “bandits” who “came to catch our fish”; the same informants claimed that “the bandits had all the permissions to fish, but ours were not allowed to catch.” That is, we are talking about an attempt to organize completely legal fishing, but since legalization here bypassed the locals, the fishermen in the perception of the residents turned out to be “bandits.” The same thought in some cases applied to the “Muscovites” who “bought everything here, and now they are taking away the last thing.”

Local residents, although they did not have any permits to fish, were, according to respondents, in their right, since “this is our river,” and the fishing activity of local residents, most often living in the city of Kirensk, is based on this. Of course, we are not talking about fisheries on the scale of Kamchatka and Sakhalin, but, according to the informant, “there is enough for a living,” and the fishing places, apparently, have their own “owners.” As the informant noted: “This is our river [one of the spawning tributaries of the river. Kirengi - approx. authors]. We always set up nets here.” The motive of the “owner” was extremely important for respondents

and during the expeditions of 2021 and 2022, this created legitimacy in their own eyes for the claims of local residents to special rights in relation to their place of residence.

The most unusual phenomena were recorded in the third case (expedition from Ust-Kut to Vitim - July–August 2022) with a total route length of 720 km. However, the specificity of the social space that interests us was discovered only in its northern part (from the city of Kirensk): here were all the elements observed in previous expeditions, in this area there were no publicly accessible year-round routes, power lines, in fact, communication with the regional center and then was possible only during the navigation period. A teacher from one of the few rural schools in the area told how she was unable to take her students to the regional center to take the Unified State Exam on a tractor (there was no road traffic or passenger traffic along the river during this period). In a small area of inter-settlement areas facing the river, estate construction was recorded (with a mowed lawn, garden benches by the river and even a “house church”). Hunting is also widespread in this territory, although, unlike the first site, it had not a recreational, but a completely pragmatic meaning. One of the respondents mentioned how the killed elk “fed” the entire village, how bear skins, other fishery products, and wild plants were sold.

“Of course, people don’t come to us as often as we would like. But everyone who comes just has a blast. Here you have fishing that you won’t find anywhere else, and hunting. And yours, from Irkutsk and Bratsk. I just don’t like Muscovites: everything is wrong with them. I remember once even some Japanese came in and then thanked me for about three hours” (foreman at the pier, 53 years old).

Here one could also find dying villages characteristic of the Upper Lena. As in previous expeditions, the main population is concentrated in regional centers and large villages. Ust-Kut with its construction projects and the emergence of regional and federal giants is a powerful center of attraction. In this territory there are significantly more large, “living” settlements with operating enterprises, social infrastructure (schools, kindergartens, cultural centers, paramedic stations) in this territory than in previous locales, especially in the area between the cities of Ust-Kut and Kirensk to the urban-type settlement of Alekseevsk, libraries); The river in this section is navigable. From Ust-Kut, which is a large station of the BAM, northern delivery is carried out, and there is also passenger service. Despite the fact that there are roads here, most of them are “technological” for the needs of pipeline builders, and local residents are not allowed to use these routes without a special paid permit.

“We are not allowed there, there is a barrier, a guardhouse with a watchman. There is a road there for

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oil workers, but ordinary people don't bother to travel there" (village resident, 54 years old).

Not only the roads are separated from the villages, but also the oil workers' settlements themselves; mobile communications are also tied to rotational camps, and, as stated in one of the interviews, the administration is not going to buy the tower, and in the future communications will "go away" along with the oil workers. Such a "wall" becomes a vivid embodiment of "the main trophies of the victors in the war for space" - an expression of freedom that allows you to "escape from a given area" without worrying about the consequences [Bauman 2004, p. 19]. But the "wall" is being built on both sides as an attempt to separate the local world from the global order of corporations: in three settlements, barriers are installed at the entrance (a structure quite uncharacteristic for Siberian villages), which should "keep out oil workers who have completely destroyed the road with their cars."

In this territory, the dichotomy between the world of large projects (BAM, Kovykta, pipeline) and the local community is most clearly manifested. The settlements of Gazprom, Transneft, and INK are located separately from the settlements of local residents, who are practically not involved in work: the main workforce here is shift workers. Large roads, large enterprises, temporary (rotational) camps, etc. - this is one world, and the river and taiga are another, strikingly different in the very principle of organizing space. The corporation is temporary and "alien," constructed, and the local community is a world of villages, albeit dying ones, "given by God" [Luke 1996], and constitutes, according to informants, "the essence of our land."

Despite all the heterogeneity of the described cases, they are united by the appearance, within a space filled with social life, of a desocialized space in which local residents and their communities dissolve and become "invisible." Local life from the position of an external observer (authorities, corporations) looks insignificant in this case, not affecting either significant economic processes or the foundations of social organization. This view is strongly supported by official statistical observation, which records a rapid decline in population, compression of the settlement network and curtailment of economic activity. In the first two cases, this view is largely confirmed by expeditionary observations. The difference in the third case is even more striking, where, along with the described plots, a unique figure of the local "baron", the "owner" of the river and taiga appears: he is not included in the world of large projects, but creates an original social space from the remnants of the local community and new settlers.

The authors of the article heard about the "owner" of these places long before they entered his space: one of the respondents, living in a village that was located along the route of the third expedition,

told how the village was dying out, how all opportunities for work had practically disappeared:

"That's when T. [last name of our hero - approx. authors] will come to power, well, you understand, when he comes here, everything will change: he will plow the fields, there will be livestock, and there will be work. Where he went, it was like that everywhere" (one of three village residents, over 65 years old).

They also talked in interviews about the areas of activity of this "owner". The basis of his business is logging, lumber production, this is where his entry into the region began, and transport companies were established by the same "owner" to transport timber: first a motor transport company, then a flotilla of river vessels. By the time of the expedition in the Irkutsk regions of the river. In Lena, these vessels have become the main river carriers, which provide northern delivery, transportation of goods of the entrepreneur himself, and passenger transportation. In one of the former settlements there are factories that produce lumber for domestic and foreign consumers; in addition, there are forest plots, piers for loading timber onto ships, trading enterprises of various profiles, and a construction company. A few years ago, a new direction appeared - agriculture (meat and dairy), the center of which is located down the river.

"He himself told us that the forest does not last forever, we need to invest in the land, then they began to buy collective farm shares, plow the land, various livestock, raise cows and bulls, and sow grain. Consider that to V. [name of the locality - approx. authors] all the land that is in business now belongs to him" (enterprise employee, resident of a village on the Lena River, over 40 years old).

During the entire expedition, the participants only once (on the Kirenga River) heard feedback about a representative of the municipal government. At the same time, "owner" T. was mentioned in one way or another by all the informants who entered into even a brief conversation with us, since his activities and his enterprises determine the appearance of the territory much more than the construction of the Power of Siberia pipeline taking place there.

At the same time, about this entrepreneur on the Internet, in addition to official certificates of registration of his enterprises and their financial statements, for 20 years of his activity, one can find only two panegyric articles in the media (2009 and 2018) and information that in 2013 he stood for election to the Legislative Assembly of the Irkutsk Region, but chose to withdraw his candidacy. In the zone of his interests (more than 300 m along the river), we did not find any palaces or estates, acting as elements of prestigious consumption and reflecting the key status of this person. There was a feeling that he not only did not strive for publicity, but avoided it as much as possible, while he could not be classified as a shadow actor: his enterprises show an official

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turnover of 4.3 billion rubles. (2021) and it benefits from regional subsidies for passenger transportation.

Information about him was mainly obtained from the stories of the local population and its workers. Unlike large companies, which, according to the informant, “do not hire anyone closer than a thousand kilometers from here,” T. employs both locals and shift workers from among residents of nearby areas and citizens of states - former Soviet republics. Moreover, the working conditions of shift workers differ from the requirements imposed on local residents: “Once an assistant was sent to us from T., well, this one, from a shift. So he worked with us and kept cursing the “master”. He said: “You have heaven, and there is hell.” (male, resident of a village on the Lena River, 54 years old, loader foreman). And this despite the fact that shift workers are paid for travel to their place of work, provided with three meals a day and special clothing, they have their own shops and recreational areas. Since even on the basis of superficial observations we can conclude that the number of shift workers is significant, apparently they are also satisfied with the wages. “Hell” boils down to extremely harsh discipline imposed by the “master”, which almost repeats the working conditions in gold mines described in historical studies.

“One guy told me. They arrived by bus for the shift, and there were drunk people and bulls lying around; all of them, despite the fact that they had just arrived, were fined five thousand. He himself does not smoke and was sober. He went to his superiors to complain, and he was fined another seven thousand for disrespect for his superiors. So it turns out that he hasn’t worked even a day and already owes twelve thousand. Everything is like this for them: work all day, rest only when a break is announced, if you drink - a fine, smoke in the wrong place - a fine, for a fight - a fine, and money only after the shift” (resident of a village on the Lena River, 51 years old).

The requirements for locals are less stringent; however, wages, according to informants, are lower than for shift workers. The relationship between the “owner” and the locals is not easy. On the one hand, he is undoubtedly a “benefactor.” According to the informant, in villages where he has good relations with the residents, his enterprises build roads and install solar panels in them, which is a significant benefit for an area where there is no power line; The “owner” can give residents firewood for the winter (waste from sawmills), sell grain or flour at a discounted price, “not notice” additional passengers or cargo on his ships, or vice versa, but for this you need to be friends with him.

“I once brought berries to D. [name of the former settlement where the main production is located - approx. authors], which ours collected. Real, taiga. They have a special smell and taste. I wanted to sell it to him, but he resisted. “I won’t take it,” he says, “at this price.” And he offers me a completely ridiculous

price, although both I and he know the price. Only he didn’t take it. Well, in order not to offend him by trading through his head, I just gave it to his deputies, without any money” (the head of a village on the Lena River, over 50 years old).

On the other hand, the bad attitude of the “owner” towards a particular village is associated with encroachments on his “will”: for example, in one of the interviews, a respondent, when asked why he does not keep livestock, explained that the main problem is feed, which is only available at T. But when a local resident approached him, the “owner” refused, saying that he had his own bulls and cows, but would readily provide food if the locals began to raise poultry. However, the villagers changed their minds, fearing that the “owner” would demand that the bird be sold at too low a price, and would be deprived of food for refusal. After this incident, the “refuseniks” were among the outcasts for some time, but they paid off with the skins of valuable breeds of animals.

It is quite obvious that if the relationship of the “owner” with shift workers can be characterized as critically tense, then with local workers and residents they are very contradictory: he orders “his own”, and tries to come to an agreement with the locals. From the collected material, it is not entirely clear whether the “owner” is building any kind of relationship with the builders of the pipeline, with the developers of the gas field, but relations with the local authorities are clearly formed: he provides (almost without the knowledge and initiative of the local authorities) milk for schoolchildren and pupils kindergartens, helps maintain transport infrastructure on the river, and often solves settlement problems.

“The district has been promising us a pier for five years now. They applied everywhere, even wrote to the prosecutor’s office, but to no avail: some important [officials – approx. authors], wrote everything down and left. And everything remained as it was. And he just took it and welded the pier” (resident of a village on the Lena River, 51 years old).

The distributed nature of T.’s business involves not just maintaining existing, but also building new transport infrastructure.

During the expedition, more than a dozen localities were noted where sections of the road and bridges across tributaries of the river were built using heavy equipment. Lena. These objects, which violate all environmental and often building standards, do not exist de jure, but become an important element of local life and ensure the connectivity of small settlements. In conditions of acute insufficiency of roads, it is this infrastructure that becomes for local residents the most important tool for transforming individual inhabited localities into an integral space, a way of “stitching” a patchwork quilt of villages and towns into a more or less unified whole. For an outside observer who bases his analysis on these statistical descriptions, this connection is not obvious, but for the

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local population it is everyday and significant. If the authorities “forgot” about them, “abandoned” (“for the authorities we are not here”), then T. took on the function of a center ensuring the coherence of space and communities, thus becoming the performer of authority functions that turn out to be burdensome for the authorities and are carried out outsource it.

The collected array of interviews and observations allows us to conclude that there is a clearly emerging trend towards the degradation of local communities, although there is also a unifying point that arises from external contacts: all representatives of the community are local residents. Judging by the interview data, local is not just an indication of localization in space, but a special and privileged social status. At the same time, within the community the level of solidarity seems to be quite low: for example, many respondents, especially residents under 50 years of age, noted that “some people work, while others drink vodka and want to ride into heaven on someone else’s hump.” But not only locals inhabit this space: on the same territory, “locals” and “newcomers”, “population” and “shift workers”, “railroad workers” and many other social groups exist, practically without noticing each other. At the same time, the conflict for space described by D. Harvey for the city and Z. Bauman regarding the global perspective does not occur precisely because, living in the same territory, they live in different spaces.

The space of the locals has already taken shape and consists of all the elements that have fallen into the “world of the river”, and it is not so important whether these are the remains of Soviet infrastructure or communication towers installed by pipeline builders, newly plowed fields or taiga and river fisheries. For the “river people” (locals), these are all their survival resources. The special status of local people, rooted in the territory, allows them to lay claim to all these resources. And the status itself is very peculiar: on the one hand, they are the “owners” of the land and the river, on the other hand, they suffered from the collapse of the Soviet system, and need guardianship and care from the authorities, who “don’t see us at all, they think that We are not here.” At the same time, as noted above, locals differ in the degree of rootedness (registered, those who come from the regional center for the summer, those who “hang around,” those who survive, etc.).

True, this does not prevent every local from considering himself the “owner” of this space and demanding special treatment. The corporate space is built in completely different coordinates: it is a mega space, covering a huge part of the country, neighboring countries, included, if not in the global world, then in a significant part of it - Eastern Eurasia. “River World” for them is just one of the “empty territories” through which the pipeline is laid to the space where consumers are located. The

characteristics of a territory are determined not by the local population, but by the system of laws regulating the construction or production of hydrocarbons, as well as informal agreements between the corporation and various levels of government - from the federal center to the district. They are “strangers,” but privileged “strangers” who solve problems at the federal level.

In relation to regional and regional authorities, for which large local corporations are not the object of management, but “senior partners”, there is an ideologeme about the multi-effects that their presence will cause in the subject of the federation, and an attitude about the benefits that the corporation brings to the local population. This partly applies to regional centers (mainly the city of Ust-Kutu, the nodal point of the territory). But in general, with the exception of necessary contributions to district and regional budgets, corporations diligently distance themselves from the “random place” in which their activities are carried out. The desocialization of space, its discursive transformation into “territory” fits well into the power discourse of shrinking space, which ensures the legitimization of such a view. The space of power appears no less complex, although different. In theory, it is the government, primarily local, that should participate in the production of social space or, at least, organize it. But in conditions when different parts of the settlement are separated from each other by tens of kilometers of roadless terrain with the river as the main and often the only transport artery, control, and even more so, enforcement of compliance with the rules and the production of order, are hardly feasible. Moreover, it is irrational, since efforts to produce order for the authorities (local, state) require much greater costs than the benefits that, in principle, this territory and its population can provide.

In this case, we can also note an objective circumstance: a certain homogeneous power exists only in the imagination of publicists. In reality, power levels and subjects are in a state of complex and changing relationships, having their own, not always coordinated interests: they differ in the level of ideas, resources, tasks and much more [Molyarenko 2018]. Local authorities (primarily district) build rather complex relations with regional authorities. The second one, traditionally acting as a donor, determines exactly what volume of benefits will be distributed to the lower level and under what conditions these benefits will be given. From this disposition comes the desire to present the situation in the territory so that this resource becomes maximum and provided on the most favorable terms, that is, first-order distortions arise. In turn, the authorities of the subject of the federation have their own reporting parameters and their own KPIs, and they also act as a recipient in relation to the donor - the central government. Moreover, it is at this level that statistical information is legalized, since in fact this is where the authorities

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for recording statistical indicators are located. In order for the region/krai to receive the maximum amount of resources on the most favorable terms, a second-order distortion arises, which is transmitted to the level of federal government. As a result of working with this already distorted picture, an idea of the federal government about the territory arises, which is transmitted to lower levels. Possible directions and parameters of government activity at the lower level (regional, district, settlement) descend there along with resources. Since the picture was created on the basis of a distorted database, the framework of activity outlined by the higher authorities turns out to not completely coincide or not at all coincide with the reality that is supposed to be streamlined and which needs to be managed. At the same time, the authorities, at least at the district and settlement level, are well aware of the current state of affairs, understand the differences between the contrived reality recorded in documents and true objectivity, but they cannot legalize their “local knowledge”. In this case, the conditions it has constructed (risks, threats, benefits), under which the higher government provides resources, will simply collapse.

No less dangerous is inaction, which causes discontent among residents who have their own vision of what the authorities should do in their space. They embody their ideas not only in informal activities, but also in letters, complaints to higher authorities, and appeals to the prosecutor's office. Each such appeal is a blow to local authorities, which can be fatal, especially in the conditions described above, when real control over the territories is unlikely or difficult to achieve due to their inaccessibility.

Only a special agent who is free enough to connect many agents located in the same territory, but in different spaces, can compensate for this “fork” of threats (at the same time, it is necessary not to disturb the picture of the world at a higher level and at the same time contact with real residents of real space). The “owner” of the taiga becomes such an agent. Of course, he is, first of all, an entrepreneur who makes money from everything that is located in the river space - from logging, livestock farming, logistics, transportation, trade, and crafts of the local population. Even unprofitable passenger service with the help of regional subsidies begins to justify itself, since the “owner” is the main carrier, who, quite possibly, has contacts with “black” lumberjacks, whose product, when it reaches legal warehouses and marinas, acquires legal status.

At the same time, the “owner” solves the very social problems of the population (transport, employment, availability of electricity and firewood for the winter, and much, much more) that lie in the area of responsibility of local authorities. The government takes off its social functions and transfers them to the “owner”, takes them outside, to “outsource”. Thus, the “owner” allows the local

authorities, with minimal distraction to satisfy the demands of the residents, to calmly communicate with the regional authorities, and the population, in turn, still receive vital benefits. In essence, it is for this reason that residents of the territories adjacent to the “owner’s” possessions are waiting “for him to come to power.” In turn, the “owner” receives from the local authorities not only certificates of honor, but also the opportunity to remain “invisible” in the public space.

The “owner” of the taiga is authoritative not only for settlements and the region, but also for higher-level authorities. One of the consistent motives articulated by all the entrepreneurs who agreed to be interviewed during the expeditions was the assertion that they were “restoring” the former wealth of the territory. But, in contrast to these most often declarative statements, the “owner” of T. is implementing this revival practically: his workers constitute the main, albeit not permanent, population of five villages; the former settlement itself looks like a large settlement, almost a town; Through his efforts, roads are being laid, not temporary ones (for the purposes of pipeline construction), but roads that can be used by local residents. Jobs appear on an extended territory distant from the “owner’s” property, and the presence of regular communications allows for more efficient use of the results of local fisheries. In other words, it allows authorities at both the local and regional levels, as well as employees of all-Russian holdings, to declare their beneficial influence of presence in the territory: the results are visible, they can be pointed out, thereby maintaining the structure of agreements at a different level.

Without such interest of the regional administration, it would hardly be possible to maintain “invisibility” at the level of a district or settlement, since, as the experience of expeditions shows, a small glitch in the system of agreements is enough for an agent to become “visible” to the repressive apparatus. Thus, during the 2021 expedition, we were told about the fate of the former mayor of Ust-Kut, who, when he was an entrepreneur (the head of the Lenalesservice enterprise), built an estate in “empty space.” However, this estate instantly became “visible” as soon as the entrepreneur became mayor: representatives of law enforcement agencies became interested in these buildings, which was the reason for his arrest. Perhaps it was precisely with the understanding of these risks that T.’s refusal to participate in political activities was connected: the mediator himself (and in fact our hero performs this function) does not have power or some kind of personal power resource (in any case, the presence of such a resource was not mentioned at all). in one interview), but it is he who has the opportunity to mobilize power, to call it into the “empty space”, into the territory.

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Conclusion

What is the reason for new residents, both temporary and relatively permanent, to remain in the “emptiness”? In this case, it is worth paying attention to two levels of observation of the “emptiness”. We tried to present the first level above. This is the level of the state, the level of a remote observer, when we see a reduction in the network of settlements, a compression of social space towards large centers, where the management and power structure is preserved, and resources are condensed. This socio-economic and political view has already been embodied many times in specific studies.

But another view is also possible, an anthropological one, the view of a local resident, a resident of a town near the “shrunk”, “empty” space. For him, space does not shrink, but expands. If in more populated lands there is a struggle for space near the river, for access to hunting grounds, and big money is paid for this, then here everything is different. It is in the “shrunk” space that the local resident has access to hunting and fishing, collecting forest wild plants and much more. Moreover, in conditions of distanced power, fairly strict environmental restrictions operate much more softly, and informal rules replace formal ones. This prospect of returning to capacity makes it possible to reconsider the reactive tendency of the actions of the subjects of political domination. The analysis shows that the accepted dichotomies (government - society) largely obscure the specifics of the development of “empty” territories. Attention to practices of development and a processual perspective can cast a new light on the specificities of both power and peripheral communities. A kind of confirmation is found here in Michel Foucault’s proposal about the imperative of demarcation between power and the state: “Analysis in terms of power should not postulate as initial data the sovereignty of the state, the form of law, or the comprehensive unity of a certain domination; most likely, on the contrary, these are only terminal forms of such analysis. By power, it seems to me, we must mean, first of all, the multiplicity of relations of power that are immanent in the area where they are exercised and that are constitutive of its organization; understand a game that, through continuous battles and clashes, transforms, strengthens and inverts them <...> by power we should understand strategies <...>, the institutional crystallization of which is embodied in state apparatuses, in the formulation of law, in forms of social domination”

In this situation, the question about the other side becomes fair: what is the interest of the authorities, what forces it to reduce the density of regulation, while in general the tendency of hyperregulation clearly dominates? Is power solely a hostage to the development of the situation, which we designate as the “periphery of power”? In our opinion, it can be considered not only as a situation (which it certainly

initially is), but also as a model for organizing the management of territories where the normal functioning of government is associated with significant difficulties. The reduction in costs for the exercise of power in this territory occurs due to a decrease in the density of power regulation in the absence of force majeure; power may not be manifested. Even symbols of power (the national flag) become not so much external attributes of power, but rather a symbol of the organization of a new system of statuses - “locals, permanent residents” vs “newcomers”. The former legitimize the presence of the latter in the “empty” space, and in this sense, the respectful appeal of the newcomer “oligarch” to local pensioners is indicative. Appeal to remote real power is the ultima ratio in conflicts related to the arrangement of such a social system. This allows the authorities not only to radically reduce management costs, but also to “stay while leaving”, performing the functions of domination in the territory without direct presence.

The downside of this model is the growth of subjectivity of the “absent” population, represented in the status of “owner”: the owner of the estate was called the owner, while the manager was also called the mistress; the legal residents of these places considered themselves the owners of the land, having the opportunity to let in or not let in the “Irkutsk people”; The owners of dachas and farmsteads called themselves owners. But dachas near the regional center, not to mention the suburbs of large cities, have a rather weak resource for distancing themselves from the authorities. Here, on the periphery, it was the residents who determined the forms of (re)development of space, forms of communication with each other.

The figure of the “owner” becomes objectively necessary for such an organization of territory management, since it performs the functions of the initiator, subject and main consumer of the social order, the guarantor of which can be the remotely acting government. She, accordingly, is the beneficiary of the “periphery of power” model. The population that does not have the status of a master is not interested in interacting with the authorities under such conditions; it lives either by the rules of “normal authority” (subordination) or by social and/or spatial marginalization (evasion from power). But the “owner” is not only an object of control, but also a subject, an inevitable partner. It is no coincidence that the Soviet experience, reflected in retrospective interviews, showed in such spaces the peripheralization of the actual bodies of Soviet power.

However, this space itself was created and limited by the state, and it is located not only in the vastness of eastern Russia, but also in completely populated territories [Savchenko 2005]. The political transformations of recent years have led to the formation of a dirigiste state, much more striving for

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total control than the USSR, which has sunk into oblivion. But this control also requires corresponding resources, and where these resources (people, funds, management infrastructure, communications, etc.) are not enough, control turns out to be impossible. “Space compression” is not only the process of migration (seasonal and irrevocable) from rural to urban, from small towns to larger ones; it is also a statement that these (certain) territories cannot be controlled by the state, since there are not enough resources, and it is not profitable.

And here a paradox arises: the dominant system of organizing the interaction between government and communities (subject and object of management) does not fit well with the emerging system of “periphery of power” and the inevitable figure of the “master”, which is explained, on the one hand, by the obvious multidirectional trends (hyper-regulation vs decrease in the density of regulation), and on the other hand, the admissibility of more or less recognized mutual subjectivity. Overcoming the paradox is a mutual withdrawal into the shadows: the space formally remains “empty”, and the authorities “do not observe” it and are clearly present only beyond its borders. Interactions are built exclusively on the basis of informal practices, or at least on the basis of a “mutual wink” [Furman 1994], when formal norms are implemented, but with informal content.

Being in an “empty” space, removed from the structure of the territorial organization of the state, the “locals” acquire something that the vast majority of the country’s residents are deprived of – the status of “master”. In other words, they turn out to be not only a potential object of management, however, almost invisible, but also a governing subject, or rather, self-government that exists today almost only in name. As the population concentrates in large cities, the number of such territories will increase, and dirigiste power with hyper control and resources will be concentrated where it can realize itself, while outside the centers of power, a different life may well begin to unfold. But that will be a completely different story.

In the early 2010s. The regional “barons” and governors of the 1990s were described as a special type of power and economic actors. In the conditions of a disintegrating social space after the collapse of the USSR, such actors were able to unite very different, often conflicting groups, and set the rules of the game at the level of federal subjects. They were, unlike the criminal “roofs” that preceded them, completely legal authority figures, capable of imparting the necessary degree of legality to the agents under their control. But their strength and power were built not only on this: they connected the population and business, residents of the regional center and remote northern villages, regional politics and its electorate, various regional communities and the federal center. Essentially, from 1994 to 2004, they acted as the main mediators, determining the nature and direction of the country’s

development, and “stitched” the social fabric with their activities.

Later, the rapid rise in energy prices allowed the central government to refuse the services of these mediators, and the function of a global intermediary began to be performed by the central government and its “vertical” in the territory, turning the latter into a world of global law. Currently, governors have transformed from mediators holding together the country’s social space into mid-level officials, agents of the “vertical”, distributing funds in directions set from the outside. But the presence of huge, sparsely populated and not particularly well-connected territories in the east of Russia led to the fact that a significant part of them actually found themselves in the shadows, becoming “invisible” and, importantly, uninteresting to the state itself. It is quite obvious that the recording of the compression of social space is a reflection of the disinterest of state authorities in controlling this space; more precisely, the fear of the emergence of a powerful competitor representing global law becomes significant in this case. To do this, it is quite enough to control the main highly profitable sectors of the economy and the main (imperial) cities that serve as resource centers in the territory. Actually, the situation here fits well into the theory of “different Russias” described by N.V. Zubarevich and other authors of geographical classifications [Zubarevich 2012]. However, we are interested not so much in “different Russias” (megacities, large and small cities, rural settlements), but rather in the spaces that the authorities, for one reason or another, found it convenient to recognize as “empty”, absent from statistics and reports. Moreover, if space can be considered “empty” (shrunk), then domination over the territory remains the most important condition for the self-preservation of power and its self-justification. And in order for the state power to retain the ability to control the territory, an intermediary is needed between it and the social space, which it perceives as territory. The authorities outsource their presence and control over the territory and trust an intermediary, whose role in our case is the “owner” of the taiga (and not only him).

In different parts of the surveyed space, we discovered various, smaller and even less visible intermediaries. All of them, not being local, were in one way or another connected with the local space, implemented various practices that provided them with rootedness, that is, “invisibility” from the power discourse, had the ability to mobilize power present in the distance, and connected it with the “world of the river.”. It is also important that all of them, at least at the level of self-reflection, revived their native land: they not only practically acted as trusted people of the authorities (usually regional), but also merged the elements of the territory into a kind of new space, a local order that, until a certain time, preferred to remain in the shadow.

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Thus, we can assume that the figure of the mediator is not unique, but typical, at least for frontier spaces. Whether with the help of these mediators some new consolidation of social space will emerge or whether they, like the once regional “barons,” will

disappear at the next turn of Russia’s modern history, the near future will show. However, that will be a completely different story.

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Article



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ON THE FEATURES OF RUSSIA'S NEW DEFENSE STRATEGY

Abstract: In the article, the authors conducted a study of the new development policy of the Far East according to the criteria of compliance with the developmental state model and proposed an explanation for the identified deviations. It is shown that the transformation of goals in Far Eastern policy, the expansion of its spatial and content coverage, as well as the growth of the simulation component, are largely caused by the multitasking and structural weakness of the Ministry of the Russian Federation for the Development of the Far East and the Arctic, its struggle to maintain positions among other ministries and departments.

The research is based on open sources, archival documents and a series of anonymous semi-structured interviews with representatives of government bodies, municipalities, employees of development institutions and resident entrepreneurs of territories of rapid socio-economic development.

Key words: regional development, state, Far East, priority development territories, Far Eastern politics, bureaucracy, development institutions.

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Introduction

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Entertion

The secret version of the new American National Defense Strategy (NDS) was approved at the end of

March 2022. Then it was supplemented with a brief open reference of one and a half pages. More than six months passed before the open version of NSO 2022 was presented to the American and world public. This caused some outrage in Congress, as it complicated the budget process. In mid-October, the first National

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Security Strategy (NSS) of the Biden administration was published, and two weeks later, the public version of the 2022 NSS was published. Simultaneously with NSO-2022, the Nuclear Posture Review and the Missile Defense Policy Review were also published as part of a single package of documents. NSC 2022 defined the strategic framework and goal setting for the NSO. NSC 2022 recorded the end of the post-bipolar era, the intensification of competition between great powers for the right to determine a new image of the world; tightening of ideological and military-political confrontation between “free countries” and “anti-democratic forces”. China is identified as the key and Russia as the most acute threat to the national security of the United States and the US-led “free world.” The second strategic challenge, along with the intensification of competition between great powers, is the cross-border challenges common to all states (climate change, pandemics of infectious diseases, uncontrolled migration, food supply, corruption). The 2022 NSC is based on a rejection of the isolationist tendencies of the Trump era and a return to the forefront of the role of allies and partnerships. Before moving on to the consideration of NSO-2022, it is worth considering the role and significance of the document in the American strategic planning system. In the American hierarchy of strategic planning documents, the NSO is the most significant specialized addition to the NSS. The predecessors were the annual reports of the Secretary of Defense to Congress and the President, the preparation of which ceased in 2005 with the publication of the first NSO. At the same time, for a decade the NSO existed in parallel with the Quadrennial Defense Policy Reviews, which were developed from 1997 to 2014. The NSO is currently being prepared in accordance with the 2017 law, replacing previous reports and reviews.

Issues of defense, military planning and the defense-industrial complex have traditionally occupied an important place in American politics and economics, and reliance on military force is one of the pillars of military-political strategy. But it is necessary to understand the limitations and specifics of this document, especially its public version. To a large extent, NSO is not a pure strategy. The strategy must define a specific goal (or goals), as well as tools, methods of their application and an action plan to achieve the goal in specific conditions and taking into account limited resources. NSO is very broad and general in nature. It is tied to the current strategic environment, but avoids specifics, complex decisions and compromises, and a detailed consideration of the action plan and activities aimed at achieving stated goals. The reasons are clear - documents like the NSO are themselves perceived as a declarative political manifesto of the administration, which goes through a long process of approval within bureaucratic structures, and ultimately turns into a tool for

lobbying, consolidation and communication. NSO is aimed at a large and heterogeneous audience - the leadership of the Armed Forces (AF), Congress, American citizens, the expert community, corporations, foreign politicians, military personnel and experts. As well as supporters and opponents of the current presidential administration, partners, allies and opponents of the United States on the world stage. NSO combines the features of various genres - vision, doctrine, concept, political declaration. When developing it, they try to avoid unnecessary and inconvenient questions and leave maximum room for maneuver for the administration. This is a convenient tool for solving current problems of the administration in general and the Pentagon in particular in Congress and in the diplomatic arena. The NSO should perhaps be called “defense policy framework.” The word “strategy” in the title of the document has more to do with the breadth of coverage (it is truly strategic in nature) and the high hierarchical level - above the NSO, especially after the disappearance of competition from the Quadrennial Defense Policy Reviews, there is only the NSC.

Another factor contributing to the hollowing out of the NSO as a document is the increased emphasis on secrecy in matters related to defense and national security. In this regard, many specific details and aspects of military construction, the structure and strength of the armed forces, as well as technological development remain outside the scope of the public version of the strategy.

Finally, the American bureaucracy, especially the Pentagon and the defense-industrial complex closely associated with it, is a very ponderous, inertial and tenacious system. Compared to the decades-long life cycle of key modern military programs, such as the creation of a new fighter jet or submarine, the life span of the presidential administration is quite short. Often, even sincere attempts by the new administration to implement any meaningful changes are unsuccessful because they come up against issues of national security, secrecy, hundreds of thousands of people involved and billions of dollars. One can recall Donald Trump’s plans to seriously increase the number of ships in the US Navy, which in fact existed in the bowels of the US Department of the Navy long before Trump came to the White House, and if they are implemented, then by that time more than one administration will have changed; or Joe Biden’s promises to reduce the role of nuclear weapons in American strategy, which, as the 2022 nuclear weapons program showed, remained just words.

It is not surprising that some American experts consistently criticize and even call for the abandonment of the institution of strategies as a set of top-level strategic planning documents.

The NSO should be viewed as an ideologized, concise presentation of the views of the Secretary of Defense and his team on the strategic environment, the

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challenges facing the United States, and the goals and objectives of national defense policy, avoiding sharp edges and political rough edges. The NSO serves as the justification for the titanic annual budget process, which ensures the formation of American military power in the medium and long term and on the margins of which the presidential administration and Congress often collide in very fierce battles.

It is in the context of the process of developing and adopting the annual military budget in the form of the fundamental law on budgetary appropriations for national defense that the true role of the NSC and NSO as the tip of the iceberg of strategic planning is revealed. This is also evident from the 2017 law, which established the requirements for the defense strategy: NSO is the basis for the Secretary of Defense to develop annual directives to the leadership of the Pentagon and the Armed Forces for the preparation of budget projects, and once every two years - directives to the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff in order to develop and update plans use of aircraft. At the same time, the Secretary of Defense is obliged to provide the Armed Forces Committees of the Senate and House of Representatives with a detailed secret briefing revealing the main content of the directives related to the NSO.

Below we consider the main provisions of NSO-2022, taking into account the most significant installations of OYAP-2022 and OPRO-2022, a detailed review of which is beyond the scope of this work

In the context of NSO 2022, the key factors of the current moment are:

- strategic competition with China;
- acute threat from Russia;
- threats to US territory;
- the continuing threat from the DPRK, Iran and international terrorism.

NSO 2022 identifies China as the most serious challenge, pursuing a policy of “coersive” and “increasingly aggressive” transformation of the Indo-Pacific region (IPR) and the international system. Washington sees the Chinese threat on a global scale and everywhere in the IPR - in the Taiwan issue, in the South China and East China Seas and on the line of actual control with India. China is comprehensively developing various components of its national power. On the military front, China is taking a holistic approach and strengthening its presence beyond its borders, its power projection capabilities, and its nuclear capabilities.

One of the key ideas of NSO-2022 and NPR-2022 is that for the first time in history, the United States and its allies are faced with the need to simultaneously contain two major nuclear powers - Russia and China, which has a significant impact on strategic stability and American policy.

Unlike China, Russia does not, according to the United States, pose a long-term strategic threat

beyond the nuclear sphere. The threat from Russia is acute, but at the same time more limited in space and time. Russia is seeking to restore its “imperial zone of influence” and is expanding its “impressive track record” of “territorial aggressions.” NSO 2022 draws attention to the Russian-Chinese rapprochement and the risk that if America clashes with one of two key geopolitical adversaries, the other could take advantage of the situation and create a “strategic dilemma” for the United States.

Threats from the DPRK, Iran and international terrorism are noted, but the naked eye can see a decrease in attention to them compared to the topics of China and Russia. As for cross-border threats, which, in accordance with the NSS-2022, are one of the two strategic challenges to national security, they are mentioned purely formally, casually and in passing.

NSO 2022 increases the importance of the role of threats directly to American territory. And if during previous administrations, international terrorism and rogue countries like Iran and North Korea were mainly cited as sources of this threat, now it is Russia and China. There is a growing risk of the enemy's aggressive influence on the military-industrial complex, space facilities and other critical infrastructure, and ultimately on the will of the American public to pursue an active and independent foreign policy. The US strategic environment is becoming more dangerous and unstable. This is due to the emergence of new technologies, weapons systems and areas of confrontation. The interdependence of various spheres of military-political activity, the lack of developed norms of behavior and clear “red lines” entails increased risks of unintentional escalation.

The situation is aggravated by the desire of China, Russia and other adversaries to conduct “hostile activities” in the “gray zone,” that is, below the threshold of Washington’s use of military force, as well as indirect methods in border areas. This includes measures of economic pressure, the use of PMCs and puppet forces abroad, operations in the information and outer space, and military-technical cooperation. The Pentagon's priorities in accordance with NSO 2022 are:

- defense of the territory taking into account the growing threat from the PRC;
- deterring strategic attacks against the United States, its allies and partners;
- deterring aggression and ensuring readiness to prevail in an armed conflict, the first priority is the challenge from the PRC in the ITR, the second is the challenge from Russia in Europe;
- building sustainable aircraft and a “defense ecosystem”. NSO 2022 centers on two concepts: “integrated deterrence” and “campaigning.” At the level of strategic documents, doctrines and concepts in the United States, the invention of terms is very popular, including by creating new phrases or giving

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familiar terms other meanings. This is partly a consequence of political games and PR, attempts to attract the attention of the public and the press, to emphasize the difference between the leadership of a particular department and its predecessors through the use of buzzwords. But new terms cannot be discounted, since they often, even without being innovative concepts, accurately reflect the development of American military-political thought and the nuances of perception of the current situation.

Integrated deterrence is a response to a multi-domain threat from adversaries. "Integration" is built on the consistency of policies, investments and measures taken by the Pentagon with the aim of creating a coordinated deterrence system that takes into account the characteristics of a particular enemy, as well as the integration of conventional and nuclear deterrence, the tasks and capabilities of various American departments, allies and partners. In terms of "containment" itself, the important emphasis is not on the balance of power or potential, but on perception. The phrase that captures the essence of deterrence is worth quoting in its entirety due to its significance - "effective deterrence requires the Department of Defense to take into account how rivals perceive the objectives, the seriousness of the intentions and capabilities of the United States, its allies and partners, and their perception of their ability to control the risks of escalation, as well as their views on how the situation will change in the event of a renunciation of the use of force, including as a result of actions by the United States, its allies and partners." NSO-2022 identifies three types of deterrence depending on the nature of the impact on the enemy, his capabilities and perception, namely:

- Deterrence by preventing the enemy from achieving his goals or quickly gaining advantages. "We cannot implement our plans."

- Containment through resilience, that is, the ability to withstand damage and quickly recover from it. In particular, this concerns ensuring the sustainability of space and information infrastructure, which are a key condition for the effective actions of the Armed Forces. "We can carry out our plans, but the US will be able to quickly recover from the damage and strike back."

- Deterrence through the imposition of costs (cost imposition), when the benefits obtained as a result of hostile actions are offset by direct or indirect costs in the future. This category includes both sanctions and military assistance, as well as nuclear weapons. NSO 2022 emphasizes the importance of not only imposing costs directly by the United States itself, but also collectively. Thus, deterrence is enhanced by creating confidence in the adversary that his actions will face reactions not only from the United States itself, but also from its allies, including those who may not be directly affected by certain hostile

actions. "We can implement our plans, but the cost will be unacceptable."

NSO-2022 is quite vague, but still characterizes the features of the approach to containing China, Russia, North Korea and Iran, namely:

- China - independent actions of the United States to deter through prevention and resilience, developing new concepts and strengthening combat capability in the event of potential aggression from China.

- Russia – interaction with NATO to repel conventional aggression that can escalate into nuclear aggression of any scale.

- North Korea – reliance on its own external military presence and the potential for direct imposition of costs.

- Iran - relying on regional partners and strengthening their capabilities, identifying Iranian actions in the gray zone and preventing Iran from acquiring nuclear weapons.

The idea of "conducting campaigns" in the context of NSO 2022 seems to be a more recent trend in military-political thought. Previously, military support for national security in peacetime was built primarily around external presence, combined with soft power, on the one hand, and power projection, on the other. But power projection is the act of direct use of military force, and therefore cannot be used against hostile great powers in peacetime. Previously, American policy was predominantly reactive, but retained elements of proactiveness towards friendly countries (military-technical cooperation, humanitarian assistance, military diplomacy and joint exercises) and obviously weaker states (Iraq, Yugoslavia, Afghanistan). The influence on potentially hostile great powers was realized mainly through political and diplomatic instruments in the opponent's zone of influence by influencing his geopolitical environment. Now, the United States is declaring that it will act proactively and more directly in peacetime against its geopolitical adversaries, taking military and non-military measures linked to strategy, taking into account the characteristics of the enemy, and united by a single design. The purpose of "campaigning" is to influence rivals to disrupt their activities that pose a threat to the security of the United States, its allies and partners, especially those carried out in the "gray zone." In fact, "conducting campaigns" is a symmetrical response to adversaries: you are conducting operations that affect our interests in the "gray zone" - we will not sit idly by, we will also conduct operations against you, including in the "gray zone".

"Campaigning" also aims not so much at the capabilities, infrastructure or forces of the enemy, but at its perception in order to sow doubts about the ability to achieve its goals or commit hostile acts with impunity. Possible tools used in "conducting campaigns" include information operations,

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intelligence activities and intelligence exchange with allies and partners, economic sanctions, etc.

Finally, in accordance with the guidelines of NSC 2022, NDS 2022 involves the involvement of allies and partners at all stages of military planning. The United States sees the development of the military and defense potential of its allies and partners as an important element in deterring adversaries. The United States reserves the global dimension of the geopolitical confrontation, but shifts a significant part of the burden and responsibility on a regional scale to its allies. For these purposes, it is planned to ease restrictions on the exchange of intelligence data, transfer and joint development of technologies, weapons and military equipment. NSO 2022 confirms some redistribution of the American external presence in favor of Europe and the IPR and at the expense of the Middle East. Within the framework of the idea of “integrated deterrence,” the United States sets the task of ensuring national security in the Western Hemisphere, the Arctic and Africa against the backdrop of concentrating key resources and attention on the industrial and technical infrastructure.

One of the key factors in the ITR is a very open attempt by NSO 2022 to highlight the contradictions between China and India and to introduce India as a key military partner of the United States into a broad anti-China coalition.

The second factor is that, against the backdrop of fierce competition with China in the ITR, the United States is shifting the emphasis of cooperation from a bilateral to a multilateral basis. There is no need to talk about the possibility of creating an analogue of NATO in the ITR, at least for now, but the United States is striving to bring together its allies that are quite distant from each other like Australia and Japan, to involve extra-regional powers (for example, Great Britain within the framework of AUKUS), and also to turn partners into allies (primarily this concerns India). Trying to isolate China as much as possible politically in the IPR, NSO 2022 declares the need to transform ASEAN into a platform for solving regional security problems. NSO 2022 points to the need to reallocate attention and resources to priority threats and recognize increased risks in other areas. The concentration of national power on the great powers implies a reduction in the number of functions performed by the armed forces on a daily basis, due to the development of the functionality of deterrence and preparation for war, rather than the non-military potential of providing humanitarian assistance, soft power and military diplomacy. The United States fears that in the event of a clash with one of its geopolitical opponents, the second may make an adventurous attempt to take advantage of the situation and carry out “aggressive actions” in another region, which is a risk, given the abandonment of the “two major regional wars” standard. The Americans adhered to this standard after the end of the Cold War,

and under George W. Bush adopted an even more ambitious concept of “1-4-2-1”, according to which the armed forces must be able to simultaneously effectively defend their own territory and contain conflicts in four regions and wage two major regional wars, in one of which victory must be achieved as quickly as possible. As the limits of American military power, budgetary constraints and the growth of the military potential of Russia and China were realized, this standard was revised, which was enshrined in the Strategic Defense Guidance of the Barack Obama administration back in 2012, and later confirmed in the latest Quadrennial Defense Policy Review of 2014 and NSO 2018 of the Donald Trump administration. NSO 2022 retains Trump’s formulation – to ensure victory in one conflict with a major power and deter “opportunistic aggression” in another region. At the same time, the Joint Nuclear Program 2022 directly states that one of the important elements of deterring “opportunistic aggression” will be nuclear weapons. At the same time, it is noted that a conflict with China and Russia simultaneously is extremely unlikely.

NSO 2022 points to the need to prepare for low-intensity conflicts and military operations limited in time and scale, but so that this does not significantly affect the readiness to conduct high-intensity combat operations in a full-scale conflict. It further explicitly states that day-to-day requirements for external presence and combat alert should not negatively impact combat readiness for future missions. This could likely accelerate the gradual limitation of the external naval presence of the United States, the increasing intensity of which, coupled with a reduction in the number of naval personnel, has led over 20 years to a significant increase in the operational load on the fleet forces. In the context of building a sustainable armed forces and “defense ecosystem,” special emphasis is placed on the development of reconnaissance, communications and control systems, including space ones. The ultimate goal is to increase the stability of the overall intelligence, communications and control system, the quality and speed of target detection and target designation, as well as the ability to effectively threaten key elements of the enemy’s military power, primarily those that provide him with the ability to limit access in relation to the US Armed Forces (anti-access/area-denial capability, or A2/AD, is another “fashionable” concept, the popularity of which has decreased somewhat in recent years, which did not prevent it from being included in NSO-2022). This concerns, first of all, air defense systems, as well as various carriers of high-precision weapons based on land, air and sea. It is emphasized that threatening an adversary’s A2/AD capability must be accompanied by escalation management. NSO-2022 makes quite loud statements regarding the existing military development system. Currently, it is too slow and focused on creating systems that are not designed to

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counter the most serious challenges of the future. The Pentagon should emphasize the rapid development of new technologies and concepts, accelerating the development and adoption of new weapons systems, which should have an open architecture and be adapted to introduce new technologies. The United States plans to create an “innovation ecosystem” within the defense industrial complex, which also includes joint projects with allies and partners. Mutually beneficial military-technical cooperation between the United States and key countries in the joint development of new weapons systems and the introduction of new technologies is expected to be provided with comprehensive support. The Pentagon plans to actively adopt the achievements of the civilian commercial sector that are relevant to the Armed Forces in terms of introducing artificial intelligence technologies, microelectronics, renewable energy, etc. along with its own developments in hypersonic weapons, directed energy weapons, information technology, biotechnology, advanced materials and quantum information science. It is also planned to carry out institutional reforms and ensure integration in relation to programs for the accumulation and processing of data, the creation of specialized software and the introduction of artificial intelligence technologies. The Pentagon will support the development of modern production technologies in the defense industrial complex. Particular attention is paid to the development of human resources of the Ministry of Defense, the Armed Forces and the military-industrial complex. The importance of new specialties in the field of advanced information technology and artificial intelligence, as well as interaction with educational institutions, including civilian ones, is emphasized. It is necessary to develop internal competencies and understanding among Ministry of Defense employees and military personnel of advanced technologies, potential adversaries and the future shape of military conflicts. Strengthening the role of language training, critical thinking and analytical skills, social and behavioral sciences in the educational programs of military universities is becoming important. The Pentagon plans to develop a system of internships, fellowships and professional development for Department employees, including in the private sector, to increase awareness, develop expertise and competencies and attract best practices. It seems advisable to study this Pentagon experience and use it in domestic practice.

One gets the impression that the United States fears a repeat of something similar to the attack on Pearl Harbor. There are parallels between NSO 2022's warnings about “cost imposition” and “sustainability” and the phrase attributed to Admiral Yamamoto (indeed a graceful piece of American cinema), “we have awakened a sleeping giant.” The attention and language regarding the island of Guam is indicative: any attack on it or any other territory of the United

States will be considered a direct attack. It's a curious coincidence that during the Pacific War, Hawaii, like Guam now, was a territory, not a state. The United States intends to remain the leader of the “free world”, establish international rules and prevent any attempts by “anti-democratic forces” to challenge their position. At the same time, they fear the sliding of rivalry into war, uncontrolled escalation and hostile actions of their opponents, especially large-scale and preventive ones. The Pentagon plans to avoid inadvertently slipping from competition to confrontation, and to complement enhanced deterrence by managing the risks of escalation. It is indicative to include the topic “Risk Management” as an independent section, as well as the introduction of a subsection on escalation management to the section on integrated deterrence. One of the terms that NSO-2022 characterizes the current strategic situation and processes occurring in the military-political sphere is “opacity.” It is interesting to draw a parallel with the term “uncertainty,” which became popular in American military-political strategy after the end of the bipolar confrontation. And if by “uncertainty” we meant, first of all, the inability to clearly predict the results of the development of current processes, then by “opacity” we mean the unpredictability of the mechanisms and processes themselves that influence the emergence of conflicts and escalation, the vagueness of critical thresholds and “red lines”, distortion and inaccuracy perception during contacts and transmission of information. NSO 2022 emphasizes the importance of communication and consultation in crisis situations, not only with allies and partners, but also with adversaries. Considerable attention is paid to risk management and the prevention of incorrect assessments and decisions in the 2022 Nuclear Program. The role of communications is noted to prevent misperceptions of policies, capabilities and intentions by adversaries and adversaries by the United States itself. It also states that Americans must carefully avoid crossing misunderstood or vague “red lines” that constitute the threshold for enemy use of nuclear weapons. Measures to manage these risks should include both internal research, scenario analysis and assessment, and active engagement with potential adversaries through a wide range of public and private dialogue mechanisms in peacetime and in times of crisis or conflict. The United States says it is committed to increasing transparency and mutual understanding.

Main part

The new version of the Foreign Policy Concept, approved on March 31, 2023 by Vladimir Putin, dramatically changes previous ideas about the role and place of Russia in the world. Regardless of the constructiveness or debatability of the various novelties of the document, it must be recognized that their implementation will take place in a world

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radically different from the provisions contained in the Concept. Practice significantly lags behind theory, and this, apparently, will be worse for practice. A single continental space of peace, stability, mutual trust, development and prosperity. Russia as a distinctive state-civilization and one of the leading centers of development of the modern world. International use of the Northern Sea Route against the backdrop of a non-equilibrium model of global development that is irreversibly becoming a thing of the past. Anglo-Saxon states, abusing either their dominant position or its rudiments. The collective West, limiting the sovereignty of the states that are part of its collective. Dissemination of truthful information about a new type of war against the background of destructive information and psychological influence. A common problem with the latest versions of the Foreign Policy Concept (CFP) of the Russian Federation, provisions from the new edition of which are given above, was the lag between the written normative letter and the tirelessly changing reality. For example, the 2013 CVP, which stated “priority” relations with the states of the Euro-Atlantic region, based on “deep common civilizational roots,” already a year later began to look so extravagant that it had to be practically ignored in the conduct of foreign policy. Despite all the internal political somersaults and maneuvers towards either “sovereign democracy” or national patriotism, from 2008 to March 31, 2023, Russia emphasized its commitment to “universal democratic values”, which at the same time were the object of criticism not so much from the opposition, as much as the country's leadership itself. In short, in the past, the “system of views on the national interests of the Russian Federation in the foreign policy sphere,” which is what the Foreign Policy Concept should be, was considerably behind the times. In the case of the 2023 edition, we are seeing a completely different type of understanding of reality. Now the conjuncture not only cannot overtake, but even, it seems, cannot catch up with the flight of conceptual thought. Of course, in any doctrine, concept or strategy there is an artistic element - these are, if you like, the laws of the genre. A description of the future, even if it is the nearest one, is never complete without visionary vision and bold forecasts (often, however, they miss the mark, no matter how much the authors would like the opposite). However, the new Foreign Policy Concept addresses such goals, objectives and directions that it is difficult to imagine their implementation in the long term, not only over the six-year interval traditional for strategic planning documents, but also over a much longer (perhaps even multiple) period of time. In this world, not only has the problem of sustainable development of the Russian economy on a new technological basis been successfully solved, but also the model of global development that has existed for centuries (as indicated in the Concept itself) has fallen. Artificial

intelligence and the latest technologies mysteriously strengthen national identity and “universal and traditional spiritual and moral values.” The new, multipolar system of international relations is based on “restoring the role of the UN as a central coordinating mechanism in coordinating the interests of states,” although the UN itself represents the core element of the Yalta-Potsdam system. The latter, firstly, cannot be called something new, and secondly, it has been drawing criticism for several decades from the powers that, claiming the role of “many poles”, do not have the opportunity to stand on the same level as the permanent members of the Council Security. The CVP proclaims strengthening the potential and increasing the international role of the CSTO - against the background, to put it mildly, of controversial processes in this organization and a number of member countries in recent years. The concept returns to the Greater Eurasian Partnership project, first proclaimed in 2015, but which has made little progress since then in terms of practical implementation. And so on for a number of key points, right down to the principles of a multipolar system of international relations - when reading them, only the last lines of Pushkin's “Confession” come to mind. The central point of the new Concept was a truly quantum leap in the use of a civilizational approach. Some of its inclusions have been found in the CVP before - for example, in the context of “diversity of civilizations” or even “between civilizational fault lines”, but never before has Russia been directly declared at the same time as a “distinctive state-civilization”, “a vast Eurasian and Euro-Pacific power” and “a sovereign center of world development with a unique mission and a creative civilizational role.” The term “mission” did not appear at all in previous versions of the KVP, like any other synonyms for purpose, destiny or calling. Attentive readers may correct: since 2013, the text of the Concept began emphasizing the country's “unique role” “as a balancing factor in international affairs and the development of world civilization,” and this was indeed a significant increase in the stakes compared to previous diplomatic statements about “a constructive role in ensuring the civilizational compatibility of Europe” (KVP 2008) or “a constructive role in solving pressing international problems” (KVP 2000). Now, in addition to the state, culture and “community of the Russian world,” the ties of the Russian people with the peoples of the CIS member states have also become “civilizational” (which, however, do not prescribe similar provisions in their conceptual documents concerning foreign policy activities). It is striking that in the text of the KVP, besides the Russian one, only one civilization is mentioned - Islamic. Not Chinese, not Indian, not Arab, and not even Western or Anglo-Saxon - although (to the shudder of medievalists and lovers of the real Heptarchy) the mysterious “Anglo-Saxon states” are spelled out for the first time in Russian

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official documents. Such a silence, unfortunately, is typical for civilizational searches: it is no wonder to proclaim oneself a civilization, but it is much more difficult to understand exactly what a world ordered in this way looks like and what specific civilizations it includes. A few decades ago, sociologists Tajfel and Turner noted that the first step in building identity is categorization - a kind of ordering of the surrounding world, dividing it into groups, forming "order and coherence [...] when alternative guidelines for action are absent, unclear or confused." When the civilizational approach is chosen as the basis for such categorization within foreign policy, it is precisely this path that becomes unclear and confusing - while alternative options like "nation-states" and "state-nations" are characterized by precisely yet greater elaboration, prevalence and detail. That is why it is characteristic that, with all the homage to civilizationism, the new KVP with much greater regularity turns to the familiar "national" language: both in the context of "national" (and not at all "civilizational") interests, and in the context of "national" priorities, the same features, the same security and economy. Attempts to unite "nation" and "civilization" in one galley, of course, have been made before (suffice it to remember that the National Policy Strategy until 2025 postulated the presence of a "single cultural (civilization) code"), but it is characteristic that today within content-related documents - such as the CVP, the National Security Strategy or the now widely mentioned Presidential Decree No. 809 - civilizational images are either widely presented (as in the Concept), or not mentioned at all (as in the last-mentioned documents). The Strategy of State Cultural Policy speaks of "traditional values and norms for Russian civilization"; at the same time, official discourse at least as often refers to the concept of a "national cultural code." Just as the constitutional amendments of 2020 gave lawyers the mystery of connecting two peoples - the "multinational" and the "forming state", the new KVP is trying to conduct Russian foreign policy between the "national" and "civilizational" pillars of Hercules, beyond which, of course, one can see an inevitably bright future. An even more significant circumstance complicating the assessment of the new Concept is that it sharply revises a number of provisions that were reflected in most previous versions of the document. Some changes can be explained by the turbulence of international relations (remembering, however, that that an attempt to set a new strategic vector at a time of turbulence is an interesting activity, but hardly fruitful), but others cause bewilderment with their declarative nature. An example of the latter is the deliberate shift of Europe and the United States in the list of regional foreign policy directions: never in the history of the Russian Federation has interaction with such states been lower than the Arctic, ASEAN, Africa and the Caribbean. The demonstrative

demotion of countries that, whether we like it or not, plays a very significant role on the world stage and are still Russia's leading economic partners looks deliberate. Even in 2022, against the backdrop of all the sanctions and severance of ties, the volume of foreign trade transactions with the United States amounted to more than 16 billion dollars - seemingly less than two percent of the total volume of foreign trade, but still more than trade turnover with India (13.5 billion dollars), and slightly less than with all (!) African countries (18 billion dollars). The scale of interactions with the EU is even more impressive - at the end of 2022, it not only did not decrease, but also reached its maximum in the last 8 years, amounting to 258.6 billion euros (which is much more than, for example, trade turnover with China). At the same time, the same relations are described for the first time through the formulas of "Western hegemony", "Russophobia" and "aggressive anti-Russian policy of the collective West". To be fair, we note that 2022, extraordinary in every sense, can hardly be considered as determining the future; the structure of Russia's economic ties is changing radically. But even in these circumstances, recognizing the "collective West" as an insignificant counterparty at the very bottom of the hierarchy of priorities can only be done for emotional and propaganda reasons. In the end, the fierce confrontation with it, which is actually recognized in the text, does not allow insufficient attention to be paid to this area. In at least two previous versions of the Russian Foreign Policy Concept - 2008 and 2013. - Russia, despite the earlier Munich speech and the conflict in South Ossetia, was confidently called "the largest European state" and "an integral, organic part of European civilization," respectively. Moreover, even in the KVP-2016, adopted two and a half years after the inclusion of Crimea into Russia, there were formulas about "building an equal and indivisible system of pan-European security" or "forming a common economic and humanitarian space from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean based on harmonization and connecting the processes of European and Eurasian integration." Now we are talking about "the transformation of Eurasia into a single common continental space <...> Greater Eurasian Partnership" and, at best, "lasting peace in the European part of Eurasia." The change in civilizational affiliation, or rather, now in the originality of Russia, seems to be of interest, but a debatable step - if circumstances are capable of so rapidly influencing civilizational identity, the question arises as to how applicable such a lexicon is generally applicable. If in the KVP 2013 and 2016. While it was about the important or priority "importance of the implementation of the Treaty <...> on measures for the further reduction and limitation of strategic offensive weapons," the new version of the document only speaks of "the destruction of the system of treaties in the field of arms control," undermining strategic stability. If earlier (in 2008,

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2013 and 2016) one of the main barriers to the development of contacts between Russia and the EU was called the “visa regime”, the abolition of which was called “a powerful impulse for strengthening cooperation”, now only a very vague “formation of a new model of coexistence with European states.” But there was a postulation of “a comprehensive deepening of ties and coordination with friendly sovereign global centers <...> committed to approaches that fundamentally coincide with Russian approaches to the future world order.” The rhetoric of various “centers of world development” permeates the entire Concept - Russia and the USA are directly named as such, China and India are indirectly designated, and also, as if in addition to the proclamation of “Islamic civilization,” it is not the country that is called the “original and influential center of world development” the entire African continent. Thus, the document proclaiming the value of “renouncing neocolonial ambitions” reproduces a rather specific discourse, the inadmissibility of which has been warned by many authors, including Dipo Faloyin, who last year published a bestseller with the characteristic title “Africa is Not a Country.” Finally, it is noteworthy that precisely in 2023, against the backdrop of a military operation lasting more than a year, the KVP for the first time in the history of the Russian Federation includes provisions on the “peacefulness” of foreign policy - in previous versions of the Concept such a word was used only in relation to Afghanistan, or rather, in relation to what a restored Afghanistan should become. In conclusion, however, it is worth repeating - the most fascinating feature of the new Foreign Policy Concept is not an attempt to combine the incompatible and not another sharp change in priorities and guidelines, seemingly recently declared “traditional”. The main mystery of the KVP lies in the very possibility of its “grounding”, that is, implementation within the framework of the existing system of international relations, the current situation and, finally, the existing capabilities of the intended performers. To proclaim, as you know, is one thing, but to introduce and implement is completely different. How, in the conditions of sanctions and international contacts shrinking like shagreen leather, can we form a technological basis for effective economic recovery? It’s hardly worth talking about growth seriously - since 2014, the physical volume of Russian GDP has increased by only 6.3%, while the global figure is about 26.3 percent. How to quickly reorient the training of diplomatic personnel to work not even in Delhi or Beijing, but in Asmara or Bamako? How to convert statistical calculations that are convincing to the average person in the spirit of “a third of the world lives in neutral countries leaning toward Russia” into the effective formation of a new world, when even the USSR, according to sociologists, failed to “leave the orbit of the capitalist world system”? How to restore the role of the UN as

the central coordinating mechanism of international relations, when any vote in the Security Council faces another veto, and the position of the General Assembly forces Russian experts to count on their heads those who abstained or were absent? In Ukraine - opened a new period of Russian history. February 24, 2022 - the beginning of a special military operation and became a turning point in modern international politics. Russia's relations with the West, which had steadily deteriorated over the previous decade, have finally collapsed. In response to actions in Ukraine, the West threatens to turn Russia into an international pariah, consistently blocks its foreign economic relations, and tries to influence Russian society by isolating it from the outside world.

Against the backdrop of the consolidation of the West around the United States, a rapprochement between Russia and China is taking place. Coalitions of great powers are being formed in the world, opposing each other on the most important issues of world order and fundamental values. Globalization is being replaced by regionalization, the world is splitting into opposing military-political, financial-economic and technological blocs. Politics dominates economics. The well-known formula of thirty years ago is turned inside out: It's geopolitics, stupid! In this virtually warlike situation, a “re-issue” of the Russian Federation is inevitable. The main direction of the government's measures is the mobilization of all available resources and the maximum expansion of economic freedoms within the country while simultaneously supporting socially vulnerable segments of the population. But these are only the first urgent measures. The country needs fundamental changes: closing the channels that feed corruption; reorientation of big business towards national interests; a new personnel policy with the aim of significantly improving the quality of public administration at all levels; social solidarity; the return of fundamental - not monetary - values as the basis of life. These changes, in turn, are impossible without overcoming the remaining elements of offshore oligarchic capitalism, widespread rotation and improvement of the ruling elite, state and administrative apparatuses and, as a consequence, re-concluding a social contract between the government and society on the basis of mutual trust and solidarity. The most important front of confrontation takes place within Russian society. You can cope with an external challenge only under the condition of self-purification and self-determination. It is necessary to defeat not only theft and embezzlement, but also cynicism, primitive materialism, and lack of faith; become citizens in the full sense of the word; decide for what a person lives and the country exists - and without what, if you expand this thesis, life and existence become meaningless; stop lying to others and to yourself. Hopes for such a turn arose during the “Russian Spring” of 2014, but they were not realized,

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which gave rise to disappointment. Now there is a second chance. We must learn the lesson of history: the Russian state is practically invincible from the outside, but it collapses to its core when a significant mass of Russian people become disillusioned with their rulers and the existing unjust or dysfunctional social system. In Russian foreign policy, there has been a transition from the confrontation (confrontation) with the collective West that began in 2014 to an active hybrid war with it. A hybrid war is an acute confrontation, including armed conflicts (so far indirect) of varying degrees of intensity, with the exception of a general nuclear war; economic, financial and technological blockade; information war; cyber attacks; terrorism; subversion and so on. Hybrid war is not a “second cold war”, since the Russian Federation is not the Soviet Union, and the rest of the world has changed a lot over the past decades. But, like the Cold War, hybrid confrontation is an acute form of struggle for a new world order. This time we are talking about maintaining the global dominance of the West, led by the United States, or the formation of a polycentric system of relations without the real dominance of any one force in it. The transition from confrontation to hybrid war means that the time for maneuvers and attempts to persuade “partners” and “colleagues” is over; the viscous confrontation with them has been replaced by an acute confrontation. The deterioration of relations over the past two decades has moved beyond the so-called values gap in the 2000s. To a trust deficit in the 2010s and open hostility in the early 2020s. The United States and its allies are no longer opponents, but adversaries of Russia. The West is breaking ties with Russia - both with the state and with society - in all areas. This gap will last for a long time. The West will not “understand”, will not “soften” and will not “become kinder” to Russia. For Western countries, Russia, labeled a threat and declared an international pariah, has become the most important factor in internal consolidation around the United States, and as such it is indispensable for the foreseeable future. In any case, returning relations between the Russian Federation and the West to the past is clearly impossible. The goals of the opposing sides are the most decisive. For the West, led by Washington, the main goal is not just a change in the political regime in Russia, but also the elimination of Russia as a major independent entity on the world stage, ideally, closing it on internal conflicts and contradictions. For Russia, the main goal is to establish the country as a self-sufficient and independent great power from the West in economic, financial and technological terms, one of the centers and leaders of the emerging new polycentric world order. These goals leave no room for strategic compromise. Objectively, many of Russia’s goals coincide with the aspirations of a number of non-Western states – not only China, but partly India, and other members of the BRICS group.

At the same time, the global “non-West,” unlike the West, is not a coalition united by common interests and values. The interests of different countries in this part of the world system vary greatly, the contradictions between them - for example, between India and China, India and Pakistan, Iran and Arab countries - are strong and lead to conflicts. Even more important is that, unlike Russia (and Iran), the rest of the leading countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America remain deeply integrated into the American-centric financial and economic system, and many are politically and ideologically dependent on the United States. In these conditions, Russia should not count on significant help and support from non-Western partners - their actual neutrality, that is, non-participation in anti-Russian sanctions, will be enough. Russia will mainly have to rely on its own strength. However, Russia’s relations with the two largest powers in Asia - China and India - are of the utmost strategic importance. The rise of the PRC naturally led to its confrontation with the United States, which is seeking to maintain, if not dominance, then primacy in the world system. At the same time, thanks to the progressive development of Russian-Chinese relations over the past three decades, the quality of the partnership between Moscow and Beijing has become unprecedentedly high. The acute confrontation between the United States and Russia, as well as the worsening confrontation between America and China, objectively lead to a new type of alliance - “without borders”, but also without strict obligations - between Russia and China. In the context of an economic war with the West, Beijing is Moscow’s most important partner in the fields of finance, technology, and economics for the foreseeable future. The guarantee of this partnership on the Chinese side is the strategic national interest of China itself.

Russia’s relations with India are based on long-standing traditions of friendship and mutual sympathy. The growing importance and role of India in the world is in Russia’s interests. The increase in India’s economic power and its technological development expand the potential for interaction with Russia. At the same time, the contradictions between Delhi and Beijing, as well as the political and economic rapprochement of India with the United States against the backdrop of a hybrid war between the United States and Russia and increasingly close cooperation between the Russian Federation and the PRC pose a serious challenge to Russian-Indian relations. An urgent task is to strengthen the strategic partnership between Moscow and Delhi in order to bring it to the level of Russian-Chinese interaction. At a time when politics begins to dominate economics, an important task of Russian foreign policy is to help mitigate Indian-Chinese differences and involve India in closer strategic interaction both on a bilateral basis and on the RIC, SCO and BRICS platforms. Most

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international organizations in which Russia participates are dominated by the United States and/or its allies. Typical examples are the Organization for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons and the Council of Europe. The withdrawal of the Russian Federation from the Council of Europe is a long overdue step. Even the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, which was founded by the Soviet Union, is under the decisive influence of Western countries. The exception is the United Nations, where Russia, as a permanent member of the Security Council, has the right of veto. For Moscow, which takes an active position in the UN and its institutions, it makes sense to focus much more on organizations of non-Western countries - BRICS, SCO, RIC, as well as on organizations in which Russia plays a leading role - the Eurasian Economic Union and the Collective Security Treaty Organization. At all these platforms, it is necessary to develop and promote the global agenda, the contours of which were set out in the joint Russian-Chinese statement of February 4, 2022. These theses must be turned into a global platform for interaction between interested states. The primary tasks of the Russian foreign policy in the new conditions seem quite obvious: (a) strategic containment of the enemy - the United States and its NATO allies, prevention, despite the active hybrid confrontation with them, slide towards nuclear war; (b) creating favorable conditions for Russia's self-development, relying primarily on internal resources and maintaining/reorienting its foreign economic relations during the outbreak of the economic war with the West; maximum assistance to Russian business within the country and in foreign economic activity; (c) development of close coordination and interaction with the main ally of the Russian Federation - Belarus; development of economic integration and strengthening of military cooperation with the countries of the EAEU and CSTO; (d) further expansion of areas of practical interaction and strengthening of mutual understanding with the main strategic partners of the Russian Federation - China and India; (e) active development of ties with Turkey, Iran, and other countries in Asia, Latin America, and Africa that have not joined the sanctions regime against Russia; (e) gradual formation, together with partners in the SCO and BRICS, and other interested states, of the foundations of a new international financial architecture that does not depend on the US dollar. The conditions of a hybrid war do not leave much room for cooperation with unfriendly states - Russia's actual opponents. However, it is worth maintaining, as much as possible, a situation of strategic stability with the United States and preventing dangerous military incidents with the United States and NATO countries. This requires reliable functioning of communication channels with American and NATO authorities responsible for defense and security. In solving other global problems

- such as climate change, combating epidemics or preserving nature in the Arctic - emphasis will have to be placed on national programs and cooperation with friendly states.

In the Ukrainian direction, the task of Russian foreign policy after the end of the military conflict is the formation of new relations between the Russian Federation and Ukraine, reliably excluding the transformation of Ukraine into a threat to the security of Russia; recognition by Kiev of the status of Crimea as part of the Russian Federation and the independence of the Donbass republics. A promising goal is the formation of a new geopolitical reality (community) in eastern Europe based on friendly relations between Russia, Belarus, the Donbass republics, as well as relations with Ukraine acceptable to the Russian Federation. In the context of a sharp reduction in contacts with Western countries (North America, Europe, the Anglosphere), it is necessary to redistribute Russia's foreign diplomatic resources from the West to the East and South, starting with the neighboring CIS countries, where diplomatic activity and the effectiveness of Russia's foreign policy are clearly insufficient. It's time to start strengthening the expert and analytical base of Russian foreign policy, especially in the countries of the former Soviet Union, as well as Russia's neighbors in Eurasia. Many failures, miscalculations and failures of Moscow's foreign policy in the Ukrainian direction since the 1990s. are rooted in shallow, top-level ideas about the political, social and ideological realities of modern Ukraine. To correct the situation, it is necessary to create world-class centers to study the processes occurring in Eastern Europe, Central Asia and Kazakhstan, as well as in the Transcaucasus. Along with this, it is necessary to shift the focus of foreign policy information and propaganda from Western countries, where a strong anti-Russian consensus has been formed in societies, to non-Western countries, the development of meaningful, respectful dialogues, first of all, with the societies of states that have taken a neutral position in the global hybrid war. This applies primarily to the leading countries of Asia, Latin America and Africa (China, India, Iran, Turkey, Pakistan, Vietnam, Indonesia, Malaysia, Argentina, Brazil, Mexico, South Africa, Nigeria, United Arab Emirates, Egypt, Algeria). In addition to information and propaganda resources, Russian research centers focusing on these regions should receive incentive support. With the change in the situation, the need to formulate a new guiding idea for Russian foreign policy in the 21st century has become even more obvious - primarily for the Russian Federation itself, its close friends and for the outside world: neutrals and situational allies. Pragmatism as a strategy is no longer acceptable in current conditions; he descends to the level of tactics. We need a modern-sounding "Russian idea", based on a set of values that are organic to the people of Russia, and including a number of goals and

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principles: sovereignty of states; indivisibility of international security; justice based on law; co-development; maintaining cultural diversity; dialogue of civilizations. The main task in the ideological direction is the implementation of the stated values and goals in the practical policy of the Russian state within the country, as well as on the international stage.

Conclusion

In general, the American expert community greeted NSO2022 positively. A number of experts have expressed concerns about how the administration and the Pentagon will turn the conceptual guidelines of NSO 2022 into concrete decisions and activities. Doubts were also voiced about the advisability of increasing the degree of tension towards China. Finally, a number of experts, having read the NSO-2022, drew attention not to the description of the ominous pre-war period, the global ideological confrontation between democracy and authoritarianism and the coming tripolar nuclear world, but to the insufficient, in their opinion, attention paid to human rights, the fight against climate change and peace and security issues with a gender perspective. At the same time, the Biden administration's strategic documents are increasingly reminiscent of the famous cartoon by British artist Tom Gold, "Our Sacred Land is Their Barbarian Desert." Their multi-domain threats are our integrated deterrence, their malign behavior and gray zone violence is our "campaigning", their proliferation of advanced military technologies is our military-technical cooperation, their nuclear threats are our deterrent signals. NSO-2022 and NSC-2022 do not in any way try to provide a logical, rational justification for the policies of opponents, be it China, Russia or Iran, from the point of view of the national interests of these countries, to find common ground and opportunities for a diplomatic settlement based on negotiations and compromises. It is impossible not to notice in the text of NSO-2022 obvious pairs with the same content and polar values.

Thus, the following quote from NSO 2022 stands out: "U.S. leadership in defining norms of behavior in the information, space, and other emerging technological domains will strengthen deterrence by strengthening international consensus on what constitutes malign and aggressive behavior." The United States once again emphasizes that it is they who must determine "what is good and what is bad" in the international arena, and the tired "rules-based order" implies rules defined by Washington and consistent with its interests. Even Western experts note that the "rules-based order" represents the globalization of the liberal world order, the international ideology of the Western bloc, which won the Cold War, but is not the only or optimal vector of development for all of humanity.

In general, the Biden administration, in terms of strategic documents, is trying to avoid swings in extreme directions such as Trump's shocking quasi-isolationism or the straightforward unilateralism of George W. Bush. NSO-2022, like NSS2022, lies within the framework of traditional guidelines and is an evolutionary, rather than revolutionary, development of the American military-political strategy. One should not exaggerate the differences with the NSO 2018 guidelines of the Donald Trump administration.

The world within which the Pentagon plans to ensure national interests and security has definitely become darker and more alarming. The coming years will be a time of further development of the ideological and military-political confrontation between the "enlightened free world" and the "barbarian revisionists." What gives some hope is that Washington appears to be well aware of the potentially catastrophic consequences of uncontrolled escalation and is interested in avoiding it. However, there is no doubt that the risk of a major war will not stop the United States in the struggle for dominance in the world; Washington will simply try to achieve its goals with minimal risks and costs for itself.

The new Foreign Policy Concept has at least three fundamental vulnerabilities that prevent its unambiguous approval as a strategic guideline for relevant activities.

Firstly, the very system of views it sets is characterized by both courage and not always appropriate visionariness - after all, there are problems in the world that are difficult to solve (if at all) through a normative announcement that a solution has been found. Neither the crusade against neocolonialism, nor new civilizational alignments, nor the postulation of a special mission will acquire political meaning until they are understood, supported and appropriated by the overwhelming majority of the population - at the same time, recent practice shows that even with an unambiguous explanation and legitimation where To put it mildly, domestic information machines sometimes have problems with smaller-scale events and processes.

Secondly, the aforementioned visionaryism and the formation of "pleasant flexibility" in the foreign policy body may turn into an elementary blunder, in which Russia will once again decisively move in one direction, and the centers of global development and geopolitical influence that are valuable to it will move in a slightly different direction. It was said above that strategic restructuring in a period of turbulence is a task that threatens to turn into Sisyphean; it is only worth emphasizing that any mistake of this kind can weigh somewhat more than a routine wrong turn. For some literary heroes, I remember, it was valuable to hit a target invisible to the eye, because "anyone can hit an open object," but foreign policy in the spirit of Bulgakov's Koroviev is a thought experiment

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undesirable for a nuclear power faced with “the abuse of individual states of their dominant position in some areas.” Finally, the third and perhaps the most important question is whose hands will pave the way for the implementation of all the impressive provisions of the KVP, because for a number of Russian officials, not excluding the most status ones, the current Concept is the fifth (!) in a series of those that they found in his position. Moreover, the same figures are contemporaries and witnesses not only to the next change in “basic principles” and “strategic goals”, but also to the persistent inequality in the country, the degradation of the culture of dialogue, as

well as the stubbornly reproducing behavior of their own elites in the spirit of the denounced “neoliberal” installations. The very spirit of the new Foreign Policy Concept suggests that the formation of a fair world order and new models of economic development is something more than replacing direct technological dependence with “parallel imports”, and German-made luxury cars with Chinese analogues produced by Hongqi. It is unclear, however, how this spirit will be matched by those who, over the course of decades, have created with their own hands something exactly the opposite.

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CRIMEAN TATARS AND RUSSIA: LESSONS FROM HISTORY AND WAYS OF INTEGRATION INTO THE FUTURE

Abstract: *In the article, the authors explore Russia's integration experience in relation to the Crimean Tatars. In 2014, the Crimean Tatar issue received a new impetus for internationalization, which was associated with a number of factors. The foreign information space was filled with news reports and reports from international organizations on human rights violations in Crimea and the oppression of Crimean Tatars. At the same time, in historical retrospect, this is not the first time that Crimea has integrated into the Russian space. This socio-political experience and its technological dimension are of both applied and theoretical scientific interest. Analysis of scientific literature showed an ambiguous assessment of the joint historical past of Crimea and Russia. Researchers' opinions about the Russian experience of integrating the Crimean Tatars vary sharply, from positive to purely negative, pointing to the centuries-long deliberate extermination of this ethnic group by Tsarist and Soviet Russia. Therefore, the relevance of an objective study of Russia's integration policy regarding the Crimean Tatars, based on primary sources and political literature, using scientific methodology, is beyond doubt. The article also provides a forecast regarding the further development of the Crimean Tatar issue on the territory of the Russian Federation.*

Key words: *political technologies, socio-political experience, integration, Russian Empire, Crimean Tatars, government decrees.*

Language: *English*

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Introduction

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*Don't paint shameful deeds as good,
 oblivion is not given to the living,
 quickly from the face of Soviet power
 erase the black spot!
 Can't hold water with water,
 don't put out fire with fire,
 return the homeland to the people,
 his soul remained in him!*

Boris Chichibabin

If you look deeply into the history of relations between the Tatars and Russians, you can conclude that these two peoples and their ancestors have always been together and are so inextricably linked with each other and with other peoples of Russia that to break their unity means to destroy Russia itself. In addition, just as the Russian people today are divided by the borders of different states, so the multicultural Tatar people are divided by the same borders, because the Great Russians, Belarusians, Ukrainians, Rusyns are the heirs of Rus' and special branches of the Russians, as well as the Kazakhs, Nogais, Crimean, Meshchera, Dobrudzhinsky, Lithuanian, Kazan, Astrakhan, Siberian and other Tatars are the heirs of the Horde and special branches of the Tatars. Thus, through Orthodox Christianity, two large divided peoples are united - Tatar and Russian, this union is the heir of Rus' and the Horde at the same time, and if you look more broadly, then the heir of Byzantium and the Great Mongol Ulus. And the key connecting link in this union are the Orthodox Tatars. However, this union has enemies - those who want to separate the Tatars from the Russians. Some want to build Russian statehood without the Tatars, others want Tatar statehood without the Russians, and still others are foreign "partners" who want to break the common heritage of Rus' and the Horde. However, there are differences, for example, the large Russian people were initially formed on the basis of Orthodox Christianity, but the large Tatar people were initially formed on the principles of Yasa Genghis Khan, primarily based on a Christian basis, but at a certain period of time they underwent Islamization, and since then it has passed 7 centuries before the Muslim Tatars officially recognized that Orthodoxy is traditional for the Tatars, and the Tatar people are a confessional spirit, which is enshrined in the development strategy of the Tatar people ("TATARS: ACTION STRATEGY"), adopted on August 29, 2020 in Kazan at the extended "Milli Dzhieny" ("National Assembly") of the World Congress of Tatars with the participation of the President of Tatarstan Rustam Minnikhanov, State Councilor of Tatarstan Mintimer Shaimiev, Deputy Prime Minister of Russia Marat Khusnullin and the entire elite of the republic, as well as delegates of the Tatar communities of Russia and from abroad. All three groups of opponents of the

Tatar-Russian union want to build small national states on the fragments of the empire and see their main obstacle as the spiritual unity of the Tatars and Russians, which is achieved not by the unification of language or cultures, but by the unity of the Orthodox Christian Faith and Eucharistic communion. In addition, culturally, the branches of the Russian and Tatar peoples are also close, this is true both for Russia and for Kazakhstan, Ukraine and other countries.

As for the language and the language issue, objectively today the language of interethnic communication is the modern literary Russian language, and not Russian, Belarusian, Ukrainian, etc. mov, or Tatar, Cossack, Nogai, etc. body This is an objective reality and the Tatar language has lagged behind the Russian language. The Tatar language today, for various reasons, is not the language of interethnic communication that it used to be; the halo of its use in Russia, including in one of the Russian regions - Tatarstan, is limited to rural areas, Sabantui, Tatar concerts and events of the VKT and other Tatar public organizations; in everyday and business communication, urban Tatars even communicate with each other in Russian.

In city mosques, prayer is performed in Arabic, and sermons and duas, as well as business and everyday communication, are performed in Russian. The latter logically follows from the fact that the majority of mosque parishioners are not Tatars and do not understand Tatar. Apparently, this fact forced the head of the Muslim Spiritual Directorate of the Republic of Tatarstan Kamil Samigullin, in order to preserve the lost positions of the Tatar language, to oblige the mosques of Tatarstan to preach only in Tatar, but this position of the regional mufti was rejected by other Islamic religious structures and their leaders operating throughout Russia. The picture is completely different in Kryashen Orthodox churches, where services are performed in their native language, regardless of whether they are in cities or rural areas. Today no one will argue that the Kryashens preserved the knowledge of the Tatar language better than anyone; it is quite obvious that this is a direct consequence of its living functioning in the highest form - in the form of communication with God the Creator.

However, the Kryashens have other problems: firstly, there are catastrophically few Kryashen churches, especially in cities, secondly, some of the Kryashens, for various reasons, do not have Tatar identity, and thirdly, knowledge of the Kryashen version of the Tatar language requires special additional efforts. The modern literary form of the Tatar language differs from the corresponding form of the Tatar language created and disseminated by Nikolai Ilminsky and Father Vasily Timofeev for Divine services in approximately the same way as the modern Russian language and the Russian language of the Russian Empire with "yat", "er", "er", etc. More

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and more Tatars are recognizing the fact that the future belongs to the Russian-speaking Tatars, who are one of the highly urbanized peoples. In cities, they grow up from childhood in a Russian-speaking environment; until recently, their parents knew the Tatar language, but the current generation of Tatar parents no longer knows it, and accordingly, they will not be able to pass it on to their children. Some “hot heads” on the part of the Tatars do not want to come to terms with this fact and are trying to correct the situation with the Tatar language through the popularization of repressive measures, for example, forcing everyone in Tatarstan to speak Tatar through compulsory study of it in school, or by ignoring the already existing large number of Russian speakers Tatars and attempts to oust them into an imaginary marginal sector compared to Tatar-speaking Tatars, but what comes of it? Exactly the opposite effect: those who do not accept the established reality of the existence of Russian-speaking Tatars as a special significant Tatar group look marginalized, while it is easier for Russian-speaking Tatars themselves to lose their Tatar identity due to the position of their Tatar-speaking fellow tribesmen, who do not accept those who do not know their bodies. It is worth noting that outside of Tatarstan the majority of them, with the exception of those permanently living in Tatar villages, are quite compact and closed, but once they move to the city, already in the second or third generation the Tatar language becomes only a historical heritage. And no repressive measures can keep a young Tatar or a young Tatar woman who wants to develop in the village, if he or she sees all the prospects for development in the city, and not just in the city, but, as a rule, in the capital - in Moscow. This is primarily characteristic of the Meshchera Tatars from Nizhny Novgorod, Ryazan, Tambov, Penza, Ulyanovsk regions, Mordovia and Chuvashia. Also in Moscow there are a significant number of representatives of Tatar youth from Tatarstan and Bashkortostan, Orenburg, Chelyabinsk regions and other regions.

There are almost no teachers of the Tatar language in Moscow (by the way, those who exist are Kryashens); there is also no real support for their activities from Tatarstan or the VKT, most likely because it is beneficial for Tatarstan officials and public figures not to notice this, because none of them really does not believe that the capital's Tatars will be Tatar-speaking in the future, and money will have to be allocated for this attempt, if only to show, to portray the appearance of concern for the preservation of their native language. Of course, ordinary Tatars do not like this state of affairs with their native language, which used to be a language of international communication along with Russian, and now the halo of its use has narrowed to rural areas, but it is also impossible to ignore the already established fact of the existence of a large group of Russian-speaking Tatars,

and try to force them to learn The Tatar language is a completely useless activity. Moreover, any repressive measures in this matter will one way or another undermine the Tatar-Russian unity that has developed over centuries and ensures the existence of Russia. After all, on the one hand, these measures will not lead to an expansion of the area of use of the Tatar language and the Tatars will always be unpleasant to realize the ongoing weakening of its position, and the Russians will always be unpleasant to realize that the Tatars do not like the already established Russian-speaking nature of some Tatars and that in one of the regions of Russia — Tatarstan is trying to fight Russian-speaking by imposing the Tatar language through the education system, which in itself is still ineffective.

In any case, both peoples will have an unpleasant aftertaste. What is the way out of this situation? In our opinion, there is a way out and it can be called in one word - harmony. To do this, the Tatars need to recognize the realities of today, and not live in illusions. The “ideal reality” (let's call them that) is as follows:

1. Most of the Tatars (about 30%, including that part of the Kryashens of Tatarstan and Bashkortostan who consider themselves Tatars, but not limited to them) profess Orthodox Christianity.

2. Most modern Tatars (both Orthodox and Muslims) are bilingual or only Russian-speaking, and, as a rule, the ethnic Kryashens of Tatarstan and Bashkortostan, not always having a Tatar identity, have a better command of the Tatar language. And this is solely the merit of the system of education and worship in the Tatar language of Ilminsky-Timofeev. Where this system did not exist, Orthodox Tatars, like urban Muslim Tatars, for the most part did not retain their native language.

3. Most Russian-speaking Tatars profess Orthodox Christianity or have Orthodox close relatives.

4. Tatar-Russian marriages are widespread, the children in which, as a rule, in any case become Russian-speaking and in more than 80% of cases choose Orthodox Christianity rather than Islam.

5. The modern literary Tatar language poorly takes into account the peculiarities of the languages, dialects and dialects of different Tatars, which makes it uncompetitive as a candidate for the language of interethnic communication, in the so-called “the age of new information and telecommunications technologies”, and yet another reform of the Tatar language may become finishing, not reviving it. Only after recognizing the existing reality can we talk about harmonious actions that will contribute to the preservation and development of both Tatar identity, culture, language, and Tatar-Russian unity. In our opinion, these are the following actions, namely:

1. Expanding the use of modern Tatar, Kazakh, Nogai, Crimean Tatar and any other literary forms of

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the Tatar language and their dialects and dialects in Orthodox worship. At the same time, in all purely Kryashen settlements of Tatarstan and Bashkortostan, Kryashen churches should fully function, where the divine service will be performed in the Kryashen version of the Tatar language completely, in all churches of settlements with a mixed population, the divine service should be performed partially in the modern literary Tatar language (start this The process can be done by duplicating the Gospel and the Apostle on it). In places where Tatars live densely throughout Russia, Orthodox worship in churches should also be partially in the Tatar language.

2. In Russian megacities, just large cities and Tatar historical centers, such as Moscow, St. Petersburg, Kazan, Ufa, Yekaterinburg, Orenburg, Nizhny Novgorod, Astrakhan, Volgograd, Ulyanovsk, Penza, Saransk, Saratov, Samara, Perm, Tobolsk, Tyumen, Ryazan, Kasimov, Temnikov, Dzhanikoy, Bakhchisarai, Simferopol, etc. special parishes of the eastern tradition should function, where divine services will be performed in Tatar, Kazakh, Crimean Tatar, Nogai, Bashkir, as well as in the languages of labor migrants (Kyrgyz, Uzbek, Azerbaijani, Tajik), in most cases in such parishes the divine service will be in modern literary Tatar language (partially or completely). Parishes of the Eastern tradition will have some features, such as equipped special places for ablution, carpets and rugs in churches, which involve the removal of shoes, men's singing in Byzantine chant, some features in the clothing of clergy and clergy, a more active use of ancient Christian prayer poses and gestures, etc. .d. At the same time, it is necessary to take into account that for a Russian-speaking Tatar, a service only in Tatar will be incomprehensible; a service with partial Tatar inserts is more suitable for him.

3. Expansion of the practice of performing Baptism with names familiar to the Tatars.

4. It is necessary to develop Orthodox Tatar art - icon painting and shamail.

5. It is necessary to ordain and appoint bishops from among the Tatars or who speak the Tatar language and are familiar with the Tatar culture to departments responsible for the registration of the Tatar population, this is especially true for the Tatarstan Metropolis.

6. Through Orthodox worship in Tatar, Crimean Tatar, Nogai, Kazakh and other related languages in ordinary parishes and parishes of the Eastern tradition of the Russian Orthodox Church, it is necessary to arrive at a harmonious reform of the modern literary Tatar language. The language of communication with God, used by representatives of the entire divided Tatar people, is capable of being a language of interethnic communication.

7. Tatar and Russian nationalists need to stop contrasting the history of the Tatars and Russians; they need to emphasize in every possible way the

unity and symbiosis of these two Russian principles. Ideally, every Tatar should consider himself a Russian (at least partly), and every Russian should consider himself a Tatar (also at least partly), because belonging to each other is our strength.

The Russian world and the Tatar world cannot exist without each other. Tatars and Russians must preserve this unity not only for themselves, but above all for all the peoples of historical Russia - the heir of the Golden Horde. Therefore, it is puzzling that some Tatar nationalists praise those Tatar historical figures who were or are perceived as opponents of this Tatar-Russian world, for example, Kul Sharif, Syuyumbike, and not those who really built this unity - Sartak, Mengu-Timur, Kasym, Yakub, Sain-Bulat Simeon Bekbulatovich, Shah Ali, Seid Burkhan Vasily Arslanovich, among whom were both Christians (Sartak, Sain Bulat, Seid Burkhan, etc.) and Muslims (Kasim, Yakub, Shah Ali, etc.). And the current situation of the Republic of Tatarstan is not liked by ordinary Russian people, because under the so-called. "Parade of sovereignties" of the 1990s and even in the 2000s, the republic made attempts to "sail away," as Damir Iskhakov put it, or at least "sail away," using Islamic religious and Tatar national factors (then it was very difficult for the Kryashens and other Orthodox Tatars Tatarstan), identifying themselves with the heirs of the Kazan Khanate, this was witnessed by the current generation of ordinary Russian people who no longer believe the "cunning Tatars" and are wary of the celebration of the 100th anniversary of the "revival of Tatar statehood."

The Russians have a question: what kind of Tatar statehood is being revived? The Kazan Khanate of late times with 60,000 Christians in slavery, or was the Republic of Tatarstan revived as the heir of the Kasimov Khanate? We see that Tatarstan must be revived and clearly proclaim its political succession from the Kasimov Khanate, where truly Christian Tatars, Muslim Tatars, Russians, Mordovians and other peoples lived in peace, friendship and together built Russia as the heir of the Golden Horde.

Those Tatars who think so can be called Russian or Kasimov Tatars in the broad sense, there are quite a few of them among the Tatars and they represent a special Tatar socio-political force. Many of them are Russian-speaking and Orthodox, with a pronounced Tatar identity, who want to preserve it, even those who do not know the Tatar language want to learn it, study it, pray in it in Orthodox churches and at home. On the contrary, there is a part of the Kryashens of Tatarstan who have an excellent, masterful command of the Tatar language, perform divine services in it, but at the same time have lost or do not have Tatar self-awareness.

This happens in life; knowledge of a language does not always guarantee the preservation of identity, and vice versa, ignorance of a language does not always mean a loss of identity. That part of the

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Kryashens of Tatarstan who do not want to be Tatars must be “let go”, you will not be forcibly nice, but at the same time we must not forget that there are also those Kryashens who decided to be a subethnic group within the Tatars with a special name, and there are also those who calls himself equally a Kryashen and an Orthodox Tatar and does not see a problem in the name.

In any case, the Kryashens of Tatarstan and Bashkortostan have already developed their own Kryashen church and liturgical culture, no matter who their specific representatives consider themselves to be, and we, all Tatars, must help them revive and preserve it, because this is our culture - the culture of a large divided Tatar people, which includes not only the Tatar-speaking Kryashens, Nagaibaks, but also Nogais, Kazakhs and other branches of the historical Horde Tatars.

We must also help preserve the language and culture of the Mordovians - the Karatai, who profess Orthodox Christianity and speak the Tatar language. For an Orthodox Christian, supporting the language and culture of his brother in the faith of Christ is quite natural, which is why Orthodox Russians should support the expansion of the use of the Tatar language in Orthodox worship, and therefore support the Orthodox Tatars, because in Christ there is neither a Greek nor a Jew, but everything is in Christ to everyone!

Main part

Since the repatriation of the Crimean Tatars to the territory of Crimea in the 1990s. The Crimean Tatar issue systematically attracted the attention of the scientific community. At the same time, political and economic aspects (rallies, unauthorized seizure of the Crimean land fund by representatives of this ethnic group) have traditionally been in the foreground. However, the Crimean Tatar issue received international resonance as a result of the political events of 2014. This is evidenced by discussions by the heads of various states, including Ukraine, the Russian Federation, the Republic of Turkey, on the Crimean Tatar issue, numerous publications in the international media, as well as the close attention of international and non-governmental organizations (UN, OSCE, Amnesty International, Initiative Group for Human Rights in Crimea, Field Human Rights Center, Crimea SOS) to the situation of the Crimean Tatars on the territory of Russian Crimea. The beginning of the 21st century was the time of the emergence of hybrid forms of conflicts between great powers, which learned to act in the “gray zone” - on the brink of war and peace, without entering into an open military clash and without violating the norms of international law. In hybrid wars, various methods of warfare can be used, including the replacement of traditional basic values of society with the moral and psychological attitudes of the aggressor, falsification

of history, desacralization of significant events and personalities, the formation of ethnic nationalism, as well as inciting interethnic and interreligious contradictions in multi-ethnic regions. All of the above poses a direct threat to Russia as a multinational state. Therefore, the Crimean Tatar issue, being an internal problem of Russia, is at the same time an object of confrontation between great powers and a factor in either strengthening or weakening Russian influence in the Black Sea-Mediterranean region. After the political events of 2014, the joint past of Russia and the Crimean Tatars, as one of the means of shaping the worldview of the population, acquired special interest and an increased level of politicization. This thesis is confirmed by contradictory assessments of the scientific community during the historical period when Crimea was part of Tsarist and Soviet Russia. Researchers' opinions about the Russian experience of integrating the Crimean Tatars vary sharply from positive to purely negative, indicating a policy of deliberate destruction of the Crimean Tatar ethnic group during the Tsarist and Soviet periods of Russian history. This is explained by the fact that “history itself, as a science, is within the methodological framework of interpretation, which significantly varies the possibilities of obtaining, interpreting and applying historical knowledge as a political ideology.” In addition to the already well-developed principles of historical science - historicism, objectivity, alternativeness, three methodological approaches of historical science can be distinguished, namely:

- 1) history is the basis of any political ideology;
- 2) history is written by the victors, that is, the elites who won the political struggle with external or internal competitors;
- 3) “there is no limit to the interpretation of historical fact.”

The above data form the relevance of an objective study of the Russian experience of interaction with the Crimean Tatar ethnic group. The need to conduct these studies lies in a systematic study of the joint history of Russia and the Crimean Tatars based on sources and political literature to identify functional socio-political technologies for the integration of the Crimean Tatars into the modern all-Russian space. In order to achieve this goal, the article analyzed the following problems, namely:

- study government decrees that relate to Crimean Tatars;
- research periodical publications;
- classify periodical publications demonstrating technologies for the integration of the Crimean Tatar ethnic group;
- determine the mechanisms for integrating the Crimean Tatars into the all-Russian space, as well as the main directions of the tsarist policy towards the Crimean Tatars.

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In this regard, the object of study is the national policy of Russia. The subject is the integration policy of the Russian Empire towards the Crimean Tatars. The study was carried out within the framework of the developed scientific methodology, which consists in the application of systemic, civilizational and geopolitical approaches. The main research methods were: chronological, institutional, induction, analysis, synthesis, abstraction, typology, comparison, generalization of the experience of interaction between the tsarist government and the Crimean Tatar ethnic group. Crimea first came under the jurisdiction of Russia on April 8, 1783. According to the Crimean researcher A. A. Irkhin, the annexation of Crimea and other territorial increments of Catherine II became possible due to the fact that the West was disunited and occupied with internal conflicts between the leading powers - France and England, busy redividing the world outside Europe. Continental affairs were handled by Russia, Prussia and Austria. Therefore, Russia has an objective opportunity for territorial expansion to the West within the geographical framework of the Baltic-Black Sea arc. It is in this arc that the historical and civilizational dispute about the border between Russia and Europe

takes place. The signing of the manifesto "On the acceptance of the Crimean peninsula, Taman island and the entire Kuban side under the Russian state" posed a rather difficult task for the Russian Empire, to integrate the Crimean Tatar population into the Russian space, which belongs to another civilizational community and gravitates in the religious, cultural and political spheres to Ottoman Empire.

The Empress's special attention to new subjects is demonstrated by the following promise of Catherine II to the Crimean Tatars: "holy and unshakably for ourselves and the successors of our throne, to support them on an equal basis with our natural subjects, to protect and defend their persons, property, temples and natural faith, which is freely practiced with will remain inviolable by all legal rituals, and finally allow each of them to have all the charms and advantages that such a state enjoys in Russia." The study of government decrees and literature allowed us to identify the political technologies used in the 18th century. by the imperial government, for the integration of the Crimean Tatars into the all-Russian space. These technologies can be classified into three areas (Figure 1).

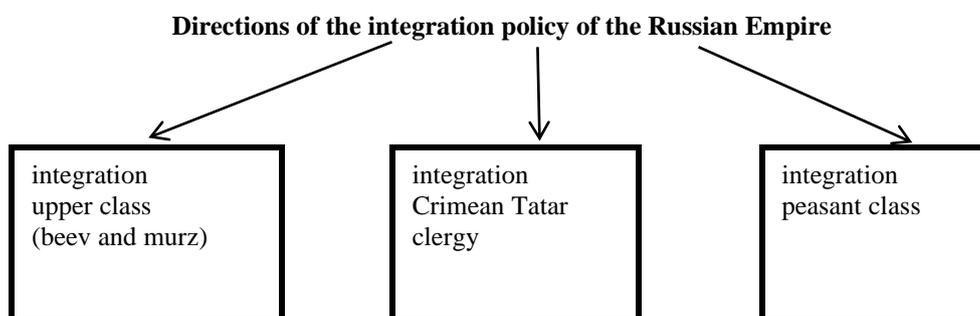


Figure 1. Features of the integration policy of the Russian Empire

The political technologies of integration in relation to the Crimean Tatar upper class (beys and murzas) were as follows, namely:

1. Involvement of the Crimean Tatar nobility in military service with the possible awarding of officer ranks to "relevant persons."

2. Granting to the upper class of Crimea - the beys and murzas - all the rights and benefits of the Russian nobility.

3. Providing many murzas and beys with civil ranks (the rank of collegiate councilor was granted to Memet Bey Shirinsky, the position of regional conscientious judge was granted to Kazyndar Megmet-aga and others).

4. Creating conditions for the activation of the socio-political activities of the Crimean Tatar elite - providing representatives of the Crimean Tatar ethnic group with the positions of district leaders of the nobility. These positions were received in the Simferopol district - Abduveli-aga Topechokrasky,

Feodosiysk - Major Atai-Murza Shirinsky and others.

5. Allocation of land resources of the Tauride province for the use of eminent Crimean Tatars.

Imperial integration technologies aimed at representatives of the Crimean Tatar clergy and the religious feelings of the Crimean Tatars, namely:

1. Ensuring respectful attitude towards the religion of Muslims by representatives of other faiths. This is evidenced by the order issued by G. A. Potemkin, which stated: "... as a church rebel, who dares to neglect respect for their sacred places and violate the prayer of Muslims, will be subjected to the most severe punishment."

2. Demonstration of government attention to the religion of Muslims. Catherine II allocated funds to repair Crimean mosques and help the poor Muslim clergy.

3. Establishing control over the local Muslim clergy through the creation of a supreme body of

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spiritual authority in 1794 Muslims VTauride region – Tauride Mohammedan spiritual rule, as well as through the government appointment of muftis.

4. Popularization of knowledge of the state language among the clergy by providing greater social prospects for those who have mastered the Russian language. “If there were several candidates for a clergy position, preference should have been given to those who knew Russian.”

5. Spread of the Russian language among the Crimean Tatars, through individual representatives of the clergy who speak the state language. Because, in addition to performing liturgical duties, the clergy supervised the education of Muslims.

6. Creating conditions for the recognition of the power of Russian rulers by the highest Muslim clergy.

7. Demonstration of respect for the traditions of the Crimean Tatars through the vesting of the clergy with certain judicial power.

8. Formation of a positive attitude of the Muslim clergy towards the Russian government through the exemption of representatives of this class from paying taxes.

Integration policy of the Russian Empire in relation to the Crimean Tatar peasant class, namely:

1. Ensuring the freedom of the Crimean Tatars. Peasants belonging to the Crimean Tatar ethnic group were equated to state peasants, to whom serfdom did not apply.

2. Providing benefits to the Crimean Tatars (peasants and settlers) in the form of exemption from military service (from recruitment), as well as from duty for troop billets.

3. Popularization of military service among the Crimean Tatars, through the creation of national military formations, entry into which took place on a voluntary basis, upon enlistment a salary was paid.

Despite the loyal policy regarding the Muslim population of Crimea, consolidating the positions of the Russian Empire on the territory of the peninsula was quite problematic. This is evidenced by waves of emigration of the Crimean Tatar ethnic group to the Ottoman Empire. The reasons for the emergence of this process were: panic caused by a change in the usual way of life and differences in cultures, the liberties of officials and Russian troops on the ground, as well as contradictions in the issue of land ownership. It is worth noting that the new administration did not create any obstacles to the departure of the Crimean Tatars, but did its best to convince them not to leave their homeland with the help of the Muslim clergy and the allocation of land plots. And it worked: many Crimean Tatars who left their homeland returned back. The process of including the Crimean Tatars in the political, economic and cultural all-Russian space was permanent, due to the external influences of the West and the Ottoman Empire, as well as internal objective reasons:

the closed nature of the Crimean Tatar society;
lack of patriotism towards the Russian Empire;
ignorance and misunderstanding of internal processes occurring in Russian society;

insufficient education of the Crimean Tatars and ignorance of the legislative framework of the Russian Empire;

the government's lack of knowledge about the cultural and everyday characteristics of Russian Muslims;

Inconsistent integration activities of the government.

Therefore, even after a hundred years, the issue of integration of the Crimean Tatars remained relevant for the Russian government. Then the tsarist government began to involve the information sphere, namely, it gave permission to a prominent representative of the Crimean Tatars I. Gasprinsky to publish the first Crimean Tatar newspaper of the Russian Empire “Translator-Terdzhiman”, the author and editor of which he was, in order to influence the Crimean Tatar public. The publication of the newspaper began to coincide with the 100th anniversary of the annexation of Crimea to Russia. The periodical was published from 1883 to 1918, its format was informational and educational, it covered all the most striking and important events of the late 19th – early 20th centuries. Of interest is the fact that the newspaper, while performing a special state function, was also private. In modern scientific literature there is conflicting information regarding the political views of I. Gasprinsky. In works published before 1991, it was stated that, according to his convictions, he was an “all-Russian patriot” and advocated the rapprochement of the entire East with Russia. In studies published since 1992, I. Gasprinsky is already demonstrated as a fighter against the Russian autocracy. Studying the works of Gasprinsky: “Russian Islam. Thoughts, notes and observations of a Muslim”, “Russian-Eastern Agreement. Thoughts, notes and wishes”, as well as materials from the newspaper “Translator-Terdzhiman” did not confirm the latter concept. Based on the study of the publications of the newspaper “Translator-Terdzhiman”, it is possible to highlight the following aspects of integration technologies that were brought to the Crimean Tatar ethnic group through the newspaper and systematically displayed on the pages of the periodical, namely:

1. Philological technologies, which were expressed in the bilingual nature of the periodical (the newspaper was published in Russian and Crimean Tatar languages).

2. The authoritative personality of I. Gasprinsky in the role of the conductor of the views of the Russian government and the publisher-editor of the newspaper.

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3. Demonstration and popularization of the peaceful living of Muslims and Christians within the Russian Empire.

4. Fostering a sense of patriotism for Russia, popularizing the ideas of statehood as a great Russian power.

5. Informing the Crimean Tatar population of the orders and innovations of the Russian authorities.

6. Criticism of the Turkish state, which was one step lower in the field of education and printing.

7. Demonstration of Russia as an advanced civilizational center, the most acceptable for the life of Muslims in comparison with European countries.

8. Propaganda for increasing the level of secular education and vesting administrative functions with representatives of the highest clergy of Crimea.

9. Demonstration of the active participation of the Crimean Tatar ethnic group in the socio-political events of the country.

10. Spreading the idea of the need to increase the level of secular education for the successful implementation of representatives of the Crimean Tatar ethnic group in the professional sphere.

11. Formation by the editor-publisher of "Translator" of a two-level state identity of the Crimean Tatars called "Russian Islam".

12. Popularization of military service in the Russian army of representatives of the Crimean Tatar ethnic group.

13. Popularization of observance of Russian celebrations in the Crimean Tatar community.

14. Informing Crimean Tatars about the history of Russia with a positive assessment of the activities of the rulers of the Russian Empire.

15. Informing the Crimean Tatar population of the orders and innovations of the Russian authorities.

16. Demonstration of the authority of the Supreme Ruler of Russia and the privileged position of the Crimean Tatars on the territory of the Russian Empire.

17. Call on the Crimean Tatars to comply with the legislation of the Russian Empire.

18. Popularization of the study of the Russian language through demonstration of great social prospects among specialists who have mastered the Russian language.

19. Demonstration of freedom of religion and respectful attitude of the authorities towards the religious rituals of Crimean Muslims.

20. Spreading the idea of the need to create a military-political alliance between Turkey and Russia, as opposed to the policies of Western civilization, which, trying to use the ethnic and religious closeness of the Crimean Tatars and Turks, sought to pit the interests of the Ottoman and Russian empires in Crimea.

21. Information counteraction to the emigration of Crimean Tatars to Turkey.

22. Formation of a common enemy for the Russian and Turkic population of Russia in the form of the West.

The study of Russian integration experience in relation to the Crimean Tatars, foreign political literature, and media publications on this topic made it possible to identify a number of factors that at the present stage may turn out to be pressing problems for the process of integration of Crimea into the Russian space, namely:

1. Large area, low density and multicultural composition of the Russian population.

2. The closeness of the Crimean Tatar society in the political, economic, social and spiritual spheres.

3. Civilizational differences between the Russian and Crimean Tatar populations.

4. Negative mythologization of the joint historical past of Russia and Crimea, as well as the lack of systematic reciprocal activities of Russia in the field of "soft power".

5. Systematic work of foreign countries to create a socio-cultural environment through grants for training (Türkiye Scholarships programs SWPS University), events and scientific research, videos ("Strangers in their own land. Imperial attack on the rights of the Crimean Tatars", "Who are the Crimean Tatars", "Find Erwin") in the media; cinema and theatrical productions; scientific literature. These actions are aimed at creating a stereotype among the Crimean Tatars: "Russia has been oppressing the Crimean Tatars for centuries and is deliberately pursuing a policy of destruction and displacement of this ethnic group from the territory of Crimea."

The Russian state is based on the synthesis of the Russian-Orthodox core and the Turkic-Muslim population, which is reflected in the internal structure and external appearance of the state, and the Turkic peoples and the Muslim community make up a significant part of Russian society. However, this condition is maintained with a strong central government and project activities of the Russian elite. As soon as the era of weakening of the Russian state begins, which has a pattern of repeating itself in Russian history, Russia begins to crumble into segments, where national and civilizational factors serve as the basis for pulling the empire apart piece by piece. Therefore, to create stability in relations between Moscow and the Crimean Tatar ethnic group, the following is necessary:

1. Strong central government.
2. Reforming the state economy and exiting the peripheral position in the capitalist system.

3. Formation of an elite focused on the national interests of the state, and not on their own. Since "the overwhelming majority of the Russian political and economic elite are fully integrated into the Western project, therefore they are liberal in nature: they evacuate their finances to the West, buy

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real estate there, send their children there to study and live.”

4. Creating a single identity among the population and a clear project for the future vector of the country’s development.

5. Improvement in quantitative and qualitative indicators of the “soft power” technologies of the Russian Federation in working with the Crimean Tatar ethnic group (more actively disseminate the positive experience of interaction between Russia and the Crimean Tatars in the media, create various educational projects at the state level, cultural events, lecture courses, publish scientific, journalistic works on this topic in compliance with the principle of historicism).

6. Considering the eastern mentality of the Crimean Tatars and the special role of national authorities for this ethnic group, it is necessary to popularize the pro-Russian national heroes of the Crimean Tatars, as well as to form an authoritative, pro-Russian political leader.

7. Systematically work to create a pro-Russian Crimean Tatar political, economic and cultural elite, which can be achieved through the previously mentioned “soft power” technologies, as well as the presence of “social elevators” for the population.

Conclusion

To summarize, the following should be noted.

Firstly, the policy of the Russian government regarding the Crimean Tatars of the 19th–early 20th centuries. compared to the 18th century. has evolved and reached a new qualitative level. This is clearly demonstrated by the quantitative indicators and species diversity of integration technologies.

Secondly, the integration of the Crimean Tatar ethnic group into the all-Russian space since 1783 has been a permanent and difficult to achieve process due to a number of objective reasons. Therefore, it requires systematic work by the regional and federal governments to resolve this issue.

Thirdly, the identified experience of integration of the Crimean Tatar ethnic group into the Russian space of the 18th–21st centuries. can be functional in the modern historical period of Crimea’s integration into the all-Russian space.

Speculation on history is the worst kind of speculation. Because the result of such actions is the growth of hatred. And the result of hatred can be a new war or a new conflict. Therefore, the rule is this: if you want peace and friendship, don’t let us speculate on history; if you want to sow a future war, immediately start pushing the topic, distorting the facts and whipping up emotions.

I don’t want to talk about the Eurovision Song Contest at all. Instead of the competition for the national identity of the peoples of Europe, which it was once intended to be, it has turned into a vivid

manifestation of vice, singing for some reason almost always in English. To make it clear? But it doesn’t need to be clear. Write the name of the song, tell us what it is about, and we will be happy to enjoy the Greek, Polish, Bulgarian and German languages. But since the meaning of the competition has been lost and it has completely degenerated, then participation in this competition is not at all important for our country; we must approach it without aspiration. Understanding full well that this is a politically biased show, working according to the liberal principle “it doesn’t matter how people vote, it’s important what the jury thinks, which no one knows!” This means sending nationally colorful performers to Eurovision who sing in Russian (and certainly not in English). Buranovsky grandmothers are just right. In 2017, I would send Sergei Shnurov there. Let him show. He’ll talk. He will sing. Looking at it, we will definitely enjoy it. As for who votes and counts – we don’t care about that! A frivolous competition, where talent does not decide anything, must be treated with humor and not seriously. But enough about this truly wretched glossy competition, inflated with advertising to incredible proportions. The current results of Eurovision, on which our country’s enemies are speculating along with the Fifth Column, demand only one thing from us: an honest story about what happened in Crimea in May 1944. Why did the leadership of the USSR decide to evict the Crimean Tatars and how was this carried out? It’s important to tell the truth – there is a lot of speculation on this topic. Well, the ultimate goal of speculation on this topic by Kyiv and Washington and Brussels is the organization of bloodshed in Crimea - this is visible to the naked eye. So let's begin.

The Great Patriotic War, which began on June 22, 1941, quickly reached Crimea. Already on September 24, 1941, seven German divisions, together with the Romanian corps as part of the 11th German Army of Army Group South under the command of General Erich von Manstein, began an attack on Crimea from the territory of occupied Soviet Ukraine through the Perekop Isthmus. Without going into details of the course of hostilities, we note that in 1941 the Germans failed to take Crimea and Sevastopol. On May 7, 1942, the commander of the 11th Wehrmacht Army, General Manstein, launched Operation Bustard Hunt. Its result was the defeat of our Crimean Front and a sharp increase in the Nazi onslaught on Sevastopol. The heroic defense of Sevastopol, the main base of the Black Sea Fleet, lasted 250 days and nights. On July 1, 1942, the resistance of the defenders of Sevastopol was broken, and only isolated groups of Soviet soldiers and sailors fought over the next couple of weeks.

In the occupied territory of Crimea, the Nazis deployed their instruments of terror. In this sense, Crimea was no different from Belarus, Ukraine or Latvia, where immediately after the arrival of the

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“German liberators,” mass executions began and concentration camps were built. During their stay in Crimea, the Nazis shot 72 thousand Crimeans and tortured more than 18 thousand in prisons and camps. In addition to the civilian population, 45 thousand Soviet military personnel who were captured were destroyed. The local “Dachau” was the state farm near Simferopol “Red”, which was converted into a death camp. It held both Soviet prisoners of war and residents of Crimea. During the occupation, daily executions alone took the lives of more than 8 thousand people.

In Crimea, the Germans were not original. As elsewhere, local “elements” were used to guard the concentration camps. It is no secret that many Nazi death camps (in particular, Sobibor) were guarded by Ukrainian nationalists. According to evidence, the camp at the Krasny state farm, according to the same German “scheme,” was guarded by Tatar volunteers from the 152nd Shuma auxiliary police battalion. The Nazis began their favorite tactic of pitting peoples against each other, which we saw in full after the coup in Ukraine, during the tragedy unfolding in Donbass. Where the population was not multinational, other methods of division were used. That is why we see such strange things when in one Bryansk region, populated in rural areas mainly by Russians, there was the Lokotsky district and the Dyatkovo district. In the first, self-government and a brigade under the command of Kaminsky functioned, fighting against the partisans, and in the second, full-fledged Soviet power operated and the Germans did not interfere there at all. And this is within one Russian region! Some helped the Germans fight partisans and civilians, others destroyed the invaders.

So if you tell the truth, then tell it all...

This is what the head of the USSR partisan movement P.K. Ponomarenko wrote to Stalin on August 18, 1942: “The Germans are using all means to attract to the fight against the partisans... contingents from our population of the occupied regions, creating from them military units, punitive and police detachments. By this they want to ensure that the partisans get stuck in the fight not with the Germans, but with formations from the local population. There is frenzied nationalist propaganda surrounding the formations. This is accompanied by the incitement of national massacres and anti-Semitism. Crimean Tatars, for example, received gardens, vineyards and tobacco plantations taken from Russians, Greeks, etc.”

When it comes to collaboration during the Nazi occupation of Crimea, many remember only the Crimean Tatars. For the most part, this myth was the result of a national tragedy - the deportation of the Crimean Tatar people. However, it is worth noting that firstly, not all Crimean Tatars chose the path of collaboration. Secondly, not only the Crimean Tatars collaborated with the occupation administration.

People who were active accomplices of the occupiers were appointed to the positions of heads of local self-government. By the way, V. Maltsev was appointed to the post of Yalta burgomaster. The same one who, on the night of August 1, 1946, together with General Vlasov and other senior officers of the so-called “Russian Liberation Army” (ROA), was hanged in the courtyard of Butyrka prison. Collaborationist military formations played a major role, helping the Wehrmacht in the fight against the Crimean partisans. Their number for the entire period of occupation was as follows: in Russian and Cossack units - about 5 thousand people, in Ukrainian units - about 3 thousand people, in parts of the eastern legions - about 7 thousand people and in Crimean Tatar formations - from 15 to 20 thousand people. Since June 1943, a recruitment point for the Vlasov “Russian Liberation Army” appeared on the peninsula. It should be said that he was not popular. If among the Crimean Tatars the Germans easily played on national contradictions, then of the Russians over the entire time they hardly managed to recruit only a few thousand people into the ranks of the ROA (including those languishing in concentration camps). And then, closer to the beginning of 1944, at least a third of them went over to the side of the partisans.

Thus, talking about collaboration among only Crimean Tatars is fundamentally wrong. It is also important to note that, according to the 1939 census, the Crimean Tatars were the second largest nationality of the peninsula - 19.4% (218,179 people) of the total population (Russians - 49.6%, 558,481 people). Therefore, based on the national policy pursued by the Nazis, they were a priority even in comparison with the Ukrainians, of whom at that time there were only 13.7% on the territory of the peninsula. And the Germans directed their main efforts towards pitting Russians and Crimean Tatars against each other. However, not all representatives of the Crimean Tatar people chose this path. For example, the head of the Southern headquarters of the partisan movement, Comrade Seleznev, closer to the spring campaign of 1944 for the liberation of Crimea, said in a radiogram: “The atrocities, robberies, and violence of the Germans are aggravating and embittering the population of the occupied territories. Dissatisfaction with the occupiers is growing daily. The population awaits the arrival of the Red Army. It is characteristic that the Crimean Tatars en masse become partisans.” Thus, the commissar of the 4th partisan brigade was Mustafa Selimov. In the brigade itself there were 501 Crimean Tatars, which was approximately a quarter of its strength. In general, with the beginning of the Great Patriotic War, many Crimean Tatars stood up to defend our country along with its other peoples. In particular, Abdraim Reshidov served as commander of a bomber aviation regiment. During the entire war, he flew 222 combat missions and was awarded the title of Hero of the

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Soviet Union. Fighter pilot Ahmet Khan Sultan personally shot down 30 German planes, for which he was twice awarded the title of Hero of the Soviet Union. 15 fascist tanks were knocked out by guns under the command of Seitnafa Seitveliev during the defense of Odessa, in the battles of Kerch and Sevastopol, in the Battle of Kursk and during Operation Bagration.

During the 26 months of struggle against the occupiers, 80 partisan detachments with a total number of over 12.5 thousand people, as well as 220 underground groups and organizations, operated in Crimea. During this time, more than 29 thousand German soldiers and police were killed, more than 250 battles and 1,600 operations were carried out. In response to the actions of the partisans, the Nazis began to commit atrocities. For example, in the mountainous Crimea, 127 settlements were burned and destroyed. In the Greek village of Laki, on March 24, 1942, the Germans burned 38 people alive. In the village of Ulu Sala (now Sinapnoe), which is located 18 kilometers southeast of Bakhchisarai, in the upper reaches of the Kacha River, the Nazis burned 34 people alive - old people, women and children. Moreover, all of them, with the exception of one person, were Crimean Tatars.

In May 1944, Crimea was liberated by our army. And almost immediately a decision was made to deport the Crimean Tatars. In addition to the Tatars, Bulgarians, Greeks, and Armenians were evicted from the peninsula. The Crimean Tatars suffered the most, of course. However, when assessing these events, you need to understand the conditions under which decisions were made, what cruelty was committed around by the Nazis and their accomplices, and what a terrible war our country took part in.

On May 10, 1944, a note from L.P. Beria with a draft decision on the eviction of the Crimean Tatars was placed on Stalin's desk. After which a resolution of the State Defense Committee (GKO) was adopted, which contained the following points, namely:

- All Tatars should be evicted from the territory of Crimea and settled for permanent residence as special people. settlers in the regions of the Uzbek SSR. Entrust the eviction to the NKVD of the USSR.

- Establish the following procedure and conditions for eviction: a) Once decided special. settlers take with them personal belongings, clothing, household equipment, dishes and food in an amount of up to 500 kg per family. Property, buildings, outbuildings, furniture and household lands remaining in place are accepted by local authorities... Acceptance of livestock, grain, vegetables and other types of agricultural products is carried out with the issuance of exchange receipts for each settlement and each farm. To entrust the NKVD of the USSR, the People's Commissariat for Agriculture, the People's Commissariat for Milk Industry, the People's

Commissariat for State Farm and the People's Commissariat for Transport of the USSR from July 1 this year. d. submit to the Council of People's Commissars proposals on the procedure for returning livestock, poultry, and agricultural products received from them according to exchange receipts to special settlers.

- ...Allocate one doctor and two nurses with an appropriate supply of medicines for each train with special settlers, in a timely manner in agreement with the NKVD of the USSR, and provide medical and sanitary services for special needs. settlers on the way... provide all echelons with special equipment. displaced persons were provided with hot meals and boiling water daily.

- ...To issue special settlers sent to the Uzbek SSR in the places of their resettlement a loan for the construction of houses and for economic establishment of up to 5,000 rubles per family with an installment plan of up to 7 years.

The operation to deport the Crimean Tatars began on May 18, 1944, that is, almost a week after the liberation of the peninsula. And already on May 20, 1944, a telegram was sent to the People's Commissar of Internal Affairs of the USSR L.P. Beria.

"We hereby report that the operation to evict the Crimean Tatars, which began in accordance with your instructions on May 18, was completed today, May 20, at 16:00. A total of 180,014 people were evicted, loaded into 67 trains, of which 63 trains, numbering 173,287 people, were sent to destinations, the remaining 4 trains will also be sent today.

In addition, the regional military registration and enlistment offices of Crimea mobilized 6,000 Tatars of military age, who, according to orders from the Head of the Red Army, were sent to the cities of Guryev, Rybinsk and Kuibyshev. Of the number sent at your direction to the Moskovugol trust, 8,000 special people. The contingent of 5,000 people also consists of Tatars.

Thus, 191,044 people of Tatar nationality were removed from the Crimean Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic. During the eviction of the Tatars, 1,137 anti-Soviet elements were arrested, and in total during the operation - 5,989 people. Weapons were seized during the eviction: mortars - 10, machine guns - 173, machine guns - 192, rifles - 2650, ammunition - 46,603 pcs. In total, during the operation the following were confiscated: 49 mortars, 622 machine guns, 724 machine guns, 9888 rifles, 326,887 pieces of ammunition.

"No incidents occurred during the operation, Kobulov, Serov, Simferopol."

One of the common myths says that all Crimean Tatars were evicted. It is not true. Members of the Crimean underground and members of their families, front-line soldiers and their relatives were exempt from eviction. Women who married representatives of other nationalities were left behind or even returned

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back to Crimea. In 1967, a decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Council was adopted, which absolved the Crimean Tatars of charges of collaboration and recognized them as full Soviet citizens. But the Crimean Tatar people were able to return to their small homeland only in 1989, after the post-war deportation was declared illegal. Today, when Russia regained Crimea, the Crimean Tatar language became one of the three state languages here. "Crimean Tatars returned to their land. I believe that all necessary political decisions must be made that will complete the process of rehabilitation of the Crimean Tatar people, decisions that will restore their rights and good name in full," President Putin noted in his address on March 18, 2014.

Today, only enemies can try to incite hatred between Russians and Tatars. Enemies of the people - in full, because suffering and blood in new conflicts always fall to the lot of the people. And who can wish war and suffering for his people? Only enemy...

But is it necessary to remember history? Certainly. But we just need to talk about what brings

us together, makes us strong and fills us with pride. What about the scary pages? Were. But they passed. Closed. Mistakes are acknowledged, crimes are condemned. Dot.

This is what we need to talk about. You can even sing. And that is very unifying, and it will sound beautiful. Song about the Yalta Conference of the Three Allied Powers! It took place almost a year after the liberation of Crimea - from February 4 to 11, 1945, and J. V. Stalin, F. Roosevelt and W. Churchill, foreign ministers, representatives of the general staffs of the USSR, USA and Great Britain took part in its work. It was here that agreement was reached on the United Nations Conference, which began on April 25, 1945 in San Francisco. In fact, on February 11, 1945, the leaders of the USSR, USA and Great Britain publicly declared their determination to establish the UN.

This is how Crimea once again became the center of world politics. This is what we need to remember, talk about and sing about.

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TATARS AND RUSSIANS: HOW TO FIND A COMPROMISE TO FORM A RESPECTFUL ATTITUDE TOWARDS EACH OTHER

Abstract: *in the article the authors examine various aspects of the relationship between Russians and Tatars. The historical experience of living together and the enrichment of cultures during close and long-term contacts are illustrated by examples of mutual borrowing in material culture (tools, housing, food), and mutual linguistic influence. The authors paid attention to the reflection in folklore of stereotypical ideas of Russians and Tatars about each other, showing the origins of negative and positive stereotypes. In addition, the article is devoted to the study of Russia's integration experience in relation to the Crimean Tatars during the period. In 2014, the Crimean Tatar issue received a new impetus for internationalization, which was associated with a number of factors. The foreign information space was filled with news reports and reports from international organizations on human rights violations in Crimea and the oppression of Crimean Tatars. At the same time, in historical retrospect, this is not the first time that Crimea has integrated into the Russian space. Researchers' opinions about the Russian experience of integrating the Crimean Tatars vary sharply, from positive to purely negative, pointing to the centuries-long deliberate extermination of this ethnic group by Tsarist and Soviet Russia. Therefore, the relevance of an objective study of the integration policy of the Russian Empire regarding the Crimean Tatars, based on primary sources and political literature, using scientific methodology, is beyond doubt.*

Key words: *Russians, Tatars, ethnic contacts, ethnography, folklore and political technologies, socio-political experience, integration, Russian Empire, Crimean Tatars, government decrees, newspaper "Translator-Terdzhiman".*

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Introduction

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What objective reasons caused the deportation of the Tatars from Crimea?

On May 18, 1944, by decision of the State Defense Committee of the USSR signed by I.V. Stalin, the eviction of the Crimean Tatars to Central Asia began.

From what eyewitnesses say, and what is recorded in Soviet and German chronicles, it is enough to understand that resettlement was the only and most correct decision. After all, out of the total Crimean Tatar population of 200,000, 20,000 became Wehrmacht fighters, that is, almost all men of military age.

We must remember that the Germans had not yet been expelled from our land, no one could say when the war would end and what other possible turns in its course. And so, having liberated Crimea, in such conditions, leave hostile armed detachments in the rear of our army, who have more than 700 machine guns alone? This would be extremely irresponsible and dangerous. What if the Germans returned to Crimea? This could not be ruled out then.

And how would they get along with the Red Army soldiers returning from the front? What would the war veterans do with them if they learned about what the Tatar punitive forces did in Crimea during the German occupation? A massacre would begin, and resettlement was the only way out of this situation. But there was something to take revenge on the Red Army soldiers for, and this is not Soviet propaganda; there are plenty of facts about their atrocities from both the Soviet and German sides.

From the memoirs of Crimean survivors during the occupation: "When the Nazis retreated to the village of Old Crimea, the police offered them to slaughter the entire population overnight. Even these nonhumans were speechless from such an offer and refused the services of the "Tatar militias."

The Romanians also refused these services, because it was they who captured Crimea in 1941.

In Old Crimea there is a street on April 12. It was up to this street that the police managed to slaughter people; then the partisans and the Red Army stopped them.

Already in the fall of 1941, German-Romanian troops invaded the territory of Crimea, whose population consisted of ethnic Russians and ethnic Tatars. There were few Ukrainians there, and they got there on the directive of the Soviet government, which sent Ukrainians who had experience in agricultural work with similar soils to Crimea.

An entry was preserved in the diary of a resident of Simferopol: "It became known that in Bakhchisarai crowds of Tatars greeted the Germans with bread and salt and thanked them for their liberation from Russian rule." SS Gruppenführer Otto Ohlendorf noted that the Tatars prayed for the long life of Adolf Hitler, the German people and the Wehrmacht.

The massacre happened on April 12, 1944, when the Nazis were already leaving Crimea, and units of the Red Army had not yet managed to completely occupy its cities.

The fighters of the "self-defense company", together with those who did not want to be called Russians, carried out a massacre of the Russian population of Crimea. They slaughtered women, old people, and children just because they spoke Russian.

On April 12, 1944, when the Romanians left Simferopol, three streets of the Russian city were cut out. The same thing happened in Dzhankoy.

It was rather not the deportation of the Crimean Tatars, but rather their resettlement. Dzhugashvili thereby saved them. If the front-line soldiers had returned from the war and found out what the Tatars had done, there would have been St. Bartholomew's Night. In Simferopol, in 12 hours - from 20:00 on April 12 to 8:00 in the morning on April 13 - the Crimean Tatars killed many people.

Plus, we must take into account that thousands of Crimean Tatar battalions took an active part in the battles with the Red Army on the side of the Wehrmacht. Leaving such guerrilla warfare in Crimea means running the risk of losing the peninsula from a simple Romanian landing in Crimea. Or keep a couple of much-needed divisions on the peninsula at the front.

Yes. The issue was resolved radically. Chohom. Perhaps it was worth acting more selectively (although where it was selective - still 70% supported the Nazis). After the war, if there was time, maybe they would have done just that. But not during the war, when the territory had just been liberated and the front could still return. Therefore, they acted quickly.

In 2013, at a round table in Simferopol, a member of the Majlis of the Crimean Tatars, Ali Khamzin, said that the Crimean Tatars had every right to desert from the Red Army and go into the service of the Nazi authorities, and rejected the Majlis's proposal to dissociate themselves from the collaborators. He declared:

"We will not dissociate ourselves from the Crimean Tatars, who allegedly, as you say, were collaborators. We will not dissociate ourselves from the Vlasovites and consider them traitors."

The granddaughter of a "self-defense unit" fighter who came to Crimea at this time is the singer Jamala.

Although we cannot speak for all Tatars.

There were genuine heroes among them. It's not a matter of nationality. At all. The point is a society that can educate real people. Among the Crimean Tatars there are 8 Heroes, 5 Cavaliers of the Order of Glory of 3 degrees...

Main part

2014 will go down in modern Russian history as the year of Crimea. After being part of independent

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Ukraine for twenty-two years, the Crimean Peninsula became part of Russia as two separate federal subjects. The Russian Federation has expanded to a territory of 27 thousand square meters. kilometers and a population of 2 million people. Since the collapse of the Soviet Union, a precedent has been created for changing jurisdiction for part of the territory of one state in favor of another on the basis of the people's will. However, the results of the referendum on the status of Crimea were not taken into account by the leaders of Ukraine and its allies represented by the United States and member countries of the European Union. The change in the status of the peninsula caused the largest confrontation between Russia and the West since the end of the Cold War and the collapse of the USSR. From the point of view of Washington and Brussels, Moscow's actions violated the foundations of international law and world order. The Russian leadership believes that the results of the popular vote give grounds to talk about the reunification of Crimea with Russia.

Russian President Vladimir Putin notes: "Crimea is a unique fusion of cultures and traditions of different peoples. And in this way it is so similar to greater Russia, where over the centuries not a single ethnic group has disappeared or dissolved. Russians and Ukrainians, Crimean Tatars and representatives of other peoples lived and worked side by side on Crimean land, preserving their identity, traditions, language and faith." Along with the annexation of Crimea, Russia inherited a wide range of problems of interethnic relations on the peninsula, which had not been resolved by the previous government for twenty years. And in this regard, a special problem is building relationships with the Crimean Tatars, who make up about 12% of the total population of Crimea.

Taking into account the tragic history of this people, who survived Stalin's deportation and for many years did not have the opportunity to return to their homeland, this is natural. The events of the 20th century largely determine the current identity of the Crimean Tatars. During the years of Ukraine's jurisdiction in Crimea, in the mass consciousness of the Crimean Tatars, the negativity caused by the Soviet trauma was transferred to Russia as the legal successor of the USSR, although post-Soviet Russia did a lot to condemn Stalin's policies and perpetuate the memory of the victims of political repression and deportations. Vladimir Putin in his "Crimean speech" rightly noted: "Yes, there was a period when cruel injustice was shown to the Crimean Tatars, just like to some other peoples of the USSR." We should not forget that the history of Crimea added a certain urgency to the perception of Russia, primarily the centuries-old confrontation between the Russian Empire and the Ottoman Empire, whose vassal was the Crimean Khanate until the annexation of Crimea to the Russian Empire at the end of the 18th century. During their stay as part of post-Soviet Ukraine, many

acute problems of the Crimean Tatars were not resolved.

At the same time, official Kiev artificially inflated fears and stereotypes among the Crimean Tatars associated with their tragic history during the period of Soviet totalitarianism.

This was done to create a counterbalance to "Russian separatism in Crimea" and made it possible to distract Crimeans from demands to solve pressing socio-economic and political problems.

Today, the Crimean Tatars have new opportunities within the Russian Federation. At a meeting with activists of the Crimean Tatar movement on May 16, 2014, on the eve of the 70th anniversary of the deportation of the Crimean Tatars, the President of the Russian Federation said: "In no case can we all allow the Crimean Tatar people to become a bargaining chip in some disputes, in including interstate ones. Especially in some disputes, say, between Russia and Ukraine." Thus, to a large extent, the success of Russian policy in Crimea will depend on how effective the Russian government is in integrating various groups of the population of the peninsula through a competent national policy and policy in the field of confessional relations. This report examines the initial problems that existed among the Crimean Tatars at the time of Crimea's entry into the Russian Federation, the existing difficulties in building their integration, opportunities for Russia and challenges to its desire to ensure stability and progressive development of the peninsula. The actions taken by the Russian authorities in Crimea after March 2014 are also analyzed. Taking into account the relevance of historical and political subjects of the past on today's agenda, the report also paid attention to the basic facts of the history of the Crimean Tatar people. The final part of the article offers practical recommendations for achieving socio-political stability and strengthening civil peace in Crimea. Crimean Tatars are a Turkic ethnic group that formed on the territory of Crimea in the 13th-17th centuries. Its historical core was the Kipchak tribes. Today in the Russian media there are many publications about the historical kinship of the Crimean Tatars and Kazan Tatars, however, these are different ethnic communities. According to the secretary of the Spiritual Administration of Muslims of Crimea, Aider Adzhimambetov, Crimean Tatars and Tatars from Russia are "brotherly peoples with a common history." "But these are different peoples. They were formed in different territories completely individually," he continues. Indeed, if the Kazan and Astrakhan khanates came under the rule of Moscow in 1552 and 1556, the Crimean Khanate existed until 1783, being a vassal of the Ottoman Empire for most of its history. This Ottoman influence seriously affected the religious traditions, culture, and language of the Crimeans, not to mention the awareness of their "specialness" and involvement in the politics of the

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Ottoman Empire - the great power of the Middle Ages and Modern times. Crimea became part of the Russian Empire after the Manifesto of Empress Catherine II on April 8, 1783. During the process of annexing Crimea to Russia, the Crimean Khanate was liquidated, which contributed to the mass emigration of Crimean Tatars to Turkey. At the same time, the Russian and then Little Russian (Ukrainian) communities grew on the peninsula, as well as an increase in the number of Armenians, Germans, Bulgarians, Jews and other groups. A significant part of the Crimean Tatars moved to the Ottoman Empire in the period 1790 - 1850s, and from there subsequently spread throughout the world (today small diasporas exist in Canada, Romania, Germany, Bulgaria). Expert Rinat Pateyev rightly noted: "Estimates of the migration flow vary widely: from tens of thousands to several hundred thousand, and sometimes even millions of migrants." At the same time, he notes: "If we can talk about several million Crimean Tatars in Turkey, then it is correct to call them Turks, who may have Crimean Tatar roots, but do not identify themselves with this people. A striking example is... Ahmet Davutoglu, who often likes to remember his Crimean roots, but does not identify himself as a Crimean Tatar. It should also be noted that in Turkey, Crimean Tatars living in Crimea are called "Crimean Turks". After the end of the civil war (during which "white", "red" and "national" governments were replaced in Crimea), the Crimean Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic was created in 1921 from part of the former Tauride province of the Russian Empire as part of the RSFSR. By this time, representatives of 59 nationalities lived in Crimea. The ethnic composition of the Crimean population at that time was as follows: Russians - 42%, Crimean Tatars - 25%, Ukrainians - 11%, Germans - 6%, Jews - 5%. The question of a national republic with the granting of the right to national autonomy was raised even then. According to documentary sources, the Crimean Tatars and Germans laid claim to "full autonomy". Full autonomy presupposed the achievement of a certain level of state sovereignty - the provision of rights to the Crimean Republic in the field of external relations, international trade, and independent resolution of the issue of the return of emigrants to Crimea. Russian and Crimean Tatar became the two languages of the autonomy. "In the 20s of the last century, the so-called Leninist national policy was actively pursued. It was then that many autonomous republics and districts with national names were formed. In Crimea, the autonomous republic was simply called Crimean. There were many Crimean Tatars in its leadership, and certain quotas (public and private) of local national personnel were necessarily observed. And this was done not only for appearance, for show. Indeed, some impetus was given to the cultural development of the people - theaters and publishing houses were opened, teaching was carried out in their native language." It

should, however, be taken into account that the Crimean Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic was not an ethnic (in Soviet terminology, "national") autonomy, i.e. was not formed on a national-state or ethno-territorial basis. However, local residents, especially Crimean Tatars, perceived Crimea as "their" republic. In 1937, during the "Great Terror," representatives of the national intelligentsia came under attack (in particular, the national poet Bekir Choban-zade was repressed). In the 1930s, more than 100 mosques and houses of worship were taken from the Crimean Tatars, half of which were demolished. Similar actions by the authorities were aimed at the Orthodox clergy and Orthodox churches, as well as other religious denominations of the peninsula. According to the All-Union Population Census of 1939 (the last before the start of the Great Patriotic War), on the territory of the Crimean Autonomy, Russians made up 559 thousand people (49.6%), Tatars (including Crimean Tatars) - 219 thousand (19.4%), Ukrainians - 154 thousand (13.7%), Jews - 66 thousand (5.8%), Germans - 51 thousand (4.6%), Greeks - 21 thousand (1.8%), Bulgarians - 15 thousand (1.4%), Armenians - 13 thousand (1.1%) people. In August 1941, in connection with the outbreak of the Great Patriotic War, the NKVD of the USSR carried out an operation to evict Germans from Crimea, in 1942 - Italians, and on May 18, 1944, after the liberation of Crimea from fascist occupation, the deportation of Crimean Tatars began. In the 60 hours it took to carry out the operation, 187,859 people were taken out of Crimea. About 70% of the displaced ended up in Uzbekistan, as well as in Kazakhstan and other regions of the Soviet Union. The bulk of the deportees were old people, women and children. On the fronts, special orders were issued to dismiss Crimean Tatars from the army, who were also sent to special settlement areas. Taking into account former military personnel, the total number of deported Crimean Tatars amounted to 200 thousand people.

The fate of the Crimean Tatars was shared by the Crimean Armenians, Bulgarians and Greeks. Their eviction from Crimea began on June 24, 1944. 9,620 Armenians, 12,420 Bulgarians and 15,040 Greeks were deported to Kazakhstan, the Urals and Siberia. Together with them, the Kurds, Gypsies and Turks who lived here were expelled from Crimea. In total, more than 300 thousand residents were deported from Crimea during the war years. The deportation became the reason for the liquidation of the Crimean Autonomous Republic and its transformation into an administrative region. To compensate for the population decline, an organized resettlement of tens of thousands of people from various regions of Russia and Ukraine was carried out to the peninsula. Crimean Tatars were deported from the peninsula on charges of collaboration with the Nazi occupiers. Facts of collaboration did occur (Tatar SS Mountain Jaeger Regiment, Wehrmacht units, police) and were not

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isolated. A number of leaders of the Crimean Tatar movement hoped to establish their national statehood with the help of the German occupiers. And if some of them sought full support of the occupation authorities, then the moderate part advocated a “third way” between Hitler and Stalin. “Most of the people who collaborated with the Nazis managed to leave Crimea along with the retreating German troops, and the rest (about 5 thousand people of different nationalities) were arrested by the NKVD even before the deportation of the Tatars. The eviction included both the apolitical part of the population and the Red Army servicemen and members of their families. In 1944-1945, according to Soviet estimates, 15-25% of the expelled Crimean Tatars died in exile (representatives of the Crimean Tatar population themselves cite even more terrible figures - up to 46%).” The last figure is questioned by Russian experts on the history of Stalinist repressions and deportations. About 9 thousand front-line soldiers who fought in the Red Army were sent to places of deportation. At the same time, among the Crimean Tatars, nine people have the title of Hero of the Soviet Union, one of them (Amet-Khan Sultan) was twice awarded the title of Hero of the Soviet Union, about 12 thousand people fought against fascism in partisan detachments and underground groups. During the Khrushchev Thaw, the Crimean Tatars, unlike other deported peoples, did not receive the opportunity to return to their homeland. By this time, the Crimean region was transferred to the Ukrainian SSR. On February 5, 1954, at a meeting of the Presidium of the Supreme Council of the RSFSR, a decision was made, “taking into account the commonality of the economy, territorial proximity and close economic and cultural ties between the Crimean region and the Ukrainian SSR,” to transfer Crimea to Soviet Ukraine. This decision, submitted for approval by the allied authorities, received their support. This administrative measure did not change the situation of the Crimean Tatars. As a consequence, a movement for the right of return arose, which at the first stage maintained a moderate line. In 1958, its representatives were received by the then Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR A.I. Mikoyan, promising to solve a pressing problem in a short time. But only in 1967 a document appeared that allowed “Tatars who previously lived in Crimea” to settle throughout the territory of the USSR, subject to the provisions of the passport regime. This spurred a wave of comebacks. The Soviet-era passport registration system effectively blocked the possibility of resettlement, and activists of the Crimean Tatar movement were persecuted by the authorities. The return of Crimean Tatars to Crimea en masse during that period did not happen. At the same time, it should be noted that representatives of the dissident movement who were not of Crimean Tatar origin also provided significant moral support to the demands for

repatriation to their homeland. Other facts are also known. After the tragic event in the village of Besh-Terek (summer 1978), when Musa Mamut (previously convicted of violating the passport regime) committed an act of self-immolation, at his funeral the Russians carried banners “Musa from Russian brothers.” Against the backdrop of dissatisfaction with the then policy of the union center, Mustafa Dzhemilev moved to the forefront in the Crimean Tatar movement. With the change in the political course of the USSR leadership towards liberalization, the Crimean Tatars had the opportunity to return to their homeland. In 1987 and especially 1988. The flow of Crimean Tatars returning to Crimea has become massive. In fact, the process of political rehabilitation of the deportees began on November 14, 1989, when the Supreme Soviet of the USSR adopted the Declaration “On recognizing illegal and criminal repressive acts against peoples who were subject to forced relocation and ensuring their rights.” In October 1992, in the capital of Kyrgyzstan, Bishkek, the heads of the CIS member countries signed an Agreement on issues related to the restoration of the rights of deported individuals, national minorities and peoples. This agreement was ratified by Ukraine, Tajikistan, Uzbekistan and Armenia. Against the backdrop of dissatisfaction with the then policy of the union center, Mustafa Dzhemilev moved to the forefront in the Crimean Tatar movement. With the change in the political course of the USSR leadership towards liberalization, the Crimean Tatars had the opportunity to return to their homeland. In 1987 and especially 1988. The flow of Crimean Tatars returning to Crimea has become massive. In fact, the process of political rehabilitation of the deportees began on November 14, 1989, when the Supreme Soviet of the USSR adopted the Declaration “On recognizing illegal and criminal repressive acts against peoples who were subject to forced relocation and ensuring their rights.” In October 1992, in the capital of

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Kyrgyzstan, Bishkek, the heads of the CIS member countries signed an Agreement on issues related to the restoration of the rights of deported individuals, national minorities and peoples. This agreement was ratified by Ukraine, Tajikistan, Uzbekistan and Armenia.

But there was no need to talk about the unity of the Crimean Tatar movement at that time. If the more radical part of it was grouped around the OKND (Organization of the Crimean Tatar National Movement), then the moderate part, which tended to cooperate with the authorities, collaborated with the NDFT (National Movement of the Crimean Tatars). It should be noted that OKND was created in May 1989 as a result of a split in the Crimean Tatar national movement. OKND represented the more radical part of the Crimean Tatars. In June 1991, OKND leaders held a national congress of Crimean Tatars in Simferopol - Kurultai, which laid the ideological foundation of the modern Crimean Tatar national movement. The NDKT united mainly representatives of the intelligentsia and office workers. The movement advocated the restoration of the national statehood of the Crimean Tatars within the framework of state institutions being formed in Crimea. The NDKT did not show noticeable political activity and was more of a club of intellectuals than a political party, limiting itself mainly to literary polemics with its opponents. The OKND was headed by Mustafa Dzhemilev, and the most prominent leader of the NDKT was Yuri Osmanov. Both leaders had experience of imprisonment for political reasons. In 1989, Yuri Osmanov was included in the State Commission of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR on the problem of the Crimean Tatar people. In 1989 (according to the latest All-Union Population Census), the number of Crimean Tatars in Crimea was 38,365 people. By May 1990, according to experts, it had already increased to 83 thousand people, and by October of the same year - to 120 thousand people. By November 1991, shortly before the signing of the Belovezhskaya Accords and the collapse of the unified union state, the number of Crimean Tatars in Crimea was already 147 thousand people. However, their arrangement and integration on the peninsula took place already in the context of the collapse of the USSR, the formation of independent Ukraine and the development of the Ukrainian national-state project. In the process of the collapse of the USSR, the Crimean Tatar national movement outlined the following basic demands: legal rehabilitation, land provision, linguistic status and state position. Various opinions and assessments were expressed on all these issues. Thus, the issue of rehabilitation was not only connected with its legal implementation, but was also sometimes supplemented by calls to give the Crimean Tatar population a special status of "indigenous people," as well as appeals to the international community with a request to speed up the

rehabilitation process. The land issue was often presented as a demand for the unconditional legalization of all unauthorized seizures of land plots on the peninsula. The language issue was discussed not just as a problem of state status and support for the Crimean Tatar language, but often flowed into the demand for a complete translation of all geographical names of the peninsula into Turkic toponymy. The most radical calls that arose among the national movement repeatedly boiled down to the demand for independent Crimean Tatar statehood. At the same time, the relationship between Kiev and the Crimean Tatar movement for more than two decades was characterized by inconsistency and contradiction. At the end of the USSR and in the first years of Ukrainian independence in Crimea, along with others, two large political movements began to develop in parallel - the Crimean Tatar and the pro-Russian. At the same time, the Crimean Tatar movement was split into representatives of OKND and NDFT. In 1991, through the efforts of OKND representatives, self-government bodies of the Crimean Tatars (actually parallel power structures) were created. These are the Kurultai (national parliament, elections to which were held every five years with the participation of the adult Crimean Tatar population) and the Mejlis (a kind of government). The Mejlis was formed by the Kurultai. At the second Kurultai (June 2630, 1991), the Declaration on the National Sovereignty of the Crimean Tatars was adopted, which unequivocally stated: "Crimea is the national territory of the Crimean Tatar people, in which only they have the right to self-determination as set out in international legal acts, recognized by the international community. The political, economic, spiritual and cultural revival of the Crimean Tatar people is possible only in their sovereign national state. The Crimean Tatar people will strive for this goal, using all means provided for by international law... The land and natural resources of Crimea, including its health and recreational potential, are the basis of the national wealth of the Crimean Tatar people and the source of well-being of all residents of Crimea." In the early 1990s, the Mejlis had some competition from the NDFT, whose leader was the writer Yuri Osmanov. It was he who was the creator and editor-in-chief of the Areket newspaper; he developed the draft concept of the Constitution of the Crimean Autonomy, the draft Law of Ukraine on the restoration of national integrity, rights and conditions of the Crimean Tatar people (nation), the Concept of national policy, rights and relations in Crimea. At the same time, unlike Mustafa Dzhemilev and his supporters, who spoke from a strictly critical position towards Russia, Osmanov was a supporter of building pragmatic relations with the Russian Federation and opposed maximizing the ethnic factor. He also criticized the Mejlis and its leadership for their commitment to extremist forms of struggle. Unfortunately, the tragic death of Osmanov in

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November 1993 (according to the official version, it was the result of a robbery) contributed to the marginalization of the NDFT. This moderate political movement did not find a new leader and actually disappeared from the forefront, while Mustafa Dzhemilev, on the contrary, began to gain points, and the Mejlis then became a monopolist in Crimean Tatar politics for many years. The permanent leader of the Mejlis until November 2013 was Mustafa Dzhemilev, after which he was replaced by Refat Chubarov. Only in 2006, with the formation of the public organization Milli Firka (People's Party), this monopoly was slightly shaken. During its stay within Ukraine, unlike the Mejlis, the public organization "Milli Firka" received official registration with the Ministry of Justice of Ukraine. But this organization did not achieve great success. In the elections to the Verkhovna Rada of Crimea in 2010, she participated on the list of the Ukrainian Village Democratic Party, which received only 7,268 votes (1%) and did not enter the peninsula's parliament. Representatives of the Milli Firka organization argued both then and later that the election results were falsified. Nevertheless, thanks to close cooperation with the Party of Regions and the office of Ukrainian President Viktor Yanukovich, Milli Firka strengthened its position. For two decades, the central Ukrainian authorities saw the Mejlis as their natural ally in containing the "Russian party" (which achieved some success in 1994, when supporters of unity with Russia became both the president of the autonomy and the majority in the highest representative body of Crimea). At the same time, Kyiv was afraid of the ethnocentric aspirations of the Crimean Tatar activists, their claims to transform the peninsula into an entity that would not take too much into account the Ukrainian legal framework. Hence the interest in the latent conflict between the Russian and Crimean Tatar communities of Crimea. This contradictory approach determined the Crimean Tatar policy of official Kyiv and the regional authorities of Crimea, which, with the exception of a short period in the first half of the 1990s, showed loyalty to the Ukrainian state. Before the change of state jurisdiction of Crimea and the city of Sevastopol, the Mejlis of the Crimean Tatars was not registered with the Ministry of Justice of Ukraine and was not recognized by either the authorities of Crimea or the authorities of Ukraine. Vice Speaker of the Crimean State Council Remzi Ilyasov rightly noted: "The relationship of the [Ukrainian] authorities with the Crimean Tatars was more like open flirting and walking in circles. For two decades since the declaration of independence of Ukraine, the Crimean Tatar people, deprived of their homeland, have been waiting for the authorities to adopt a law on the status of the Crimean Tatar people, a law on rehabilitation, which would be the most important prerequisites for the preservation and development of national identity, the development of national culture and language.

Unfortunately, Ukraine has not adopted a single legislative act aimed at restoring the rights of the Crimean Tatar people, at creating fundamental conditions for their revival and preservation in their native land, which turned the return of the people into a painful process." By decree of the President of Ukraine (May 1999), the Council of Representatives of the Crimean Tatar People, headed by M. Dzhemilev, was created as an advisory body to the head of state. Thus, the Mejlis was given direct access to the president, bypassing parliament. In 2010, Viktor Yanukovich, who came to power in Ukraine, fundamentally changed the composition of the Council of Representatives of the Crimean Tatar People. Representatives of the Mejlis began to form a minority of its members, and the majority was made up of members of other public organizations (including Milli Firka) loyal to the ruling Party of Regions. As a result, representatives of the Mejlis refused to participate in Council meetings. Along with other things, this explains the subsequent support for the Maidan in 2013-2014. From the Mejlis. Only on March 20, 2014, that is, two days after the peninsula became part of Russia, the Ukrainian Verkhovna Rada recognized the Mejlis as the highest executive body of the Kurultai of the Crimean Tatars (resolution No. 1140-VII). This was done along with a number of guarantees for the development of the Crimean Tatar people within the framework of a united Ukraine. In the Constitution of the Autonomous Republic of Crimea (1995, then 1998) within the Ukrainian state there was no concept of "indigenous people", which the Mejlis insisted on. Now, when Crimea has already become Russian, this definition was introduced into circulation by the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine in the aforementioned resolution. Throughout the post-Soviet period, the Mejlis actively interacted with Ukrainian nationalists. At the all-Ukrainian parliamentary elections of 1998, M. Dzhemilev was elected on the list of the People's Movement of Ukraine party, in 2002 as part of the Our Ukraine bloc, in 2007 in the Our Ukraine - People's Self-Defense bloc, and in 2012 - by lists of the more moderate Batkivshchyna party. Refat Chubarov in 2010 became a deputy of the Supreme Council of Crimea of the sixth convocation on the list of the People's Movement of Ukraine party. The entire period from 1991 to 2014, the Mejlis supported the new Ukrainian state, the inviolability of its borders, and also against the pro-Russian Crimean movement. This, however, did not mean that ordinary Crimean Tatars completely supported the leadership of the Mejlis. Until 2014, during the Ukrainian elections, ordinary Crimean Tatars did not always express their preferences in accordance with the "general line" of the Mejlis, giving their votes not only to nationalist parties or the Batkivshchyna party, but also to the Party of Regions and the Ukrainian Communist Party. Nevertheless, the Mejlis, speaking on behalf of the entire Crimean Tatar

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people, claimed a special status on the Crimean peninsula, without too much regard for the legal framework of Ukraine. Since 1991, in Crimea, during the mass repatriation of Crimean Tatars, the seizure of land plots has been actively practiced. Land is perceived in Crimea as one of the most valuable resources, around which the struggle of social and political groups periodically intensifies and conflict situations arise on ethnic grounds. The most resonant conflicts are typical for the southern coast of Crimea (Simeiz, Gurzuf), Koktebel (Quiet Bay), Simferopol region (Chistenkoe village, etc.). Tent camps were set up in these territories, and the situation periodically escalated, repeatedly threatening to get out of control. The leaders of the Crimean Tatar Mejlis tried to justify any seizure of territory by the fact of Stalin's deportation in May 1944. At the same time, the Ukrainian authorities did not try to resolve the land issue that was acute for the Crimean Tatars. Speaking about the Ukrainian period, Vice-Speaker of the State Council of Crimea Remzi Ilyasov notes: "The Crimean Tatars got the most remote and poor-quality agricultural lands, with a share of 1.5 times less per person. All this was done cynically, despite the existence of the problem itself and powerful protests. Wasn't it clear that the Crimean Tatars were deported, everything was taken away from them, including their lands? They began to return en masse only after 55 years. Therefore, the Crimean Tatars, in fact, could not be members of collective farms, to which land shares were distributed in accordance with the current legislation of Ukraine." The situation of this complex and unstable balance was disrupted by Maidan-2 in Kyiv and the response in the form of the "Crimean Spring", which led to the entry of Crimea into the Russian Federation.

The civil revival in Crimea was a direct consequence of the illegitimate change of power in Kyiv. After President Viktor Yanukovich left his post, and the Verkhovna Rada was reformatted in accordance with the wishes and ideas of yesterday's opponents of the head of state and the leaders of the Maidan, opponents of the new Ukrainian order came under attack. Despite the democratic rhetoric used by the Kyiv authorities, in reality, "farewell to the past" was accompanied by discrimination against dissent and settling scores with those who do not agree with the new government. For the Crimean Tatar movement, the Ukrainian crisis highlighted several fundamentally important points, namely:

firstly, it demonstrated the crisis of the Mejlis as a monopolist in expressing the opinion of the entire Crimean Tatar people;

secondly, it highlighted the contradictions between the politically engaged elite and ordinary people concerned about security, interethnic peace, opportunities for business development and the implementation of religious freedom;

thirdly, the positions of opponents of the Mejlis have strengthened. The Milli Firka organization, previously relegated to the background, moved forward and spoke out for the Russian choice and against the movement towards Euro-Atlantic structures.

As soon as anti-government protests began in Kyiv in November 2013, the Crimean Tatar Mejlis outlined its position aimed at supporting European integration and against the "establishment of an authoritarian regime" in Ukraine. In fact, this was a position directly opposite to the opinion of the Supreme Council of the Autonomous Republic of Crimea. After the violent dispersal of Euromaidan in Kyiv on November 30, 2013, the leadership of the Mejlis stated: "Today the situation in Ukraine has begun to acquire a character that threatens the territorial integrity of Ukraine and its sovereignty. This development of events is facilitated by the local councils of some regions of Ukraine, including the Verkhovna Rada of Crimea, which, at the direction of the ruling party, make decisions containing demands for the introduction of a state of emergency and the suppression by force of peaceful protests of citizens of Ukraine." According to Ukrainian media reports, representatives of the Mejlis were present at the Maidan itself, positioning themselves as defenders of the interests of the entire Crimean Tatar people, acting as guarantors against separatism in Crimea. When it became clear that Viktor Yanukovich had left his post, on February 23, 2014, a rally organized by the Mejlis was held on Lenin Square in Simferopol, during which Refat Chubarov demanded that the Crimean members of the Party of Regions leave the party, and also demanded that the city authorities within ten days demolish the monument to Lenin. After 3 days, the Mejlis organized a rally with the aim of blocking the building of the Supreme Council of Crimea and preventing a decision on joining Russia. During the rally, Chairman of the Mejlis Refat Chubarov stated that "Crimean Tatars will not allow Crimea to be torn away from Ukraine." At the same time, a rally of the Russian community of Crimea was held here. A conflict broke out between the participants of two rallies, as a result of which 30 people were injured and 2 people died. But almost simultaneously with this, an alternative Crimean Tatar point of view was voiced. "Crimea is desperately fighting the Bandera evil spirits. The word is up to Russia. If the Russian Federation does not want to finally and irrevocably lose fraternal Ukraine as a friendly country, if it wants to get a NATO border near Smolensk, let it sit and watch as the Crimeans themselves try to sweep away this Bandera evil spirits, which is fully financed and armed by cold pragmatists from Washington and Brussels. But our resources are not enough," Vasvi Abduraimov, a well-known Crimean public figure, politician, deputy chairman of the Council (Kenesh) of the Milli Firka party, told

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IslamNews on February 27. According to him, among the Crimean Tatars only the Mejlis and its leadership supported the Maidan. He also emphasized that during the 2012 elections, only 18% of the Crimean Tatar population supported the Mejlis, while more than 60% of this people are apolitical, and about 10-15% do not support the “Kyiv revolution” at all. Milli Firka’s fears were more than justified - from the point of view of the leadership of the Mejlis, they were “collaborators” of Yanukovich. And if Refat Chubarov’s plans regarding bans for the Party of Regions had been realized, Vasvi Abduraimov’s supporters would have also fallen under the rink of repression. And although in March there was also a split in the ranks of Milli Firka, Vasvi Abduraimov’s opponents, led by Enver Kantemir-Umerov, also supported the idea of holding a referendum on the future status of Crimea, expressing confidence that “a prosperous future awaits the Crimean Tatars in Russia.” At the beginning of March 2014, a peacekeeping mission was undertaken by representatives of the authorities and public structures of Tatarstan, as well as the World Congress of Tatars. They appealed to activists of the Crimean Tatar movement with a call for international peace and the settlement of controversial issues with the Russian majority of the peninsula. Then Crimea was visited by deputies of the State Council (the highest representative body) of Tatarstan, Mufti (head of the Spiritual Administration of Muslims) Kamil Samigullin and the President of the Republic Rustam Minnikhanov. An agreement was signed on cooperation between the Republic of Tatarstan and the Autonomous Republic of Crimea in the field of medicine, tourism, investment and innovation. On March 6 and 10, 2014, representatives of the new government of Crimea, which set a course for preparing a referendum and actually joining the Russian Federation, made proposals for Crimean Tatar activists to join the authorities of the autonomy. Equal rights were declared for the entire population of Crimea and Sevastopol - Russians, Ukrainians, Crimean Tatars, Greeks, Armenians and others. On March 11, 2014, the Supreme Council of Crimea unanimously adopted a resolution “On guarantees for the restoration of the rights of the Crimean Tatar people and their integration into the Crimean community.” The resolution guaranteed that upon approval of the new Constitution of the Republic of Crimea as part of the Russian Federation, the Crimean Tatar language would be given the status of an official language on an equal basis with the Russian and Ukrainian languages. In addition, the Supreme Council of Crimea and the executive authorities of the republic will be formed with a guaranteed representation of Crimean Tatars of 20%. On the same day, the chairman of the lower house of the Federal Assembly of the Russian Federation (State Duma) Sergei Naryshkin said that if the idea of joining Russia is supported, the deputies will support guarantees for

the Crimean Tatars. In parallel with this, attempts were made to dialogue between the highest Russian authorities and the leadership of the Mejlis - on March 12, 2014, Russian President Vladimir Putin had a conversation with Mustafa Dzhemilev. After this conversation, M. Dzhemilev said that Vladimir Putin did not deny the presence of the Russian military in Crimea and stated that the declaration of independent Ukraine in December 1991 did not comply with the norms providing for the procedure for secession from the USSR. According to Dzhemilev, V. Putin also said that he had given orders to avoid excesses with the Crimean Tatars. However, these attempts could not radically change the position of the Mejlis and especially Dzhemilev himself. Moreover, M. Dzhemilev tried to make efforts in the international arena to internationalize the Crimean crisis. Two days after the conversation with V. Putin, the Crimean Tatar leader visited NATO headquarters and held meetings with representatives of the missions of member countries and the foreign policy service of the European Union. He called on American and European politicians to introduce a peacekeeping mission to Crimea (in the format of UN troops), and also to ignore the results of the people's will. On March 17, M. Dzhemilev met with Turkish Prime Minister Recep Erdogan in Izmir and also considered the possibility for official Ankara to intervene in the Crimean crisis. However, the Prime Minister of the Republic of Turkey, expressing his concern, refrained from making firm promises and guarantees. Despite the difficulties, the Russian authorities continued the course of establishing dialogue with the Crimean Tatars and winning them over to their side. Already on March 18, 2014, Russian President Vladimir Putin stated in his address to the Federal Assembly of the Russian Federation: “The Crimean Tatars have returned to their land. “I believe that all necessary political and legislative decisions must be made that will complete the process of rehabilitation of the Crimean Tatar people, decisions that will restore their rights and good name in full.”

During the Crimean referendum, interethnic excesses were avoided, and there was no consolidation of the Crimean Tatars around the Mejlis. The question of the real participation of the Crimean Tatars in the Crimean referendum of 2014 is debatable. According to M. Dzhemilev, no more than 1% of Crimean Tatars took part in the voting, and in the Bakhchisarai region no voting stations were opened at all. According to the Deputy Prime Minister of the Government of Crimea (from February to June 2014) Rustam Temirgaliev, 40% of the Crimean Tatar population participated in the vote, 25% supported the entry of Crimea into the Russian Federation. M. Dzhemilev’s statistics are extremely doubtful, especially for cities with a mixed population. Experts from the Moscow Bureau of Human Rights observed the voting process in the Bakhchisarai region. The

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polling stations were open. Some of them actually had low turnout. There were provocative anonymous leaflets calling for a boycott of the elections. It is also worth taking into account the different positions that ordinary Crimean Tatars previously occupied during the Ukrainian elections. Consequently, it is incorrect to unequivocally assess the political views of the entire ethnic group of Crimean Tatars. The very preparation for the expression of will showed the presence of different views and approaches even within the Mejlis. A number of prominent figures in this structure (Remzi Ilyasov, Zaur Smirnov) expressed opposition to confrontation and readiness to cooperate. Even Mejlis activists are tired of his commitment to unilateral support for Kyiv and his unwillingness to accept new realities. After the results of the national referendum on the status of Crimea were announced, their recognition by Russia and the inclusion of the peninsula (in the form of two constituent entities of the Russian Federation) into Russia, a “transition period” was declared until January 1, 2015. During this time, it is planned to resolve the basic issues of integration of the new region in the economic, financial, credit and legal system of the Russian Federation, in its system of government bodies, as well as solve the problems of fulfilling military obligations and performing military service.

The integration of the Crimean Tatars into the all-Russian society turned out to be one of the priorities of the Russian authorities almost from the very beginning of Crimea’s entry into Russia. Lentun Bezaziev, a deputy of several councils of the highest representative body of the autonomy, was included in the constitutional commission for developing the provisions of the Basic Law of the Republic of Crimea as part of the Russian Federation, in 2010-2014. Chairman of the Council of Representatives of the Crimean Tatars under the President of Ukraine. The Constitution of Crimea (adopted on April 11, 2014) in the preamble enshrined the concept of “multinational people of the Republic of Crimea”, and in Article 10 it proclaimed the Crimean Tatar language, along with Russian and Ukrainian, as the “state language” of this subject. This constitutional norm provides grounds for the further adoption of appropriate legal acts for its development and ensuring full linguistic equality. Subsequently, already in the fall of 2014, according to the plan of priority measures, the State Council (Parliament) of the Republic of Crimea is developing laws of the Republic of Crimea “On the functioning of languages in the Republic of Crimea” and “On education in the Republic of Crimea”. On April 21, 2014, Russian President Vladimir Putin signed a decree “On measures for the rehabilitation of the Armenian, Bulgarian, Greek, Crimean Tatar and German peoples and state support for their revival and development.” According to the text of the document, it is planned to develop a separate program for the

economic development of Crimea until 2020, taking into account measures aimed at the national, cultural and spiritual revival of these peoples. It is planned to allocate 10 billion 805 million rubles for its implementation. Already before October 2014, 450 million rubles out of 800 planned for this year were allocated from the federal budget for the resettlement of deported ethnic groups. Thus, the Russian government has drawn another line under the legacy of Stalin’s national policy. This gave the Crimean Tatar people the right to receive benefits and other preferences provided for by the Law of the Russian Federation “On the rehabilitation of victims of political repression.” In April-May 2014, representatives of the Crimean Tatar movement entered the republican government of Crimea. Remzi Ilyasov received the post of Deputy Chairman of the Republican State Council, and Zaur Smirnov headed the Committee on Nationalities Affairs. For some time the position was acting. Deputy Prime Minister of the Government of Crimea was Lenur Islyamov, then he was replaced by the head of the public organization “Generation Crimea” Ruslan Balbek. On the eve of the 70th anniversary of the deportation of the Crimean Tatars, Russian President Vladimir Putin held a meeting in Sochi on May 16, 2014 with representatives of the Crimean Tatar community. Issues of practical implementation of the decree of the head of state on the rehabilitation and integration of the Crimean Tatars were discussed. During the conversation, foreign policy factors were discussed, as well as their impact on the Crimean Tatar movement. Thus, according to Ruslan Balbek (later Deputy Prime Minister of the republic), Representatives of the Mejlis should stop playing the role of someone else’s tool, and “get involved with their people.” Thanks to the fact that Crimea, as a subject of the Russian Federation, received the right to adopt its own laws, today the authorities of the republic are trying to legislatively regulate the land problem. For more than two decades, this issue has been one of the most difficult and dangerous challenges for the entire population of the peninsula. The draft law of the Republic of Crimea “On the regulation of issues related to unauthorized occupation of land on the territory of the Republic of Crimea” is in the process of preparation (at the beginning of October 2014). Another already adopted and current Law of the Republic of Crimea “On the peculiarities of property and land relations in the territory of the Republic of Crimea” provides for some benefits for representatives of repressed peoples. Thus, it is planned to provide a one-time free plot of land to those in need for the construction of an individual residential building. During the “transition period”, the days of the Islamic religious holidays Kurban Bayram and Uraza Bayram became days off not only for Muslim believers in Crimea, but also for the entire population of the peninsula, which was perceived by

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ordinary people as a sign of respect for their faith, history and traditions. However, the situation in Crimea after its entry into Russia should not be described as a continuous series of integration successes. On March 29, 2014, the Kurultai of the Crimean Tatar people at its extraordinary session decided to begin the creation of “national-territorial autonomy” in Crimea and instructed the Mejlis to enter into relations with international organizations (UN, Council of Europe, EU, OSCE, Organization of Islamic Cooperation), parliaments and by state governments on all issues of ensuring the right of the Crimean Tatar people to self-determination. At the same time, Refat Chubarov stated that with this document, the Kurultai did not recognize the “annexation of Crimea” and the loss of the territory of the peninsula by Ukraine, and also suggested that the Crimean Tatars could hold a national referendum to confirm their desire to have autonomy. But in which specific state this autonomy would be was not explained, nor were recipes proposed (at least theoretically) for the peaceful return of Crimea to the “united Ukraine”. Shortly after this, Mustafa Dzhemilev reported that the Crimean Tatars were not yet going to announce a referendum on the status of the peninsula, explaining this by “the difficult political situation and international isolation.” After this, a turn was made towards cooperation with the Russian authorities. The Mejlis advocated the delegation of its representatives to the power structures of the Republic of Crimea. However, this line was also accompanied by numerous public reservations about non-recognition of the results of the March referendum and changes in the status of Crimea after the results of the expression of will were announced. And already on the last day of April 2014, the Chairman of the Republican State Council Vladimir Konstantinov said, that the Crimean authorities are unable to establish a constructive partnership with the Mejlis on issues of representation in government bodies. The factor that intensified the confrontation between the authorities and the Mejlis was the delivery of the Act of Notification of Not Permitting Entry into the Russian Federation for a period until April 19, 2019 to Mustafa Dzhemilev. He, however, made several unsuccessful attempts to penetrate the peninsula in early May 2014. All these events became a reason for increased criticism of Russia from official Kyiv, Ukrainian and Western media. On May 3, Crimean prosecutor Natalya Poklonskaya prepared a public appeal in which she qualified the actions of the Mejlis as extremist. Soon the first court rulings were made in cases of mass protests in support of M. Dzhemilev.

On May 16, 2014, Sergei Aksenov (at that time the acting head of the republican government) banned mass rallies in Crimea until June 6 under the pretext of preventing incidents in connection with the civil conflict in southeastern Ukraine. This decision was made almost on the same day as the landmark meeting

of Russian President Vladimir Putin with representatives of the Crimean Tatar community and two days before the events dedicated to the 70th anniversary of the deportation of the Crimean Tatar people. Aksenov’s May decision contributed to the deterioration of relations between the Crimean authorities and the Mejlis. It is worth noting that the leaders of this Crimean Tatar structure, after the decision of the head of the government of the republic, began to appeal to Russian laws. On July 4, 2014, the chairman of the Mejlis of the Crimean Tatar people, deputy of the State Council of the Republic of Crimea, Refat Chubarov, was banned from entering the territory of Crimea, and on August 9, the adviser to the chairman of the Mejlis of the Crimean Tatar people, Ismet Yuksel. On June 26, 2014, it was prohibited to hold a festive event dedicated to the Day of the Crimean Tatar Flag, which traditionally took place in the central square of Simferopol for several years in a row. The Mejlis was denied permission to hold a traditional requiem action on August 23, dedicated to the Pan-European Day of Remembrance of the Victims of Nazism and Stalinism (Russia has an extremely negative attitude towards attempts to identify these political phenomena). On June 24, 2014, FSB officers conducted a search in a madrasah in the village of Kolchugino, Simferopol region of Crimea. Subsequently, searches under the pretext of searching for prohibited Islamic literature were carried out in mosques, madrassas, national schools, schools with predominantly Crimean Tatar students, and a university. The latter’s calls for a boycott of the elections on September 14, 2014 also played a role in the growing contradictions between the authorities and the Mejlis. This campaign for the election of deputies to the State Council and local authorities had symbolic significance not only for the peninsula, but also for the Russian Federation as a whole, because it was the first election campaign in Crimea as part of Russia. Meanwhile, the leadership of the Mejlis regarded it as an “imitation.” Such actions of the Mejlis, according to Vice-Speaker of the State Council of Crimea Remzi Ilyasov, should be regarded as “a contrived problem created for the purpose of manipulating public opinion, discrediting the democratic institution of elections, leading to hostility and other manifestations of national intolerance in society.” On September 5, 2014, a search was carried out in the house of the chairman of the Nizhnegorsky regional Mejlis, Mustafa Salman, and on September 16, searches were carried out with the seizure of computer equipment in the apartment of Mejlis member Eskender Bariev, chairman of the Belogorsk regional Mejlis, Mustafa Asaba. On the same day, representatives of security forces conducted a search at the Mejlis office in Simferopol. In September, the property of the Mejlis in Simferopol was seized, and members of the so-called “People’s Parliament” were forced to leave the building, which they occupied for a

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decade and a half. However, according to Sergei Aksenov, the searches were caused by the fact that, according to available information, in the offices of the Mejlis and in the madrasah there were publications with extremist content prohibited by Russian law. At the same time, during a meeting with the Chairman of the Council of Muftis of Russia Ravil Gainutdin (September 9, 2014), Sergei Aksenov said: "We will not allow either the security forces or any other government officials to violate the level of correctness and morality even when carrying out some investigative actions. "I promise for my part that the authorities will do everything possible to ensure that such cases do not happen again." He also added that the authorities of the republic have found mutual understanding with the Spiritual Administration of Muslims of Crimea, and all further actions will be coordinated. "We agreed on constant interaction," he said. "There is no danger for Muslims in Crimea." Vice-Speaker of the State Council of Crimea R. Ilyasov speaks of the need for more fine-tuning in working with various Crimean Tatar organizations: "The behavior of employees during searches must be respectful, justified, with the presentation of reasons. This should be done especially politely and correctly in the presence of young and minor children. Better yet, if necessary and possible, such events should preferably be held with the participation of the public. In this difficult period that we are all experiencing together in Crimea, it is necessary to very subtly and flexibly carry out certain actions, we think, and events carried out by law enforcement agencies, so that, God forbid, we do not hurt or offend anyone, no matter who they are. neither was. Today we owe it to each other to say good things and give each other hope." He believes: "Politics involves mutual concessions and compromise options, if, of course, you follow a civilized path. The policy of confrontation, as a rule, leads to disastrous results." The famous Russian orientalist Alexei Malashenko warns (against the backdrop of mistakes that have already taken place in the North Caucasus) against excesses in terms of harsh persecution of the opposition: "Experience shows that as soon as relations between Muslims worsen, religious radicalism begins to manifest itself." And there is a danger, in his opinion, of getting a small, "but very active group of Muslims who are extremely hostile towards Russia." Mustafa Dzhemilev, speaking on October 2, 2014 at PACE, said that, according to his data, after the annexation of Crimea to Russia, 18 Crimean Tatars disappeared without a trace. Four Crimean activists were reported missing in May - Leonid Korzh, Timur Shaimardanov, Vasily Chernysh and Seyran Zinedinov. He broadcast his opinion about the involvement of Russian special services in these incidents. The head of the Central Election Commission of the Kurultai of the Crimean Tatar people, Zaira Smedlyaeva, also spoke in early October about the disappearance of 23-year-old

Eskender Apselyamov. On October 7, 2014, 25-year-old Edem Asanov, who disappeared on September 29, was found dead in an abandoned sanatorium in Yevpatoriya. The press connected what happened to him with the case of director Oleg Sentsov, who is accused of planning terrorist attacks in Crimea. At the same time, his relatives opposed the politicization of this tragedy. "This is a family grief, but it has nothing to do with politics or crime. We have no complaints against the investigator, the investigation, or the law enforcement officers," said Edem Asanov's uncle. According to the chairman of the regional Mejlis of the Saki region, Eskender Belyalov, there is no reason to believe that Edem was killed. "I participated in the search from the first day, after Eden was found, I communicated with investigators. Yesterday a forensic examination showed that it was a non-violent death. In addition, there is a suicide letter. I cannot say what was in it, but it is clear from the letter that it was his choice. He did it himself," said E. Belyalov. Kidnappings and other excesses became the subject of discussion at a meeting of the Council for the Development of Civil Society and Human Rights under the President of the Russian Federation on October 14, 2014. This discussion with the participation of the head of the Russian state, in which sensitive issues were publicly raised, shows that today there are no "forbidden problems" regarding the Crimean Tatars, although critics in Kyiv and the West say so. In his speech, Council member, journalist and historian Nikolai Svanidze focused on negative stories in the field of interethnic relations in Crimea. According to N. Svanidze, the decision on the rehabilitation of the Crimean Tatar people "actually they do not need it," but the "Russian state" needs it. Continuing his thought, he also emphasized that instead of a real dialogue, there is an "imitation" of it, the authorities rely on discriminatory policies (examples were given of restrictions on public events for the 70th anniversary of the deportation), and kidnappings are also practiced. Russian President V. Putin reacted to N. Svanidze's remark. At the same time, the head of state gave a detailed argument for all the above points of criticism. "As for the 70th anniversary events, I cannot completely agree with you. Still, these events were coordinated with public organizations of the Crimean Tatars. Someone wanted to hold such rather tough events, someone did not agree, but in general an agreement was reached with them that these events would be held, they would be held in places of compact residence. And so they did. And people took part in these events," stated the head of state. V. Putin also drew attention to the fact that the position of the entire people cannot be identified with one group or structure (even an influential one): "Except for those who consider themselves representatives of the Crimean Tatars, but actually set themselves some other goals, There are people, they have been involved in human rights issues for a long

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time, protecting the interests of the Crimean Tatars. They retain Ukrainian citizenship, they are deputies of the Rada, they take part in international events on behalf of Ukraine somewhere in third countries, and at the same time they claim to protect the interests of people who live in Crimea and have accepted Russian citizenship". According to V. Putin, there is no reason for someone to monopolize the right to represent the interests of an entire people and "speculate on their past." The President of the Russian Federation emphasized the validity of the act of rehabilitation and its importance for ordinary Crimean Tatars: "This is also important for people, they do not want to feel like some kind of criminals, they want society to apologize to them, and the act of rehabilitation has such meaning, in including this apology to them. Although we did not take part in the decisions that were made then, nevertheless, we are here today, and we have the right to do this, and we must do it, and we did it." At the same time, the head of state expressed concern about the problem of kidnappings: "It is not clear who is doing this. Who does this? Why do they do this? This is completely incomprehensible to me. The only thing that is clear and clear to me is that we will do something that has never been done before for the Crimean Tatars. One of the most important problems for them is the legalization of their property and rights to land. This is the key issue and we are doing it." The ultimate goal of Russian policy in Crimea, according to V. Putin, is to restore order and establish the rule of law, which was not the case earlier when Crimea was part of Ukraine. An important thesis of the President of the Russian Federation was the idea that there are "by no means idle problems" on the peninsula. In fact, one should not exclude the possibility of an escalation of the ethnic conflict in Crimea as a result of external influence using the Islamic factor with the support of international network structures that already have their representatives in the Black Sea basin. This is confirmed by the fact that in recent years in Crimea there has been an intensification of radical Islamist movements, such as Wahhabism, the Muslim Brotherhood, and the Hizbut Tahrir party. The last party, after Crimea became part of the Russian Federation, found itself outside the legal framework due to the entry into force of Russian legislation prohibiting the functioning of this religious party in the country. However, despite this, this religious movement has not lost its influence on its supporters (mainly in the rural and youth segments). On November 17, 2014, the well-known human rights organization Human Rights Watch published a 37-page report with the "telling title" "Derogation from rights: abuses in Crimea." The report cited facts of intimidation and oppression of those who opposed Russia's actions in Crimea, primarily the Crimean Tatars. The human rights activists' report was based on 42 interviews with representatives of the Crimean Tatar community, activists, journalists, lawyers and

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other residents of Crimea, Kyiv, Lvov and Moscow. However, according to the Commissioner for Human Rights of the Crimean Parliament Lyudmila Lubina, the Human Rights Watch material seems extremely biased. According to her estimates, More than 800 people are listed as missing in the lists of Crimean law enforcement agencies, only 18 of them are representatives of the Crimean Tatar people. “This is about 2%, six to seven times less than the share of Crimean Tatars in the population of Crimea. Although, of course, every such case is a tragedy, and we monitor every situation,” Lubina yawned. Alexander Zhuravsky, director of the Department of State Policy in the Sphere of Interethnic Relations of the Ministry of Regional Development of Russia, commented on the situation in a similar way (November 19, 2014): "When I was recently in Simferopol, this issue was discussed. They gave absolutely provocative examples of misinformation. A person died, and they distort the essence of this phenomenon and prescribe some kind of ethnic cleansing. On November 21, the Crimean Field Mission for Human Rights (CFM, created in March 2014) reported that during the day at the Simferopol market, unknown persons in camouflage detained more than 100 people. According to KPM information, the arrests were carried out by people in civilian clothes, accompanied by machine gunners wearing masks and dark brown uniforms without identification marks. They introduced themselves as employees of the Department for Combating Extremism of the Russian Ministry of Internal Affairs. On November 25, 2014, the press service of the Office of the Investigative Committee of Russia for Crimea stated that on October 10, the investigative department for Sudak received a statement from the Chairman of the Sudak City Mejlis F. Aliyev that there were unknown masked men on the road between Sudak and Grushevka near the Prival cafe Several people of Crimean Tatar nationality were kidnapped. Investigative authorities conducted an investigation into the fact. During the inspection, it was established that no violations of the law were recorded in this territory during the specified period of time. All persons without exception were interrogated, both those who reported the crime and those who were its witnesses, whose testimony contradicted each other and indicated that they had not seen any illegal actions. Taking into account the words of the Head of Crimea S. Aksenov that the abductions of Crimean Tatars in the region are not of a mass nature, The Moscow Bureau for Human Rights, however, sent an appeal to the Prosecutor General of the Russian Federation, Yuri Chaika, demanding that he take personal control of the investigation into the abductions of Crimean citizens. On December 2, 2014, the Mufti of the Spiritual Administration of Muslims of Ukraine, Said Ismagilov, in an interview with the Ukrainian commercial channel BTB, stated

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that the situation of Muslims in Crimea is much worse than in the territories of the self-proclaimed people's republics of Donbass. Representatives of the Russian Muslim clergy have a different opinion. Thus, according to the leader of the CMR (Russian Mufti Council), the Crimean Tatars understood that the Russian Federation "does a lot so that we, Muslims, develop spiritually and morally." He also emphasized that the Crimean Tatars are concerned that over the past two decades they have not been rehabilitated. At the same time, they did not create conditions for living normally, and not like aliens: "Now it is understood that the Crimean Tatar people will be rehabilitated," said the chairman of the SMR. Unfortunately, many representatives of the Russian liberal community do not take into account a number of positive facts that took place after Crimea became part of the Russian Federation. One of these is the process of repatriation to the homeland, which has not frozen, but, on the contrary, has intensified. Thus, according to the head of the Chairman of the State Committee for Interethnic Relations of Crimea, Zaur Smirnov (Crimean Tatar), about 50 more Crimean Tatar families returned from Central Asia after the change of jurisdiction of Crimea. Crimean Tatars take an active part in the population census (the All-Ukrainian census took place in 2001, the statistics require updating). "Entire residential areas come to our committee asking why there are no census takers, and we draw the attention of Crimean Statistics to the problems that have arisen," Zaur Smirnov told reporters in October 2014. All this, despite the existing contradictions, leaves significant space for dialogue. In September 2014, the All-Crimean Conference "On the situation of the Crimean Tatar people at the present stage in Crimea" was held, which proposed ways for the successful integration of new citizens of the Russian Federation. Representatives of the Mejlis, as well as figures from science, art, and education took part in it. Remzi Ilyasov stated: "The address of the All-Crimean Conference notes that demonstrative self-isolation and confrontation will lead to negative consequences, first of all, for the Crimean Tatar people. And therefore, in this fateful period, entering into power and active joint work in matters of building up the people will be the key to their security, well-being and development in their historical homeland - in Crimea." On November 25, 2014, on the air of the "Brave Hearts" program, M. Dzhemilev spoke about the need for Crimean Tatar youths of military age to ignore conscription notices into the Russian army, while understanding the possible consequences of such a refusal: "It is clear that the Crimean Tatars will not serve in Russian army. And since they will refuse the draft, then they face imprisonment." As a result, he showed his fellow tribesmen an "alternative" - leaving for the territory of Ukraine: "Probably, we will have to create some kind of settlements somewhere on the border with Crimea,

in the Kherson region. And men, of course, will be in the Ukrainian army." He did not forget to note such a fact as the participation of 450 representatives of the Crimean Tatars in the Ukrainian National Guard. It is obvious that such calls strengthen phobias and suspicion within Crimea and contribute to the formation of an atmosphere of distrust towards Russian citizens of Crimean Tatar nationality. Shortly before the visit of Russian President Vladimir Putin (it took place on December 1, 2014) to Turkey, Dzhemilev met with the head of the Turkish Republic, Recep Erdogan, and offered to support sanctions against Moscow. Thus, the topic of Crimea and Ukraine is artificially heated up and brought into the focus of Turkish public and political discussion. On December 10, 2014, representatives of the Central Office of the Crimean Tatar Culture and Mutual Assistance Society in Turkey held a protest at the Russian Embassy in Ankara. During this action, they held portraits of V. Putin, in which his image was stylized as Adolf Hitler. The protesters chanted: "Murderer Putin, get out of Crimea," "Deportation, genocide continues," "Crimean Tatars will not surrender. protection of the Crimean Tatars, on Human Rights Day (traditionally they took place on December 10). "For a number of years, events have traditionally been held, mainly a rally dedicated to the problems that faced the Crimean Tatar people. And traditionally, we adopted the resolution as an appeal to the authorities with a call to solve the problems of the Crimean Tatars. This year the situation has changed somewhat. This began on May 18 (Day of Remembrance for Victims of Deportation). On June 26 (Crimean Tatar National Flag Day) and after, they stopped allowing us to hold any public events at all, refusing them under various pretexts. As a result, they made it clear to us that this year on December 10 in the central square, as on any other date, the Mejlis will not be allowed to gather and organize a mass event. I think it makes no sense to explain why," said Deputy Chairman of the Mejlis Nariman Jelal. To date, Ankara has shown restraint in relation to the Crimean issue (which contrasts with its activity in the regions of the post-Soviet space with a Turkic population in the early 1990s). However, attempts to drag a powerful Eurasian power into a conflict with Moscow are extremely dangerous. On December 9, 2014, the conference "Ukraine as a test for European solidarity" was held in Brussels at the European Parliament, which was held under the patronage of the President of the European Parliament Martin Schulz. During this forum, Refat Chubarov made a speech. He called on parliamentarians to "protect the Crimean Tatars from persecution" and show solidarity with them. However, it is possible that in the near future a strong counterweight to the Mejlis will appear in Crimea, focused on cooperation with the Russian and Crimean regional authorities and integration into the Russian Federation. Remzi Ilyasov announced the creation of

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the Kyrym movement on October 20, 2014. Its representative offices may appear not only on the territory of the Crimean Peninsula, but also in several “continental” regions of Russia. At the first stage we are talking about ten subjects of the Russian Federation. The new movement, according to Ilyasov, will make it possible to more effectively solve the problems that the Crimean Tatars have been facing over the past decades. “The creation of the movement was caused by the fact that the representative body of the Crimean Tatar people, the Mejlis, got bogged down in discussions to no avail,” he emphasized. According to him, the new social movement is not being created in the format of strict opposition to the existing forms of consolidation and self-government of the Crimean Tatars - the Kurultai and the Mejlis. The founding congress to create it is scheduled for mid-December. Before this, potential supporters and activists of the newly created organization will hold local meetings at which delegates will be determined. At the congress itself, it is planned to consider proposals for the creation of a Concept for the development of the Crimean Tatar people and their culture, including the education and functioning of the language, until 2020. Along with this, there is significant potential for social influence of the Milli Firka organization, an alternative to the Mejlis, and a number of public organizations, among which the Sebat organization can be called the most active. Cooperation with a part of the Crimean Tatars, who had experience of constructive cooperation with government bodies and held major positions in the Crimean parliament and government over the years, also seems interesting. The last of them in June 2014 created a new public organization “Kyrym Birligi” (Unity of Crimea). In October 2014, this association took the initiative to hold elections of new delegates to the Kurultai of the Crimean Tatar people during the year. According to its leader Seytumer Nemetullaev, the re-election of Kurultai delegates will take place within the framework of Russian law. Social activists are waiting for the results of the population census to obtain data on the number of voters. The Kyrym Birligi initiative was supported by the head of the Federation of Crimean Tatar Derneks (associations) of Turkey, Unver Sel. “The Crimean Tatar people should not follow the mistakes of the old leaders of the Mejlis and must create a new body and a new Kurultai,” he noted. On November 30, 2014, the Public Council of the Crimean Tatar People, created on the initiative of “Kyrym Birligi,” sent an appeal to the presidents of Russia and Turkey, Vladimir Putin and Recep Erdogan, in which they expressed confidence that no one would be able to quarrel between the peoples of the two countries.that in the near future a strong counterbalance to the Mejlis will appear in Crimea, focused on cooperation with the Russian and Crimean regional authorities and integration into the Russian Federation. Remzi Ilyasov announced the creation of

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one would be able to quarrel between the peoples of the two countries."Yes, there are difficulties, but these are difficulties of the transition period, so we, representatives of the Crimean Tatar people, created a Public Council, which is designed to promote the creative development of our people as part of the Russian Federation. We will develop our culture, traditions, help our people settle in their historical homeland and create favorable conditions for the successful development of the entire Crimea. We are ready to fully support the Russian authorities on the path of prosperity for Crimea and Russia," the document says. In this situation, the Russian government at all levels may have constructive partners who are ready not only to interact, but also to correct the mistakes made by political and administrative structures during the "transition period."

Conclusion

Crimea in 2014 became the most important argument for Russian positioning in the international arena. Russia, having decided to support the people's will on the peninsula, was able not only to protect its national interests in the Black Sea region, but also to prove that it is an independent subject of world politics, ready to defend its approaches to the world order. However, consolidating these successes in the short and long term depends on a high-quality and effective solution to the problems of development of Crimea and Sevastopol. And among the top priorities in this direction is the development of the idea of Russian civic identity among the Crimean population, the harmonization of interethnic relations and the integration of the Crimean Tatars, who have historically difficult relations with the Russian state. To successfully solve these problems, the following measures are proposed, namely:

1. Encouraging socio-political Crimean Tatar organizations focused on integration with Russia, supporting Eurasian integration and involvement in all-Russian social processes. In addition to party structures, attention should be paid to supporting non-governmental organizations. At the same time, it is important to pay attention to publishing, media and educational projects. In the conditions of information confrontation with the West, there is an urgent need for our own Crimean Tatar "voices", capable of qualitatively opposing and promoting the pro-Russian point of view, while having some distance from the authorities and autonomy from their tutelage.
2. Minimizing the "exclusivity" of the Crimean Tatar issue. At the level of rhetoric, Vladimir Putin has already succeeded in this, integrating issues of the tragic history or problematic present of the Crimean Tatars into the general context of the return and restoration of Crimea. But today a system of practical measures in this direction is required - not in the sense of hushing up the problems of the Crimean Tatar

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population, but in terms of solving its pressing issues as an integral part of all-Crimean and all-Russian tasks. Commissions should be created for the rehabilitation of both the Crimean Tatars and all those who were subjected to Stalinist repressions in Crimea. A similar approach is associated with solving land relations. It is extremely important to develop the Concept of National Policy of the Republic of Crimea, which should pay attention to all ethnic communities of the peninsula.

3. Development of dialogue between Crimean Tatars and representatives of Tatarstan, which has proven itself positively during the preparation for the referendum. Work in this direction should be continued and interaction between representatives of other constituent entities of the Russian Federation and Crimea should be encouraged. Representatives of the Volga region Islam (Spiritual Administration of Muslims) would be extremely useful as consultants for building religious policy in the Islamic direction.

4. Avoiding the practice of applying the “principle of collective responsibility” in the actions of security forces and law enforcement officers. Also, when covering incidents and court decisions, attention should be focused not on membership in the Mejlis or religious affiliation, but on the personal offense or extremist actions of a particular citizen. It is necessary to avoid situations in which certain harsh actions of the authorities will be perceived by the population as actions against the Crimean Tatars (the top of the Mejlis uses such rhetoric for their own purposes).

5. From previous denunciations of Crimean Tatar collaborationism, it is necessary to move on to a discussion of positive examples (the popularization of characters such as Akhmet Khan Sultan), the actions of the heroes of the Great Patriotic War and the partisan movement; the modern generation needs to be reminded of the experience of cohabitation of different peoples of Crimea in Tsarist Russia and the USSR (1783-1991). It is proposed to establish prizes for talented students, graduate students and even schoolchildren associated with names of Crimean Tatar origin (Akhmet Khan Sultan, twice awarded the title of Hero of the Soviet Union, etc.), and award them not only to Crimean Tatars, but also to other residents of the Republic of Crimea.

6. Establishing international contacts with the Crimean Tatar diaspora in Turkey, the Middle East, Europe, and the USA. Additional legitimization of Russian actions in Crimea and promotion of the image of Russia as a homeland for all its peoples and citizens is urgently needed at the international level.

7. Organizing the conscription of Crimean Tatar youth into the ranks of the Armed Forces of the Russian Federation within the framework of the “transition period” is an extremely important task.

8. Optimization of competition between the Caucasian muftiates and those spiritual centers controlled by immigrants from Tatarstan. In Russian

Crimea, there is already an extremely important process of determining who and from which Russian muftiates will take a kind of patronage over Crimean Muslims. To this end, it is necessary to conduct a comprehensive, practically oriented study of the religious situation in Crimea, find a dialogue partner within the Crimean Tatar community itself, and very finely regulate the attempts of the Russian muftiates to influence the Crimean situation.

9. Extension of the “transition period” to prevent protest sentiments among the population of Crimea on issues such as re-issuance of passports, property rights and other things, which in case of dissatisfaction of citizens can be used for mobilization on an ethnic basis.

10. Implementation of a consistent and speedy language and educational policy in Crimea, according to which all declarations on the support and development of the Crimean Tatar language and other languages of Crimea could be translated into practice.

On March 18, Crimea will celebrate the seventh anniversary of the reunification of the Republic of Crimea and the city of Sevastopol with Russia. This decision was made following the results of a general Crimean referendum held on March 16, 2014, in which almost 97% of the population supported reunification with the Russian Federation. Not only Russian residents of Crimea, but also representatives of all nationalities living on the peninsula spoke in favor of joining Russia. Meanwhile, the Crimean Tatar issue to this day remains the main reason for political speculation on the part of Ukraine and attempts to interfere in the internal affairs of Russia. FAN looked into what support measures in the field of socio-economic development were implemented over seven years for representatives of national autonomies in Russian Crimea. The entry of Crimea into the Russian Federation was marked by a radical change in the state’s attitude towards representatives of peoples deported from the territory of the Crimean Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic during Soviet times. By decree of President Vladimir Putin, 04/21/2015 was declared the Day of Revival of the Rehabilitated Peoples of Crimea. To implement the provisions of the Decree, 14 legislative and regulatory acts were adopted in Crimea. The unfoundedness of political claims on the part of Ukraine all these years was confirmed to the FAN correspondent by representatives of the Crimean Tatar people themselves. Thus, the chairman of the Regional National-Cultural Autonomy of the Crimean Tatars of the Republic of Crimea, Eyvaz Umerov, believes that a new era of revival of the Crimean Tatars in their homeland is associated with the return to their native harbor. historical homeland. As a Crimean Tatar, a resident of the Simferopol district Emir, told FAN (he asked not to give his last name), he often hears from Ukraine, especially from representatives of the “Mejlis of the Crimean Tatar People” 1 (banned on the

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territory of the Russian Federation) in Kiev, that the Crimean the Tatars are in Crimea as if they were in a ghetto; they are supposedly being held here by force, their rights are being violated, they are being oppressed and not given life. However, according to him, this is far from true, this is deception and provocations on the part of Kyiv. Many Crimean Tatars were able to receive much more rights, opportunities to learn their language, and legalized housing precisely after 2014.

He says he regrets that he himself, even in 2014, first left for Ukraine, believing the promises of a good life and being afraid of supposed “repression” from the new government. Having lived there for several years, the man says, he realized that the ghetto for his people was in Ukraine - no one was waiting for them there and no one was going to help them. Recently, thanks to government support, he and his family received documents proving his rights to the land. Now they are planning to build a house. He admits that he tried to occupy this land back in Ukraine, but only recently received it legally. In general, to date, about 5,000 Crimeans have been able to obtain extracts from the register and have become full owners of the land that was once occupied in the “protest fields.” The main driver in the field of socio-economic development was the State Program of the Republic of Kazakhstan adopted in 2015 to strengthen the unity of the Russian nation and the ethnocultural development of the peoples of Russia “The Republic of Crimea - a territory of interethnic harmony.” The details of its implementation were told to a FAN correspondent at the State Committee for Interethnic Relations of the Republic of Kazakhstan. Thus, last year alone, more than 620 families received their housing, and 600 people were provided with one-time financial assistance to complete the construction of individual housing for a total amount of more than 104 million rubles. As part of the direction “Ensuring Interethnic Unity,” the Federal Targeted Program created 520 places in preschool educational institutions in areas of compact residence of citizens from among the rehabilitated peoples of Crimea. This year it is planned to put 36 apartments into operation and create another 520 places in kindergartens in Simferopol and the Simferopol region. Meanwhile, the echoes of Ukrainian policy towards the Crimean Tatars are still evident, says Ruslan Eminov, a member of the Council of Elders of the Crimean Tatar people “Namus”. According to him, for now the old policy of Ukraine can be traced in Crimea, in which the Crimean Tatars are assigned the role of a diaspora. And this leaves a certain imprint on the entire policy pursued towards the Crimean Tatar people. For many years he actively promoted the idea of reunifying Crimea with Russia, met the Crimean Spring and was awarded a medal for the return of Crimea. Ruslan Eminov connects hopes for a true restoration of the rights of the Crimean Tatar population with the

recognition of the Crimean Tatar people as a separate nation formed on the territory of the Crimean peninsula, and the implementation of the Russian Federation law on the rehabilitation of repressed peoples in relation to it. Earlier, FAN talked about the statement of the leader of the “Mejlis of the Crimean Tatar People” (banned on the territory of the Russian Federation) Refat Chubarov that the lack of water in the Republic of Crimea is perceived by the Crimean Tatars as a factor that allegedly restrains Russians from settling the peninsula. Russia's annexation of Crimea in March 2014 was a brutal blow to the Crimean Tatars, a Muslim minority who returned to their ancestral homeland in 1989 after being deported. Three years have passed and the European Union opposes the next package of anti-Russian sanctions adopted by the US Congress in July. And German Foreign Minister Sigmar Gabriel even said that the EU could turn a blind eye to the controversial status of Crimea. The leaders of Ukraine, usually very sensitive to signals about anti-Russian sanctions and the status of Crimea, which was Ukrainian, remain silent, which causes considerable surprise. But Crimean Tatars loudly condemned the EU's actions. Prominent Crimean Tatar activist and owner of the Crimean Tatar TV channel ATR Lenur Islyamov sharply criticized Gabriel for his “message in defense of Putin” and said that if necessary, Crimean Tatars would fight for the return of Crimea to Ukraine. This story is long. We addressed this issue in our article in the American Journal of Political Science. Crimean Tatars are still quite hostile towards the Russian annexation of Crimea. We noted that part of the reason for this hostility lies in the persistent memory of those events that occurred more than 70 years ago. In May 1944, the Soviet authorities without much deliberation deported 200 thousand Crimean Tatars to Central Asia for collaborating with the Nazis during the war. As in other cases, everyone without exception was subject to deportation - even Red Army officers of Crimean Tatar nationality. Families were not allowed to take personal belongings with them, and the long trip to Central Asia in cattle cars was the last for many. According to some estimates, from 20 to 46% of the Crimean Tatar population died on the way and in the first year of life in exile. The main causes of death were disease and hunger. In 1989, as the Soviet Union was heading toward collapse, Crimean Tatars were allowed to return to Crimea and their ancestral homes. Approximately 280 thousand people returned. Although every Crimean Tatar family experienced the horrors of deportation, some families lost more relatives in the first year of exile due to harsh living conditions. We analyzed the consequences experienced by the children and grandchildren of survivors of the loss of family members. At the end of 2014, shortly after the annexation of Crimea by Russia, we interviewed three generations of respondents in 300 Crimean Tatar families who had

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returned to Crimea. In the survey we included those who survived the 1944 deportation, their children who were born in exile, as well as their grandchildren who were born at the beginning of the 21st century and did not live under the Soviet Union. Because some deportation survivors lost more relatives than others, we were able to assess the impact of the loss of additional family members on grandchildren's political leanings, attitudes, and behavior. Two points are especially important here, namely:

firstly, there are serious reasons to believe that the number of relatives who died during deportation does not in any way affect the political preferences and moods of the grandchildren who participated in the survey. Because of this, we are more confident that the differences between families are a result of how much they were affected;

secondly, the grandchildren of survivors who participated in our survey matured after the collapse of the Soviet Union. Thus, they have no direct experience of life in the USSR under Soviet rule. This helped us avoid one major problem of figuring out what opinions and beliefs are transmitted within families based on people's personal experiences.

We have found that the effects of violence in families are surprisingly powerful. The more relatives died during the brutal deportation, the more the generation of grandchildren considers the Crimean Tatars victims. And in Russia they more often see a constant threat. Our research also showed that young

Crimean Tatars, whose families suffered more, are more likely and more active in politics. They voted more actively in the referendum on the annexation of Crimea to Russia in early 2014 and in local elections held that same year. But in these elections they demonstrated their opposition to Russia, voting against annexation, and then against the Russian ruling party. We found out what exactly is passed on from generation to generation. These include memories of victims, heightened perceptions of threat, and strong in-group attachments. This identity was formed in families through communication (sometimes in conversations about what the family experienced), and now it influences how the descendants of deportees react to political events, how they decide who to vote for, and whether to vote at all. Our research has shown that the memory of suffering in families is very strong and passes from generation to generation. The strong anti-Russian sentiment among today's Crimean Tatar youth is at least in part a direct result of the persecution of their family members that took place more than 70 years ago. Overall, these findings help explain why reconciliation between the descendants of victims and the descendants of those who persecuted them is often impossible. The victims themselves have passed away, but their relatives remember the violence inflicted on them, and those generations who did not directly experience the suffering of deportation still feel victimized.

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Article



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ABOUT THE RELATIONSHIP OF THE UNION OF LEAN ECONOMY AND SMART QUALITY MANAGEMENT FOR THE PRODUCTION OF IN-DEMAND PRODUCTS

Abstract: *in the article, the authors motivate the manufacturer to recommend to the market, due to their motivation, by managing quality, to produce import-substituting products for the consumer, to reconsider their concept of creating a market for popular and competitive goods, taking into account their attractiveness. Such mutual understanding will fully correspond to the desire of the consumer to satisfy his desire to make a purchase taking into account his social status, to ensure that manufacturers sell their products in full and guarantee themselves sustainable TEP from their activities and financial stability.*

In addition, the authors focused on the need for motivated high political responsibility for the results of the enterprise headed by the management. Personifying responsibility does not just mean finding who is responsible for everything. It is important to understand that personification of responsibility implies its delegation for obtaining the desired result. And here it is important not to make a serious methodological mistake - to reduce economic policy to economic analysis, but to maintain a spirit of solidarity in the team - one for all and all for one - and success will definitely find the seeker.

Key words: *quality, import substitution, demand, competitiveness, market, profit, demand, buyer, manufacturer, financial stability, sustainable technical and economic indicators, priority, assortment, assortment policy, demand, implementation, paradigm, economic policy, economic analysis, team, success.*

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Introduction

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The research presented to your attention is the fruit of joint reflection on current problems of improving the activities of an important sector of the public economy by leading Russian and foreign specialists - light industry. Collectively performed research always has an advantage over individual creativity. An individual researcher, no matter how knowledgeable and authoritative he may be, will be forced by the nature of the circumstances to explain not only his point of view on the problem under study, but also to talk about how his colleagues "see" this problem, to present someone else's view of the order of things, to turn during the announced discussion in their opponents. Such a transformation, despite all its conventionality, is not so harmless for objectivity in understanding. Even such a wonderful thinker as G. Hegel sinned, wittingly or unwittingly setting up his opponents so that it would be more convenient to criticize them. This work represents the author's original approach and opens up the opportunity to learn the most significant things first-hand, without intermediaries, which often overshadow creative relationships. The quality is "destined" to be at all times at the epicenter of both scientific and amateurish reflections. The problem of ensuring the quality of activities is not just universally relevant, it is strategic. The dilemma in relation to quality is reasonable only within the limits of contrasting the relationship between "direct" and "indirect" actions. The saying "it's all about him" owes its origin to quality. It is possible to "forget" about the quality problem solely because every fruitful and luminous activity is ultimately aimed at improving quality. Quality is either "in the mind" or "implied". From the relationship in the dynamics of these projections, quality problems in creative thinking are arranged in an appropriate schedule, reflecting the relevance and profitability of activities aimed at developing highly efficient production. Reanimate the role and importance of a quality-oriented strategy, since only in this case will enterprise managers be subjectively and objectively forced to improve their production, using nanotechnology and innovative processes, so that competitive and in-demand materials and products fully satisfy the needs of domestic consumers. At the same time, the assertion of manufacturers that the consumption of domestic materials and products is regulated by the market is justified. In this case, market requirements should form in production, and they confirm this situation, paying attention to the role of the state and consumers in creating sustainable demand for domestic materials and products, namely: maintaining a range of goods, regulating it with federal, regional and municipal

orders; stimulate price stability; increase consumer power and gradually improve their quality. The implementation of these tasks will create the basis forso that the consumer realizes the need to pay for the benefits of high-quality materials and products, and the manufacturer realizes that improving the quality of materials and products cannot be associated only with rising prices, but also through technical innovations aimed at the use of new technological and engineering solutions, guaranteeing consumers their quality.

Main part

It is equally important to understand the role and significance of quality activity, that is, to what extent leaders have penetrated into the essence of things, learned to manage things, change their properties (assortment), form, forcing them to serve people without significant damage to nature, for the benefit and in the name of man. The quality of activity is the final criterion of its individual, collective and national status. It is in quality that the energy of creation is accumulated. The quality of activity testifies to how much we have penetrated into the essence of things, learned to control things, change their properties, shape, forcing them to serve man, without significant damage to nature. Quality allows us to see the person himself from new angles, to pay tribute to his talent, will, and professionalism. Research conducted under the UN development program made it possible to measure the share of the "human factor" in national and global wealth: 65% of the wealth of the world community is the contribution of human potential and only a third of the world's wealth comes from natural resources and production structure. A quality-oriented strategy undoubtedly contributes to an increase in the very role of the subjective factor in the development of production, and to a more complete comprehensive satisfaction of human needs themselves. The desire to "live according to reasonable needs," as well as the need to "work according to one's capabilities," along with the communist ideal, no one dared to openly and officially abolish, realizing the absurdity of denying the essential powers of man. In a "hot" state, the quality problem is steadily supported by both the internal forces of active consciousness and external life factors. The highest function of consciousness is cognitive. By understanding nature, we discover its qualities, state of quality, quality levels, translating new knowledge into production. Classical political economy (A. Smith, D. Ricardo, K. Marx, J. Mill) focused on quality problems in production. Post-classical economic thought shifted quality towards consumption, trying to give production a "human face" - a person alienates himself in the production process, but this measure is forced and, in a systemic sense, temporary, conditional. Labor is a kind of "terrible cauldron" that Vanya the Fool had to

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overcome in order to turn into Ivan Tsarevich. The main thing in production is the result, not the process. Consumption is regulated by the market. Therefore, market demands must dominate production. The task of society is to globally promote the development of demand in the market: maintain a range of goods, stimulate price stability, increase purchasing power, and improve the quality of goods. E. Deming, calling the “network of deadly diseases” of modern production, puts in the first place “production planning that is not focused on such goods and services for which the market is in demand.” Try to object to him. Production during the transition from industrial to post-industrial society of mass consumption is conceived as a function of the market.

The dynamics of market development in the last decades of the last century and at the beginning of the third millennium invariably show an increase in consumer demand for product quality. Despite all the economic, social and political costs, humanity is getting richer, but wealth is being distributed unevenly. Finance, as before, is concentrated in certain regions, however, in the same way as the premieres of modern production. Analysts confidently and universally predict the trend towards product quality. The consumer has realized the need to pay for the benefits of quality services and products. It's the turn for the manufacturer, who must close “greed” and “mortal sin” in his mind in order to burn out greed. The most prominent economists clearly state that an increase in the quality of goods is not causally related to an increase in price. Positive changes in the quality of goods require qualitative changes in technique, technology, organization and production management. Production must improve, which does not mean becoming more expensive. And I would also like to draw attention to one phenomenon that usually escapes in the bustle of problems - the historicity of the economy. The economy has not always been the way we perceive it now and will never remain so. Economic life changes over time, which forces us to tune in to its changing existence. The modern economy is built on a market foundation and the laws of the market dictate its own rules. In the foreground are profit, competition, efficiency, unity of command. How long will this continue? Analysts say symptoms of a new economic order are already growing. The next round of the economic spiral will also spin around the market core, but the significance of the market will not remain total. The priority of market competition, which aggressively pushes the “social sphere” to the margins, is not compatible with the prospect of economic development, which is confirmed by the steady desire of social democracy in the West to turn the economy towards social security and fair distribution of profits. The new economy is called temporarily “lean.” The current principle: “survival of the fittest, the fittest” will be replaced by “social-production partnership - the manager and the

manufacturer will become members of the same team. Mass production will give way to an organization that corresponds to the implementation of the principle - “the manufacturer produces exactly what the consumer needs.” A “lean” economy will be focused on resource-saving production technologies. It will require a new look at fundamental concepts. The quality philosophy will also change. We must be prepared for future events. To the best of our competence and interests, we tried to share our thoughts with you, entrusted you with our judgments about the past, present and future of the business to which we dedicated our lives, our research in order to answer the main question: What dominates in quality - advertising or the manufacturer and will the revolution in quality unite them or will it be impossible to do this? But life will judge both of them.

One of the tasks in the system of increasing the competitiveness of regions is to identify the potential of innovative technologies in these regions. The traditions of the footwear industry in the regions of the Southern Federal District and North Caucasus Federal District and the trends in its development provide a chance for success in the event of interaction between all participants in the process - suppliers, manufacturers, government officials, trading and service companies. The first step towards such interaction must be taken through an exchange of opinions and clarification of mutual positions. Do participants in the footwear market in these regions clearly perceive the problems that they face? What is the vector of structural changes in the Russian leather and footwear market leading to development or stagnation of the industry? What are the conditions and real opportunities for the development of competitive production in the region? What should be the support of the authorities at the federal and regional levels? Is it possible in modern conditions to rely on interaction and cooperation as a real factor of competitiveness? How to solve the problem of training and retaining personnel in production?

For the shoe business, the topic of developing innovative technologies is very relevant. Their use is one of the most effective tools for increasing the competitiveness of territories. The need for such an approach to managing the competitiveness of enterprises, which consists in developing a new industrial policy for stimulating the organization and development of innovation based on the formation of relationships of network cooperation and public-private partnership (innovation policy) and includes the study of clusters, cluster strategy and methods for ensuring it are a lifesaver for Today. From the point of view of the management process, the cluster approach is considered as a set of stages and activities for the organization of clusters and their development, i.e. clustering. This approach will allow small and medium-sized light industry enterprises to

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successfully compete not only in the domestic but also in the international market.

The role of regional and municipal authorities in launching and coordinating cluster projects is very important; in this regard, it was possible to create an effective mechanism for representing business interests in relations with the authorities. An element has been proposed that performs the function of a “coordinator and communicator”. To develop this element, we need a substantive dialogue based on mutual trust and interest, first of all, between the industry entities themselves; both the authorities and business are interested in this. It is necessary to develop joint proposals on directions, forms and methods of state support for the development of an industry cluster, namely:

- Implementation new construction, expansion and reconstruction of production facilities, housing, social-cultural purposes, public utilities and consumer services, administrative management, the Ministry of Emergency Situations, Environmental Protection and Environmental Safety at the regional level;
- assistance in increasing the competitiveness of products of industrial enterprises and their promotion in the domestic and foreign markets;
- organization and implementation of projects in the field of software production;
- update material and technical base of the cluster production, introduction of new technologies;
- preservation and development of accumulated potential in the field of science and scientific services; improving mechanisms for financing science; implementation of scientific results in the industrial and social spheres of the region;
- achievement quality of education corresponding to the state educational standard; implementation of a regional order for the provision of additional education services; achieving a dynamic balance between the labor market and training of professional personnel; development of higher and secondary vocational education.

A set of measures for anti-crisis management of the light industry is proposed, including the following priority areas:

- promotion competitiveness of enterprises/light industry;
- development industry information services; continued modernization of fixed assets;
- mitigation lack of working capital;
- promotion efficiency of public administration;
- jointing non-payments.

An action plan has been formed for the implementation of the anti-crisis program in the light industry, including:

- normative-legal and scientific-methodological support of anti-crisis activities;

- development of anti-crisis support infrastructure/light industry enterprises;
- expansion of business opportunities/light industry enterprises;
- financial mechanisms for supporting and developing anti-crisis activities/light industry enterprises;
- development of interregional and international cooperation/light industry enterprises in the anti-crisis sphere.

To further improve the legal regulation of anti-crisis activities, it seems appropriate to formulate an action plan for the implementation of the anti-crisis program in light industry, namely: specification and detailing of the goals of sustainable development of light industry enterprises should be built within the framework of the development line of the industrial sector of the economy, which is based on structural transformations of the economy and the introduction of anti-crisis technologies for the development of production and export of consumer goods. Within the framework of development, three stages can be distinguished, the terms of which are presented rather conditionally and can be adjusted in the process of implementing the sustainable development of light industry enterprises:

2021-2025 Anti-crisis development, which involves overcoming crisis phenomena and restoring crisis losses of light industry enterprises and finding resources for the subsequent modernization transformation of light industry;

2026-2030 Investment renewal of fixed assets of light industry enterprises, including a qualitative increase in competitiveness;

2031-2035 Innovative development - the beginning of the mass development of new types of equipment and technologies, the transition to expansion into foreign markets of domestic light industry goods:

The use of developed and proposed methodological provisions for increasing the competitiveness of regions based on the cluster theory will make it possible to make decisions on attracting and rationally allocating investment funds aimed at implementing the necessary measures to improve the efficiency of the activities of subjects of attractive innovative technologies and increase their competitiveness.

To solve this problem, a competitive assortment of men's, women's and children's shoes is proposed, taking into account factors influencing consumer demand: compliance with the main fashion trends, taking into account the economic, social and climatic characteristics of the regions of the Southern Federal District and North Caucasian Federal District. As part of the developed strategy, the production of competitive products will be organized using modern mechanized innovative technical processes. In addition, footwear will be produced to meet the

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demand of the elite consumer using a greater proportion of manual labor to give the footwear a targeted focus and high demand.

To implement the developed range of men's, women's and children's shoes, innovative technological processes for its production using modern technological equipment based on advanced nanotechnologies have been proposed, forming the basis for reducing the cost of shoes and thereby increasing their competitiveness in comparison with a similar range of shoes from the world's leading companies with the ability to produce a wide range of footwear not only by type, but also by fastening methods, which will give it demand and increased competitiveness. Layouts of technological equipment are proposed, which provide the opportunity to form a technological process for both the production of men's and children's shoes in volumes, which are determined by the production areas available in the regions and the forms of organization of production used, but of course taking into account demand to ensure its implementation in full.

At the same time, the financial well-being and sustainability of newly created enterprises in the regions of the Southern Federal District and North Caucasian Federal District largely depends on the influx of funds to cover their obligations. Lack of the minimum required cash reserves can cause financial difficulties for enterprises. In turn, excess cash may be a sign that the company is suffering losses. The reason for these losses may be associated both with inflation and depreciation of money, and with the missed opportunity for their profitable placement and receiving additional income. In any case, it is the constant analysis of cash flows that will allow the company to control its real financial condition and prevent bankruptcy. Cash flows from financial activities are largely formed during the development of a financing scheme and in the process of calculating the effectiveness of an investment project.

If the manufactured shoes are not fully sold, the company loses part of the profit, which is necessary for the further development of production. To reduce losses, the manufacturer must have daily information about product sales and make effective decisions, namely: either promptly change prices for the range of shoes being manufactured, or, what is more effective and justified, begin production of a new range of shoes that is more in demand on the market. Sales managers or marketers who control the sales process for a specific range of shoes must daily calculate the cash flow from their operating activities. As a result of tracking the receipt of funds, we will have information about their net inflow from our operating activities. A decrease in sales volume will result in a decrease in cash flow and will require a reduction in the selling price of the product in order to increase sales volume. If such an event does not lead to an increase in cash flow, then it is necessary to make a timely decision on

the advisability of further production of this range of shoes.

For this calculation, it is important to differentiate the data involved in the calculation. To calculate the cost of a specific manufactured model, the initial data are fixed and variable costs, which depend on production equipment, the composition of basic and auxiliary materials, the number of employees, etc. The main initial data that are used in the monitoring process are the selling price of a unit of production and sales volume. Thus, the calculation can be performed daily, or in a selected time range, and by specifying only the sales volume and unit price of a product for a certain period, we will receive an increase in cash flow for this period.

Calculations are carried out on the basis of assessing the degree of implementation and dynamics of production and sales of products, determining the influence of factors on changes in the value of these indicators, identifying on-farm reserves and developing measures to reduce them, which should be aimed at accelerating product turnover and reducing losses, which will allow achieving significant economic effect. Of great importance in managing product output is the assessment of actual output and sales within the limits of production capacity, that is, within the boundaries of "minimum - maximum" production volume. Comparison with the minimum, break-even volume allows you to determine the degree or zone of "safety" of the organization and, if the value of "safety" is negative, remove certain types of products from production, change production conditions and thereby reduce costs or stop producing these products.

Comparing the achieved output volume with the maximum volume determined by the production potential of the organization allows us to assess the possibilities of profit growth with an increase in production volumes if demand or the share of footwear sales on the market increases. For a shoe company seeking a strong position in the market, setting the selling price of shoes is key to the success of the chosen strategy. Price is a tool for stimulating demand and at the same time represents the main factor in the long-term profitability of its activities.

In this regard, it is necessary to conduct a break-even analysis. Various relationships between sales volumes and prices for manufactured products are considered. Price reduction occurs when a company uses a system of discounts to increase sales volumes. This event leads to an increase in sales revenue and additional profit. However, the area of income is not unlimited - once a certain volume of production is reached, its further expansion becomes economically unprofitable. The effectiveness of all these measures in creating a cluster is possible only with active interaction between the branches of government and necessarily with support at the federal level - the Southern Federal District and North Caucasus Federal

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District can fully or partially relieve shoemakers from infrastructure costs when creating new production facilities within the cluster. But only the federation can resolve issues of tax preferences; closing the borders to gray and black imports is again the competence of Moscow, and given that the industry is in a severe depressed state, changes for the better require a very powerful set of tools and government decisions, and joint actions of all interested parties.

Perhaps now, when the Don shoemakers see how quickly their ranks are thinning under the pressure of competition, their readiness for joint action will be more effective. Otherwise, Rostov will very soon cease to be the shoe capital of southern Russia. Finally, the institutional-organizational scenario presupposes an answer to the question: how should the cluster be organized, how should it be formed and grown? For us, a cluster involves the co-organization of at least four large technology groups that form the technological basis of the cluster:

- breakthrough scientific laboratories - pilot production facilities where the foundations of new technologies are created;
- development centers, on the basis of which prototypes and samples of technologies will be created for testing in pilot production;
- industrial and technological groups capable of equipping production for the production of pilot series;
- marketing groups capable of promoting a new type of product to the market and creating sustainable demand.

The management superstructure that ensures the interconnection of these four large technology groups with each other can be:

- investor council who decides on priority funding for a particular project;
- expert council, reviewing various projects as they prepare for implementation;
- creative center, preparing materials for decision-making by the expert council and the investor council.

Achieving the goal in the field of cluster development is possible only through comprehensive technological modernization of the real sector of the regional economy. In relation to the Southern Federal District and North Caucasian Federal District, it is possible only if the interests of all participating business entities are taken into account. We are talking about such areas as:

- increase shares of the innovation sector and the introduction of technological innovations at enterprises forming clusters;
- development entrepreneurial activity in the field of large, medium and small businesses and mutual cooperation for the purpose of introducing innovations, which leads to the expansion of existing clusters and the creation of new ones;

- gain connections and interdependence of industrial enterprises and research and educational centers and schools;

- improvement territorial location of industrial enterprises.

In conclusion, considering the process of formation and implementation of cluster policy in the region, we point out that this is a complex task, the development and implementation of which should be scientific in nature. Its success depends on many factors and conditions, and the central place here belongs to the scientific principles of management and the desire for the dynamic development of the region, the interest of all branches of government, both municipal and regional, as well as federal branches of government.

However, the weakest point of enterprises is the low level of information support specifically for technological preparation of production. This is explained by Automated systems of the Chamber of Commerce and Industry are specialized and depend on the nature of production, the type of products produced, and the serial production. In addition, the ASPP application software is heterogeneous in purpose; it is formed from a set of products, each of which ensures the development of a separate type of technological processes. Therefore, there is a need to create information support in the form of a universal database in order to reduce labor intensity and increase the efficiency of work at the stage of technological preparation of production through their use.

For the technological process of assembling shoes using the adhesive fastening method, the authors have created information support, the purpose of which is to generate a model passport and automated selection of the technological process. To create information support, the authors completed the following tasks:

- highlighted criteria that determine the structure of the technological process for assembling shoes using the adhesive fastening method based on the methods of a priori ranking and rank correlation;

- developed classifier and block diagram for coding a shoe model for automated design of a technological process;

- compiled matrix of coincidences of technological operations depending on the design, materials and methods of processing upper blanks, insole and sole units, heels and intermediate parts to objectively substantiate the procedure for drawing up a technological process diagram and the algorithm for its selection;

- developed structural and logical model of shoe assembly using the adhesive fastening method based on the principles of a systems approach, ensuring the development of optimal technological solutions;

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– developed information support for automated design of the shoe assembly technological process in the form of a set of databases that contain information about various options for performing the same technological operations, depending on the equipment and capacity of the enterprise;

– built algorithm of the program, according to which the exact instructions defining the computational process leading from varied initial data to the original result;

– developed software that allows to formulate a technological process for assembling shoes using the adhesive fastening method while simultaneously determining the labor intensity and number of workers to produce a given number of models.

The developed software meets the main quality indicators of information systems, such as:

– flexibility- ability to adapt and further develop, the ability to adapt the information system to new conditions, new needs of the enterprise;

– reliability- functioning without distortion of information, loss of data for “technical reasons” by creating backup copies of stored information, performing logging operations, maintaining the quality of communication channels and physical storage media, using modern software and hardware;

– efficiency- the ability to solve the tasks assigned to it in the shortest possible time is ensured by optimizing data and methods of processing it, using original developments, ideas, design methods and is confirmed by its ability to minimally depend on equipment resources: processor time, space occupied in internal and external memory, bandwidth ability used in communication devices;

– safety- the property of the system, due to which unauthorized persons do not have access to the organization’s information resources, is ensured setting launch parameters in such a way that the user, when launching the application, sees only the main button form and a menu and toolbar in which he cannot use the buttons intended for the application developer.

The software, in accordance with the algorithm, processes the selected conditions and prints a ready-made version of the technical process for a given shoe model with calculations of labor intensity and the number of workers, as well as a model passport. When using the developed information support, the technologist’s task in creating a technological process comes down to choosing the design features of the model and the main limitations, which include production capacity, availability of equipment, and production space; analysis of results; adjusting the selected conditions (if necessary) and choosing the optimal technological process option. Regarding the effectiveness of information support implementation, any enterprise can be assessed from various aspects,

namely: economic, financial, organizational, time, environmental, social.

The result of calculations for any separately applied method for assessing the effectiveness of the proposed solution can reflect only part of their positive aspects. Meanwhile, the numerical values of various criteria that can be used can vary significantly, and sometimes even be in conflict. In such a situation, it is justified to use a synergetic (comprehensive) assessment of the effectiveness of solutions that involve determining advantages not according to one criterion, but according to a set of criteria. The effectiveness of the implementation of the presented information support can be assessed by two strategies: social and economic.

The social effect of introducing information support for automated process design is as follows:

1. As a result of implementation in the educational process, the level of training of specialists is increased through the use of innovative technologies in education.

2. As a result of introduction into production, a change in the nature and improvement of working conditions, resource availability of labor activity, increasing professionalism, increasing the average duration of time free from “paper work” for a technologist.

Assessment of the economic efficiency of implementing information technologies often occurs either at the level of intuition or is not carried out at all. On the one hand, this is due to the reluctance of suppliers to invest significant effort in conducting detailed preliminary analysis, on the other hand, there is probably a significant degree of consumer distrust in the results of such studies. However, both of these problems stem from the same source, namely the lack of clear and reliable methods for assessing the economic efficiency of IT projects.

The full economic efficiency of using software for computer-aided design of production and production processes consists of savings in the field of technological preparation of production, which is a consequence of increasing the productivity of technologists due to the automated selection of a list of technological operations with the calculation of labor intensity and the number of workers.

In the production sector, savings are achieved through the selection of the optimal technological process due to the typification and unification of the technological solutions adopted. In addition, production preparation time is significantly reduced, and this factor is difficult to overestimate in our time, when competitiveness can only be achieved with a frequently changing range of products, and for this it is necessary to achieve good technical and economic indicators of the enterprise. These and other benefits of automated process selection, although many are difficult to determine through direct economic calculations, contribute to significant improvements

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in shoe manufacturing performance. The results obtained allow us to speak about the achievement of a synergistic effect both in terms of technology (due to a significant reduction in the time for technological preparation of production, selection of the optimal technological process, reduction of changeovers of the technological process when changing the assortment, selection of the correct sequence for launching samples), and from the point of view of efficiency production as a whole due to the simultaneous achievement of social and economic effects. Today, a light industry enterprise striving not only to survive, but also to develop, is required to be able not only to competently exploit existing technologies, but, first of all, to actively position itself in the market, delivering in a short time high-quality products that meet the requirements and expectations of consumers. at the lowest price. In other words, at present, the one who will survive is the one who is the fastest to bring to market products that most fully meet the requirements of consumers, while ensuring the minimum cost of its production.

What should an enterprise do to ensure that the listed indicators become its competitive advantages?

1. Understand not only current, but also future customer preferences and be able to develop types of products that meet these preferences.

2. Provide setting up technological production processes that guarantee their minimum cost by identifying and eliminating all types of costs that do not bring value to the product.

3. Withdraw products to market faster than competitors.

The implementation of the listed tasks will depend on how smoothly and efficiently all departments work in the enterprise. How can this smooth and efficient operation be ensured?

1. By defining a set of processes or activities that ensure the production of products with quality characteristics that satisfy the requirements, demands and expectations of consumers.

2. Establishing clear and understandable interaction between processes.

3. Defining quality goals at the enterprise and departmental levels, providing an understanding of the results that must be achieved by departments, and which ensure the achievement of the overall goals of the enterprise.

4. Planning the resources needed to achieve goals.

5. Defining procedures to ensure that departmental work is performed in the most efficient manner.

6. Measuring results and comparing them with set goals.

7. Analyzing and making decisions about what needs to be improved within each department.

That is, a set of processes is presented, through the functioning of which an enterprise management

system is formed, orienting it towards the production of products that meet the requirements, demands and expectations of consumers in their characteristics and adjusting all types of activities related to ensuring production to an efficiency indicator, namely:

– a system is being built to identify sources of costs and develop adequate measures to reduce them,

– Reliable data is generated demonstrating the effectiveness of using investments, which can help attract new investors;

– the cost of production is reduced, which makes it possible to reduce prices, expand the market and increase production volumes;

– cost reduction is usually associated with a reduction in the amount of scrap and other types of waste, which has a positive effect on such enterprise performance indicators as environmental impact and industrial safety; the image of a socially oriented enterprise is formed;

– clear setting of goals and objectives for each employee, defining the result that should be obtained when performing work;

– identifying and providing resources needed to complete the job;

– providing the knowledge and skills necessary to understand how work should be done to ensure maximum effectiveness;

– measuring performance at the level of employees, departments and the organization as a whole and comparing results with goals;

– analysis of results and adequate response to them through a system of corrective and preventive actions.

As practice shows, the ability to implement these processes at the level of top management creates the conditions necessary for the formation of a competitive enterprise, that is, all this can be adopted by a manager today to ensure this very economic stability for his enterprises.

In addition, it is important that there are not too many product names. For most Russian enterprises, the main reserve for assortment optimization still lies in a significant reduction in the assortment range. Too large an assortment has a bad effect on economic indicators - many positions appear that, in terms of sales volumes, cannot even reach the break-even level. As a result, overall profitability drops significantly. Only the exclusion of unprofitable and low-profit items from the assortment can give the company an increase in overall profitability by 30 - 50%. In addition, a large assortment scatters the enterprise's strength, makes it difficult to competently offer goods to customers (even sales department employees are not always able to explain the difference between a particular item or name), and distracts the attention of end consumers.

Here it would be appropriate to recall the psychology of human perception of information. The

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reality is that the average person is capable of simultaneously perceiving no more than 5-7 (less often up to 9) semantic constructive solutions. Thus, when making a choice, a person first selects these same 5-7 options based on the same number of criteria. If the seller offers a larger number of selection criteria, the buyer begins to experience discomfort and independently eliminates criteria that are insignificant, from his point of view. The same thing happens when choosing the product itself. Now imagine what happens if a person has a hundred practically indistinguishable (for him) goods in front of him, but he only needs to buy one. People in such a situation behave in the following way: either they refuse to buy at all, because they are not able to compare so many options, or they prefer what they have already taken (or what seems familiar). There is another category of people (about 7%), lovers of new products, who, on the contrary, will choose something that they have already tried.

Thus, from the buyer's point of view (to ensure a calm choice from perceptible options), the assortment should consist of no more than 5-7 groups of 5-7 items, i.e. From a perception point of view, the entire assortment should optimally consist of 25-50 items. If there are objectively more names, then the only solution is additional classification. It is generally accepted that the buyer needs a wide range. This widest range is often even referred to as a competitive advantage. But in reality, it turns out that for the manufacturer a wide assortment means hundreds of product names, but for the consumer, 7 items are more than enough. And thus, the consumer does not need a wide range at all, but the variety he needs. This is possible if the components of Russia's development strategy until 2025 are implemented, namely: the task of transferring Russia's economic development from an inertial energy scenario to an alternative innovative social scenario is solved.—oriented type of development, in the formation of an effective industrial policy, for which it is necessary:

—develop and legislate the foundations of effective state industrial policy as a system of agreed goals, priorities and actions of government bodies, business and science to improve the efficiency of industry, ensure high competitiveness of products, goods and services and steady growth of production. When forming it, provide for accelerated growth in all sectors of high-tech products with an increase in its share in total industrial production by at least 50% by 2035, equality of subjects of industrial policy, guarantees of property rights;

—provide implementation of special measures to support priority high-tech industries in order to create conditions for the effective development of all Russian industry;

ensure an increase in the volume of investments, the creation of economic and legal prerequisites for the introduction and use of high technologies and new

materials, primarily developed in Russia; to achieve this, legislate the foundations of the national innovation system in the Russian Federation; establish a multiplying factor for R&D expenses included in the cost price;

reduce VAT to 12%; exempt from taxation the profits of enterprises invested in production; create institutions for long-term lending for modernization and technical re-equipment of industry at low interest rates; improve the VAT administration system, change the procedure and deadlines for paying taxes to replenish industrial enterprises with their own working capital; implement a transition to a differentiated mineral extraction tax rate depending on natural conditions, the degree of depletion of deposits, etc.;

—develop and implement measures to combat price monopoly, to stabilize tariffs for the services of natural monopolies, prepare and adopt the federal law "On Price and Tariff Policy"; to promote the creation and promotion of domestic national, regional and corporate brands of domestic products for the development of a competitive environment in order to create competitive products, for which to introduce a quality system, promote the implementation of programs aimed at identifying, independent quality assessment and promotion of domestic products, intensify work on standardization, including the costs of scientific research in this area to develop new and adjust existing national standards;

— y read, that mechanical engineering is a system-forming complex, to ensure its modernization and restoration of the technological basis of the national mechanical engineering complex in a short time—machine tool industry. For these purposes, use both domestic developments and the purchase of foreign equipment and technologies, using the international division of labor, and make wider use of the leasing mechanism. In addition to general measures to support industry, it is necessary to additionally prepare and adopt a state strategy for the development of the machine tool industry for the period until 2025, including the implementation of special targeted programs aimed at financing promising scientific developments;

—modify the size and procedure for collecting customs duties to stimulate the import of the latest technological equipment while promoting the revival of domestic production of such equipment, in particular, abolish customs duties and VAT on the import of new imported technological equipment not produced in the country;

—develop and take a set of special measures to provide the mechanical engineering and machine tool industry with scientific and engineering personnel, highly qualified workers, especially in the field of scientific research and applied development, to form a system of employment of young specialists; develop and adopt amendments to the Tax Code (Chapter 25)

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establishing accelerated depreciation regimes and preferences (bonuses) that allow depreciation of the active part of fixed assets in an amount exceeding their book value;

–take action to stimulate the system of state and commercial leasing of technological equipment for the purpose of technical re-equipment of mechanical engineering industries; consider the possibility of preliminary 100–percentage payment from the federal budget for the cost of supplies to enterprises of unique imported equipment, including on a leasing basis, necessary for the purpose of technical re-equipment of mechanical engineering and machine tool manufacturing;

–introduce into practice a systematic all-Russian census of metalworking equipment, which will make it possible to have objective data on the state of the machine tool stock of machine-building enterprises;

–develop and implement a set of measures to solve the problem of the lack of qualified personnel in industry, to improve the quality of personnel training in higher educational institutions, to provide young specialists with housing on preferential terms, to introduce state-order training of specialists, to provide modern equipment and dormitories on the basis of public-private partnership professionally–technical schools, allow enterprises to allocate funds spent on personnel training to production costs in full, adopt special legislative and regulatory documents aimed at ensuring the industrial development of Siberia and the Far East;

– Rdevelop and legislate consolidate a set of measures to ensure the interest of business entities in active participation in projects to increase resource– and energy efficiency, including elements of monetary policy, foreign exchange and investment regulation, subsidy mechanisms, special tax and depreciation regimes;

–implement a set of measures aimed at the massive development of small and medium-sized enterprises in industrial–production, innovation and service sectors, primarily in terms of providing small and medium-sized enterprises with access to production facilities, purchasing equipment, including on a leasing basis, developing microfinance and credit cooperation;

– Ptake action to create equal competitive conditions for the Russian processing industry with importers, accelerate the development and adoption of the federal law “On Trade” and related regulations on organizing the effective functioning of Russian wholesale and retail trade;

–develop a strategy regional industrial development of the constituent entities of the Russian Federation, including the territorial location of productive forces for the long term, linking the development of regional infrastructure with the location of industrial facilities;

–clearly define the system implementation of the

fundamental goals of state industrial policy, ensuring the solution of systemic problems of the real sector of the economy, correlate the need for investment, sources of investment and realistically achievable socio-economic results.

The Strategy for the Development of Light Industry for the period until 2025 and the action plan for its implementation take into account the national interests of Russia (increasing the level and quality of life of the population, the health of the nation, the strategic and economic security of the state), proposals from the constituent entities of the Russian Federation, public organizations and associations on the necessary measures supporting the industry in priority areas of its development. The Strategy was based on the transition of light industry to an innovative development model. Particular attention is paid to the issues of protecting the domestic market from shadow trade, technical re-equipment and modernization of production, import substitution and export. Today, the light industry of the Russian Federation is the most important diversified and innovatively attractive sector of the economy.

The contribution of light industry to industrial production in Russia today is about 1% (in 1991 this figure was 11.9% and corresponded to the level of developed countries such as the USA, Germany and Italy, which have maintained this figure at 8–12% throughout), in export volume – 1.3%. Currently, there are 14 thousand large, medium and small enterprises operating in light industry, located in 72 regions of the country. About 70% of enterprises are city-forming. The average number of industrial production personnel employed in the industry is 462.8 thousand people, 75% of whom are women. Scientific support for the industry is provided by 15 educational, research and design institutes, many of whose developments meet and even exceed the world level.

The main territories for the location of enterprises that determine the industrial and economic policy of the industry are the Central (55 enterprises), Volga (30) and Southern (17) federal districts, which have the largest share in the total volume of production and are the most socially significant. The industry's performance results for 2020 showed that, in times of crisis, it is able to increase production volumes in sub-industries oriented directly to the market. It should be noted that during the crisis, the range of goods supplied to Russia is sharply narrowing. This gives the domestic light industry strategic opportunities to occupy vacated niches and strengthen its position in the market.

In 2019, the retail trade turnover of light industry products amounted to 2.0 trillion. rub., its share in the country's retail turnover is 14.5%, and in the retail turnover of non-food products 26.3%. In terms of consumption, light industry products are second only to food products, far ahead of the markets for

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consumer electronics, cars and other goods. Taking into account macroeconomic indicators and development trends, the market for light industrial goods by 2035 could reach over 3.3 trillion. rub. Existing preferences and problems being solved to one degree or another at the federal and regional levels are not yet sufficient to eliminate the influence of negative factors on the development of the industry and transform it into a competitive and self-developing sector of the economy, and for domestic producers to strengthen their positions in the domestic market and compete on equal terms in global market not only with manufacturers from China, Turkey, India and a number of other developing countries, but also with the EU countries and the USA.

The situation in the industry was further aggravated by the global financial crisis. In a crisis, even those enterprises that have achieved positive results in innovative development in recent years, paying significant attention to the modernization of production, are already forced and will be forced in the coming years to reduce production volumes and abandon long-term investments. This is due to the difficulties encountered in attracting bank loans (the share of borrowed funds in working capital in recent years has reached 40%), on the one hand, an increase in the volume of official imports, counterfeit and smuggled products, a drop in demand and a slowdown in the sale of many types of consumer and industrial goods. - technical purposes, reduction of workers and specialists - on the other hand. The absence of drastic measures to solve the identified problems will significantly affect the economy of the industry; its technological lag in the foreseeable future may become an irreversible process, which will lead to the degradation of high-tech industries, increased commodity dependence on foreign countries, state losses will grow geometrically, which will increase the strategic and national danger to Russia. The current situation can only be changed by developing and implementing anti-crisis measures and activities aimed at boosting the economy of light industry, giving it new impetus in innovative, social and regional development, in increasing competitiveness and production efficiency at a new technology level. Today, the industry provides with its products only a quarter of the effective demand of the population, and the mobilization needs of the country— by only 17–36%, which contradicts the law on state security, according to which the share of domestic products in the volume of strategic products must be at least 51%. Therefore, today the light industry faces new challenges and tasks, the solution of which requires new approaches not only for the short term, but also for the long term.

This determined the purpose of the Strategy— creating conditions for accelerated innovative development of the Russian light industry, ensuring effective compliance of production volumes, quality

and range of products with the aggregate consumer demand, increasing the national significance of the industry and its image in the world community. The goals and objectives of the Strategy correspond to the ongoing state policy in the field of innovative and socio-economic development of Russia in the medium and long term. The strategy is intended to become: one of the main tools in solving the problems of the industry and to interconnect the task of its economic growth with meeting the needs of the country's citizens, law enforcement agencies and related industries in high-quality and affordable consumer goods, in products for technical and strategic purposes.

The implementation of the Strategy will enable the light industry of Russia to become an industrially developed industry that will provide jobs for many thousands of people, improve the well-being of workers, and strengthen the strategic and economic security of the country.

Main result of the Strategist- this is the transition of light industry to a qualitatively new model of innovative, economic and social development, the basis of which is a new technological and scientific base, new methods of production management, the relationship of science, production and business. This is to ensure effective compliance of production volumes, quality and product range with the total demand of the Russian and world markets. Once again, I would like to draw attention to the fact that all this will become a reality if one condition is met, namely, light industry products will be produced of high quality and taking into account the interests of this very consumer. One has to begin the study classically with the formulation and general characteristics of the problem. It is surprising, but nevertheless, it is a fact that, despite the numerous literature on the proposed topic, and no less clear applications for its comprehensive analysis, the problem of a comprehensive study of quality management remains a “hedgehog” in a thick fog.

The reason is simple, except for the work of B.S. Aleshina and co-authors, the promise of a comprehensive study of the problem remains a wish. The content of research usually does not go beyond one or two aspects of considering quality and the possibility of quality management. The remaining angles are either declared or applied in such a sequestered state that their presence is perceived as a kind of burden for the pleasure of joining the author's reasoning on a topic that is, of course, relevant for all times and for any activity. The noted drawback is also inherent in our works devoted to the problem of quality. We are to some extent excused only by the fact that we have so far avoided making an application for a comprehensive study of quality in the context of management. A harsh reaction from our critics is quite possible and even predictable. They, apparently, will overturn our conclusions on us, finding a weak link in

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our opus. And they will do the right thing. Others - and we with them, taking into account the criticism, will step further, forward, collectively solving what individual researchers cannot do, even in the case when they combine their various cognitive resources and when, for example, in our case, industry groups come together specialist, systems economist and philosopher.

The theory of quality management is based on the philosophical development of this concept. "Quality" is a philosophical category, and the solution to the stated problem depends on how well the philosophical component is represented in the theory of quality management. In philosophy, there has never been a single interpretation of quality, and there is no mutual understanding in our time. An important conclusion follows from this: before building a quality management strategy, you need to decide which philosophical "shore" you are going to land on. Quality is a general and fairly stable certainty of the objective set. More stable than quality are the forms of being and its substance - the only thing that is unchangeable by definition. Quality, however, also flows along the river of time and changes. The quality changes within itself, changing its states, and radically, losing its definition, turning into another quality.

Differences in the philosophical understanding of quality are due to the complexity of quality as a subject of research, but to an even greater extent they are a consequence of the philosophical worldview and the methodology on which it is formed. "Materialism", "idealism", "metaphysics", "dialectics" are philosophical concepts fairly battered by class ideology. Conservative philosophers did well in Soviet times by erecting barricades from behind which they shot arrows of anger at their enemies, absolutizing the political background of philosophical movements. The critics, triumphant in the embrace of liberal democracy and dealing with the restless legacy, do not look in the best light. Inspired by "noble anger," they essentially turned to the past and not so much "trample" this hated past as mark time, slowing down the progress of the cognitive process.

"materialism", "idealism", "metaphysics", "dialectics" must not be abandoned, but they must be cleared of pseudo-ideological "husk", thereby revealing the underlying rational meaning in these phenomena. These concepts are a kind of "border pillars" of philosophical and scientific knowledge, warning, on the one hand, about the need to adhere to certain guidelines in knowledge, on the other, requiring the development of conditions for border interaction. Boundaries in knowledge are not intended to limit, to isolate one thing from another. Their rationality lies in the fact that they regulate the cognitive process. K. Marx, who wrote that the idealism of G. Hegel is "materialism turned on its head," is not responsible for his followers who

simplified Marxism and, in particular, the philosophy of Marxism - dialectical materialism. The idealist G. Hegel is equally not to blame for the fact that E. Mach brought the idealistic idea to solipsism, and with his philosophical exercises caused damage to the rationality inherent in the highest achievements of idealistic philosophy.

The history of philosophy warns anyone who has embarked on the path of knowledge: most of all, be afraid of one-sidedness. It inevitably leads to absolutization, a state of knowledge in which the natural connection in it between the ideal and the material is broken, and the movement towards truth is closed. Quality management begins with a philosophical, that is, ideological and methodological orientation of the theory. There are no alternative options. In developing management theory, it makes no sense to evade philosophical foundations. Cooperation with philosophy, rationally interpreted, must be actively sought. The question: where is it, this rational philosophy, has long become rhetorical, since the time of the first philosophers. It was not, no, and will not be in finished form as a "magic wand", "self-assembled tablecloth", "philosopher's stone".

Rationally interpreted philosophy is an exclusive product of the interaction of professional thinking with philosophical heritage. Objections like "not everyone can do this" are quite appropriate to the situation. It's true, this is given to everyone, but not everyone takes on the responsibility of building a quality management system. The majority are awaiting instructions and regulatory materials in full. According to the current fashion: a briefcase with documents. Our Russian market not only ugly tore apart the national economy, giving some fat pieces, but left others with a ghostly hope that someday their Lenten life will change and a holiday will come to their street. The Russian market has deprived us of national unity, devaluing what is widely known as the "mysterious Russian soul," or, simply put, our inherent desire to think "about life in general," including personal and national problems. A German is distinguished by law-abidingness, an American from the United States by adventurism, an Italian by spontaneity. Our ancestors were distinguished by responsibility that was fading before our eyes.

The philosophy of quality is a collective concept, synthetically constructed. The understanding of quality in various philosophical theories differs significantly, because it is "tailored" to the system and method used in its development. In such an ambiguous situation, you need to start with a conclusion: everyone is right and no one is wrong. "What kind of gobbledygook," says someone accustomed to thinking according to the "either-or" formula laid down by nature, "We don't need riddles, we want everything to be according to the principle: "to each his own." The task is precisely to put everything "on the shelves". It's simpler, clearer, and you can't go wrong. The

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formal logic of thinking develops spontaneously, reflects the world of things in a first approximation, roughly. F. Engels rightly compared it with elementary mathematics, which is not capable of describing a process and is therefore limited to actions with finite quantities. "What is good and what is bad" is the lot of formal logical reasoning, for which "every cloud has a silver lining," or "two different sides of the same coin" are judgments that do not follow the rules, are forbidden.

Political ideology also introduces prohibitions on thinking, dividing thoughts into friendly and hostile, right and wrong, forcing public consciousness to work according to the simplified rules of the formal logic of individual thinking. Logical blinders are justified, pseudo ideological ones have no justification, just like the actions of those who are stunned by views different from their ideology, unwilling or unable to critically comprehend them. The Marxist and Hegelian concepts of quality have more in common than differences. The main thing is that the most essential thing in the understanding of quality coincides. K. Marx and F. Engels, distancing themselves from Hegelian idealism, in every possible way protected his dialectical understanding of thinking, developed the positions he put forward, and defended them from criticism. They were more aware than anyone else of the reserve inherent in the Hegelian dialectic of knowledge. The quality for both Hegel and the founders of dialectical materialism who worked after Hegel was:

- firstly, a set of essential properties of phenomena connected in a certain way;
- secondly, they understood quality as an objective state, even in the case when it is created by human consciousness, since consciousness creates quality according to the objective order of the world. Quality is invariant objectively;
- thirdly, in their understanding, quality changes in accordance with the dialectics of world development. It has a concrete historical way of expression.

All three of the above quality characteristics form a methodological framework: quality theories and quality management strategies. The famous predecessor of G. Hegel, the English philosopher J. Locke, also made his contribution to the philosophy of quality. J. Locke divided quality into two groups: the objective qualities of things, which are inherent in them significantly, and the qualities that arise in the process of cognition. The latter are absent in things, but are formed through the interaction of things and human feelings. Things excite certain feelings and they react by forming qualities corresponding to the received signal - sensations. Only the laziest did not criticize Locke's theory of duality of quality. He got it from the materialists for his concessions to idealism: the idealists did not spare him for the group of objective qualities.

Does such active criticism of the beliefs of the English thinker mean that he was wrong in everything, having gotten lost in the jungle of the philosophy of quality? Not at all. An intelligent person's ideas cannot be stupid unless they are a joke, and Locke was not joking. The philosopher tried to find a solution to the contradictions in the development of the doctrine of quality. He was not satisfied with the view of the quality of either simplified materialism or subjective idealists, whose judgments led to a dead end. Locke was far from uniting the ideas of his opponents and overcoming the existing conflict with such a primitive technique. He wanted to emphasize the role of consciousness in the history of the formation of quality, the activity of the subject, but was unable to consistently implement his plan. The essence of his initiative deserves special attention - the desire to include the activity of the subject in the theory of quality. Time passed, the idea matured under the influence of practical factors. Philosophers have returned, not to Locke's philosophy, to his idea of the activity of the subject and the role of his activity in shaping the quality of things. Not to mention the fact that the problem of the uniqueness of the quality of the activity itself, which creates the quality of things, has also become relevant.

Suffice it to recall the modern, international quality control system ISO-9001. The basic idea in it is the idea of quality of activity. It would be a mistake to identify quality and thing. As a special combination of properties, quality, by definition, is not the same as a thing. G. Hegel defined the quality of a phenomenon simply and, within the limits of philosophical understanding, which in the conditions of market relations is consistent with consumer assessment, the concept: "quality is something, deprived of which, an object ceases to be itself." "Ceases to be itself," but does not cease to exist at all. Without meeting the quality requirements, the phenomenon turns from one state to another, or into another phenomenon. The examination concluded that the product did not comply with technical (and consumer) parameters. The product was transferred to the category of substandard, defective product, but the item remained and along with it some prospect of its disposal remained: elimination of non-compliance with the standard, recycling. You can't wear shoes, you can try to bail out water from a leaking boat, tamp down tow, work, but you never know what a failed boot can be useful for in a large farm - you can even put it on a samovar.

It is a mistake to separate quality from the subject not only from a philosophical position, but also from the point of view of non-philosophical comprehension, otherwise quality will turn into something independent, like "The Nose" from the story by N.V. Gogol, and quality management will lose its subject definition. F. Engels emphasized: "There are not qualities, but only things that have

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quality, and, moreover, infinitely many qualities.”

Experts note a shift in market needs towards quality products. The market is maturing. This is confirmed by demand monitoring. In this long-awaited situation, it is important not to lose philosophical ground when developing a business plan according to new circumstances. Quality is the highest and permanent goal at the same time, so you need to have one for the future, and give the other a today’s image. Only correct orientation in a specific time as a life interval, when this is exactly relevant, guarantees the success of the sale of a product. The manufacturer and seller must be modern. Their modernity is due to the ability to find the optimal product range and match a specific product with the expected level of quality in order to fall into the optimal price range dictated by the effective demand of the consumer of the product, expressing his need for the product.

Quality for the consumer is not an abstraction created by the professional thinking of the manufacturer. The consumer looks at quality through the lens of his wallet. As long as the market exists, price remains its calling card. If the buyer first asks to see the product and only then asks how much it costs, then rearranging the behavioral elements does not change the result. The client will definitely ask his sacramental question, the answer to which will determine how the act of purchase and sale will be resolved. Quality is not adapted to independent existence. The quality of a thing is presented when it appears on the market - a commodity. And this is where the main thing in the theory of quality begins, so let’s stop and look at the problem in more detail.

The quality of things that make up nature arose naturally, spontaneously, according to a complex combination of natural laws. It follows that the quality of such naturally created phenomena is unambiguously objective in all respects. The history of the quality of phenomena created by human activity turns out to be different. The spiritual component of a person is realized in social practice. A person builds a house, sews shoes, clothes, coordinating his actions with the mechanical, physical, chemical, biological properties of natural things, but we are making the final product not for nature - we will omit special cases. We realize our goals, needs, interests in the created thing, its properties, in its quality: we either materialize or objectify

As things produced by human practical activity, as this activity itself, the objective properties of things and the subjective forms of human existence are intertwined and fused. The quality of things made by man is objective, but their objectivity expresses the rationality (or irrationality) of a person. And here lies the knot of contradictions between producer and consumer. It can only be resolved by coordinating the views on the consumer properties of the manufacturer’s product with a real assessment of

consumer needs and capabilities. The quality of goods should be developed exclusively taking into account careful marketing monitoring, accordingly tightening production reserves. We continue to observe a divided market mechanism. Hence the problems with the sale of domestic products.

Professional activity, like a sculptor, sculpts the quality of a thing, relying on the natural properties of the material, elevating them through talent and work to a state that awakens the specific interest of consciousness. Things of natural origin also attract human interest by their ability to evoke aesthetic feelings, have a healing effect, be a material or a condition for the production of everyday life, which is understandable - man “emerged” from nature, remaining a special part of it. However, their quality retains its “natural purity”. Professional activity is a systemic factor in ensuring the quality of goods with added value. According to the regulations, it should also be the initial link in the development of the quality management ideology.

A high-quality item can only be produced by high-quality professional activity - this is the first and fundamental law of production quality. Natural disasters can do a lot. They help people purchase precious stones, metals, and building materials. Diamond is a creation of natural elements. The mineral has an initial unique natural quality, but diamond products build on the natural quality with so many new qualities in which people are interested that the natural quality remains essentially important only for natural stone processors. The final diamond product, be it jewelry or a technical element, is the result of professional activity. In the gemstone market, there is a difference in interest in the source material - what deposits it comes from, but, most importantly, there is something else: who will turn rough diamonds into polished diamonds. The quality of a diamond is determined by the combination of raw materials and craftsmanship in the product. And since the master chooses the raw materials, the contribution of his professionalism to the quality of the product is decisive.

Hence the second law of production quality: to ensure the quality of the product, high-quality training of specialists who are able to maintain and increase professional skills is necessary. The third law of production quality requires the focus of professional activity on improving the technological process through integration with science and technical progress.

The concept of “quality,” reflecting the objective diversity of the world, must thereby reproduce in itself an objective difference. This is possible through quality structuring. The structuring of quality is a particularly significant factor in the theory of quality management. It is advisable to divide quality into the following seven structural levels according to the level of significance of the contribution of the “human

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factor”:

- quality of natural objects;
- quality of natural material;
- quality of recycled natural material;
- quality of technical equipment;
- quality of the software product;
- quality of production activities;
- quality of organization and production management.

Organizational and management activities aimed at producing a high-quality marketable product themselves require quality control. An audit of the quality of an organization and production quality management involves structuring the relevant activities. Our research experience of the problem suggests that the process of organization and management must be decomposed into four components.

The logic of creating the quality of things created by man pushes the quality of activity to the fore, close-up, and focuses research attention on the signs of quality activity and the need to build their systemic relationships. Philosophical literature on the highlighted issues is more “silent”. Philosophers are still at war. Supporters of the objectivity of quality prove the inconsistency of the views of their opponents, instead of looking at quality not only in the context of the objective reality of the world, but also in the context of human, professional activity that transforms the material world. In the spirit of pre-Marxist materialism, it is impossible to develop a scientific and philosophical doctrine of quality, because the old materialism was, in essence, a philosophy of contemplation, and not of transformation of the world. It is not for nothing that K. Marx taught: it is necessary not only to reflect the world, but also to change it. Dialectics - a materialistic worldview based on the practical interaction of man and nature. Activity, primarily creative, is the credo of dialectical philosophy and science.

The universal model of relations between the systemic properties of professional activity is explained by the diagram already presented and proposed by us. The signs of professional activity included in the diagram are well known. They are usually associated with professionalism in both scientific and practical consciousness. The novelty does not lie in the features themselves, but in their presentation by a systemic education, which gives them a new level of meaning. When presenting a system, researchers usually refer to the effect discovered by Bertollanffy of the systemic connection of properties: the discrepancy between the sum of the characteristics of the system and the sum of the characteristics of the elements forming the system. The effect described by Bertollanffy allows us to judge the systemic organization of properties, actions, phenomena as the most effective form of

relationships, which is important for the effectiveness of management, on the one hand, and the perfection of the organization, on the other.

Quality management, tuning in to its philosophical interpretation, takes the next step along the path of systemic organization of the activity program, understanding the arrangement of systemic features of activity so that the built system is vitally stable, relevant and moderately safe. A systematic approach is currently the highest quality way of learning and organizing the management of any complex activity. There are probably no longer any doubts about the greatest effectiveness of the systems approach. There are those who inadequately perceive and evaluate the undeniable advantages of the systems approach, absolutizing its importance to the detriment of other methods, in particular, the integrated approach. An integrated approach in theory and practice has not lost its value in competition with the systemic one. They combine very well, complementing each other and increasing the efficiency of both organizational, managerial and cognitive activities.

It is more convenient to analyze the quality of activity from the standpoint of a systems approach. It seems to us that it is more reasonable to build the theory of quality management on the foundation of a comprehensive consideration.

The situation that has developed in special - not philosophical - knowledge (in practice too) forces us to return to the difference that exists between complex and systemic methods, because substitutions of these methods have become too frequent. The systems approach is fundamentally distinguished by the way of constructing knowledge, in which the relationships of the elements and characteristics that form the phenomenon are built depending on the basic relationship, called the system-forming factor. The system is formed similar to the crystallization process through the successive increment of its constituent parts. It is systematically advisable to build, for example, products from leather, fur, textiles, when a certain agreed state of material quality is taken as a system-forming factor and the entire range proposed for production is “tied” to it. Quality and market place in this case will be determined by the quality of the corresponding state of the material used in the manufacture of each specific series of products. An integrated approach is based on a certain qualitative basis and requires a comprehensive analysis of the quality of the phenomenon, and aspects of research can be both equivalent and act in some rating dependence. A good example of using an integrated approach is the construction of quality management. Schematically, it looks approximately as shown in Figure 1.

The above diagram demonstrates the relationships and role responsibilities of the main elements of preparation and implementation of the

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production quality management process. It shows quite clearly the key relationships: the connection between the philosophical aspect and technical regulation, which allows us to concretize methodological and theoretical studies to the level of regulatory and technical specifications; technical regulation with the right aspect, including in the latter the use of patent and licensed elements: philosophical and economic analysis, giving the first a specific subject orientation in market conditions, and the second a methodological perspective, the dependence of production quality on the technological state of production and scientific equipment Complete the philosophical analysis of quality at the level In order to use this knowledge in the practice of economic management of production quality, a schematic diagram of the relationship between philosophical concepts describing quality and linked with economic categories will help. It was developed by us several years ago. Our return to her is forced. The reason is that we had no choice. Philosophers continue to analyze quality, abstracted from specific forms of

economic practice, in the light of their professional interests. Economists present quality narrowly empirically within the framework of mercantile interest. Philosophy warns that the objectification of quality has real meaning exclusively in the epistemological aspect of its consideration: when deciding the question of the nature of quality. Indeed, from the perspective of the “object - subject” relationship, quality is primary - it is objective in nature. Even when designing quality, we are deprived of absolute freedom in our creativity. Professional creativity is limited by the objective roots of the quality created by creativity. The quality of both things and theories is objective, with the only difference being that the quality of a thing is objective in material terms, while the quality of a scientific theory is objectified by the adequacy of its reflection of the objective quality of a thing, the relationships of which are reproduced in a scientific theory. The quality control system is shown in Figure 2.

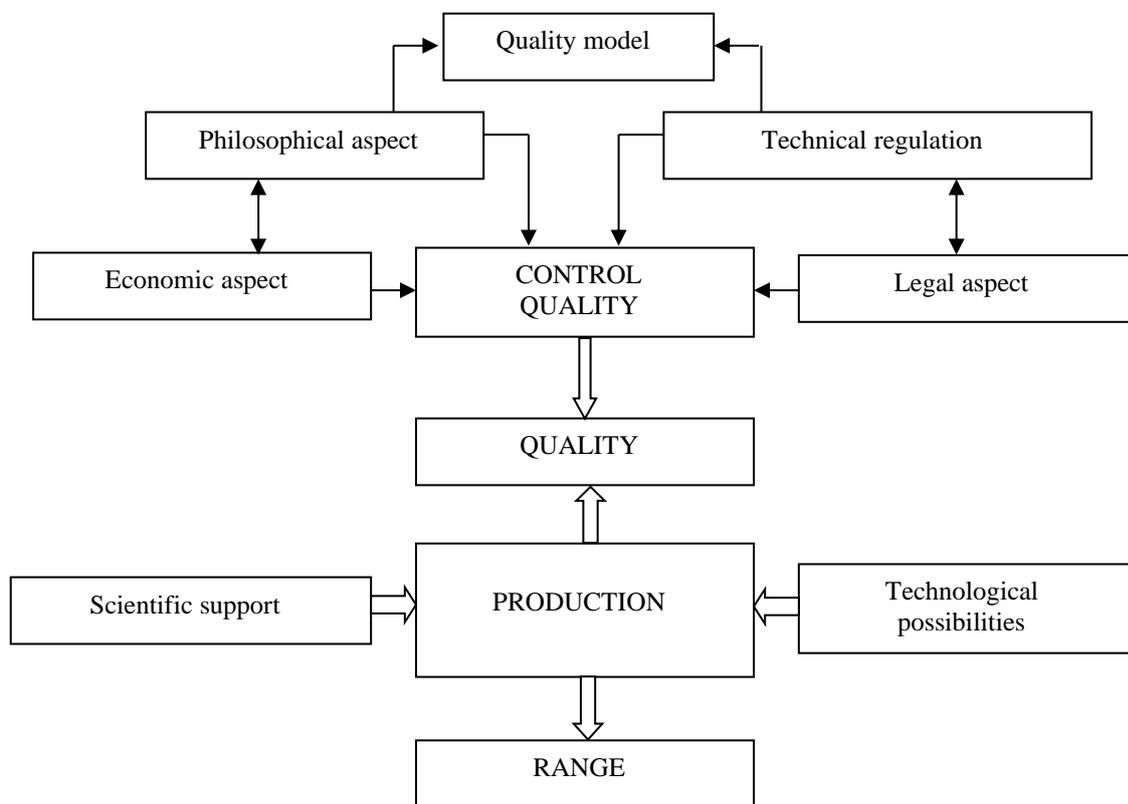


Figure 1 - Schematic diagram of integrated quality management production

In the theory of quality management, it is important to correctly understand the dialectics in the quality of production organization; as an activity organized by production, and finally, as a produced commodity, objective and subjective. Prominent

domestic scientist, public figure L.P. Krasavin, in order to emphasize the active nature of quality associated with the subjective creativity of a professional, coined the term “quality”. The subjective side of product quality is revealed on the

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market through the complex relationships between creators, intermediaries and consumers. The uniqueness of the national mentality intersects with them - in the USA and Western European countries, a pragmatic, utilitarian approach dominates in the

interpretation of quality on the market; in Russia, the traditional side of the attitude to the quality of goods was contemplation, quality goods and these days for most Russians more than something intended exclusively for consumption.

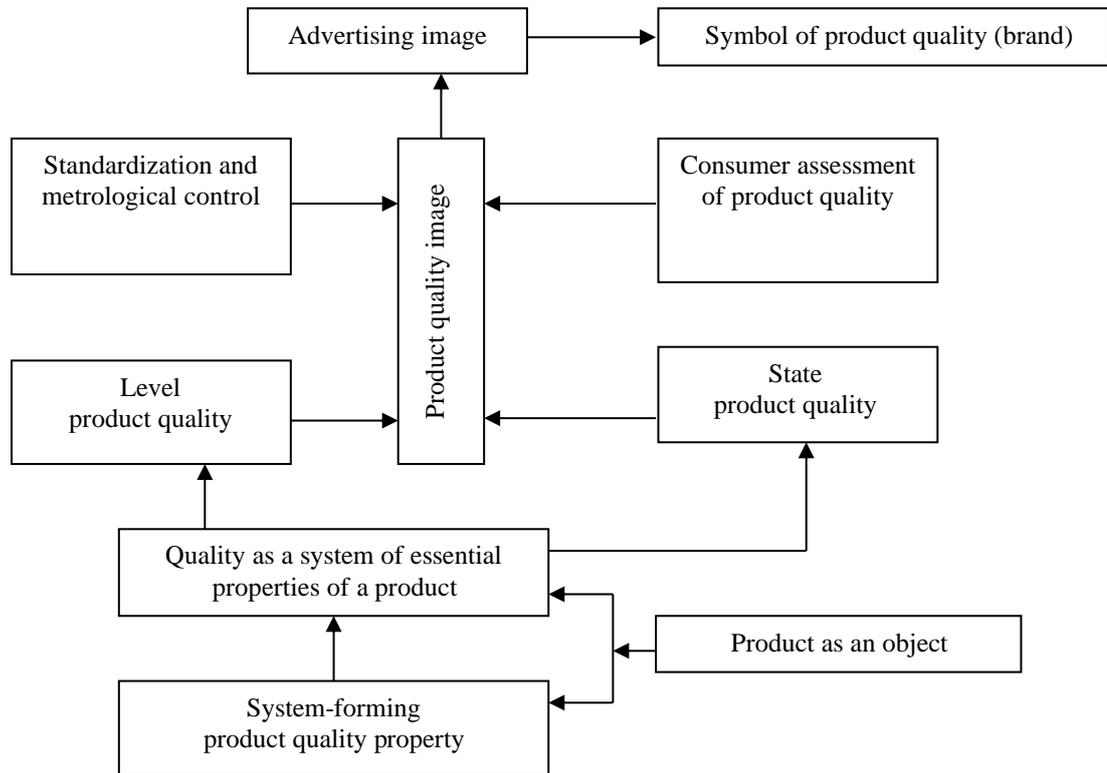


Figure 2 - Quality control system

Creators and producers of quality goods need to educate the consciousness of potential consumers of their products, based on the fact that in market conditions, the quality of a product is a collective image. The image of the quality of a product, branded production, of course, can be promoted with the help of advertising, but such one-sidedness is uninhibited and dangerous. The sustainability of the reputation of a quality product is ensured by the entire market mechanism, including its extensive infrastructure. An enlightened consumer is actively involved in the process of “struggle” for quality. The market needs it like a pike in a pond so that the crucian does not sleep. The reluctance to spend decent money to educate the consumer, the desire to “shoe” him with false, superficial advertising will inevitably turn into a boomerang. Unfortunately, many Russian manufacturers are not afraid of the boomerang. They know that they will not stay in this sector of production for long. Until the market puts everything in its place and reacts appropriately to pseudo-quality, they will be different and this “crap” will lose relevance for them. Although experts believe that the

Russian market has swung towards product quality, objectively the situation on the market has not changed significantly. Those small percentages on which encouraging conclusions are based are far from being qualitative characteristics.

The effective demand of the overwhelming majority of Russian citizens does not allow them to focus on the quality of goods. A shift towards interest in the quality of goods must go through the obligatory stage of expanding the range of available goods for the mass buyer, and this stage has not been passed by the Russians, which, in other words, does not mean a de-actualization of the quality of the goods. Integrating the above, we present formula (1), which allows us to reveal the components of the qualities of a product, that is, a product produced by a person to satisfy certain needs. It can also include phenomena of natural origin included in market relations: clean air, mineral springs, healing mud, clay, warm sea, etc., as well as those whose production is not intended for sale, considering these cases as simplified option.

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$$K_T = \underbrace{\sum ec + D}_{\text{objective compound}} + \underbrace{C_{II}}_{\text{subjective compound}} + P \quad (1)$$

Where CT – product quality;
 $\sum c$ – the sum of the natural properties of the material;
D– activity, natural prerequisites are transformed into goods;
JV– buyer consciousness;
R– advertising support.

This formula also describes the quality of an intellectual product. Why is it necessary to expand the interpretation of the concept of “natural properties” by including in its content the intellectual and psychophysiological prerequisites of creative activity. Economic understanding of quality, on the foundation of which all known concepts of production quality management were directly developed { }. It evolved according to dialectical laws, despite the fact that economists themselves were not always aware of the dialectics of the process. The development of economic awareness of quality was carried out “under the influence of contradictions between the internal and external goals of the manufacturer - ensuring the quality of products and, accordingly, strengthening the position of the manufacturer in the market (external goal), as well as increasing production efficiency, that is, increasing company profits (internal goal). At each stage of production, market and society, this contradiction had its own specifics and was resolved differently.”

The history of economic quality management dates back to the era of workshop production. In medieval cities, guild organizations were necessarily created, one of the most important functions of which was the certification of craftsmen. To become a recognized master, it was necessary to undergo serious testing of their products for quality. All products of the workshop craftsmen had the author’s “stamp” and were unique in their kind. Quality management was simplified by production itself, its manufacturing nature, which did not allow production to develop on a large scale. Of course, no agreed-upon quality standards existed at that time due to the difficulty of comparing strictly individual products of masters, much less trying to develop some kind of model to follow. The uniqueness of the master’s work precluded imitation of anything in principle.

Only a long time later, standardization of product quality appeared at S. Colt’s arms factories. This unusual decision was prompted by the fact that in conditions of mass production, the final product began to be assembled not from specially made and fitted parts, but from parts randomly selected from the corresponding batch. For the first time, production

was equipped with special gauges, and trained inspectors checked parts on them before assembly. The heyday of the idea of standardization occurred during the era of the development of automobile production in the United States. G. Leland, the creator of the Cadillac company, came up with a pair: a “pass” and a “non-pass” caliber. G. Ford, having built an assembly line, went further. He replaced input control of components with output control, thanks to which calibrated, high-quality parts were delivered to the main production - assembly, which significantly increased labor productivity and significantly improved the quality of the final product. At Ford factories, a technical control service independent of production was also created for the first time.

H. Ford’s like-minded man F. Taylor, who worked in creative conjunction with his patron, did serious work on the scientific understanding of innovations in production. As a result, he managed to formulate the principles of scientific management focused on quality of production: a systematic approach; personnel management; mandatory division of responsibility between performers and organizers in achieving high-quality and effective work; the need for scientifically based labor regulation. UGH. Taylor, indisputably the founder of scientific management. It was he who first discovered the “depletion” of the effectiveness of the main principle in management practice: “initiative - encouragement” for the quality of work. “In contrast to this,” Taylor argued, the development of the scientific organization of labor suggests the development of numerous rules, laws, formulas that will replace the personal judgment of the individual worker and which can be usefully applied only after systematic accounting, measurements, etc. have been made their actions.”

One cannot but agree with the summary of D.M. Gvishanina: what Taylorism has in the strict sense of the term boils down to the following:

1. Creation of a scientific foundation that replaces old, traditional, practically established methods of work, scientific research of each individual element.
2. Selection of workers based on scientific criteria, their training and education.

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3. Cooperation between administration and workers in the practical implementation of a scientifically developed labor organization system.

4. Equal distribution of labor and responsibility between the administration and workers.

F. Taylor himself represented guarantees of production quality and its efficiency: "Science instead of traditional skills; harmony instead of contradictions; collaboration instead of individual work; maximum performance instead of limiting performance; development of each individual worker to the maximum available to him productivity and maximum well-being." Try to argue with F. Taylor in a reasoned manner. It is not surprising that his view of the organization and management of machine production hypnotized his contemporaries. There is an opinion according to which the concept of F. Taylor, G. Ford, A. Foyle and M. Weber "In its main features has existed to the present day and has become a model for organizing production of most modern enterprises. Only in the 70s did another concept begin to replace it - the Toyota Production System."

The ideology of the "rejection phase" was simple and clear: the output of production should be only high-quality products; a meeting between the consumer and defective products should not be allowed. The main efforts of managers should be focused on quality control of components and assembly of finished products. The relative simplicity of the concept of the "rejection phase" was its reliability and the relativity of its reliability, leading to the need for innovation in the future. Reliance in the ideology of production quality on the "rejection phase" has had a practical effect. It would be surprising if the result were not positive. Increased attention to quality control is logically preconditioned as a condition for the functioning of production. This requirement at the market level of understanding accompanied the development of production activity throughout its existence.

The sustainability of the economic (and, to a certain extent, social) effect achieved by the pioneers in developing a scientific solution to the problem of managing the quality of production is surprising. And yet, the side of the "culling phase" that had been hidden for a while was about to emerge. The shift of management to the phase of high-quality production preparation - essentially towards the special status of control functions - signaled an increase in the corresponding costs for ensuring quality products. The quality of production and the quality of manufactured products form a single whole, but not the same thing. The development of production is undoubtedly determined by the quality of manufactured goods. E. Deming rightly put at the top of the list of the "seven deadly diseases" of modern production "production planning that is not focused on such goods and services for which the market is in demand."

Production, during the transition from an industrial to a post-industrial society of mass consumers, is increasingly becoming a function of the market "The buyer is always right" - no matter how the well-known judgment may be contrary to the seller, who is forced to adapt to the buyer's demand, he has no choice. The manufacturer, for whom the "seller" is the "buyer," has no choice either. The quality of the product is a special "song" of production. Only a "concert" cannot consist of one song. The quality of production is also characterized by its economic efficiency. The pursuit of product quality cannot be an end in itself for production, otherwise a good deed will turn into a fatal disease. The quality of the product is not able to compensate for the inefficiency of production as a whole. Improving the quality of the final product always requires costs to ensure it, which becomes a problem for developers of efficient production strategies. The goals of increasing production efficiency and improving the quality of manufactured products were not combined in the concept of the "rejection phase," so it was replaced in the 20s of the last century by the "quality management phase." Its developers attempted to overcome the critical cost of product quality evident in the "rejection phase." They were unable to resolve the contradiction that arose. We managed to soften it. Among the innovators of the reconstruction of the "rejection phase," V. Shewhart, an employee of the technical control department of the American company Western Electric, stood out, who proposed a method for constructing diagrams, better known as "W. Shewhart chart control."

To a first approximation, the initiative of the American specialist looks quite radical. W. Shewhart abandons the key quality control scheme of F. Taylor and G. Ford. Instead of the pre-production stage, where it is necessary to reject low-quality products, the production process itself is at the center of quality management. W. Shewhart's system of methods was aimed at improving the technological process, which was intended to help increase the output of finished high-quality products.

In W. Shewhart's concept, a dialectical approach to business is initially felt. His predecessors tried to "decompose production into shelves" and load the "shelves" in such a way as to obtain the desired result. As a result, they overloaded one of the flank "shelves" and the entire structure became distorted. The stage of preparation - control - became the most costly, while the main stage - technological - became dependent on it and was pushed to the periphery of the management process, undeservedly suffering. V. Shewhart called "things" by their proper names and arranged the stages according to rank, highlighting the technological rank. By simplifying the pre-production stage, he risked reducing the quality of components. In return, he expected to receive a gain in the main part of production. By investing priority in improving

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technology, the manufacturer strengthens the production process, making it, in principle, more efficient due to organization and technical equipment. As for defects, it is more expedient to monitor it precisely when organizing relations in production itself, relying on scientific developments and timely introduction of new technical process products, complete with measures for preparing the quality of readiness of performers.

The main object of quality management in W. Shewhart's concept is the production process. The output from it is a flow of measurements of quality parameters of individual products. W. Shewhart sends Ford's former goal of "getting admitted" into "retirement." H. Ford's idea has worked and awakened new thinking. To replace it, V. Shewhart forms a tandem of goals: ensuring the stability of the process and reducing variations in stability. V. Shewhart considered the presence of variations to be a natural formation. He even developed a criterion for the quality of the process - the stability of the process should be considered in a statistical sense. Variations in product parameters are nothing more than the implementation of a stable random process, the distribution function of which remains constant for a certain time. V. Shewhart believed that variations in product parameters are a consequence of two groups of reasons: special and general. Particular ones are rooted in disruption of the production process. They are identified using a control card and eliminated based on the readings of such a card. General reasons are embedded in the depths of the process itself. There are many of them, but individually they are not significant. The danger lies in the sum of the effects of such causes. The general causes of variation in product parameters are a matter of concern for managers, often of high level and qualification. By their research and action they are able to limit the action of general causes. At the same time, V. Shewhart made two very valuable conclusions that should be followed by production managers:

firstly, searching for the culprits is necessary, however, having found the culprits, we are rarely able to influence the situation. It is necessary to look for the causes of inconsistency and eliminate them, involving all participants in this process;

secondly, process variations become the source of defects and inconsistencies.

Reducing variations in W. Shewhart's quality management system is a comprehensive goal. Linking the number of variations with the organization of the production process, W. Shewhart was clearly aware that in order to reduce variations, a new configuration of relations between people involved in production was necessary. The essence of such a new configuration should be comradely cooperation. People are united into teams by the very nature of production.

W. Shewhart's system is a serious step forward

in comparison with F. Taylor's system. F. Taylor focused on the mechanism of action, and V. Shewhart - on the mechanism of interaction between people in the entire spectrum of their relationships: technical, economic, psychological. B.S. is absolutely right. Aleshin and co-authors, arguing: "Such a concept as "tolerances" (one of the most important inventions of F. Taylor) undoubtedly remains in practice. "Tolerances" are the form, the language of quality requirements, the result of quality planning. Something else is changing: the opposition of the tasks of planning, execution, control and corrective actions. Such tasks are performed by teams."

At the same time, we note that the ideas and methods of V. Shewhart continue the desire of F. Taylor to put quality management on a scientific basis, to use scientific methods in organizing production. But here too, W. Shewhart is "ahead" of F. Taylor. Science (and scientific methods) for F. Taylor and G. Ford boiled down to those concepts that make it possible to quantitatively measure the mechanical actions of an individual performer, find the optimal route of movement and take it under effective control, having previously loaded it with a full program of tasks. The "classical" (Taylor) theory of quality management was based on centrifugal forces and movements and production: division of labor, specialization of actions, individuality of the performer. Critics understood this one-sidedness. W. Shewhart considered the mechanistic view of production development in general and quality management in particular to be a clear simplification. The production process not only results from the interaction of centrifugal and centripetal forces - individual and collective actions: it does not allow the reduction of what is happening in it to relationships of a mechanical type.

A person participates in production as a subject of actions and relationships. Moreover, a person as a subject of labor is a decisive factor of production. The development of production must be based on the development of the subject and the relations of the subject and the relations of subjects. Subjective potential in the form of individual knowledge, skills and aspirations is the main reserve of production efficiency, which science helps to activate and organize properly. In this understanding, science includes social and humanitarian components.

An organic defect of the "classical" theory of production quality management is a simplification of the understanding of the nature of human behavior in an organization. V. Shewhart understood this, explained it as best he could, and expected to be understandable and in demand by practical management. W. Shewhart's new ideas did not go unnoticed by business, but, apparently, the inertial forces of business movement are so great that ideas begin to affect it only over time and completely. Out of habit, the short path to profit was thought to be the

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simplest. Any complication involves additional costs. Will they be justified? In addition, it is much easier to measure the mechanics of action than the motivation of activity.

It is not surprising that, almost half a century later, J. March and G. Simon noted: in the United States, two views on the position of people in an organization are widespread: “considering the employee as an inert instrument fulfilling his assigned purpose, and treating personnel as something something given, and not as a variable in the system.” Another authoritative scientist M. Hair agrees with them: “There are implicit assumptions about a person, on which, as it seems to me, the classical theory of organization and management is based: he is lazy, short-sighted, selfish, prone to mistakes, does not know how to judge sensibly and even can be a little dishonest.” M. Hare's text explains that the classical interpretation of management organization is still very popular in practical management.

The three main provisions of the “classical” theory of quality management have not been eliminated to this day. They continue to impress, warming the souls of their patrons, caressing their self-awareness, reinforcing self-confidence in their chosenness. Everything is so well laid out in its place: the worker is a performer, essentially a “rational animal” with a clearly defined dominant to maximize economic outputs; “each individual responds to economic incentives as an isolated individual”; “people, like machines, can be treated in a standardized way.” W. Shewhart had many supporters who left their own noticeable and appreciated mark: M. Follett, E. Mayo, C. Barnard, F. Roethlisberger, G. Simon. The thirties of the last century were marked by a “humanistic challenge” to the “preaching of administrative responsibility.” In theory, events unfolded according to a logical scenario. Practice was not so susceptible to changes in views, so the effectiveness of the new approach to economic quality management left room for reflection on the complexity of the relationship between theory and practice.

The construction of the economy itself slowed down the total implementation of progressive ideas. In order for a person to develop as a subject of production - to mobilize his knowledge abilities, it is necessary that the economy turn its “face” to a person, acquire a “human face”. Otherwise, it is impossible to fit the individual's talents into the interior of production, to make them interested colleagues. Dialectics warns: truth is concrete. The theory is effective within a specific historical framework. Her life may be long or short, but it is always finite. The elements of the theory and the experience of its

operation, expressed in historical lessons, continue to work, being embodied in other, relevant theories and practical actions.

Today's economic composition of quality cannot fail to take into account the acquisitions of W. Shewhart, M. Follett, G. Simon and all those who argued the need to involve the subject's ability to think and get involved in the work in the struggle for quality. In particular, in our opinion, the power of W. Shewhart's “control cards” remains. They are simple and make it possible to monitor the quality of the process and the activities of performers. And for performers they are more understandable than the manager's displeasure, which is far from always understandable, so we present a sample of them (Figure 3).

Having developed a model of a sustainable process, W. Shewhart significantly expanded the possibilities of scientific analysis of production quality, thanks to which those aspects and stages of production that remained in the shadows in the “classical” concept were revealed. He introduced into the characteristics of production quality the concept of “adjusting the process according to its measurement data,” which can be considered as a specification of the concept of “feedback” in relation to quality management.

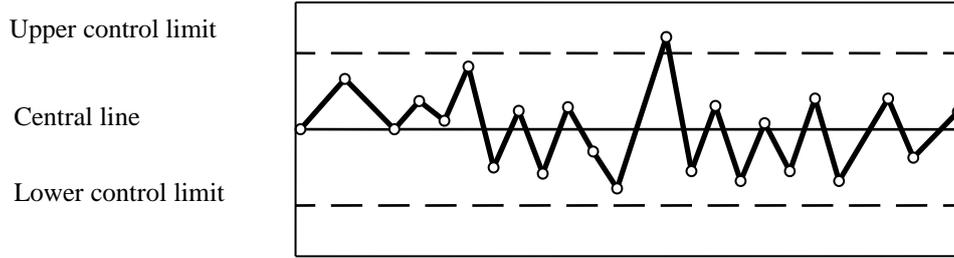
In the theory of random processes, a quantitative measure of the dependence of a sequence of random variables is the autocorrelation coefficient, which takes values from 0 to 1. When its values are close to 0 for neighboring observations (in practice <0.2-0.3), the process is considered “white noise”. If the values of the autocorrelation coefficient are close to 1, then various feedback control systems should be used for this process.

It is not difficult to see in W. Shewhart's concept a desire to theoretically comprehend the specific state of mass production of his time. He tried to look at the conveyor through the eyes of science. And he managed to do a lot. At least, W. Shewhart's ideas are still viable today, although they have aged. With a creative approach they give good results.

A remarkable contribution to the practice of quality management was the creation of a quality audit service, the function of which was significantly different from the tasks facing F. Taylor's technical control departments. She was not engaged in sorting, but in checking the performance of the quality assurance system by monitoring small productions from batches of products. Thus, W. Shewhart found a way to reduce quality costs, which had increased disproportionately when organizing production according to the recommendations of F. Taylor.

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- DATA COLLECTION: Collect data and plot it on a map
- CONTROL: Calculate trial control limits from process data. Identify and address specific causes of variation
- ANALYSIS AND IMPROVEMENT: Evaluate special cause variations and take action to reduce them

Repeat these three phases for continuous process improvement.

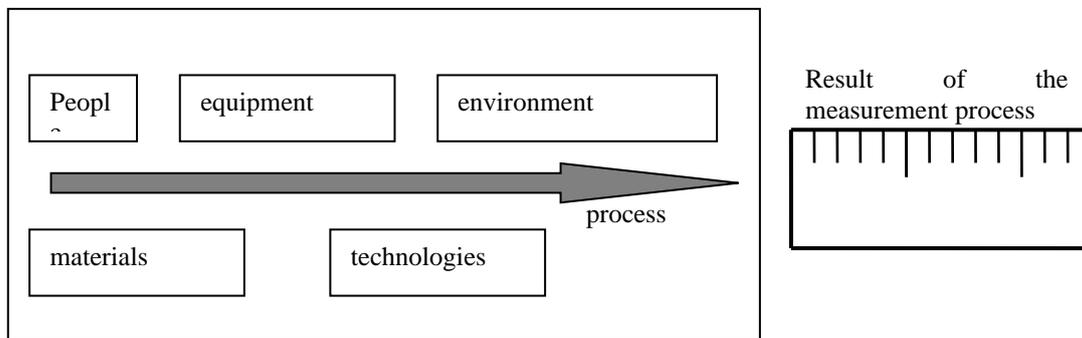


Figure 3 - W. Shewhart's control chart

However, the original thinking of W. Shewhart and his organizational talent did not resolve the old contradiction between the need to ensure production efficiency and the market's need for a quality product, and the production itself for quality raw materials and components. Each production process has a limit on the yield of quality products. This limit is not inherent in the process. It is an attribute of the system practiced at the enterprise, a product of all cumulative activities, features of labor organization and production management, including the quality of production. Approaching the limit leads to an increase in the main contradiction. Ensuring quality requires more and more money, which leads to a decrease in production efficiency. In the fifties, a new concept of quality management was formed. Its inspiration was E. Deming. The name of the next stage in the development of the philosophical and economic understanding of production quality management emphasizes its essence "phase of continuous quality improvement." The version of production quality

assurance proposed by E. Deming turned out to be long-lived, existing "in authority" for almost half a century, until the mid-nineties. This duration of practical relevance of E. Deming's concept is explained, as it seems to us, by the fact that it was skillfully "planted" on the foundation prepared by W. Shewhart, and is already a software product in form. E. Deming's management program is built on three axioms focused on industrial practice:

*the first practical axiom states that any activity must be defined as a technological process, from which the conclusion follows about the possibility of its improvement;

*the second practical axiom was formed by E. Deming as follows: production has two forms of state - it is in a stable or unstable state. In both cases, it is not enough to solve individual problems; fundamental changes are necessary;

*E. Deming's third practical axiom is this: the highest level of enterprise management in all cases must take responsibility for the result.

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The practical specificity of E. Deming's axioms is achieved within the framework of a special management program that summarizes the theoretical and real experience of organizing production quality management. The program is represented by several levels of comprehension and practical implementation of ideas: "Fourteen Points", "Seven Deadly Diseases", "Difficulties and False Starts", "Chain Reaction according to E. Deming", "The Principle of Constant Improvement (Deming Cycle)". Of particular interest for the practice of improving quality management at enterprises are the penultimate and last sections of the program. The "Deming cycle" is essentially a scheme proposed by W. Shewhart, which Deming also recognized. "Chain Reaction" is a product of E. Deming's own creativity. There are four stages in the Deming-Shewhart cycle:

- observation;
- development of measures to improve the situation;
- implementation;
- analysis.

The task of the quality manager at the first of them is to collect information and identify weak links in production that require restructuring. At the second stage, the manager develops organizational measures aimed at changing the situation. This includes connecting all performers through motivation. The next stage is the implementation and monitoring of the modernization process. The cycle is completed by the stage of analyzing the results obtained from implementation, building up experience to repeat the cycle. Probably, graphically, the Deming-Shewhart cycle best demonstrates the spiral of development; each turn of the spiral is a relatively closed cycle of actions. The next round "relies" on it, continuing the general process. If it weren't for the tradition of naming such discoveries after their authors, the Deming-Shewhart cycle would be called the "spiral cycle" of quality management. The Deming-Shurkhat cycle is undoubtedly relevant even now for improving the organization of production, since it reflects the universal law of management construction.

In it, he linked economic and social actions, emphasizing the nature of historical time. The flourishing of E. Deming's creativity is associated with the revival of the Japanese economy. The government and industrialists of the country believed Deming's argument and he deservedly shared with them the glory of the "Japanese miracle." His contribution is also obvious in the achievements of Japanese specialists in the field of improving production quality, which are clearly highlighted in the study of B.S. Aleshina:

- * long-term, consistent and purposeful solution of quality problems based on everything advanced that theory accumulates and practice creates in this area;

- * consistent and persistent establishment of a system for studying consumer requests - (prevention

of the main "deadly disease of the economy" according to the classification of E. Deming - ed.), the formation of a respectful attitude towards the consumer and his requirements up to the cult of the consumer - (the consumer is always right - ed.) consumer (at the same time) is understood in a broad sense as the next link in the technological chain;

- * the desire for everyone to participate in achieving quality, from senior managers to performers of specific work;

- * understanding that even a well-functioning labor organization system loses effectiveness without constant checks and improvement;

- * organization of quality assurance work directly by foremen and foremen. Training including national television specials, national conferences for foremen and foremen;

- * special attention is paid to mobilizing the physical and intellectual potential of workers. Quality circles - group analysis of the state of affairs at a specific site and development of proposals for improving quality and increasing the efficiency of processes and production;

- * broad development of a permanent system of promoting the importance of high quality products to ensure high rates of economic growth;

- * state influence on the radical improvement of quality, primarily of export products, including mandatory state certification. An attempt to sell uncertified products for export is considered smuggling. State support for exports, assistance in promoting goods to the markets of other countries."

We deliberately did not shorten the fragment describing the Japanese practice of creating a quality management system, because in it, like a mirror, Russian miscalculations are visible, specifically Russian, since, having declared the Russian Federation as the successor of the USSR, Russian politicians and economists close to them in the 90s The 1980s systematically destroyed the socialist experience in building quality production instead of rationally modifying it. In the 90s, none of those who were responsible for it needed quality. The economy was reoriented towards raw materials, the quality of which is either determined by natural origin or "compensated" by realized quality.

Comparing the economic policy of Japan in the 50s and subsequent years with the economic policy of the Russian Federation in the 90s, announced by the revival of Russia, leads to a sad conclusion: loud statements rarely correspond to deeds. During the period of Yeltsin's democratic reforms, politicians were least concerned about the interests of the Fatherland, and they did not care about quality at all, having squandered previous national acquisitions. However, a political assessment of this stage of our history was given long ago, and we are interested in that part of the theory that directly works on the country's economy. In this context, it is appropriate to

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“go through” a number of Japanese achievements, keeping in mind the opportunity to draw practical political and economic lessons from them. The overall conclusion is beyond doubt: the efficiency of the economy is determined not by the quality of the goods produced, but by its range and quality. The transition from quantity to quality could only be expected by those who simplified dialectics to the point of stupidity. It is not quantity that turns into a new quality, it is quality and only that.

The Japanese’s teachers were Americans, but the Japanese learned very seriously from Soviet experience, both positive and negative. We still haven’t decided yet. The whole world views our current declarations and certifications with skepticism. Those who do not know how to appreciate and use their own achievements are not able to properly master those of others. In Japan, the attitude towards quality became a national idea, and was embodied in a form of “struggle”, in which everyone from the janitor to the general director had a prestigious participation. A system of mutual interests has developed, supported financially, organizationally (career building) and spiritually. We continue a protracted search for an idea that would unite the nation. The quality is not visible even next to what is offered. It is not included in the candidates for the national idea. Only enthusiasts are serious about quality, wading through the thicket of democracy, apathy, etc. Our “helmswomen” have no time for quality. The “Captains” are still paving the way to the West and investing in countries other than their native economy. Paradox: foreign investments in the Russian economy will soon exceed the contribution of compatriots.

Having lost the prospect of becoming an oligarch and feeling pressure from the fiscal services, candidates for oligarchs are looking for happiness in distant countries.

The Japanese concentrated their capital in their home country. Patriotism meant more to them than personal gain. This is the reason (not the only one) of the “Japanese miracle”. The Allies in 1945 destroyed everything on the Japanese islands except national self-respect. And it became the launching pad for the revival of the country. We emphasize that the Japanese actively looked for specific mechanisms for transforming quality into the total interest of the nation in the practice of organizing a quality service in the USSR: “cards decide everything!”, “Quality is the main focus!”, “Everything is in the service of quality!” - these are slogans from Soviet history. And behind them there was strict party and state control. The Japanese submitted to the struggle for quality all national and state (municipal) reserves, forcing even television to work for quality. Significantly, the media did not limit themselves to advertising quality. They organized schools, courses, and universities teaching quality to key players: foremen and foremen. National

finances were allocated to education and training in quality work and its organization. What do we have? Quality is left to everyone who makes a profit from training and education. What they did was shoehorn the problem into an advertising product.

We do not have a national quality assurance program. We also do not have a state priority project (along with well-known national projects). It seems that, having officially declared support for international quality systems, the top political management of the Russian Federation considered its mission accomplished, deciding that the rest would be regulated by the market. E. Deming’s ideas were continued in the concept of another American who worked for the “Japanese miracle,” J. Juran. J. Juran shifted the emphasis in the development of a quality management system from statistical methods towards the absolute importance of the customer, dividing emerging problems into random and chronic. Randomly (suddenly) arising quality problems of one-time (single) origin. They are not inherent in production. Random problems should be resolved routinely within the framework of current management. For this purpose, it is necessary to clearly allocate the responsibility of managers for taking control measures and timely introduction of corrective measures.

Chronic problems are a different matter. They are present in the process and, as it were, “planned” from the beginning. J. Juran understood chronic problems as the result of assumptions made in the previous phase of the process. Up to a certain point, such tolerances do not significantly affect the quality; then, under the influence of implementation conditions and their own movement, they acquire significant significance and become unacceptable. It was chronic problems that J. Juran “blamed” for stagnation or loss of quality indicators. The company’s management should not be complacent from good performance compared to the previous period. You need to look forward, not back, otherwise it’s easy to get into a crisis situation. Management complacency is a “deadly disease” for production.

There is no point in trying to solve chronic problems with orders. We need to start by identifying their main causes and sources. Knowing the reasons, J. Juran, is usually beyond the capabilities of line managers. This requires a collegial form of analysis of what happened - “brainstorming”. The second half of the twentieth century was marked by an intensive invasion of quality management by mathematical methods of process research. A new scientific discipline has emerged - the theory of management decisions, which is a development of operations research. In decision theory, the focus is on decision making. It was interpreted by a process accessible to quantitative measurement. The work was carried out in two directions. Proponents of the first of them tried to find mathematical models suitable for use in real

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production situations (Fogal, Luce). The developers of the second turned to statistics and game theory, widely using statistical testing methods (“Monte Carlo method”). The one-sidedness of both approaches gave rise to the third school; its founders wanted to “link” mathematical research as much as possible to the problems of quantifying economic phenomena. As a result, the so-called “econometric” approach to the analysis and management, first of all, of economic processes, efficiency and quality of production appeared. According to the above concept, the economic-mathematical model should have four components:

- * it must include economic phenomena of qualitative content, expressed in certain units of measurement. Such quantities are model parameters;

- * it must include certain quantitative relationships and dependencies between parameters. These may be balance relationships or more complex dependencies that connect the results of processes with the causes that cause them;

- * the model must determine the area of permissible changes in model parameters in time, space and volume - “restrictions placed on quantitative dependencies”;

- * it must be a system of interconnected parameters, dependencies and restrictions with certain inputs and outputs.

Control of such a system, that is, obtaining certain results at the output, must be carried out by influencing only the input. Without interfering with its internal structure. The most famous economic models are credited to L. Klein and A. Goldberg. V. Leontiev, who received the Nobel Prize for his work, also made his contribution to the mathematical modeling of economic activity. The effectiveness of economic and mathematical modeling of relatively large-scale economic phenomena is not high. Without denying the importance of such modeling, the prominent economist T. Haavelmo wrote: “It is quite possible that as more and more sophisticated methods develop, we will come closer to realizing one unpleasant fact: economic “laws” are difficult to accurately measure, and that is why we live in fact, in a world of large but largely superficial or spurious correlations. You can, of course, refer, as always, to bad statistics. However, I think we can find explanations in something else, namely, in the imperfection of economic theories.”

Quality management is a bit of an exception. In contrast to the low efficiency of using mathematical tools when studying the economy as a whole or individual industries, the application of mathematics to quality management turned out to be a completely acceptable action. Both Deming and Juran actively used its capabilities.

Analysis of the economic strategy in the field of quality management shows that the effectiveness of quality management depends on coordinated macro and microeconomic views. Real Japanese experience

also teaches this. The solution to the quality problem itself involves a step-by-step process from identifying problems, through diagnosing their condition and finding solutions to implementing the decisions made, maintaining and developing the results achieved. At the first stage, J. Juran called “a problem in which a solution is programmed”, problems are identified, priorities are identified, and a ranking order is established; the performers and their powers are determined. At the diagnostic stage, the optimal symptoms of the condition are determined; hypotheses are built and tested; a search for causes is carried out. The solution search stage involves finding optimal solutions; development of necessary activities; implementation of adopted decisions.

The final stage consists of checking the effectiveness of the implementation results, comparing the dynamics of the achieved results with the planned ones. The high efficiency of the concepts of Deming and J. Juran provoked F. Crosby to combine their systems with the quality management experience accumulated in the USA. F. Crosby's "Zero Defects" program was not something fundamentally new in the theory of quality management, but it contained interesting ideas. For example, a statement about the prevention of defects; the need to develop a “quality policy”, the requirement to involve non-production departments in the quality of activities.

F. Crosby believed that each technological site should have an engineer responsible for quality. His professional responsibilities include presenting a daily list of problems causing significant and frequent defects; systematizing them according to the degree of importance for quality; determining corrective actions; attracting personnel employed on site. The “Continuous Quality Improvement Phase” helped overcome the tension between spending on quality and achieving production efficiency. The consumer began to receive quality goods at an affordable price, and the realization of the idea of a “consumer society” came closer. From the manufacturer's point of view, an ideal situation has developed. But the assessment of the situation was one-sided, only from the consumer's position; The quality parameters were not set by the person who consumes the product, or for whom the product is made.

Quality was standardized in the manufacturer's standards and, naturally, primarily reflected his own interests. The consumer was left with a choice: purchase a product of a certain quality or refuse. This again led to the “overheating” of production, to an increase in its costs, since there were frequent miscalculations in determining consumer demands. A high-quality (according to the manufacturer) product, affordable, did not find the necessary demand among consumers. The new form of contradictions had to be eliminated taking into account the interests of the consumer. The “Continuous Quality Improvement

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Phase” has given way to the “Quality Planning Phase.” The work of G. Taguchi is considered the beginning of the next phase. It was he who introduced the concept of “loss function” into the theory of quality management and developed a modern methodology for planning industrial experiments. The goal of G. Taguchi's research was to overcome the contradiction between ensuring quality and production efficiency in its existing forms. The foundation of the quality planning concept was formed by four new ideas:

- * conclusion that product defects are mainly explained by poor quality actions at the design stage;

- * conclusion on the need to focus the main products not on full-scale testing of product models, but on mathematical modeling of both goods and their production process. Due to this, they hoped to promptly detect and eliminate the reasons for the increase in defects. It was proposed to take control of design and technological processes until the stage of actual production;

- * the idea that the concept of “zero defects” should be replaced by the idea of “satisfied customers”;

- * emphasize the high quality of the product with an acceptable price and constant price reduction, thereby ensuring stable market demand for quality goods.

A new round in the development of quality management has overcome the noted form of the fundamental contradiction between quality and production efficiency, but not the contradiction itself. Currently, its next “ecological” form is taking shape. Including environmental friendliness in the quality characteristics of a product requires significant costs.

The uniqueness of the modern stage of quality management is that all known formulas (phases) are practiced at enterprises. In the seventies, A. Feigenbaum summarized the accumulated intellectual and practical experience in developing the problem of economic quality management and laid the foundation for what is now known as TQC-Total Quality Control (total quality management). Essentially, TQC is not a quality management system, but a system of sufficient conditions for a quality process. The development logically led to the development of TQC. All previous steps along the path to quality management, despite the progressive movement, were of the same type. They “tied” the solution to the problem of economic quality management to some fragment(s) of the process. Thus, the improvement of quality management “bypassed” the essence of the production process - its unity and the systemic nature of its unity as a certain way of built connections and dependencies.

E. Deming, K. Ishikawa, F. Crosby and A. Feigenbaum came closest to understanding the quality system as a reflection of the production system.

The main conditions of TQC can be considered the following:

- *ensuring the total participation of all employees in solving the quality problem;

- *awareness of total responsibility for the quality of all participants in the process, understanding that not a single specialized department (QC, QCD, etc.) is capable of coping with the task;

- * compliance of the quality of activities with all stages of the “life cycle” of the product: from the development of the product concept and marketing research to the method of disposal of the product and its packaging. In the context of increasing environmental requirements in a number of countries, for example, Japan, product certification requires the mandatory development of a method for recycling even packaging;

- *the totality of improving the knowledge and skills of performers and managers; regularity of specially organized forms of advanced training; planning related costs;

- * achieving a total understanding that the quality of work is achieved not so much by equipment and technology, but by focusing on the quality of the work of motivating employees, and motivation should not be one-sided, focused only on financial returns. Then it will be stable;

- *the totality of activity structuring, its differentiation into operations, interconnected technological processes, transitions, and each link of the process should be clear in purpose to all performers. Studies of eliminating the causes of defects have shown that up to 90% of problems submitted for consideration are resolved, while 75% of them are able to be solved by the controllers themselves (direct performers and organizers);

- *totality in consumer understanding; the consumer is not someone outside the production process, the consumer is each subsequent link in the production itself - the “internal consumer”, therefore, awareness of responsibility to the consumer throughout the production cycle is required;

- *total cultivation of the special status of the consumer and his interest in the quality of the product;

- *continuous quality engineering;

- *understanding the importance of defect prevention, its economic advantages over defect elimination;

- *team spirit of all participants in the process; corporate culture;

- *leading position in activities that ensure quality, senior management, understanding of quality as the goal of entrepreneurship.

Quality management in the 21st century relies on the reciprocity of total quality management (TQM) and quality system standards (ISO 8402; ISO 9000; ISO 9001). The main difference between quality system standards is that in many countries, including Russia, they have acquired state registration and are

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enshrined administratively. Therefore, clarity in the definition and content of the concept of “standard” is important. In the USSR and the Russian Federation, it is customary to assign a “quality mark”, officially indicating that the product meets certain agreed upon parameters. “Standard” in Russia and most other countries is a set of rigidly fixed, often administrative, characteristics of products, services, and activities. Analogues of our “quality marks” are found in European countries, in particular in Sweden (TCO 92; TCO 95; MPR for monitors). The concept of a “standard of technological modernity” (industrial standard) was developed and the Bologna Protocol was built on its basis.

From the perspective of consumer interests, the “standardized” concept of “standard” is not as relevant as for the manufacturer. The latter, taking advantage of the starting advantage, taking into account first of all his interests. Hence the conventionality, the relativity of any standard and “standard sign” until the standard balances the mutual interests of both parties: the manufacturer of the product and its consumer. The most common quality system standard, ISO 9000, is based on a specific organization system. The basis of this idea is the thesis about the documentation of all processes related to production: procurement of raw materials, components; preparation of production of his organization; delivery of products to the consumer; providing warranty support; scientific and technical equipment of production; personnel management.

As a result, the concept of “quality” acquires new facets and expands; the traditional understanding of quality is modified. The content of the concept of “quality” is loaded with knowledge corresponding to the changed situation. A classic example of the dialectics of concept development. The most obvious illustration of this is the fairly frequent reports that reputable companies Ford, Toyota, and others are recalling their products due to the discovery of a technical inconsistency in just one component. It would seem that it would be easier and cheaper to instruct service centers to replace low-quality components. In reality, businesses are doing the right thing by considering the competition in the market and where their brand fits into it. In a complex system, a design and technological defect in one node inevitably affects the entire system, so it is not easy to replace a node or block. It is necessary to comprehensively test the product as a whole so that the manufacturer’s guarantees work according to the declared standard.

ISO 9000 and its modifications ISO 9000-2000 do not guarantee product quality. They are “set up” to provide such production conditions that allow us to count on the “most likely” high-quality reserve of productive activity.

Another “weak” side of these systems is that they explain “what should be done,” but there is practically no explanation of “how to do it.” The ISO 9000 ideologists say: “What should be done?” – the

question is “standard” and subject to standardization. The question is: “How should it be done?” – is determined by the specific production conditions in each individual case. Therefore, “how to do it” must be decided by manufacturers on site. With the introduction of ISO 9000-2000, the concept of “QS” (quality system) became outdated, giving way to QMS defined by the International Organization for Standardization:

- *continuous monitoring of consumer interests;
- *systemic leadership of the manager, ensuring the unity of the goals and directions of the company’s activities, as well as a stable internal environment based on cooperation and comprehensive motivation;
- *maximum involvement of employees’ abilities, knowledge and skills in the production process;
- *using a process approach in managing activities and resources;
- *the need for a systematic approach to management;
- *striving for continuous improvement of the company’s activities;
- *making decisions only taking into account a comprehensive analysis of the entire possible volume of “information for thought”;
- *development of mutually beneficial relationships with suppliers.

From now on, international quality standards require the presentation of a “quality mark” not on goods, but on the method of their production. “Quality” is the compliance of the organization and management of the enterprise’s activities with the quality management system (QMS). The modern history of the economic aspect of quality management reveals a very instructive relationship between concrete scientific, special and philosophical approaches to solving socially pressing problems of production activity. Philosophical teachings about quality, undoubtedly, have always had an effect on economic knowledge. K. Marx started with G. Gogol, took a “course” of economic analysis and founded a historical-materialist view of social development. Then he returned to the analysis of economics and left an impressive mark on social philosophy and economic theory. Something similar can be said about the creative paths of O. Proudhon, J. St. Mill.

History repeats itself in a new round. Thinking economists move from practice to philosophy to use philosophical knowledge and method to develop a deeper understanding of the subject of their research. All modern concepts of quality management owe no less to philosophy than to economic theory. A philosophical analysis of the social process led to the conclusion about the increasing role of the “subjective factor” in it. The “human factor” in philosophical humanism has always been represented as the decisive condition of history. This was the opinion of the leading thinkers of Antiquity, the Renaissance, and the Enlightenment. But the “human factor” and the

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“subjective factor,” contrary to the widespread practice of bringing them closer together to the point of identification, are far from the same thing.

“Human factor” is a concept that characterizes the entire complex of human capabilities. The concept of “human factor” expresses the duality of our nature - the combination of biological and social in it; organization and individuals; physics, physiology, psychology, intelligence, behavior and activity. As advertising likes to present it: “all in one” or “in a package”. The human factor is essentially the person himself in the context of his ability to realize his own potential. Smart, educated Oblomov, lying on the sofa, as well as active Stolz are examples of contrasts along with the name “Human Factor”. The concept of “human factor” does not express a preference that is neither biological nor social. I think it's correct. To define a “person in action” - no matter in which form: Oblomov turning over with a newspaper in his hands, or the active enterprising Stolz - a synthetic concept is necessary.

They proposed calling an abstract person in a state of abstract activity a “human factor,” thus including an abstract person in an abstract historical process. In theory, the main thing is to find a conceptual equivalent to describe the object of study. The object of research in our case is social progress. The task is to understand the factors that set history in motion and give progressiveness to the movement of history. The logic of the reasoning is not complicated. The history of humanity is either an objectification outside of human substance (objective idea, World Mind, World Will, God, etc.), or a product of the activity of people themselves: their mind, feelings, will and practical activity.

The problem can be simplified, because in both options human activity is provided, with the only difference being that in the first case, history is made by him according to a program developed outside of human life, and in the second, man paves the historical path, guided by his own ideas and motives. In history, no matter how you look at it, you cannot move away from human participation. History is “tied” to a person just as he is “tied” to history. It is then that it becomes relevant to “disassemble” the “human factor” into its component qualities, to divide what exists in the person himself exclusively in unity. Divide conditionally, depending on the contribution to historical progress of the two “halves” of a person: biological and social.

The concept of “subjective factor” appears. And its components are the “individual” form of the subjective factor, and the “collective form of the subjective factor.” Politics emphasizing the historical nature of human activity and the collective essence of this activity. In relation to production and production quality, the “subjective factor” is specified to the level of “performer”, “manager” and “team”. To those who object to us, considering that we have narrowed the

understanding of man in the structure of the economic form of his activity to the size of a “subjective factor”, ignoring his biological status, which is also represented in production and affects its quality, we will answer: no, modern production, that is production is knowledge-intensive, high-tech, relying on the power of knowledge, not muscles; on responsibility and organization depends, precisely, on the “subjective factor” of a person.

The logic of the development of the process of economic quality management convincingly demonstrates that total quality management, to which in general everything was heading, is possible with the total mobilization of subjective human forces: knowledge, beliefs, desires, will of interests, upbringing, education, concentrated in the professional form of culture. The classics of the economic theory of quality management from Taylor to Crosby and Freiegenbaum were seriously concerned with mobilizing the motivation of participants in production, correctly believing that it was the lifeblood of quality work. But they were realists and realistic experience told them: do not absolutize the moral factor, no matter how significant it is. Quality is created by free will, but is controlled administratively and legislatively. The legal aspect of achieving TQC objectives is very significant and requires constant attention.

Is it possible to imagine a situation where quality will be achieved only through the self-organization of the manufacturer, thanks to the team spirit, social dedication of each and every individual, and a high level of professional qualifications? The answer is at the discretion of the reader, but the hint suggests itself: it is possible. What happens? Is legal regulation unnecessary or unnecessary? No. A test fantasy does not take into account the production goal, which, by the way, is very competently spelled out in TQC. The goal of production is not the quality of the product (this is a crafty goal, self-deception). The goal of production is not the quality of production (this is also deceit). The goal of production is consumer satisfaction! Production, even in a natural economy, in which the producer and consumer are one and the same person, does not exist in itself and for itself. As for the commodity form of production, the consumer is the main figure in it.

Therefore, understanding quality is not the responsibility of the manufacturer alone. It is formed in the mutual interest of the manufacturer and consumer in the properties of the product (and its price) intended for sale. The manufacturer has one small advantage in relations with the consumer. It is not easy to use, but the chance is quite real. A manufacturer of technically complex products that require knowledge and qualifications to operate may try to shape the consumer's taste for it through educational and advertising activities. The mechanism is, of course, expensive, but it is unlikely to win the

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intense competition in the market any other way. The interests of the producer and the consumer do not always coincide, not immediately and not for long, because these are the interests of production subjects separated by the barricade of the market. The market is a ring for them. The manufacturer is interested in profit. The consumer is in preserving finances. One strives to fill the cash register, the other does not empty the wallet. At the same time, both look at quality as a reward for winning a battle. Legal regulation helps to give the fight a civilized character. Avoid deception.

The state cannot be aloof from events taking place in the market, because economics gives birth to politics; the movement of the market determines the movement of large social groups. And if today the class struggle has lost its relevance, then tomorrow the place of the proletariat and peasants will be taken by dissatisfied consumers - some with quality, some with price - the number of which will be no less, and the desire to win will be even greater. The state cannot deal with the fate of each citizen individually, and it is hardly advisable, but the fate of social groups should be in the zone of special attention of any state and always, unless, of course, the state itself wants to be in the zone of special attention of that main part of society. which in calm times is called the electorate, and in turbulent times - the people.

Quality is a policy, firstly, and only; secondly, it is a product of the intricacies of relationships in the market. Supporters of absolute market liberalization are "scientific" provocateurs of tension in social relations and "disruptors" of national security. All modern social experience confirms that participation in quality management is a function of the state and even interstate cooperation. An example is the Bologna Agreement. It was prepared by a social movement, but in order to give it real power as a controller of the quality of education, legitimized by the collective political will. "The state's attention should be focused on:

*intensification of the import substitution process by improving the quality of domestic products;

*increasing the production potential of enterprises, creating advanced technologies and new types of high-quality products, so that as the domestic market develops and integrates into the world economy, the share of Russian products in the domestic and foreign markets expands."

Updating the legal resources of the state throughout the vertical of political power in the field of quality management will undoubtedly contribute to the achievement of the following most important results:

*ensuring a high-quality standard of living for the population, without which there is clearly no way out of the demographic collage. In order to be among the leaders, it is not an absolute indication - a reserve

fund, a loan paid ahead of time, a loan, a part written off even for those who are not able to pay it in the foreseeable future - it is necessary to improve the quality of products and services in the social sphere;

*strengthening security, territorial integrity, preventing military aggression;

*strengthening Russia's position in international relations, greater agreement in economic partnerships;

*creating the image of Russia as a truly great, and not just a huge country;

*developing environmentally sound policies and economic practices.

Integrating the analysis of the real consequences of the intensification of state behavior in the quality market, we note the most important thing. This is the only effective way to ensure national security, that is, what stands in the ranking of the state's tasks above everything else, since achieving everything else is possible only in conditions of national sovereignty. A systematic approach to solving the quality problem in the USSR began to take shape in the 50s. The Saratov system of defect-free manufacturing of products, the NORM, KANARSPI, KS UKP systems were quite a successful experience in the socialist embodiment of the need to manage production quality. In the mid-60s, the Lvov initiative became widespread in the domestic industry, and was recognized as a "defect-free labor system" - STB. The highest achievement of the "struggle for quality", apparently, was the creation, based on a combination of a serious experiment (VNIIS) and a comprehensive generalization of practical work to improve the quality of work at leading Lviv enterprises, of an Integrated Product Quality Management System (KS UPK).

This system was the first where enterprise standards became the organizational and technical basis for product quality management. Unfortunately, the effectiveness of applying best practices was low. By the beginning of the 90s, only 10% of technical products for civilian use corresponded to the best foreign analogues. The state has large and different levels of influence on the quality of production and product quality. The legal mechanism in the hands of the state can influence both directly and indirectly the improvement of the quality of the production process. With the help of tax policy, it is possible to stimulate high-quality production and block low-quality production. By protecting consumers from low-quality products, the state actively prevents unscrupulous manufacturers from entering the market.

The basis for legal support for the quality of production in our state is the Constitution of the Russian Federation. The 1993 Constitution was developed in the midst of the redistribution of property and therefore its creators did everything to ensure that the provisions (articles) of the Supreme Law were extremely abstract and declarative. But in its abstract format, the Constitution of the Russian Federation did not ignore the rights of Russian citizens

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to quality goods. The corresponding articles are formulated to match the time of her birth, however, in this form, some certainty is present. Article 41 of the Constitution of the Russian Federation states: “Everyone has the right to health care.” Of course, it would be better to add “and a healthy lifestyle.” And even better: “the right to health protection and a healthy lifestyle of Russian citizens is guaranteed by the state.” However, in this option the “legitimate” interests of future oligarchs would suffer, so we settled on what we have. This article does not seem to have a direct relationship to legal quality management. There is an indirect one, mediated by the protection of the country’s population’s right to health.

Goods for immediate and long-term consumption must have the required level of quality so as not to cause harm to health. Otherwise, serious legal and financial sanctions are imposed on the manufacturer and seller. In order to ensure the protection of the right to health protection, all possible tolerances (MPC), sanitary and hygienic requirements, state standards for products, services, industry standards were developed, in combination with which the enterprises’ own “standards” (TU) were found. Control structures were created or

modernized ones inherited from socialist times. On the basis of the rights of citizens to quality goods proclaimed by the Constitution, a modern structure of legal support for quality management has been built. The state does not interfere in the technology of production quality management. Its activities are aimed at controlling the production method to eliminate the possibility of harm to the health of citizens (and non-citizens) and harm to the natural environment of human activity, as well as to prevent the appearance on the market of dangerous low-quality goods, consumer deception and legal regulation of relations between the seller (manufacturer) and the buyer in those situations that require such a measure.

The market is intended for environmental activities within the framework of normalized relations. Prices, priorities, demand, supply, advertising - all these are market mechanisms as long as they remain within the boundaries of economic relations that are moral to the same markets.

The scheme of legal support for quality management is shown in Figure 4.

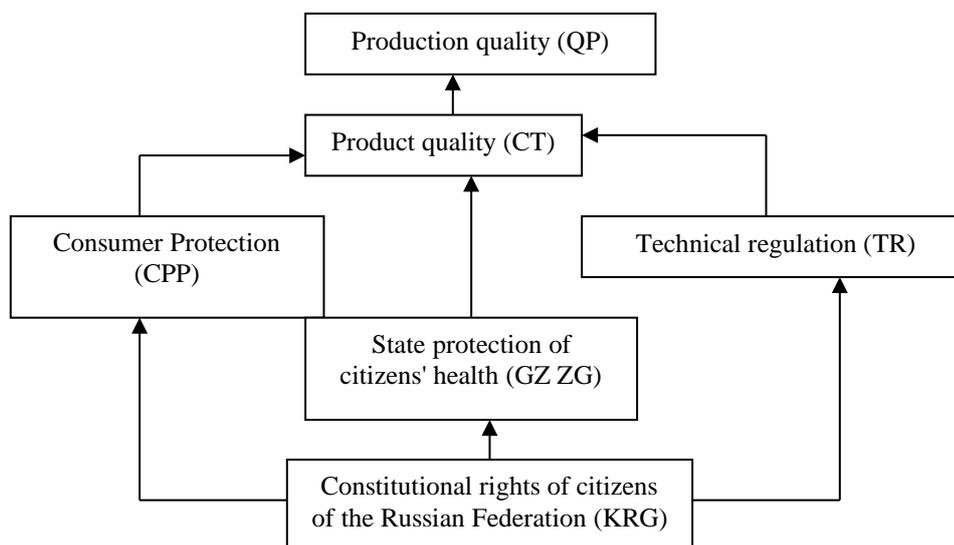


Figure 4 - Scheme of legal support for quality management

Many violations of economic relations necessarily lead to the intervention of law enforcement agencies designed to protect the affected entity within the framework of current legislation. Any act of “purchase and sale” is a subordinate action and the legislator or the executor must be involved in the process. Otherwise, the rights of the owner will suffer and the violator of market relations under jurisdiction will not receive punishment. The situation with legal support for quality management is complex. The market has divided the producer and the consumer, squeezing an intermediary (and more than

one) between them. In this connection, it is necessary to differentiate the concepts: “production quality”; “quality of goods produced”; and “quality of goods purchased” by the consumer. An intermediary – a “speculator” – is quite capable of violating technical conditions when delivering goods to the place of sale, storing goods, and preparing them for sale. As a result, the quality parameters of the product will change. The legal protection of consumers spells out all possible situations and measures of liability for the seller.

Legislation protecting consumer rights appeared in European countries and North America a long time

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ago and was polished over centuries. In its current state, it is quite effective that it forces violators to take it into account in order to avoid serious financial sanctions from deadly-like anti-advertising. Russian experience of legal regulation of relations in this area is much poorer, moreover, it developed in the specific conditions of the socialist market. The Law of the Russian Federation “On the Protection of Consumer Rights” was adopted in 1992 and was repeatedly edited (01/09/96; 12/17/99; 12/30/01) in order to make it more adequate to the developing economic situation. The subject whose interests are protected by this law is the consumer who purchased the product, or more precisely, the product that does not meet the entire set of consumer and technical characteristics. And the object of legal relations is the quality of the product. Thus, the Law has a double effect: it protects the buyer from low-quality products and protects the market from low-quality goods. The manufacturer (and intermediary) received a legal signal about the need to present quality products for market sale.

In the peripheral zone of interest of legislators there was also the intensification of the activities of a number of federal bodies: standardization, metrology and certification, sanitary and epidemiological supervision, environmental and natural resource protection. The categorical apparatus of the Law on the Protection of Consumer Rights consists of the following concepts: “consumer”, “manufacturer”, “seller”, “standard”, “defect of goods”, “significant defect of goods”, “product safety”. As we see, in the categorical apparatus of the law there is no mention of “quality”, despite the fact that it protects the consumer from low-quality goods, and in a doublet tries to protect the market from defects and counterfeit products. The developers of the ideology of the Law acted logically. They divided the content of the concept of “product quality” into components: “product manufacturer”, “executor”, “seller”, “standard”, “consumer”, building a system from them, the forming factor of which was “standard”.

The relationship between consumer and producer is regulated in the Law using the concept of “standard”, which is subject to change in a certain system of units. “Standards” are meant to exist at two levels: universal, state-controlled, and industry-specific, private, established independently by manufacturers, and having passed the necessary certification procedures. According to the logic of building subordination relations, the requirements of a higher level of organization are guidelines for the rest of the “pyramid”. In case of a contradiction, the advantage belongs to the one (or what) is higher, i.e. more important. It was unnecessary to introduce the concept of “quality (of a product)” into the conceptual apparatus of the Law. It was successfully replaced by the more verifiable concept of “standard”. At the same time, reminding all market participants from the manufacturer and performer to the consumer who is

boss. From a philosophical and economic point of view, the main drawback of the law is the locality of its purpose. The state is still hypnotized by the effectiveness of the economic liberalism of the American model, overly delicate in expressing its economic interests, forgetting that these interests are not of government, but of the people of Russia. The state, especially the executive branch as the top manager, should realize the interests of the people, instead of fearing being misunderstood by foreign partners. Foreign partners tighten the screws tightly when necessary.

The state should introduce an economic policy regarding quality on a larger scale, then its effect will be more significant and the private judicial practice that has examined private claims against the seller regarding low-quality goods will be sharply reduced. A private lawsuit for a manufacturer of low-quality products and a wholesaler who runs it on the market is as early as a mosquito squeak. It is necessary to protect the market from low-quality goods, as H. Ford Sr. once did when he entrusted the “rejection phase” to special production, taking quality control out of the main production process. As a result, the assembly line no longer received low-quality components. The state does not need to strive to be a subject of the market, it needs to be above the market, stimulating producers of quality goods, and not allowing low-quality goods into the market. In the first case, economic incentives are required, in the second, administrative and criminal sanctions. Now the state approaches the problems of quality management, as if in a half-turn, modestly distancing itself. It is necessary to turn your face to it and take on quality, “rolling up your sleeves.” Only then will a time come when ministers will not be able to use their power to postpone the execution of the president’s instructions for years.

The modern economy is increasingly called “smart,” “lean,” and innovative. This is a more understandable definition in comparison with “post-industrial”, but how adequately it characterizes its state is not an idle question. Character is manifested in development and determines economic policy planning. The latest crisis clearly shows:

firstly, that planning is not just compatible with the market method of economic management, it is necessary to prevent and mitigate the negative phenomena generated by undivided economic freedom, bordering on arbitrariness;

secondly, the ongoing crisis has revealed the limitations of the desire to present the built economy as “smart”. There must be a smart economy; it is impossible to build it with just the mind.

The central figure of commodity production is not finance, as many politicians, including domestic ones, believe. Money is just the equivalent of a commodity and will forever remain so. A commodity creates labor, which in turn is also a commodity.

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Consequently, the movement of production is rooted in the total expression of human activity, first of all, the work of consciousness, its potential. The mind is not equivalent to consciousness. The mind is a tool for constructing consciousness. "Smart consciousness is knowledgeable, cunning, mobile - but nothing more. The mind, like any force, needs a vector that directs the application of the mind, the construction of consciousness. The role of the vector is played by values: professional, national, universal. Consciousness fuses them into a unique personal expression. There is no "smart" economy if it is not placed on a value foundation. The main thing in personality - the decisive factor in social reproduction - is its morality. Not everyone is given the opportunity to be top managers, general designers, or VIPs in politics. Someone must work with their brains, someone with their hands. Trouble comes when the "brains" and "hands" become sticky and things that are not supposed to stick to them. Immorality undermines the foundations of professional culture and professional activity is transformed from a creative force into its opposite - it destroys what has been created. The smart economy could be a scary reality if it continues to be immoral. We are not utopians or idealists; we understand well the concrete historical situation of morality. Now we are not talking about equality and brotherhood - exclusively about conscience and responsibility. The economy can and should be, first of all, responsible and "conscientious", then "smart".

While free competition is subject to calculations - how to more effectively deceive a partner, consumer, competitors and... the state; is built on corruption and lobbying, manipulation of the work of media sources, which are natural for the development of the market. Cyclical, economic crises will grow unnatural - systemic. The system-forming factor of the latter is the dishonesty and irresponsibility of the largest producers. A classic of the genre: "greed ruined the fraternity" - looks like a child's prank compared to what American and multinational companies have created.

But what should the state, called upon to be the social guarantor of a democratic society and protector of the rights of citizens, undertake? It was forced to "add fuel to the fire" - to subsidize businesses that had gone bankrupt due to scams in order to avoid economic and social collapse. True, European leaders simultaneously sent "firemen" to the "sources of the fire"; they made the further work of the companies at fault dependent on moral principles; they introduced moral and financial regulations designed to sober up the businessmen who had lost all measure. It is symptomatic: it was France and Germany - the initiators of strict moral and financial monitoring - that were the first to feel signs of economic recovery. England and the United States, more affected by corruption and less prone to moral dictates, continue

to reap the benefits of freedom from conscience and social responsibility of their tycoons.

Russia, as one would expect, missed a real opportunity to use the crisis to revitalize national industry. First they poured funds into the banks, then they took very vague actions in order to awaken the conscience and responsibility of bankers. As if he had forgotten that a banker without liquidity and with liquidity are "two big differences." There was a chance, at the expense of national funds, to force banks to be a financial lever for the rise of industrial production, science, and technical creativity in the country. It was necessary not to pray for the banks - to raise the banks with rubles (currency). Naively hopes that, having had enough, the "wolves", instead of continuing to rob, will begin to serve their savior. As a result, the currency earned on the world market flowed back and we had to "start all over again."

How many more opportunities do we have to step on the same rake standing in the same corner? Of course, there is a margin of safety. The situation can be changed by uniting the mind - we have plenty of it - and conscience - the deficit of which has grown surprisingly quickly over the years of democratic reforms. The reason for this situation should be sought in economic chaos and the disproportionate growth of the administrative apparatus. It turns out strange: the more officials there are, the less effective the management is - the dynamics are obvious, but the course remains the same. Our lag behind someone is natural. In the historical peleton, subjects have their place, change places - this is how it should be. It is a tragedy for national development to lag behind the times, to lose a place in the "peleton." In the "eight" we were eighth, but in the "eight".

Time will tell what we will be like in 5-10 years in the G20. Economically, we are no longer eighth there, but still maintain our place in the top ten. But in the memory of most Russians, it's time when the USSR was second in the world economic rankings. History does not return, but this is not a reason to forget history. Whatever the continuation of the story, it is its continuation. By abandoning national traditions, you can end up with nothing. Not only the Second World War is falsified, the scientific, technical and industrial achievements of the country are distorted and hushed up. Faith in national forces and the ability of the people to regain lost positions are being undermined. The current situation is extremely complex, however, it is no more critical than those turning points in Russian history that seemed without origin: the devastation after the civil war, the loss of the most developed territories in the first years of the Great Patriotic War, aggravated by the colossal casualties among the working-age population and specialists.

Back then there was no finance available as start-up capital today. Therefore, the solution to the problem of creating a modern economy technically

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rests on the need to develop an effective system of management and control over the implementation of adopted programs. The program replaced the plan. And what came to replace responsibility for the failure of the plan? The lack of an effective control system is the most serious defect of the current economic policy, which allows amateurs to lead while feeling in control. Reviving the economy under the current conditions of professional irresponsibility is impossible. Only professionalism and the associated responsibility for the business you serve are capable of making the necessary transition to a new economic quality, building an economical and mobile economy on the basis of the comprehensive development of science, stimulating technical progress and improving professional training. The economy of the 21st century can be called differently. The essence of the definition is not in the name - in the content of the concept. The diversification of names shows the versatility of the modern economy. It is methodologically significant to identify the leading link or links in this set. Undoubtedly, the quality of the economy is among the obvious contenders.

The presence of quality in the characteristics of any phenomenon is invariant, since quality combines its most essential features. At the same time, it should be clearly understood that the quality itself changes - it is historically specific. Accordingly, the idea of quality is changing - and must change. From the first attempts of A. Fayol, G. Ford and F. Taylor to put the quality of goods under control, which were crowned with serious success, it became theoretically clear: the future of the quality of the economy lies in activity. The determining factor for the economy will be not so much the quality of the goods accepted for production, but the quality of the organization and management of its high-quality production. For crafts and small-scale production, the quality of the sample and commercial product is combined with technology, which is usually unchanged. Here, quality depends entirely on mastery of equipment and adherence to the declared technology in conditions of limited production scale. Often the master, technologist, manager and marketer are one and the same person.

G. Ford was the first to put the production of a complex product on stream, dividing operations and responsibility, and thereby determined a turn in the fate of quality. From now on, the fate of quality was determined by "introduced" factors - production organization, management and control. What came to the fore was not the skill of the direct producer, but the ability to skillfully organize production, including its expanded reproduction, that is, supply, marketing, and personnel management. Diversification of activities revealed its special position in achieving quality results. The Second World War confirmed: personnel and management decide everything!

Since the 1950s, the search for quality management programs through the quality of

activities has sharply intensified. If at the beginning of the twentieth century the technical regulation of the product and components became relevant, then half a century later there was a qualitative clarification of the meaning of technical regulation. The focus of interest is now the technical regulation of the organization and management of production, which is confirmed by the modern international system of quality regulation. The shift in the center of gravity in the understanding of economic policy aimed at ensuring the qualitative sustainability of production towards technical regulation of activities did not come without costs and dead-end routes, which in principle was expected. Activities united by production are not homogeneous and not autonomous, therefore the solution of problems is "buried" in methodological and theoretical "deficiencies" of professional thinking.

The concept of "key activities" was first substantiated by A. Feigenbaum. His book Total Quality Control was published in 1951. ISO 9000 and ISO 14000 were developed on the basis of proposals by A. Feigenbaum. It was assumed that both series of international standards would help move from "enterprises-conglomerates" to "enterprises-systems".

In the process of development of industrial production, under the influence of scientific and technological progress, a contradiction in the rate of change in the material side and the evolution of management thought regarding the organization and harmonization of the production process has accelerated and intensified. The latter clearly did not keep up with the former, slowing down progress and increasing risks and costs. The rigidity of central planning only made the situation worse, which explains the stagnation of the 1970s and the decline of the 1980s. The organizational chart of the "enterprise-conglomerate" did not fit well into the transition to a systematic organization of the enterprise's work, primarily because it did not activate initiative and creative potential. It is no coincidence that the "shock workers," "innovators," and "rationalizers" in the USSR were predominantly engaged in party, Komsomol, and trade union organizations, which essentially stood outside the framework of direct production and formed a superstructure over it.

A simplified organizational chart of such an enterprise looks like this (Figure 5).

A management design scheme in which the main production units are functionally autonomous and connected indirectly through a common manager, in an anti-system manner. When someone designs something, others must produce it, others must control the quality, and others must sell the product on the market, it divides the production participants, and blocks the creative alliance. Everyone is a nominal participant in the process and has little idea of who is doing what and why. There is no team spirit, everyone

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acts on their own, at their own peril and risk, often at the expense of colleagues, exposing the latter.

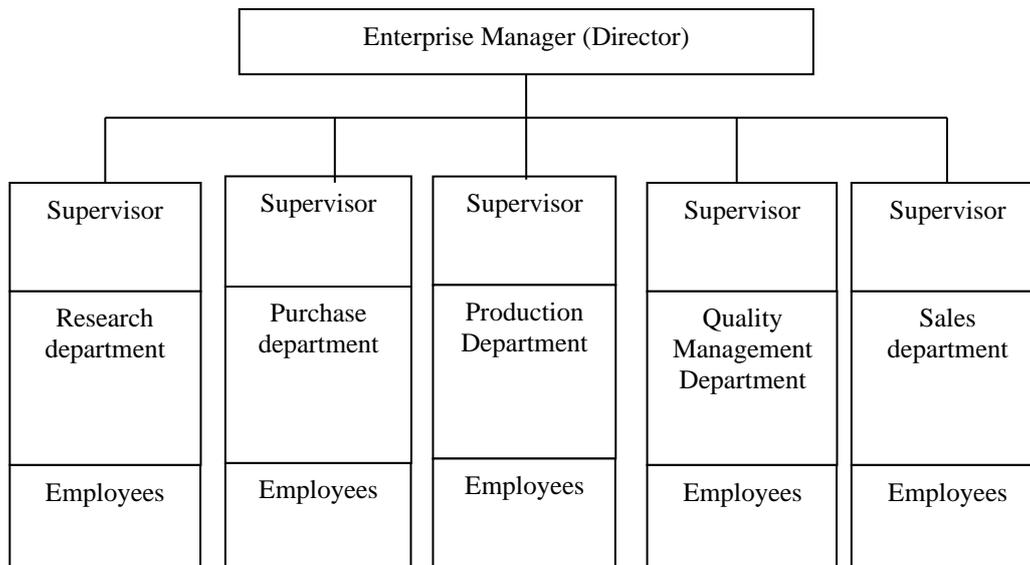


Figure 5. Organizational chart of the enterprise

The fundamental misconception of managers of “conglomerate enterprises” is the belief that their “brains” should be enough to timely recognize and correct force majeure in the production process. The management scheme of an “enterprise-conglomerate” essentially coincides, despite the presence of a specialized department, with the quality management scheme, because the functions of the quality management department are reduced mainly to control activities.

In 1924, W. Shewhart proposed optimizing this method of management using the principles of the theory of statistical variation, providing managers with a statistical control chart. The improvement in work did not take long to affect the results, but the matter was limited to partial changes for the better. The “philosophy of the theory of variation”, rather than being used as a basis for management, has been reduced to the level of statistical tools used by technicians with limited and very specialized areas of responsibility. Ignorance of the theory of behavior of industrial processes made management unable to correctly recognize situations that did or did not require action. This made management extremely vulnerable to three types of costly management mistakes:

- * treating all variations in the output parameters of the process as unexpected behavior and suppressing, in fact, their imaginary causes, which leads to destabilization of the process;

- *attitude to all variations in the output parameters of the process as natural manifestations and inaction regarding the detection and suppression

of the causes that cause them, which leads to unstable behavior;

- *the assumption that process optimization and stabilization are technical solutions that are entirely the responsibility of a specific department, rather than a solution to an organizational problem that requires the full support of management and the efforts of several departments.”

Restructuring enterprise management to the principles of systemic organization ensures:

- * interconnection of key activities so that various departments of enterprises are consistently involved in coordinating actions, for example, to review product quality taking into account specific comments from consumers, improving staff training, advertising campaigns, etc.;

- *integrating other processes into key activities;

- *integration of new key activities into existing ones.

A dangerous misconception when constructing the management of an “enterprise-system” is the interpretation of optimality as the sum of optimal restructuring of individual divisions. In this case, the enterprise is still considered as a conglomerate, a sum of departments playing their own special role. There is no view of activity as an integration of all its components. A new term “quality revolution” is increasingly being used in European literature. We will not discuss how adequately it captures the dynamics of policies aimed at improving the quality of production; we will only note that involving the concept of “revolution” in the study seems quite natural. Comparing modern quality management

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practices with the not so distant past clearly indicates a radical restructuring of the understanding of quality technology. The “quality revolution” differentiates into four stages:

- 1960s – the stage of self-determination of the quality of goods as the main factor of market competition;
- 1970s – a shift from the dominance of product quality to the quality of technology and production;
- 1980s – transition from the quality of technology and production to the quality of the “quality system” or “quality management system”;
- 1990s – ascent to the quality of education, the quality of intellectual resources.

The Europeans' path to the Bologna agreements was long and difficult. He exposed many shortcomings and contradictions. In particular:

*the obvious gap between the requirements of society in industrialized countries to the education system and its capabilities;

* the discrepancy between the fact that the most significant discoveries and inventions are made mainly at the intersection of sciences; and education is based on the division of subjects;

* insufficient mobility of the organization of retraining of specialists, its increasing lag behind the acceleration of changes in technology, technology, science;

*inertia in the development of new educational paradigms, programs, methods, lag in the development of new educational literature.

However, there has been serious progress - three levels of ensuring the quality of education have been identified and balanced: university, national and European. The intellectualization of the economy, enhanced by the transformation of science into a direct force of production, which experts of the 21st century love to talk about, has exposed the fundamental contradiction of human consciousness between intelligence and decency. Philosophers sought its resolution in the rationality of homo sapiens, emphasizing the basic function of morality. Hypertrophying the activity of consciousness due to the actualization of intellectual abilities, emphasizing the creative powers of the mind, reducing consciousness to thinking, supporters of the “smart” economy do not see or do not want to see the dependence of the mind on morality, and contrast the role of the mind with the meaning of moral values. We have already noted that the power of knowledge can only have its own vector on a private scale. In systemic terms, the power of knowledge is directed by the indigenous, and not by the private and corporate interests of the manufacturer. Morality was formed as the first derivative of labor as a way first of survival, then of development of humanity. The main criterion of social progress cannot be production efficiency - this is a purely economic parameter. Man is a social

being and the degree of his achievements is determined by how much the movement strengthens human relations - first of all, moral ones.

Economic activity should be wise when the mind is closed not on itself, but on aggregate, personal, national and universal interests. It's time to understand that it is dangerous to hold humanity for masses of idiots and build corporate happiness with someone else's “hands.” Without strict moral regulations that subordinate all other aspects of human existence, there is no historical perspective. The mind is valid only in the form of an operator, clearing the path to the economy of the future. If someone likes to call the economy of the future smart, intellectual, then it is necessary to clarify that by smart we mean a reasonable economy, built not on cunning and private benefits. The current crisis has shown the vulnerability of democratic relations. The freedom to act that led to the crisis was opened up by the amorphous nature of democratic postulates, not by intelligent worship of the regulatory abilities of the market, or by inadequate perception of the actions of the “powers that be.” Innovations in economic construction express the new thinking of humanity, merging intelligence and morality.

The Chinese and Indians will be the first to build an innovative economy, that is, those peoples who have retained the authority of moral values in their minds, subordinating scientific and technological achievements to national interests. It is they who in the near future will “shod” both Europeans and Americans, and, apparently, us too! One hundred and fifty years ago, K. Marx wrote: “In our time, everything seems to be fraught with its opposite. Even the pure light of science cannot, apparently, shine except against the gloomy background of ignorance. All our discoveries and all our progress seem to lead to the fact that material forces are endowed with intellectual life, and human life, deprived of its intellectual side, is reduced to the level of simple material force. This antagonism between modern industry and science, on the one hand, modern poverty and decline, on the other, this antagonism between the productive forces and social relations of our era is a tangible, inevitable and indisputable fact.”

One may not share the communist conclusion of K. Marx, but one thing is indisputable - he is absolutely right in assessing the socio-economic situation of the mid-19th century. A restructuring in public consciousness was and remains necessary. Money should not rise above morality, otherwise the main citadel - homo sapiens - his wisdom will collapse. The validity of K. Marx's conclusions is confirmed by the socio-economic situation that has developed today in the Russian footwear industry. The liberalization of foreign economic relations played a fatal role in the disaster that occurred. On the one hand, a flood of better quality imported shoes poured in, as a result of which Russian shoes ceased to be in

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demand. On the other hand, taking advantage of the right to set any prices, our manufacturers raised them to the level of prices for imported shoes, but the quality level remained the same. And for this reason they also stopped buying it. The government should have intervened to protect its producers (with cheap loans and customs barriers), but this was not done. The government did not help due to the prevailing erroneous beliefs: our light industry is uncompetitive, there is nothing to invest in it, it will cost less if it is imported from abroad. In general, the government considered the light industry, like agriculture, a “black hole” unworthy of investment. Both here and there we got what we have today.

When we hear about the protection of Russian manufacturers of anything: machines and cars, clothing and shoes, food and furniture, etc., we always think about the shadow side of the coin from such innovations: the quality of goods. Shoe companies lose the incentive to improve and update their range of shoes, since in the absence of imports people will take whatever they want. But manufacturers have something else in mind: decriminalization of clothing and footwear entering the domestic market. The demand of the Russian light industry market with a total volume of 1250 billion rubles is formed from the following sources: 230 billion rubles (18.4%) - Russian legal manufacturers; 240 billion rubles (19.2%) – legal imports; 780 billion rubles (62.4%) are illegally imported and produced counterfeit goods, the same picture is typical for the shoe market. Today, the population of Russia purchases about 600 million pairs of shoes, the domestic industry produced only 52 million pairs (46 million pairs in 2021), 100 million pairs are officially imported. Where do the remaining four hundred plus million come from? Imported through all sorts of illegal routes, i.e. There remains a huge volume of shoes that would be in demand if domestic shoe companies were provided with financial support and legal protection.

Why is there no end to those who want to invest in the oil and gas industry? Why are car companies coming to Russia? Why are there people willing to invest even in agriculture? And why, against the backdrop of all these “why don’t investors go into light industry?”

The general answer is: there is no favorable environment for investors. That’s why everything is fine with the creation of joint ventures in the oil and gas and automotive industries, because ministers and governors monitor each enterprise there. And here officials will be afraid to take bribes and will not chase investors around the bureaucratic circle. And the opening of light industry enterprises, due to their small volumes, is entirely in the hands of officials. In addition, foreign Firms argue: why create enterprises in Russia, take risks, when our goods are already sold well there? And Russian and Western companies go to China, where there are ideal conditions for investment; where there is cheap,

disciplined labor; where there is a stable favorable tax system.

Today, equipment at light industry enterprises is extremely worn out. The renewal rate in recent years has been 0.4 – 0.6% per year. While at foreign enterprises, technological equipment is replaced every 5–7 years, that is, 15–20% annually. How can you compete here? Funds are needed for technical re-equipment of the industry. They can either be earned by the enterprises themselves, or provided in the form of loans, or come from foreign investors. The capabilities of the enterprises themselves are very limited. Loans from commercial banks are expensive, the government does not encourage preferential lending, and foreign investors, as already mentioned, are not coming into the industry. Hence the answer to the question, what to do?

Firstly, provide loans to enterprises at minimal interest, or even better - without it (as for food-producing farms under the national project “Development of the Agro-Industrial Complex”).

Secondly, to create such conditions so that foreign companies enter the light industry, bringing, in addition to capital, their design, production culture, management, etc.

It should be noted that the last twenty years have shown: light industry enterprises are very responsive to the slightest attention from the authorities to them, to changes in market conditions. Take 2008, for example, which was famous for its default. Imports became more expensive, and light industry immediately revived. There was growth for three years. Another example. Exceptionally low export duties on raw hides led to their massive export abroad. Leather and shoe factories found themselves without raw materials. In 2009, a protective duty was introduced on the export of leather up to 500 euros per ton (instead of 100 euros). As a result, the production of finished leather in Russia increased from 1.1 to 2.2 billion square meters. decimeters. Instead of importing leather goods, they began to export them. In favor of the fact that the resuscitation of light industry is not only necessary, but also possible, as evidenced today by examples of the successful work of individual industry enterprises in the Southern Federal District and North Caucasian Federal District, both old and newly created. Let's name at least a few. Novorossiysk shoe factory "Breeze - Bosphorus" (General Director - I.K. Zykov), the enterprise was created in a "naked place", produces 16 million pairs of shoes per year and all shoes are in demand. Rostov enterprise "Gloria Jeans" (general director - V.V. Melnikov). It is also new, it started as a cooperative. It produces products worth 7 billion rubles (up to 10% of all Russian sewing goods and up to 30% of children's goods). His products are sold abroad, including to the USA.

So, as soon as “Rodina” lends its shoulder, its light industry, which finds itself in such a difficult situation, will start working, especially in the Southern Federal District and North Caucasus Federal District.

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We are not even talking about the fact that the revival of the light industry would help solve the social problems of the small towns of the Southern Federal District and North Caucasian Federal District, where more than 16 million people live today. Here, with the beginning of the reform, small factories (branches of associations) were the first to die. But they seem small on a national or industry scale. While for a regional center of 10–20 thousand people, some shoe factory with 300 employees is a large, city-forming enterprise that not only provided money to the budget and produced goods necessary for the population, but also provided a decent life for many residents of a small town or a regional center, and the factories are not became. It is unlikely that automobile factories or branches of defense factories will ever be built in these cities, but light industry ones are welcome. But so far, as far as we know, the government is not even discussing this problem.

There is no concern about yet another problem, or even a threat, that has arisen in connection with the collapse of the light industry. Previously, every light industry enterprise, like any other, had mobilization reserves (equipment, tools, materials, etc.), which made it possible within 24 hours in the event of the outbreak of war to switch to producing the products necessary for the army. Instead of dress shoes, sew tarpaulin boots, instead of suits and coats - tunics and overcoats, instead of "fashionable sheepskin coats" - soldier's sheepskin coats, etc. God forbid this happens - we will have nothing to dress and shoe our army in, especially since the Southern Federal District and the North Caucasus Federal District, a border district with a difficult situation. This is another reason why it is necessary to take the light industry seriously. A very acute situation has arisen regarding the provision of children's shoes. The majority of Russian shoe factories continue to reduce the production of children's shoes due to high price increases caused by the abolition of subsidies from the Federal budgets, and some shoe factories, including those in the Southern and North Caucasus districts, have stopped production altogether. In 2022, compared to 2021, the production of children's shoes decreased by 21%.

In the consumer market of the Southern Federal District and North Caucasian Federal District, domestic manufacturers of goods for children have been actively replaced by foreign suppliers who can afford to transfer shoes for sale with the condition of payment after their actual sale. However, the flow of beautiful and fashionable children's shoes that has poured into our markets from abroad, most of them do not have certificates of conformity, not to mention hygiene certificates, which is a crime against children. Consumer demand acts as the main factor influencing the formation of the assortment, which, in turn, is aimed at maximizing expansion and satisfying the demand of the population. Consumer demand

combines a whole group of indicators that will form their own niche for domestic footwear, namely:

taking into account age characteristics and work activity:

- children's footwear;
- shoes for the elderly;
- leisure shoes;
- special purpose footwear;
- office shoes.

for a socially vulnerable group of people:

- shoes for unemployed people receiving social benefits;
- shoes for pensioners;
- shoes for people with chronic diseases.

taking into account the characteristics of the regions:

- national footwear;
- exclusive shoes;
- elite shoes.

Thus, the implementation of the requirements of the main parameters that shape consumer demand will make it possible to form distinctive features that the new range of shoes will have to satisfy. The parameters that determine demand include:

- comparative competitive advantages: the product must have distinct features or distinct advantages compared to existing analogues, products, or services of competitors on the market;

- social orientation: it is necessary that the product fits into the existing social conditions, so that the proposed product corresponds to the existing lifestyle and value system of the consumer;

- ability to satisfy the consumer: the product must perform all functions to satisfy the key needs and requests of the buyer. The following set of measures is proposed:

- *Creation* regional program for the development and maintenance of domestic shoe production in the district;

- *Adoption* measures to reduce imported footwear into the region. These measures should include, first of all, the suppression of trade in footwear imported through smuggling and without permission for its sale on local markets;

- *help* in the employment of young specialists and university graduates at existing and newly created shoe enterprises;

- *help* enterprises in the process of promoting domestic shoe brands in local markets. First of all, it is necessary to develop a competent marketing strategy for regional shoe enterprises;

- *Creation* a special lending program for regional light industry enterprises, taking into account the specifics of production: the seasonal nature of the products sold and the peculiarities of the turnover of working capital by enterprises in the industry.

In our opinion, for the successful implementation of all of the above measures, the

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interest of both federal and regional branches of government in the organization and development of the footwear cluster is necessary, which will provoke a reduction in prices for component materials, energy costs and transport, providing the manufacturer with a price niche to offer to domestic consumers popular and competitive shoes. All this together will ensure this formation a long life and stable positions not only in domestic, but, most importantly, in foreign markets. All that is needed is the good will and interest of all participants in the implementation of the proposed activities. Such progress has been made; what is now required is the strong will and desire of the interested parties.

And again, the quality of domestic goods is the main base, the basis for the success of modern domestic enterprises. This conclusion has the right to life, because quality is the most ancient value of humanity. And it is precisely because of the quality of Russian goods, services, and the quality of management that we are losing in global competition. Have you seen complex products anywhere in the world with the inscription made in Russia? We didn't see it either. We have long hoped for a worldwide ISO system. Alas, in Russian conditions it has slipped into crisis. Sorry, dear colleagues from the world of quality certification, but it's time to publicly list what it has become and what almost everyone recognizes among themselves:

- an immense number of documents, to navigate in which there is no strength;
- the meaninglessness of many of them (for example, according to the conditions ISOs require job descriptions and everyone is rushing to do what—then sketch them out, and then forget them without a trace);
- one entrepreneur once said: “We are certified inISO”. And then he added: “Don't think about it, we were certified by such and such a Norwegian company.” Can you guess what we're talking about? Yes, selling certificates. Not everyone sells, of course, but reputation is not accidental.

So now, you say, why not deal with quality? No, you just need to understand that the light has not converged like a wedge on ISO. Let's agree on terms. Quality – what is it? Compliance with standards, the majority will answer. Of course, where standards are possible, this is the case. Although the standards have tolerances. And the difference between the upper and lower divisions in these tolerances can be significant. And there are also limits to standardization. Let's say contact with a client. Everyone knows that the quality of such contact is critically important for the success of a business when prices, assortment, and terms are aligned under the pressure of competition. A certain set of friendly words, a dress code, etc. can be considered a standard. Although we know very well what they cover. The current passion for describing business processes is also gradually approaching

absurdity. And where—then it has already reached it: at different companies we already encounter a strict description of the interview not only when applying for a job, but even the standard for meetings and negotiations.

Now a different approach is emerging: quality is meeting the needs of the client, the user. Whoever buys evaluates it. You just need to understand more precisely what exactly he values. If you hit—here it is, the required quality, i.e. the degree of consumer satisfaction with the properties of the product.

But this approach is limited and dates back to the last century. Then the formula was considered indisputable: the buyer is always right. In our time, another imperative is much more correct: the buyer does not know our capabilities. What are we leading to? The understanding of quality as compliance (with a standard, with a need) is becoming outdated. Today, it becomes much more meaningful to understand it as a comparison with another product or with the same, but the same one. Comparison gives the superiority of a product over a product, a service over a service, a specialist over a specialist, an organization over an organization. Comparison with a standard or need does not imply superiority. Only equality is possible there. Standard and need indicate the minimum. And who needs the minimum? Few. But excellence is interesting to everyone, because the law of increasing needs is inexorable. In practice, this means switching the quality assessment system to levels.

This is the quality vertical. It may allow more degrees. And one more thing: it's time to abandon the idea that any quality can be measured. Everything can be assessed, but little of what is important to us can be measured.

Figure 6 presents a model of an integrated process for managing the quality of products and services produced both in individual regions and in the footwear industry as a whole. The model is a closed control (regulation) system that implements the “deviation” regulation principle. In our case, the function of the regulator is performed by the “Measures to ensure a given level of quality of products and services” link, which models the enterprise's quality management system, the production quality service, the actions of which take into account the assessment of product quality and the recommendations of the competition commission.

As can be seen from Figure 6, the quality Q of products produced and supplied to the market is formed in the process of their production as a result of measures to improve production, improve the quality of products and services carried out by the quality service and quality management units, targeted actions, which in turn are determined by the results of the assessment products in the process of their sale.

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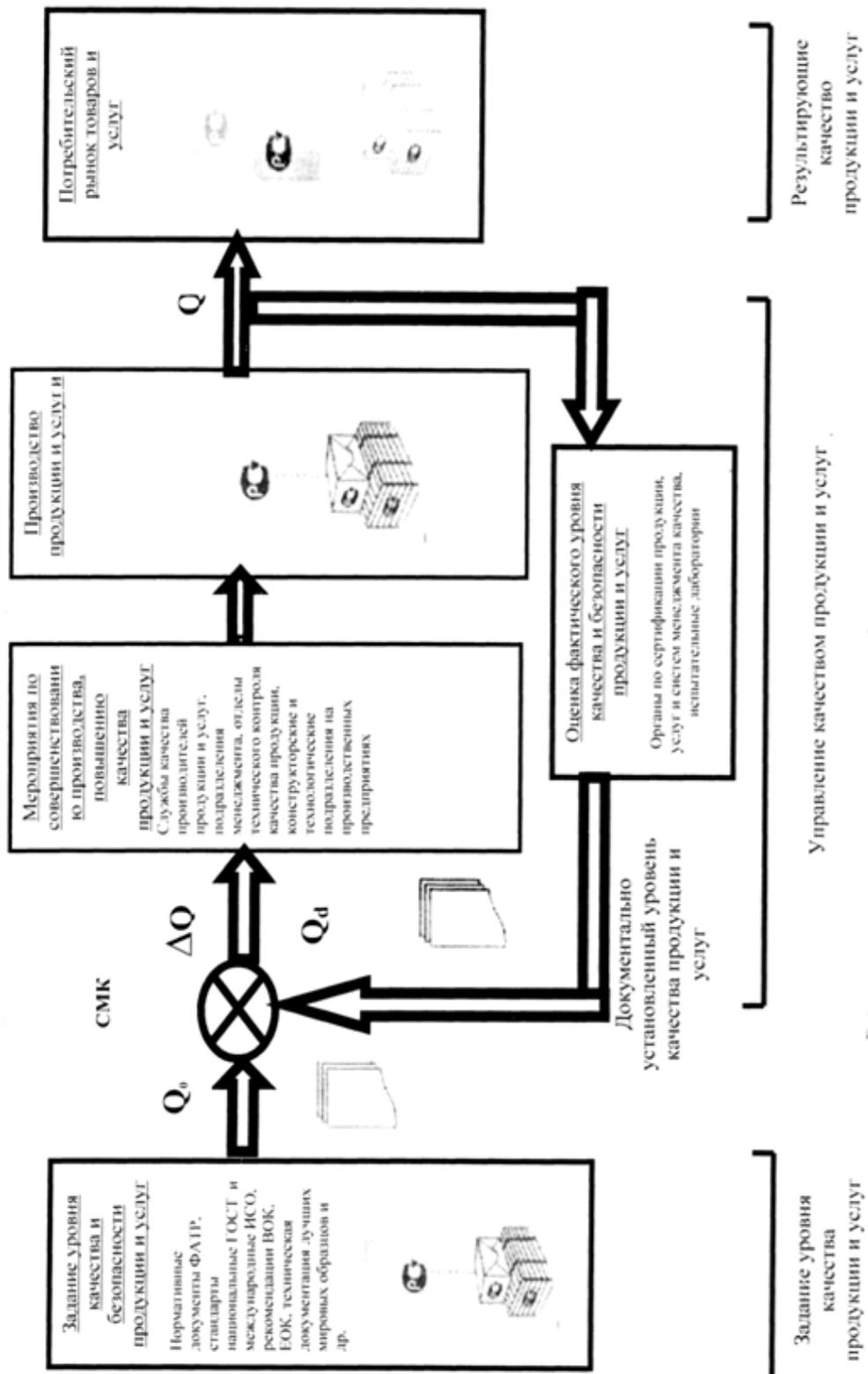


Figure 6. Model of an integrated process for managing the quality of products and services in the region

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In the new economic conditions, only production that actively and dynamically responds to emerging problems is progressive. The principle of “producing only what is needed, when needed, and as much as needed” requires adaptation of shoe factories to the conditions of producing products in small batches with frequent changes in the assortment of shoes, i.e. to the conditions of a wide range of small-scale production. The efficiency of a shoe company, and in many ways its ability to survive in competition, depends on the ability to quickly and cost-effectively adapt to the production of shoes in accordance with fluctuations in demand. Great opportunities for this open up the development and implementation of flexible production systems.

Technological and organizational flexibility of production systems determines the variable potential of enterprises, their ability to quickly and adequately respond to changes in market conditions and acts as a mechanism for optimizing the structure of the technological system in order to reduce the cost of footwear. Thus, the development of flexible technological processes for the production of leather goods ensures high efficiency in the multi-product production of footwear and will provoke a sharp increase in demand for the products of shoe enterprises in the Southern Federal District. The same problems are typical for other sectors of light industry. The diseases are common, and their treatment may have some slight differences, but the consciousness and desire to get them out of this swamp is only possible if Rodina lends a helping hand and the light industry starts working successfully again, because the basic values in society:

- professional;
- national;
- universal.

Conclusion

It is necessary to revive the role and importance of a quality-oriented strategy, since only in this case will enterprise managers be subjectively and objectively forced to improve their production using nanotechnology and innovative processes so that competitive and in-demand materials and products fully satisfy the needs of domestic consumers. At the same time, the assertion that the consumption of domestic materials and products is regulated by the market is justified. In this case, market requirements should be dictated to manufacturers by the need to increase the role of the state and consumers in creating sustainable demand for domestic materials and products, namely: maintaining a range of goods, regulating it with federal, regional and municipal orders; stimulate price stability; increase consumer power and gradually improve their quality. The implementation of these tasks will create the basis for the consumer to realize the need to pay for the benefits of high-quality materials and products, and for the

manufacturer to realize that improving the quality of materials and products cannot be associated only with rising prices, but also through technical innovations aimed at the use of new technological and engineering solutions, including making a quality revolution, either through the quality of advertising, or through real quality. It is equally important to understand the role and significance of quality activities, that is, to what extent managers have penetrated into the essence of things, learned to manage things, change their properties (assortment), form, forcing to serve people without significant damage to nature, for the benefit and in the name of man, that is, in accordance with the requirements of the Federal Law “On Technical Regulation”. Both political leaders and the government have recently spoken about the need for a competent industrial policy. However, if we carefully examine the regulatory and methodological documents on the structural restructuring of industry, the thought arises whether we are not stepping on the same rake that we have been stepping on all the years of reforms, namely: we did not care about our manufacturer. World-renowned quality specialist E. Deming, who at one time was a scientific consultant to the Japanese government and led Japan out of the economic crisis, in his book “Out of the Crisis” says: “... managing paper money, not a long-term production strategy - the path to the abyss.”

Regarding whether the state needs to pursue an industrial policy, one can cite the statement of the outstanding economist of the past, Adam Smith, who 200 years ago laid the foundations for the scientific analysis of a market economy. He said about the role of the state: “... only it can, in the interests of the nation, limit the greed of monopolists, the adventurism of bankers and the selfishness of merchants.” You can't say more precisely. What are the results of economic activity today, what are the achievements in this area? Growth in gold and foreign exchange reserves, reduction in inflation, budget surplus and other financial and economic achievements. But what, is this the end result of public administration, and not the quantity and quality of goods and services sold on the domestic and foreign markets and the solvency of the population to purchase these goods and services? And, ultimately, not the quality of life of the country's population?

Therefore, it is quite natural that today the task is being set for all levels of the executive and legislative authorities - improving the quality of life of Russian citizens. Let us conduct an enlarged factor analysis of the “quality of life” problem. The quality of life of citizens depends on the quality of consumed goods and services in the full range - from birth to ritual services, as well as on the solvency of citizens, which allows them to purchase quality goods and services. The above two factors (quality and solvency) depend on the state of the country's economy, which in turn depends on the efficiency of enterprises in various

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sectors of the economy, including light industry. The efficiency of enterprises depends on the state of management, on the level of application of modern management methods, on the implementation of production quality requirements.

The problems of improving the quality and competitiveness of materials and products at the present stage of development of the Russian economy are becoming increasingly important. As the experience of advanced countries that at one time emerged from similar crises shows (the USA in the 30s, Japan, Germany in the post-war period, later South Korea and some other countries), in all cases the basis for industrial policy and recovery The economy was based on a strategy to improve the quality and competitiveness of products that would be able to conquer both domestic and foreign markets. All other components of the reform - economic, financial and credit, administrative - were subordinated to this main goal. Positive changes in the quality of goods imply qualitative changes in technique, technology, organization and production management. Production must improve, which does not mean becoming more expensive.

It was absolutely correct that attention was drawn to one phenomenon that usually escapes in the bustle of problems - the historicity of the economy. The economy has not always been the way it is perceived now and will never remain so. Economic life changes over time, which forces us to tune in to its changing existence. The modern economy is built on a market foundation and the laws of the market dictate its own rules. In the foreground are profit, competition, efficiency, unity of command.

The problem of ensuring the quality of activities is not just universally relevant, it is strategic. The dilemma in relation to quality is reasonable only within the limits of contrasting the relationship between "direct" and "indirect" actions. The saying "it's all about him" owes its origin to quality. It is possible to "forget" about the quality problem solely because every fruitful and luminous activity is ultimately aimed at improving quality. Quality is either "in the mind" or "implied". From the relationship in the dynamics of these projections, quality problems in creative thinking are arranged in an appropriate schedule, reflecting the relevance and profitability of activities aimed at developing production.

The most significant and global standards are international quality management standards. The use of modern methods in them makes it possible to solve not only the problem of improving quality, but also the

problem of efficiency and the problem of productivity. That is, today the concept of "quality management" is moving into the concept of "quality management". Thus, solving the problem of increasing the efficiency and competitiveness of the economy, and ultimately the quality of life, is impossible without the implementation of a thoughtful and competent industrial policy, in which innovation and quality should become a priority.

It is believed that by understanding nature, its quality, state of quality, quality levels are revealed, translating new knowledge into production. Post-classical economic thought shifted quality towards consumption, trying to give production a "human face" - a person alienates himself in the production process, but this measure is forced and, in a systemic sense, temporary, conditional.

Researchers fill these quality properties with criteria, namely:

- quality ideology - the prospect of production development;
- quality management is an integrated approach to solving quality problems;
- fashion and technical regulation are components of the quality of manufactured shoes;
- quality systems "ORDERING/5 S" and "THREE "NOT"" are not only the basis for stability and safety of production, but also a guarantee of quality;
- quality in the market is a paradigm for the formation of production that satisfies the needs of the market;
- advertising is always at the service of quality;
- an excursion into the past as a guarantee of quality in the future;
- model for assessing product quality – these are production priorities;
- forecasting quality costs when developing a new range of shoes is the key to their demand and competitiveness;
- methodology for business visual assessment of a product - a means of assessing quality effectiveness;
- improving the quality and competitiveness of domestic specialties shoes;
- about indicators for assessing the quality of shoes - as a tool for creating in-demand products;
- quality and market: marriage of convenience and this is indisputable;
- the stability of the enterprises is a guarantor of the quality of the shoes they produce - all these aspects together provide a revolution in quality, guaranteeing the manufacturer stable success in a market with unstable demand;

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