

EDITORIAL

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“Returning the State to Its Native Harbor”. On the Issue of Ensuring the Continuity of Sovereign Development



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Abstract. Officially assuming the post of President of the Russian Federation on May 7, 2024, Vladimir Putin drew attention to the need to “ensure the continuity of the country’s development for decades to come”. In the paper, we consider historical aspects that determine the relevance of this task for our country. Based on expert opinion, facts and statistics, we analyze current factors impeding the continuity of the sovereign course of national development in the long term. We conclude that the implementation of this task set by the head of state depends, first of all, on improving public administration effectiveness in terms of reorienting the ruling elites at all levels (federal, regional, municipal) from liberal dogmas to the goals and criteria of the sovereign course of national development. Our contribution consists in the systematization of statistical data, assessments of experts from various fields (government, science, non-governmental activities, culture, education, etc.), as well as events taking place in the life of the country

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and beyond, which allows us to draw a scientifically substantiated conclusion about the importance of ensuring the continuity of the course of national development implemented by the RF President as a strategic goal intended for the long term after the completion of the next historical round of the civilizational conflict with the Collective West on the terms guaranteeing Russia the possibility of safe and sovereign development in the 21st century.

Key words: continuity of the course of national development, sovereignty, national security, public administration effectiveness, ruling elites, “crony capitalism”, “social capitalism”.

May 7, 2024, after Vladimir Putin officially assumed office as President of the Russian Federation, a new political cycle began in Russia; it started with defining and formalizing the goals and objectives of national development for the periods up to 2030 and 2036¹; the new composition of the Government of the Russian Federation has also been determined (May 14, 2024)².

“We must ensure reliable continuity in the development of our country for decades to come and bring up new generations who will strengthen Russia’s might and develop our state based on interethnic accord, the preservation of the traditions of all ethnic groups living in Russia, a civilizational nation united by the Russian language and our multi-ethnic culture”³.

During his speech at the inauguration ceremony, Vladimir Putin set a task for himself and the country as a whole: **“We must ensure reliable continuity in the development of our country for decades to come”**.

The importance of this task can be explained by two aspects.

First, global world processes taking place against the background of the next historical turn of the civilizational conflict between Russia and the Collective West. According to experts, the special military operation accelerated “a flywheel of global transformation of the world”⁴; “gave a strong impetus to the movement, which was already brewing in the global community, toward justice and multipolarity”⁵.

In this regard, many analysts point out that the special military operation will lead to a “new Yalta conference”⁶, that is, **to a revision of “the future world order”; it will establish “new rules and boundaries” that will “change the quality of our civilization for the next 50–70 years.”**

¹ On the national development goals of the Russian Federation for the period up to 2030 and for the future up to 2036: Presidential Decree 309, dated May 7, 2024. Available at: <http://www.kremlin.ru/events/president/news/73986>

² See more in: Ilyin V.A., Morev M.V. (2024). The fifth political cycle of Russian President Vladimir Putin: “Cosmetic repairs” for crony capitalism or a transition to “social capitalism”? *Economic and Social Changes: Facts, Trends, Forecast*, 17(3), 9–35.

³ Vladimir Putin’s speech at the inauguration ceremony, May 7, 2024. Available at: <http://www.kremlin.ru/events/president/news/73981>

⁴ Panina E. Russia has launched its flywheel of global transformation of the world. Available at: <https://rusnext.ru/news/1682428754927503?ysclid=m09avb1riu178859167>

⁵ Speech by Russian Foreign Minister Sergey Lavrov at a meeting with MGIMO students and faculty on September 1, 2023. Available at: <https://tass.ru/politika/18634341>

⁶ The Yalta (Crimean) Conference of the allied powers on February 4–11, 1945 was a multilateral meeting of the leaders of the three countries of the anti-Hitler coalition (USSR, USA and UK) during World War II, dedicated to the establishment of the post-war world order. The conference defined the post-war world order and allowed the division of spheres of influence in Europe. In particular, it was decided to create a new international organization – the future United Nations.

“The special military operation in Ukraine will end, figuratively speaking, with Yalta 2.0. It will be an international conference where there will be many players at the negotiating table, and Ukraine will have the last place there, because it is just a territory. **Decisions will be made by the main players who will determine the future world order, both political and economic**”⁷.

“After the end of the hot phase of the Russian–Ukrainian conflict, **large countries will gather and draw new borders, establish new rules**, because no one in the world wants to constantly fight, there will be a “new Yalta”⁸.

“It is premature to make short-term forecasts about the specific conditions for the completion of the SMO: too often events occur that seemed “impossible” just a few years ago. But the long-term consequences of the Ukrainian conflict are already noticeable. Regardless of the specific conditions of its completion, it will launch **a series of political processes that are likely to change the quality of our civilization for the next 50–70 years... the ideological foundations of our Yalta order will be blurred**”⁹.

Thus, the task of ensuring the continuity of the course of national development precisely “for decades to come” is a strategic one, designed for a long-term historical perspective already after the SMO is over and the “new rules” of world relations are established.

Second, the urgency of this task set by the head of state is due to the fact that failure to observe the principle of continuity of development leads to internal conflicts, missed opportunities and even to the disintegration of statehood.

“Lack of continuity in power entails not only the danger of internal conflict, threatening to develop into civil war and the collapse of the state it is always unrealized projects, disintegrating alliances, missed prospects and chances, which cannot be restored afterwards. **This is as inevitable staggering of the state from side to side in foreign and domestic policy. At least stagnation, and at most – regression, and even ruin... the lack of true continuity of power for centuries is a real curse for our country and the government itself**”¹⁰.

Many major countries around the world have been facing this¹¹. And, in particular, this problem “accompanied” Russia throughout virtually all of its centuries-long history. We can prove it if we look at the characteristics of various stages of life of the country in estimations of historians (*Insert 1*):

✓ after the interruption of the Rurik dynasty (with the death of Ivan the Terrible’s heir Tsar Feodor Ioannovich in 1598), the Time of Troubles (1605–1612) began in Russia;

⁷ The special operation in Ukraine will end with Yalta 2.0. RIA-novosti Crimea. October 19, 2023. Opinion of V. Kolesnichenko (political scientist, deputy chair the Presidium of the International Council of Russian Compatriots). Available at: <https://crimea.ria.ru/20221019/spetsoperatsiya-na-ukraine-zakonchitsya-yaltoy-20--politolog-1124974425.html>

⁸ Aslamova D. Armenians are being told that Russians are “white Turks”. Opinion of T. Kocharyan (media expert, editor-in-chief of Alpha News). Available at: <https://www.pravda.ru/world/1918773-armeniya/>

⁹ Fenenko A. The world after the SMO. Available at: https://russiancouncil.ru/analytics-and-comments/analytics/mir-posle-svo/?sphrase_id=152648206&ysclid=m03fqklwaj437058663

¹⁰ Kharaluzhny A. Lack of continuity as a curse of Russian power. Available at: <https://topwar.ru/172752-otdajte-vse-otsutstvie-preemstvennosti-prokljatie-russkoj-vlasti.html>

¹¹ For example:

1. Great English Revolution (1784–1786), which led to the destruction of the monarchy in the country and proclamation of the British Republic.

2. Great French Revolution (1789–1799), as a result of which the absolute monarchy was destroyed and the First French Republic was proclaimed.

3. Change of the political course of U.S. President G. Hoover (1929–1933), who focused on the development of trade and private business, which eventually led to the “Great Depression” (1929–1939), to the political course of F. Roosevelt (1933–1945), who strengthened the role of the state in the economy, achieved tangible success in reducing social differentiation and increasing the share of the middle class, for which some experts call him the “most left-wing” President of the United States).

“The main lesson of the Time of Troubles of the late 16th – early 17th century is simple: any weakening of the central power in Russia, its oligarchization leads the system toward collapse, and not only the system of power, but also the social system as a whole. Troubles are started by socially unhealthy, defective elites, who, as a rule, do not have an adequate understanding of their own country and the world, lack strategic vision, are poorly connected with the national tradition, are oriented toward the West, to a cultural and political tradition alien to Russia and Russians. Such “elites” need to be eliminated preventively to avoid any misfortune”¹².

✓ after the reign of Peter the Great (1672–1725) – the period of “palace coups” (1725–1762) began, which Russian historian V.O. Kluchevsky, the author of this term, defined as “the seizure of political power in Russia in the 18th century, caused by the lack of clear rules of succession to the throne, accompanied by the struggle of court groups and usually with the assistance of guard regiments”¹³;

✓ after the Romanov dynastic rule ended in 1917¹⁴, there was the period of Soviet power, the beginning of which was also characterized by “instability” and “struggle for power”¹⁵;

✓ after Stalin’s rule (1924–1953), the “Khrushchev thaw” (1953–1964) began, during which, as

experts note, “the foundations for the collapse of the Soviet state were laid down”¹⁶;

✓ after the “period of stagnation” (1964–1985), “perestroika” began, which ended with “the biggest geopolitical catastrophe of the 20th century”¹⁷ (collapse of the USSR in 1991) and “an era of the turbulent 1990s, tragic for our country”¹⁸...

Thus, since the end of an epoch of the Rurik dynasty Russia repeatedly faced the absence of continuity of national development course. And this “wobbling of the state from side to side”¹⁹ more than once led to the collapse of the Russian statehood (in particular, in 1917 and 1991).

Thus, the facts presented in Insert 1 show that neither the Soviet government (including Stalin) nor the elite that came to power in the 1990s after the collapse of the USSR were able to ensure continuity of the realized course of national development. And, as experts note, this task has not yet been solved by Vladimir Putin either: the almost quarter-century-long “sovereign project” of Russia’s development under his leadership “is still vulnerable to the impact of negative internal and external factors”.

“Despite the fact that Russia’s sovereign development project has lasted almost a quarter of a century, it is still vulnerable to the impact of negative internal and external factors”²⁰.

¹² Fursov A.I. Three troubles, two holidays. Available at: https://zavtra.ru/blogs/tri_smuti_dva_prazdnika?ysclid=m04z7pj u3c182652954

¹³ Zgurskaya M.P. (2012). *Palace Coups*. 460 p.

¹⁴ The last Russian Emperor Nicholas II ruled the country from 1894 till 1917.

¹⁵ Succession of power in Russia: As it was in the Russian Empire and the Soviet Union. Interview with N. Starikov. Available at: <https://www.kp.kz/radio/26511/3404238/?ysclid=lzplyt2mmj203344551>

¹⁶ Spitsyn E., Shishkin I. “Slush” rather than “thaw”. Available at: https://zavtra.ru/blogs/ne_ottepel_a_slyakot_

¹⁷ Address of the President of the Russian Federation Vladimir Putin to the Federal Assembly of the Russian Federation on April 24, 2005. Available at: <http://www.kremlin.ru/events/president/transcripts/22931>

¹⁸ Ganga A. “Turbulent 1990s”: The most high-profile murders of the tragic era. Available at: https://tsargrad.tv/special_projects/svjatye-90-e-samye-gromkie-ubijstva-lihoj-jepohi_373628?ysclid=m0206f15mm422020232

¹⁹ Kharaluzhny A. Lack of continuity as a curse of Russian power. Available at: <https://topwar.ru/172752-otdajte-vse-otsutstvie-preemstvennosti-prokljatje-russkoj-vlasti.html>

²⁰ Emelyanov M.V. Fundamentals of the sovereign project of Russia. Available at: https://www.ng.ru/ideas/2024-07-16/7_9050_ideas.html?ysclid=lzb6eu5u11895864220

Insert 1

Violation of the principle of continuity of the country's development in the cycles of Russian history²¹

Historical period	Expert comment
1605–1612	<i>... death of Boris Godunov, further accession of False Dmitry, rise of Vasily Shuisky. ... The succession of power was interrupted. And after that, the Time of Troubles started.</i>
1672–1725	<i>Peter I became the sole ruler. And immediately there was a strong leap forward. It is a fact that as soon as one person took the helm, the state made a dramatic move forward...</i>
1725–1762 (palace coups era)	<i>After it was not possible to get a sole heir, it turned out to be almost a three rulers period... And turmoil began again inside the state, intrigues began... And there emerged big problems. At that moment, there was no progress in Russia...</i>
1762–1796	<i>Since Catherine II, Russia began moving forward again. Again there was a sole ruler. A brilliant galaxy of generals and statespeople... We get Crimea, we become a real superpower in Europe.</i>
1796–1917	<i>In the 19th century, when the order of succession was clear and precise, there was no clarity and precision in the continuity of the political course.</i>
1917–1922	<i>The Soviet government also did not develop anything like a mechanism for painless rotation of elites... Lenin is experiencing health problems, and a power struggle is beginning in the party... And a period of instability begins. There is no clear transfer of power...</i>
1922–1953	<i>Stalin became leader of the country. Unity of command, industrialization and collectivization were carried out. New types of weapons were developed. Stalin made a truly successful breakthrough...</i>
1953–1991	<i>The leaders of the USSR either surrendered their leadership post when they died, or lost it as a result of intrigues inside the government...</i>
1991–999	<i>The post-Soviet political elite had to develop its own tradition of transition of power. But the very concept of "successor" ... was caused not by a craving for legitimacy, but by the peculiarities of the political situation... When in 1999 a part of the elite consolidated around the Yuri Luzhkov—Yevgeny Primakov bloc, the "family" urgently needed a counterweight in the person of a new charismatic leader. It was then that a series of potential successors arose, the last of which was Vladimir Putin...</i>
2000 – present	<i>We observe a new social policy expressed in priority national projects, the formation of a new ideological base, and finally, a new anti-American, alter-globalist foreign policy course, which was announced back in 2007 in Munich... The public consensus that has developed around Vladimir Putin remains unshakeable... The current government is trying to create a tradition of continuity from scratch, which, perhaps, did not exist – at least for the last hundred years.</i>

²¹ Sources (up to 1953 inclusive): Succession of power in Russia: As it was in the Russian Empire and the Soviet Union. Interview with N. Starikov. Available at: <https://www.kp.kz/radio/26511/3404238/?ysclid=izplyt2mmj203344551>; (from 1953 to the present): Smorchkov A. Continuity of power, continuity of history – the basis of the existence and development of Russia. Available at: <https://cont.ws/@fruct/2871573>

Of course, at present, the main condition for the preservation of Russian statehood and for the **very possibility of implementing the course of national development** is to end the SMO (and the conflict with NATO in general) in such a way that would ensure Russia's security; achieve such a status of relations with the USA and its “satellites” that would not in any way hinder the possibilities of Russia's sovereign development.

However, the end of the conflict, which would guarantee Russia the possibility of secure sovereign development, is only a necessary foundation. **In general, the solution to the problem of ensuring the continuity of the country's development in the long-term historical perspective depends primarily on internal conditions. And this is exactly what Vladimir Putin pointed out during his inauguration speech.**

Key conditions for ensuring the continuity of the course of national development:

- ✓ our top priority is the preservation of the people”; “support of centuries-old family values and traditions”;
- ✓ “our decisions regarding the development of the country and its regions must be effective and fair and must promote the prosperity of Russian families and improve their quality of life”;
- ✓ “we must bring up new generations who will strengthen Russia's might”²².

In other words, we cannot but agree with those experts who point out that “the logic of war” leads

Russia to “civilizational independence”; “Westernism should become out of place in Russian civilization”.

“Many variations of dependence on the West have not yet been overcome both at the grassroots and at the top. Textbook authors – despite the Supreme Leader's direct instruction to describe us as a civilization – are still producing a mix of liberal doctrines. Millions of people are still receiving an education that inspires contempt for their country and servility to the West. They have only just begun to wean the most egregious scoundrels from among the “cultural” elite... But the rest of the elite are firmly sucking on the trough. **Nevertheless, the logic of war leads us to real decolonization and civilizational independence. And tradition is always at hand, ready to come to the rescue. Westernism should become out of place in Russian civilization, and the people who share it should also become out of place...**”²³

And this primarily concerns the system of public administration built over the 30-year period of Western “hegemony”. It is the state (as, for example, noted by State Duma deputy M. Delyagin) **“that should be returned to its native harbor”**²⁴. And there are quite specific criteria behind this figurative expression:

- ✓ **“justice and accountability of power”;**
- ✓ **overcoming the “shameful abyss” of inequality;**
- ✓ **real work of governing bodies on their mistakes;**
- ✓ **ideology as a way of expressing “common interests”.**

²² Vladimir Putin's speech at the inauguration ceremony, May 7, 2024. Available at: <http://www.kremlin.ru/events/president/news/73981>

²³ Tyurin A. To finish off the hegemony of the West, it is necessary to get rid of Westernism. Available at: https://zavtra.ru/blogs/aleksandr_tyurin_chtobi_dobit_gegemoniyu_zapada_nado_izbavit_sya_ot_zapadnichestva?ysclid=lzy9rt1hzv890044886

²⁴ Delyagin M. To return the state “to its native harbor”! Available at: <https://delyagin.ru/articles/183-sobytiya/112334-povestka-dnja-chast-pervaja-vernut-gosudarstvo-v-rodnuju-gavan>

“We, today’s generation of Russia, want to live normally and honestly in a normal and honest country... We want to be honest – including with the state. **But it must fulfill its duties to us: to Russia and the people – to serve, not harm us... We are even ready to put up with other people’s mistakes – if we see how, by whom and (most importantly!) why they are eliminated...**

... We can be united only by a common goal and methods of achieving it. **Today, that goal is simple: building a responsible state ...**

We do not need disputes about strong and weak state, **we need our own state** – intelligent, honest, **responsible to us, to the people**, and not to our enemies in the face of blatant feudals and obscurantists on the one hand and servants of foreign speculators on the other....

We do not accept it when stupidity or deceit are disguised by ideologization, **but we know that ideology is the most capacious way to express our common interests and as such is necessary...**

The gap between the authorities and the people, between the life of rich people and the life of the majority is becoming intolerable and **incompatible with life**. It is necessary to overcome this **intolerable and shameful gap**²⁵.

“The reform carried out in 1965 and called “Kosygin’s reform” by the national historiography became **fateful and to a certain extent – fatal...** The main results of the conducted transformations were as follows:

First, there was actually a deformation of the main goals that enterprises pursued. The main one became profit extraction. This entailed the second consequence. Scientific and technical progress became unprofitable for enterprises. The third consequence, proceeding from the first and the second, was cessation of the real growth of labor productivity. The fourth consequence was a decrease in the quantity of products produced in kind, in units...

What was the result...? The national economy became unmanageable. The economy began to work not as a single organism, but as a set of enterprises pursuing their local interests, rather than the whole country – the system... economic leaders started thinking: maybe we should “reform” the political system, so that we could become rich at a faster pace? This is how the perestroika “elite” began to form, which Gorbachev later relied on... This archaic liberal-economic model is still in the minds of many of our economists today²⁶.

The reason why many experts pay attention primarily to the need to “return the state to its native harbor” is that the public administration system (being a mechanism for the practical implementation of the national development course, the goals of which are formulated by the President)

is still filled with people who represent the result of an almost 60-year period of Russia staying in a “liberal fog” since the “Kosygin reforms” of 1965. (which, according to a number of historians, became “the first step toward the destruction of our state by Gorbachev and Yeltsin”²⁷).

²⁵ Delyagin M. To return the state “to its native harbor”! Available at: <https://delyagin.ru/articles/183-sobytiya/112334-povestka-dnja-chast-pervaja-vernut-gosudarstvo-v-rodnuju-gavan>

²⁶ Starikov N. The reform that ruined the USSR. Available at: <https://nstarikov.ru/reforma-pogubivshaya-sssr-62818?ysclid=lzgt9kg90797784306>

²⁷ Ibidem.

“From a psychological perspective, neoliberalism is based on **satisfying personal selfish interests**”²⁸.

“**Capital fears lack of profit or too little profit, as nature fears emptiness.** But once there is sufficient profit, capital becomes bold. Provide 10 percent, and capital agrees to any use, at 20 percent it becomes lively, at 50 percent it is positively ready to break its head, at 100 percent it violates all human laws, at 300 percent **there is no such crime that it would not risk, at least under penalty of gallows...**”²⁹.

“... on Western soil there arose a doctrine according to which **material gain testifies to man’s being chosen by God.** This became the justification for Western capitalism... It was material prosperity – wealth – that became an **indicator of being the chosen one.** In this perspective, being rich means you are chosen by God... This idea was poured into many different vessels, **creating the cocktail of Western capitalism**”³⁰.

And especially in the last 30 years after the collapse of the USSR, during which the ideological foundations of Western liberalism (in which the main thing is profit) have become entrenched in the domestic system of public administration in the form of “crony capitalism”.

A. Dugin, philosopher, political scientist, and well-known public figure points out that in order for Russia to undergo “ideological transformation”, it must go through two stages: “eradication of Westernism” and “creation of the Russian future”³¹. And while he notes that “the dismantling of wannabe liberalism ... is now well underway”³², **the facts show that this process is far from being completed...**

On the one hand, among the representatives of elite circles within the public administration system, culture, science, etc., facts of corruption pop up virtually on a daily basis (*Insert 2*).

“Evidence of the involvement of **dozens of top-level officials in corruption schemes** has been discovered, and not just discovered, but all episodes contain proven elements.... Four generals have been arrested, several state advisors of the 1st and 2nd class, and some of the highest dignitaries of the Defense Ministry have simply been dismissed. **New criminal cases are being opened every day**”³³.

²⁸ Lane D. (2024). Global neoliberal capitalism and the alternatives. *Noonomy and Noosociety. Almanac of Scientific Works of the S.Y. Witte INID*, 3(1), p. 24.

²⁹ Dunning T.J. (1860). *Trade’s Unions and Strikes: Their Philosophy and Intention*. London: Published by the author, and Sold by M. Harley. Pp. 35–36.

³⁰ Eliseev A. Metaphysics of wealth. Available at: https://zavtra.ru/blogs/metafizika_bogatstva

³¹ Dugin A. Russian ideology. Available at: <https://izborsk-club.ru/25927?ysclid=m09bee1zt5350689241>

³² Ibidem.

³³ Sorokin N. Belousov’s mission. Available at: https://zavtra.ru/blogs/missiya_belousova

Moreover, many of those who today are accused of abusing their office have managed to receive a huge number of different titles and awards from the state³⁴, and some facts clearly testify to the elementary moral degradation of these so-called “elites”.

July 26, 2024, the former Deputy Minister of Defense of the Russian Federation D. Bulgakov was detained, whose “collection of awards (more than seventy) was discovered, as well as many paintings depicting himself (portraits in the style of Soviet mosaics, portraits in a general’s uniform from the times of the Russian Empire), former head of the Ministry of Defense S. Shoigu and his deputies as nobles and revolutionaries... In addition to traditional portraits, Bulgakov had canvases on which he appears together with some colleagues in heroic images in the “scenery” of different epochs significant for Russia...”.

B. Shurygin (military expert): “The fact that one keeps at home a whole gallery of portraits of oneself, and the most kitschy ones to boot, in the style of market lubok, **indicates not only the lack of intelligence, but also of adequacy, and a complete lack of critical perception of oneself as a person**”³⁵.

³⁴ For example:

A. Fedorov (Rector of Immanuel Kant Baltic Federal University, against whom criminal proceedings were launched on July 9) – member of the Presidential Council for Science and Education, member of the Higher Attestation Commission under the Ministry of Science and Higher Education of the Russian Federation, member of the Russian Union of Rectors, the Council of Rectors of the Northwestern Federal District and the Council of Rectors of Universities of the Kaliningrad Region, member of the profile councils for development of education, science, entrepreneurship, society under the Governor of the Kaliningrad Region, chair of the Kaliningrad regional branch of the Russian Society “Znanie”, etc. Chair of the working group on the development of professional standards in the field of higher education, member of the expert group of the National Project “Education”, member of the Scientific and Technological Council at the Presidium of the Board of Trustees of the Talent and Success Foundation (Sirius University of Science and Technology). Member of the Russian Council on International Affairs (source: Ivanov A. Rector of one of the ten federal universities of the Russian Federation was suspected of embezzling 18 million. Available at: https://zavtra.ru/events/rektora_odnogo_iz_desyati_federal_nih_universitetov_rf_zapodozrili_v_prisvoenii_18_millionov?ysclid=lzh0tx015m773101873)

A. Kibovsky (adviser to the office of the Mayor and the Government of Moscow on cultural issues, former head of the Moscow Department of Culture, arrested on July 17) is a valid state adviser of the Russian Federation of the second class. Chair of the Moscow branch of the All-Russian Public-state Organization “Russian Military Historical Society”, head of the working group on coordinating the preparation and conduct of information and propaganda events in connection with the memorable dates of the military history of the Fatherland of the Russian Organizing Committee “Victory”, headed by the President of the Russian Federation. Honored Arts Worker of the Russian Federation, academician, member of the Presidium of the Russian Academy of Arts. He was awarded the medal of the Order of Merit for the Fatherland, II degree, diploma of the President of the Russian Federation (under Dmitry Medvedev), Medals of the Ministry of Defense of the Russian Federation “For service in the Marine Corps”, “For strengthening the military community”, “For merits in perpetuating the memory of the fallen defenders of the Fatherland”, etc. He has a badge of the Ministry of Culture of the Russian Federation “For achievements in culture”, a certificate of honor from the Ministry of Culture for achievements in patriotic education, three commendations from the Minister of Culture. As noted by political scientist M. Bashirov, Kibovsky is not a common person and “if such a decision is made, it means that it is a serious matter”. TG-channel “Cultural Front Z” expressed the hope that “this is only the beginning, and soon the SKO (special cultural operation) will begin to be carried out in full force (source: Ivanov A. Kibovsky’s “cultural” case, details. Available at: [https://zavtra.ru/events/delo_kibovskogo_\(eks-rukovoditelya_depku_l_ta_moskvi\)_podrobnosti?ysclid=lzh18h12j5258124247](https://zavtra.ru/events/delo_kibovskogo_(eks-rukovoditelya_depku_l_ta_moskvi)_podrobnosti?ysclid=lzh18h12j5258124247))

³⁵ Ivanov A. General Bulgakov’s Gypsy Baroque. Available at: https://zavtra.ru/events/tciganskoe_barokko_generala_bulgakova?ysclid=lzh0rm2vz5611698140

On the other hand, according to experts, there still remain certain people in the public administration system who possess **“the psychology of small shopkeepers”**; those who think and make managerial decisions guided by the motives of achieving short-term **“profitability”** to the detriment of addressing strategic tasks that ensure competitiveness and the very existence of the state.

Such examples can be found in various spheres of life (*Insert 3*) and, perhaps, they are no less threatening than representatives of the public administration system who use their official position for personal gain. Even if in this case we are not talking about a violation of the law and, consequently, not about the possibility of identifying such “point” episodes with subsequent measures to eliminate their consequences, but about the strategic shortsightedness of the decisions taken.

“The industrial association Rosspetsmash compared the cost of components in Russia and China and came to the conclusion that it is not profitable to localize the component base. It turns out to be many times more expensive..... **So, what do we get? In the short term, it is more convenient to buy. In the long term, it is better to learn how to produce it ourselves. A pure classical private entrepreneur prefers the first way. Only the state can move him to the second one.** Success is always unique. And the concept of profitability is not as elementary as it seems. Profitable for what time period? A year? Five years? Thirty? One hundred? Profitable on what scale: shop floor? Factories? Industry? The entire national economy? **An ordinary private entrepreneur cannot look beyond the horizon – geographically and historically. Efficiency and profitability look quite different at different scales and over different time periods...**”³⁶

³⁶ Voevodina T. Unprofitable industrialization. Available at: https://zavtra.ru/blogs/nerentabel_naya_industrializatsiya

Insert 2

Some “high—profile” arrests and detentions in July – August 2024

<p>July 9 – criminal case was launched against rector of Immanuel Kant Baltic Federal University A. Fedorov and his deputy E. Myalkina. They are suspected of embezzlement of funds committed by a group of persons by prior agreement using their official position.</p>
<p>July 17 – A. Kibovsky, adviser to the office of the Mayor and the Government of Moscow on cultural issues, former head of the Moscow Department of Culture, was arrested in the case of attempted fraud and bribery on a particularly large scale.</p>
<p>July 23 – V. Klishin, director of the Institute of Coal of the Federal Research Center for Coal and Coal Chemistry SB RAS, was detained. Klishin and his staff are suspected of abuse of office. Their actions inflicted an 8 million rubles damage upon the Institute³⁷.</p>
<p>July 24 – former director general of the Military Construction Company (VSK) of the Ministry of Defense of the Russian Federation and the former head of the Federal State Unitary Enterprise “Main Military Construction Directorate (GVSU) for Special Facilities” of the Ministry of Defense of the Russian Federation A. Belkov was arrested. The Military Construction Company was established by the Presidential Decree on October 18, 2019 to implement large-scale construction projects of the Ministry of Defense of the Russian Federation. S. Shoigu was appointed chair of the Supervisory Board of the company...; in fact, the activities of the VSK (and the aforementioned GVSU) were supervised by Deputy Defense Minister T. Ivanov³⁸.</p>
<p>July 26 – former Deputy Minister of Defense of the Russian Federation, Army General D. Bulgakov, was detained. He is suspected of embezzlement on a particularly large scale. The amount of damage in the corruption case of the former Deputy Minister of Defense of the Russian Federation amounted to 1.3 billion rubles. Which exceeds the amount of the bribe (1 billion 185 million rubles), which another former deputy Minister T. Ivanov is accused of receiving³⁹.</p>
<p>July 27 – M. Manukyan, former head of the Information Technology Department of JSC Oboronenergo, was detained in the framework of a criminal case on embezzlement of company funds... Prior to that, a Moscow court sentenced Irina Vishnyakova, former director general of CJSC Security and Communications, to five years in prison in the case of embezzlement of funds from the Ministry of Defense⁴⁰.</p>
<p>August 2 – Basmanny District Court of Moscow authorized the arrest of D. Savelyev, member of the Federation Council Committee on Economic Policy. According to the investigation, in August 2023 in Moscow, D. Savelyev, guided by personal hostility to an entrepreneur, instructed to organize his murder for a monetary reward to his friend, who tried to find the perpetrator for the murder⁴¹.</p>
<p>August 5 – V. Akhmedov, director of the Patriot Park, was detained in a fraud case. Major General V. Shestev, deputy head of the Main Department of Innovative Development of the Russian Ministry of Defense, was also detained. According to the investigation, Akhmedov and Shestev, along with other defendants in the case, are involved in embezzlement of budget funds allocated to ensure the operation of the Patriot Park and the convention and exhibition center⁴².</p>
<p>August 6 – V. Demchik, deputy director general of Textile Trading Company LLC, was detained on suspicion of receiving a particularly large bribe. Retired Colonel Demchik was head of the Clothing Department of the Russian Ministry of Defense until April 2018. In 2017–2018, the organization represented by the bribe taker was involved as a co-executor of government contracts for the supply of various personal belongings for the needs of the Armed Forces of the Russian Federation⁴³.</p>

³⁷ TASS news, July 25, 2024. Available at: <https://tass.ru/obschestvo/21449615>

³⁸ Ivanov A. Another figure closely associated with Timur Ivanov was sent to a detention center. Available at: https://zavtra.ru/events/v_sizo_otpravlen_ocherednoj_deyatel_tesno_svyazannij_s_timurov_ivanovim

³⁹ Ivanov A. General Bulgakov’s Gypsy Baroque. Available at: https://zavtra.ru/events/teiganskoe_barokko_generala_bulgakova?ysclid=Izh0rm2vz5611698140

⁴⁰ Nurieva S. One of the ex-heads of Oboronenergo was detained in Moscow. Available at: https://www.gazeta.ru/social/news/2024/07/27/23547019.shtml?utm_source=yxnews&utm_medium=desktop

⁴¹ Ivanov A. Senator Savelyev, who was arrested for organizing a contract killing, will be checked for sanity. Available at: https://zavtra.ru/events/arestovannogo_zh_organizatciyu_zakaznogo_ubijstva_senatora_savel_eva_proveryat_na_vmenyaemost

⁴² Director of Patriot Park arrested in fraud case. Available at: https://ren.tv/news/v-rossii/1247907-direktor-parka-patriot-arestovan-po-delu-o-moshennichestve?utm_source=yxnews&utm_medium=desktop

⁴³ Ivanov A. Ex-head of the Clothing Department of the Ministry of Defense of the Russian Federation was arrested. Available at: https://zavtra.ru/events/arestovan_eksnachal_nik_veshevoego_upravleniya_minoboroni_rf

Expert assessments indicating the short-sightedness (vulnerability) of some management decisions

<p><i>“The Russian Federation is again discussing the expansion of the practice of recognizing various social movements as extremist... Having entered into the excitement of prohibiting this or that organization, the initiators of such a struggle, it seems, are no longer able to look at the situation with a cool head. First of all, no matter how clichéd it may seem, ideas can be defeated only by ideas, and not by prohibitions alone, which in themselves lead to radicalization... There is an obvious risk of campaigning, when anyone can be called extremist in the heat of the moment so as to report on the implementation of the plan and the successful cleansing of dangerous elements. There is also a risk of not noticing those who share some really dangerous ideas, but keep a low profile”⁴⁴.</i></p>
<p><i>“The political field of a developed country is characterized not by a desperate wall-to-wall struggle of parties, but by the presence of segments of political consensus and political struggle... In Russia, the political system with a dominant party generally copes with the task of managing a sovereign project. But it is possible that this political system will not ensure the continuity of the course. Not one party, but the entire Russian political system should become the basis of the sovereign project”.</i></p>
<p><i>“Salary allowances for researchers are determined by how many articles they have published in the last year or two and how many points they have scored... science is not a sport where goals, points, seconds, points are important... Maybe the officials of our Ministry of Education are from a distant planet? I really hope that these outstanding people, no matter what, will hear our president, who speaks not about the number of articles and points, but about the technological sovereignty of Russia”⁴⁵.</i></p>
<p>June 28, the Union of Cinematographers of the Russian Federation received a letter from the Department of Cinematography and Digital Development of the Ministry of Culture of the Russian Federation, which contains proposals from the Ministry of Education of the Russian Federation “on the adaptation of historical works in order to produce feature films for children and youth, contributing to the preservation of historical memory and the formation of patriotism”. The document lists 30 domestic films for which remakes should be made (reshoot “in a new way”).</p> <p>The State Duma called this initiative “impotence of ideas”⁴⁶.</p> <p>A. Orlov (journalist): <i>“The massive launch of remakes may also indicate that we don’t have enough ideas. Well, the situation is actually bad in this department”.</i></p> <p>A. Medvedev (deputy chair of the Moscow City Duma): <i>“We don’t need to shoot simplified versions for schoolchildren, but we need to tell children about how, in what situation, by what means and for what this film was shot. And why is it important to watch it in this classic version (and you don’t need another one). But, apparently, it is very difficult”⁴⁷.</i></p>

⁴⁴ How not to get excited while looking for extremists. Available at: https://www.ng.ru/editorial/2024-07-08/2_90044_red.html?ysclid=Iztuxt8a58113580332

⁴⁵ Malinetsky G. Rehabilitate science! Available at: <https://izborsk-club.ru/25969?ysclid=Izy5ja9gfv303838928>

⁴⁶ The Ministry of Education proposed a list for remakes; the State Duma assessed “ideological impotence”. Available at: <https://iarex.ru/news/134243.html>

⁴⁷ Ivanov A. The Ministry of Education of the Russian Federation has proposed to make remakes of dozens of Soviet films (the list is attached). Available at: https://zavira.ru/events/minprosvesheniya_rf_predlozheniya_sdelat_remejki_desyatkov_sovetskikh_filmov_na_remaki_sovetskikh_filmov

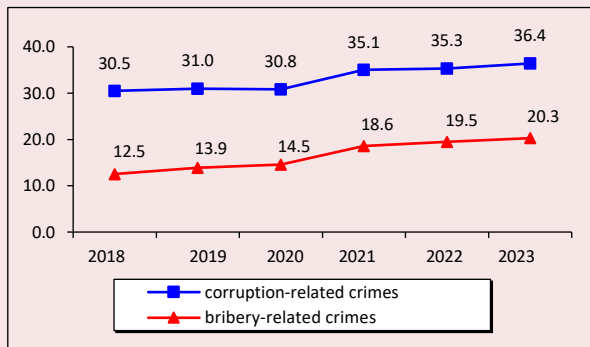
In addition to the facts and expert assessments presented in Inserts 2–3, we note that during Vladimir Putin’s fourth presidential term (2018–2023) the number of corruption offenses⁴⁸ in Russia increased by 19% (from 30,500 to 36,400); bribery-related offenses against the state, the interests of the civil service and service in local government bodies⁴⁹, – by 62% (from 12.5 to 20.3 thousand; Fig. 1).

If we compare 7 months of 2024 (January – July) with 7 months of 2023, we see that the number

of corruption-related crimes increased by 4% (from 25.1 to 26.2 thousand); bribery-related crimes – by 12% (from 13.7 to 15.4 thousand; Tab. 1).

At the same time, there remains the very structure of the public administration system (Fig. 2), under which corruption keeps growing, and people with the “psychology of small shopkeepers” (as “markers” of the basic principle of “crony capitalism” – immediate personal material (or non-material) enrichment) remain at their positions.

Figure 1. Dynamics of the number of corruption-related crimes and bribery-related crimes in Russia as a whole, average annual data, thousand units



Source: analytical materials of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Russian Federation “State of Crime in Russia”. Official website of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Russian Federation. Available at: <https://xn--b1aew.xn--p1ai/reports/4/>

Table 1. Dynamics of the number of corruption-related crimes and bribery-related crimes in Russia as a whole (data for January – July, thousand units)

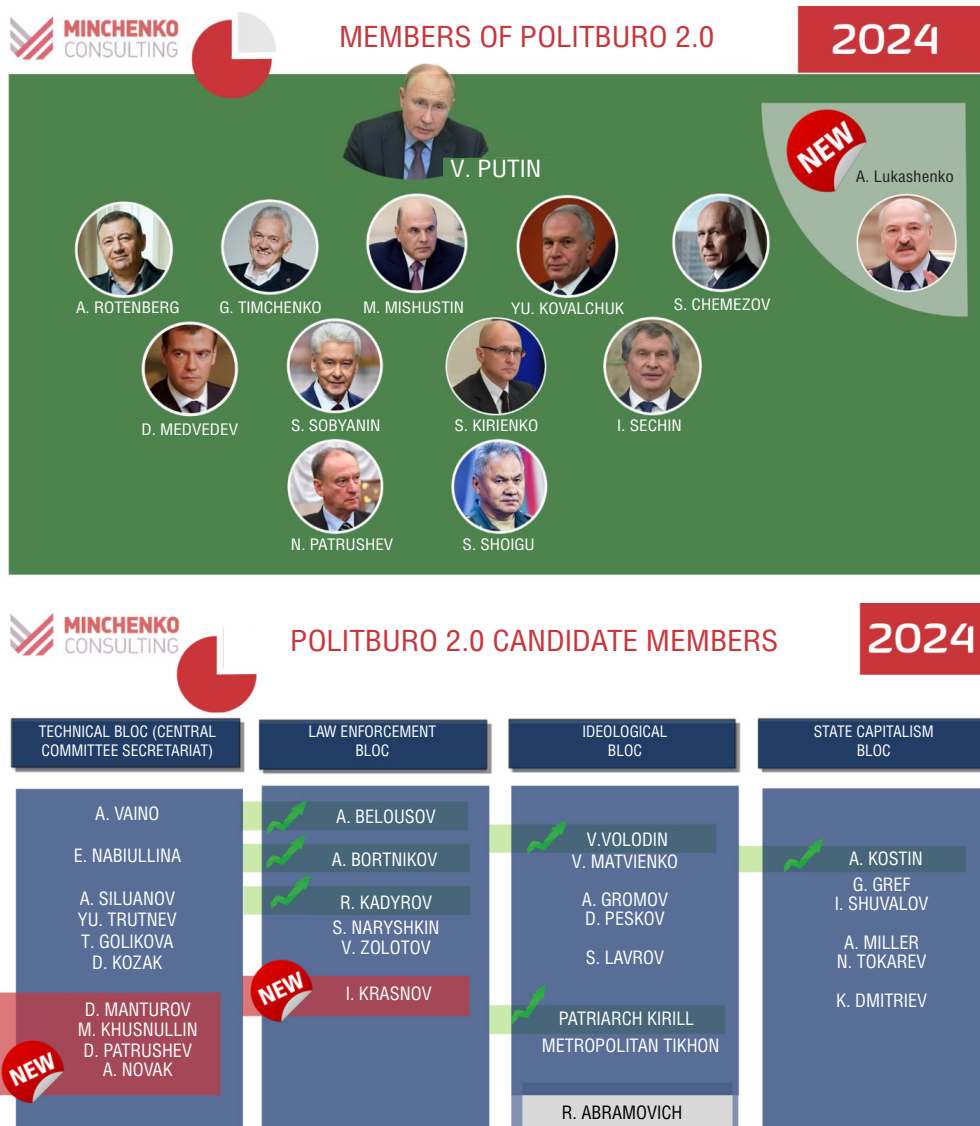
Crime	Jan. – July 2023	Jan. – July 2024	Dynamics Jan. – July 2024 to Jan. – July 2023 (%)
Corruption-related crimes	25.1	26.2	+4.4
Bribery-related crimes	13.7	15.4	+12.4

Source: analytical materials of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Russian Federation “The state of crime in Russia”. Available at: <https://xn--b1aew.xn--p1ai/reports/4/>

⁴⁸ According to Federal Law 273-FZ of December 25, 2008 “On combating corruption”, corruption-related crimes include:
 1. Abuse of official position or official authority.
 2. Giving a bribe.
 3. Receiving a bribe.
 4. Commercial bribery.
 5. Other illegal use by an individual of his official position contrary to the legitimate interests of society and the state in order to obtain benefits.
 6. Illegal provision of such benefits to the specified person by other individuals.

⁴⁹ Chapter 30 of the Criminal Code of the Russian Federation “Crimes against state power, the interests of public service and service in local self-government bodies” provides for four offences related to bribery: “Taking a bribe” (Article 290 of the Criminal Code of the Russian Federation), “Giving a bribe” (Article 291 of the Criminal Code of the Russian Federation), “Mediation in bribery” (Article 291.1 of the Criminal Code of the Russian Federation), “Petty bribery” (Article 291.2 of the Criminal Code of the Russian Federation).

Figure 2. Composition of Politburo 2.0 and candidates to Politburo 2.0



Source: Minchenko E., Petrov K., Balandin Yu. Politburo 2.0. Long winter. Minchenko Consulting Report, June 2024, pp. 5–6. Available at: https://minchenko.ru/netcat_files/userfiles/Politbyuro/NEW_Doklad_Politbyuro_2_0_korotkaya_versiya_2JUNE2024.pdf

For reference:

R.A. Abramovich – Russian businessman, dollar billionaire, former governor of Chukotka.

K.A. Dmitriev – Russian financier, head of the Russian Direct Investment Fund (RDIF).

Yu.V. Kovalchuk – entrepreneur, major shareholder and former chair of the Board of Directors of Rossiya Bank.

I.V. Krasnov – Prosecutor General of the Russian Federation, Full State Counselor of Justice.

A.B. Miller – chairman of the Management Committee of PJSC Gazprom, deputy chair of the Board of Directors of PJSC Gazprom.

A.R. Rotenberg – Russian entrepreneur, businessman, since 2011 was included in the list of the world’s billionaires according to the American magazine Forbes.

I.I. Sechin – Russian statesman, top manager, since May 2012 – Chief Executive Officer (President) of the oil and gas company Rosneft.

G.N. Timchenko – Russian businessman, founder and major shareholder of Volga Group, member of the Board of Directors of OAO SIBUR Holding and OAO NOVATEK. Former co-owner of Gunvor Group.

N.P. Tokarev – chair of the Management Board and president of Transneft.

S.V. Chemezov – politician, economist, chair of the All-Russian Public Organization “Union of Machine Builders of Russia”, director general of Rostec State Corporation.

I.I. Shuvalov – Russian statesman, chair of the state corporation VEB of the Russian Federation.

This is the conclusion drawn by specialists at Minchenko Consulting Communication Group, who have been monitoring the state and dynamics of the ruling elites since 2012⁵⁰. The authors of the report “Politburo 2.0. The Long Winter” note that Russia has developed **“a unique situation in which two circuits of collective governance have been formed: civil and military... This configuration allows for the interaction of all government bodies under the supervision of representatives of the top bureaucracy and Putin’s personally entrusted “special agents”...”** and it **“allows for a clear definition of personal responsibility for the areas entrusted to them, as well as spurring interagency cooperation...”** But at the same time **“the system of two governments” may entail the risk of unsynchronized activities and unproductive competition for influence**⁵¹.

“Politburo 2.0” produced and then consolidated many negative trends in the system of public administration, which clearly manifested themselves under the influence of threats to national security, that have increased dramatically after the beginning of the SMO:

✓ **“mass flight” of representatives of the so-called “elite” from Russia** (primarily the ruling elite, that is, ministers, deputy ministers, governors and other high-ranking officials, many of whom had access to classified information);

“...The real balance of political forces is determined by the configuration of elite networks around the president (as the bearer of supreme power), rather than formally occupied positions in the power hierarchy...The list of persons occupying formal state-bureaucratic positions undoubtedly matters. But this list is still derived from the influence of key elite groups oriented towards full-fledged members of Politburo 2.0 and their situational alliances, which are still primary in relation to institutions...The composition of Politburo 2.0 remains unchanged... In a comparative perspective, personnel movements following the results of the presidential election can be characterized as conservative”⁵².

N. Kolomeitsev (State Duma deputy): “The former prime minister, 11 first deputy prime ministers, 28 governors, the bearers of the most intimate secrets, are already in foreign lands, and, as reported on the Internet, the deputy defense minister under investigation has already fled there... If the chairman of the government who is a bearer of state secrets, the first deputy prime ministers, governors, ministers have fled the country, then this is the wrong personnel selection. And second, they all signed the paper, which does not allow travelling abroad without special permission. Well, it turns out that someone gave them permission or they just don’t control it”⁵³.

⁵⁰ For reference: Since 2009, the President of the Minchenko Consulting communication holding has been Evgeny Nikolaevich Minchenko (full member of the National Academy of Social Technologies (NAST), president of the Russian Association for Public Relations (RASO), chair of the RASO Committee on Political Technologies, director of the Center for Studies of Political Elites of the Institute of International Studies of the Moscow State Institute of International Relations (university) Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation (IMI MGIMO).

Since 2012, Minchenko Consulting communications holding has been monitoring the public administration system based on the author’s model “Politburo 2.0”, which “represents not only conveniently structured results of a series of expert surveys of representatives of the Russian elite and management staff ... in the form of in-depth interviews, but also gives an idea of the principles of interaction within elite circles”. The author of the model is E.N. Minchenko.

The study uses “semi-formal interviews with representatives of the elite, which were conducted in person, as well as via participant observation”.

Analytical reports on the monitoring results are regularly published on the official website of Minchenko Consulting Holding. Currently (as of August 27, 2024) 17 reports from the Politburo 2.0 series have been published (source: official website of Minchenko Consulting. Available at: <https://minchenko.ru/>).

⁵¹ Minchenko E., Petrov K., Balandin Yu. Politburo 2.0. The Long Winter. Minchenko Consulting Report, June 2024. P. 8.

⁵² Minchenko E., Petrov K., Balandin Yu. Politburo 2.0. The Long Winter. Minchenko Consulting Report, June 2024. Available at: https://minchenko.ru/netcat_files/userfiles/Politbyuro/NEW_Doklad_Politbyuro_2_0_korotkaya_versiya_2JUNE2024.pdf

⁵³ Pronko Yu. Mass flight of officials from Russia. Are the state secret carriers already in foreign lands? Available at: https://tsargrad.tv/articles/pronko-massovoe-begstvo-chinovnikov-iz-rossii-nositeli-gostajny-uzhe-za-kordonom_1024032?ysclid=m0cfemo4v6557560046

✓ **the armed rebellion carried out on June 23–24, 2023 by the PMC “Wagner”, headed by businessman E. Prigozhin.** Many experts note that E. Prigozhin was “not an independent figure”⁵⁴, had “influential connections in the highest echelons of power, fought for someone’s interests”⁵⁵;

“The main part of the oligarchy was dissatisfied with these actions of the state activists [SMO] because they suffered from the economic sanctions imposed by the West. Some demonstrated their discontent by fleeing from Russia and withdrawing capital from it. And some began to look for an opportunity to remove the statesmen, and above all President Vladimir Putin, from power. **It was this group that played on the political ambitions of the head of the private military company (PMC) “Wagner” Evgeny Prigozhin**”⁵⁶.

✓ **various kinds of “shortcomings”⁵⁷, related to the provision of the Russian armed forces with supplies and deliveries and the course of the SMO, which the President himself was repeatedly forced to acknowledge: at a meeting with the mothers of servicemen on November 25, 2022, at a meeting with war correspondents on June 13, 2023, and when answering the questions from journalists and residents of the country on December 14, 2023, etc.**⁵⁸

“... now it has probably become obvious that this reunification [with the new Russian regions] should have happened earlier. Maybe there would not have been so many casualties among civilians, there would not have been so many dead children under shelling, and so on”⁵⁹.

“Of course, during the special military operation it became clear that many things were missing... If there hadn’t been a special military operation, we probably would never have understood how to set up our defense industry in order for our army to be the best in the world”⁶⁰.

[about contracts with private military companies] “Do you know what the problem is? There is a problem. I think these are gaps that should not have been allowed by the Ministry of Defense”⁶¹.

All these failures in the work of the public administration system, in fact, are threats to national security, in addition to external political, economic, military, etc. threats emanating from NATO countries.

And a list of these episodes that have **already happened** under the “Politburo 2.0” can be supplemented with those failures of the public administration system that **are relevant at the moment and, apparently, will be relevant in the near future.**

⁵⁴ Skorobogatyi P. (Deputy Editor-in-Chief, editor of the Policy Department of Expert journal, expert of the Center for Applied Research and Programs). Video interview in the Neutral Zone program (video blog by Israeli journalist A. Waldman). Available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vt2qH1Sk4dc>

⁵⁵ A month since Prigozhin’s rebellion. Available at: https://www.ng.ru/editorial/2023-07-23/2_8780_red.html?ysclid=lktc0xzc7b221294017

⁵⁶ Gaponenko A. Stalin’s revolution. Available at: https://zavtra.ru/blogs/voprosi_stalinizma_8

⁵⁷ The results of the year with Vladimir Putin on December 14, 2023. Available at: <http://www.kremlin.ru/events/president/news/72994>

⁵⁸ For more detail, see: Ilyin V.A., Morev M.V. (2023). At an intermediate stage on the way toward cultural sovereignty. *Economic and Social Changes: Facts, Trends, Forecast*, 16(6), 9–37.

⁵⁹ Vladimir Putin’s meeting with the mothers of military personnel participating in the SMO. Available at: <http://www.kremlin.ru/events/president/news/69935>

⁶⁰ Vladimir Putin’s meeting with war correspondents. Available at: <http://www.kremlin.ru/events/president/transcripts/71391>

⁶¹ The results of the year with Vladimir Putin on December 14, 2023. Available at: <http://www.kremlin.ru/events/president/news/72994>

✓ For example, the fact that **“the smartest statesman with a deep and reverent attitude toward his vocation”⁶² A.R. Belousov is still alone in the system of public administration.** According to experts, such “smart professionals are **not just rare – they are absent**”. But the conditional “Ivanovs”, “Bulgakovs” and “Kibovskys” appear in our country with amazing regularity...;

✓ we can also mention the well-founded doubts of many analysts regarding the personnel program “Time of Heroes” initiated by the President of the Russian Federation on February 29, 2024⁶³ with the aim of “training highly qualified,

“Andrey Belousov is not just a leading Russian economist, and a hereditary economist at that. He is the only practical economist who has risen to such a level in the state power hierarchy. **There are no professionals at this level who understand how the Russian economic model works in reality, and what it really is ...**

Belousov managed to help the president restart the model so that it finally began to work sanely in the conditions of modern realities... Given the fact that in reality Belousov not only oversees the Ministry of Defense, but also fully controls all issues of military production, supplies, movement of industrial personnel and related industries, this is not only huge money, **but also colossal powers. And, in fact, we are talking about a fundamentally non-market industry, more precisely, a group of industries”⁶⁴.**

competent managers from among the participants of the SMO for subsequent work in state and municipal authorities, as well as state-owned companies”⁶⁵; indeed, there are doubts whether the program will be able to “reformat the very idea of the essence of the Russian elite”⁶⁶.

In general, we can agree with experts that the “Time of Heroes” program can become “not just a separate program, but a serious social turn in the life of the Fatherland”.

Expert opinions regarding the “Time of Heroes” program⁶⁷:

K. Sokolov (expert on geopolitics, Corresponding Member of the Russian Academy of Natural Sciences): **““The Time of Heroes” is not just a program, it is a serious social turn in the life of our Fatherland. And this is definitely a project for decades to come.** Indirectly, it asserts the priority of common interests over private ones, which prevail in the West. We are gradually moving toward our traditional spiritual values”.

S. Ereemeev (Candidate of Sciences (Politics), Professor, Deputy of the Legislative Assembly of the Leningrad Region): **““The Time of Heroes” is a big, patriotic and necessary project for the country... the change of managerial elites is something that is overdue.** Today, it is very important that in certain critical areas of management of regions, municipalities, and certain system-forming enterprises there are people **on whom the Motherland can rely.** This will certainly normalize many processes on the ground”.

⁶² “Interesting changes”. Experts on Belousov’s nomination for the post of Minister of Defense (opinion of political scientist S. Karnaukhov). Available at: <https://www.amic.ru/news/interesnye-peremeny-eksperty-ocenili-vydvizhenie-belousova-na-post-ministra-oborony-542466?ysclid=Izxx0z7o5p107940999>

⁶³ Address of the President of the Russian Federation to the Federal Assembly on February 29, 2024. Available at: <http://www.kremlin.ru/events/president/news/73585>

⁶⁴ Sorokin N. Belousov’s mission. Available at: https://zavtra.ru/blogs/missiya_belousova

⁶⁵ The goal indicated on the official website of the “Time of Heroes” program. Available at: [времягероев.рф](http://vremyageroev.rf)

⁶⁶ RIA-novosti. March 21, 2024 (opinion of the President of the Foundation for the Development of Civil Society, political scientist K. Kostin). Available at: <https://crimea.ria.ru/20240301/programma-vremya-geroev-izmenit-predstavlenie-ob-elite-rossii--ekspert-1135350884.html?ysclid=Izauxem4tr11436621>

⁶⁷ Dinegina S. The project of our time: What experts think about the “Time of Heroes” program. Available at: <https://online47.ru/2023/12/05/proekt-nashego-vremeni-cto-dumayut-eksperty-o-kadrovoy-programme-vremya-geroev-193895>

However, it has long been known that if the system as a whole is imbued with the ideology of “crony capitalism” then it **either assimilates any new elements that threaten its existence** (in this case the “Time of Heroes” program graduates) **or eliminates hem.**

Therefore, with all the potential possibilities of the “Time of Heroes” program, we cannot but agree

“The state system is a single organism so that it can reject everything alien that gets into it. Once in power, a representative of the counter-elite must assimilate into the system, otherwise it will reject them, and to the detriment of themselves, because a smart idealistic passionary is dangerous for a stupid, lazy, money-hungry official.

For this reason, a passionary must either **blend into the environment**, getting rid of passionarity and idealism, as well as accustom themselves to greed, or **they will be ground in the millstones of the system**, becoming grain in the mill of the state machine... In other words, the elite reproduces itself, and the prevailing type **creates and engages its own kind, rejecting everything alien... and the true elite can reproduce only if its concentration in power exceeds 50%**⁶⁸.

with the point of view that “the true elite **has yet to face** a difficult confrontation with those who have been nurtured in our universities for years”.

Finally, it is quite possible that an “unproductive competition for influence”, as one of the features of “Politburo 2.0”, which Minchenko Consulting experts talk about, explains the fact that “the most powerful barrier to full-fledged illiberal⁶⁹ [**or anti-liberal, non-liberal**] reforms at the highest levels of the system” **still has not been lifted**⁷⁰, although reputable experts in various fields (academia, executive power, the media, etc.) put forward constructive proposals to improve the effectiveness of public administration in the context of global challenges facing the country (proposals of some experts are presented in *Insert 4*).

“... on the one hand, there is great hope, but also, at the same time, wariness... **our true elite still faces a difficult confrontation with those who have been nurtured in our universities for years:** after all, they will also obtain some leadership positions. **This means that the fighters have everything ahead of them like on the Kulikov Field: “And the battle is eternal. We can only dream of peace”.** It would be good if their mentors explained this to them in advance⁷¹.

⁶⁸ Korovin V. Where are you, Putin’s commissars? Available at: https://zavtra.ru/blogs/gde_vi_komissari_putina

⁶⁹ “Each civilization has its own ideal. Somewhere completely different from the Western one. Somewhere similar, but only partially. **This is what illiberalism consists of – the theses of modern Western liberal civilization are rejected as a universal model. And in their place, each of the civilizations offers its own system of traditional values – Russian, Chinese, Islamic, Indian, etc.**” (Source: Dugin A. Illiberalism in international relations. Available at: https://zavtra.ru/blogs/illiberalizm_v_mezhdunarodnih_otnosheniyah?ysclid=lzpkrtgphf808991264)

⁷⁰ Dugin A. The ideology of “instasamkas” must be destroyed. Available at: <https://izborsk-club.ru/25867?ysclid=m09cei71p1272361579>

⁷¹ Starichkova N. The time of heroes is intended as a long-lasting project: The new elite still has to fight for the right to make decisions in the country (opinion of journalist, TV presenter A. Sheinin). Available at: <https://lentv24.ru/vremya-geroev-eto-nadogo-novoi-elite-eshhyo-predstoyat-bitvy-za-pravo-prinimat-reseniya-v-strane.htm>

Recommendations of some experts on improving the efficiency of public administration

S. Yu. Glazyev⁷²: *“Summarizing a brief digression into the history of the industrial breakthrough of the USSR, we can argue that the institutions of state management of the economy plus the financial policy of those years were the engine of outstripping economic growth in the conditions of a severe sanctions blockade. This economic system survived the Great Patriotic War, showing its literally and figuratively “steely” character. Today, Russia is already at a “great turning point”... Replacing the liberal market template with a paradigm of outstripping economic growth will allow Russia to repeat the grandiose success of previous years”*⁷³.

M.D. Delyagin⁷⁴: *“The severity of the fiscal burden is necessary (vital! Absolutely necessary!) to transfer from Russian production to the export of raw materials and semi-finished products. And also for excisable goods... It is necessary to curb the arbitrariness of monopolies, which is the main factor in price growth in the periods between man-made devaluations... It is necessary to stop the export of capital from the country and its internal migration into cash, invisible to the state, by a direct ban. It is necessary to carry out forced deoffshorization of business... Finally, corruption in the government should be recognized as treason to the Motherland”*⁷⁵.

K.V. Remchukov⁷⁶: *“The Bank of Russia should become the conductor of the government’s economic policy and the president’s instructions in terms of ensuring the stable operation of the internal financial system and providing financial resources for economic development”*⁷⁷.

⁷² Sergey Yurievich Glazyev – Doctor of Sciences (Economics), Professor, Academician of the Russian Academy of Sciences. A specialist in the field of economic development theory, director of the Institute of New Economics of the State Educational Institution of Higher Professional Education of the State University of Management, scientific director of the National Development Institute.

⁷³ Glazyev S. On the paradigm of advanced development of Russia. Available at: <https://izborsk-club.ru/25959?ysclid=m02i3xvqnm681507337>

⁷⁴ Mikhail Gennadievich Delyagin – Doctor of Sciences (Economics), economist, State Duma Deputy, deputy chair of the Commission of the State Duma of the Russian Federation to investigate the facts of interference by foreign states in the internal affairs of Russia and the Committee on Economic Policy. Academician of the Russian Academy of Natural Sciences.

⁷⁵ Delyagin M. To change the priorities of financial policy. Available at: <https://izborsk-club.ru/26034?ysclid=m09hbyfuf383042799>

⁷⁶ Konstantin Vadimovich Remchukov – Candidate of Sciences (Economics), Associate Professor, Professor, editor-in-chief and CEO of Nezavisimaya gazeta, one of the largest periodicals in Russia, chair of the Public Chamber of Moscow.

⁷⁷ Remchukov K. The Bank of Russia and state bankers vs entrepreneurs. Available at: https://www.ng.ru/economics/2024-07-07/1_9043_inflation.html?ysclid=Iziat8j0dx349854602

A.V. Milekhin⁷⁸: *“It is high time to analyze the effectiveness of regulating the legal status of migrants (for example, in the most successful Western countries implementing migration policy there are dozens of different visas and programs for attracting the right categories of migrants), creating conditions for teaching the Russian language, upbringing and education of migrant children, cultural and social integration”*⁷⁹.

A.A. Shirov⁸⁰: *“We keep looking at the dollar exchange rate, although the dollar no longer plays the role in our trade that it used to play two or three years ago. We are increasing payments in rubles and national currencies of friendly countries: yuan, dirhams and so on. At the same time, the tax system, the prices of petroleum products, and the budget rule are tied to the dollar exchange rate. The task is to somehow take into account the changed situation... in the short term, only an increase in export revenues can radically solve the problem, and in the longer term, a reduction in dependence on imports”*⁸¹.

V.Yu. Katasonov⁸²: *“Our legislation on foreign agents defines as such those citizens of the Russian Federation (as well as non-profit organizations and the media) who receive money from abroad... I want to draw attention to the fact that for some reason Russian business falls out of the field of view of our fighters against subversive and wrecking activities... Our domestic companies (including banks) are quite closely monitored for the payment of taxes, compliance with sanitary and epidemiological standards, financing of drug trafficking, laundering of “dirty money”, etc. But their so-called “charitable” activities, as a rule, turn out to be “behind the scenes” of inspections. And this activity can pose a serious threat to Russia’s national security. And it is necessary to establish the verification of the “philanthropic” activities of Russian business as soon as possible”*⁸³.

⁷⁸ Andrey Viktorovich Milekhin – Doctor of Sciences (Sociology), Candidate of Sciences (Psychology), President of the ROMIR Research Holding, professor at Lomonosov Moscow State University and the Russian University of Medicine (former MGMSU named after A.I. Evdokimov), Academician of the Russian Academy of Natural Sciences.

⁷⁹ Milekhin A.V. Demography. Horizon 2040. White Book: Collection. P. 34. Available at: <https://asi.ru/library/main/198226/>

⁸⁰ Aleksandr Aleksandrovich Shirov – Doctor of Sciences (Economics), Corresponding Member of the Russian Academy of Sciences, Professor, director of the Institute of Economic Forecasting of the Russian Academy of Sciences, leading researcher at the Department of Macroeconomic Policy and Strategic Management of Lomonosov Moscow State University.

⁸¹ Economist Aleksandr Shirov: “Without export growth, the issue of currency restrictions will arise”. Available at: <https://fedpress.ru/interview/3267754>

⁸² Valentin Yuryevich Katasonov – Doctor of Sciences (Economics), Professor, corresponding member of the Academy of Economic Sciences and Entrepreneurship, chair of the Russian Sharapov Economic Society (RES), editor-in-chief of RES periodical *Nashe delo* journal.

⁸³ Katasonov V. Where do the pests get their money from. Available at: https://zavira.ru/blogs/otkuda_den_gi_u_vreditelej

Thus, real life shows that under the current model of Politburo 2.0, significant failures occur in the work of the public administration system related to personnel policy, blocking constructive expert proposals and ultimately leading to actual threats to national security (in particular, to the conditionality of internal causes of difficult situations in the course of conducting the SMO).

The struggle of elite interests in the President's entourage, specific personalities in elite circles abusing their official position or lobbying strategically short-sighted management decisions – all this explains the essence of the experts' viewpoint that “the state should be returned to its native harbor”.

In fact, this means moving away from liberal capitalism, from “crony capitalism” to “social capitalism”, which is its “direct opposite”, “closely intertwined with the concept of social state”.

Without this “return”, it is impossible to achieve a breakthrough either in preserving people, or in the fairness of managerial decision-making, or in improving the quality of life, as the President pointed out during his inauguration, when he set the task of ensuring the continuity of the country's development (to himself, to the Politburo 2.0, to the entire Russian society) for decades to come.

D. Golubovsky: “Planned social capitalism in its purest form is the **direct opposite of liberal capitalism, in fact, its dialectical reflection**”⁸⁴.

D. Grigoriev: “Social capitalism is a collective name for those models of the capitalist economy that include a **developed system of social protection**. For example, affordable mass education, healthcare, labor market control, opportunities for horizontal and vertical mobility, and the like. **This is closely intertwined with the concept of a welfare state**”⁸⁵.

S. Karaganov: “**From my point of view, our goal should be to build a society of social capitalism, but governed by the state.**

At the same time, the government should be authoritarian, but with elements of democracy, especially at the grassroots level.

And the third element of the future society should be unity, a sense of being one people, even, I reiterate, a God-chosen people, which in fact we have always been...

Today, the authorities, together with the intellectual elite of the country, need to develop what we call the Russian idea, the Russian dream, the way we want to see ourselves and Russia. But this vision should be based on an understanding of the world and an understanding of where humanity is moving, what is happening around us and inside us”⁸⁶.

⁸⁴ Golubovsky D. Social capitalism – the future of the world economy (expert of Kalita Finans company, analyst at Finam.ru). Available at: <https://www.finam.ru/publications/item/social-kapitalizm-budushee-mirovoiy-ekonomiki-20090930-1212/>

⁸⁵ What is social capitalism? (quote from D. Grigoriev, expert in economics, employee of the Center for Economic Research at the Institute of Globalization and Social Movements). Available at: https://yandex.ru/q/question/chto_takoe_sotsialnyi_kapitalizm_5eaa8c3d/

⁸⁶ Kukhianidze S. Russia can afford both guns and oil (interview with S. Karaganov). Available at: <https://ria.ru/20240711/karaganov-1958763311.html>

It is no coincidence that all these conditions for ensuring the continuity of the country’s development, according to some estimates, raise “the most acute problems” for Russia. Even though both the President and the Government of the Russian Federation continue to take really important measures on a daily basis to maintain the standard of living, strengthen national economy and defense capability (*Insert 5*).

“We clearly see the most acute internal problems of Russia’s development... **First of all, this is a demographic “pit” (not a “pit”, but an abyss).** On average, minus half a million Russian citizens annually for a quarter of a century. And this year, the rate of extinction has not decreased at all: natural decline, the excess of mortality over birth rate, according to Rosstat, in January amounted to more than 78 thousand.

Poverty (it covers at least a quarter of the Russian population). And according to the data that were voiced at the Congress of RUSO [All-Russian Society “Russian Scientists of Socialist Orientation”], at least 50 million of our citizens live on 16–20 thousand per month”⁸⁷.

Here we should note that the monitoring of management decisions made by the President and the Government of the Russian Federation, which we have been conducting since June 2022, indicates that without these steps Russia would not have been able to “withstand absolutely unprecedented external pressure, the onslaught of sanctions by some ruling elites in the so-called Western bloc”⁸⁸. According to experts, “The Government

“The productivity of executive authorities has more than doubled: if in the period from 2000 to 2020, an average of 950 acts (resolutions) of the Russian government were adopted annually, then in 2020–2022 – more than 2 thousand acts per year; budget execution of national projects has sharply increased – from 90% of the plan in 2019 to 97% or more in 2020 and 2021. Schemes and procedures for project and program financing, public-private partnerships, and interactive strategic planning are being worked out. **Despite constant external shocks, the executive branch manages to maintain a systems approach to managing key sectors of the economy, without straying into the working hours of the fire brigade and without going beyond the restrictions established by law...**

As a result of timely and competent actions, Russia not only managed to preserve its economy, but also open up new opportunities for its development... No matter how sophisticated our detractors were in inventing new sanctions to hit the Russian economy, timely measures were taken to neutralize them. Moreover, in such a way that their consequences affected not so much the socio-economic situation of Russia as the sanctioners themselves”⁸⁹.

consistently and methodically, in the signature style of the prime minister – “below the radar” – continues its daily effective work”⁹⁰.

But, apparently, even these measures are not enough to overcome the “most acute problems” like poverty and demographic gap, which Deputy O.N. Osadchy speaks about.

⁸⁷ Speech by Deputy N.I. Osadchy at the plenary session of the State Duma on April 2, 2024. Available at: <https://www.rline.tv/news/2024-04-03-n-i-osadchiy-vystupil-na-plenarnom-zasedanii-gosudarstvennoy-dumy/>

⁸⁸ Vladimir Putin’s speech at a meeting on the draft federal budget for 2024–2026. Available at: <http://www.kremlin.ru/events/president/news/72284>

⁸⁹ Glazyev S.Yu. Oil, and guns, and vaccines. Available at: https://www.ng.ru/economics/2023-01-19/5_8639_government.html?ysclid=m056rf07hl775068039

⁹⁰ Delyagin M. Mishustin’s government is solving pressing problems of the economy. Available at: https://zavtra.ru/blogs/pravitel_stvo_mishustina_reshaet_nasushnie_problemi_ekonomiki

The monitoring of regulatory legal acts (laws, decrees) signed by the RF President in the period from June 19 to August 14, 2024⁹¹

MEASURES TO SUPPORT THE PARTICIPANTS OF THE SMO AND THEIR FAMILY MEMBERS, TO DEVELOP THE MILITARY-INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX, MEASURES ON MOBILIZATION, ORGANIZATION OF MARTIAL LAW, IMPROVEMENT OF ANTI-TERRORIST PROTECTION OF FACILITIES

June 26 – Decree 554 “On monthly compensation payments to certain categories of military personnel undergoing military service under a contract”. A monthly compensation payment has been established for military personnel who have signed a contract for military service starting from February 24, 2022, and those taking part in the SMO, who were recipients of a superannuation pension, which was appointed in accordance with RF Law N 4468-I, dated February 12, 1993, and the payment of which was suspended in accordance with part two of Article 6 of the said Law, in addition to a monetary allowance in the amount of 100% of the superannuation pension paid on the day of suspension of payment of this pensions, taking into account the increase (indexation) of the pension amount after the suspension of its payment.

July 22 – Federal Law “On amendments to Article 14 of the Federal Law “On the state defense order”. The RF Government is entitled to establish cases in which the head contractor, executors, and military representations of the state customer are required to submit to the antimonopoly authority information on the facts of suppliers (performers, contractors) raising prices for raw materials, materials and components, works, and services necessary to fulfill the state defense order.

July 22 – Federal Law “On amendments to Article 159-1 of the Federal Law “On the state defense order”. The list of grounds for issuing requirements by the supervisory authority for the termination of actions (inaction) by an economic entity that contain signs of violation of legislation in the field of state defense orders is expanding. Such a requirement will be issued (in addition to the refusal or evasion of an economic entity from entering into a contract) if the economic entity fails to submit a price offer for products under a state defense order, information on the costs of executed contracts, as well as information necessary to change the price of the contract.

July 31 – Decree 644 “On a one-time monetary payment to military personnel undergoing military service under contract in the Armed Forces of the Russian Federation”. The amount of one-time payment to conscripts, active-duty soldiers and other citizens who signed a military service contract from August 1 to December 31, 2024 to perform their military service tasks for a period of 1 year or more has been increased to 400 thousand rubles.

August 8 – Federal Law “On the specifics of application and execution of disciplinary arrest against military personnel taking part in the special military operation”. Certain gross disciplinary offenses are determined (from the list provided for by the Federal Law “On the status of military personnel”), for which a disciplinary arrest may be imposed by the relevant commander (chief), as well as the term of such arrest. Among them: violation of the statutory rules of relations between military personnel; unauthorized abandonment of a military unit or a place of military service established outside a military unit; failure to appear on time without valid reasons for service during appointment, transfer, as well as from a business trip, vacation or medical organization; evasion from performing military service duties; violation of the rules of combat duty (combat service), border guard service, guard duty, internal service; intentional destruction, damage, illegal expenditure or use of military property; destruction or damage of military property by negligence, etc.

⁹¹ The insert is a continuation of the monitoring of the most important regulatory legal acts signed by the RF President; we have been conducting the monitoring since June 2022. Thus, it has been going on for 19 months; its results have been published in 10 articles (the first issue of the monitoring is presented in the article: Ilyin V.A., Morev M.V. (2022). A difficult road after the Rubicon. *Economic and Social Changes: Facts, Trends, Forecast*, 15(3), 9–41).

<p>August 8 – Federal Law “On amendments to the Code of Administrative Offences of the Russian Federation”. Administrative responsibility is established for non-fulfillment or improper fulfillment by an official of the executive authority of a constituent entity of the Russian Federation or a local government body or the head of an organization of the duties assigned to them for the organization and implementation of measures for territorial defense.</p> <p>August 8 – Federal Law “On amendments to the Federal Law “On military duty and military service”. Officials (employees) of organizations responsible for military accounting work are given the right to send to military commissariats information about citizens necessary for maintaining military records through the state information system “Unified register of information about citizens subject to initial military registration, citizens who are on military registration, as well as about citizens who are not, but those who are obliged to be registered in the military”.</p> <p>August 8 – Federal Law “On amendments to Articles 28 and 284 of the Federal Law “On the status of military personnel”. Commanders of military units (heads of control bodies of other troops, heads of military police, heads of garrisons) are empowered to apply disciplinary arrest to warrant officers, midshipmen, sergeants, petty officers, soldiers and sailors who have committed gross disciplinary offenses.</p> <p>August 8 – Federal Law “On amendments to Article 4 of the Federal Law “On military duty and military service” and Article 22 of the Federal Law “On citizenship of the Russian Federation”. The internal affairs bodies are obliged to provide information in electronic form about male persons in respect of whom a decision has been made to become a citizen of the Russian Federation and it is planned to organize the swearing-in of a citizen of the Russian Federation. Failure by a citizen to fulfill the obligation to initially register for military service is established as the basis for termination of citizenship of the Russian Federation.</p> <p>August 13 – Decree 691 “On the Naval Board of the Russian Federation”. The Naval Board is creating a Council for the Strategic Development of the Navy, a Council for the Protection of National Interests in the Arctic and a Council for the Development and Provision of Maritime Activities. N. Patrushev, Assistant to the President, was appointed chair of the Board.</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">MEASURES TO PROTECT INFORMATION SECURITY AND REGULATE THE ACTIVITIES OF FOREIGN AGENTS, MEASURES AIMED AT THE EDUCATION AND UPBRINGING OF THE YOUNGER GENERATION</p> <p>July 2 – Decree 569 “On amendments to Presidential Decree. 73 dated January 27, 2024 “On the temporary procedure for disclosure and provision of information by business entities that are economically significant organizations and some other persons”. Economically significant organizations (ESO) are required to send a notification to the Bank of Russia or the Ministry of Economic Development about the presence (absence) of foreign persons who directly or indirectly own shares (shares in the authorized capital) of ESO, indicating the size of the share of foreign ownership.</p> <p>July 13 – Federal Law “On amendments to Articles 4 and 6 of the Federal Law “On the status of a Senator of the Russian Federation and the status of a Deputy of the State Duma of the Federal Assembly of the Russian Federation”. It establishes the obligation of a senator of the Russian Federation, a deputy of the State Duma, to coordinate their departure from the territory of the Russian Federation, with the exception of business trips, in accordance with the procedure and terms determined by the council of the relevant chamber of the Federal Assembly of the Russian Federation. In case of violation of this duty, the powers of a senator of the Russian Federation, a deputy of the State Duma may be terminated prematurely.</p> <p>August 8 – Federal Law “On amendments to the Federal Law “On information, information technologies and information protection” and certain legislative acts of the Russian Federation”. It provides for the obligation of owners of social medias to monitor them in order to identify information that offends human dignity and public morality, expresses obvious disrespect for society, contains images of actions with signs of illegal, including violent, and distributed from hooligan, selfish or other base motives – the so-called trash stream, as well as restriction by Roskomnadzor access to such information at the request of the Prosecutor General of the Russian Federation or their deputies.</p>
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August 8 – Federal Law “On amendments to certain legislative acts of the Russian Federation”. It provides for the possibility of recognizing undesirable activities on the territory of the Russian Federation of foreign or international organizations that are not part of the structure of state authorities of foreign states, the founders (participants) of which are state bodies of foreign states. At the same time, the Federal Law “On amendments to Article 284.1 of the Criminal Code of the Russian Federation” was adopted, according to which criminal liability is provided for violation of the prohibition established by law on carrying out activities not only of a foreign or international non-governmental organization, but also of an organization whose founder (participant) are state bodies of a foreign state, if a decision has been made regarding such an organization to recognize its activities on the territory of the Russian Federation as undesirable.

August 8 – Federal Law “On amendments to the Code of Administrative Offences of the Russian Federation”. Administrative liability has been established for the distribution of works of literature and art containing information about illegal drug activities in violation of the requirements for labeling such works established by the Federal Law “On narcotic drugs and psychotropic substances”.

August 8 – Federal Law “On amendments to certain legislative acts of the Russian Federation”. It establishes the possibility of denying access to information (in providing information) about the bodies of the federal security service, which constitute a state and other legally protected secret, not only to individuals, but also to legal entities. It provides for the expansion of the circle of persons obliged to respect the confidentiality of information about the activities of the federal security service, which constitutes a professional secret, and the requirements for its protection, as well as granting the head of the federal executive authority in the field of security the right to establish these requirements.

August 8 – Federal Law “On amendments to certain legislative acts of the Russian Federation”. The examination of textbooks and teaching aids is attributed to the main tasks of the Russian Academy of Sciences.

August 8 – Federal Law “On amendments to Articles 4.5 and 20.33 of the Code of Administrative Offences of the Russian Federation”. The provisions of the Code of Administrative Offences of the Russian Federation are clarified, providing for administrative liability for participation in the activities of a foreign or international organization in respect of which a decision has been made to recognize its activities as undesirable in the territory of the Russian Federation, as well as establishing the statute of limitations for bringing to administrative liability for these administrative offenses.

August 8 – Federal Law “On amendments to the Federal Law “On communications” and certain legislative acts of the Russian Federation”. A contract for the provision of mobile radiotelephone communication services with a foreign citizen or a stateless person is concluded upon presentation to the communication operator of an identity document of a foreign citizen or a stateless person, subject to confirmation of the reliability of information about such a person using a unified identification and authentication system and a unified biometric system. In relation to contracts with foreign citizens or stateless persons, it is envisaged to link the use of an identification module (SIM card) to specific user equipment.

August 8 – Federal Law “On amendments to certain legislative acts of the Russian Federation”. It provides for the possibility of using a unified information system in the field of volunteerism development, including maintaining registers of mentors involved in individual preventive work with minors, and organizations involved in the prevention of neglect and juvenile delinquency. Also, the Federal Law “On control over the activities of persons under foreign influence” is amended, according to which foreign agents are prohibited from participating in activities aimed at preventing neglect and juvenile delinquency.

**MEASURES TO PROVIDE SOCIO-ECONOMIC SUPPORT TO THE GENERAL POPULATION,
STRENGTHEN THE NATIONAL ECONOMY, INCLUDING IN THE INTERNATIONAL ARENA**

July 8 – Federal Law “On amendments to Article 17 of the Federal Law “On compulsory pension insurance in the Russian Federation” and Article 26 of the Federal Law “On insurance pensions”. It is planned to resume the annual indexation of insurance pensions for working pensioners from January 1, 2025 in accordance with the procedure in force until January 1, 2016.

July 12 – Federal Law “On amendments to parts one and two of the Tax Code of the Russian Federation, certain legislative acts of the Russian Federation and the invalidation of certain provisions of legislative acts of the Russian Federation”. New differentiated personal income tax rates are being established depending on the amount and type of income received by the taxpayer in the tax period. The new rates for this tax do not apply to the income of individuals participating in the SMO or working in the Far North. “The amendments introduced provide for a five-step personal income tax scale; 5 tax rates are set: 13% – for incomes up to 2.4 million rubles per year; 15% – from 2.4 million to 5 million rubles per year; 18% – from 5 million to 20 million rubles per year; 20% – from 20 million to 50 million rubles per year; 22% – over 50 million rubles per year. The progressive scale of taxation will affect 3% of the working-age population of the country with incomes over 2.4 million rubles per year”⁹².

July 13 – Federal Law “On the annual family payment to citizens of the Russian Federation who have two or more children”. It is envisaged to provide additional measures of state support in the form of an annual cash payment to citizens with two or more children under the age of 18 (up to 23 years in the case of full-time education). The amount of the payment is determined as the difference between the amount of the estimated calculated personal income tax on the applicant’s income received in the year preceding the year of applying for the purpose of payment and the amount calculated from the same income in the amount of 6%.

July 13 – Federal Law “On amendments to the Federal Law “On compulsory state life and health insurance for military personnel, citizens called up for military training, ordinary and commanding officers of the internal affairs bodies of the Russian Federation, the State Fire Service, employees of institutions and bodies of the penal enforcement system, employees of the National Guard troops of the Russian Federation, employees of enforcement agencies of the Russian Federation”. The right to receive insurance payments in connection with the death of a serviceman to his children under 23 years of age is established.

July 13 – Federal Law “On amendments to Articles 7 and 37 of the Law of the Russian Federation “On pension provision for persons who have served in military service, service in internal affairs bodies, the State Fire Service, bodies for the control of trafficking in narcotic drugs and psychotropic substances, institutions and bodies of the penal enforcement system, troops of the National Guard of the Russian Federation, bodies compulsory execution of the Russian Federation and their families” and Article 3 of the Federal Law “On state pension provision in the Russian Federation”. It establishes the right to receive two pensions at the same time from childhood of groups I and II, whose parents died in the course of the SMO.

July 22 – Federal Law “On amendments to the Federal Law “On banks and banking activities”. Citizens who are recipients of social protection (support) measures are given the opportunity to open, using the Unified Portal of State and Municipal Services (functions), one social bank deposit with guaranteed accrual of income for the amount of the deposit for a period equal to one year, with the possibility of its extension.

⁹² Comment of E. Khablova, deputy head of the Federal Tax Service of Russia for the Khabarovsk Territory. Available at: <https://www.nalog.gov.ru/m27/news/smi/15145840/>

Thus, in order to preserve national sovereignty, Russia needs a victory in the SMO and, in general, the end of the conflict with NATO in an agreement that would provide it with security guarantees and opportunities for sovereign development for a long historical perspective.

But further ensuring the continuity of the national development course will depend primarily on addressing internal problems, and this (as experts note) “requires moving into a new historical cycle in a most serious and comprehensive way”⁹⁵.

And here the responsibility lies primarily with the President. P.A. Florensky⁹⁶, an outstanding Russian thinker who “made considerable contribution to philosophy and science”⁹⁷, wrote back in 1933 that “**politics is a specialty inaccessible to the masses**”, and the head of state should be “**a person of a prophetic disposition**”; he should “**have an intuition of future culture**”, on the basis of which, “**albeit vague**”, he should “**forge society**”⁹⁸.

Society obeys such a leader “not out of fear, but because of the trembling consciousness that we have before us a miracle and a living phenomenon of the creative power of humankind”, but at the same time, **it is the head of state who bears all responsibility: “he decides for himself and he should consider only himself responsible for his decision. It is his fault if the material given to him turned out to be insufficiently complete or of poor quality: his business is to choose his advisers” (Insert 6).**

These conceptual conclusions about the qualities of the personality of the head of state and their role in the history of the country were

formulated by P.A. Florensky 100 years ago, but they are also relevant today, in the 21st century.

In conclusion, we note that today many analysts, assessing Russia’s position in relation to the Collective West, point out that “**a policy based on the principle of “one step forward, two steps back” is disastrous for Russia**”, inconsistency of decisions “throws” our country into the background, while otherwise it simply has no option but to come to the fore... Perhaps the same can be said about the West “inside us”; inside our country.

“Forget about diplomacy. **A policy based on the principle of “one step forward, two steps back” is disastrous for Russia** at a time when the final outcome of international competition depends on our determination.

Acting inconsistently, yielding to the enemy and agreeing with him, we push ourselves into the background, at a time when, on the contrary, we are obliged to come to the fore. **Russia simply cannot have another plan**”⁹⁷.

Already in the coming years (according to V.I. Pantin, Doctor of Sciences (Philosophy), chief researcher at Primakov National Research Institute of World Economy and International Relations of the Russian Academy of Sciences, and economic columnist K.V. Rodionov) a “**new era of reforms**” will begin in Russia, which will be based on the “**evolutionary renewal of the political elite**” and will not be accompanied by “**the breakdown of political institutions and collapse of the state**”⁹⁸.

⁹³ Dugin A. The ideology of “instasamkas” must be destroyed. Available at: <https://izborsk-club.ru/25867?ysclid=m09cei71p1272361579>

⁹⁴ Dmitriev V. Pavel Florensky’s self-sufficient Russia. Available at: https://www.ng.ru/ideas/2024-08-20/8_9075_ideas.html?ysclid=m050v6ryo0502335944

⁹⁵ Pavel Aleksandrovich Florensky (1882–1937) was an outstanding Orthodox thinker of the early 20th century, theologian, historian of philosophy, philologist, art historian, organizer of the museum business in the Holy Trinity– Saint Sergius Lavra, mathematician, physicist, electrical engineer, author of numerous inventions in various fields of science and technology, as well as works on philosophy, mathematics, grammar, astronomy and others (source: official publication of the Russian Orthodox Church, the journal of the Moscow Patriarchate Tserkovnyi vestnik. Available at: http://e-vestnik.ru/reviews/florenskie_i_amfiteatrovy/?ysclid=m0c1pamvpm233953088).

⁹⁶ Florensky P.A. The proposed state structure in the future (1933). Available at: <https://varvar.ru/arhiv/texts/florenskiy1.html>

⁹⁷ Forget about diplomacy. A policy based on the principle of “one step forward, two steps back” is disastrous for Russia. Available at: <https://dzen.ru/a/YtXQyMjlPkkPwGCg?ysclid=lzi4lstdi2x117960588>

⁹⁸ Pantin V.I., Rodionov K.V. The era of new reforms. The coming year 2025 will be an important frontier for Russia and the world. Available at: https://www.ng.ru/ideas/2024-08-20/7_9075_ideas.html?ysclid=m050jktgyn935836216

Excerpts from the book by P.A. Florensky *The Proposed State Structure in the Future* (1933)⁹⁹

“Of all the natural resources of the country, cadres represent the most valuable wealth... Taking care of their finding and preservation and full-fledged development should be one of the most important tasks of the state... A creative personality is a rare phenomenon, a kind of radium of humanity, and it is necessary to look for it bit by bit. The state government should develop an apparatus for catching such grains from the general population”.

“... politics is a specialty as inaccessible to the masses as medicine or mathematics”.

“To be able to listen to everyone who deserves to be listened to, but to act responsibly according to one’s own decision and bear the image of state responsibility for this decision – this is the task of the ruler of the state. He should have abundant material from the most knowledgeable and trustworthy citizens, he confers as much as is necessary to clarify the matter to the degree of clarity available in the current historical conditions, but he decides for himself and he should consider only himself responsible for his decision. It is his fault if the material given to him turned out to be insufficiently complete or of poor quality: his business is to choose his advisers”.

“Capitalism is a phenomenon that ultimately leads to death, but talented capitalists are the natural wealth of the country, which could be used in the right way... The task of the state is not to proclaim the formal equality of all its citizens, but to put each citizen in suitable conditions under which they will be able to show what they are capable of”.

“No parliaments, constituent assemblies, conferences and other polyphony will be able to take humanity out of dead ends and swamps... A person with an intuition of the future culture, a person of a prophetic disposition, is required. This person, based on his intuition, albeit vague, should forge a society... There is only one right to create a new system, which should open a new period of history and a new culture corresponding to it, – the power of genius, the power to create this system. This right alone is not of human origin, and therefore deserves the name divine. And no matter how such a creator of culture is called – dictator, ruler, emperor or otherwise, we will consider him a true autocrat and obey him not out of fear, but because of the trembling consciousness that we have before us a miracle and a living phenomenon of the creative power of humankind”.

“The individualization of language, economics, everyday life, education, art, religion, and any minorities is considered not as a sad necessity or a temporary tactical measure, but as a positive value in public life. Just as the diversity of crops in agriculture provides opportunities for intensive farming, so the diversity of folk cultures makes it possible for the state to have such a wealth of characters, life interests, and economic advantages that cannot be with a monotonous population... It may not always be easy for each of the peoples to find their own function in the great cooperation of the peoples that make up the union, but what are rulers for if not for solving difficult issues”.

⁹⁹ Florensky P.A. *The Proposed State Structure in the Future* (1933). Available at: <https://varvar.ru/arhiv/texts/florenskiy1.html>

Such a course of events will fully correspond to Vladimir Putin's words that "our state and socio-political system must be strong and resistant to any threats and challenges, ensuring the progressive and stable development, as well as the unity and independence of our country... Our state and social systems must be flexible, creating conditions for renewal and progress"¹⁰⁰.

But in order for this to really happen, it is necessary to "take advantage of the new opportunities

"Around 2025, Russia is highly likely to begin a transition to a new era of reforms, which will be dictated by internal prerequisites (including the exhaustion of the current model of economic growth based on large-scale budget injections) and shifts on the world stage.

The prologue for a new era is likely to be the evolutionary renewal of the political elite, which at the same time will not be accompanied by the breakdown of political institutions and the collapse of the state, as it was in 1917 or in 1989–1991...

In general, **the coming years will open up new opportunities for transformation in Russia, including the creation of working state institutions and deep economic reform. Whether Russia will be able to take advantage of them depends not only on global shifts, but also on the ability of the intellectual, entrepreneurial and political class to keep a cool head in an era of reforms and upheavals"**¹⁰¹.

that open up for transformation in Russia". And not only the "intellectual, entrepreneurial and political class" should do it, but above all the President, who, through his actions over the previous 24 years, convincingly proved that he is "guided solely by state interests"¹⁰² and "understands the depth of responsibility for each of his decisions".

Vladimir Putin (address to Russians during the inauguration on May 1, 2000): "I understand that I have taken on a great responsibility, and I know that **in Russia the head of state has always been and will always be the person who is responsible for everything in the country...** I can assure you that my work will be guided **solely by the interests of the state"**¹⁰³.

"Vladimir Putin is being hurried; people express their dissatisfaction problems are not being solved so quickly, and the victory [in the SMO] is not expected so soon. **But this is the wisdom of a politician: to see the situation as a whole, with a perspective for the future, to take into account all the very different interests of many social groups. Vladimir Putin is very careful, because he understands the depth of responsibility for his every decision, for every step he takes, for the historical fate of the country.** Therefore, his measured non-haste forms a solid foundation for the future of Russia; **his ability to see the complexity and versatility of Russian society leads to the consolidation of people, which determines the inevitability of success of the chosen political course"**¹⁰⁴.

¹⁰⁰ Vladimir Putin's speech at the inauguration ceremony, May 7, 2024. Available at: <http://www.kremlin.ru/events/president/news/73981>

¹⁰¹ Pantin V.I., Rodionov K.V. The era of new reforms. The coming year 2025 will be an important frontier for Russia and the world. Available at: https://www.ng.ru/ideas/2024-08-20/7_9075_ideas.html?ysclid=m050jktgyn935836216

¹⁰² Vladimir Putin's speech at the inauguration ceremony, May 7, 2000. Available at: <http://www.kremlin.ru/events/president/transcripts/21399>

¹⁰³ Ibidem.

¹⁰⁴ Reliance on the majority of Russians. March 28, 2023 (opinion of V. Savichev, director of the Institute for Strategic Studies of the Republic of Bashkortostan, Candidate of Sciences (Politics)). Available at: <https://ufa.bezformata.com/listnews/oporana-bolshinstvo-rossiyan/115663442/>

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