

The effect of education on nationalism
and ethnic exclusionism in modern
Russia.

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Acknowledgments

Слава Україні!

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1. Introduction

In the aftermath of the 2011-2012 protests in Russia, the federal government developed a keen interest in fostering a sense of patriotism through education. The nation, undergoing substantial transformations, witnessed the emergence of a lack of cohesive national identity or, in some cases, a distorted one. This situation became evident in the composition of the aforementioned protests, which primarily consisted of what Mr. Surkov¹ referred to as "annoyed urbanites" (Shishkunova 2011). The protest demographic represented a collective cohort encompassing individuals active in social media, young professionals residing in urban areas, and accomplished, highly educated individuals from the working or middle class (Laruelle 2017; Barry 2011; Kramer 2011). It was this particular generation, amongst other groups, that experienced limited or conflicting civic education amidst a shifting landscape of patriotic discourses driven by substantial changes in national identities. In 2013, President Putin proposed the establishment of a comprehensive series of textbooks that would present an official perspective on historical events. At that time, 67 national history textbooks were recommended for implementation in secondary schools. However, as of 2023, the educational landscape has undergone significant changes, leading to the endorsement of only three distinct lines of textbooks for utilization within schools (Rossiiskaia gazeta 2013; Ministry of Enlightenment 2022).

Kremlin's attempts to engage youth in 'civic' patriotic (mono-) dialogue are not a novelty after protests. *Nashi*² [Youth Democratic Anti-Fascist Movement "Ours!"], as Nalm called it 'government organized non-governmental organization' (Nalm 2009), was an institution to engage apolitical youth in "preventive counter-orange [strategies]" (Horvath 2011). Atwal provides a different position emphasizing the mutual accord between activists, leaders, and the state (Atwal and Bacon 2012; Atwal 2009). The Kremlin's underlying conflict was existential: *values versus interests* in engaging youth agency. In this dynamic, it appears that the pursuit of interests gained prominence over the promotion of values (despite the debate on the existence of such). The notion of patriotism, under the umbrella of 'sovereign democracy,' was utilized by the regime to consolidate power. However, the tools employed in youth engagement, such as nationalism, colonial discourses, xenophobia, and ethnic exclusionism, primarily served the regime's interests in

¹ Deputy Prime Minister of Russia at that time.

² For a more detailed overview of the activities and goals of *Nashi*, see: (Hemment 2012; Atwal and Bacon 2012; Lassila 2014).

maintaining a homogeneous nation-state rather than embodying a genuine commitment to the values associated with a nation.

After the beginning of the full-scale Russian invasion of Ukraine on February 24, 2022 (as part of the Russo-Ukrainian War beg. 2014)³, the Russian government intensified its control over primary and secondary education. Around 17.7 million students were exposed to a curated curriculum, including mandatory "Conversations about important things" classes that conveyed government perspectives on political and historical events. Teachers were provided with materials⁴, limiting their autonomy. Students had to attend meetings with veterans of SMO, significantly increased the number of patriotic activities, and "Early Military Preparation" classes are expected to begin in the new academic year. It is worth mentioning that the scale of disobedience in conducting these lessons and participation in such is yet unknown and should be researched; Chairwoman of the Federation Council, Upper house of the Russian parliament, Valentina Matviyenko stated that "Conversations [about important things] turned into a formality due to unpreparedness of teachers" (RBC 2023).

In authoritarian contexts, such as present-day Russia, textbooks often become vehicles for ideological messaging and reinforcing political narratives. The present study endeavors to scrutinize the role of history education in Russian schools, specifically exploring its contribution to the cultivation of nationalism and ethnic exclusionism within the country's socio-cultural fabric. By investigating the institutional transformations that have transpired in history education since 1992, this research aims to discern the underlying mechanisms employed by the Russian government to imbue schools with indoctrination and harness national history textbooks as vehicles for propagating nationalistic discourses. Consequently, the primary research question emerges as follows:

How have Russian schools embedded the narratives of nationalism and ethnic exclusionism through history education?

³ Full-scale Russian invasion of Ukraine that started on February 24, 2022, is called by Russian officials and some educators a Special Military Operation (*spetsialnaia voyennaia operatsiia* or *SVO*). Both terms (Russian invasion of Ukraine and Special Military Operation/*SVO*/SMO) will be used in this research; this should not be considered as a positionality statement of the author.

⁴ Developed by the "Znanie [knowledge]" Society founded by V. Putin under Presidential Order #617. For a full (as part of the research) scheme of the Kremlin's influence on education, refer to Annex B.

This inquiry is further guided by two subquestions: (1) How has the Russian government indoctrinated history education in schools and used national history textbooks for nationalistic discourses? and (2) How do national history textbooks contribute to the perpetuation of narratives of ethnic exclusionism in present-day Russia? By delving into these questions, this study aims to shed light on the intricate interplay between history education, nationalism, and ethnic exclusion in the Russian context.

Theories of autocratic legalism, nationalism, national identity, and internal colonialism will be discussed in the Chapter 2. Autocratic legalism (Scheppele 2018) will be used to understand the role of state power and control in shaping the narratives presented in the textbooks and indoctrination. (Ethno)nationalism and Russian national identity will be briefly examined to explore how it influences the construction of historical narratives and the portrayal of internal colonial narratives. Finally, the concept of internal colonialism will be utilized to investigate the dynamics of power and control within Russia's diverse regions (specifically, ethnic republics) and how it may be reflected in the textbooks' narratives. The empirical novelty of the research is grounded in the new evidence: new editions of the national history textbooks have been pre-published. This research is focused on analyzing the newest editions of the *Russkoe Slovo* textbook, where information about the Russian invasion of Ukraine in 2022 has been added.

The present research is substantiated by the premise that the progression towards autocracy in Russia, encompassing its manifestation within the educational sphere, cannot be comprehended as an inevitable historical process. The outcomes should be taken apart, and the causes must be investigated; it has significance in informing policy decisions, particularly in light of the deteriorating state of contemporary democratic regimes. Consequently, investigating the potential scenarios for such a transition (and indoctrination) holds the potential to facilitate the implementation of corrective measures aimed at averting the descent into autocratic regimes and using education as a tool of mere propaganda. As a result, this research paper adds to three distinct lines of scholarly literature: first, the studies on Russian post-Soviet autocratic law under the heading of authoritarianism; second, the scholarship on ethnonationalism in Russian education; and third, the still underdeveloped studies on Russian colonialism representation and Russian national identity.

2. Literature Review

The duality of the research subject at hand, which pertains to the examination of the role of Russian education (within the realms of its indoctrination) in fostering nationalism, prompts the identification of two primary domains of analysis: mechanisms of authoritarianism, for the purpose of elucidating the tools employed in educational indoctrination, and (ethno)nationalism, along with its ramifications within education. This research also relies on scholarly literature in legal studies to gain insights into the process of indoctrination in the context of education, which are discussed first (2.1. Institutional Indoctrination of Education in Russia). To comprehensively analyze nationalism and ethnic exclusionism, a solid understanding of political theory is essential, particularly in relation to national identity and its manifestation within the Russian context through (internal) colonization; which are analyzed in the second part of this chapter (2.2. Nationalism and Ethnic Exclusionism in Russian History Texts).

2.1. Rex est Lex: Institutional Indoctrination of Education in Russia

2.1.1. Centralized Governance in Educational Control

An examination of the mechanisms employed to instill specific historical narratives in Russian education can be comprehended within the context of the distinctive attributes characterizing the facilitation and administration of the Russian political system. Kremlin regime exhibits a strong adherence to bureaucratic procedures and formalities, ‘paperwork’. “Putin [...] had consolidated his power through law” (Scheppelle 2018). This argument holds merit when considering law as statutes or rules enforced through the legislative process (Garner and Black 2019), rather than being intrinsically linked to the principles of the rule of law. Drawing from Carl Schmitt's terminology, Putin's manipulation of the legislative process (Remington 2008; Schulman 2014) has made it more feasible to create "exceptions" as “sovereign is he who decides on the exception” (Schmitt 1985). Russia has a civil law system, where the legal system is based on codified laws and principles derived from comprehensive legal codes (statutes), as opposed to common law systems that rely heavily on judicial precedents and case law (case law can be recognized as a *de facto* source of law in Russia) (Fromont 2013). Law's significance in analyzing democratic backsliding has been relatively neglected, but Russia presents an ample set of cases to investigate this dimension within autocratic mechanisms.

This research draws on the multidisciplinary theory of autocratic legalism, originally coined by Corrales to describe the utilization, manipulation, and non-enforcement of laws by Chavez to consolidate political power and sideline competitors (Corrales 2015). This phenomenon was further theorized by Scheppelle to provide a framework to identify the precise mechanisms used by legalistic autocrats; she used it to

describe legalistic autocrats manipulations in Hungary, Turkey, Russia and other countries (Scheppelle 2018). There was further development of the theory by de Sa e Silva, who, through analyzing the case of Brazil's democratic backsliding, provides additional suggestions to the analytical framework of "*autocratic legalism 2.0*" (De Sa E Silva 2022). The following definition of autocratic legalism will be utilized in this paper:

[it is a phenomenon w]hen electoral mandates plus constitutional and legal change are used in the service of an illiberal agenda. (Scheppelle 2018)

Vladimir Putin's first term in the office of president signified two major political and legal reforms in state-building with respect to the consolidation of power: budgetary and administrative verticalization⁵. Piercing the 'federalization veil'⁶ was an "exception" that guaranteed increased legal control over the regional agenda. Under the Article 72 of the Constitution of the Russian Federation education is within the realms of the joint jurisdiction of the Russian Federation and constituent entities (*The Constitution of the Russian Federation* 1993). Federal Law "On Education" further discusses the rights and obligations of the federation and constituent entities in education (*Federal Law "On Education"* 2013). In section 4.2. the reduction of powers of constituent entities in education and mechanisms of centralization of control are discussed. Operating in the binary literature analysis, one must mention proponents of centralized education control who argue that it addresses disparities in pedagogical resources and competence across the nation. By outlining expected educational outcomes, centralized control enables nationwide access to educational in-country mobility (overview of the national-regional educational relationship: (Froumin and Leshukov 2015)).

⁵ Verticalization (centralization) reforms is a term to operationalize a series of significant reforms in the early 2000s that increased the power of the Kremlin through (1) budgetary dependency of the regions (constituent entities) in Russia from the federal government via significant changes to the Budget Code and (2) loss of political freedoms and administrative dependency (e.g. suppression of governors elections, president's representatives in Federal Districts (*federalny okrug*)). Overview of the reforms: (Chebankova 2007; Ross 2003)

⁶ Concept adapted by the author from the field of legal studies. "Piercing the corporate veil" refers to a situation in which courts put aside limited liability and hold a corporation's shareholders or directors personally liable for the corporation's actions or debts (Wex, Cornell Law School Legal Dictionary). In this context "Piercing the 'federalization veil'" refers to control over regional policy by Kremlin's decisions.

2.1.2. Exploring the Interplay of Ideological Influence in Educational Systems

The question of ideology in education, especially in history textbooks, is not new. One important debate that has influenced many scholars in education stems from two claims made by Peters, who said that education should have ‘preadjustments’, pedagogically engineered blueprints (Peters 1930), which Kilpatrick was opposed to and stated “we reject [...] Peters's professed theory. The future cannot be "blue printed"-never can be in the sense demanded by the theory. "Preadjustment" in that sense is impossible. No educational theory based on prepared in advance, ready-to use, preadjusted solutions can take care of the life we live.” (Kilpatrick 1930). Both Kilpatrick and Palmer suggest that indoctrination in education is a practice that hinders independent thinking. Following Peters’ work, some scholars critically assess what seems to be a ‘dead issue’ in the philosophy of education that we should avoid indoctrination in education, and suggests that “[we shall] wonder about this term and its relation to education” (Lewin 2022). Snook’s proposed criteria for identification and examples of indoctrination and ‘what might seem like one, but actually isn’t’ in texts seems relevant in application as a framework for this research. He suggests the following ‘formula’ that educational indoctrination follows:

A person indoctrinates P (a proposition or set of propositions) if he teaches with the intention that the pupil or pupils believe P regardless of the evidence. (Snook 2010)

However, the debate about educational indoctrination in education philosophy is limited to the scope of the field, and in order to answer the research question of this study, the actors and the methods must be identified. Crittenden suggested two conditions, where suggested applied criteria would be valid: “(1) [i]f the teacher presents the specified content in such a way that he violates the criteria of inquiry (unwarranted claims, suppression of critical evaluation of reasons and evidence) or (2) [i]f the teacher uses any pedagogical method in the presentation of the specified content which is inconsistent with the requirements of the general nature of inquiry and moral principles [...]” (Crittenden 2010). Crittenden’s framework further describes the ‘pedagogical method in the presentation’ in question. Returning to the first subquestion of this study, the place of the textbook as a ‘pedagogical method in the presentation’ must be addressed.

[...] textbooks are surely important in themselves. They signify [...] particular constructions of reality, particular ways of selecting and organizing that vast universe of possible knowledge (Apple and Christian-Smith 1991)

Apple suggests that texts as ‘official knowledge’ through selection and organization of knowledge represent an ideological process. He stresses that this is the ideology that

serves particular classes and social groups, and that the book, the debate around them, is a proxy to a wider question of power relations (Apple and Christian-Smith 1991; Apple 2019).

Despite the considerable corpus of literature dedicated to scrutinizing the content and discourses within national history textbooks, there exists a notable gap of research concerning institutional transformations in history education within the context of Russia, as well as the resulting implications for history textbooks. This study aims to address the aforementioned gap by employing the theoretical perspective of educational indoctrination, elucidated through the framework of autocratic legalism. The research's goal is to establish connections between scholarship in the discourses and content present in Russian history textbooks and explicate the underlying political motivations driving the observed indoctrinatory practices.

2.2. Nationalism and Ethnic Exclusionism in Russian History Texts

As this research aims to establish connections between scholarship in the discourses and content present in Russian history textbooks, it must be grounded in the previous research on the history textbooks. The field is well researched, and most of the questionable and contradictory discourses and narratives have been analyzed. Edwards focused on analyzing textbooks as “vehicles of militarisation through a frame of anxiety” found two discourses supporting her inquiry “1) Russia as a besieged fortress and 2) that it is a citizen’s duty to protect and defend the fatherland” (Edwards 2021). Zajda is one of the primary scholars in the field; his research covered topics of the display of the historical greatness of the Russian State in books and their place in national identity formation (Zajda 2007), he suggests that books are ‘monolithic and intolerant to alternative views as those of their communist predecessors’ (Zajda 2017). Tsyrlina-Spady’s research, as a scholar with pedagogical background, analyzed discourses of heroification (through the analysis of portrayal of Putin and Stalin) in the books (Tsyrlina-Spady and Stoskopf 2017), she also surveyed Russian history teachers in an analysis of indoctrination of the curriculum (Lovorn and Tsyrlina-Spady 2015), suggesting increasing nationalistic narratives in the books. These narratives were further developed through the analysis of portrayal of national leaders in the historiography in their book (Zajda, Tsyrlina-Spady, and Lovorn 2017). While some of the authors in Russia attempt to analyze the books as well, most them focus on pedagogical aspects of the material and historiography of certain events (Katsva 2005), some of the scholars debate the quantity and quality of patriotic discourses in the books (Martushov and Mosunova 2019), as well. Pavel Puchkov stands out as a scholar

who suggested that the post-Soviet course of history is dominated by “*Ruskaia optika*”⁷, which ignores the national intentions of Ukrainians and Belarusians, which contributes to the perception of the post-Soviet states as a historical misunderstanding. They are perceived as “temporarily lost territories” (Puchkov 2020; 2021). The novelty of this rhetoric, specific to modern Russia, is illustrated by this statement:

All of this was different for the ethnic Russians [in USSR]. The first ‘R’ in the RSFSR [Russian republic as part of the USSR] was not russkii but rossiiskii, and this vast conglomerate republic was not intended to be or understood as a homeland for ethnic Russians” (Kolstø 2016b)

Textbooks fulfill a pivotal role as the main medium for conveying "historical explanation" and facilitating the formation of historical consciousness concerning a nation's development (Zajda 2007) as they present a, as mentioned before, “particular constructions of reality, particular ways of selecting and organizing that vast universe of possible knowledge” (Apple and Christian-Smith 1991). Within scholarly discourse, it is contended that the prevailing paradigms in this context revolve around the notions of national identity and the pursuit of impartial and equitable portrayals of historical events. (Taylor and Young 2003). In the case of Russia the fundamental factors that shape the recalibration of historically narratives are the *desired* depictions of the past, reminiscent of Anderson's concept of an "imagined community," Zajda suggests, the cultivation of patriotism, and the construction of national identity (Zajda 2007). Following this suggestion, we will unpack two of the three pillars in historical narratives in the books: desired depictions of the past and construction of national identity as these concepts primarily deal with the research question, while cultivation of patriotism seems a bit more instrumental (or rather falls in category of interests in the debate interests versus values in history education).

Russian national identity for this case must be understood, as suggested by Hill, it is influenced by both internal and external contexts (Hill 2003). As this national identity is linked to the context of the textbook via the mechanisms of ‘mentioning’ (Apple and

⁷ Russian words *russkii* [русский] and *rossiiskii* [российский] are both translated to English as *Russian*. The linguistic and historical debate on the usage of these words is limitless; commonly, *russkii* refers to ethnos, while *rossiiskii* refers to the population of Russia comprised of various ethnos and nationalities (for more detailed explanation: (Blakkisrud 2023)). Puchkov refers exactly to the word *russkii*.

Christian-Smith 1991) and portrayal of actors and historical events (Zajda 2017), the effect it has on one's perspective of their country's identity is significant. After 1991 national identity formation was a crucial part of nation-building, as nationalism and national identity play a significant part in the integrity of the state, especially in post-Soviet context (Straus 2001). Some suggest that "history and geography of Russia led to a national identity which relies on terms such as empire and nationalism" (Kuzio 2016). While the conclusion has its grounds, path dependence is a tricky concept in identity debate, and it seems important to focus on identity rather than ideology. To follow on Kuzio's conclusions: slavophilia⁸ versus westernism is a significant narrative supplying debates in Russian historiography, including school texts: the students are usually introduced to the debate in the 6th grade with the Normanist Controversy, its focal point revolves around the extent to which Scandinavians exerted influence over the establishment of Kievan Rus. As correctly identified by the author, Slavophilia discourse seems to be a dominant one in modern Russia (tendency to Eurasianism, foreign policy actions, for example).

Scholarship on Russian national identity tends to focus on the external context more than its internal narratives, but, as mentioned before, both are vital for country's positionality (Hill 2003). Slavophilia in modern Russia seems to be rather ideological than identity-formative, as it allows for centralization of control of multi-ethnic population of the country, and therefore is a dominant discourse in the Russian history literature (Suslov, Čejka, and Đorđević 2023). Quite possibly the rush for such nationalistic ideology stems from the fragile process of state-formation (not nation-formation) of modern Russia (The Chechen Wars, Tatarstan independence movements, for example). And this ideological dominance found its place in textbooks, possibly, as suggested by Apple:

[d]ominance is partly maintained [...] through compromise and the process of 'mentioning' (Apple and Christian-Smith 1991)

Indoctrination of books relies on ideology rather than national identity through 'desired depictions of reality' (Zajda 2017; 2007) as one of the possible instruments. Anderson's *Imagined Communities*, cited by Zajda, where he debates that nations are socially constructed entities created through shared imaginings and symbolic

⁸ 19th-century intellectual movement that wanted Russia's future development to be based on values and institutions derived from the country's early history (Britannica, The Editors of Encyclopaedia. 2013)

representations, has shaped a great deal of literature in the field as the theory of print capitalism can be illustrated through textbook publication, history books specifically.

Douglass North has shown how past matters for the development of institutions of the present in future through the lens of economic development (North 1989), which is now known as *path dependence*. Path dependence theory suggests that historical events and initial conditions can shape and limit future possibilities, leading to the persistence of certain social, economic, and political arrangements. In the Russian context it has been well illustrated by Iver Neumann, who concluded that “Russia never really let go of its memories of being part of a suzerain system” (I. B. Neumann 2011). At this point, it is quite easy to fall into the trap of “historic inevitability”, and thus conclude that the reasoning behind the analyzed discourses in the textbooks is due to historic reasons. Path dependence is not a universal theory in political science; it should not be used to describe actor’s behaviors by linking it to history and claiming its inevitability due to historical events. However, in this case (well-illustrated by (Sharafutdinova 2020)) the theory and its application to Neumann’s conclusion holds true. Taking from Orlando Figes’s new book “Russia is a country held together by ideas rooted in its distant past ... [its h]istories continuously reconfigured and repurposed to suit its present needs and reimagine its future” (Figes 2022) and putting this idea on an academic debate, we uncover the very concept of rapidly changing national identity of modern Russia (therefore, lack of one (Tolz 1998)). It would be interesting to study the Russian case under the framework proposed by Hansen and Hesli, where they analyzed pre-war Ukraine’s national identity, suggesting that it wasn’t ethnic or civic in nature, but rather hybrid. Quite possibly (Hansen and Hesli 2009), the Russian national identity would find its proper type and characteristic under their proposed classification.

Ideology, on the other hand, as an ‘articulated sets of ideals, ends, and purposes, which help the members of the system to interpret the past, explain the present, and offer a vision for the future’ (Easton 1965), is a relevant concept in explaining the rapidly changing narratives in Russian history books. Zajda suggests particular use of ideology has been utilized in textbooks in Russia; in his analysis through surveying history teachers in Russia, he concludes:

there has been a definite ideological shift in the interpretation of historical narratives and significant events, both in the content of prescribed textbooks approved by the Ministry of Education and teachers’ attitudes and values towards the core textbooks they use in teaching.
(Zajda 2015)

Educational institutions play a crucial role in transmitting this dominant culture and ideology, serving as the agencies of its transmission. However, hegemony of ideology is not a static system; it relies on selective tradition, where certain meanings, practices, and interpretations are emphasized while others are neglected or excluded. It is very well described by Raymond Williams's concept of selective tradition (Williams 1984). This selective tradition in the case under analysis is nationalistic in nature, as historical debates on important ethnical and regional issues from being critically assessed by students and educators. Here the paper must elaborate on the definition of nationalism it is applying; the application of ethnonationalism (Connor 1973) in this paper is not spontaneous. It is derived on prior research (Drobiževa 1998; Tsygankov 2014; Kolstø and Blakkisrud 2016) and deals with such issues as exclusion of certain ethnic groups from historical narrative or colonial narratives. Kolstø's book provides some vital concepts for this research. "[S]udden politicisation of nationalist issues in Kremlin rhetoric after the Euromaidan revolution in order to justify the annexation of Crimea and Russia" (Kolstø 2016a) is acknowledged as a catalyst in ethnonationalist rhetoric.

With the annexation of Crimea, Putin has expanded the territory of the Russian state [...], a step warmly applauded by the Russian imperialists and Eurasianists. The justification for doing so he has to a considerable degree taken from the rhetorical repertoire of the ethnonationalists (Kolstø 2016b)

It is hypothesized that these ethnonationalist narratives are presented in the history books through the colonial parts of Russian history; modern Russian historiography inherited a vast body of knowledge, approaches, and methods from the Soviet science, which from 1930s did not allow for any colonial discourse in the books, substituting it with "friendship of the nations" (Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology and Shorkovits 2021), yet indeed it was⁹ a colonial power. Unfortunately, there is very little scholarship on the topic, therefore this study is grounded in frameworks of colonial representation used in the analysis of history books of other countries (Nieuwenhuyse and Valentim 2018). International research presented in this book (Popp, Gorbahn, and Grindel 2019) provides an overview of postcolonial theory presentation in history textbooks; even though it leaves Russian colonialism briefly mentioned:

⁹ Past tense is used as the research question deals with historical narratives.

This said, 'postcolonial' theories are anything but irrelevant to this setting [Poland and Estonia are used as an example]; historical and cultural studies in Poland and the Baltic region use them as springboards for the interpretation of (Soviet) Russian dominance in the region as 'intra-European colonial rule'. It is an approach reflected at least partially in the narratives found in textbooks, although its manifestation leaves intact the distanced position taken by national histories in these cases toward 'traditional' European colonialism as an integral component of European 'modernity'. (Popp, Gorbahn, and Grindel 2019)

It is hard to agree with the statement as much as it is hard to disagree with it (formally, because it is hard to back any of the side up with literature). In Russian literature there is some debate about colonization that is not comparable to the scholarship on classical colonialism and postcolonial theory (Etkind 2015). It is primarily discussed through the lens of *internal colonialism* (Allen 2005; Pinderhughes 2011; Stone 1979), which is a term theorized by Blauner reflecting "uneven development" as a outcome of the exploitation of minority groups within the territory of the state. Klyuchevsky, one of the leading Russian historians of the 19th century, stated that "the history of Russia is the history of a country that is being colonized" (Klyuchevsky 1904), he was referring to internal colonization, which is explored by Etkind in "Internal colonization: Russia's imperial experience"¹⁰. Yet some of Etkind's claims are to be argued with, it seems that one conclusion he makes is very relevant to the issue of Russia's positionality within its own state, nation, history and, therefore, national identity:

*The reflexive nature of internal colonization, directed at itself, gave the history of Russian culture a characteristic **inconsistency, confusion and incompleteness**. Western scholars tried to explain these traits in an orientalist way, as a cultural feature of Russia, unable to find its place between East and West. (Etkind 2011)*

¹⁰ My copy of the book is in Russian; direct citations I further provide are translations of the Russian edition.

Internal colonization, as a relatively new part of the general colonial theory, does not have a specific criteria for identification of such narratives in the texts, thus the paper will rely on the Etkind's study to identify how internal colonization is portrayed in the history textbooks factoring in the ethnic factor as a colonized 'minority' in Blauner's terms. It is important to consider the general colonization theory in mind, if the narratives of it would be present in the books, therefore relying on the conceptual framework discussed above. This research study employs a scholarly lens to examine the phenomenon of ethnic exclusionism in education, specifically focusing on its manifestation through ethnonationalistic indoctrination within Russian historical texts; it aims to analyze how (internal) colonialism narratives are utilized as a means of portraying and perpetuating ethnonationalistic ideologies within the educational context. By unraveling these dynamics, the research contributes to a comprehensive understanding of the complex relationship between nationalistic indoctrination, educational materials, and the perpetuation of ethnic exclusionism in the educational sphere.

It seems that the Russian colonial narratives in books received very little attention. As secondary education is mandatory in Russia (*The Constitution of the Russian Federation* 1993), everyone to a certain extent gets familiar with historical narratives; it seems like a great place to start investigating forgotten phenomenon of Russian colonialism. Therefore, this research paper makes a contribution to three strands of scholarly literature – first of all, to the studies on Russian post-Soviet autocratic legalisms under the umbrella of authoritarianism, secondly, to the scholarship on ethnonationalism in education in Russia and, finally, to the studies on Russian colonialism representation and Russian national identity, which remain limited.

3. Data and Methods

This study employs a successive combination of qualitative methodologies to investigate the subject matter of the case. By anchoring the analysis within the theoretical framework of autocratic legalism, we employ longitudinal comparative legal analysis. This approach enables a comprehensive understanding of the process through which the Kremlin has exerted influence over historical texts. The legal analysis facilitates the identification of actors, institutions and mechanisms involved in the process. Consequently, employing a content analysis method allows for the identification of the portrayal of internal colonization narratives from the perspective of ethnonationalism.

This study employs longitudinal (historical) comparative legal analysis (Gordley 1995; Reitz 1998) as a foundational approach in order to investigate the transformation of educational policies and regulations, and identify actors and institutions involved in the process of educational indoctrination. Specifically, it examines the editions and revisions of two Russian laws on education (*Federal Law “On Education”* 1992; *Federal Law “On Education”* 2013). The study's approach is driven by the distinct characteristics of Putin's regime in Russia, which demonstrates characteristics of legalistic autocrats (Scheppele 2018). Russia is a country with the civil law system, which requires strong adherence to regulations (not to confuse with adherence to the rule of law) by all actors targeted by specific legislation; country's legislation is strictly hierarchal, which allows us to investigate the regulations enforced by laws in full detail by analyzing corresponding bylaws. The selection of bylaws is justified by their mentioning in the Federal Laws.

The method (longitudinal comparative legal analysis) itself is a part of the group of law-in-context methods, which is described as:

Putting law in context aims at understanding the law, as a foreigner to that legal system and, hence, explaining why the law is as it is. Inevitably, this implies empirical observation. (Van Hoecke 2015)

According to Article 72 of the Russian constitution, education is a joint competence of the federal and regional (constituent entities) governments (*The Constitution of the Russian Federation* 1993), thus the Federal Law or Federal Constitutional Law, in this case the former, must regulate the relationship (distribution of competence) between levels of the government, investigation of which will uncover the level of power centralization. The longitudinal comparative legal analysis (Bhat 2020) will answer the following questions: (1) how has the power balance has shifted in the period of 1992-2023 between federation and regions (to determine whether we should further investigate regional legislation and whether regional government are actors of interest in the case study), (2) how the process of ‘education’ is regulated, and are there any specifics to history education, (3) are there

any policies regarding educational material usage in schooling; regarding mandatory usage of specific materials (4) were there any constitutional or legal changes passed *in the service of an illiberal agenda* (Scheppelle 2018) (to determine if the case falls under the theoretical scope of autocratic legalism), (5) what actors are involved in the process of educational indoctrination (if it happened)?, and (6) following Crittenden’s criteria for identification¹¹ of indoctrination in education we will determine if “teacher uses any pedagogical method in the presentation of the specified content which is inconsistent with the requirements of the general nature of inquiry and moral principles” (Crittenden 2010). It is important to note that previously there was no attempt to comprehensively understand procedural changes that resulted in educational indoctrination in Russia, but this multidisciplinary approach grounded in the theory of autocratic legalism and guided by the criteria for educational indoctrination will try to fulfill this gap.

A qualitative content analysis approach (Schreier 2012) will be employed to conduct an in-depth examination of textbooks to identify ethnonationalistic and colonial narratives. The objective is to interpretively analyze the content of the textbooks and code them into predetermined categories, shedding light on the portrayal and impact of ethnonationalism and colonial narratives within the educational materials. The research design of the paper follows a deductive logic (grounded in the theoretical and conceptual frameworks discussed in Chapter 2), the coding process will incorporate elements of abductive reasoning to allow for flexibility in data analysis; thus the coding process will be hybrid, incorporation of abductive closes the gap between deductive and inductive approaches and allowing for a dynamic exploration of the patterns related to ethnonationalism and colonial narratives.

analysis as a back and forth process between the research evidence and considerations of theory [conceptual framework, in our case] (Earl Rinehart 2021)

As no prior research has previously analyzed this data to determine the presence of the ethnonationalistic and colonial narratives, the textbooks will be read first to identify the general narratives, and then the codebook will be developed, followed by the coding process itself. Qualitative content analysis offers the flexibility necessary to analyze the

¹¹ “[i]f the teacher presents the specified content in such a way that he violates the criteria of inquiry (unwarranted claims, suppression of critical evaluation of reasons and evidence) or (2) [i]f the teacher uses any pedagogical method in the presentation of the specified content which is inconsistent with the requirements of the general nature of inquiry and moral principles [...]” (Crittenden 2010)

complex dynamics (Boreus and Bergstorm 2017) of ethnonationalism and colonial narratives, making it a suitable approach for this research.

Various methods are already known to the field of history textbooks analysis. Edwards was looking for specific discourses to “examine Russian historical textbooks from the 1990s and determine to what extent they can be considered vehicles of militarisation through a frame of anxiety” (Edwards 2021). Tsyrlina-Spady and Stoskopf also used ‘a critical discourse analytic approach to the textbook representations of Stalin and Putin’ (Tsyrlina-Spady and Stoskopf 2017). Content analysis is also a popular method to analyze textbooks (Marino 2011), it was used to analyze portrayal of colonizers (Lillejord 2013), another was focused on the role of women in textbooks (Cairns and Inglis 1989).

Based on the observations of the pedagogical debate, out of three lines of textbooks currently approved by the Ministry of Enlightenment¹² of Russia for use in schools (Ministry of Enlightenment 2022), *Prosveshchenie* line (edited by Torkunov A.V.) seems to be the most popular one among school in Russian regions, which makes it the most commonly used line of texts, therefore it will be analyzed in this paper¹³. This research also aims to contribute to the field of history books indoctrination with some empirical evidence by employing newly published 2023 textbook editions that offer coverage of the 2022 Russian invasion of Ukraine, an area that has yet to be subjected to comprehensive analysis. It is noteworthy that the textbook by *Russkoe Slovo* publication house remains unpublished. However, valuable data pertaining to the topic has been acquired from an anonymous history teacher in Arkhangelsk, who has obtained one of the copies for review¹⁴.

The temporal scope of this analysis encompasses the years spanning from 1992 to 2023. The rationale for selecting this timeframe stems from the imperative to comprehensively examine the legal framework within the country. By commencing the investigation from 1992, the year in which the initial legislation on education in

¹² Federal Ministry of Education in Russia split (15.05.2018) into two bodies: the Ministry of Enlightenment (responsible for primary and secondary education) and the Ministry of Science and Higher Education. For the purpose of this study, the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Enlightenment are used as synonyms.

¹³ Appendix A presents a complete list of textbooks that underwent the analysis.

¹⁴ The unpublished textbook section that underwent the analysis is appended to the research without translation (Appendix A). For academic purposes, further information about the sources of the data is available upon request.

contemporary Russia was enacted, it becomes feasible to unveil the evolutionary trajectory of changes that have ultimately contributed to the current outcomes under examination.

4. Results

4.1. Catch-22: Political Involvement through Centralization in History Education

Almost a quarter century after the collapse of the Soviet Union, Russian primary and secondary education has started to appear to be finally reshaped after the ‘institutional chaos’ in 1990s into a proper state educational system. The system that has integrated some of the standards and principles of the Bologna Process (Luchinskaya and Ovchynnikova 2011), has developed federal educational standards that have helped to a certain extent ensure equality in education, even with the introduction of the paid higher education; through the means of outlining expected educational results and developing National State Examination (*EGE*) system upon them (Francesconi, Slonimczyk, and Yurko 2019); the system that has redesigned the mobility process (with national state examination) from secondary education to university-level degrees to allow for more transparent and accessible route for higher education (Borisov and Pissarides 2016), thus “widening of access and participation in higher education” (Ampilogov, Prakhov, and Yudkevich 2014).

The crucial aspect of the aforementioned changes lies in its facilitation of academic and instructional freedom, along with the integrating the Russian education system into the international scientific community. However, it is noteworthy that despite some advancements, the level of integration has remained relatively low (Libman and Zweynert 2014; Kotsemir 2012) (for overview of Russian Higher Education system integration see Leskina in *Principled Pragmatism in Practice* (Leskina 2021)), and academic freedom remains restricted (Potapova 2022; Delardas et al. 2022). Froumin proposed the division of the modern Russian education development into four stages: (1) disappearance of ideology from education and centralized control in 1991, (2) educational mechanisms establishment on the federal level started in 2000, (3) institutional peak with achieving global competitiveness in 2012, and (4) taking a conservative turn¹⁵ in 2016 (Froumin and Remorenko 2020). Was the conservative turn accompanied by bringing back ideology to education?

¹⁵ The conservative shift in Russia has been accompanied by the centralization of educational control, with powers consolidated at the federal level, indicating a concerted effort to shape and influence the education system according to conservative ideologies and values.

As the study deals with nationalism and ethnic exclusionism, we must first test the obvious hypothesis that ethnical and ‘national’ republics¹⁶ remained autonomous in their educational decision-making regarding the curriculum and teaching the local history. Based on the legal analysis (Appendix C—D), this hypothesis is rejected, as the powers of the regional governments over educational policies have been eliminated. It was a significant change affecting national republics that exercised the rights to the development of their own curriculum.

Selected observations of the Federal Law of 1992 (Initial Version)	Selected observations of the Federal Law of 2012 (Initial Version)	Observations of the Federal Law of 2012 (2023 Edition, in effect)
<p>Republics and other constituent entities exercised the right to legislation of the republics within the Russian Federation in the field of education, development and implementation of republican, regional programs for the development of education, including international ones, establishment of national-regional components of state educational standards.</p> <p>From the perspective of public finance (prior to verticalization reforms (see section 2.1.1.) regions exercised the right to taxation, including developing taxes to support education)</p>	<p>The number of rights and powers regions have and exercise increased, however, the nature of these rights and powers has changed to transform regional educational authorities into reporting and purely administrative (with no power of the content of legislation) bodies (<i>Federal Law “On Education”</i> 2013).</p> <p>One important note: there no difference in Russian educational law regarding the status of the region, ethnical republics lost their right to local educational oversight¹⁷</p>	<p>The definition of upbringing (which is a term highly used by the officials to refer to younger students) is provided. It is defined as “an activity aimed at personal development, [...] socialization of students on the basis of socio-cultural, spiritual and moral values and rules and norms of behavior adopted in Russian society in the interests of a person, family, [...] respect for the memory of the defenders of the Fatherland and the exploits of the Heroes of the Fatherland”. The new edition added the word Russian [rossiiskii] to distinguish values from [I suppose] Western society.</p>

As we observe the centralization of education has happened between 1992 and 2012, when regional governments lost powers and rights to establish any meaningful policies, administrate local curriculum, but rather transformed into bureaucratic institutions of communicating decisions of the federal government and reporting to them, which cannot serve for any meaningful purpose to combat ethnic exclusionism (Lovorn and Tsyrlina-

¹⁶ Russian regions (constituent entities) could be republics (were originally created as nation-states for ethnic minorities, such as Tatarstan, Chechnya, and Buryatia, etc.), kraia, oblasts, cities of federal importance, an autonomous oblast, and autonomous okrugs

¹⁷ It is debatable as they exercise the right to develop local policies and educational materials. Still, they **cannot be integrated into the educational process** of primary and secondary education but rather serve as an extracurricular activity.

Spady 2015; Vergari 2010; Robinson 2021). To support the argument further study is suggested to control for local educational competence; based on the legal analysis in this research it is suggested that local (municipal) governments underwent the same changes in losing their rights and powers in the field of education. While it is true, most of the institutions of primary and secondary education are founded by the municipality and funded through local budgets.

Comparative legal analysis of the Russian legislation regarding education, and the results are presented the following way: for each of the mode (educational materials—textbooks and curriculum) under analysis (1) legal transformation from 1992 to 2012, 2012 to 2023 is discussed, followed by (2) contextual implications in the affected area.

4.1.1. What Students Read?

Unlike the institution of education in general, the state of history education has taken a conservative course after 2011-2012 protests in Russian major cities, when the lack of ideological education or a substitute of such has caught government attention (Rotnem 2012; Chaisty and Whitefield 2013; Koltsova and Shcherbak 2015; Liñán 2010), and the increased **attempts** in indoctrination of the materials of history education is observed. Initially, the analysis focused on the specifics of the materials utilized in history teaching.

To replace Soviet texts, in which students were shown the "inevitable victory of the ideas of communism", the "historical advantages of socialism" and other attributes of the official ideology, multiple publishers and authors enter the market. Law of the Russian Federation of July 10, 1992 N 3266-1 “On Education” (Analyzed in Appendix D) initially reserved the right of teaching corpus to determine the materials and the program (syllabi) applied in the educational process. Federal law of 2012 introduced (derived from Federal law of 1992) the concept (which already existed in practice – since 1992) of the list of recommended books. In order for a book to be included in the list it must pass the review process of (there were changes to the process made, which reserved the right of MoE to approve books, then Russian Academy of Sciences, and then MoE again). However, what we found is that the nature of the list has changed. In 2012 as we see it was the list of ‘recommended’ textbooks, but in the current edition it is referred to as ‘approved’. Further, the law mentioned the teacher are free to choose materials to use in teaching, the catch however lies in the fact that they only allowed to choose from the list of approved books. Based on our analysis, there only three history books approved as of today (Ministry of Enlightenment 2022).

Federal Law of 2012 (Initial Version) – powers of regions:	Federal Law of 2012 (2023 Edition, in effect) – powers of regions:	Comments (see Appendix C for full comment)
10) organizing the provision of municipal educational organizations	10) organizing the provision of municipal educational organizations	1. Change in the legal nature of the list of recommended

and educational organizations of the constituent entities of the Russian Federation with textbooks in accordance with the federal list of textbooks recommended for use in the implementation of state-accredited educational programs	and educational organizations of the constituent entities of the Russian Federation with textbooks in accordance with the federal list of textbooks approved for use in the implementation of state-accredited educational programs	textbooks to approved by the federal government with the blanket rule. Constituent entities are becoming bureaucratic enablers of the federal government's decisions over their territory
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Federal list of recommended textbooks is a phenomenon worth exploring in itself in further details. First subquestion of this research guided this paper to the following observations: (1) In 2012 the list included the third section (first – books recommended for primary education, second – for secondary), which should have, based on the ‘ethnocultural and regional’ expertise, included textbooks on regional culture and language. Initially, we observe the presence of books on national (regional) history for some national republic¹⁸ respectively, the current list includes none, while it does allow for books on national languages and literature. (2) The legal discourse of the status of that list has changed. (Appendix D: Article 8). The list initially proposed recommended books for utilization in education, while the changes made in the current edition refer to that list as ‘of approved textbooks’.

Significant changes have happened to the approval process after the beginning of the invasion of Ukraine. Prior to 2022, the approval process was focused on the content of the book. Based on the analysis of the order of MoE, it has a dual nature now: (1) first, the **authors** of the book must be approved, and then (2) the content of the book. The books are ‘ordered by the state’, and rights to the book are reserved by the state.

To implement unified educational programs, a new procedure for the development of textbooks is being introduced - the state order [...] will be carried out by the Ministry of Enlightenment [...]. [it] will approve the authors of the textbooks. (Explanatory note to the draft of the passed amendments of 2023 – Appendix E)

Another important evidence to support our theoretical framework stems from the process of how specifically history books are written (Appendix B). Putin proposed the

¹⁸ Based on the Constitution of Russia, the country consists of 89 (83, as six of them are annexed Ukrainian territories) regions (constituent entities), 24 (21) of which are Republics identified by the ethnical determinants (Tatarstan, Chechnya, Buryatia, etc.)

idea of the unified history textbook to be introduced in Russian schools. In 2012 he establishes Russian Historic and Military Society (headed by V. Medinsky – Minister of Culture of Russia, currently assistant to the president) and resumes the work of Russian Historic Society (headed by S. Naryshkin – Director of the Foreign Intelligence Service).

Even though there is no unified history book as of now, Naryshkin’s Society developed a very controversial document “Concepts of teaching History of Russia”, which for some reason has normative powers over the content of the books as the three books currently approved by MoE of the front page claim “Complaint with the Concepts [of teaching History of Russia]”. While this process in itself does not support the theoretical framework, we must factor following details: (1) S. Naryshkin directly reports to Putin as Foreign Intelligence Service is under the authority of President of Russia, (2) textbook approval process currently only includes government officials from the MoE and experts from the Russian Historic Society and Russian Historic and Military Society as well as experts paid by the MoE (no regional or academic presence), (3) Russian political regime does not allow for pluralism. As illustrated below, the Russian government has created a system that does not allow for any educational and academic debate over the content of the textbooks. Following our theoretical framework and the analysis in section 4.1.2., we conclude that the evidence support the criteria of educational indoctrination (Crittenden 2010; Snook 2010) via utilization of the mechanisms of autocratic legalism (Scheppelle 2018; De Sa E Silva 2022).

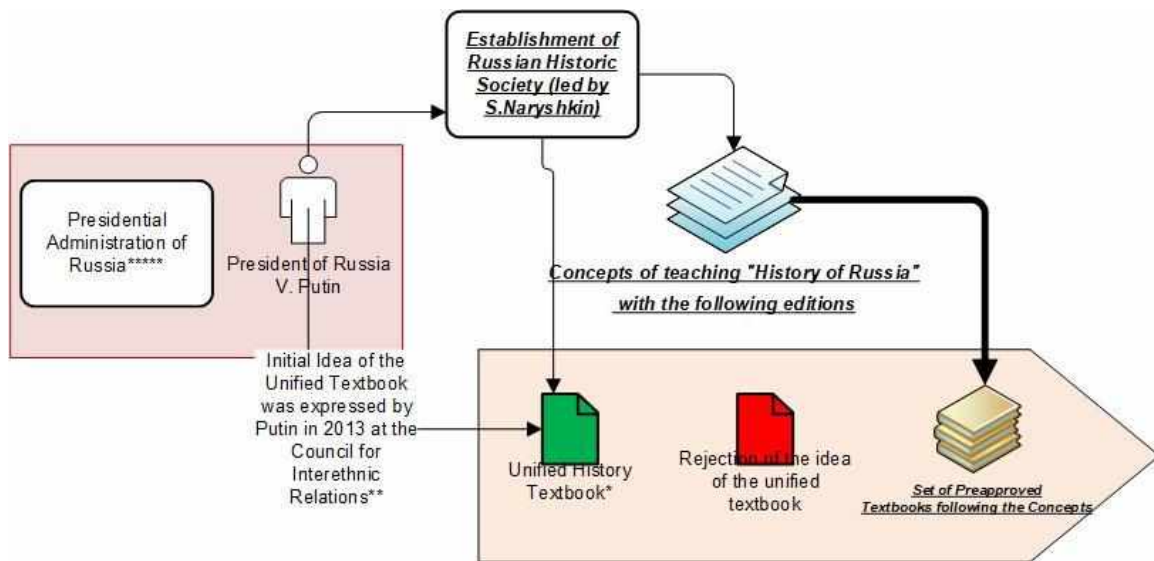


Figure 1. Process of Possible Textbook Indoctrination (Author). Full graph is in Appendix B.

As part of the framework proposed by Scheppelle, one of the mechanisms legalistic autocrats achieve enforce their rule are legal and constitutional changes (Scheppelle 2018). Article 67.1 of the Russian Constitution was amended in 2020, reiterating the country's dedication to respecting the lives of those who defended the Fatherland and preserving

historical accuracy. The amendment forbids downplaying the heroic achievements that certain people made in protecting the country (*The Constitution of the Russian Federation* 1993). These constitutional changes, which are as being populist in nature, are meant to legitimize Russia's authoritarian government (Partlett 2020; Yao 2022). The proclamation on the safeguarding of "historical truth" and the particular constitutional restriction against downplaying the "heroism of the people in defending the Fatherland" support the continuation of an identity program based on the defensive mythologeme (Sadowski 2022). By using the educational system in Russia to support and reinforce its particular historical perspective while ignoring other views, education has been turned into a weapon for indoctrination.

4.1.2. Federal Educational Standards as Universal Federal Syllabi

Despite rigorous cleaning of the pluralism in textbooks, we discovered that 2023 editions and amendments to the Federal law of 2012 enforce "Federal educational programs/standards", which are country-wide syllabi that every teacher working in any licensed school (public or private) in the country must use in their work (Appendix E).

To strengthen the coordinating role of federal educational and methodological documentation, it is envisaged to introduce federal general education programs (FOOP) that are uniform for the Russian Federation, which will be developed and approved by the Ministry of Education of Russia, as a mandatory basic level of requirements for the content of general education. (Explanatory note to the draft of the passed amendments)

The draft's supplementary note also suggests that country-wise syllabuses will be developed for some courses, meaning that no school will be allowed to contradict. It is however noteworthy that school have the right to amend the programs.

the [...] programs of the following subjects will become mandatory for use: [...] "History", "Social science" , "Geography" [...]

It is significant change in a federal ethnically-diverse state as the history and social sciences will be taught from the perspective developed in Moscow that allows for no changes to the curriculum. It contradicts the very profession of educator as they are becoming the deliverers of the messages of the central government. In my analysis of the syllabi published on the websites of the three highest ranking secondary school in Tatarstan, there are no hours dedicated to the courses or modules of local history, and it is

highly unlikely that the new FOOPs will include sufficient information to allow for non-*russskii* perspective of history.

The criteria of indoctrination we selected to assess was whether “teacher uses any pedagogical method in the presentation of the specified content which is inconsistent with the requirements of the general nature of inquiry and moral principles” (Crittenden 2010). While the observations in this section do not specifically suggest any “pedagogical method in the presentation” (ibid.) that might be “is inconsistent with the requirements of the general nature of inquiry and moral principles”, it is clear that Kremlin created a system of ‘potentially indoctrinating environment’ **by eliminating any non-government-affiliated scholars or academics from making decisions regarding educational materials used in the classroom.** As for the second theory in testing, the evidence described above provide evidence supporting the application of the theoretical framework of autocratic legalism to describe the regime in Russia. The passed changed to the law in 2023 transform the profession of the teacher of history into a deliverer of government-approved messages, as the syllabi for history teaching is universal across ethnically diverse country.

4.2. The Moth: Ethnonationalism and (Internal) Colonialism in Russian Books

Based on the selection of the textbooks to identify how (internal) colonialism narratives are utilized as a means of portraying and perpetuating ethnonationalistic ideologies grounded in the conceptual framework discussed in section 2.2., there were at least ninety narratives related to colonization, both external and internal with some important characteristics. External colonization narratives, however, are primarily eliminated from the general text, and placed in the section for ‘Independent Study’. It is also worth mentioning that some chapters provide the section “Historians Argue” that introduces the historical debate over certain topics, but whether either of these sections are actually read by students remains for experiences educators to speculate on.

None of the textbooks mention the word “colonization” [колонизация] directly, it is substituted by "territorial expansion" [расширение территорий] and "accession of lands" [присоединение земель].

The textbooks for the 6th grade cover periods from 9th until 15th centuries, and for over two centuries (1243-1480) Kievan Rus (in the new editions that we analyzed it is primarily called Rus or Old Rus) itself was a vassals of the Golden Horde, excluding the Novgorod Republic and a few others. We identify several presentations of internal colonialism in these books, most of them stem from the narrative around the ‘feudalistic’ system of administration [*Old Church Slavonic: кормлѣние*], the appointment of representatives of central authority to the territories subordinate to Moscow, who are

maintained by the local population (Arseniev, Danilov, Stefanovich, et al. 2016a; 2016b). Acknowledging the limitations of my theoretical framework, this study suggests that further analysis of this textbook is required with a different framework or a method, as it might be important to observe the **discourse** change in the portrayal of the Kievan Rus in new editions of this book, but under the framework of internal colonialism and content analysis as a method, it is hard to establish sufficient evidence to support the framework and answer the second subquestion. However, the presentation of the relationships between the Golden Horde and Rus has changed significantly in comparison to the editions of the textbooks in 1990s and early 2000s; and as Apple suggested “[d]ominance is partly maintained [...] through compromise and the process of ‘mentioning’” (Apple and Christian-Smith 1991), it might be the ‘compromise’ to present Horde not as a suzerain to Rus, and more of a ‘occupying trading partner’ in compromise of the reduction of national history curriculum in Tatarstan, thus maintaining the dominance. This paper suggests that a comparative content and discourse analysis conducted in order to see the change in the presentation of the Golden Horde in the books.

The process of Russia’s expansion encompasses three major characteristics: (1) disposition of the topic: the narrative is shifted from the territorial annexation or accession to the description of the modes of life of the ethnic groups or their hunting traditions, (2) the discourse of annexation, is presented, is almost always presented in a non-violent discourse; it is also noted that Russians protected new ethnic groups against foreign threats (Russians [*russkie*] are mentioned throughout the course no matter how diverse ethnically the country has become), and (3) ethnic-based approach to colonization. Ethnic-based approach implies that the textbooks portray three colonization narratives: Slavic territories are presented as part of the Russian people, their inclusion depicted as **liberation**, expansion to Western and Asian lands is portrayed as "progressive" with autonomy, abolishing serfdom, and infrastructure development., and Siberia and the Far East territories, where Siberian peoples' inclusion is similarly depicted as peaceful and progressive¹⁹.

¹⁹ Far Eastern ethnos are absent from the narrative, while we see some mentions of Chukchi and Yakuts.

<p>§ 9 СОЦИАЛЬНЫЕ И НАЦИОНАЛЬНЫЕ ДВИЖЕНИЯ. ОППОЗИЦИЯ РЕФОРМАМ</p> <p>Как разные слои общества реагировали на происходившие при Петре I перемены в стране?</p> <p>1. Причины народных выступлений</p> <p>Северная война легла тяжёлым бременем на плечи большинства населения России. Крестьянство, помимо барщины и оброка, было обложено массой новых государственных повинностей и налогов.</p> <p>Кроме налогов в пользу государства, местные чиновники вводили дополнительные платежи и виды работ «на местные нужды».</p> <p>Создание регулярной армии потребовало рекрутских наборов, отрывавших тысячи крестьян от их хозяйств.</p> <p>Десятки тысяч крестьян были силой направлены на строительство Санкт-Петербурга, возведение укреплений Азова, Таганрога, постройку каналов. На этих работах погибли тысячи людей.</p> <p>Освоение земель Поволжья, Приуралья, Сибири приводило к захватам земель у местного населения. На этих территориях вводили новые налоги, насильственно насаждали православие.</p> <p>Крайнее недовольство у народа вызывало насильственное введение европейских порядков.</p> <p>Всё это — причины массовых выступлений самых различных слоёв населения против власти на протяжении всей Петровской эпохи.</p> <p>Непосредственным поводом для него стало прибытие в Уфу в 1711 г. царских чиновников для сбора налогов и приёма на военную службу местного населения. Стремясь собрать больше денег, они ввели 72 новые статьи налогов. В числе других появился даже налог на карие и серые глаза (которые были практически у всех местных жителей). Чиновники <u>использовали их национальные и религиозные чувства</u>, жгли бороды уважаемым старейшинам и простым людям. Всё это привело к стихийному восстанию башкир. Возглавили восстание родовая знать и мусульманское духовенство.</p> <p>Повтому восстание носило ярко выраженный национальный характер. Сотни русских деревень были разорены и уничтожены, а их жители захвачены и проданы в рабство на невольничьи рынки Турции.</p> <p>Стремясь заручиться поддержкой мусульманских государств в борьбе против центральной власти, башкирская знать направляла посольства в Османскую империю и в Крымское ханство с просьбой принять башкир в своё подданство.</p> <p>Только в 1711 г. царским властям удалось подавить это выступление и добиться покорности башкирского населения.</p>	<p>Specific interest with the narratives of colonization are shown in Chapter 9 “Social and National Movements. Opposition to Reforms” [under Peter the Great]. The chapter provides a comprehensive portrayal of the societal composition in Astrakhan and Bashkiria (the chapter mentions the significant Bashkir uprisings of 1735-1740 and 1755).</p> <p>I suggest this chapter is the legacy of Soviet historiography as it is quite critical of the Tsarist regime, yet nothing is said about the actual interests of the egregious acts committed by the Russian nobility against the Bashkir people during the Bashkir revolution (Arseniev, Danilov, Kurukin, et al. 2016).</p> <p>Additionally, it briefly discusses the distinct status of the Baltic region established during Peter the Great's reign and the transformations in the governance of Ukraine, including the abolition and subsequent restoration of the hetmanate under Anna Ivanovna and Elizabeth Petrovna.</p>
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We refer to the William’s concept of selective tradition (Williams 1984), as the narrative on the territorial expansion into Siberia, Volga River, and the North Caucasus region is presented in the manner of depicting its ethnographic context (lifestyle, technology, beliefs, etc.). It is underlined in particular that the Siberian peoples' integration was mostly peaceful. It is said that, in contrast to European colonizers, Russian Cossacks and settlers safeguarded the native population's hunting and fishing areas and functioned as a source of tribute (yasak). Ukrainians are described as one of the ethnos included in the composition of Russia, and the struggles in the second half of the 17th century regarding Russian subjecthood [подданство] are presented. It is important to mention the change in the chapter name regarding ‘accession/inclusion’ of Ukrainian territories (Arseniev, Danilov, Stefanovich, et al. 2016c).

2016 edition: Under the hand of the Russian sovereign. Accession of Ukraine to Russia	2020 edition: Under the hand of the Russian sovereign. Inclusion of the lands of the Zaporozhian Host
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After the reign of Catherine the Great, the term "Ukraine" is conspicuously absent from the textbook (Arseniev, Danilov, Kurukin, et al. 2016), indicating a shift in focus. It seems that such a manner of presenting the material about the annexation and accession of

the territories and ethnos that are currently part of Russia is intentional to suppress historical debate on ethnical conflicts, and hide internal colonization discourses. As this territorial expansion further leads to internal colonization (Ëtkind 2011), the narrative seems to be an indoctrinated one, falling under the second criteria by Crittenden (Crittenden 2010). Finland is included 9th grade textbook that analyze national politics, although Siberia after 1861 is not, and as discussed it might be done via the process of ‘mentioning’ that the ethnic dominance if achieved (Apple and Christian-Smith 1991)

There is a pervasive "Russian [*russkii*] perspective", as Puchkov correctly suggested, that shows contempt for the national ambitions of Belarusians and Ukrainians (Puchkov 2020; 2021). While taking them into account as regions that the Russians have historically captured, annexed, and colonized, this viewpoint promotes the idea that these post-Soviet republics are only transient aberrations or misunderstandings . In the context of educational materials, it is significant to note that, despite the presence of colonial narratives, they frequently adopt the viewpoint of the colonizer [*russkii*] or less frequently [*rossiiskii*], showing a glaring disregard for the perspectives and experiences of the colonized people and communities, supporting the second subquestion framework of ethnonationalism presence in the books.

Supplementary to the general inquiry, this study analyzed the portrayal of the Russian invasion of Ukraine in 2022 in (Nikonov and Deviatov 2022). The chapter (Appendix A) will be presented in history textbooks in the new academic year of 2023-2024 under the name of Special Military Operation for 10-11 grades. All three publishers have presented new chapters, but they are not yet publicly available.

<p>Chapter on the SMO begins: [...] at the heart of [global changes associated with the crisis around Ukraine] was the desire [of the United States] to maintain its dominance, when their [...] position was noticeably weakening against the backdrop of the rise of new centers of power. The United States has set a course to undermine the positions of states capable of challenging their hegemony [Russia and China]</p>
<p>Justification of the invasion: In January 2022, it became known in Moscow that a large-scale military operation was being prepared in early March to seize Donbass and Crimea by Ukrainian troops with Western support. Russia was forced to take preventive measures. [process of accession of LNR and DNR is explained] And on February 24, a special military operation (SVO) began</p>
<p>Imagined reality: To support the anti-people Kyiv regime, tens of billions of dollars were thrown, a huge amount of the most modern Western weapons [description of weapons] that destroyed peaceful neighborhoods in the Donbass. The West acted, in fact, as the strategic rear of the Zelensky regime, hoping to force Kyiv to conduct military operations “to the last Ukrainian”</p>
<p>End: This is not the first time our country has had to fight with another contender for world domination. And it always came out of this test with honor, gaining victories over the forces of the united West. So it will be this time.</p>

Our cause is right! The enemy will be defeated! Victory will be ours!

This chapter is assessed on the conceptual framework of indoctrination discussed in Section 2.1.2. It is asserted that indoctrination then happens, when “teacher uses any pedagogical method in the presentation of the specified content which is inconsistent with the requirements of the general nature of inquiry and moral principles” (Crittenden 2010), and the paper established “[textbooks signify] particular constructions of reality, particular ways of selecting and organizing that vast universe of possible knowledge” (Apple and Christian-Smith 1991). The following narratives (while the whole chapter is indoctrinated in nature, as the current events cannot be supplied with the discourses of militaristic sentiments as ‘*Our cause is right! The enemy will be defeated! Victory will be ours!*’) are clearly ‘inconsistent’ with the ‘requirements of the general nature of inquiry’.

This results in this section answer the question of how do national history textbooks contribute to the perpetuation of narratives of ethnic exclusionism in present-day Russia? Based on the theoretical and conceptual framework discussed in section 2.2, this paper find evidence to support the idea that ethnic exclusionism in Russian books is presented through the narratives of internal and external colonization providing one-sided perspective and by utilizing mechanisms of selective tradition (Williams 1984) and mentioning (Apple and Christian-Smith 1991; Apple 2019), while the chapter on the Russian invasion of Ukraine in 2022 in the new editions of books are fulfilling the discourses of government propaganda allowing for no alternative position or any critical assessment of the events, thus the evidence suggest that the history books in Russia are indoctrinated, based on the Crittenden’s criteria (Crittenden 2010). The research presented here suggests that the larger academic community analyze Russian history textbooks to look at the ideas of internal and foreign colonialism in Russia as this field has not been researched enough, and I hope this study would provide some evidence to start a broader scientific debate.

5. Conclusion and Discussion

*In his "History," elegance and simplicity reign,
They show us, without bias or disdain,
The necessity of autocracy's might,
And the allure of the whip's righteous light.²⁰*

*Alexander Pushkin's epigram on Nikolay Karamzin's
"History of the Russian State"*

The objective of the research was to discover Russian government has indoctrinated textbooks of national history with narratives of ethnic exclusionism. We justified the relevance of the question by (1) increasing discourse about government's history indoctrination in Russia and utilizing youth agency in war agenda, (2) *russikii*-centric narratives around Russian history while it still preserves its status of the ethnically diverse federation. Increasing scholarship on history textbooks in Russia required a connective mechanism of process of indoctrination. The research question was designed to trace the ethnonationalist narratives in history education through three step analysis: (1) enablement, (2) presentation and portrayal, and (3) effects and impact. This analysis guided by two subquestions has explored the evidence to answer the first two steps. Proposed for further research is the methodological research on the analysis of patriotic education impact analysis within Russia. This step should control for texts usage in classrooms, analysis of extracurricular discourses and participation, youth agency in Russia, and school climate and the role of educator, among other things. However, this step remains constrained due to the limitations of public opinion evaluations in current Russia.

Indoctrination²¹ is the first concept we analyzed in by utilizing the framework of autocratic nationalism (Scheppelle 2018). We conducted comparative legal study to identify means of educational indoctrination. Between 1992 and 2012, regional governments lost their powers, transforming into bureaucratic institutions that merely implement federal decisions; and it is important in the context of ethnic republics as the history is taught through the government mandated universal syllabi. Legal analysis of Russian education legislation reveals significant transformations in the education sector: (1) educators' role has been 'corrupted' as they are no longer allowed to choose any materials in work or plan

²⁰ Author's translation

²¹ According to Snook, it involves purposeful teaching intended to impose a certain proposition despite of evidence to the contrary (Snook 2010).

or design their courses, (2) the government has direct access to the content of the books, as of 2023 it is a 'state order' and both: the author and the content are approved by the MoE, (3) nation-wide syllabi in history will be mandatorily used in Russian school starting September 1, 2023, potentially factoring no interest or content from the regional educators. We found the content of history teaching in Russia is 'governed' by the "Concepts of Teaching of History of Russia", a guiding document developed by the Russia Historic Society (headed by the Director of Foreign Intelligence). It seems important to continue the study of the indoctrination of Russian history education by conducting a thorough review of the paper.

Drawing on the theoretical framework of (internal) colonization, the study finds evidence that these textbooks employ narratives of internal and external colonization, presenting a one-sided perspective and utilizing selective tradition mechanisms. The inclusion of the chapter on the Russian invasion of Ukraine in 2022 aligns with government propaganda, lacking alternative positions or critical assessment. These indications suggest indoctrination in Russian history books, warranting further analysis by the academic community. It remains unclear what interests of the Russian World [*Russkii Mir*] (O'Loughlin, Toal, and Kolosov 2016) have to do with ethnically diverse Russian Federation [*Rossiiskaia Federatsiya*].

In conclusion, this research underscores the centralization of education, the impact of legal changes, and the role of autocratic legalism in shaping the Russian regime's control over education. The study highlights the perpetuation of narratives of ethnic exclusionism through national history textbooks and emphasizes the need for further analysis and scholarly debate on this topic, particularly regarding the portrayal of internal and foreign colonialism. The present conclusion is accompanied by a set of significant constraints, which are grounded in the notion that "we cannot assume that what is "in" the text is actually taught" (Apple and Christian-Smith 1991). Firstly, the students' engagement with the prescribed texts is rendered dubious. Secondly, the interpretation of said texts is inherently subjective and contingent upon the instructor's disposition. Notwithstanding the alterations in the centralization of educational authority, the role of the teacher in Russian educational institutions remains remarkably influential. This limitation engenders a two-fold impact: educators may either endorse or oppose the transmitted ideology, thereby exerting substantial influence on one's comprehension of the discourses embedded within the texts. Thirdly, the prevailing school environment significantly shapes the narrative of the ideology conveyed through the textual materials.

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Note: *Catch-22* and *The Moth* in the names of the sections are references to fictional literature (Joseph Heller, 1961 and Michael Ondaatje, 2018).

Appendix A. List of Textbooks Analyzed

Group	Textbook title Textbook Title in Russian	Grade (Year)	Author	Year published	Included in the list of approved textbooks ¹
Prosveshchenie, Edited by A.V. Torkunov	History of Russia 6th Grade Part 1 История России 6 класс Часть 1	6	Arsentiev N.M., Danilov A.A., Stefanovich P.S., et al. Editor: Torkunov A.V.	2016- 2021	Yes
	History of Russia 6th Grade Part 2 История России 6 класс Часть 2	6	Arsentiev N.M., Danilov A.A., Stefanovich P.S., et al. Editor: Torkunov A.V.	2016- 2021	Yes
	History of Russia 7th Grade Part 1 История России 7 класс Часть 1	7	Arsentiev N.M., Danilov A.A., Stefanovich P.S., et al. Editor: Torkunov A.V.	2016- 2021	Yes
	History of Russia 7th Grade Part 2 История России 7 класс Часть 2	7	Arsentiev N.M., Danilov A.A., Stefanovich P.S., et al. Editor: Torkunov A.V.	2016- 2021	Yes
	History of Russia 8th Grade Part 1 История России 8 класс Часть 1	8	Authors: Arsentiev N.M., Danilov, Kurukin I.V., Tokareva A.Ya. Editor: Torkunov A.V.	2016- 2021	Yes
	History of Russia 8th Grade Part 2 История России 8 класс Часть 2	8	Authors: Arsentiev N.M., Danilov, Kurukin I.V., Tokareva A.Ya. Editor: Torkunov A.V.	2016- 2021	Yes
	History of Russia 9th Grade Part 1 История России 9 класс Часть 1	9	Authors: Arsentiev N.M., Danilov A.A., Levandovsky A.A., Tokareva A.Ya., et al. Editor: Torkunov A.V.	2016- 2021	Yes
	History of Russia 9th Grade Part 2 История России 9 класс Часть 2	9	Authors: Arsentiev N.M., Danilov A.A., Levandovsky A.A., Tokareva A.Ya., et al. Editor: Torkunov A.V.	2016- 2021	Yes
Russkoe Slovo Edited by S.P. Karpov	Russian history. 1914 - the beginning of the XXI century: a textbook for grades 10-11 of educational organizations. Basic and advanced levels: in 2 parts, Part 1	10-11	Authors: V.A. Nikonov, S.V. Devyatov. Edited by S.P. Karpov	n/p	Yes

Textbooks that were analyzed were not translated into English

Selected pages of the *Russkoe Slovo* textbook are presented here as it is unpublished material (via the Sota distribution):

¹ The list of approved textbooks is cited as (Ministry of Enlightenment, 2022)

майдана, освидетельные вооружёнными молодчиками, которых открыто поддерживали власти, погибли при пожаре в Доме профсоюзов. На Юго-Восток Украины были брошены украинские армия, спецназ, карательные батальоны. Жители Донбасса организовали отпор захватчикам. В ходе развернувшейся борьбы организовали отпор захватчикам. В ходе развернувшейся борьбы организовали отпор захватчикам. В ходе развернувшейся борьбы организовали отпор захватчикам. В ходе развернувшейся борьбы организовали отпор захватчикам.

Пришедшее к власти на Украине правительство П.А. Порошенко вело жёстко антироссийскую линию, разорвав связи с Россией. Приостановить конфликт удалось заключением Минских соглашений, по которым украинская власть обязалась прекратить военные действия, предоставить Донбассу особый конституционный статус и гарантировать соблюдение прав его жителей.

В 2019 г. Порошенко потерпел сокрушительное поражение на президентских выборах от В.А. Зеленского, который, однако, проводил политику, мало отличающуюся от предыдущей. Минские соглашения по-прежнему не выполнялись.

4. Кризис вокруг Украины в 2022 г. и специальная военная операция. С начала 2022 г. в мировой и российской политике произошли глобальные изменения, связанные с кризисом вокруг Украины, открывшие новую страницу в истории.

В их основе лежало стремление Соединённых Штатов сохранить своё доминирование в условиях, когда их экономические, политические, моральные позиции заметно слабели на фоне подъёма новых центров силы. США взяли курс на подрыв позиций государств, способных бросить вызов их гегемонии. Среди них в американских доктринальных документах на первый план выдвигались Россия и Китай.

Постоянно усиливая давление на нашу страну, США, где к власти в 2021 г. пришёл Дж. Байден, и их европейские вассалы ускоренно продвигали военную инфраструктуру НАТО к нашим границам, хотя это было прямо запрещено «Основопологающим актом Россия — НАТО» 1997 г. Против России по надуманным предлогам вводились всё новые и новые санкции, велась непрекращающаяся экономическая и информационная война.

В качестве ударного кулака Запада, нацеленного против России, стала использоваться Украина, оказавшаяся в годы президентства П.А. Порошенко и В.А. Зеленского под полным внешним управлени-

... со стороны Вашингтона. На территории Украины размещались американские и британские военные объекты, которые готовили её вооружённые силы к ведению военных действий против Донецкой и Луганской народных республик, против нашей страны. Западные страны и местные националистические круги производили усиленную идеологическую обработку в антироссийском ключе. Шлягеризация нацизма, факультетские марши фашистских организаций стали регулярными. Нацистские преступники С. Бандера, Ф. Шухевич и др. превозносились как национальные герои Украины, их именами называли центральные улицы городов. Неонацистское бандформирование «Азов», «Айдар», «Донбасс» и др. стали частью вооружённых сил Украины. Её превращали в плацдарм для нападения НАТО на нашу страну. В течение восьми лет с полным одобрения Запада продолжались ежедневные обстрелы мирных городов Донбасса, от которых гибли тысячи людей. Киев демонстративно отказывался от выполнения подписанных им Минских соглашений.

Москва выдвинула ряд требований, которые были призваны нормализовать отношения России с Западом: не приближать американские и другие натовские войска и вооружения к границам нашей страны; не производить расширение НАТО на восток, как обещали все лидеры западных стран в конце 1980-х — начале 1990-х гг.; воздержаться от приёма в НАТО Украины; вывести размещённое в Европе американское тактическое ядерное оружие на национальную территорию. Страны Запада и Украина ответили категорически и высокомерным отказом.

В январе 2022 г. в Москве стало известно о подготовке в начале марта широкомасштабной военной операции по захвату Донбасса и Крыма украинскими войсками при западной поддержке. Россия была вынуждена предпринять превентивные меры.

Государственная Дума 15 февраля проголосовала за обращение к В.В. Путину с просьбой рассмотреть вопрос признания ДНР и ЛНР. 21 февраля президент издал указы о признании ДНР и ЛНР, а также подписал с республиками договоры о дружбе, сотрудничестве и взаимной помощи. 22 февраля договоры были ратифицированы обеими палатами Федерального собрания РФ и парламентами ДНР и ЛНР.

А 24 февраля началась специальная военная операция (СВО) российских войска вошли на территорию Украины.

Основными задачами операции стали суверенитет, демилитаризация и денацификация Украины.



Военнослужащие ВС РФ раздают гуманитарную помощь жителям села в Харьковской области. Май 2022 г.

В операции принимали участие профессиональные части российских Вооружённых сил, Росгвардии, укомплектованные военнослужащими контрактной службы, а также добровольцы, имевшие опыт участия в боевых действиях.

С первых дней СВО стало сказываться подавляющее превосходство наших Вооружённых сил в воздухе и на море. Использовались новейшие высокоточные системы вооружений, позволяющие наносить удары по объектам украинской и натовской военной инфраструктуры в глубине территории противника. Были уничтожены производственные мощности украинского ВПК, предприятия по производству горюче-смазочных материалов, военные аэродромы.

Российские Вооружённые силы, бойцы народной милиции ДНР и ЛНР демонстрировали образцы высокого мужества, героизма, успешно решая поставленные перед ними боевые задачи.

Первыми Героями России в ходе СВО стали командир танка старший сержант крымчанин Юрий Нимченко, чей экипаж первым вышел на рубеж Северо-Крымского канала. При установлении контроля над каналом отличился командир роты отдельной бригады береговой обороны старший лейтенант Антон Старостин.

В Пензе гордятся командиром зенитного ракетного дивизиона капитаном Алексеем Панкратовым, сбившим несколько самолётов и ударных беспилотников противника. Майор Виктор Дудин из Комсомольска-на-Амуре на своём Су-35 выиграл немало воздушных дуэлей с украинскими истребителями. Приморье прославил Алексей Бернгард, командир бригады морской пехоты Тихоокеанского флота, прорвавшей глубоко эшелонированную оборону под Волно-

ской и сыгравшей большую роль во взятии Мариуполя. Командир роты танков и БМП.

Дослужив старший лейтенант Нурматоме Гаджиевичев до звания Героя РФ посмертно. Тяжело раненый, он не позволил себе и окружающим его украинским бойкам увидеть. Имя героя назвали улицу Махачкалы.

Звание Героя России и Героя ДНР также посмертно присвоили командиру легендарного батальона «Спарта» ДНР Владимиру Жого. Он погиб, прикрывая собой эвакуацию женщин и детей. Пост командира «Спарты» принял на себя его отец — Артём Жого.

После начала СВО против России со стороны Запада были введены беспрецедентные санкции. В прямое нарушение любых международных норм была заморожена значительная часть наших золотовалютных резервов, номинированная в долларах и евро, Россия была отрезана от международных платёжных систем и лишена возможности осуществлять валютные платежи, вводился запрет на широкий спектр экспортно-импортных операций, российская ответственность в западных странах подвергалась конфискации. По существу шёл неприкрытый грабёж. Сотни западных компаний покинули российский рынок. Под санкциями оказались тысячи российских граждан и предприятий.

Открыто ставились цели «разорвать в клочья» российскую экономику, вызвать у нас голод и товарный дефицит, породить возмущение людей, массовые протесты, добиться свержения правительства и развала России на части.

На поддержку антинародного киевского режима были брошены десятки миллиардов долларов, огромное количество самого современного западного вооружения, дальнобойных орудий, уничтожавших мирные кварталы на Донбассе. Запад выступил, по сути, стратегическим тылом режима Зеленского, надеясь заставить Киев вести военные действия «до последнего украинца».

Планы западных стратегов полностью провалились. Наша страна сплотилась в поддержку своих Вооружённых сил и целей государственной военной операции. Уровень поддержки политики В.В. Путина превысил 80%.

Российская экономика выстояла под ударами жесточайших санкций во многом благодаря правительственным мерам по стабилизации финансовой системы, поддержке отечественной промыш-

ленности, импортозамещению, созданию собственной системы торговых платежей, использованию национальных валют в международных расчётах. Переход к продаже природного газа недружественным странам только за рубли, правительство заметно укрепило курс национальной валюты.

Внешняя помощь киевскому режиму не позволила ему кардинально изменить соотношение сил на поле боя, которое неумолимо смещалось в пользу наших Вооружённых сил.

Провалились и планы международной изоляции нашей страны. Санкции против неё ввели только США и их вассальные страны, общая численность населения которых заметно меньше 1 млрд человек, или 1/4 населения земного шара. Крупнейшие государства мира, включая наших партнёров по БРИКС, на которые приходится до 45% жителей планеты, Шанхайской организации сотрудничества, поддержали Россию плечо в сложной ситуации. К западным санкциям не присоединилась ни одна страна Африки, Латинской Америки, исламского мира, где хорошо помнят годы западного колониального господства и сознают истинную природу конфликта вокруг Украины.

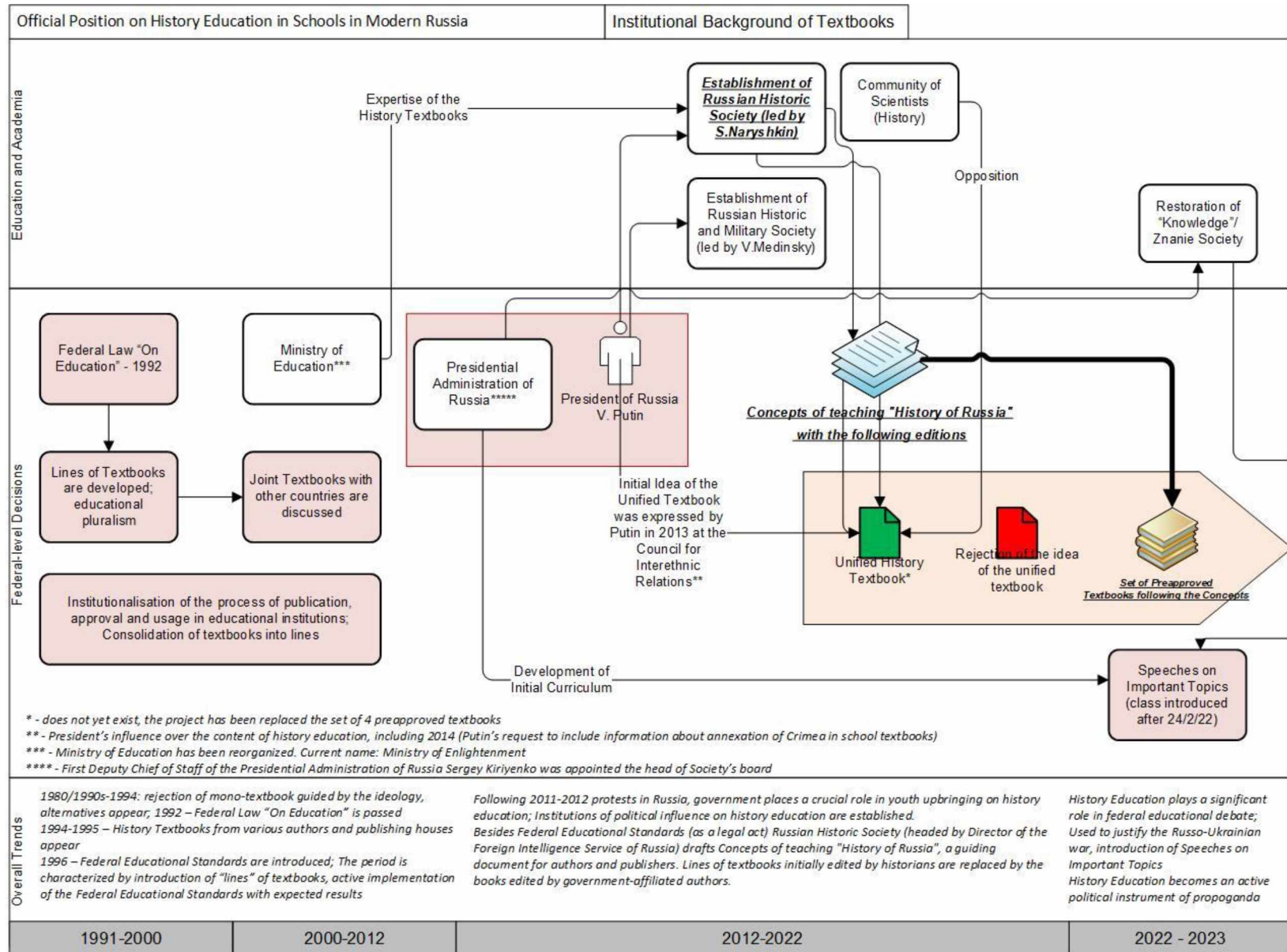
Российские экспортные поставки и потоки импорта были оперативно перенаправлены с Запада на Восток, в сторону наиболее динамично растущих центров современного мира (до 60% всего мирового экономического роста в 2010-е гг. приходилось на две страны мира — Китай и Индию, население каждой из которых около 1,4 млрд человек). Дружественные нам страны получили возможность получать растущее количество российских энергоносителей, продовольствия и другой экспортной продукции на выгодных условиях.

Напротив, недружественные государства оказались в числе первых пострадавших от введённых ими же самими против России санкций. Их следствием стали острый дефицит энергоносителей и резкий рост цен на них, рекордный за 40 лет всплеск инфляции на все группы товаров, падение фондовых рынков, рост движений протеста, падение авторитета власти и правительственные кризисы. Кроме того, нашими ответными мерами были заморожены активы западных компаний в России, введены масштабные персональные санкции.

Не первый раз нашей стране приходится вступать в схватку с очередным претендентом на мировое господство. И всегда она с честью выходила из этого испытания, одерживая победы над силами объединённого Запада. Так будет и в этот раз.

Наше дело правое! Враг будет разбит! Победа будет за нами!

Appendix B. Framework of the Process Tracing Analysis



* - does not yet exist, the project has been replaced the set of 4 pre approved textbooks

** - President's influence over the content of history education, including 2014 (Putin's request to include information about annexation of Crimea in school textbooks)

*** - Ministry of Education has been reorganized. Current name: Ministry of Enlightenment

**** - First Deputy Chief of Staff of the Presidential Administration of Russia Sergey Kiriyenko was appointed the head of Society's board

Appendix C. Longitudinal Comparative Analysis of the Federal Law No. 273-FZ of December 29, 2012 "On Education in the Russian Federation": Selected Articles²

Federal Law No. 273-FZ of December 29, 2012 "On Education in the Russian Federation" (as amended, effective from February 28, 2023)		
December 29, 2012, not in effect (initial law)	February 17, 2023, in effect	Observations
<p>Chapter 1. General Provisions Article 2. Basic concepts used in this Federal Law</p> <p>2) upbringing - an activity aimed at developing the personality, creating conditions for self-determination and socialization of the student on the basis of socio-cultural, spiritual and moral values and the rules and norms of behavior accepted in society in the interests of the individual, family, society and the state ÷</p>	<p>Chapter 1. General Provisions Article 2. Basic concepts used in this Federal Law</p> <p>2) upbringing - an activity aimed at personal development, creating conditions for self-determination and socialization of students on the basis of socio-cultural, spiritual and moral values and rules and norms of behavior adopted in Russian society in the interests of a person, family, society and the state , the formation of a sense of patriotism among students , citizenship, respect for the memory of the defenders of the Fatherland and the exploits of the Heroes of the Fatherland, law and order, working people and the older generation, mutual respect, respect for the cultural heritage and traditions of the multinational people of the Russian Federation, nature and the environment;</p>	<p>1. Upbringing is aimed at .. rules and norms of behavior accepted in Russian society</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> → Mentioning of nationality or ethnic group within legal texts; → Distinguishing Russian society from other groups; → Nation-specific education <p>2. Additional goals related to patriotism</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> → Civic and patriotic discourses with militaristic orientation
<p>Article or Section did not exist in the initial law</p>	<p>35) educational activities - activities carried out outside the framework of educational programs aimed at disseminating knowledge, experience, the formation of skills, values, competencies for the purposes of intellectual, spiritual, moral, creative, physical and (or) professional development of a person, satisfaction of his educational needs and interests and affecting relations regulated by this Federal Law and other regulatory legal acts of the Russian Federation.</p>	<p>Introduced as a tool to prevent “foreign agents” and foreign organizations from conducting ‘educational activities’.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> → Introducing jargon for sanctioning norms.

² This is not an official translation

<p>Chapter 1. General Provisions Article 7. Powers of the Russian Federation in the field of education, transferred for the implementation to the bodies of state power of the subjects of the Russian Federation</p>	<p>Chapter 1. General Provisions Article 7. Powers of the Russian Federation in the field of education, transferred for the implementation to the bodies of state power of the subjects of the Russian Federation</p>	<p>→ Constituent entities powers</p>
<p>1) state control (supervision) in the field of education over the activities of organizations engaged in educational activities on the territory of a constituent entity of the Russian Federation (with the exception of organizations specified in clause 7 of part 1 of Article 6 of this Federal Law), as well as local governments exercising management in the field education in the relevant territory;</p> <p>2) licensing of educational activities of organizations engaged in educational activities on the territory of a constituent entity of the Russian Federation (with the exception of organizations specified in Clause 7 of Part 1 of Article 6 of this Federal Law);</p> <p>3) state accreditation of educational activities of organizations engaged in educational activities on the territory of a constituent entity of the Russian Federation (with the exception of organizations specified in clause 7 of part 1 of article 6 of this Federal Law);</p>	<p>1) federal state control (supervision) in the field of education in relation to organizations engaged in educational activities, registered at the location (individual entrepreneurs registered at the place of residence) on the territory of the corresponding subject of the Russian Federation, with the exception of organizations specified in clause 7 of part 1 of the article 6 of this Federal Law;</p> <p>2) state control (supervision) over the implementation by local governments of powers in the field of education;</p> <p>3) licensing of educational activities of organizations engaged in educational activities registered at the location (individual entrepreneurs registered at the place of residence) on the territory of the corresponding subject of the Russian Federation, with the exception of organizations specified in Clause 7 of Part 1 of Article 6 of this Federal Law;</p> <p>4) state accreditation of educational activities of organizations engaged in educational activities registered at the location (individual entrepreneurs registered at the place of residence) on the territory of the corresponding subject of the Russian Federation, with the exception of organizations specified in paragraph 8 of part 1 of Article 6 of this Federal Law;</p>	<p>1. Transfer of powers to the federal level.</p> <p>→ Constituent entities are becoming bureaucratic enablers of the federal government's decisions over their territory</p> <p>→ No power to enable sovereign (local) policies in education</p>
<p>4) confirmation of documents on education and (or) qualifications.</p>	<p>5) confirmation of documents on education and (or) qualifications.</p>	
<p>1) the number of municipal districts and urban districts on the territory of a constituent entity of the Russian Federation, intra-city municipalities of the federal cities of Moscow and St. Petersburg;</p>	<p>1) the number of municipal districts, municipal districts and urban districts on the territory of a constituent entity of the Russian Federation, intra-city municipalities of the federal cities of Moscow, St. Petersburg and Sevastopol;</p>	

<p>6. The federal executive body responsible for the development of state policy and legal regulation in the field of education:</p>	<p>6. Has expired. - Federal Law of July 26, 2019 N 232-FZ.</p>	
<p>1) adopt regulatory legal acts on the implementation of delegated powers, including administrative regulations for the provision of public services and the performance of state functions in the field of delegated powers, and also have the right to establish target forecast indicators for the exercise of delegated powers;</p> <p>2) coordinates the appointment to the position of the heads of the executive authorities of the constituent entity of the Russian Federation exercising the delegated powers;</p> <p>3) on the proposal of the federal executive body exercising the functions of control and supervision in the field of education, makes proposals to the Government of the Russian Federation on the withdrawal of the powers of the Russian Federation in the field of education, transferred for implementation to the state authorities of the constituent entities of the Russian Federation, from the state authorities of the constituent entities of the Russian Federation Federations;</p> <p>4) based on the results of the annual report on the implementation by state authorities of the constituent entities of the Russian Federation of the delegated powers, prepares proposals for improving the legislation on education.</p>	<p>Section has been removed</p>	<p>→ Constituent entities' powers loss (refer to Section 7 of this Article for updated regulation)</p>
<p>3) coordinates the structure of the executive authorities of the constituent entities of the Russian Federation exercising the delegated powers;</p>	<p>3) has become invalid. - Federal Law of April 24, 2020 N 147-FZ;</p>	
<p>7) submit to the federal executive body responsible for the development of state policy and legal regulation in the field of education, an annual report on the exercise by state authorities of the constituent entities of the Russian Federation of the delegated powers.</p>	<p>7) has expired. - Federal Law of July 26, 2019 N 232-FZ;</p> <p>8) adopts regulatory legal acts on the implementation of delegated powers, including administrative regulations for the provision of public services in the field of delegated powers, and also has the right to set target</p>	

	<p>forecast indicators for the exercise of delegated powers; 9) has expired. - Federal Law of April 24, 2020 N 147-FZ; 10) submit proposals to the Government of the Russian Federation on the withdrawal of the powers of the Russian Federation in the field of education, transferred for implementation to the state authorities of the constituent entities of the Russian Federation, from the state authorities of the constituent entities of the Russian Federation. 7.1. The head of the federal executive body specified in part 7 of this article shall enjoy the rights established by paragraphs eleven and twelve of clause 7 of article 26.3 of the Federal Law of October 6, 1999 N 184-FZ "On the general principles of organizing legislative (representative) and executive bodies of state power subjects of the Russian Federation".</p>	
<p>1) appoints to the position the heads of the executive authorities of the constituent entity of the Russian Federation exercising delegated powers in agreement with the federal executive authority exercising the functions of developing state policy and legal regulation in the field of education;</p>	<p>1) appoints to the position the heads of the executive authorities of the subject of the Russian Federation exercising the delegated powers;</p>	<p>→ Control over the appointment of educational officials</p>
<p>2) approves, in agreement with the federal executive body exercising the functions of control and supervision in the field of education, the structure of the executive authorities of the constituent entity of the Russian Federation exercising the delegated powers;</p>	<p>2) approves the structure of the executive authorities of the constituent entity of the Russian Federation exercising the delegated powers;</p>	<p>→ Control over the appointment of educational officials</p>
<p>Chapter 1. General Provisions Article 8. Powers of public authorities of constituent entities of the Russian Federation in the field of education</p>	<p>Chapter 1. General Provisions Article 8. Powers of public authorities of constituent entities of the Russian Federation in the field of education</p>	
<p>10) organizing the provision of municipal educational organizations and educational organizations of the</p>	<p>10) organizing the provision of municipal educational organizations and educational organizations of the</p>	<p>1. Change in the legal nature of the list of recommended textbooks to approved by the</p>

<p>constituent entities of the Russian Federation with textbooks in accordance with the federal list of textbooks recommended for use in the implementation of state-accredited educational programs of primary general, basic general, secondary general education by organizations engaged in educational activities, and teaching aids, approved for use in the implementation of these educational programs;</p>	<p>constituent entities of the Russian Federation with textbooks in accordance with the federal list of textbooks approved for use in the implementation of state-accredited educational programs of primary general, basic general, secondary general education by organizations engaged in educational activities, and teaching aids, approved for use in the implementation of these educational programs;</p>	<p>federal government with the blanket rule</p> <p>→ Constituent entities are becoming bureaucratic enablers of the federal government's decisions over their territory</p> <p>Constituent entities are enablers of procurement rather than decision-makers in education</p>
<p>Article or Section did not exist in the initial law</p>	<p>12.1) creation of conditions for organizing an independent assessment of the quality of the conditions for the implementation of educational activities by organizations engaged in educational activities;</p>	
<p>Article or Section did not exist in the initial law</p>	<p>1.1. The executive authorities of the constituent entities of the Russian Federation, exercising public administration in the field of education, coordinate the appointment of officials of the executive and administrative bodies (local administrations) of municipal districts, municipal and urban districts (deputy heads of local administrations, heads of structural divisions of local administrations or sectoral bodies of local administrations) exercising municipal management in the field of education.</p>	
<p>Chapter 2. Education system Article 18. Printed and electronic educational and information resources</p>	<p>Chapter 2. Education system Article 18. Printed and electronic educational and information resources</p>	
<p>2 The norms for the provision of educational activities with educational publications per student in the main educational program are established by the relevant federal state educational standards.</p>	<p>2. The norms for the provision of educational activities with educational publications per student in the main educational program are established by the relevant federal state educational standards , federal state requirements for training programs for scientific and scientific-pedagogical personnel in graduate school (adjuncture), educational standards and independently</p>	<p>1. Nature of standards before changing to the mandatory syllabi</p>

<p>3. Educational publications used in the implementation of educational programs of preschool education are determined by the organization carrying out educational activities, taking into account the requirements of federal state educational standards, as well as exemplary educational programs of preschool education and exemplary educational programs of primary general education.</p>	<p>established requirements .</p> <p>3. Educational publications used in the implementation of educational programs for preschool education are determined by the organization carrying out educational activities, taking into account the requirements of federal state educational standards, as well as federal educational programs for preschool education and federal educational programs for primary general education.</p>	<p>1. Nature of standards before changing to the mandatory syllabi</p>
<p>4. Organizations carrying out educational activities according to state-accredited educational programs of primary general, basic general, secondary general education, for use in the implementation of these educational programs choose:</p>	<p>4. Organizations carrying out educational activities according to educational programs of primary general, basic general, secondary general education that have state accreditation, for use in the implementation of these educational programs use :</p>	
<p>1) textbooks from among those included in the federal list of textbooks recommended—for use in the implementation of state-accredited educational programs of primary general, basic general, secondary general education;</p>	<p>1) textbooks and teaching aids developed as a set with them from among those included in the federal list of textbooks approved for use in the implementation of state-accredited educational programs of primary general, basic general, secondary general education;</p>	<p>Mentioning of the nature of the list of the textbooks</p>
<p>2) textbooks issued by organizations included in the list of organizations producing textbooks that are allowed to be used in the implementation of state-accredited educational programs of primary general, basic general, secondary general education.</p>	<p>2) textbooks issued by organizations included in the list of organizations producing textbooks that can be additionally used in the implementation of state-accredited educational programs of primary general, basic general, secondary general education;</p> <p>3) electronic educational resources included in the federal list of electronic educational resources approved for use in the implementation of state-accredited educational programs of primary general, basic general, secondary general education.</p>	<p>Allowing for educational materials to be used.</p>
<p>5. The federal list of textbooks recommended—for use in the implementation of state-accredited educational programs of primary general, basic general, secondary general education by organizations engaged in educational activities includes lists of textbooks</p>	<p>5. The federal list of textbooks approved for use in the implementation of state-accredited educational programs of primary general, basic general, secondary general education by organizations engaged in educational activities is approved by the federal executive body</p>	<p>Provides a more detailed and comprehensive description of the federal list of textbooks, emphasizing the involvement of teaching aids, specialized training, and the development of materials in conjunction with</p>

<p>recommended—for use in the implementation of the mandatory part of the main educational program and the part, formed by the participants in educational relations, including textbooks that take into account the regional and ethno-cultural characteristics of the constituent entities of the Russian Federation, the realization of the rights of citizens to receive education in their native language from among the languages of the peoples of the Russian Federation and the study of their native language from among the languages of the peoples of the Russian Federation and literature of the peoples of Russia in native language.</p>	<p>responsible for the development and implementation of state policy and legal regulation in the field of general education, and includes lists of textbooks and teaching aids developed with them, approved for use in the implementation of the mandatory part of the main educational program , including those providing in-depth study of individual subjects, specialized training, and the part formed by participants in educational relations, including textbooks and teaching aids developed in conjunction with them , which ensure that the regional and ethno-cultural characteristics of the constituent entities of the Russian Federation are taken into account, the realization of the rights of citizens to receive education in their native language from among the languages of the peoples of the Russian Federation and the study of their native language from among the languages of the peoples of the Russian Federation and literature of the peoples of Russia in their native language.</p>	<p>textbooks. It also clarifies the responsible federal executive body for education policy and legal regulation.</p>
<p>7. The procedure for the formation of the federal list of textbooks recommended for use in the implementation of state-accredited educational programs of primary general, basic general, secondary general education, including criteria and the procedure for conducting an examination , the form of an expert opinion, as well as the grounds and procedure for excluding textbooks from the specified federal list are approved by the federal executive body responsible for developing state policy and legal regulation in the field of education.</p>	<p>7. The procedure for the formation of the federal list of textbooks approved for use in the implementation of state-accredited educational programs of primary general, basic general, secondary general education (including the procedure and terms for the examination of textbooks and teaching aids developed in conjunction with them , the criteria for its implementation and the rules for their assessment, requirements for experts and expert organizations when conducting an examination of textbooks and teaching aids developed with them, the rights and obligations of experts and expert organizations, the procedure for selecting experts and expert organizations to conduct an examination of textbooks and teaching aids developed with them, the forms and validity of expert opinions, the procedure and grounds for excluding textbooks and teaching aids developed with them from the specified federal list), as well as the</p>	<p>The exclusive rights to textbooks prepared at the expense of federal budget appropriations and teaching aids developed in conjunction with them belong to the Russian Federation.</p>

deadline for using textbooks and teaching aids developed with them, excluded from the specified federal list, is approved by the federal body executive power, performing the functions of developing and implementing state policy and legal regulation in the field of general education.

7.1. Organization of work on the preparation, examination, approbation and publication of textbooks and teaching aids developed with them, which are allowed to be used in the implementation of the mandatory part of the basic general education programs and educational programs of secondary vocational education, implemented on the basis of basic general education or integrated with educational programs of the main general and secondary general education, when mastering subjects, courses, disciplines (modules) of basic general education and (or) secondary general education, is carried out by the federal executive body that performs the functions of developing and implementing state policy and legal regulation in the field of general education.

7.2. The procedure for the preparation, examination, approbation and publication of textbooks and teaching aids developed with them, included in the federal list of textbooks approved for use in the implementation of state-accredited educational programs of primary general, basic general, secondary general education, and used in the implementation of the compulsory part basic general education programs, as well as state-accredited educational programs of secondary vocational education, implemented on the basis of basic general education or integrated with educational programs of basic general and secondary general education, when mastering subjects, courses, disciplines (modules) of basic general education and (or) secondary general education is approved by the federal executive body responsible for the development

	<p>and implementation of state policy and legal regulation in the field of general education.</p> <p>7.3. Financial support for the costs associated with the preparation, examination and approbation of textbooks and teaching aids developed with them, included in the federal list of textbooks approved for use in the implementation of state-accredited educational programs of primary general, basic general, secondary general education, and used in implementation of the mandatory part of the basic general education programs, as well as state-accredited educational programs of secondary vocational education, implemented on the basis of basic general education or integrated with educational programs of basic general and secondary general education, when mastering subjects, courses, disciplines (modules) of basic general education and (or) secondary general education, is carried out at the expense of budgetary appropriations of the federal budget. The exclusive rights to textbooks prepared at the expense of federal budget appropriations and teaching aids developed in conjunction with them belong to the Russian Federation.</p>	
<p>Chapter 3. Persons carrying out educational activities Article 28. Competence, rights, duties and responsibilities of an educational organization</p>	<p>Chapter 3. Persons carrying out educational activities Article 28. Competence, rights, duties and responsibilities of an educational organization</p>	
<p>2. Educational organizations are free to determine the content of education, the choice of educational and methodological support, educational technologies for the educational programs they implement.</p>	<p>2. Educational organizations in the implementation of educational programs are free to determine the content of education, the choice of educational technologies, as well as the choice of educational and methodological support, unless otherwise provided by this Federal Law.</p>	
<p>6) development and approval of educational programs of an educational organization ;</p>	<p>6) development and approval of educational programs of an educational organization , unless otherwise established by this Federal Law;</p>	

<p>7) development and approval in agreement with the founder of the educational organization development program, unless otherwise provided by this Federal Law;</p>	<p>7) development and approval in agreement with the founder of the program for the development of an educational organization, with the exception of educational organizations of higher education;</p>	
<p>9) determination of the list of textbooks in accordance with the approved federal list of textbooks recommended for use in the implementation of state-accredited educational programs of primary general, basic general, secondary general education by organizations engaged in educational activities, as well as teaching aids approved for use in the implementation of these educational programs of such organizations;</p>	<p>9) determination of the list of textbooks in accordance with the approved federal list of textbooks approved for use in the implementation of state-accredited educational programs of primary general, basic general, secondary general education by organizations engaged in educational activities, as well as teaching aids approved for use in the implementation of these educational programs by such organizations;</p>	<p>Important change in the nature of the choice in educational materials</p> <p>1. The teacher (in the context to RQ) is allowed to choose from the list of three similar books.</p>
<p>Article or Section did not exist in the initial law</p>	<p>10.1) encouragement of students in accordance with the types and conditions of encouragement established by the educational organization for success in educational, physical culture, sports, social, scientific, scientific and technical, creative, experimental and innovative activities, unless otherwise established by this Federal Law;</p>	

Appendix D. Longitudinal Comparative Analysis of the Law of the Russian Federation of July 10, 1992 N 3266-1 (as amended on November 12, 2012) "On Education": Selected Articles³

Law of the Russian Federation of July 10, 1992 N 3266-1 (as amended on November 12, 2012) "On Education" -	
July 10, 1992, not in effect (initial law)	November 12, 2012, not in effect (last version in effect)
Section I. General Provisions	Chapter I. General Provisions Article 2. Principles of state policy in the field of education
Section III. Management of the education system	Chapter III. Management of the education system Article 28.1. The powers of the Russian Federation in the field of education, transferred for implementation to the state authorities of the constituent entities of the Russian Federation
<p>15. an annual determination of the share of federal income allocated to finance education. Formation of the federal budget in terms of spending on education, federal funds for the development of education ;</p> <p>16. establishment</p> <p>a) tax incentives that stimulate the development of education ;</p> <p>b) federal standards for financing the education of students and pupils;</p> <p>e) the procedure for financing educational institutions ;</p> <p>d) the minimum rates of wages and official salaries of employees of educational institutions and state educational authorities;</p> <p>e) benefits, types and norms of material support for various categories of students, pupils in educational institutions, as well as teachers of state and municipal educational institutions ;</p> <p>f) the procedure for granting to citizens and repayment by them of a personal state educational loan;</p>	<p>1. The powers of the Russian Federation in the field of education , transferred for implementation to the state authorities of the constituent entities of the Russian Federation, include the following powers:</p> <p>1) state control (supervision) in the field of education in relation to educational institutions located on the territory of a constituent entity of the Russian Federation (with the exception of educational institutions specified in subparagraph 24 of Article 28 of this Law), other organizations engaged in educational activities, as well as local governments engaged in management in the field of education;</p> <p>2) became invalid from 1 August 2011. - Federal Law of July 18, 2011 N 242-FZ;</p> <p>3) licensing of educational activities and state accreditation of educational institutions located on the territory of a constituent entity of the Russian Federation (with the exception of educational institutions specified in subparagraph 24 of Article 28 of this Law), licensing of educational activities of organizations located on the territory of a constituent entity of the Russian Federation and whose structural divisions carry out implementation of professional training programs, as well as the formation, maintenance and use of regional information systems of state accreditation, containing information about the activities of accredited educational institutions ;</p> <p>4) confirmation of state documents on education, on academic degrees and academic titles.</p> <p>2. Financial support for the exercise of the powers transferred in accordance with paragraph 1 of this article, with the exception of the powers specified in paragraph 10 of this article, is carried out at the expense of subventions from the federal budget, as well as within the budgetary allocations provided for in the budget of the constituent entity of the Russian Federation for these purposes not less</p>

³ This is not an official translation

~~g) educational qualification for teaching staff;
h) federal requirements for educational institutions in terms of building codes and regulations, sanitary standards, health protection of students and pupils, minimum equipment of the educational process and equipment of classrooms;~~

~~17. direct financing of educational institutions of federal subordination, unless a different procedure is provided for by the Model Regulations on this type and type of educational institution;~~

~~18. information and scientific and methodological support of the education system, development of exemplary curricula and programs of courses, disciplines within the framework of federal competence, organization of the publication of educational literature and production of teaching aids. Creation of a unified system of information in education for the Russian Federation ;~~

~~19. organization of the federal system of training and retraining of pedagogical and managerial personnel for the education system;~~

~~20. control over the implementation of federal legislation in the field of education, federal components of state educational standards;~~

~~21. establishment and assignment of state awards and honorary titles to education workers;~~

~~22. publication of normative documents within its competence.~~

~~Article 29 _ _~~

~~1. In the field of education, the jurisdiction of the republics within the Russian Federation, represented by~~

than in the amount of planned revenues to the budget of the constituent entity of the Russian Federation from the payment of the relevant state duty associated with the exercise of delegated powers and credited to the budget of the constituent entity of the Russian Federation in accordance with the Budget Code of the Russian Federation .

3. The total amount of subventions from the federal budget to the budgets of the constituent entities of the Russian Federation for the exercise of the powers transferred in accordance with paragraph 1 of this article is determined on the basis of the methodology approved by the Government of the Russian Federation, based on:

1) the number of municipal districts and urban districts on the territory of a constituent entity of the Russian Federation, intra-city municipalities of the federal cities of Moscow and St. Petersburg;

2) the number of educational institutions and other organizations engaged in educational activities, in respect of which the powers of state supervision over compliance with the legislation of the Russian Federation in the field of education, state control of the quality of education, licensing of educational activities and state accreditation have been transferred to state authorities of the constituent entities of the Russian Federation.

4. Funds for the exercise of the powers referred to in paragraph 1 of this article shall be targeted and may not be used for other purposes.

5. If the funds are not used for their intended purpose , the federal executive body exercising the functions of control and supervision in the financial and budgetary sphere is entitled to collect the said funds in the manner established by the legislation of the Russian Federation.

6. The federal executive body responsible for the development of state policy and legal regulation in the field of education:

1) have the right to adopt regulatory legal acts on the issues of exercising delegated powers, including administrative regulations for the provision of public services and the performance of state functions in the area of delegated powers, and also, if necessary, establish target forecast indicators for the exercise of delegated powers;

2) agree on the appointment of the heads of the executive authorities of the constituent entity of the Russian Federation exercising the delegated powers;

3) in cases established by federal laws, prepares and submits proposals to the Government of the Russian Federation for the adoption of a decision on the withdrawal of relevant powers from state authorities of the constituent entities of the Russian Federation;

4) based on the results of the annual report on the implementation by state authorities of the constituent entities of the Russian Federation of the delegated powers, prepare proposals for improving the legislation of the Russian Federation in the field of education .

7. The federal executive body exercising the functions of control and supervision in the field of education :

~~their supreme bodies of state power and administration, shall be:~~

~~a) determination and implementation of an education policy that does not contradict the policy of the Russian Federation ;~~

~~b) the legislation of the republics within the Russian Federation in the field of education;~~

~~e) determination of the features of the procedure for the creation, reorganization, liquidation and financing of educational institutions -~~

~~2. The jurisdiction of the republics within the Russian Federation represented by their supreme bodies of state power and administration, territories, regions, cities of Moscow and St. Petersburg, the autonomous region, autonomous districts represented by their bodies of state power and administration shall be subject to:~~

~~a) implementation of the federal policy in the field of education, financial support of state guarantees of accessibility and compulsory basic general education by allocating subventions to local budgets;~~

~~b) adoption of legal acts in the field of education;~~

~~e) development and implementation of republican, regional programs for the development of education, including international ones, taking into account national and regional socio-economic, environmental, cultural, demographic and other characteristics;~~

~~d) the formation of state educational authorities and their management, the appointment of the heads of these bodies (in agreement with the federal educational authorities);~~

~~e) creation, reorganization and liquidation of educational institutions of appropriate subordination, licensing of educational institutions;~~

~~f) establishment of national regional components of state educational standards;~~

1) **supervises** the legal regulation carried out by the state authorities of the constituent entities of the Russian Federation on issues of delegated powers, with the right to send binding orders to cancel the specified regulatory legal acts or to amend them;

2) exercise control and **supervision** over the completeness and quality of the exercise by state authorities of the constituent entities of the Russian Federation of delegated powers with the right to conduct inspections of the relevant state authorities of the constituent entities of the Russian Federation , as well as the educational institutions specified in **paragraph 1 of Article 28.1** of this Law and the right to issue binding instructions :

about elimination of the revealed violations;

on bringing officials of the executive authorities of the constituent entities of the Russian Federation exercising transferred powers, as well as officials of educational institutions specified in **paragraph 1 of Article 28.1** of this Law, to liability established by the legislation of the Russian Federation ;

on the removal from office of officials of the executive authorities of the constituent entities of the Russian Federation exercising delegated powers, as well as officials of educational institutions specified in **paragraph 1 of Article 28.1** of this Law;

3) coordinate the structure of the executive authorities of the constituent entities of the Russian Federation exercising the delegated powers;

4) publishes **methodological recommendations** and mandatory instructive materials on the exercise by the executive authorities of the constituent entities of the Russian Federation of the delegated powers;

5) establishes requirements for the content and **forms** of reporting, as well as **the procedure** for reporting on the exercise of delegated powers;

6) analyzes the reasons for the identified violations in the exercise of delegated powers, takes measures to eliminate them;

7) submit to **the federal** executive body responsible for the development of state policy and legal regulation in the field of education, an annual report on the exercise by state authorities of the constituent entities of the Russian Federation of the delegated powers.

8. The highest official of a constituent entity of the Russian Federation (head of the highest executive body of state power of a constituent entity of the Russian Federation):

1) appoints to the position the heads of the executive authorities of the constituent entity of the Russian Federation exercising delegated powers, in agreement with the federal executive authority exercising the functions of developing state policy and legal regulation in the field of education;

2) approves, in agreement with **the federal** executive body exercising the functions of control and supervision in the field of education, the structure of the executive authorities of the constituent entity of the Russian Federation exercising the delegated powers;

~~g) formation of republican, regional, regional, cities of Moscow and St. Petersburg, autonomous region, autonomous districts of budgets in terms of expenditures on education and relevant funds for the development of education;~~

~~h) establishment of local taxes and fees for the purpose of education;~~

~~i) establishment of republican, regional, regional, cities of Moscow and St. Petersburg, autonomous region, autonomous districts of education financing standards;~~

~~j) organization of financing and provision of intermediary services to local education authorities and educational institutions in terms of their material and technical support;~~

~~k) establishing additional requirements to federal requirements for educational institutions in terms of building codes and regulations, sanitary standards, health protection of students, pupils, equipment of the educational process and equipment of educational premises;~~

~~benefits, types and norms of material support for students, pupils, as well as teachers of educational institutions, additional to federal ones;~~

~~m) information support of educational institutions, organization of the publication of educational literature, development of exemplary curricula and programs of courses, disciplines within their competence;~~

~~n) organization of training, retraining, advanced training of teaching staff;~~

~~o) ensuring compliance with the legislation of the Russian Federation in the field of education and monitoring the implementation of state educational standards;~~

3) independently organize activities for the implementation of delegated powers in accordance with federal laws and other regulatory legal acts of the Russian Federation, as well as regulatory legal acts provided for in [paragraphs 6 and 7](#) of this article;

4) ensures timely submission to the federal executive body exercising the functions of control and supervision in the field of education :

a quarterly report on the spending of the granted subventions, on the achievement of target forecast indicators, if any;

copies of regulatory legal acts adopted by state authorities of a constituent entity of the Russian Federation on issues of delegated powers;

information (including databases) necessary for the formation and maintenance of federal databases on control and supervision in the field of education;

other documents and information necessary for control and supervision over the completeness and quality of the exercise by the state authorities of the subjects of the Russian Federation of the delegated powers;

5) has the right, prior to the approval of the regulations specified in [subparagraph 1 of paragraph 6](#) of this article, to approve administrative regulations for the provision of public services and the performance of public functions in the sphere of delegated powers, which may not contradict the regulatory legal acts of the Russian Federation, including may not contain provisions not provided for by such acts, additional requirements and restrictions regarding the implementation of the rights and freedoms of citizens, the rights and legitimate interests of organizations, and are developed taking into account the requirements for the regulations for the provision of public services by federal executive authorities and the performance of public functions.

9. Control over the spending of funds for the implementation of delegated powers is carried out [the federal executive body exercising the functions of control and supervision in the financial and budgetary sphere, the federal executive body exercising the functions of control and supervision in the field of education, the Accounts Chamber of the Russian Federation.](#)

10. Financial support for the implementation of the powers transferred in accordance with [paragraph 1](#) of this article to confirm state documents on education, on academic degrees and academic titles is carried out within the budgetary allocations provided for in the budget of the constituent entity of the Russian Federation for these purposes, not less than in the amount of planned revenues to the budget of the constituent entity of the Russian Federation from the payment of the relevant state duty related to the exercise of delegated powers and credited to the budget of the constituent entity of the Russian Federation in accordance with the Budget [Code](#) of the Russian Federation.

Article 29 _ _

<p>Section III. Management of the education system</p>	<p>Chapter III. Management of the education system Article 29</p>
<p>p) publication of normative documents within its competence.</p> <p>Article 30 —</p> <p>1. The competence of the bodies of state power and administration of the Russian Federation and its subjects in the field of education established by Articles 28 and 29 of this Law is exhaustive and cannot be changed except by law.</p> <p>2. The division of competence between the highest bodies of legislative and executive state power of the Russian Federation in the field of education is determined in accordance with the Constitution of the Russian Federation by the law regulating the activities of the Government of the Russian Federation.</p> <p>3. The delimitation of competence in the field of education between the federal (central) government bodies is determined by the Government of the Russian Federation in agreement with the Supreme Council of the Russian Federation.</p> <p>4. The delimitation of competence in the field of education between the highest bodies of legislative and executive state power of the republics within the Russian Federation, as well as between republican governing bodies, is regulated by the legislation of these republics.</p> <p>5. The delimitation of competence in the field of education between the bodies of representative and executive state power in the territories, regions, cities of Moscow and St. Petersburg, the autonomous region, autonomous districts is regulated by the legislation of the Russian Federation and decisions of the relevant</p>	<p>1. The powers of state authorities of the subject of the Russian Federation in the field of education include:</p> <p>1) became invalid from January 1, 2008. - Federal Law of December 29, 2006 N 258-FZ;</p> <p>2) adoption of laws and other regulatory legal acts of the subject of the Russian Federation in the field of education ;</p> <p>3) establishing the procedure for the creation, reorganization, liquidation and financial support of educational institutions of a constituent entity of the Russian Federation in accordance with this Law;</p> <p>4) has become invalid. - Federal Law of August 22, 2004 N 122-FZ;</p> <p>5) development and implementation of regional programs for the development of education, taking into account national and regional socio-economic, environmental, cultural, demographic and other characteristics;</p> <p>5.1) is no longer valid. - Federal Law of August 22, 2004 N 122-FZ;</p> <p>5.2) participation in the development, on the basis of federal state educational standards or federal state requirements, of exemplary basic educational programs, taking into account their level and focus (in terms of taking into account regional, national and ethno-cultural characteristics);</p> <p>6) formation of executive authorities of the constituent entity of the Russian Federation exercising the powers established in this article in the field of education ;</p> <p>6.1) ensuring state guarantees of the rights of citizens to receive public and free pre-school, primary general, basic general, secondary (complete) general education, as well as additional education in general educational institutions by allocating subventions to local budgets in the amount necessary for the implementation of basic general education programs in part financing the costs of wages for employees of general education institutions, the costs of textbooks and teaching aids, technical teaching aids, consumables and household needs (with the exception of the costs of maintaining buildings and utility costs incurred from local budgets) in accordance with the standards established by the laws of the subject of the Russian Federation Federations;</p> <p>6.2) organizing the provision of public and free pre-school, primary general, basic general, secondary (full) general education in basic general education programs in special (correctional) educational institutions for students, pupils with disabilities, educational institutions for orphans and children, left without parental care, special educational and educational institutions of open and closed type, health-improving educational institutions of a sanatorium type for children in need of long-term treatment, educational institutions for children in need of psychological, pedagogical and medical and social assistance (with the exception of education received in federal educational institutions, the list of</p>

~~body of representative power. The distribution of competence in the field of education between the governing bodies is determined by the relevant administration.~~

~~6. Federal (central) and departmental state educational authorities are not entitled to independently accept for their consideration issues referred by this Law to the competence of republican, territorial, regional, cities of Moscow and St. Petersburg, autonomous regions, autonomous districts and local educational authorities, with the exception of cases provided for by the legislation of the Russian Federation relating to ensuring state and public security, protecting health and sanitary and epidemiological welfare of the population, protecting the rights and freedoms of citizens.~~

~~7. Federal (central) state education authorities have the right to inspect any educational institutions and any education administration body on the territory of the Russian Federation on issues of their competence in the exercise of supervision, and may also delegate this right to other state education authorities.~~

Article 31. ~~Competence of~~ local self-government bodies in ~~the field of~~ education

~~1. Local self-government bodies are responsible for the implementation of the right of citizens to compulsory basic general education established by this Law.~~

~~2. The exclusive competence of local self-government bodies in the field of education includes:~~

~~a) planning, organization, regulation and control of the activities of local (municipal) education authorities, educational institutions in order to implement state policy in the field of education;~~

), in accordance with the standards established by the laws of the subject of the Russian Federation;

6.3) organizing the provision of additional education to children in institutions of regional significance;

6.4) organizing the provision of primary, secondary and additional professional education (with the exception of education received in federal educational institutions, the list of which is approved by the Government of the Russian Federation);

6.5) financial support for the receipt by citizens of preschool, primary general, basic general and secondary (complete) general education in state-accredited non-state general educational institutions in the amount necessary for the implementation of basic general education programs in terms of financing the costs of remuneration of teachers, the cost of textbooks and educational, educational and visual aids, technical teaching aids, games, toys, consumables in accordance with the standards for financial support of educational activities of state educational institutions of the constituent entities of the Russian Federation and municipal educational institutions;

7) creation, reorganization and liquidation of educational institutions of a constituent entity of the Russian Federation (with the exception of the establishment of higher educational institutions);

8) has become invalid. - Federal Law of December 1, 2007 N 309-FZ;

8.1) ensuring and conducting state (final) certification of students who have mastered the educational programs of basic general education or secondary (complete) general education, including in the form of a unified state exam (including training of persons involved in conducting a unified state exam, organizing the formation and maintenance regional information systems, ensuring the storage, use and destruction of examination materials and certificates of the results of the unified state exam, processing and checking the examination papers of participants in the unified state exam, as well as ensuring that participants in the unified state exam are familiarized with its results and accreditation of public observers);

8.2) establishing the form and procedure for conducting state (final) certification in the native language and native literature of persons who studied the native language and native literature while receiving basic general education and secondary (complete) general education;

9) formation of the budget of the constituent entity of the Russian Federation in terms of expenditures on education;

10) is no longer valid. - Federal Law of August 22, 2004 N 122-FZ;

11) establishment of regional standards for financial support of educational activities;

12) is no longer valid. - Federal Law of August 22, 2004 N 122-FZ;

13) establishing for educational institutions under the jurisdiction of a constituent entity of the Russian Federation, additional to federal requirements for educational institutions in terms of building codes and regulations, sanitary standards, health protection of students, pupils, equipment of the

~~b) formation of local budgets and funds for the development of education, development and adoption of local standards for financing education;~~

~~e) providing citizens residing in a given territory with the opportunity to choose a general education institution;~~

~~d) regulation within their powers and competence of property relations in the education system;~~

~~e) creation, reorganization and liquidation of municipal educational institutions, registration of educational institutions in the territory under their jurisdiction;~~

~~f) creation and liquidation of local educational authorities and (or) self-governing school districts, determination of their structure and powers, appointment of heads of local education authorities;~~

~~g) appointment of heads of municipal educational institutions, unless otherwise provided by the Model Regulations on this type and type of educational institution or by a decision of a local self-government body;~~

~~h) construction of buildings and structures of municipal educational institutions, arrangement of the territory adjacent to them;~~

~~i) control of the terms of lease of buildings, premises and other objects of property by educational institutions;~~

~~j) use of state and municipal institutions, cultural and sports facilities in the interests of education;~~

~~k) annual publication of average statistical data on the compliance of the conditions for the implementation of the educational process in educational institutions located in the jurisdictional territory with federal and local requirements.~~

~~3. The delimitation of competence in the field of~~

educational process and equipment of educational premises;

14) is no longer valid. - Federal Law of August 22, 2004 N 122-FZ;

15) information support within the competence of educational institutions, organization of the provision of textbooks in accordance with the federal lists of textbooks recommended or approved for use in the educational process in educational institutions with state accreditation and implementing educational programs of general education, and teaching aids approved for use in the educational process in such educational institutions;

15.1) participation in the selection of organizations that publish textbooks that are allowed to be used in the educational process in educational institutions with state accreditation and implementing educational programs of general education, in terms of publishing textbooks in their native language and native literature;

16) organization of training, retraining, advanced training and certification of pedagogical workers of educational institutions of the constituent entity of the Russian Federation and municipal educational institutions;

16.1) became invalid from January 1, 2008. - Federal Law of December 29, 2006 N 258-FZ;

17) became invalid from 1 January 2009. - Federal Law No. 258-FZ of December 29, 2006 (as amended on December 1, 2007);

18) publication of normative documents within its competence.

2. State authorities of the constituent entities of the Russian Federation have the right to additional funding for catering activities in municipal educational institutions and in state-accredited non-state general educational organizations, as well as to provide state support for the implementation of additional pre-professional general education programs in the field of arts in municipal children's art schools.

Article 30 - Federal Law of December 29, 2006 N 258-FZ (as amended on December 1, 2007).

Article 31 _ _ _

1. The powers of local self-government bodies of municipal districts and urban districts to address issues of local importance in the field of education include:

1) organizing the provision of public and free primary general, basic general, secondary (complete) general education in basic general education programs, with the exception of the powers to financially support the educational process, which are attributed to the powers of state authorities of the constituent entities of the Russian Federation;

~~education between a district and a city of district subordination, another settlement on the territory of a district, as well as between a city and a district in a city, is regulated by an agreement between local governments of various levels, approved respectively by the district or city representative body of power.~~

~~4. The delimitation of competence in the field of education at each level of self-government between the local administration and the local body of representative power is established by the latter and formalized by its resolution.~~

2) organizing the provision of additional education to children (with the exception of the provision of additional education to children in institutions of regional significance) and public free preschool education;

2.1) financial support for the receipt of preschool education by children in non-state preschool educational institutions in the amount necessary for the implementation of the main general educational program of preschool education in terms of financing the costs of remuneration of teachers, the cost of educational visual aids, technical teaching aids, games, toys, consumables materials in accordance with the standards established for municipal educational institutions ;

3) creation , reorganization and liquidation of municipal educational institutions ;

4) ensuring the maintenance of buildings and structures of municipal educational institutions, the arrangement of territories adjacent to them;

5) accounting for children to be educated in educational institutions implementing basic general education programs, assigning a certain territory of municipal districts, urban districts to a specific municipal educational institution;

6) became invalid from January 1, 2008. - Federal Law of December 29, 2006 N 258-FZ.

2. In the constituent entities of the Russian Federation - cities of federal significance Moscow and St. Petersburg, the powers of local governments of intracity municipalities in the field of education , including the assignment of territories to educational institutions of these constituent entities of the Russian Federation, are established by the laws of the constituent entities of the Russian Federation - cities of federal significance Moscow and St. Petersburg.

self-government bodies of urban districts have the right to create, reorganize and liquidate municipal higher educational institutions. Local self-government bodies of municipal districts have the right to exercise the functions of the founder of municipal higher educational institutions under their jurisdiction as of December 31, 2008.

Appendix E. Longitudinal Comparative Analysis of the No. 371-F3 of September 24, 2022 "On Amending the Federal Law "On Education in the Russian Federation" ⁴

EXPLANATORY NOTE	Observations
<p>to the draft federal law "On Amendments to the Federal Law "On Education in the Russian Federation"</p> <p>The draft Federal Law " On Amendments to the Federal Law "On Education in the Russian Federation " (hereinafter referred to as the draft law) was developed in order to improve the state policy in the field of general education.</p> <p>To strengthen the coordinating role of federal educational and methodological documentation, it is envisaged to introduce federal basic general education programs (FOOP) that are uniform for the Russian Federation, which will be developed and approved by the Ministry of Education of Russia, as a mandatory basic level of requirements for the content of general education.</p> <p>Schools will be able to directly apply the FEFs or individual components of the FEF without compiling these components at their level. At the same time, schools retain the right to develop their own educational programs, but the content and planned results in educational programs developed by educational organizations must not be lower than the corresponding content and planned results of federal basic general education programs.</p> <p>At the same time, the federal work programs of the following subjects will become mandatory for use: "Russian language", "Literary reading" and "The world around" in the implementation of the educational program of primary general education and "Russian language", "Literature", "History", "Social science" , "Geography" and "Fundamentals of Life Safety" in the implementation of educational programs of basic general and secondary general education, as well as the federal work program of education and the federal calendar plan for educational work.</p> <p>This approach will make it possible to build a unified educational space in the Russian Federation in accordance with unified quality standards.</p> <p>The FOOPs will be developed and approved by the Ministry of Education of the Russian Federation by March 1,</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Introduction of federal basic general education programs (FOOP) that are uniform for the Russian Federation, developed and approved by the Ministry of Education of Russia, to set mandatory requirements for the content of education. • Mandatory use of federal work programs in subjects such as "Russian language," "Literary reading," "The world around," "Literature," "History," "Social science," "Geography," and "Fundamentals of Life Safety" in various levels of education. • Building a unified educational space in the Russian Federation based on unified quality standards. • Introduction of a new procedure for the development of textbooks through a state order carried out by

⁴ This is not an official translation

<p>2023. The transition of schools to the implementation of the FOEP is planned until September 1, 2023.</p> <p>To implement unified educational programs, a new procedure for the development of textbooks is being introduced - the state order for the development of textbooks (complete with teaching aids) will be carried out by the Ministry of Education of Russia. The Ministry will approve the authors of the textbooks. Exclusive rights to textbooks will belong to the Russian Federation.</p> <p>The draft law does not contain provisions that contradict the provisions of the Treaty on the Eurasian Economic Union of May 29, 2014, as well as the provisions of other international treaties of the Russian Federation.</p>	<p>the Ministry of Education, with approved authors and exclusive rights belonging to the Russian Federation.</p>
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<p>No. 371-F3 of September 24, 2022 "On Amending the Federal Law "On Education in the Russian Federation" and Article 1 of the Federal Law "On Mandatory Requirements in the Russian Federation"</p>	
<p>b) add paragraph 10¹ the following content:</p> <p>"10¹) the federal basic general education program - educational and methodological documentation (federal curriculum, federal calendar curriculum, federal work programs of subjects, courses, disciplines (modules), other components, federal work program of education, federal calendar plan of educational work) defining the basic volume and content of education of a certain level and (or) a certain focus, the planned results of mastering the educational program, common for the Russian Federation;"</p>	<p>Nature of FOOP: universal across Russian Federation</p>
<p>3) in Article 12:</p> <p>a) in Part 6, the words "taking into account the relevant exemplary educational programs of preschool education" shall be replaced by the words "the corresponding federal educational program of preschool education", supplemented with the following sentence: "The content and planned results of the educational programs developed by educational organizations must not be lower than the corresponding content and planned results of the federal program of preschool education.";</p> <p>b) add parts 6¹ - 6⁶ the following content:</p> <p>"6¹. Organizations carrying out educational activities in accordance with educational programs of primary general, basic general, secondary general education that have state accreditation, develop educational programs in accordance with federal state educational standards and the corresponding federal basic general educational programs. The content and planned results of educational programs developed by educational organizations programs must not be lower than the corresponding content and planned results of federal basic general education programs.</p> <p>6². An organization carrying out educational activities in accordance with educational programs of basic general, secondary general education that have state accreditation, when developing an appropriate general education program, has the right to provide for the redistribution of the time provided for in the federal curriculum for the study of subjects for which state final certification is not carried out, in favor of studying other educational subjects, including the organization of in-depth study of individual subjects and specialized training.</p> <p>6³. When developing the main general education program, organizations that carry out educational activities according to educational programs of primary general, basic general, secondary general education that have state accreditation, provide for the direct application in the implementation of the mandatory part of the educational program of primary general education of</p>	<p>Character of FOOP: universal usage of History syllabus across country.</p>

<p>federal work programs in the subjects "Russian language", "Literary reading" and "World around", and in the implementation of the mandatory part of the educational programs of basic general and secondary general education of federal work programs in the subjects "Russian language", "Literature", "History", "Social studies", "Geography" and "Fundamentals of life safety".</p>	
<p>c) Part 5 after the words "lists of textbooks" shall be supplemented with the words "and the teaching aids developed in conjunction with them", after the words "a mandatory part of the basic educational program" shall be supplemented with the words ", including those providing in-depth study of individual subjects, specialized training," , after the words "including textbooks" add the words "and the teaching aids developed in conjunction with them";</p> <p>d) in Part 6, the words "Textbooks are included" shall be replaced by the words "Textbooks and the teaching aids developed in conjunction with them are included", after the words "examination of textbooks" the words "and the teaching aids developed in conjunction with them" shall be supplemented with the following sentence: "The content of textbooks and teaching aids developed in conjunction with them, included in the specified federal list, must comply with federal state educational standards and federal basic general educational programs.</p> <p>e) part 7 shall be stated in the following wording:</p>	<p>State policy regarding the formation of the list of the textbooks – need to develop bylaw analysis:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Textbook are not market material, they are ‘ordered’ by the MOE 2. Authors are approved 3. The content must follow the FOOP 4. Concepts? 5. Russia reserves the rights to the books
<p>"7. The procedure for the formation of a federal list of textbooks approved for use in the implementation of state-accredited educational programs of primary general, basic general, secondary general education (including the procedure and terms for the examination of textbooks and teaching aids developed complete with them, the criteria for its implementation and the rules their evaluation, the requirements for experts and expert organizations when conducting the examination of textbooks and teaching aids developed with them, the rights and obligations of experts and expert organizations, the procedure for selecting experts and expert organizations for the examination of textbooks and teaching aids developed with them , forms and validity of expert opinions, the procedure and grounds for excluding textbooks and teaching aids developed with them from the specified federal list), as well as the deadline for using textbooks and teaching aids developed with them, excluded from the specified federal list, is approved by the federal an executive body that performs the functions of developing and implementing state policy and legal regulation in the field of general education.";</p> <p>f) add parts 7¹ - 7³ the following content:</p> <p>"7¹. Organization of work on the preparation, examination, testing and publication of textbooks and teaching aids developed with them, which are allowed to be used in the implementation of the mandatory part of the basic general educational programs and educational programs of secondary vocational education, implemented on the basis of basic general education</p>	

or integrated with educational programs of basic general and secondary general education, when mastering academic subjects, courses, disciplines (modules) of basic general education and (or) secondary general education, is carried out by the federal executive body that performs the functions of developing and implementing state policy and regulatory legal regulation in the field of general education.

7². The procedure for the preparation, examination, approbation and publication of textbooks and teaching aids developed with them, included in the federal list of textbooks approved for use in the implementation of state-accredited educational programs of primary general, basic general, secondary general education, and used in the implementation of the compulsory part basic general education programs, as well as state-accredited educational programs of secondary vocational education, implemented on the basis of basic general education or integrated with educational programs of basic general and secondary general education, when mastering subjects, courses, disciplines (modules) of basic general education and (or) secondary general education is approved by the federal executive body responsible for the development and implementation of state policy and legal regulation in the field of general education.

7³. Financial support for the costs associated with the preparation, examination and approbation of textbooks and teaching aids developed with them, included in the federal list of textbooks approved for use in the implementation of state-accredited educational programs of primary general, basic general, secondary general education, and used in implementation of the mandatory part of the basic general education programs, as well as state-accredited educational programs of secondary vocational education, implemented on the basis of basic general education or integrated with educational programs of basic general and secondary general education, when mastering subjects, courses, disciplines (modules) of basic general education and (or) secondary general education, is carried out at the expense of budgetary appropriations of the federal budget. The exclusive rights to textbooks prepared at the expense of federal budget appropriations and teaching aids developed in conjunction with them belong to the Russian Federation.