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Geopolitics, human rights

Геополитика, права человека

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The global theatricalization and theatricality of geopolitics*

Even in the ancient period, great Greek playwrights were noticed, the similarity of the world and theater. Indeed, in the heyday of Athens, the viewing of the theatrical production of the tragedy gathered the entire population of the polis, except slaves. This unity of society and theater more than four centuries ago, William Shakespeare in the comedy “As you like it” concluded, “The whole world is a theater”. Then, in the next century, the ability of the theater to reflect all human joys and sorrows has only expanded, bringing themes that excite people into theatrical life, and creating new techniques for their stage interpretation. But on the scales, which measure the strength of society’s influence on theater and theater on society, still the first one is outweighed. During the reign

* © Мурашко С.Ф., Рябова Е.Л., Терновая Л.О., 2020.

Глобальность театрализации и театральность геополитики

of Russian emperor Nicholas I in France, there was a theatrical tale that they decided to stage on and which was dedicated to Catherine II, where they presented the empress in a rather frivolous form. “When Nikolai Pavlovich was informed about this, he ordered the Russian ambassador in Paris to convey to the French government his deepest dissatisfaction with this fact. The French, however, stated that they did not intend to ban the play, because in France, there was freedom of speech, and everyone was free to express his or her point of view. Nikolai replied that in this case he would send three hundred thousand spectators in gray overcoats to the premiere. As soon as the French government received such a reply from the Russian emperor, it immediately forbade the staging of this performance”¹.

The pressure of politics on the theatrical world was particularly pronounced not during periods of revolutionary transformations, but when the new government began to transform gradually the political scene for its own interests and tastes.

This situation is described by Mikhail Bulgakov in the novel “Notes of the Dead”², where the world of the Soviet theater of the 1920s – 1930s. “With all its diverse inhabitants, it appears as a utopian kingdom-state, separated from the outside world by” iron medieval doors “guarded by mysterious guardsmen”³. An outstanding Russian theater critic, theater historian Anatoly Smelyansky notes: “In a huge world city, the theater is isolated, like a kind of fortress or monastery with its charter. The motif of magic delineation or the saving isolation of the theater square is one of the most enduring motives of the Bulgakov book”⁴.

1 *Свистунов А.* Театр в политике и политика в театре // URL: <https://fakel-history.ru/teatr-v-politike>.

2 *Булгаков М.А.* Записки покойника. Театральный роман. СПб.: Кристалл, 2001.

3 *Стахорский С.В.* Утопические мотивы в романе М.А. Булгакова «Записки покойника» // Вестник РУДН. Серия «Литературоведение, журналистика». 2001. № 5. С. 48.

4 *Смелянский А.М.* Михаил Булгаков в Художественном театре / Вст. ст. О.Н. Ефремова. 2-е изд., перераб. и доп. М.: Искусство, 1989. С. 399.

After the end of the Second World War, in the conditions when the West encountered a mass youth protest, a politically organized society, even if it justified the definition of “Society of the Performance” or “Society of Spectacle” given to Guy Debord in 1967⁵, retained enormous powers to control the impact of the theater on the mass consciousness. Only with the beginning of that phenomenon, which scientists and the media conventionally dubbed “globalization” did these level up, and then there was a dramatic increase in the impact of the theater on social and political realities, sometimes even turning into “spiritual aggression”.

The reasons for this transformation are obvious. **The first** of them consists in the fact that the global world has turned into a global audience of visitors, with all its gigantic scope, obeying the same laws as any community that consumes any spectacle. The extrapolation of one-spectator management practices acquired in the chamber theater to this colossal mass of spectators of the world theatrical performance has become possible thanks to the latest technologies. One of the most striking demonstrations of progress was the launch on October 4, 1957 of the first artificial satellite of the Earth. Later, assessing this event, Canadian philosopher, philologist and literary critic Marshall McLuhan will write an article where in the title expresses immediately the essence of the change: “With the advent of the satellite, the planet became a global theater with no viewers, but only actors”⁶.

It is necessary to note the presence of some pathos in the title of McLuhan’s article, as in any play the actors are not equal, so in life, in this global theater, people sometimes come to convince themselves that they are involved in action. German political scientist Thomas Meyer calls this situation “spectator

5 *Дебор Г. Общество спектакля / Пер. с фр. С. Офертаса и М. Якубович. М.: Логос, 1999.*

6 *McLuhan M. At the moment of Sputnik the planet becomes a global theatre in which there are no spectators but only actors // Journal of Communication. 1974. Winter. P. 48-58.*

democracy” when, with media-mediated and purely emotional involvement of citizens in politics, they have no opportunity to influence it⁷. Modern media, according to another German author, Ulrich Sarcinelli, helps to be interested in political forces to form such communicative models that provide them with public support by creating various constructs of symbolic peace, including rhetorical techniques, political rituals, myths, strategies and visual signs. All this brings politics and theater even closer together⁸.

In fairness, we note that the theater was originally built on friendship with technology, thanks to special effects, the viewer not only believed in the possibility of translating theatrical illusion into reality, but sincerely empathized with the heroes and achieved catharsis (ancient Greek. Κάθαρσις - “elevation, purification, healing”). The more technologically theatrical spectacle became, the more opportunities the power saw in using its influence on the management of social behavior. Technological advances developed theater as an art, and they also influenced the theatricalization of politics, which, as it became ever more rigid, strengthened its entertainment, added an element of theatricality to each political step⁹.

German researchers of the connection between theater and politics, Thomas Meyer and Martina Kampmann, point out the particular importance of television and the media in penetrating the values of theater criteria into political life¹⁰. Meyer connects types of symbolic politics with the models of symbolic “dramatization”: theatrical, drama, and performance¹¹. On the new “electronic stage”, according to the figurative expres-

7 Meyer Th. *Inszenierung des Scheins. Voraussetzungen und Folgen symbolischer Politik.* Frankfurt/Main: Suhrkamp, 1992. P. 189.

8 *Политика и личность / Под ред. Йоганнеса Поллака, Ульриха Сарцинелли, Фрица Загера, Аннете Циммер / Пер. С.С. Дмитриев. М.: Гуманитарный центр, 2012.*

9 Коваленко В.А. *Процесс театрализации политики. Дисс. ... канд. полит. наук : 23.00.02. Ростов н/Д, 2006.*

10 Meyer Th., Kampmann M. *Politik als Theater. Die neue Macht der Darstellungskunst.* Berlin: Aufbau-Verlag, 1998.

11 Meyer Th. *Inszenierung des Scheins...*

sion of the researcher, the politician achieves the highest form of theatricality, fixed in the mind of the viewer with theatrical aesthetics of slogans, dress code, and powerful entourage. The trouble is that the plot, suitable for a genuine theater, in a lively political context is transformed, losing the essence, becoming either pathetic or grotesquely majestic.

The second reason for the acquisition of theatricality of a global nature, as well as the rise from theatricalization of politics to theatricalization of geopolitics, is based on the fact that social experience is enriched by expanding the number of social roles, and increasing mobility creates opportunities for their quick change, both for a person and for the whole group. Everyone in his personal baggage accumulates a variety of social masks, which even the comedy did not imply. According to the concept of plurality of social personalities, or social “I” (social selves) of Irving Hoffman, each of the “social masks” of a person finds justification in his real life¹². But being in this mask, he lives his own performance, sometimes not noticing the theatricality of what is happening. More importantly, this role model is transferred to the rest of the people who have to play not in the way they see it, but as the “global viewer” would like.

The third reason for the interpenetration of the meanings and symbols of theater and politics concerns the connection between the magic power of art and power. The power itself can be considered as art. Politicians from time immemorial used art to achieve and retain power. The most successful actors of a political theater, like professional actors, are distinguished by the ability not only to capture the audience, but to gain power over it. The most successful of them themselves owned the arts necessary for social activities, above all, oratory. Units were characterized by a fascination with different types of artistic creativity and even success in this field. Some-

¹² Гофман И. Представление себя другим в повседневной жизни. М.: КАНОН-пресс-Ц, 2000.

times their successes in the arts were a reflection of talent and hard work, however, more often in the evaluation of merit politics worked a model, the initiator of which can be considered Nero. The emperor, after his victory in 64, during his first public appearance in Naples, became the invariable leader of all poetry and music competitions¹³. Among the autocrats, the tradition of Nero is detrimental both for himself and for the state, continued by the Swedish king Gustav III¹⁴.

The connection between power and theater on a personal level was perfectly felt by the opponents of power. It was not by chance that the theater more than once became a place of political assassination, in particular, Philip II of Macedon, the father of Alexander the Great, Abraham Lincoln, Peter Arkadyevich Stolypin.

The director, playwright, theater transformer, actor and psychologist Nikolai Nikolayevich Evreinov introduces the notion of “theatercracy”, meaning domination over society, “theater as a law, imperatively rationing transforming human activity”¹⁵. Now this concept is filled with new meanings. The political scene has spread to a global scale, which required that the people on it acquire mastery of acting skills, which include those that are essential for managing people and equally demanded by politicians. These skills reflect the development of such qualities as: attentiveness, observation, imagination, ability to think creatively, emotional memory, looseness, charm, sociability, ability to cope with fear, mental balance, efficiency, hard work, taste, harmony, ambition, desire for success and glory. A good actor cannot know the psychology, he or she has leadership skills, and is able to think logically. All this brings him or her very close to politics, however, there are fundamental differences.

13 Дуров В.С. Нерон, или Актер на троне. СПб.: Алетейя, 1994.

14 Леннрут Э. Великая роль. Король Густав III, играющий самого себя. СПб.: Русско-Балтийский информационный центр «БЛИЦ», 1999.

15 Евреинов Н.Н. Демон театральности / Сост., общ. ред. и комм. А.Ю. Зубкова и В. И. Максимова. М.; СПб.: Летний сад, 2002. С. 118.

The role of an actor in each performance requires him or her to be deeply immersed in the essence of the hero, but the actor after the game “removes” his hero from himself or herself, like a mask, remaining himself. He is able to transform without changing his own personality. The further away from his personality is the image of the hero, the more ingenious the game of the actor. A politician should have almost all the same qualities as an actor. But let us hear how Vladimir Putin noted the difference in these two areas of activity at the St. Petersburg Economic Forum: “But it’s one thing for someone to play, and another thing for someone to be. In order to play, you need talent, that’s for sure. Many talents. One of these talents is the talent of reincarnation. You can change roles every ten minutes. The prince and the beggar - every ten minutes. And there, and there must be convincing. This is really a talent. And in order to engage in public affairs, we need other qualities. You need experience, knowledge, you need to be able to find the main problems, to see them, to find tools to solve these problems, to be able to gather capable people in one team, to establish good relations with them, to believe in them, to give them the opportunity to think freely and propose solutions, to choose these decisions, which is very important, explain to millions of people the motives of their behavior in making these decisions and, most importantly, have the courage and character to take responsibility for the consequences of these decisions”¹⁶.

It turns out that the differences between the professions of a politician and an actor are not an obstacle for actors to engage in political activities. Moreover, the closer to our time, the more examples of no longer individual acting projects, mainly in the cinematic genre, that have been in the lives of politicians from different countries (brothers Lech and Jaroslav Kaczynski, Václav Havel, Fred Doulton Thomas, James Janosh, Ronald Reagan, Arnold Schwarzenegger, Donald Trump, Jon Gnarr, Vladimir Kolokoltsev, Mikhail Men, Andrei Belyaninov, Vitaly Chur-

¹⁶ Пленарное заседание Петербургского международного экономического форума // URL: <http://www.kremlin.ru/events/president/news/60707>.

kin), and the aspirations of a professional actor of the scene to reach people in a completely different role. At the same time, it is extremely rare that a future statesman is formed as a person in the actor's environment. As practically the only example, it is not entirely correct to mention the 72nd United Kingdom Prime Minister John Major, who held this post from November 1990 to May 1997, who was born into the family of a theater manager, who in the past was a circus artist.

A breakthrough into politics was made by Italian comedian, actor, and blogger, Giuseppe Piero "Beppe" Grillo, who in 2009 was founded the five stars political protest movement (Italian: Movimento 5 Stelle, or M5S). But Grillo did not rise to the heights of his power, and at its lower levels he could retain the freedom of play and self-expression. The features of American political culture and, of course, Donald Trump, helped to destroy the last line of defense of politics from not just actors, but representatives of the comic genre. The authoritative publication «The Washington Post» brought together a team of reporters and researchers who were checked with understanding the mechanisms of the political success of the 45th President of the United States. As a result, political reporter Michael Kranish and editor Mark Fisher released a book, in the title of which these mechanisms listed: ambitions, ego, money and power¹⁷. The same mechanisms were involved in the election campaign of Vladimir Zelensky, who, before being elected president of the Ukraine in 2019, was a popular comedian, producer, founder and artistic director of Kvartal-95 Studio and captain of the 95th quarter KVN team.

The fourth reason for the rise to a new height and the achievement of a greater depth of political theatricality is the need to improve the forms of political aesthetics in the spirit of the times¹⁸. Among the most famous authors who have devel-

17 *Краниш М., Фишер М. Законы Трампа. Амбиции, эго, деньги и власть / Пер. А. Рудницкая, В. Соков М.: Эксмо, 2017.*

18 *Тазетдинова Р.Р. Политическая театральность как способ инсценирования политических представлений // Вестник Казанского государственного университета культуры и искусств. 2016. Вып. 4. С. 115-119.*

oped tools for understanding ritual-symbolic aspects of politics, including public, entertainment and spectator behavior of political actors, is the American sociologist and political scientist Murray Edelman¹⁹. Back in 1964, in the book *The Symbolic Uses of Politics*, he explained the essence of the nature of political acts as ambivalent, and the model of politics - dichotomous²⁰. Thanks to the latter, political acts acquire symbolism. However, in this symbolism for society, a “parade of abstract symbols” is proposed, and for groups united by political interests, no longer abstract but extremely concrete symbols.

If in previous periods the separation of these symbols was perceived as natural, reflecting the opposite of power and subjects, then in a democracy striving for global, the new political aesthetics doesn't externally show these differences. It is no coincidence that many modern leaders emphasize the proximity of the elite to the people with love for simple cuisine and even fast food. For example, famous for its commitment to fast food Barack Obama. Trump organized in honor of the winners in the national championship in the game of American football, the team Clemson Tigers, a gala dinner at the White House, at which the guests were offered burgers. Almost one of the first statements by Zelensky as president of Ukraine was the council to politicians, how with the help of shawarma not to break away from people. Of course, it is impossible not to see the manifestation of the performance model of the symbolic “staging”.

The fifth reason for the theatricalization of geopolitics stems from the globalization of the theater itself. The theater, built in 1599 at the expense of the troupe of actors “Lord Chamberlain's Servants”, to which Shakespeare belonged, was called “Globus”. Nowadays there are a large number of

19 *Edelman M.* Politics as symbolic action. Mass arousal and quiescence.-Chicago: Markham publishing company, 1971; *Edelman M.* Constructing the Political Spectacle. Chicago - London: The University of Chicago Press, 1988.

20 *Edelman M.* *The Symbolic Uses of Politics.* Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 1964.

copies of this theater in different countries. The theater, as well as sport, which is also the space of the game, joined the Olympic movement, which has a global scope. In 1993, on the initiative of theater director Theodoros Terzopoulos, it was decided to hold theater Olympiads as a platform for the development of global theatrical integration. For the first time such an Olympiad was held in Delphi in 1994. In 2019, in the year of its 25th anniversary, the Theater Olympiad is held for the first time in history simultaneously in Russia, in St. Petersburg, and in Japan. The program in 2019, in addition to several dozens of theater productions from different countries, includes performances of national theaters from Russian regions, a scientific and educational section presented by a series of lectures and intensive master classes from leading theater workers from around the world. Within the framework of cooperation with the Theater Olympiad in Japan, a separate exchange program is planned. There are the most incredible sites of the Olympiad, for example, underground, in the subway. There is a special children's program in the camp "Artek". And most importantly, the theater does not simply act as a model of the present world, but is ahead of its development, demonstrating the future.

The sixth reason that the closeness of politics and theater will manifest itself in more and more complex constructions is that the globalization of theatricality is subject to the general laws of the flow of global processes, in which the presence of two levels is a distinguishing feature: open and shadow. The phenomenon of the dramatization of globalization also gives a similar picture, in which in the light stream of global theatrical interactions we see a positive politicization of theater tourism, festivals, competitions, foreign tours, street theater, etc. behind the scenes, puppets and puppeteers engaged in hidden or not very much manipulation of public opinion and control of the behavior of the electorate. These levels of theatricalization of politics, despite fundamental technological changes, have

hardly changed since Alexander Pushkin introduced the theater in Eugene Onegin:

*The theater is already full; the lodges shine;
Parterre and chairs, all boils;
In Rayke impatiently splash,
And soaring, the curtain roars²¹.*

The structure of the theater hall itself reflected the spirit of social stratification and the specific behavior pattern inherent in each stratum. Nowadays, as a result of accelerated mobility processes, such stratification is in constant motion. Since the political theater does not correspond to this social movement or responds with a delay, the response to this is the striving for deauthoritarianization of politics. What can it be expressed in? In the same way in which any deconstruction manifests itself: in the robbery of the general into details; in greater transparency of codes and rules; in the depersonalization of actions emphasizing the equality of rights of all actors of the political process; in approaching the situation to reality and rejecting stigmatization of others, unlike images drawn by the political theater. The theatricalization of the image of a politician and the theatricalization of a political process can end in a fiasco (Italian fiasco), that is, in failure, in failure. By the way, this word in translation from Italian means “bottle”. In the XVII century. Florentine comedian Domenico Bianconelli in one of the pantomimes came on the scene with a huge bottle covered with hay. The viewers did not appreciate his image, and then he threw a bottle on the floor with the words: “Yes, damn you to hell, fiasco!”. Since then, the name of the scene has become synonymous with the concept of “acting failure”, later acquired a nominal meaning. There are more and more examples of fiasco of politicians who are too keen on theatricalization of their image.

21 Пушкин А.С. Евгений Онегин // URL: <https://www.chitalnya.ru/work/2290484>.

Theatricalization and deatralization of policies are not opposites, but complement each other organically. And it is globalization that creates the world society like the “global theater” that enhances the globalization of theatricality and theatricality of geopolitics.

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The global theatricalization and theatricality of geopolitics

Abstract. Shakespeare's words "The whole world is a theater" reflected clearly the relationship of the theater and society. But theater is not just a reflection of the world, it is increasingly being used as a tool to influence the world, including political purposes. A political scene is unthinkable without a professional political game. However, the policy should not respond to fictional collisions, but to real challenges. In the context of globalization, such challenges are gaining global scale. Therefore, the theater, which is connected with global geopolitics, should correspond to new global paradigm.

Key words: globalization, geopolitics, political leadership, political culture, theater, theatricalization.

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Глобальность театрализации и театральность геополитики

Аннотация. Слова Шекспира «Весь мир — театр» еще четыре столетия назад емко отразили взаимосвязь театра и социума. Но театр не просто является отражением мира, он все больше и больше используется как инструмент воздействия на мир, в том числе с политическими целями. Политическая сцена немислима без профессиональной политической игры. Однако политика должна отвечать не вымышленным коллизиям, а реальным вызовам. В условиях глобализации такие вызовы приобретают мировой размах. Поэтому и театр, который связан глобальной геополитикой должен соответствовать новой глобальной парадигме.

Ключевые слова: глобализация, геополитика, политическое лидерство, политическая культура, театр, театрализация.

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Understanding the differences in the tempoworlds in ensuring migration security*

According to E.N. Knyazeva and S.P. Kurdyumov, tempo worlds are worlds, the defining characteristic of which is a single rate (total speed) of development of all complex structures included in each of them. With regard to the problem of migration security, the problem of the tempo world is actualized by the phenomenon of altered perception of the passage of time in people who were brought up in different socio-cultural traditions, entered active economic life in different not only production, but also temporal conditions, have different perceptions of reality in such time scales that extend far beyond their temporal life world, and are guided in their life choices by often opposite hypothetical images of reality. “The tempo world of any form of comprehension, - S.A. Khmelevskaya emphasizes, -is largely programmed by the nature of the tasks it solves, the needs it meets, and its connection with certain areas of public life. At the same time, we can talk about a special pace of comprehension of the system as a whole”.

It is also important to note the importance of understanding the differences in tempo worlds, which has an impact

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on a variety of areas, especially those where representatives of such tempo worlds collide, which have clearly expressed discrepancies. One of these areas is population migration, as well as all the consequences of this global process, including migration security. The world around us is undergoing drastic changes, affecting almost all aspects of social life and forcing us to abandon many well-established views on the opportunities that have opened up to humanity due to the fullness of global flows: people, ideas, capital, goods and services. While all of them were on the rise, they were clearly aware not only of the advantages of each of them, but also of the disadvantages, as well as the risks and challenges associated with their expansion. If we take only one of these flows — migration, then it clearly shows all the advantages and dangers of not only uncontrolled, but also regulated migration. In the context of the pandemic COVID-19, the migration tensions to a halt, many migrant workers are trapped either within their countries or host countries, the decline in earnings led to a reduction in remittances home, etc., However these changes are not made less acute problem of providing immigration security.

Despite the obvious importance of defining the essence of this problem, there is no definition of migration security in the scientific literature. In the broadest form, migration security can be represented as an objectively expressed state of protection of particularly important and other interests of the individual, society and the state from the encroachments of migrants who have criminal intentions and are generated by various criminogenic factors directly related to migration processes. Given the variability of these processes, largely due to the specifics of a particular period of historical development, the migration security environment is also subject to extremely serious transformations. All this makes us highlight the role of the time factor in creating a migration security environment. This factor allows you to highlight the fundamental dif-

ferences of tempo worlds, which was their homeland and have passed the initial personal development of migrants and tempo worlds of States that received migrants, establishing there an environment for adaptation, based on the images of their own tempo worlds.

The temporal component of social development in its significance corresponds to the position of time in the structure of the vital resources of humanity. The post-industrial society has brought time to the top of the pyramid of vital resources, subordinating such resources as money, vital energy and knowledge to its requirements. The famous postulate of Benjamin Franklin “Time is money” requires an addition, by introducing the positions: “vital energy” and “knowledge”. It is the time factor that begins to determine the speed of the flow of all social processes, starting with international and ending with individual existence, where it becomes one of the main criteria for personal effectiveness.

In relation to international migration in general, and to such a fundamentally important aspect of it as migration security, the time factor that allows us to isolate the main characteristics of a particular tempo world is manifested in two ways. The first of them is the historical time during which migration processes were formed, developed in a certain direction and filled with specific people who have clearly expressed migration interests. The second factor is the socio-cultural time associated with the difference in the passage of time for representatives of different cultures, the carriers of which are the indigenous inhabitants of the territories where migrants arrive, and the migrants themselves. In fact, it is this factor that can be designated as the basic one for the existence of the tempo world.

This implies an urgent need to study the peculiarities of the formation of migration security environments based on the understanding of the duality of the influence of the temporal factor on it, which creates a semantic shell of the tempo world,

which affects all the activities of both state bodies and private business organizations to create a safe environment. The temporal factor can be considered decisive when the problems of migration security intersect with the issues of labor organization, organization of social and legal assistance to migrants, ensuring personnel security, etc.

A clear understanding of the reasons for the coincidence or discrepancy of the temporal worlds and, as a result, differences in temporal perception among representatives of different cultures contributes to a more effective response to crime related to migrants. At present, there is a need to take organizational measures based on knowledge of all the phenomena of objective reality that have determined the place and functional role of the services of the state administration body for ensuring migration security. The migration situation should be defined as a complex combination of objective conditions and factors in the environment of which a public administration body functions and the study of which requires adequate methods of knowledge in order to implement effective organizational and practical measures. In this sense, the problem of bringing the collected, integrated and systematized information about the migration situation to the limits of knowledge about it becomes even more urgent.

Under the influence of the modern social environment, there is a determination of the activities of public administration. Such a situation in the special literature is designated by the concept of ‘operational’. For example, V.I. Murashov defines the operational situation “as a set of negative facts and circumstances that determine the probability of committing certain actions at a certain moment, including illegal ones, on a certain territory”. According to L.Sh. Berekashvili, “operational environment”, is also the concept of “environment”, part of which is the operational environment as a certain boundary that outlines the limits of studying and analyzing the environment”. The concept of “environment” is also used by A.P. Ipa-

kyan, defining the operational situation as an abstract concept of the applied departmental level, which denotes a set of factors, phenomena, processes, and aspects of objective reality that are significant for the organization of the fight against crime and the protection of public order, structured in the triad “law enforcement agency — crime — environment”.

In the context of the tempo world, the relationship between the following concepts is clearly traced: “environment-migration situation — public administration body”, since it is a specific temporal situation that allows us to assess the level and state of migration security. Both of these components (the environment — the migration situation), ultimately, determine the strategy and tactics of the behavior of state authorities in the migration sphere. The activities of public administration bodies should be adequate to the environment where they have to perform their assigned competence. The state, entrusting the migration security agencies with the performance of their duties, at the same time realistically and objectively assess the capabilities of the state administration bodies to perform them, taking into account the time and environment. One can cite the statement of V.B. Averyanov that “for the successful functioning of any system, its organization must correspond to the organization of the environment”. This author considers the internal environment as a dynamic element of an organization that effectively reacts to the surrounding world, which we can imagine as a certain tempo world. Then the temporal component of the migration security environment will clearly manifest itself, giving it at the same time the qualities of stability and variability inherent in this tempo world.

Denoting the migration situation in the aspect of its immersion in the tempo world, we emphasize that its main properties, in addition to temporal conditionality, should also include: territorial and geographical location, taking into account the boundaries of location between the regions of the re-

gion, the difference in climate, taking into account time ranges, etc.; special conditions of social life conditions, including socio-demographic characteristics, attitude to culture, ethnic composition, life, household management, family structures, the direction of migration flows, the degree of legal culture, interpersonal relations, etc.; criminological situation as a problem, which aims at the implementation of the organizational measures of operational and service activities of law-enforcement bodies (the assessment of the quantitative and qualitative state migration security, localization immigration offences at the place and time of transaction, the numbers of migrants and disadvantaged pockets of their actions, etc.); efficiency and expediency of the application of technological procedures in the management system of a public authority, without the study of which it is impossible to make a rational organizational decision (actual presence, degree of qualification, professional training of the staff of a public authority, the state of information and analytical activities, etc.).

All the mentioned elements of the migration situation are connected with each other by various relations. Research and identification of the factors that led to changes allow you to correctly navigate in a false migration situation, which affects the adoption of effective organizational and practical measures. When complex migration situations arise, there is a need for a more thorough analysis of individual events that are manifested at the moment and in a given territory. Come to the aid of not only the professional training and knowledge of management information and analytical activities, the implementation of which is held in the position of the state body and the relevant information units, but the intelligence of these temporal frames.

Assessment of the migration situation as an element of the tempo world includes: analysis of the formation of the structure and methods of collecting the necessary information about migration processes; study of the organization and

implementation of various types of studies of its development trends; formulation of conclusions and scientific and practical recommendations based on the results of research, including analysis of the temporal rhythms of participants in the migration process.

Tempo world encourages researchers to continuously collect information, taking into account its comprehensive use in solving issues of operational and service activities. It is also necessary to apply the data collection program in relation to the existing needs for the work of the state body and its divisions. When organizing and conducting data collection, persons interested in this process should accompany the continuous updating of new information reflecting the migration situation. Due to the fact, that migration information is concentrated in different departments, it is collected taking into account the interaction between them. In view of the fact that the study of the migration situation is in an ongoing process, it is important to provide for the use in information and analytical activities of the accumulated information on migration flows. It should be noted that this information also allows you to accumulate data on the properties of a particular tempo world. American economist Kenneth Arrow, winner of the 1972 Alfred Nobel Memorial Prize in Economics. (together with John Hicks) “for his innovative contribution to the theory of general economic equilibrium and welfare theory”, the author of the Arrow theorem, co-author of the Arrow-Debre model and the Arrow-Romer model, emphasized that an integral feature of decision-making (both economic and any other) is a lack of complete knowledge of all available opportunities and factors that can affect the results of decisions. Let us refer to an example from the American practice of making decisions concerning, among other things, the migration situation. After winning the election in November 1992, US President Bill Clinton has decided to reorganize US intelli-

gence. As a result, many analysts were dismissed from the CIA, including those with high temporal intelligence. Later, in the late 1990s, the commissions created by Congress to study the state of intelligence after the reform came to the conclusion that the main problem was not the lack of intelligence collected and extracted, but the inability to process and analyze it. According to the Americans themselves, until now, analysts are a minority in the CIA staff, most of the employees are engaged in data collection. The tragedy of September 11, 2001 showed that during the 1990s, there were no drastic changes for the better in the work of American intelligence.

Shortcomings in the work of state migration security management bodies indicate a superficial approach to information and analytical activities, which results in an aggravation of the migration situation in the vast majority of States receiving migrants. The reason is, among other things, the lack of understanding that any management decision concerning the migration security environment should be based on a clear calculation based on the analysis of all the reasons that affect the consequences in the migration sphere. However, the set of these reasons are still understood to be rather limited and does not account for the trends that are forced to include new features, including those associated with the actualization of the time factor, which allows to identify the basic differences of tempo worlds, originally native to migrants and those that take them.

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Understanding the differences in the tempoworlds in ensuring migration security

Abstract. To date, studies of migration problems have formed the subject field of a separate science - migrationology. However, within this relatively new discipline there is both an insufficiently clear definition of concepts and a very poorly developed research toolkit. This has a direct impact on the effectiveness of government and business efforts to create an environment for migration security. A way out of this situation can be a deeper study of those differences between migrants and the population of their host country, which reflects the essence of their understanding of the importance of such a vital resource as time, and such a synergistic given as tempomir. Taking this factor into account will make it possible not only to adapt migrants in labor collectives, but also to strengthen the environment of migration security.

Key words: migration, migration security, migration management, vital resources, time, tempoworld, temporal rhythm, temporal intelligence.

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Понимание различий темпомиров в обеспечении миграционной безопасности

Аннотация. К настоящему времени исследования проблем миграции составили предметное поле отдельной науки – миграциологии. Однако внутри этой относительно новой дисциплины имеется как недостаточно четкая дефиниция понятий, так весьма плохо проработанный инструментарий исследований. Это самым непосредственным образом сказывается на эффективности предпринимаемых государственными органами и бизнесом усилиях по формированию среды миграционной безопасности. Выходом из сложившейся ситуации может стать более глубокое изучение тех различий мигрантов и населения принимающей их страны, которое отражает суть понимания ими значимости такого витального ресурса, как время, и такой синергетической данности, как темпомир. Учет этого фактора позволит не только адаптировать мигрантов в трудовых коллективах, но и упрочить среду миграционной безопасности.

Ключевые слова: миграция, миграционная безопасность, управление миграцией, витальные ресурсы, время, темпомир, темпоральный ритм, темпоральный интеллект.

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European integration at the crossroads* Part 1.

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1. Introductory remarks

The process of European integration is in crisis. This crisis is not the result of social, political and economic tendencies that have emerged only recently. In fact, the inner contradictions of European integration have been apparent since its beginning. For some time, they posed no problems. Until the 2010s, crises were used as springboards for ever-deepening integration (Milward 2002: 17, Schwarzer 2005: 211-217). To be sure, economic dysfunctions emerged continuously due to incomplete but deepening integration. However, such dysfunctions served merely to justify complementary political measures which worked in the direction of deepening integration.

This mechanism relied on a political consensus which held that economic tendencies have a merely instrumental character. Such tendencies, it was believed, should never be allowed to compromise the integration process. Indeed, when launching new steps in the integration process, economic contradictions were consciously accepted by European elites. These elites were convinced that such contradictions, even if they became intolerable, would be faced by a political consensus strong enough to overcome economic contradictions through ever deepening integration. Moreover, strong opposition against additional measures in favour of integration could be overcome by adopt-

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ing solutions which ultimately and inevitably lead to new contradictions. These could be resolved by pro-European forces because the partial success of the steps toward integration had already weakened their opponents. These opposing forces had no concept of overcoming these contradictions by attempting to reverse the process of integration. And yet the myriad contradictions which have emerged in a succession of crises since 2008 had in fact largely been predicted - by, for example, the president of the German Bundesbank at the moment of the introduction of the Euro (Meyer 2004: 49).

The new reality, however, is that this overarching dominance of the political realm is no longer consensually adhered to by major European governments. Consequently, the driving seat has been occupied by the neoliberal economic instrument of negative integration¹. This same instrument was initially adopted in order to deepen European integration. Europeans political elites, who for some time were neoliberal in word only, have begun to actually believe their neoliberal slogans. This had not been the case between the fall of the Berlin Wall and the 2010s.

Prior to this most recent crisis, most European governments had adhered to neoliberal policies without entering into conflict with their overarching commitment to ever deepening union. This was partly because, for some time, the neoliberal elimination of state regulation had allowed for an overcoming of national differences and thus for deepening integration. It was also because, at decisive moments, the political interest in deepening integration prevailed over economic considerations.

At the very beginning of the integration process, there was evident antagonism between German Minister of economics Ludwig Ehrhard who favoured rapid integration into the world market, and German Chancellor Konrad Adenauer,

1 The removal of national (state) regulations without their replacement by EU ones (Scharpf 2002: 645).

who gave priority to the integration of Europe. Adenauer's political arguments won the day (Milward 1992: 174-198, Warlouzet 2018: 958). The weaker members of the EU considered deepening European integration as an important instrument for improving their relative economic situation with respect to competitiveness and incomes, as shown by Moravcsik's explanation of the first years of general de Gaulle's European policy (Moravcsik 2000). There was also an evident desire to grant Germany equality within a political framework in which the sovereignty of each member was contractually and politically limited. European integration held out the promise of controlling Germany without imposing discriminatory regulations on her (Loth 2007: 37).

In my contribution, I will show that the neoliberal process of negative integration is no longer sufficient to promote convergence within the EU. In short, the commitment of the economically stronger member states' political elites to deepening European integration is no longer strong enough to overcome the short-term economic costs which result from a neoliberal interpretation of the European integration process. Similarly, market forces are no longer sufficient to ensure acceptable rates of growth for the weaker regions of the Union. European elites are thus facing multiple nationalist, and in some cases aggressively populist, campaigns for a return to state intervention at the national level. This is not countered by the readiness of the economically more powerful members of the EU to accept Union level state intervention, which implies a considerable strengthening of democratic representation at the EU level. It is difficult to imagine a concerted EU incomes policy without a strong Parliament, which would possibly (but not necessarily) impose economic transfers to weaker regions in order to make them competitive. Such a procedure would closely resemble economic transfers between weaker and stronger states within the German Federal Republic.

To repeat; the ongoing crisis of European integration is

not the result of newly emerging contradictions within the EU. Rather, it results from an inability among the EU political elites to shift from a pattern of deepening the EU through negative integration (as had been the dominant approach prior to the 2008 financial crisis) to a pattern of positive integration. Such a pattern would entail European solidarity, whereby richer countries enable the Union to promote poorer regions through positive action.

The absence of positive state intervention in economic processes is felt by the economically weaker regions of the EU as an absence of state intervention and an absence of protection from the nation state. The prospect of state intervention at the EU level is not even considered. And even in the more developed regions of the EU, the originally pro-European forces are facing a rising populist challenge. This leads them to the conclusion that transferring further state powers to the EU level will be resented by large sections of the electorate. Consequently, even these pro-EU factions feel compelled to return, or attempt to return, powers to the nation state in order to create communitarian feelings at the national level.

2. On the heterogeneity of the EU and the challenges for the unification project

From the very beginning of the EU's existence, its constituent economies were heterogeneous. In capitalist economies, the heart of the innovation process lies in investment goods industries. The German economy had been a latecomer to the international division of labour, with important backlogs in traditional consumption goods industries and mining with respect to Great Britain but also to France. The modalities of German integration into the world economy in the late 19th century on the basis of a rapid expansion in machine building, electricity and chemical industry provided her with comparative (though not necessarily absolute) advantages in most modern industries (Allard 2014: 21).

In contrast to other newly emerging economies such as Italy or Spain, Germany was able to transform this comparative advantage into cost competitiveness through cheap labour and relatively cheap coal (Clapham 1976: 314). This facilitated a rapid expansion of machine building which, given the low-skill level of newly mobilised German mass labour, was essential. The clear contrast to the artisanal character of English labour enabled Germany to become the leading machine building industry by the end of the 19th century. In terms of prices and relative shares of industries in total industrial production in 1938, per capita industrial production, German industry had already surpassed Britain by the end of the 19th century (Aukrust 1964: 32).

This advantage in product mixing for specialisation was intensified in the 1930s and 40s, first due to a massive program of German rearmament and then through the appropriation of resources from occupied Europe. Germany exploited the productive apparatuses of the economies under her control and concentrated on innovating investment in her home military industries, with the relevant equipment being produced in Germany (Tooze 2003: 78-81). Although the German economy suffered massive destruction during the war, this did not preclude rapid reconstruction of the economy after 1945. And in fact, this reconstruction very frequently drew on the most modern equipment. This constituted an opportunity for rapidly renovating the stock of capital. Already in the 1950s, it became clear that, among Europe's "inner six", Germany had the most dynamic investment goods industry (and also the most dynamic chemical industry, Franck and Viertel 1965).

Investment goods, which are predominant in German exports, face low price elasticity of demand because they are generally considered to be of high quality. Important from the point of view of the customer, however, is not just the price of the product, but also its performance and durability. These characteristics depend on trust, which new competitors

face considerable difficulty in acquiring. The relatively small German domestic market did not provide her with comparative advantage in special-purpose machinery, as was the case in the mass production-based American machine industry (Schlesinger 1925: 821). Germany's comparative advantage was with more general-purpose, highly adaptable products which, because of their specific character, enjoyed a lower degree of technical obsolescence².

In the reconstruction period which followed World War II, this created significant German comparative advantages with respect to the USA's machinery industry. Very few countries outside Germany and the Soviet Union could rival the USA in terms of benefiting from special-purpose machinery. Based on a thriving internal market, the profile of German machinery production corresponded better to the demand from the very many catching up local markets in the rest of the world (that is, those countries which, like Germany, were in a period of reconstruction, but also the newly independent countries which were trying to launch industrialization). The Swiss profile was very much comparable to Germany's - and so too was the high growth of Swiss machinery exports to the rest of the world. This explains Germany's competitive advantage: machinery exports of the type characteristic of German machinery are highly income elastic³. If the world economy grows, German machinery exports grow.

High income elasticity of exports, especially outside the EU, combined with a low price elasticity of such exports, helps to explain why Germany was reluctant to engage in the creation of an economically protected area such as the European common market. Such a protected area inevitably entailed the creation of barriers to the rest of the world. The rise of German prices within such a protected area would contribute little to her own growth, especially if the rate of growth of production

2 Allen 1989: 153, Herrigel 1999: 61, Tooze 2003: 81.

3 Boss, Döpke et al. 1994: 37, Boss and Döpke 1995: 147 f., Strauß 2003: 197, Grimme and Thürwächter 2015: 37, Baccaro and Benassi 2016: 9.

was limited within this area in relation to the rate of growth of demand for German products in the rest of the world. Indeed, growth potentials in the rest of the world were estimated to be higher. At the economic level, the leverage of Germany in relation to her partner economies within the initial EU set up was therefore very substantial.

3. European integration and the vulnerability of post-1945 Germany

Between 1945 and 1989, the political leverage of Germany was low. She needed her European partners as guarantors for re-entry into the community of civilised nations. The neighbours of Germany - including even Italy, her initial ally- had suffered severely under Nazi occupation. When the Cold War began - in fact, over the German question - West Germany was offered a role in the Western Alliance. The Western allies opted for a separate currency in order to relaunch the German economy under capitalist auspices. But this new role had to be embedded within European security structures (Parsons 2002: 56 f., Loth 2007: 37), as several aspects of the European integration process indicate. The foundation of the European Community for Steel and Coal entailed common control of heavy industry. But it also entailed common control of the heavy industry of the member state with the biggest abundance in this area - Germany. Through this arrangement, Germany could expect to see an end to Allied control of Ruhr industry.

Another aspect of European integration involved the founding of a European defence community. This entailed the exercise of firm control over any German military contribution to West European defence. But national troops were subordinated to this multilateral European institution only in the case of Germany.

When the Soviet Union intimated her readiness to transform West Berlin into a free city, West Germany was compelled to accept that most of her Western allies were not pre-

pared to abide by their obligations to protect the city. West Germany did not necessarily need the European common market in order to guarantee the growth of her export industries; rather, she needed any and every Western European institution in order to secure protection from her allies, due to her geostrategically and politically weaker position (because of her exposure to the threats of the Soviet Union).

France was of central importance in this respect. Among the Western allies, France had the biggest interest in maintaining the West German buffer zone at her eastern boundary. Given the experience of 1940, French military planning of the immediate post-war period was based on the idea of withdrawal to the North African recess from which the liberation of France by French troops had begun in 1944. At this time, the free French state had been located in the city of Algiers (the capital of today's independent Algeria). Only when the United States committed herself to the defence of Western Europe did France come to envisage a military campaign on the European mainland (Elsenhans 2015a: 110). For this very reason, de Gaulle was one of the strongest opponents against any compromise over Berlin during the crisis of 1958 to 1961 (Vaisse 1998: 294, Elgey 2012: 294).

West German politicians were well aware of the central role of France in two key respects. First, Germany supported France's colonial wars economically and financially, especially in Algeria, and despite extensive German export interests in the Arab world⁴. Second, Germany accepted the EU as a transfer union despite contemporary statements to the contrary. The common agricultural policy⁵ was based on the idea that industrially more developed economies would benefit from the enlargement of the market through economic integration. Therefore, in order to catch up, it was envisaged that the industrially less-advanced economies should benefit from

4 Müller 1989, 1990, Cahn and Müller 2003, Bougherara 2006: 91.

5 Hendriks 1991, Knudsen 2001, Hefeker 2002: 179.

transfer payments to their agriculture. The original idea was that development should be measured by the share of industry, agriculture and services in national product. De Gaulle's early European policies were merely a continuation of this original idea (Moravcsik 2000).

The basic idea of "catching up" among weaker industrial countries by relying on protected large markets and financial resources worked well in the central region of Europe known as the "blue banana", which includes the eastern part of France and the northern part of Italy⁶. In both countries, the state played an important role in launching industrial development. This was especially the case in France with respect to oil and its transformation in chemical plants and in aviation industries (Elsenhans 1974, Delilez 1976). This worked because, at this time, Western Europe experienced historically unique growth rates. The catching up countries were able to promote productivity in industry by state intervention. For political reasons, this had to be tolerated by the more *laissez-faire* oriented Germany.

Such a model thus envisaged the co-existence of a *laissez-faire* oriented Germany and the catching up economies. But this model was dependent on three factors: relatively high rates of growth, the predominance of political considerations in Germany's attitude toward state intervention in partner countries, and (though admittedly to a lesser degree) the defence of national incomes in the weaker countries through financial transfers. Frequently, these took the form of protected agricultural incomes through the common agricultural policy (Heise 2005, Warloutzet 2014: 17-20).

Two factors threatened this balance. First, when Germany's leaders ceased to believe that her eastern neighbours represented a credible threat; and second, when growth rates decreased to such an extent that, with declining demand in rela-

6 Hospers 2003: 77, Brenner 2004: 470, European Commission 2010: 11, Borsi and Metiu 2013: 2.

tion to productivity growth, Germany's superior productivity displaced the industries of the economically weaker Union economies. Germany began to consider herself the paymaster of the EU because of her more "virtuous" management of her economy. There was the temptation impose her own, very different view of efficient industrial policy inevitably arose. This was accompanied by a climate which was highly favourable to orthodox laissez-faire and neoliberal economics, one created partly by the increasing ideological dominance of Anglo-Saxon economics.

4. The German position: Precarious but Resilient

Germany's neo-mercantilist growth through export surpluses, and the impact of this on her partners within the EU, are subjects that have been extensively commented on⁷. I will not return here to this general aspect of the discussion. German export surpluses continue to be substantial. In 2017, they totalled 15% of German imports and 7% of German GSP (although German export surpluses have declined since 2007 due to practical stagnation of world trade in real terms)⁸. This reflects the low price elasticity and high income elasticity of demand for German exports. German shares on world exports decline especially when world economic activity declines, but they do so less than world exports of other high-income economies, including member states of the EU, but also the United States. German export shares decline less rapidly than those of other industrial economies (Tab. 5.3: 7, 8, 9, 12/NOP)⁹.

Here, however, I aim to show that German exports are less dynamic than is normally assumed. To be sure, Germany has high exports with growth in branches in which growth prospects are not linked to the rapid technical change associated

7 Cecco 1989: 89, Hein 2002, 2012: 170, Smith and Weeks 2017: 45.

8 World Bank world development indicators. When deflating the growth of exports of goods and services by the general deflator given by the World Bank, the exports of China, the USA and Germany rose between 2007 and 2017 by 1.7 % p.a., those of Germany by 0.1 % p.a.

9 Numbers in the brackets refer to the lines of Table 5, 1, 5.2, 5.3, letters to the columns.

with digitalisation and microelectronics. Moreover, in the most dynamic regions of the world, the German export position is relatively weak. Germany risks being blocked by comparative advantage in less dynamic regions and less dynamic branches - which is the same fate that befell Britain at the end of the 19th century¹⁰.

After 2007, world trade growth massively decelerated - from 151% between 1997 and 2007, to 26% between 2007 and 2017. However, not all countries suffered to the same degree (Tab. 5.2: 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12/HIJ). Advanced industrial countries suffered more than emerging markets and were considerably below the average (Tab. 5.2: 7/HIJ). The United States did not participate to the same extent in the process of world trade extension between 1997 and 2007 (Tab. 5.2: 12/HIJ) but, in the following decade, the US proved more resilient than EU countries (Tab. 5.2: 8/HIJ)¹¹. Overall, Germany was not significantly superior to her EU partners, and did no better than the average high-income economies (1997-2007 123%, 2007-2017 17%, Germany 159% and 8%) (Tab. 5.2: 8, 10/HIJ). Chinese exports grew by 567% between 1997 and 2007 and suffered from the stagnation of world trade in the following decade. Even during this more difficult period, however, China nonetheless achieved an increase of 85% (Tab. 5.2: 9HIJ). Indian values for the same periods were 317% and 101% respectively (Tab. 5.2:11/HIJ).

Chinese trade growth was especially resilient during the period of crisis, with increases ten times as large as Germany or the EU (Tab. 5.2: 9, 10/I). During the initial decade, India's performance had been less striking, but between 2007 to 2017, it exceeded the Chinese trade increase (Tab. 5.2: 11/IJ).

Deceleration hit most manufactured goods, though Germa-

¹⁰ Cain and Hopkins 1980: 485, Bairoch 1989: 243, O'Brien 1999: 69, Lloyd-Jones and Lewis 2000: 400.

¹¹ Country groups and product groups follow UNCTAD Trade Statistics, EU is always EU 27, if not explicitly indicated otherwise. It does not comprise of the United Kingdom // URL: https://unctadstat.unctad.org/wds/ReportFolders/reportFolders.aspx?sCS_ChosenLang=en (last download 24th December 2019)

ny outperformed her EU partners and the United States (Tab. 5.2: 16, 18, 20/HIJ). This superior performance was not due to machinery and transport equipment - areas in which Germany topped the US - but only slightly during the second decade of slow trade growth (Tab. 5.2: 26, 28/HIJ). The most severely affected sectors were high-skill and technology-intensive products from Germany - areas where Germany had already experienced more lacklustre growth than high-income economies in the initial decade. Here, Germany's growth rate in the second decade was only 50% of the average world growth rate, and also less than the average of high-income countries (66% of the high-income countries average growth rate).

The growth rate of China and India in total exports was about 166% (India) to 266% (China) times higher than world exports for the first of the two decades, but it remained 2,3 and 1,47 times higher than world exports for the second decade (Tab. 7). However, growth rates in sophisticated products (high-skill and technology-intensive goods) represented values of 2,1 to 5,1 multiples of the world average growth rates for the first decade, and 1,85 to 1,35 times the multiple of average world growth rates in the second decade (Tab. 7).

For the cases of Germany and the EU - and in contrast to US exports - manufacturing exports were relatively resilient in relation to total exports, especially during the period of expansion between 1997 - 2007 (US 63%, Germany 137%, EU 133%) (Tab. 5.2: 15, 18, 20/HIJ). They almost stagnated during the following decade, however (US 10%, Germany 9%, EU 10%) (Tab. 5.2: 15, 17, 18/I), with growth decelerating especially for intra EU trade (Tab. 5.2: 50, 52, 54/HIJ). This was due to the stagnation of total European imports and mild losses of EU exports in total EU imports (Tab. 5.2: 48, 50/I).

Germany's export of high-skill and technology-intensive products grew more rapidly than Germany's exports for all categories of products. However, the German rate of growth in these high-skill exports declined in relation to the growth of

world exports of these products from 107% to 87% (Tab. 7). Between 1997-2007, Germany's growth rate had been 195%, but this collapsed to 6% between 2007 and 2017 (Tab. 5.2: 68/HIJ).

In exports of high-skill and technology-intensive products, the German growth rate of exports in relation to world exports fell from 107% to 87% (Tab. 5: 4/GP). Whereas China's rate of growth was 1343% (first decade) and 27% (second decade) for these products (Tab. 5: 67/HIJ). It was 512% in the first decade, and it remained at 135% of the growth rate of this category of world exports for the period 2007-2017 (Tab 7)¹².

German exports appear resilient in high-skill technology-intensive products, but much less resilient than the respective values for China and India. This was partly due to China's lower starting point, but also to her increasing share in world exports of such goods. China's shares increased from 2% to 16% (Tab. 5.3:33/NOP), while India's export growth in these products was 205% of world growth in the first decade and 185% in the second decade (Tab. 7).

One element is the stagnation of exports to the EU especially after 2007 (Tab. 5.2:3, 33/ HIJ), which are stronger than the deceleration of exports of high-income economies (Tab. 5.2: 6, 8 40, 42/HIJ). The relative position of the EU within the group of high-income economies is weakening, although Germany is performing slightly better than the other member states. However, a clear German advantage exists only in the category of manufactured exports. This superior German performance is related to higher growth in relation to the rest of the EU in all three categories of industrial products identified here. These differences are not enormous, however (Tab. 5.2: 8, 10, 16, 18, 24, 26, 32, 34/HIJ).

During the phase of rapid trade expansion between 1997 to 2007, Chinese and Indian rates of growth to the world market were practically double to quadruple the rates of growth of

¹² Relative growth rates between two areas or countries are shown in Tab.7 and are calculated as follows $\{(Growth\ rate\ of\ particular\ country\ as\ in\ Tab.5.2.+100)/ (Growth\ rate\ of\ reference\ unit +100)\} * 100$

German exports. German exports were in turn slightly better than EU exports, with EU exports still topping high-income economies' growth of trade in all products (Tab. 5.2: 8, 9, 10, 11/HIJ). Chinese trade expansion (first decade 572%, second decade 91%) and to a lesser extent Indian trade expansion (first decade 482%, second decade 102%) is especially high with respect to emerging markets and Asia (Tab. 5.2: 77, 79/HI). Even here, however, the relation of Chinese and Indian export expansion to average world export expansion 2007-2017 is 147 % to 200% of the corresponding measures for industrial countries (Tab. 7).

The EU initially is the highest performing among high-income economies for world exports of all products to the world and to emerging markets (Tab. 5.2: 7, 8, 75, 76/HIJ), but lower than the high-income markets in trade expansion to Asia. Similarly, the EU initially is stronger than other high-income economies in regions close to the Atlantic area, but does not top the other high-income economies in the second period in regions which represent the Asian average (Tab. 5.2: 75, 76 109, 110/HIJ).

Higher growth rates are visible in Chinese machinery and transport equipment expansion (Tab. 5: 25/HIJ). Conversely, Germany, the EU and other high-income economies are practically following average world trade exports (Tab. 5.2: 23, 24, 26/HIJ). India is somewhere in between. High-skill and technology-intensive exports present the same picture following average world trade expansion (Tab. 5.2: 30, 33, 35/HIJ), but China has a fivefold rate of growth for the first decade in relation to world export growth in these products, and India has double the world rate of growth. In the second decade, India overtakes China with 185% of the world rate of growth in these products against 135% of China (Tab. 7).

The following decade of trade stagnation still shows above average expansion of Chinese and Indian exports. These two countries' exports to the world have similar rates of expansion to their exports to emerging markets (Tab. 5.2: 9, 11,

77, 79/HIJ). That said, China's shares in exports to the world increase much more rapidly than her shares in exports to emerging markets (Tab. 5.3: 9, 11, 77, 79/NOP). This holds for China and India also for machinery and transport equipment. China's market share in world exports increased by a factor of 5 for the first decade and 9 for the whole period, whereas India's market share increased by a factor of 2 for the first decade and 5 for the whole period (Tab. 5.3: 25, 27/ NOP.). Market shares in Asia did not significantly grow more rapidly (Tab. 5.3.: 77, 79/NOP).

Despite the stagnation of world trade, both countries have increased their market shares in world exports of machinery and transport equipment, and both have increased their market shares in high-skill and technology intensive-products. The advance in high-skill and technology-intensive products with increasing market shares is topped by an even stronger advance in traditional high-technology products such as machinery and transport equipment, where Chinese market shares are now higher than in total exports (Tab. 5.3: 9, 25/NOP).

German and EU trade expansion to Asia is lower than world export growth (Tab. 5.2: 108, 119, 112/HIJ). However, German and less European exports in high-skill and technology-intensive products grew at world export growth rates of these products to Asia (although at a rate which remained much lower than those of China and India) (Tab. 5.2: 132, 134, 135, 136, 137 HIJ). Indeed, relatively speaking, EU growth rates of these exports to Asia in relation to their world exports of these products were resilient (Tab. 5.2: 34, 134/HIJ). But the EU, more than Germany, lost market shares in Asia (Tab. 5.3:134, 136/NOP), though less dramatically than the US (Tab. 5.3: 138/NOP). The highly dynamic Asian region has become less relevant for the overall exports of advanced industrial nations in these products (Tab. 5.2: 32, 34, 132, 134/HIJ). Overall, then, Germany is relatively well performing among the high-income economies, whereas the EU

as a whole is performing less well than the average of high-income economies (Tab. 5.2: 133, 134/HIJ).

Asia exhibited a spectacular trade growth in the decade 1997 to 2007 and faced a decline of this extraordinary growth when industrial countries' imports also declined during the post-2008 crisis. Nevertheless, Asian trade expansion was far above average trade growth, as exemplified by China and India. China was followed by India in total trade, but especially in machinery and transport equipment, and also high-skill technology intensive products (Tab. 5.2: 9, 11, 32, 35/HIJ). Overall, Asia suffered during the crisis because of the end of trade expansion in the high-income countries, but it continues to catch up in international trade.

The EU is underperforming in comparison to high-income economies, although Germany is better in manufacturing (Tab. 5.2: 15, 18/HIJ), despite being topped 2007-2017 by high-income economies in all products (Tab. 5.2: 7, 10/HIJ). Moreover, during the second, crisis-hit decade, Germany performed much less well in high-skills and technology-intensive products than average industrial countries (Tab. 5.2: 31, 34 HIJ).

This difference in following the expansion of world trade is reflected in the shares of the different regions of origin. In 2017, Germany's share of world exports declined by one percentage point to 8.18 % (2017), whereas the Chinese share increased from 3.29 % to 12.8 % (Tab. 5.3: 9, 10/ NOP). There was a decline among the high-income economies from 81 % to 67 %, and among EU countries from 40% to 33% (Tab. 5.3: 7, 8/NOP). Nearly all the declining shares in world exports of the high-income countries are to be found among the EU 27. The decline becomes even more dramatic if we remove German shares from the equation: in 1997, the EU without Germany had a share of 31%, and in 2017, 25%.

The resistance of German shares in exports is due especially to intra-EU trade, where Germany's share is still above average

(although declining). However, China has tripled her share to 6% over the previous two decades (Tab. 5.3: 9, 10/NOP) - this share is highest in EU imports of machinery and transport equipment (Tab. 5.3: 58 p.).

Whereas German shares in world manufacturing exports are stable between 10 to 11%, her exports in machinery and transport equipment are higher, at around 14 to 15% (Tab. 5.3: 18, 26/NOP). These shares in manufactured products are higher in world exports to the EU (16 to 17 %, Tab. 5.3: 51/NOP), though they show a declining tendency, and in machinery and transport equipment, where they show a slight increase from 18 to 19% (Tab. 5.3: 60/NOP). Here too, however, China has considerably increased her share during the previous two decades from 1% to 9%, especially in machinery and transport equipment (Tab. 5.3: 51/NOP). The share of high-income countries in imports to the EU is most visible (Tab. 5.3: 57/NOP) in the area of machinery and transport equipment, with a decrease of 14% (largely explicable due to the massive decline of the USA).

Germany has thus proven herself to be relatively resilient, especially in her EU markets, and especially in the older industries of machinery and transport equipment. She has higher shares in these industries than her average share in world exports, but lower shares of around 8% in high-skill and technology intensive exports (Tab. 5.3: 44, 60/NOP). Although Germany's share in high-skill and technology-intensive products (8 %) are lower than her share in machinery and transport equipment to the rest of the world (11%) (Tab. 5.3: 10, 26 p.), these shares are highest in exports to the EU (15 %)(Tab. 5.3: 67, 68, 70 p.). Here, rising Chinese market shares (9 %) ((Tab. 5.3: 69 p.) are displacing the market shares of high-income countries (Tab. 5: 62/NOP), especially the United States (Tab. 5.3: 72/NOP).

Germany's exports in high-skill and technology-intensive products have benefited especially from the home market con-

stituted by the EU. Germany's conversion to a high-skill technology-intensive goods economy for overcoming a one-sided specialisation on the technologies of the past in machinery and transport equipment production thus depends on the EU's broader development into an information society.

Conversely, German shares in world exports of high-skill and technology-intensive goods are just 8% (China 16%), but in exports of these goods to Asia less than 4% (China 22 %) (Tab. 5.3: 33, 34, 135, 136 p.). With 6% market share in these goods, Germany is more present in newly emerging markets than in the much faster growing markets of Asia (Tab. 5.3: 102 p.).

Germany's exports have proven especially resilient in two cases: machinery and transport equipment, especially in EU markets. In neither area is Germany the world champion among the exporters, however. Germany risks becoming overly specialised, with comparative advantage in regions and product groups which are less dynamic than the regions and product groups Germany's competitors are specialising in.

China is not the only competitor, however. The data in table 1 show that India is rapidly catching up with China in these areas. Between 2007-2017, India's share of exports in high-skill and technology-intensive goods products to Asia increased by 56% (China 34%) (Tab. 5.3: 135, 137/NOP); her share in exports in machinery and transport equipment by 126% (China 55 %); and her share in exports in manufactured goods to this region in the same period by 73% (China 68 %) (Tab. 5.3: 127, 129 NOP), though admittedly on the basis of very low starting values. Corresponding values for Indian exports to emerging countries are broadly comparable.

The data show that overall German losses in export trade shares, especially to China, have not been enough to endanger her position in relation to high-income countries and the EU. Germany certainly performs better than the United States in maintaining her shares, while within the group of advanced

industrial countries as a whole, Germany is a high performer. This results partly from German competitiveness with other-high-income economies in the emerging markets. Her shares in the EU show also that this is the result of privileged access to the EU market. We might thus describe the German predicament as one of strong export capacities in modern, if not the most dynamically developing product groups on the basis of special access to a market where income and demand are also not especially dynamic.

In fact, precisely this configuration was the one which confronted England at the end of the 19th century (Chatterji 1992: 42). At that time, England and Germany were at least initially on an equal footing in new industries like machine building, electrical equipment, and chemistry¹³. But England was performing so highly with traditional exports, especially textiles, that she felt no pressing need to develop exports in newer industries, or to adjust the cost level to German competitiveness in low-cost products (Howard 1907: 91 f.). Instead, average wages followed average productivity, which was largely due to the fact that the high share of old industries kept wage levels higher than in Germany. Conversely, lower German wages were the outcome of higher German backwardness in the older industries.

It is usually assumed that Germany did not overtake Britain in per capita productivity before the end of the 1930s. However, if we calculate productivity on the basis of the 1938 composition of production, then Germany surpassed England in per capita productivity at the end of the 19th century (Aukrust 1964: 30 ff.).

History shows that catching-up challengers generally had a relatively low productivity backlog in most modern and most dynamically growing industries, as well as significant backlogs in average productivity per capita due to the high share of not yet dynamic older industries. This does not imply that

13 Fremdling 1991: 39, Broadberry 1997: 165, Harhoff 2008: 51.

the leading economies have backlogs in the most dynamic industries. It only suggests that the advance of the leader is lower in these most dynamic industries than its advance in average productivity. According to comparative advantage, such a leading economy is threatened by having to specialise in old products which are less dynamic than the new ones. The result is that such economies ultimately come to share less in innovations realised in these new lines of production, and then actually become backward in productivity in these most dynamic industries.

Germany will inevitably face a dilemma. In 2017, her export share in GDP was 47% (compared to 25.5% in 1997). Germany thus has no possibility of relying on an internal market of her own - unlike China or the US, which in 2017 had export shares in GDP of 20% (1997: 14.6%) and 11.9% (1997: 10.9%) respectively. German export surpluses represented 7% of German GDP in 2017, compared with 1.2% in 1997 - or 1.8%, in China in 2017 (Tab. 6).

Germany thus has a key interest in dynamizing other EU economies. Only one third of the German export surplus is realised through trade with the rest of the world (Total 2017: 279 bio. \$, trade surplus with the EU 27 2017:184 billion \$) (Tab. 3). Germany can best contribute to growth in her near neighbourhood by launching the economies of the rest of the EU by incurring trade deficits with them and promoting demand for their products. This is exactly what Germany is not doing. That said, due to austerity policies, the German export surplus in trade with the EU has been decreasing by 25%, and increasing with France by 15%¹⁴ (Tab. 3).

Germany's short-term perspective on raising her export

¹⁴ Table 3 is based on the data for merchandise trade (UNCTAD), as there exists no country to country data on the current accounts of goods and services. UNCTAD data, however, does not show compensatory German services imports (Tab. 4). The International Monetary Fund data on the balance of goods and services are available only for 2017 and show a German surplus of about the same value as the German balance of merchandise trade (260.7 bio. \$), and a lower deficit of France (27 bio. \$). Germany has therefore no deficit of the balance of services with the rest of the world, France a slight surplus.

surplus is undermining the very same market which, in the future, could provide vital support to her highly export-oriented economy, especially if export growth possibilities at the world level should decline. In the long-term, the global capitalist system may well undergo continued crises, while there may be an acceleration of the transition to a multipolar world system in which some major powers are particularly influential in their neighbouring areas. Under such conditions, limits to export growth are highly likely.

5. A proper understanding of comparative advantage

When social scientists talk about comparative advantage, they are usually accounting for why one economy is better than another in certain products. This, however, is not *comparative* but *competitive* advantage¹⁵. Comparative advantage tells us nothing about the relation in productivity in a particular branch of production between different countries. It tells us only about the relation between the advantage of country A in product 1 in relation to country B, in relation to the difference in productivity between both countries in product 2. Country A may be more “competitive” in Porter’s analysis in both products.

As a result of the critique of imperialism and colonial underdevelopment and deindustrialization, it is usually assumed that comparative advantage favours the most advanced country so that the less advanced country has to protect its most modern industries with trade barriers. In the United States, this argument is connected to Alexander Hamilton (1755?-1804), in Germany to Friedrich List (1808-1861). It sounds convincing for Third World audiences, because the deindustrialisation of India, China, Latin America, and most other countries of the Global South is predominantly explained by the price and later on quality competition of mass-produced

15 In a most illustrious way: Porter 1990, not provoking an outcry of indignation of the academic community.

industrial products, first in England and then throughout the rest of the capitalist world¹⁶. Over the last decade, however, the most dynamic economies of the South have no longer favoured overall state planning and protection vis-a-vis the world market. This fact is hardly ever discussed. On the rare occasions when it is invoked, it is usually framed as a selfish betrayal on the part of southern elites. The argument about the harmfulness of specialisation according to comparative advantage is seldom relativized.

In order to illustrate this, I present here two varying accounts of distribution of relative productivity/comparative advantage between economies. I begin with an example close to the original demonstration of Ricardo (1951: 135-149). There are two countries, England and Portugal, with England being superior in the production of two products; cloth and wine. Table 1 reads as follows: with an identical amount of costs of production, say 100 units of labour, England can produce 150 units of cloth and 100 units of wine. With the same amount of labour, Portugal can produce only 100 units of cloth or 100 units of wine. Portugal is less productive in both goods. However, if England specialises in cloth, it can buy 150 units of wine, but loses 100 units of wine because it gives up its production. So the leading country in both products has an interest in specialising in the product in which it has relatively higher productivity advantages, hence comparative advantage.

Tab. 1: The standard example of unequal specialisation.

Product/Country	Cloth	Wine
England	150	110
Portugal	100	100

Let us adapt the example inspired by Ricardo to the mod-

16 Chandra 1966: 55, Feuerwerker 1970, Elvin 1973: 176-178, Platt 1973: 81, Çizakça 1987: 258, Dobado-González, Gómez and Williamson 2008, Bagchi 2010: 37, Williamson 2011: 29.

ern situation. Germany is assumed to be superior in two products: luxury cars and microelectronics. Her advantage is lower in microelectronics, however. We arrive at the following configuration:

Tab. 2: The more advanced countries having to specialise in old products.

Product/Country	Luxury cars	Microelectronics
Germany	150	110
East Asia	100	100

This example shows: Germany has an interest in specialising in luxury cars and in buying computers from East Asia. This is despite the fact that Germany was initially a leader in computer production, the first computer having been built there in the 1930s. This second version of comparative advantage is the one that characterises actual globalisation. Historically speaking, globalisation is not such a new configuration (Bairoch 1996). I have already mentioned Germany's overtaking of Britain at the end of the 19th century. Fundamental technical discoveries leading to new industries in chemistry, electricity and machine building were realised almost simultaneously in England and Germany. Germany did not overtake Britain because it had a better system of technical innovation (Adas 1989: 142). The corresponding institutions were created much later than the 1860s and 1870s, when the initial specialisation already had occurred. Germany had a better technical innovation system only later. This occurred because Germany specialised in industries which required such innovation systems.

France had been the technically leading economy of the 18th century¹⁷. France specialised in high-technology products for better income consumers - i.e. luxuries. The British industrial revolution was oriented to mass consumption

17 Nef 1958: 139, Cameron 1963: 328 ff., Crafts 1989: 427.

goods (Jevons 1865: 186, Horlings 2005: 92), while Britain had a less affluent upper class due to a greater equality of income distribution. She thus specialised in simple products¹⁸ in spheres of the productive apparatus in which production was often by small and medium scale industries¹⁹. Growth by these products depends on rapidly expanding demand for them, hence required expanding mass incomes as occurred in England. Such products were appropriate for catching the markets of low-income people all over the world, which explains the rapid advance of British textile industries in India, to some extent in China, and also in sub-Saharan Africa and Latin America²⁰.

This comparison of the two configurations of comparative advantage shows that the catching up country is not necessarily interested in overall protection, because it may specialise in those industries which are more dynamic than already established industries where leading countries enjoy their greatest advantage. The dynamic industries are normally characterised by high price and high-income elasticity of demand. The more suppliers are able to reduce prices by technical innovation in cost-cutting new process technologies, the more they increase total sales. Price reductions are more than compensated by increasing quantities sold. The more that external markets increase either through income increases of their populations or through the opening of hitherto reserved markets, the more sales increase. An economy which has comparative advantage in such dynamic industries exhibits the kind of characteristics which are normally lauded by advocates of neoliberal free trade policies.

The two configurations presented above show that the absolute level of development is largely irrelevant. During European industrialization, the more industrially advanced economies were able to open up new markets by removing trade

18 Kindleberger 1964: 88 ff., Mokyr 2002: 74, Allen 2009: 274.

19 Thirsk 1978: 65, Crafts 1989: 425, Berg 1993.

20 Platt 1973: 86, Davis 1979: 17, Hung 2016: 40.

barriers. This actually began prior to the formal onset of colonialism in the 1830s with the opening up of Egypt and China and the elimination of the East India Company's monopoly (Elsenhans 2007: 291-296). However, the two configurations show that it is conceivable for a catching up economy to possess a comparative advantage in dynamically growing industries. Conversely, economies considered more technically advanced may have their comparative advantage in high level technical industries for which there are only demands from the higher income brackets of society.

The richer economies will not decisively enlarge their markets in the wake of price decreases. The role of status-seeking consumption reduces the importance of a good which is too accessible to new consumers. Such economies specialise in luxuries for the rich and aim at protecting their internal markets. The current conflict between China and the United States seems to correspond to such a configuration.

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European integration at the crossroads. Part 1.

Abstract. The process of European integration is in crisis. This crisis is not the result of social, political and economic tendencies that have emerged only recently. In fact, the inner contradictions of European integration have been apparent since its beginning.

Key words: Europe, Russia, integration, society, analysis.

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Европейская интеграция на перепутье. Часть 1.

Аннотация. Процесс европейской интеграции переживает кризис. Этот кризис не является результатом социальных, политических и экономических тенденций, которые возникли совсем недавно. Фактически, внутренние противоречия европейской интеграции были очевидны с самого ее начала. Некоторое время они не создавали проблем.

Ключевые слова: Европа, Россия, интеграция, общество, анализ.

**UNESCO: culture
and national traditions**

**ЮНЕСКО: культура
и национальные традиции**

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К истории промышленных академий в СССР***Цели создания Всесоюзной промышленной академии**

После Гражданской войны экономика России восстанавливалась медленно, да и восстановлением это было назвать сложно, потому что теперь стояли новые задачи, среди них – индустриализация страны. «Новая экономическая политика» (НЭП), провозглашенная партией большевиков, способствовала тому, что заработала часть старых предприятий, открывались новые. Однако этого было совершенно недостаточно. Нужно было не просто создавать современные предприятия и эффективно на них работать, нужно было добиться, чтобы эти производства были на уровне мировых аналогов, чтобы не уступали предприятиям Германии или США ни по оснащенности машинами, ни по качеству выпускаемой продукции.

И тем, кто стоял у руля страны, было очевидно, что основная проблема в кадрах – подавляющее большинство не только рабочих, но и руководящих кадров из числа поддержавших советскую власть, активно включившихся в социалистическое строительство оставались малограмотными, а специалисты со знанием и опытом, как правило, были людьми «из прошлого» - работали еще при царском режиме и не вызывали доверия у тех, кто в СССР теперь

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К истории промышленных академий в СССР

принимал решения:

«Раскрытие целой серии вредительских контрреволюционных организаций в ряде трестов и отраслей народного хозяйства с несомненностью свидетельствуют о том, что в современных условиях наши хозяйственники не могут больше оставаться в роли шефа, заботящегося лишь о получении денег для учреждения, подписывающего бумаги, которые даются на подпись, но фактически по-деловому не управляющего той машиной, за рулем которой он сидит. Из опыта шахтинского и других дел нужно извлечь следующий основной урок: *нашим основным хозяйственным кадрам необходимо осознать свое значение, переучиться и специализироваться*»¹.

Подготовка кадров для экономики становилась важнейшей политической задачей. Конечно, вскоре после завершения Гражданской войны и стабилизации внутриполитической жизни вновь стали работать вузы, открывались новые институты и университеты. Однако они были не в состоянии утолить кадровый голод. На ответственных участках производства стояли люди, не имевшие никакого или имевшие только начальное образование люди, так называемые «практики», по подсчетам специалистов, на руководящих постах таких было до 40%². Даже к середине 1930-х годов ситуация ненамного улучшилась. Вот как она описывалась в справке СПО ОГПУ с грифом «Совершенно секретно»: по данным некоторых профессоров, «на последнем курсе 85% неуспевающих, совершенно негодных для работы в качестве инженера студентов». Выпускники большого количества вузов имели низкий уровень знаний, не могли решить простейшие математические и технические задачи, от их действий страдало производство, портились или даже уничтожались дорогостоящие приборы,

1 Всесоюзная промышленная академия. Заочные курсы. Проспект / ВСНХ СССР. Промышл. акад. Заочные курсы. 3-е изд. М.: Промышл. акад. ВСНХ СССР, 1929. С. 7-8.

2 Всесоюзная промышленная академия. Заочные курсы. Заочная промышленная академия: [Проспект] / Высш. сов. нар. хоз. СССР и РСФСР. Моск. сов. нар. хоз. – М.: МСНХ, 1929 (7-я тип. «Искра революции» Мосполиграф). С. 4.

под угрозу ставились жизни рабочих³.

Четыре большие задачи вставали в подготовке новых кадров: следовало воспитать хозяйственников, которые были бы политически подкованы, безоговорочно поддерживали Коммунистическую партию, отдавали бы себя целиком строительству социализма; были бы при этом настоящими знатоками своего дела, специалистами, разбирающимися в тонкостях производственного процесса; кроме этого - видели бы перспективу для своих предприятий, понимали бы ход и логику мирового развития науки и техники; наконец, были бы способны управлять другими людьми.

В 1925 г. создается Промышленная академия в Москве⁴. Промакадемия стала следующей ступенью образования после рабфаков и была призвана готовить руководящие кадры для промышленности — «учебное заведение для управляющих, для директоров». Официально Промакадемия считалась высшим учебным заведением, но фактически давала образование в объеме средней школы, а также технические знания, необходимые для работы в промышленности⁵.

Однако по-настоящему Всесоюзная промышленная академия стала действовать с 1927 г., когда вышло Постановление ЦК ВКП(б) «Об организации при ВСНХ академии по подготовке высшего командного состава промышленности»⁶. Были приняты на первый курс 110 работников, в том числе 48 директоров предприятий. Параллельно существовали и многие другие вузы, курсы, рабфаки, которые были призваны готовить кадры для

3 СПРАВКА СПО ОГПУ по вопросу о подготовке кадров и настроении интеллигенции. 26 декабря 1932 г. № 68834 // «Совершенно секретно»: Лубянка — Сталину о положении в стране (1922-1934 гг.): Сб. док. в 10 т. Т. 10 в 3 ч. 1932-1934 гг. Ч. 1. М., 2017. С. 528.

4 <https://ru.wikipedia.org>.

5 *Рассел Дж.* Всесоюзная промышленная академия. [Б.м.]: VSD, 2013.

6 *Войтенко А.И., Комаров Е.И.* Организация, управление и администрирование в социальной работе: учебник для студентов высших учебных заведений, обучающихся по специальности «Социальная работа». М.: РИО: ИНФРА-М, 2010. С. 221.

промышленности. Но при организации Промакадемии ставилась совершенно другая задача – дать базовое образование, повысить квалификацию именно командирам производства, обеспечить управление квалифицированными кадрами.

В разные годы Всесоюзная промышленная академия носила имена Л.М. Кагановича, В.М. Молотова и, наконец, И.В. Сталина. Она была подчинена Народному комиссариату тяжелой промышленности, и ее «бренд» стал крайне привлекательным для целого ряда наркоматов: свои академии возникают не только в целом ряде промышленных центров, таких как Ленинград или Свердловск, но и в отдельных отраслях экономики. В 1932 году была образована даже Промышленная Академия при Всесоюзном Центральном Совете Профессиональных Союзов, которая работала по учебным планам Всесоюзной промакадемии, но просуществовала только до 1934 года⁷.

Однако главным «заказчиком» хозяйственных кадров длительное время оставался именно Наркомат тяжелой промышленности. Вот какой была система его академий в 1937 году:

1. Всесоюзная промакадемия им. Тов. Сталина И.В.
2. Московская промакадемия им. Тов. Кагановича Л.М.
3. Ленинградская промакадемия им.тов. Сталина И.В.
4. Украинская промакадемия им.тов. Сталина И.В.
5. Урало-Казахстанская промакадемия.
6. Закавказская нефтяная промакадемия им. Кирова С.М.

Из материалов, в которых абитуриентам разъяснялись условия приема, ясно, что по своему статусу примерно в равном положении были Всесоюзная, Московская и Ленинградская промакадемии – и зарплаты профессоров, и стипендии слушателей там были одинаковыми. Ступенью ниже стояли остальные три⁸.

7 ГАРФ. Ф. Р7829. Оп. 2. Д. 16

8 Приказ по Народному комиссариату Тяжелой Промышленности № 317, индекс 221. 17 апреля 1937 года. «О наборе в промышленные академии НКТП в 1937 году»

Система академий Наркомтяжпрома учитывала и региональную специфику: так, в Закавказье в тот момент остро нужны были кадры для нефтяной промышленности, и тамошняя Промакадемия была нацелена именно на их выпуск. Позже Московская и Ленинградская промакадемии становятся заочными (очно-заочными), осваивают новые методы быстрой и качественной подготовки кадров.

Часть региональных учебных заведений создавалась по образцу Всесоюзной и Московской. Так, Урало-Казахстанская промышленная академия в 1930 г. открылась именно как филиал Московской, в 1934-м в ее состав вошла Иркутская золотоплатиновая академия, что обусловило открытие специальности «Золотодобывающая промышленность». В 1939-м она была передана в ведение Наркомцвета и переименована во Всесоюзную промышленную академию цветной металлургии, работала в Свердловске⁹.

Другие наркоматы также вели под общим брендом подготовку своих кадров: например, на Севере начала действовать Архангельская промакадемия им. В.В. Куйбышева, она подчинялась Народному комиссариату лесной промышленности Союза ССР и для его предприятий готовила руководителей¹⁰. А в Москве была еще и Всесоюзная промышленная академия легкой промышленности имени В. М. Молотова. Ну и другие отраслевые учебные заведения выпускали узких специалистов – такие, как Академия руководящих кадров коммунального хозяйства или Всесоюзная торговая академия¹¹.

В 1932 году в 11 промакадемиях училось 2370 хозяй-

// Всесоюзная промышленная академия. Справочник для поступающих во Всесоюзную промышленную академию имени тов. Сталина И.В. / НКТП-СССР. М.: тип. Промакад. им. т. Сталина И. В., 1937. С. 3.

9 <https://rus-ekaterinburg-enc.slovaronline.com>.

10 Приказ по Народному Комиссариату лесной промышленности Союза ССР. № 478. 5 мая 1938 г. «О приеме 1938 г. в Архангельскую Промакадемию им. В.В. Куйбышева» // Архангельская промышленная академия им. Куйбышева. Справочник для поступающих в Архангельскую промышленную академию имени В.В. Куйбышева Народного комиссариата лесной промышленности СССР. Архангельск : Тип. АЛТИ, 1938. С. 3-4.

11 <http://istmat.info/node/18853>

ственников. Позже число таких академий увеличилось до 25¹². С 1 января 1941 году эти академии закрываются (к этому моменту их было уже 23). Выходит Постановление Центрального Комитета ВКП(б) и Совета Народных Комиссаров Союза ССР «Об академиях наркоматов»¹³. Этот документ дает представление, насколько разрослась система промакадемий за почти что полтора десятка лет ее существования:

Всесоюзная промакадемия имени И.В. Сталина, г. Москва;

Всесоюзная промакадемия черной металлургии имени И.В. Сталина Наркомчермета, г. Харьков;

Всесоюзная промакадемия машиностроения имени Л.М. Кагановича, г. Москва;

Всесоюзная промакадемия цветной металлургии Наркомцветмета, г. Свердловск;

Азербайджанскую промакадемию имени С.М. Кирова Наркомнефти, г. Баку;

Промакадемия авиационной промышленности Наркомавиапрома, г. Москва;

Всесоюзная промакадемия имени И.В. Сталина Наркомсудпрома, г. Ленинград;

Академия гражданского воздушного флота, г. Москва;

Архангельская промакадемия лесной промышленности имени В. В. Куйбышева Наркомлеса;

Факультет руководящих работников при Московском институте связи;

Всесоюзная промакадемия легкой индустрии имени В.М. Молотова Наркомлегпрома СССР, г. Москва;

Академия руководящих кадров Наркомхоза РСФСР, г. Москва;

Ленинградская академия текстильной промышленно-

12 Белоусов Р.А. Экономическая история России: XX век. Кн. 3: Тяжелые годы роста и обновления. М.: ИздАТ, 2002. С. 83.

13 Постановление ЦК ВКП(б) и Совнаркома Союза ССР от 19 ноября 1940 г. № 2349 «Об академиях наркоматов» // URL: <http://istmat.info/node/19841>

сти имени С.М. Кирова Наркомтекстиля СССР;

Всесоюзная академия социалистического земледелия, г. Москва;

Ивановская промакадемия имени М.В. Фрунзе Наркомтекстиля СССР;

Украинская академия социалистического земледелия Наркомзема СССР, г. Харьков;

Среднеазиатская промакадемия легкой промышленности Наркомтекстиля СССР, г. Ташкент;

Всесоюзная торговая академия Наркомторга СССР, г. Москва;

Всесоюзная академия пищевой промышленности имени И. В. Сталина Наркомпищепрома СССР, г. Москва;

Украинская академия советской торговли Наркомторга СССР, г. Киев;

Всесоюзная академия мясомолочной промышленности Наркоммясомолпра СССР, г. Москва;

Всесоюзная финансовая академия Наркомфина СССР, г. Москва;

Всесоюзная академия железнодорожного транспорта имени И. В. Сталина, г. Москва.

Такое большое число всевозможных промышленных академий говорило, безусловно, о насущной и объективной потребности готовить кадры для разных отраслей производства. Кроме того, ясен был ведомственный интерес в подобного рода вузах - министерства могли быть уверены, что нужные кадры в нужном количестве обязательно получат от «своей» академии. Наконец, эта система была антиподом университетской системе, куда молодежь могла поступать на основе открытого конкурса (без рекомендаций) и где преподавались общие дисциплины, дававшие знания, которые в меньшей степени могли быть востребованы на предприятиях. Обучение в промакадемиях обещало последующий карьерный рост выпускников, более того, делало престижным и само техническое

образование – длительное время ВКП(б) именно этим людям будет отдавать предпочтение при назначении на более высокие должности, в том числе и в партийном аппарате. Подобный подход в кадровой работе наблюдался вплоть до начала перестройки в середине 1980-х годов, когда стало ясно, что командиры производства плохо понимают нужды населения, просто лишены навыка общения с людьми.

В 1926 г. архитектор С.Е. Чернышев участвовал в открытом всесоюзном конкурсе на разработку проекта здания Всесоюзной промышленной академии и победил¹⁴. В 1927 – 1928 гг. по этому проекту было построено здание в Москве на Н. Басманной улице, дом 20. Он стал центром притяжения людей из разных концов страны, тех, кто хотел получить знания, продвинуться по карьерной лестнице.

С самого начала в промышленные академии принимаются исключительно руководящие работники, имеющие опыт управленческой «хозяйственной работы не менее пяти лет, политически проверенные и успешно проявившие себя на практической работе по выполнению техпромфинплана, а также наиболее выдающиеся рабочие-стахановцы, давшие на производстве образцы высокой организации и производительности труда». В системе НКТП к руководящим работникам относились управляющие трестами, директора предприятий, начальники цехов, заведующие шахтами, нефтяными промыслами и их заместители, начальники участков угольной промышленности¹⁵.

Поступить в Промакадемию напрямую было сложно, практически невозможно, требовалось получить направление на учебу, по наркоматам или по регионам давалась соответствующая разверстка. Вот, например, в 1938 году

14 *Чередина И.С.* Архитекторы Москвы. С.Е. Чернышев / 2-е издание (электронное). М.: Прогресс-Традиция, 2017. С. 111.

15 Всесоюзная промышленная академия. Справочник для поступающих во Всесоюзную промышленную академию имени тов. Сталина И.В. [Текст] / НКТП-СССР. - Москва : тип. Промакад. им. т. Сталина И. В., 1937. С. 3.

Народный комиссар лесной промышленности Союза ССР определил по своим главным отраслевым управлениям для обеспечения набора в Архангельскую промакадемию им. В.В. Куйбышева следующую разверстку¹⁶:

Главвостлес.....5 чел.	Главлесозэкспорт.....4 чел.
Главлесдрев.....4 «	Главлесстрой.....2 «
Главзапбумпром.....4 «	Сульфиттрест.....1 «
Союзмебель.....2 «	Главвостбумпром.....4 «
Фанеротрест.....2 «	Наркомлес УССР.....3 «
Наркомлес БССР.....2 «	Наркомлес Груз.ССР.....1 «
Главлесхим.....4 «	Наркомлес Каз.ССР.....1 «
Главсевлес.....3 «	Наркомлес Армянск.ССР.....1 «
Главсевзаплес.....5 «	Наркомлес Азерб.ССР.....1 «
Главвостсибдальлес.....3 «	Наркомлес РСФСР.....13 «
Главзапсиблес.....5 «	

Те руководители, которые давали рекомендации для поступления в Промакадемию, несли персональную ответственность за будущих слушателей¹⁷. В начале 1930-х годов был создан Главпромкадр – Главное управление по подготовке кадров Высшего совета народного хозяйства СССР (ВСНХ). Он также отвечал за подбор абитуриентов, был важной инстанцией для определения окончательных списков поступавших на учебу¹⁸.

Набор в 1937 г. во Всесоюзной промакадемии велся на следующие факультеты и специальности¹⁹.

16 Архангельская промышленная академия им. Куйбышева. Справочник для поступающих в Архангельскую промышленную академию имени В.В. Куйбышева Народно-го комисариата лесной промышленности СССР. Архангельск: Тип. АЛТИ, 1938. С. 3-4.

17 Всесоюзная промышленная академия. Справочник для поступающих во Всесоюзную промышленную академию имени тов. Сталина И.В. / НКТП-СССР. М.: тип. Промакад. им. т. Сталина И.В., 1937. С. 4.

18 Ленинградская заочная промышленная академия. Проспект Ленинградской заочной промышленной академии. Л.: Ленингр. пром. акад., 1931 (тип. «Профинтерн»). С. 81.

19 Всесоюзная промышленная академия. Справочник для поступающих во Все-

Факультеты	Специальности
1. Авиационный	а) Авиамоторостроение б) Самолетостроение
2. Машиностроительный	а) Общее машиностроение
3. Металлургический	а) Прокатная б) Сталеплавильная (мартен) в) Доменная
4. Строительный	а) Промышленное строительство
5. Химический	а) Органическая химическая технология б) Неорганическая химическая технология
6. Энергетический	а) Центральные электростанции
7. Общетехнический	а) Тепловые б) Гидростанции

К 1940 г. набор факультетов изменился:

1. Автотракторный и газогенераторный.
2. Механико-технологический.
3. Электромашиностроительный.
4. Промгражданстрой²⁰.

Это свидетельствовало только об одном: Всесоюзная промышленная академия находилась в бесконечном процессе реформирования и модернизации, никакой стабильности в эти годы в сфере образования не было. Рекомендация вовсе не обеспечивала автоматического поступления в Академию. Абитуриенты обязаны были отвечать определенным требованиям и сдавать экзамены.

Год от года требования к поступающим росли. Так, если в 1937 г. прием велся на основе пяти классов общеобразовательной школы и вступительные экзамены сдавались по русскому языку, математике и географии²¹,

союзную промышленную академию имени тов. Сталина И.В. / НКТП-СССР. М.: тип. Промакад. им. т. Сталина И.В., 1937. С. 6.

²⁰ Всесоюзная промышленная академия машиностроения. Условия приема во Всесоюзную промышленную академию машиностроения им. Л. М. Кагановича, установленные приказом Народного комиссара машиностроения Союза ССР от 29/II 1940 г. за № 80 / НКОН СССР. Всесоюз. пром. акад. машиностроения им. Л.М. Кагановича. М.: [б. и.], 1940. С. 1.

²¹ Всесоюзная промышленная академия. Справочник для поступающих во Все-

то в 1940 г. поступающие в Академию подвергались вступительным испытаниям по следующим предметам: а) русский язык (письменное сочинение, диктант, грамматика, литература); б) история народов СССР и Конституция СССР; в) математика (письменная и устная) и они должны были иметь за плечами законченную семилетку²². Устанавливался и возрастной ценз: поступающие не должны были быть старше 35 лет.

Прежде всего необходимо было представить целый набор документов: заявление абитуриента с указанием, на какой именно факультет и на какую специальность он намерен поступить; личный листок по учету кадров, заверенный местным отделом кадров, подробная автобиография; «командировка» (то есть направление) начальника Главного управления и согласие райкома партии для членов ВКП(б) и райкома ВЛКСМ – для членов ВЛКСМ, а в случае, если поступающий не работает в системе данного наркомата (ведомства), «командировка» от соответствующей организации; копия документа об образовании, деловая и политическая характеристика, три фотокарточки (без головных уборов) с собственноручной подписью на обороте каждой из них, заверенной гос. учреждением, справка о состоянии здоровья (причем, медицинское освидетельствование проводилось на месте, в Академии), наконец, документы об отношении к воинской обязанности (для военнообязанных) и паспорт - они предъявлялись «при личной явке в Академию»²³.

союзную промышленную академию имени тов. Сталина И.В. / НКТП-СССР. М.: тип. Промакад. им. т. Сталина И.В., 1937. С. 4.

22 Всесоюзная промышленная академия машиностроения. Условия приема во Всесоюзную промышленную академию машиностроения им. Л.М. Кагановича, установленные приказом Народного комиссара машиностроения Союза ССР от 29/II 1940 г. за № 80 / НКМ СССР. Всесоюз. пром. акад. машиностроения им. Л.М. Кагановича. М.: [б. и.], 1940. С. 1.

23 Всесоюзная промышленная академия машиностроения. Условия приема во Всесоюзную промышленную академию машиностроения им. Л.М. Кагановича, установленные приказом Народного комиссара машиностроения Союза ССР от 29/II 1940 г. за № 80 / НКМ СССР. Всесоюз. пром. акад. машиностроения им. Л.М. Кагановича. М.: [б. и.], 1940. С. 1.

Все принятые в Академию обеспечивались государственной стипендией, а иногородние – и общежитием; квартиры для семей студентов не предоставлялись.

Интересно, какой была политика при назначении стипендий. Она учитывала семейное состояние студента (что, кстати, коренным образом отличалось от послевоенного времени, когда стипендии назначались совершенно без учета того, есть ли у студента жена и дети или нет). В 1937 г. Распоряжением по Главному Управлению Учебными Заведениями НКТП СССР № 26/681 был установлен следующий размер стипендий для слушателей промакадемий:

а) во Всесоюзной, Московской и Ленинградской промакадемиях:

слушателям без иждивенцев.....425 руб.
 “ имеющих до 2-х иждивенцев.....475 руб.

“ свыше 2-х иждивенцев.....500 руб.

б) в Украинской, Урало-Казахстанской и Закавказской промакадемиях:

слушателям без иждивенцев.....325 руб.

“ имеющих до 2-х иждивенцев.....375 руб.

“ свыше 2-х иждивенцев.....400 руб.²⁴

Это не были слишком большие деньги. Показательно, что Политбюро ВКП(б) время от времени рассматривало вопрос о стипендиях, но на студентах пытались сэкономить. Так, в 1932 году был отклонена просьба увеличить на 50% размер стипендий студентов Промакадемии²⁵.

В 1931 г. было принято Постановление ЦК ВКП(б), в котором устанавливались новые сроки обучения во Всесоюзной промакадемии им. т. Сталина: если ранее было 2-летнее обучение, то теперь устанавливалось 3-летнее. Измене-

24 Всесоюзная промышленная академия. Справочник для поступающих во Всесоюзную промышленную академию имени тов. Сталина И.В. / НКТП-СССР. М.: тип. Промакад. им. т. Сталина И.В., 1937. С. 6.

25 Протокол № 126 заседания Политбюро ЦК ВКП(б) от 16 декабря 1932 года Заседание Политбюро ЦК ВКП(б) от 16 го декабря 1932 года. п. 65/37: Об увеличении стипендии слушателям Промакадемии на 50% // URL: <http://istmat.info/node/50265>

ния коснулись и учебных программ: максимально нужно было усилить подготовку студентов по техническим дисциплинам. Для преподавателей и руководства Академии это означало быстро перестроить весь учебный процесс²⁶.

К 1940 г. сроки обучения становятся еще больше: на дневном отделении (с отрывом от производства) учились 4 года, на вечернем отделении (без отрыва от производства) – 5 ½ лет, из них последние полтора года с отрывом от производства²⁷.

Однако строгий отбор в Промакадемию показал, что уровень абитуриентов настолько низок, что нужно еще до поступления организовывать курсы и готовить людей к предстоящим экзаменам. Такие подготовительные курсы стали работать в Ленинграде, в Б. Мариинском дворце²⁸. Основной задачей курсов являлось: 1) выработка навыков орфографии и пунктуации, 2) практика приемов работы с книгой²⁹. Но проблема долгое время не была снята.

Причины были понятны: студенты из крестьян и рабочих, занявшие, как правило, по идейным основаниям руководящие должности, просто не могли освоить программу, не справлялись с заданиями: стартовые знания были слишком малы. Впрочем, ситуация в целом была плачевная. В Справке СПО ОГПУ особо делался акцент на проблеме отсева студентов в вузах тех лет:

26 Постановление ЦК ВКП(б) от 11 мая 1931 г. // Московская заочная промышленная академия: (Обзор учеб. планов, методов преподавания и условия приема) / Ред. С.В. Молчанов; НКТП. СССР. [М.]: Моск. заоч. пром. акад.: ОНТИ, 1932. С. 4

27 Всесоюзная промышленная академия машиностроения. Условия приема во Всесоюзную промышленную академию машиностроения им. Л.М. Кагановича, установленные приказом Народного комиссара машиностроения Союза ССР от 29/II 1940 г. за № 80 / НКМ СССР. Всесоюз. пром. акад. машиностроения им. Л. М. Кагановича. М.: [б. и.], 1940. С. 1.

28 Ленинградская областная промышленная академия ВСНХ-СССР. Вечернее отделение. Программы Подготовительного отделения Вечерней промышленной академии: Для поступающих в Вечернюю пром. акад. / Ленингр. пром. акад. ВСНХ СССР. Вечернее отд-ние. Л.: ЛОСНХ, 1931. С. 3.

29 Ленинградская областная промышленная академия ВСНХ-СССР. Вечернее отделение. Программы Подготовительного отделения Вечерней промышленной академии: Для поступающих в Вечернюю пром. акад. / Ленингр. пром. акад. ВСНХ СССР. Вечернее отд-ние. Л.: ЛОСНХ, 1931. С. 6.

«Особо должен быть отмечен факт отсева студенчества из втузов, связанный, главным образом, с неуспеваемостью. Приводим выборочные данные по ряду втузов Москвы и периферии. Государственный] электро-машиностроит[ельный] институт им. К. Шабшая. В течение октября-ноября из ин[ститу]та выбыло 350 студентов, главная причина ухода - академическая неуспеваемость, за которой следует резкое ухудшение материального положения вследствие сокращения или лишения стипендии. По социоложению подавляющее большинство выбывших - социально-близкий элемент...

Рабфак им. Артема (Москва). Из 390 поступивших в 1932 г. ушли 218. Ин[ститу]т нар[одного] хозяйства] им. Плеханова. В течение двух месяцев ушло из института 203 студента...»³⁰.

В этом еще одна причина, почему особые надежды возлагались на образовательные организации нового типа - ведомственные, нацеленные на конкретное последующее трудоустройство.

На XVI всесоюзной партконференции в апреле 1929 г. была принята обширная резолюция, в которой ВКП(б) пыталась дать ответ на самые актуальные вопросы дня. Затронуты были и проблемы подготовки кадров для производства:

«Опыт показывает, что коммунисты, не учащиеся и не желающие учиться делу управления всерьез, работающие верхоглядски, не вникая в существо порученной им работы, превращаются в ряде случаев в хвостик и прикрытые для умных саботажников и вредителей. Такие коммунисты, воображающие, будто бы они руководят и управляют, на деле являются штемпелюющими чужие мысли и предложения лже-коммунистами, наносящими величайший

30 СПРАВКА СПО ОГПУ по вопросу о подготовке кадров и настроении интеллигенции. 26 декабря 1932 г. № 68834 // «Совершенно секретно»: Лубянка — Сталину о положении в стране (1922-1934 гг.): Сб. док. в 10 т. Т. 10 в 3 ч. 1932-1934 гг. Ч. 1. М., 2017. С. 535.

вред делу социалистического строительства. Важнейшей очередной задачей является проверка того, как растут хозяйственные кадры, в какой мере коммунисты превращаются в действительных руководителей, в действительных хозяев вверенного им дела, умеющих подбирать людей и проверять их работу, специализирующихся в соответствующей производственной области и поднимающих свою производственно-техническую квалификацию»³¹.

Это была руководящая линия для деятельности Промакадемии.

Программы обучения сочетали в себе теоретические предметы и практические занятия. Но даже в преподавании теоретических дисциплин требовалась увязка этого материала с практикой, чтобы не было отвлеченно-академического характера у лекций и семинаров, чтобы все было «заточено» на работу на предприятии.

Речь шла о том (в отличие от сегодняшних целей и задач), чтобы красные директора не были только политически грамотными, но и были бы техническими специалистами, обладали бы управленческими навыками: «Промышленность, организованная на социалистических началах, требует от руководителя понимания всей суммы производственных процессов вверенного ему предприятия, требует критического отношения ко всем мероприятиям, выдвигаемым перед хозяйственником, как перед руководителем, несущим ответственность за предприятие в целом»³².

Утверждалось, что так называемая система «общего» руководства является тормозом социалистического строительства, ибо техническая безграмотность руководителя - лучшая почва для вредительских организаций.

«Каждый хозяйственник, если он хочет быть уверенным, что вверенное ему производство полностью исполь-

31 Всесоюзная промышленная академия. Заочные курсы. Проспект / ВСНХ СССР. Промышл. акад. Заочные курсы. 3-е изд. М.: Промышл. акад. ВСНХ СССР, 1929 С. 3.

32 Ленинградская заочная промышленная академия. Проспект Ленинградской заочной промышленной академии. Л.: Ленингр. пром. акад., 1931 (тип. «Профинтерн»). С. 3.

зуются в интересах социалистического строительства, а не является ареной, используемой нашим классовым врагом в своих интересах, не должен полагаться исключительно на веру на своих технических помощников.

Задача руководителя заключается в том, чтобы освоить производственные процессы предприятия, возглавить их, мобилизовать около коренных вопросов производства энтузиазм рабочих масс, энтузиазм и знания лучшей части специалистов, связавших себя с интересами рабочего класса, и противопоставить свои знания и опыт маловеерам и вредителям. Задача эта может быть выполнена только в том случае, если хозяйственник будет обладать специальными техническими знаниями³³.

Поэтому в учебных планах были как предметы политической направленности (диалектический материализм, история партии и т.д.), так и сугубо профессиональные, специализированные.

11 ноября 1937 г. было принято Постановление Совета Народных Комиссаров СССР № 2000 «О введении штатных должностей и должностных окладов для профессорско-преподавательского состава в вузах»³⁴. Этот документ повлиял на преподавательскую деятельность, утвердил должности, нормировал труд (фактически он в своих основных положениях, вошедших позже уже в российские законы и подзаконные акты, действует до сих пор). Ранее же был порядок почасовой оплаты труда профессоров, доцентов и других преподавателей высшей школы. Теперь этот порядок признавался устаревшим и не отвечающим задачам дня. Ему на смену пришел новый – формирование штатов преподавателей. Утверждалось, что это будет способствовать улучшению работы высшей школы и поднятию материальной обеспеченности профессоров,

33 Там же. С. 4.

34 Постановление Совета Народных Комиссаров СССР от 11 ноября 1937 г. № 2000 «О введении штатных должностей и должностных окладов для профессорско-преподавательского состава в вузах» // URL: http://www.libussr.ru/doc_ussr/ussr_4127.htm.

доцентов, других преподавателей и учебно-вспомогательного персонала высших учебных заведений. Новый порядок строго предписывал, что «каждый профессор, доцент и другой преподаватель высшей школы должен состоять в штате только одного высшего учебного заведения, которое является основным местом его работы и в котором он должен вести все виды учебной и научно-исследовательской работы, вытекающей из занимаемой должности и учебного плана, отдавая на эту работу в высшем учебном заведении в среднем пять часов в день».

В пределах пятичасовой дневной занятости профессора, доцента или другого преподавателя в высшем учебном заведении устанавливался следующий объем его учебных занятий со студентами и аспирантами по выполнению учебного плана: для профессора - заведующего кафедрой - от 2 до 2,5 часов, для профессора кафедры - от 2,25 до 2,75 часов, для доцента кафедры, старшего преподавателя, ассистента кафедры и преподавателя - от 2,5 до 3 часов.

Постановлением утверждались и должностные оклады, в которых учитывалась и выслуга лет (стр. 83)

Были и доплаты за отдельные виды деятельности (заведующим кафедрами, научным сотрудникам и т.д.). Сохранялась, но в виде исключения, почасовая занятость специалистов. Расценки совместителям за чтение лекций и проведение семинаров Постановление также устанавливало. Эти расценки и оклады показывали, что стипендии студентов Промакадемии составляли лишь половину от зарплаты профессора. Для управляющего трестом, директора завода или начальника шахты учеба в Академии оборачивалась, конечно, серьезными материальными потерями. Потери могли компенсировать только две важные вещи: качество преподавания и учет полученного в Промакадемии образования для дальнейшего карьерного продвижения.

Среди преподавателей было немало тех, кто смог дли-

Штатные должности	Должностные оклады			
Ученая степень или образование со стажем по	занимаемой должности			
менее от 5 до свыше	5 лет 10 лет 10 лет			
А. (рублей в месяц)				
1. Профессор - заведующий кафедрой,	имеющий ученую степень доктора наук 1100 1300 1500			
	не имеющий ученой степени доктора наук 900 1000 1200			
2. Профессор кафедры -	имеющий ученую степень доктора наук 1000 1150 1300			
	не имеющий ученой степени доктора наук 800 900 1000			
3. Доцент кафедры и старший преподаватель -	имеющие ученую степень кандидата наук 700 800 900			
	не имеющие ученой степени кандидата наук 600 700 700			
4. Ассистент кафедры и преподаватель -	имеющие ученую степень кандидата наук 600 700 800			
	не имеющие ученой степени кандидата наук 500 600 600			
Б.				
5. Старший лаборант 450 500 550				
6. Лаборант -	имеющий среднее специальное образование 350 400 450			
	имеющий среднее общее образование 225 275 325			

тельное время определять политику страны в целом, занимал в партии и Правительстве ключевые посты. Например, среди таких руководителей нужно назвать Михаила Андреевича Сулова, который на рубеже 1920-х – 1930-х гг. преподавал в МГУ и Промакадемии, а позже стал членом Политбюро (до 1966 - Президиума) ЦК КПСС, секретарем ЦК КПСС, курировал Академию общественных наук при ЦК КПСС³⁵.

В Промакадемии выступали известные руководители предприятий, представители партаппарата. На кафедру Академии поднимались и те, кто мог поделиться со студентами новой важной информацией. Так, сохранился текст выступления председателя правления Ленинград-

35 Сулов Михаил Андреевич // БСЭ. Том 24. II часть 3 СССР // URL: <http://bse.uaio.ru/BSE/2423.htm>.

ского государственного треста химической и красочной промышленности И.Ф. Байкова в Промышленной академии им. И.В. Сталина о его поездке в США и Германию от 3 июня 1930 года. И.Ф. Байкова посетил целый ряд химических и металлургических предприятий в этих странах и подробно рассказал слушателям об успехах и проблемах иностранных производителей, о том, что можно и нужно взять у них на вооружение для развития советской промышленности³⁶.

Промышленные академии стали новаторами в методах обучения. Именно они начали широко применять заочные формы подготовки кадров, которые заимствовали из-за рубежа. С 1 февраля 1929 года, «учтя опыт заочного обучения в СССР, в Германии и САСШ», в Москве организуется Заочная Промышленная Академия³⁷, немного позже - Ленинградская.

Вот как ситуацию оценивали в Ленинградской заочной промышленной академии:

«Основным преимуществом этого метода по сравнению с обычным методом стационарных учебных заведений является, во-первых, возможность неограниченного охвата им учащихся (заочников) как в количественном, так и в территориальном отношении, и, во-вторых, совместимость систематического повышения квалификации по заочному методу с непосредственной работой заочников на производстве»³⁸.

Кроме этого, заочником мог стать любой человек - и у кого большая семья (и из-за этого он не мог надолго у-

36 Выступление председателя правления Ленинградского государственного треста химической и красочной промышленности И.Ф. Байкова в Промышленной академии им. И.В. Сталина о поездке в США и Германию. 3 июня 1930 г. // URL: <http://rgae.ru/publikacii/doklad-baikov-promacademia-1930.shtml>.

37 Всесоюзная промышленная академия. Заочные курсы. Заочная промышленная академия: [Проспект] / Высш. сов. нар. хоз. СССР и РСФСР. Моск. сов. нар. хоз. М.: МСНХ, 1929 (7-я тип. «Искра революции» Мосполиграф). С. 5-6.

38 Ленинградская заочная промышленная академия. Проспект Ленинградской заочной промышленной академии. Л.: Ленингр. пром. акад., 1931 (тип. «Профинтерн»). С. 5.

хоть из дома), и кому уже немало лет (не будет стеснения работать в классе, делать ошибки, становиться своего рода школьником), и кто не в состоянии фиксированное время отводить занятиям, а может учиться, например, только в выходные дни или по ночам³⁹.

При организации такого рода обучения основной упор делался на самостоятельной, последовательной и контролируемой учёбе студента, который должен был, не бросая своей основной работы, выполнять в соответствии с планом все задания, причем по нескольким предметам. Академия обеспечивала его учебными материалами, лекциями или заданиями, фиксировала своевременное и качественное выполнение письменных работ. Все письменные работы оценивались рецензентами. Причем рецензии давались развернутые - так, чтобы студент мог понять, где он ошибся, какой материал изучил не глубоко, что нужно сделать, чтобы предмет им был усвоен. К следующему уроку заочник мог приступить только после успешной сдачи письменной работы за предыдущий урок⁴⁰.

С рецензентами, преподавателями и административным персоналом академий взаимодействие осуществлялось по почте, государством устанавливались на пересылку писем заочников специальные почтовые тарифы⁴¹.

Был еще комбинированный метод обучения, который предполагал сочетание теоретической проработки заочником учебного материала, во-первых, с практической проработкой его в специальных лабораториях, мастерских и т.д. под наблюдением и руководством преподавателя и, во-вторых, с периодическими устными консультациями преподавателя по всем вопросам, вызывающим сомнения или затруднения у заочника в процессе самостоятельной

39 Всесоюзная промышленная академия. Заочные курсы. Проспект / ВСНХ СССР. Промышл. акад. Заочные курсы. 3-е изд. М.: Промышл. акад. ВСНХ СССР, 1929. С. 10.

40 Ленинградская заочная промышленная академия. Проспект Ленинградской заочной промышленной академии. Л.: Ленингр. пром. акад., 1931 (тип. «Профинтерн»). С. 6.

41 Московская заочная промышленная академия. Как заниматься заочнику. М.: МЗПА, 1932. С. 14.

проработки заданий⁴².

25 апреля 1930 г. Генеральный секретарь ЦК ВКП(б) И.В. Сталин направил во Всесоюзную промышленную академию приветствие, которое днем позже было опубликовано в газете «Правда». Оно было адресовано первому выпуску Промакадемии:

«Выработка новых кадров социалистической промышленности из людей рабочего класса и вообще трудящихся, способных руководить предприятиями как общественно-политически, так и производственно-технически, – является первостепенной задачей момента.

Без выполнения этой задачи невозможно осуществить превращение СССР из страны отсталой в страну передовую, из страны аграрной в страну индустриальную, в страну электрификации и металла, в страну машин и тракторов.

Промакадемия есть одна из важнейших кузниц нашей страны для выработки таких кадров.

Первый выпуск Промакадемии есть первая ее стрела, пущенная в лагерь наших врагов, в лагерь производственной рутины и технической отсталости.

Будем надеяться, что новые руководители промышленности, покидающие сегодня стены Академии, покажут на деле образцы трудового энтузиазма и подлинно-революционной работы по проведению в жизнь большевистских темпов строительства.

Привет первому выпуску Промакадемии, дающей стране новый, подкованный техническими знаниями, большевистский отряд руководителей нашей социалистической промышленности»⁴³.

Кем же были студенты и выпускники Промакадемии?

В разные годы в ее стенах обучались руководители крупных предприятий, те, кто в последующем сделал

42 Ленинградская заочная промышленная академия. Проспект Ленинградской заочной промышленной академии. Л.: Ленингр. пром. акад., 1931 (тип. «Профинтерн»). С. 7.

43 Сталин И.В. Сочинения. Т. 12. М.: Государственное издательство политической литературы, 1949. С. 229-230.

впечатляющую карьеру дипломата, военного, партийного функционера, кто занял кресло министра, стал ответственным работником аппарата ВКП(б). В Академии учился А.Г. Стаханов, чей трудовой пример вылился во всесоюзное движение за повышение производительности труда, Стахановское движение. Наконец, Академия стала прибежищем родственников партийных работников и высокопоставленных хозяйственников – в ней, например, училась Надежда Аллилуева— вторая жена И. В. Сталина.

Сохранились и доступны личные дела студентов Промышленной академии при Всесоюзном Центральном Совете Профессиональных Союзов⁴⁴, а также воспоминания тех, кто учился во Всесоюзной промышленной академии и, особенно, одного из студентов, который Академию не окончил и был отчислен. Этим последним был Н.С. Хрущев, позже Первый секретарь ЦК КПСС.

Биографы Хрущева, опираясь на им самим сделанные признания, отмечают, что в середине 1920-х гг. он, человек из крестьянских низов, плохо читал и писал, после окончания рабфака при техникуме оставался фактически малограмотным. В возрасте 35 лет пробовал поступить в Промакадемию, но собеседования не прошел, и только заступничество Л.М. Кагановича помогло ему стать студентом⁴⁵.

В своих воспоминаниях, опубликованных в 1999 г.⁴⁶, Хрущев целый параграф посвятил Промышленной академии. В ней, как и повсюду в стране, в те годы шла борьба с разного рода уклонами, выявлялись вредители, придавались огласке шпионские группы и действия. Хрущев был во все это вовлечен самым активным образом. Более того, яростно разоблачая правых в Промышленной академии, он смог тем самым привлечь к себе внимание Сталина, что

44 ГАРФ. Ф.Р7829. Оп.2. 1932 - 1934 гг.

45 <https://dic.academic.ru/dic.nsf/ruwiki/1397391>

46 Хрущев Н.С. Время. Люди. Власть: [Воспоминания: В 4 кн.]. М.: ИИК «Московские Новости», 1999. Кн. 1. С. 39-49.

и дало мощный толчок его последующей карьере. Вот как об этом писал он сам:

«Меня избрали (не помню, каким большинством) в бюро и секретарем партийной организации. Тогда мы развернули активную деятельность по борьбе с правыми. Шум пошел по Москве, что идет в Промакадемии борьба.

Да, была борьба, острейшая борьба, но мы навели порядок. Партийная ячейка твердо стала на позиции Центрального Комитета, а это означало поддержку Сталина, секретаря ЦК и вождя страны.

Через эту мою деятельность в Промакадемии меня, видимо, и узнал Сталин. Сталину, конечно, импонировало, что наша партийная организация поддерживает его. Мы тогда так прямо не говорили, а выступали в защиту Генеральной линии партии. Я и сейчас считаю, что поддержка линии, выразителем которой в то время являлся Сталин, была правильной»⁴⁷.

Но все же основная масса студентов стремилась во Всесоюзную промышленную академию за знаниями. Об этом свидетельствуют, в частности, письма руководителям СССР, в том числе и по вопросам обучения. Вот какую просьбу В.М. Молотову высказал в своем письме парторг завода в Макеевке С. Аверин:

«Осенью 1933 года ЦК снял меня с 3-го курса Промакадемии им[ени] т[оварища] Сталина и послал работать парторгом на завод им[ени] т[оварища] Кирова в Макеевку. Полтора года моей работы, я думаю, дают мне право поставить вопрос о возвращении в академию для окончания курса.

У меня очень большое желание подковать себя с технической стороны, и, мне кажется, я на это имею больше права, чем многие наши инженеры-коммунисты, у которых, зачастую, до поступления во втуз нет ни производственного, ни житейского опыта.

47 Там же. С. 45.

Я работаю в партии 20 лет и, обогащенный техническими знаниями, еще поработаю.

Думаю, что отпустить меня не стоит труда, т.к., по всей видимости, моя работа не расценивается как работа, идущая в уровень с развитием завода. Победы черной металлургии известны. Наш завод, как известно, в этих победах идет не в последних рядах, а в первых, взяв на себя задачу осуществления хозрасчета и дав в марте этого года первую прибыль в 618 тысяч»⁴⁸.

Между 1930-м и 1940-м г., то есть между теплым, ободряющим студентов и преподавателей Промакадемии и всех вузов системы подготовки кадров для экономики приветствием И.В. Сталина и им же одобренным Постановлением о закрытии всех академий⁴⁹, лежит целая эпоха. В эти годы с колоссальным напряжением сил была проведена индустриализация, открылись и стали давать свою продукцию сотни новых заводов и фабрик, совершенно другим стал директорский корпус советской экономики – это были образованные, преданные партии и лично Сталину люди, прошедшие чистки, доказавшие свою высокую профессиональную компетентность и управленческий талант люди.

Но Сталин не был сторонником «застывших форм». На фоне в 1917 – 1921 гг. возникшей стройной и непоколебимой партийной структуры с ее партячейками на производстве, райкомами, обкомами ВКП(б) и ЦК компартий союзных республик до ЦК ВКП(б) сфера образования практически ежегодно подвергалась реформированию и изменениям. Несмотря на успехи, которыми промакадемии могли гордиться, вождь не был доволен полученным результатом.

В сентябре 1940 г. принимается Постановление Совнаркома Союза ССР «Об организации вечерних и заочных

48 Письма во власть. 1928-1939. Заявления, жалобы, доносы, письма в государственные структуры и советским вождям. М.: РОССПЭН, 2002. С. 267-268.

49 Постановление ЦК ВКП(б) и Совнаркома Союза ССР от 19 ноября 1940 г. № 2349 «Об академиях наркоматов» // URL: <http://istmat.info/node/19841>.

отделений по обучению руководящих хозяйственных работников при промакадемиях и втузах»⁵⁰. Им утверждается фактическое расширение академий – принимается план организации вечерних и заочных отделений по обучению руководящих хозяйственных работников без отрыва от производства при промакадемиях и втузах. Постановление свидетельствовало о стремлении людей, его лоббировавших, расширить полномочия и сферу деятельности этой категории вузов. В приложении к Постановлению упомянуты два десятка промакадемий и почти полторы сотни обычных вузов, где предписывалось организовать новые вечерние и заочные отделения, говорилось, что наркоматы обязаны обеспечить работу этих отделений с 1 октября 1940 г., изыскать из собственных бюджетов финансирование их деятельности.

19 ноября 1940 г. выходит новое Постановление - «Об академиях наркоматов» - на основании которых не только вновь открывшиеся отделения, а все промышленные академии, включая Всесоюзную, ликвидируются. Академии на спасло даже то, что многие из них носили имена Сталина, Молотова, Кагановича, Куйбышева, Фрунзе...

Поразительно, какая мотивировка указана для этого решения в Постановлении от 19 ноября:

«Центральный Комитет ВКП(б) и Совет Народных Комиссаров Союза ССР отмечают, что академии наркоматов, сыгравшие в свое время положительную роль в деле подготовки руководящих кадров, теперь утратили свое значение в связи с развитием высшего образования в стране и ростом за последние годы кадров, подготовленных через высшие учебные заведения.

Опыт подготовки в академиях наркоматов специалистов с высшим образованием не оправдывает себя, так как значительная часть обучающихся в академиях, имея

50 Постановление Совнаркома Союза ССР от 26 сентября 1940 г. № 1800 «Об организации вечерних и заочных отделений по обучению руководящих хозяйственных работников при промакадемиях и втузах» // URL: <http://istmat.info/node/1885>.

слабую общеобразовательную подготовку и сравнительно молодой возраст, не может в течение четырехлетнего срока обучения в академии успешно овладеть знаниями и за среднюю и за высшую школу. В результате этого академии наркоматов, по сравнению с высшими учебными заведениями обычного типа, выпускают менее квалифицированных специалистов. В то же время подготовка специалистов в академиях наркоматов обходится государству значительно дороже, чем подготовка тех же специалистов в высших учебных заведениях»⁵¹.

Постановлением создавалась Всесоюзная школа техников «для обучения в ней наиболее способных и хорошо проявивших себя на производстве мастеров и начальников цехов из практиков». Этой новой Всесоюзной школе передавалось имущество части закрывавшихся академий. Что надлежало сделать с другими, было неясно, видимо, в частном порядке эти вопросы решались позже.

Студентов же ждал один из четырех вариантов: для тех, кто находился на последнем курсе, давалась возможность закончить учебу до 1 июля 1941 года; тем, кто отвечал требованиям Всесоюзной школы техников, предстоял перевод в эту новую школу; тех, кто хотел перевестись в другие вузы на соответствующие курсы, шли навстречу и такой перевод обеспечивался; наконец, остальные просто направлялись на работу – распределением ведали наркоматы и должны были выдать такие направления до 15 января 1941 года.

Нет сомнения, что и для преподавателей, и для студентов Постановление стало шоком, такого разгрома всей системы подготовки кадров для хозяйственного комплекса страны никто не ожидал.

Можно сделать предположение, почему так случилось: в Постановлении говорилось, будто бы «подготовка специалистов в академиях наркоматов обходится государству значительно дороже, чем подготовка тех же специа-

51 Постановление ЦК ВКП(б) и Совнаркома Союза ССР от 19 ноября 1940 г. № 2349 «Об академиях наркоматов» // URL: <http://istmat.info/node/19841>.

листов в высших учебных заведениях», скорее всего именно это и было основным мотивом.

Страна шла к войне. 12 ноября 1940 г. министр иностранных дел СССР В.М. Молотов в Берлине встречался с Гитлером. 14 ноября он покинул Германию «после трудных переговоров». Эти переговоры обнажили несхожесть, непримиримость позиций двух стран по целому ряду вопросов, несмотря на то, что они только недавно, 23 августа 1939 г., подписали Договор о ненападении, а 28 сентября того же года – Договор о дружбе и границе. Итоги переговоров Молотова в Берлине Политбюро ЦК ВКП(б) обсуждало на своем заседании 15 ноября 1940 г. После этого в СССР принимаются самые разные решения, нацеленные на укрепление новой границы, на интенсификацию производства. На эти новые цели были нужны средства, немалые средства. Многие сугубо гражданские направления деятельности свертываются. 19 ноября 1940 г. закрываются промакадемии...

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On the history of industrial academies in the USSR

Abstract. The article presents the history of industrial academies in the USSR that emerged in the mid-1920s and ceased to exist on January 1, 1941. The purpose of their creation was to train leading personnel for the socialist economy, who were to replace specialists with pre-revolutionary work experience. Industrial academies were subordinate to separate people's commissariats, gave students both general political knowledge and, especially, special knowledge necessary for working in specific industries. Much attention was paid to the mastery of management knowledge by the students. The main contingent of the academies were directors of enterprises, mines, heads of trusts. Industrial academies actively mastered the advanced educational technologies of that time, for example, they actively used distance learning, since on this path they saw a solution to the problem of broad training of economic personnel.

Key words: industrial academies, All-Union industrial academy, I.V. Stalin, Soviet personnel policy.

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К истории промышленных академий в СССР

Аннотация. В статье представлена история промышленных академий в СССР, возникающих в середине 1920-х годов и прекративших свое существование 1 января 1941 года. Целью их создания была подготовка руководящих кадров для социалистической экономики, которые должны были прийти на смену специалистам с дореволюционным опытом работы. Промышленные академии подчинялись отдельным наркоматам, давали слушателям как общеполитические знания, так и, особенно, знания специальные, необходимые для работы в конкретных отраслях промышленности. Большое внимание уделялось овладению слушателями управленческих знаний. Главным контингентом академий были директора предприятий, шахт, руководители трестов. Промышленные академии активно осваивали передовые образовательные технологии того времени, так, они активно использовали заочное обучение, поскольку на этом пути виделось решение задачи широкой подготовки хозяйственных кадров.

Ключевые слова: промышленные академии, Всесоюзная промышленная академия имени И.В. Сталина, советская кадровая политика.

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**The passage of time - the flow
of water: the semiotics of fountains***

The word “fountain” comes from the Latin “*fontana*”, which is translated as “spring”, “spring-well”. Despite having been known back in Ancient Egypt, the devices that force the water jet through the pipe or rush it upward became known by this very Roman definition. This can be explained by the fact that it was Romans who truly managed to not only improve the art of fountains, but also to assign a new sense to it. Most importantly, they contrasted the flow of water with the flow of time, and with mesmerizing images of fountains, they made people realize how irreversibly time flows by. Apart from that, due to an incredible play of water, people were able to see that a constant flow of water didn’t only raise a sense of lost time, but of each moment’s beauty as well. Besides, there were water related cults that were popular among most communities back in those days, which is one of the reasons why the water streaming in a fountain was considered to be a manifestation of the magic of water that brings health and recovery¹.

Most of all, people are believed to have had these sort of vibes because of standing by the natural source of water that had a salutary effect on the surrounding area. However, despite not being able to spend time in nature on daily basis, even

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Течение времени — течение воды: семиотика фонтанов

1 Ternovaya L.O. Geopolitical formula of water: monograph. M.: INFRA-M, 2019.

back in ancient times, the desire to extend and make this area a part of living environment prompted people to find ways of building artificial tanks nearby. This demand became more legitimate as the settlements extended. To start a normal life in towns, apart from beauty and pleasure, town dwellers needed running water. People were both smart and strong enough to transform the objects of nature, in which they witnessed a flow of water – springs shooting out of the ground–or a flow of volcano eruption, into the model of fountain structure.

Fountains were considered to be a special medication as far back as the ancient times, as the very first fountains appeared. Not only this medication restored a shattered nervous system, but it also created a basis for self-reflection, contemplation and consistent decision making. Nevertheless, flows of fountains might have concealed a reminder of the fact that water is not always a source of good and life-giving beginning, but is a source of destruction.

Having been watching the flow of water, people began seeing the possibilities of measuring time with the help of water. This is how one of the earliest clocks – a water clock or clepsydra appeared (i.a.- Greek κλεψύδρα from κλέπτω ‘steal’ + ὕδωρ ‘water’)². In terms of the time of creation, clepsydra was invented the earliest compared to sand and sun clocks³. As to where and when the very first water clock was created, it remains an open question. A number of researches consider the ancient Chinese people to have been the inventors of the earliest time-measuring devices of this kind. Other experts are adamant that Assyro-Babylonians and Egyptians are the ones who are to take credit for this invention. The reliable sources hold that there were three different types of chronometers in active use back in pre-classical period of development of the

2 Afonasina A. S. Measuring Time in Antiquity. Clepsydra and its Peculiarities (on the basis literary testimonies and archeological data from Amphiareion) // *Schole. Philosophical antiquity and the Classical Tradition*. 2016. Vol. 10. № 2. P. 419-436.

3 *Bronnikov S. The History of Clocks. The evolution from solar to hydrogen.* / Editor: L.I. Yantseva. M.: Tsenterpoligraf, 2018.

ancient Greece. As a matter of curiosity, the ancient Romans were not acquainted with sand clocks.

Despite having a general principle of time measurement association based on the flow of water, clepsydra encapsulated it in a variety of devices. This, in turn, pointed to a different understanding of the passage of time itself. Nevertheless, neither this understanding, nor the range of devices that enable people to record the timespan with the help of water, change their purpose, or their poetic component associated with the fascinating beauty of the water flow. Aristophanes, the ancient Roman comedian (circa 446 BC. -- between 387 and 380 B.C.) wrote about this in his play "The Wasps":

"I will tell you our master's complaint: of all men, it is he who is fondest of the Heliaea. Thus, to be judging is his hobby, and he groans if he is not sitting on the first seat. He does not close an eye at night, and if he dozes off for an instant his mind flies instantly to the clepsydra."

This image of the flow of water in the clepsydra became the basis for the origin of the clock symbolism in culture. At the beginning it was manifested in the construction of various water features, including levees, dams, and irrigation channels, later – in fountains as well. As the painting developed, the artists managed to develop the idea of unity of the flow of water and the flow time. Thus, all the symbolic meanings were preserved in the construction of the same dams. This can be seen in the analysis of the structures and symbols of Hoover Dam (also known as *Boulder Dam*) -- a unique hydraulic structure in the USA. Hoover Dam represents a 221 meter height concrete arch-gravity dam and a hydroelectric power plant, constructed in the lower reaches of the Colorado River. There is an interesting fact, which reminds you of fountains: if you pour water out of the bottle, standing on top of this huge structure, not only won't it spill down, but it will shoot up, which refutes

all the laws of physics. This phenomenon stems for the fact that the design of a dam creates a powerful upward air current that forces the objects out of its edges. Besides, researchers also find masonic symbols in these structures.

Fountains, as any other hydraulic structure, reflected the level of technological development of the society⁴. To have them operate, people had to learn how to trace water sources, make pipes out of burnt clay, dig trenches and drill rock formations. Fountains became widely known as people learned to hide water jets in pipes. Almost every ancient Greek city had access to it. The desire to not only provide people with water, but to assign a special meaning to its flow, turned the fountains into the space for arts. Fountains were laid out with marble, arranging a mosaic bottom, and were combined with either a water clock or a hydraulic organ. Sometimes, they were even combined with a puppet theater, where dolls were manipulated by water jets. Researchers describe the fountains as decorated with mechanical birds singing merely and falling silent when a similar artificial owl, a symbol of wisdom in antiquity, suddenly appeared.

The art of fountain construction was further developed in ancient Rome. Romans knew how to make lead pipes. Pipes were rather cheap, as they were made of the lead left over from the silver ore processing. The accessibility to such an extent allowed any wealthy Roman to have a small courtyard and a pool in his house decorated with a small gushing fountain in the middle. This fountain played a role of a drinking water and a source of coolness on hot days. By that time, mechanics were aware of the law of communicating vessels, which was used to arrange fountains in the courtyards of the Roman patricians. Some of the Roman fountains have remained up until these days. For example, the spring of Juturna (Lat. *Lacus Iuturnae*) that used to represent not only the spring but the shrine devoted to the Latin nymph Juturna, situated in the fo-

4 *Spyshnov. P.A.* Fountains. Description, design, calculation. State Publishing House of Architecture and Urban Planning, 1950.

rum Romanum, at the foot of the Palatine Hill. The water of this spring was believed to be healing. According to the legend, twin brothers Castor and Pollux watered their horses in this very spring after bringing news of the victory over the Latin League in 496 B.C.

The role of fountains as a part of the city's water supply system became more important as the cities extended and the number of their population increased. This process also shaped the attitude towards fountains as a precious element of the environment. To emphasize this role by means of artistic expression, fountains started being abundantly decorated. This practice was taken up by craftsmen of the Renaissance period, who turned fountains into an organic part of the architectural ensembles. Thus, the original meaning of fountains, which connects the flow of water with the flow of time, hasn't disappeared.

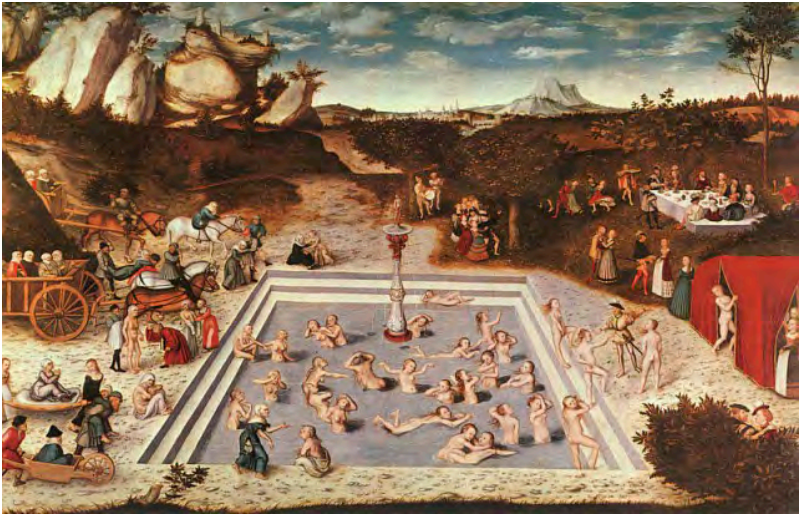
If the medieval period was the time that could be characterized by such concepts as "here" and "now", then the Renaissance period opened up a new perspective in both direct and symbolic meaning. It manifested itself as a new form of space disclosure, as well as the idea of displaying the meaning of time. To make it happen, artists used the image of fountains as a symbol of permanent, gentle and joyful, water that reminds of youth. Lucas Cranach the Elder (1472–1553) was 74 years old, when he painted "The Fountain of Youth". The maturity wisdom helped craftsmen to think about getting the youth back by not literally searching for the elixir of eternal youth, but by finding the feeling of youth in the pleasure they get out of fullness of life. The fantasy of an anonymous XV century artist, so called Maestro della Manta, stretched beyond. His work – a fresco – can be seen in the *Castello della Manta*, the castle in Piedmont, in northern Italy. The fresco is called "The Fountain of Eternal Life", unlike Cranach's canvas "The Fountain of Youth". The change in the understanding of the value of human life can be observed not only in the name of the work,

but in its plot. Eternity was no longer associated with religion. It was a manifestation of love. The author intended to convey this very meaning with the help of the symbol of fountains.

As far back as the early modern period, technical opportunities allowed people to use a comprehensive approach to the culture of fountain construction. There were people, specializing in tracing water, arranging and securing water pipes and fountains. The public administration system appointed people, who were responsible for arranging fountains and keeping them in good working order. The level of importance the authorities gave to his scope of activity can be seen in a gleaming complex of the Palace of Versailles built under Louis XIV himself. The project was carried out by an outstanding French landscape architect Andre Le Notre. The stylistic peculiarities of park-like culture embedded in the palace, the key element of which were fountains, began dominating throughout Europe, although receiving a national identity of different counties. The fountains in St. Petersburg are not exceptions⁵.

Despite the variety of fountains in terms of technical construction, artistic and architectural expressions, there are several key meanings reflected in the symbols of some objects. One those meanings transfers thoughts about passage of time with the help of the flow of water. The names of most fountains contain even a chronological component. The “Fountain of Time”, for example, is a complex of sculptures designed upon the project of Lorado Taft. The sculpture, measuring 38,66 meters in length, is situated at the western edge of the Washington Park in Chicago, Illinois, in the United States. The construction of this fountain took 14 years. The author of the project was inspired by the poem “The Paradox of Time” by Henry Austin Dobson: “Time goes, you say? Ah, no! Alas, Time stays, we go”. This topic was also touched upon in the monologue taken from the play by William Shakespeare “As

5 *Gusarov A.Y.* St. Petersburg — the capital of fountains. Guide to the fountains of St. Petersburg. SPB.: VA Print, 2008; *Gusarov A. Y., Krasnov I.A.* Fountains of St. Petersburg and suburbs. SPB.: Prarit, 2009.



Lucas Cranach the Elder. The Fountain of Youth, 1546.



Anonymous, The Fountain of Eternal Life. Castello della Manta, Piedmont, Northern Italy.

You like It”, which describes seven stages of life: infant, schoolboy, lover, soldier, justice, second childishness and pantaloon (weak old man). Taft’s figures represent birth, the struggle for existence, love, family life, religion, po-

etry and war. This work was created as a monument in honor of the first 100 years of peace between the United States and the United Kingdom, resulting from the Treaty of Ghent that put an end to the war in 1812 – 1814.

There are quite a few fountains in our country, which carry the meaning of the changing seasons. The key climatic feature, which is of great importance for Russia, is captured in the “Four Seasons Fountain” in Tyumen. Four Seasons became one of the key attractions of gas and oil capital of Russia. The fountain is located in the center of the city called the Fountain Square (Fontannaya Ploshchad). Along with four – Sportivnaya, Tsirkovoy, Iskusstv, Vlyublyonnykh squares, it makes up the city’s main pedestrian zone – Tsvetnoy Boulevard. To commemorate the 60th birthday of the Tyumen region in 2004, the municipal administration decided to set up a beautiful and modern area for walking and family vacation as a gift for city dwellers. So the project of Tsvetnoy Boulevard was born. The site of the old stadium and the park of culture were allocated to its construction. The fountain was a bright and pleasant holiday present for Tyumen from the neighboring region. A group of specialists from Yekaterinburg Art Foundation created the project, mounted the parts and assembled the structure.

The “Four Seasons Fountain” represents a tent made of metal and colored stained glass, and four bronze statues of young women wearing light flowing clothes located underneath. The city dwellers refer to this structure as a “Fountain of Four Women”. However, they are not regular women; they are the ancient Greek mythology heroines – the Horae. These sophisticated goddesses symbolize the harmonious change of seasons. The legend holds it that it was the Horae that were protectors of vegetation, fertility, ripening, harvesting and the right order of life. Also, these beautiful goddesses helped people by bringing harmony to the society and protecting order and justice. This story both adorns the center of Tyumen and symbolizes the prosperity of the city. On sunny days, the dome glitters and



Fountain of Time (1910 –1922), the Midway Plaisance, Chicago, Illinois.

creates multicolored highlights. At night, the sculptural composition is illuminated by projectors, which create an artistic volumetric lightning. During the cold season, all the pipes are dismantled, the sculptures are preserved, but the water jets are replaced by a light-emitting diode garlands. That's why the fountain looks bright at any time of the year. 48 submersible pumps and chain of thin pipes are used for water distribution under different pressure. The Fountain is dynamic. There is a show of a live water dance every weekend and holiday. The sound of music regulates the pressure and the height of water jets. Lasers and projectors create luminous effects.

The musical fountain by the “Grand Canyon” shopping mall in Shostakovicha Street in St. Petersburg also carries the name “Four Seasons” like the one in Tyumen. This construction site of urban architecture was opened in September 7, 2014. It represented a composition of four sculptures, nymphs – personification of four seasons. There is a fountain in the center, between the sculptures, gushing aligned with the beat of the classical music compositions. Also, the heroes of the story revealed by this fountain have a lot in common with those in Tyumen. Four granite pillars of different size are crowned with ancient Greek nymphs, symbolizing the seasons. They are Horae – the daughters of Zeus and Themis. Auxesia was the goddess of spring, Thallo of summer and Carpho was the goddess of autumn. They hold musical instruments – a fistula, a flute and a violin. The name of the fourth goddess, the

dancer, is unknown given the lack, if not complete absence of winter in the ancient Greece. The absence of the traditional bowl in the composition is what makes this fountain stand out from the rest. It is so called a “dry” fountain with the basin, located below the ground level. As for the communications, they are all enclosed in extra strong grids. The viewers can both enjoy the flows of water, and stroll between them without risking getting wet. There is a girandole in the center of the fountain consisting of one main and eleven adjacent pipes arranged circle-wise. In fact, the sculptural composition is far from being symmetric. Specifically chosen repertory of classical music performed by a symphonic orchestra creates a signature atmosphere of lightness and solemnity of a moment. The eponymous work of Antonio Vivaldi – “The Seasons” holds a special place in the repertory.

“The World Clock Fountain” in Moscow, situated above the underground mall “Okhotny Ryad”, which is also its main dome, symbolizes the world order and the restoration of justice. This meaning is captured in the figure of St. George the Victorious placed atop of the dome. The fountain was constructed in 1997, in honor of the 850th anniversary of Moscow. The glass dome is decorated with the map of the Northern Hemisphere. It is marked-out into the world’s twenty-four time zones, dividing the sphere into even sectors with the names of significant cities. There is a fixed ring at the base displaying the numbers. Besides, there are 12 lamps in each sector. Each lit lamp adds 5 more minutes to the actual time. The dome rotates slowly, at the rate of one rotation per day. The real author of this work hasn’t been identified so far. The authorship of the clocks belongs to the design workshop “Mosproekt-2”, which, with the participation of the sculptor and painter Zurab Tsereteli, was engaged in the development of Manezhnaya Square and the underground mall “Okhotny Ryad”. The knight at the top of the dome is, probably, the work of Tsereteli himself.

Any part of the fountain can be fairly attributed to com-

plex projects. Fountains are complex in terms of technical, architectural and symbolic details. This is what the author of the “Fountain the Time Machine” (Time Spirals) intended to show. The fountain is one of the attractions of Yekaterinburg. It represents the synthesis of works by the sculptor Vladimir Krivushin and the architect Andrei Molokov. The fountain was installed in honor of the City Day in 2006. The structure occupies the area of 25 m². The height of the water jets reaches 4,5 meters. Four winding ribbon-shaped pylons are connected to a cast-iron ball located in the center of the structure. The ball seems to float on the water jet, beating from below. A unique illumination in the evening evokes the illusion of a game of flame tongues, rather than a regular column of water. Despite having an official name, fountains are also known by the name of the octopus from the “Pirates of the Caribbean”, the Kracken, which tries to drag another victim ship into the sea with its giant tentacles. The swirling water flows add an additional streaming effect to the composition.

Given the deep meaning the authors of fountains place in their creation, most of these structures, as in ancient times, are designed to create an atmosphere of coziness and peace, to convey a sense of intimacy and comfort to whoever standing next to them. The structural composition “Monument to the Girl with Umbrella” (under the clock), situated on the wall of a shopping mall facade, facing Teatralnaya Street in Kaluga, serves as an example of this approach. We can see a girl with umbrella under the clock wearing XX century clothes. Her image perfectly corresponds to the clock above. The plot echoes the oldest fountain and sculpture preserved in the city, “Coquette with an umbrella or the story of one bather”.

Each period adds new meaning to the fountains. In the modern period fountains became more diverse both in terms of the materials they were made of and the ideas. Apart from water, pipes and other building materials, they combine technical devices that allow people enjoy them with various music

and colors. A new generation of fountains was born: dynamic, kinetic and musical. No matter how appealing water shows the fountains are able to put up, the core meaning of any fountain, even the most unbelievably perfect one, remains the message of water about the connection of water with the passage of time.

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The passage of time - the flow of water: the semiotics of fountains

Abstract. Since ancient times, people, even when they started to live an organized life far from nature, tried not to break their ties with the natural environment. They felt both the physical and the spiritual need to support her and looked for opportunities to do so. Fountains became one of the forms of such contacts. They were already known in the early states. And with each new stage, the fountains acquired both new means of their technical embodiment and artistic. It is this kind of artistic expression in the art of fountains in all eras that helped people to convey the meaning of the connection between the flow of water and the flow of time.

Key words: culture, history, semiotics, time, architecture, painting, water, fountains.

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Течение времени — течение воды: семиотика фонтанов

Аннотация. Люди издревле, даже став жить организованной жизнью в отдалении от природы, пытались не разорвать свои связи с природной средой. Они ощущали и физическую и духовную необходимость ее поддерживать и искали возможности для этого. Одной из форм таких контактов стали фонтаны. Они были известны уже в ранних государствах. И с каждым новым этапом фонтаны приобретали как новые средства своего технического воплощения, так и художественного. Именно такое художественное выражение в искусстве фонтанов во все эпохи помогло людям донести смысл связи течения воды и течения времени.

Ключевые слова: культура, история, семиотика, время, архитектура, живопись, вода, фонтаны.

*Social projects
and information technologies*

*Социальные проекты
и информационные технологии*

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**Fashion is the language
of symbols, images and identities***

The costume art, in general, and fashion in particular, acts as a specifically organized process of reality reflection, which requires a certain system of signs, represented in the form of shapes, lines, colors, scents, etc. These signs are of utmost importance in the history of fashion. They assist to recognize any past epoch through its characteristic features remaining in archaeological and literary monuments, paintings, and material objects of relatively recent times. Such clues allow to give not only an assessment of the visual impression of clothing but also convey the essence of its owner's message to those around him.

Thus, the vestimental code, related to clothing, assumes the communication function of direct conversation among people, and conveys information indirectly, creating complex messages about who is who, based on a person's wardrobe¹. However, as it happens with any text the vestimental one is not only created, but it is also perceived. The understanding of this text depends to a great extent on the "reader", on his life experi-

* © Рябова Е.И., 2020.

Мода - язык символов, образов и имиджей

1 Ternovaya L.O. Vestimental code of intercultural communication : monography. P.: INFRA-M, 2021. 249 p.

ence, and semiotic culture². Each person “reads” the individual details of the costume and the tout ensemble in different ways, highlighting the special signs of both the person dressed in this costume, and the era of their life itself, where every stitch of the tailor, every detail concerning the cutout and decoration, the characteristic of the wear is a sign of existence.

History of clothing is the basis of existence of its text that is built on vestimental code variations. This story began long ago, and in fact its lifeline is as long as the line of human history. Archaeological evidence suggests that clothing appeared at the earliest stages of human society, probably 40 – 25 thousand years ago. Primarily, body color and tattoos performed the role of clothing. However, the excavations confirm that people used the tailored clothes in the Late Paleolithic, coloring and tattooing acquired new functions, including ritual ones. However, body art became the first human decoration, because the patterns were transferred from the body to the materials that appeared in everyday life — skins and fabrics.

The fact that now can be called the environmental component of the vestimental code was revealed early on. This direction of clothing development reflected the human need to adapt to the climatic environment of the area. Therefore, fur clothing covering the whole body was used in cold regions. Besides, people first wrapped skins around some parts of the body and tied themselves with a rope to protect from the cold, and later people learned to assemble separate parts of clothing with a thread made of veins or plant fibers. Then the first tailor’s tool appeared, it was a sharp fish bone. At the same time the symbolism of the needle was formed, which is based on its features such as sharpness, small size, the ability to pass through or deep into objects, as well as get lost. Later, a person learnt how to make yarn from flax and cotton, wool, and to weave fabric. They could not do without a needle since each new step of life development required changes in clothing. The

² Grinenko G.V. Semiosphere and Semiotic Culture // Culture and Education. 2013. № 1 (10). P. 32-39.

vestmental code revealing its main idea at the same time tore apart between the desire of every message for clarity and simplicity and the framework in which it was driven by regulations of the human wardrobe, expressing a growing number of differences in social, financial, professional, religious, and ethnic aspects.

Clothing pointed to the origin of people. The wealthy tried to win in the social vanity race when any occasion let people outsoar others by the luxurious dress. From a modern perspective, some of these reasons are puzzling. Thus, in the Middle Ages in Venice, the dress of women in labor was distinguished by extravaganza, and in Naples, fashion-mongers could turn the funeral into a real dress parade. And later, in the Modern times, clothing reflected the social status of a person rather than symbolized the expression of the fashion trends of society and the achievement of technology³.

Even with the beginning of the Industrial Revolution, which started in the field directly related to tailoring, in textile fabrication, mainly noblemen and affluent segments of society could afford bright, beautiful clothes. Common people had to get along without special delicacy in terms of clothing and follow the logic of utilitarian attitude.

Gradually, utilitarianism began to dictate the laws of changing clothes, and those people who, striving to be at the height of fashion, paid little attention to the details of the wardrobe, causing extreme discomfort not only to the wearer of this clothing, but also made other people feel uncomfortable. For example, this fact can be assessed by the fashion of wearing hooped petticoats invented by the famous fashion designer Charles Frederick Worth, that spread in the middle of the XIXth century and by caricatures of this fashion. The contemporaries ridi-

³ *Mertsalova M.N.* Costumes of different times and peoples. P.: Academy of Fashion, 1993. Vol. 1. 543 p.

Mertsalova M.N. Costumes of different times and peoples. P.: Academy of Fashion, 1996. Vol. 2. 432 p.

Taker E. History of Fashion. Series: Culture. Notion. Publishing house: AST, Astrel', 2003. 144 p.



Caricature of hooped petticoats.

culed the hooped petticoats in every possible way and called them “cages for women”.

The transformation of fashion was influenced by democratic trends associated with women’s struggle for suffrage, however what we now call a healthy lifestyle was no less influential in the fashion sphere. The advancement of sports required the release of excess apparel, which hindered movement.

Arguably the final sharp turn to the fashion simplicity was associated with the onset of the tragic period of the First World War. Women not only took the spot at the barrels instead of men who went to the front, they began to acquire military professions. This circumstance affected both the uniform and the character of women, their manifestation of self-support and independence.



Figure skating costume.



Women bring charges.



Женский "батальон смерти" на Дворцовой площади

Women's strike "death squad" on The Palace Square.

Russian Provisional Government created independent female battalions. These army units were called women's strike "death squads". Even though the purpose of such military units was mainly propaganda, raising the patriotic mood in the army, the desire to shame the male soldiers who refuse to fight by personal examples, these units were a symbol of women's bravery. Therefore, after the war, society could not help but change. Women got the right to vote, which also influenced the apparel of the 1920s.

The post-war era was a time of mass liberation of man and their knowledge of themselves as a being of a free, unencumbered class society. This kind of people could find an answer to every action of the authorities. For example, when the Prohibition was introduced in the United States in January 1919, in response to the ban, underground clubs appeared all over the country, where alcohol was served and cocktail parties were organized, which were also called “speakeasy”. This name was given to such parties since visitors and owners of such establishments tried not to attract the attention of the police and neighbors. The access code for them was cocktail frocks and massive cocktail rings. Fashion found its code even during the dark times of the Great Depression to muffle the sense of deprivation. Flour manufacturers, having learned that women must sew their children and themselves clothes from bags, began to produce these bags from fabrics with a pattern to make the outfit a little brighter.

After the Second World War, in 1947, Christian Dior introduced a new style of clothing to the world — the iconic *new look*, which defined the style of that difficult time, when the memory of millions of dead people was vividly sensed, evidence of military destruction was everywhere, and the depleted economy did not allow to heal these wounds quickly. During this period, women had no easier time than in the war years, because the greater burden was imposed by everyday issues, pushed by the war to the forefront of consciousness and existence. However, Dior showed the world a completely different portray of a woman, who was like a fragile and gentle flower. Her silhouette, indeed, resembled a flower due to the fact that the master emphasized a thin waist and bust. Dior played with contrasts of strict dress standards of war period. Thus, he made not only a fashion revolution, but also changed the perception of the human view of world.

Since then, fashion has been increasingly responsive to any fluctuations in the global economic or political environment.

According to each of the emerging trends, it was possible to assess changes in the social life of not even different states, but the entire world community. Those five main trends that are conveyed by a modern vestimental code are caused by the global agenda. For example, subtle oversize clothing is a response to the influx of migrants to developed countries. Their presence has not only created the fear of migrants, but also made the women of European countries try to look more modest, as a huge number of young men among the new arrivals, consider the décolleté or high heels, and sometimes even a fitted jacket as a direct call to aggression. Therefore, the fear of facing the discontent of such potential troublemakers raised the fashion for an exaggerated silhouette, as if off someone else's shoulder. It is well known that the desire to close oneself off and isolate oneself from troubles is a natural psychological reaction to stress and invasion of privacy.

The style of a refugee has the same social and geopolitical environment, where the impulse for the inception was the reluctance to attract excessive attention to their appearance. It literally forced many women to blend in. It was the source of the so-called refugee style, or, according to stylists, the style of a lost homeless woman, characterized by a great amount of clothing layers, off-size clothes, decorative patches and scuffs. In terms of this style, a leather jacket is worn with a trench coat, a jacket can be tucked into jeans, and a skirt can be worn with trousers. A bucket hat or a headscarf must necessarily cover the head.

The appearance of earth shades in the color spectrum reflected not only concern about a global climate change and the problem of desertification. The color spectrum of some collections reminds of the desert and is presented in versions of beige dust-coats, brown shirts and olive-colored trousers, completed with accessories made of crocodile and python skin, refers to the images of native African scenes for migrants.

Every era has its own style icons. For a long while, they were the "First Ladies" of the United States: Mamie Eisenhow-

er, Jacqueline Kennedy, Michelle Obama, Melania Trump, and others. These women exerted a huge influence on mass consciousness, remaining in the shadow of their presidential spouses, being their reliable support, on the one hand; on the other hand, they represented a symbol of state prosperity. Each of them represented the era of their spouse's presidency, but at the same time made a unique contribution to the transformation of the United States of America and the world, overall⁴. However, there is a trend that women politicians may set the tone not only for public administration soon, but also for fashion. For example, we can refer to the image of Kamala Devi Harris — an American lawyer and politician, a member of the Democratic Party of the United States. She was also Attorney General of California in 2011 – 2017, U.S. Senator from the same state. Harris contended for the presidency of the United States in the 2020 election, and later- for vice-presidency of the Democratic Party under Joe Biden.

Political fashion is signified not only by the iconic figures of the administrative establishment, but it is also expressed through clothing that becomes a sphere for political discourse. For example, the British designer Ashish Gupta, who was born in India, has keen senses in the fields of xenophobia and attitude to migrants. In 2017, Immigrant T-shirts from its spring-summer collection, which refers to Indian traditional clothing, were in high demand. Even from the slogan it was possible to understand which side of the social reality he was drawing the public's attention to.

The slogans for clothing were not less bright; they immediately reveal the essence of the concept of the proposed product to the potential buyer. In particular, the creators of the famous company *Diesel* launched an entire advertising campaign to attract customers. They called the “**Diesel Island**” the **land of the stupid, home of the brave. They also emphasized the fact that** The Diesel Island Army was preparing for the battle.

4 Anderson B.K. *First Women: The Grace and Power of America's Modern First Ladies* (the second revised edition). P.: Odry, 2020. 464 p.

(Against Costa Rica, the only country in the world without an army). Designers claimed that they “created a new and better nation” and invite people to join the movement and become a citizen at the *Diesel Store*.

Certainly, a business style cannot be out of fashion. And at the same time, throughout its history, it has conveyed a very clear message to wearers aimed at optimizing the business sphere of society. This dress code is characterized by strictness of the style, restraint, and conservatism in the choice of fabric, color, tailoring and accessories. It is similar to the conservative style and obeys the influences of fashion to a small extent, so it has not changed much since the beginning of the XXth century.

The vestimental code also conveys the idea that human ability to beautify themselves. Unfortunately, it is possible to go one step too far to stand out of the pack. Considering the rampant demand of the wealthy segment of society, fashion has to provoke a blind worship of brands. As a result, there is overproduction, the fashion industry becomes dangerous for the environment, changes the consciousness of people, makes them create fashion trends⁵.

Despite this fact, fashion can be considered a sign of personality, an instrument of expressing its identity. This pattern can be traced by the so called “costume biographies” of the most famous people in the art world, who had a great influence not only on culture, but also on the fashion of their time and modern, for example, geniuses from different spheres — fine art, music, literature, cinema, ballet: Pushkin, Tchaikovsky, Diaghilev, Akhmatova, Lifar, Trotsky, Annenkov, Mayakovsky, Brik, Rachmaninoff, Plisetskaya, Bejar...⁶

The costume reflects the era in which it was created and in which it was applied. However, just as the clothes reflect the world of the person who wears it, it is growing up and getting

5 Arntzen M.G. Dress Code: The Naked Truth About Fashion. P.: Ad Marginem, 2018. 200 p.

6 Khoroshilova O.A. Fashion And Geniuses. Costume biographies of Leonardo da Vinci, Catherine II, Pyotr Tchaikovsky, Oscar Wilde, Yuri Annenkov and Maya Plisetskaya. P.: Mann, Ivanov i Ferber, 2019. 384 p.

old together with him. According to the vestimental code of a society, it is possible to understand what moods prevail in it, how the economic picture develops in this society and how political life proceeds. This analysis is similar to the way the researcher can find out what sort of human he is through his style which is an open book.

Therefore, it is remarkable that there are serious studies that help us learn the secrets of the vestimental code⁷.

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⁷ Ternovaya L.O. Vestimental code of intercultural communication : monography. P.: INFRA-M, 2021. 249 p.

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Fashion is the language of symbols, images and identities

Abstract. The article examines the options for decoding the diverse world of symbols, images, identities and images, formed in society thanks to clothing. Its not only utilitarian side, but also its symbolic role is expressed in an intricate vestimental code, which, despite all the social, political and economic changes that testify to the change of eras, contains common meanings that are clear to everyone. And no matter how confused people are to hide these meanings, the vestimental code will help to expose them in plain sight.

Key words: culture, history, fashion, style, symbol, vestimental code.

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Мода - язык символов, образов и имиджей

Аннотация. В статье рассмотрены варианты расшифровки многообразного мира символов, образов, идентичностей и имиджей, формируемый в обществе благодаря одежде. Ее не только утилитарная сторона, но и символическая роль выражается в затейливом вестиментарном коде, который при всех социальных, политических и экономических переменах, свидетельствующих и об изменении эпох, содержит общие и понятные всем смыслы. И как бы ни путались люди эти смыслы скрыть, вестиментарный код поможет их выставить у всех на виду.

Ключевые слова: культура, история, мода, стиль, символ, вестиментарный код.

Abstracts

Ryabova E.L.

Ternovaya L.O.

Murashko S.F.

The global theatricalization and theatricality of geopolitics

Shakespeare's words "The whole world is a theater" reflected clearly the relationship of the theater and society. But theater is not just a reflection of the world, it is increasingly being used as a tool to influence the world, including political purposes. A political scene is unthinkable without a professional political game. However, the policy should not respond to fictional collisions, but to real challenges. In the context of globalization, such challenges are gaining global scale. Therefore, the theater, which is connected with global geopolitics, should correspond to new global paradigm.

Key words: globalization, geopolitics, political leadership, political culture, theater, theatricalization.

Bormotova T.M.

Understanding the differences in the tempoworlds in ensuring migration security

To date, studies of migration problems have formed the subject field of a separate science - migrationology. However, within this relatively new discipline there is both an insufficiently clear definition of concepts and a very poorly developed research toolkit. This has a direct impact on the effectiveness of government and business efforts to create an environment for migration security. A way out of this situation can be a deeper study of those differences between migrants and the population of their host country, which reflects the essence of their understanding of the importance of such a vital resource as time, and such a synergistic given as tempomir. Taking this factor into account will make it possible not only to adapt migrants in labor collectives, but also to strengthen the environment of migration security.

Key words: migration, migration security, migration management, vital resources, time, tempoworld, temporal rhythm, temporal intelligence.

Hartmut Elsenhans

European integration at the crossroads. Part 1.

The process of European integration is in crisis. This crisis is not the result of social, political and economic tendencies that have emerged only recently. In fact, the inner contradictions of European integration have been apparent since its beginning.

Key words: Europe, Russia, integration, society, analysis.

Ilarionova T.S.**On the history of industrial academies in the USSR**

The article presents the history of industrial academies in the USSR that emerged in the mid-1920s and ceased to exist on January 1, 1941. The purpose of their creation was to train leading personnel for the socialist economy, who were to replace specialists with pre-revolutionary work experience. Industrial academies were subordinate to separate people's commissariats, gave students both general political knowledge and, especially, special knowledge necessary for working in specific industries. Much attention was paid to the mastery of management knowledge by the students. The main contingent of the academies were directors of enterprises, mines, heads of trusts. Industrial academies actively mastered the advanced educational technologies of that time, for example, they actively used distance learning, since on this path they saw a solution to the problem of broad training of economic personnel.

Key words: industrial academies, All-Union industrial academy, I.V. Stalin, Soviet personnel policy.

Voznesenkiy I.S.**The passage of time - the flow of water: the semiotics of fountains**

Since ancient times, people, even when they started to live an organized life far from nature, tried not to break their ties with the natural environment. They felt both the physical and the spiritual need to support her and looked for opportunities to do so. Fountains became one of the forms of such contacts. They were already known in the early states. And with each new stage, the fountains acquired both new means of their technical embodiment and artistic. It is this kind of artistic expression in the art of fountains in all eras that helped people to convey the meaning of the connection between the flow of water and the flow of time.

Key words: culture, history, semiotics, time, architecture, painting, water, fountains.

Ryabova E.I.**Fashion is the language of symbols, images and identities**

The article examines the options for decoding the diverse world of symbols, images, identities and images, formed in society thanks to clothing. Its not only utilitarian side, but also its symbolic role is expressed in an intricate vestimental code, which, despite all the social, political and economic changes that testify to the change of eras, contains common meanings that are clear to everyone. And no matter how confused people are to hide these meanings, the vestimental code will help to expose them in plain sight.

Key words: culture, history, fashion, style, symbol, vestimental code.

Аннотации

Мурашко С.Ф.

Рябова Е.Л.

Терновая Л.О.

Глобальность театрализации и театральность геополитики

Слова Шекспира «Весь мир — театр» еще четыре столетия назад емко отразили взаимосвязь театра и социума. Но театр не просто является отражением мира, он все больше и больше используется как инструмент воздействия на мир, в том числе с политическими целями. Политическая сцена немислима без профессиональной политической игры. Однако политика должна отвечать не вымышленным коллизиям, а реальным вызовам. В условиях глобализации такие вызовы приобретают мировой размах. Поэтому и театр, который связан глобальной геополитикой должен соответствовать новой глобальной парадигме.

Ключевые слова: глобализация, геополитика, политическое лидерство, политическая культура, театр, театрализация.

Бормотова Т.М.

Понимание различий темпомиров в обеспечении миграционной безопасности

К настоящему времени исследования проблем миграции составили предметное поле отдельной науки – миграциологии. Однако внутри этой относительно новой дисциплины имеется как недостаточно четкая дефиниция понятий, так весьма плохо проработанный инструментарий исследований. Это самым непосредственным образом сказывается на эффективности предпринимаемых государственными органами и бизнесом усилиях по формированию среды миграционной безопасности. Выходом из сложившейся ситуации может стать более глубокое изучение тех различий мигрантов и населения принимающей их страны, которое отражает суть понимания ими значимости такого витального ресурса, как время, и такой синергетической данности, как темпомир. Учет этого фактора позволит не только адаптировать мигрантов в трудовых коллективах, но и упрочить среду миграционной безопасности.

Ключевые слова: миграция, миграционная безопасность, управление миграцией, витальные ресурсы, время, темпомир, темпоральный ритм, темпоральный интеллект.

Хартмут Эльзенханс

Европейская интеграция на перепутье. Часть 1.

Процесс европейской интеграции переживает кризис. Этот кризис не является результатом социальных, политических и экономических тенденций, которые возникли совсем недавно. Фактически, внутренние противоречия европейской интеграции были очевидны с самого ее начала. Некоторое время они не создавали проблем.

Ключевые слова: Европа, Россия, интеграция, общество, анализ.

Иларионова Т.С.

К истории промышленных академий в СССР

В статье представлена история промышленных академий в СССР, возникающих в середине 1920-х годов и прекративших свое существование 1 января 1941 года. Целью их создания была подготовка руководящих кадров для социалистической экономики, которые должны были прийти на смену специалистам с дореволюционным опытом работы. Промышленные академии подчинялись отдельным наркоматам, давали слушателям как общеполитические знания, так и, особенно, знания специальные, необходимые для работы в конкретных отраслях промышленности. Большое внимание уделялось овладению слушателями управленческих знаний. Главным контингентом академий были директора предприятий, шахт, руководители трестов. Промышленные академии активно осваивали передовые образовательные технологии того времени, так, они активно использовали заочное обучение, поскольку на этом пути виделось решение задачи широкой подготовки хозяйственных кадров.

Ключевые слова: промышленные академии, Всесоюзная промышленная академия имени И.В. Сталина, советская кадровая политика.

Вознесенский И.С.

Течение времени — течение воды: семиотика фонтанов

Люди издревле, даже став жить организованной жизнью в отдалении от природы, пытались не разорвать свои связи с природной средой. Они ощущали и физическую и духовную необходимость ее поддерживать и искали возможности для этого. Одной из форм таких контактов стали фонтаны. Они были известны уже в ранних государствах. И с каждым новым этапом фонтаны приобретали как новые средства своего технического воплощения, так и художественного. Именно такое художественное выражение в искусстве фонтанов во все эпохи помогало людям донести смысл связи течения воды и течения времени.

Ключевые слова: культура, история, семиотика, время, архитектура, живопись, вода, фонтаны.

Рябова Е.И.

Мода - язык символов, образов и имиджей

В статье рассмотрены варианты расшифровки многообразного мира символов, образов, идентичностей и имиджей, формируемый в обществе благодаря одежде. Ее не только утилитарная сторона, но и символическая роль выражается в затейливом вестиментарном коде, который при всех социальных, политических и экономических переменах, свидетельствующих и об изменении эпох, содержит общие и понятные всем смыслы. И как бы ни путались люди эти смыслы скрыть, вестиментарный код поможет их выставить у всех на виду.

Ключевые слова: культура, история, мода, стиль, символ, вестиментарный код.

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