A manuscript

Epunoly

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DOCUMENTS OF CENTRAL STATE ARCHIVE OF HISTORICAL AND POLITICAL DOCUMENTATION OF THE REPUBLIC OF TATARSTAN – SOURCES FOR THE HISTORY OF SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ASSOCIATIONS OF TATARSTAN (1988-2007)

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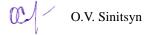
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GENERAL DESCRIPTION OF THE WORK

The urgency actuality is due to scientific and practice-the applied value of understanding the most difficult phase of the significant-governmental sociopolitical transformations in which Russian society since the late 1980s to this day. This judgment is impossible without scientific analysis of the vast range of sources on contemporary socio-political history, concentrated, including the archives of Tatarstan. The transformation of the state structure of the USSR, and then Russia, led to the weakening of the Central government, strengthening of centrifugal tendencies and the institutionalization of the "model of Tatarstan" of the region's relations with the Federal Center.

The period from 2001 to the present time marked by the strengthening of vertical state power and the political changes of Tatarstan that have influenced the process of institutionalization of democratic political institutions of the Republic. In this situation, the appeal to archival funds allows you to conduct a source analysis of the whole complex of documents of socio-political associations.

The object of a comprehensive scientific source analysis has not yet become a large array of sources of archive wich specializes in the collection and storage of documents of socio-political associations – the Central state archive of historical and political documentation of the Republic of Tatarstan (CSA HPD RT). In this regard, the study seems relevant, and its results in the future can also be used to study complexes of documents of socio-political associations of other regions of Russia, and also in the process of further development of legislation regulating the activities of socio-political associations and strategy of relations between the Russian regions and the Federal Center.

The object of research is the documents of socio-political associations of the RT, concentrated in the collections of the CSA HPD RT. The use of the term "socio-political associations" due to the following reasons. Federal Law "On political parties" appeared in Russia only in 2001. According to the USSR Law "On public associations" of 1990, all public associations had the right to exercise legislative initiative, participate in decision-making and in the formation of bodies of state power and administration, to represent the interests of their members. The right of participation in election campaigns in the case of registration of the association and its charter, provisions on participation in the elections was confirmed by the Federal Law "On public associations" of 1995.

The researchers note that a complex evolution of national legislation on socio-political associations before the Federal law "On political parties," 2001

¹ Vedomosti S'ezda narodnykh deputatov SSSR i Verkhovnogo Soveta SSSR, (Law of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics "On public associations", 1990, October 9, No.1708-1, art. 15), 1990, October 17, No 42, art. 836; Zakon RF «Ob obshchest-vennykh ob"edineniyakh» (The Federal Law "On public associations" 1995, May19, No. 82-FZ, art. 27), Moscow, 1997.

spawned their numerous renaming, reorganization and made the concept of "social organization", "party", "movement" is very conditional¹. In this work we study the documents of socio-political associations, which fulfilled the functions of political recruitment and the construction in the period under review.

The subject of the research is the degree of completeness, representativeness, and informational potential of the documents of socio-political associations.

Chronological frames and geographical scope of the study. The period 1988 – 2007 is selected in accordance with the extreme dates of the studied documents in the makeup foundations of socio-political associations in CSA HPD RT. Bottom line – 1988 – the year of the XIX conference of the CPSU, laid the Foundation for the establishment of a multiparty system in the USSR and in the Republic of Tatarstan. The upper limit is due to the adoption of the amendments to the Federal law "On political parties" 2001, structuring the political spectrum of the country and carrying out in 2006 the Federal registration service check the activities of parties, which in 2007 ceased operations of the Tatarstan parties and a regional branch of the Russian parties. Accordingly, the archive deposited complexes of documents of social and political associations for the period 1988 – 2007, reflecting the stages of their formation and development in the Republic of Tatarstan.

The aim of the study is to characterize the sources of the history of social and political associations of the Republic of Tatarstan, stored in the funds of CSA HPD RT, to identify and identify their information potential. With this goal in mind, the author poses the following research objectives:

- to study the formation process of the source base (on materials of CSA HPD RT);
 - to analyze the structure and composition of the source system;
- to describe the main groups of information sources on the formation and activities of political parties and organizations;
- to identify the features marking the position of the social and political associations in their political programs and propaganda documents.

The degree of study of the theme. The scientific literature on the subject in the object and subject of study are divided into four groups. *The first group* consists of the works of I.D. Koval'chenko, B.G. Litvak, L.E. Shepelev, S.V. Voronkova, etc. Their publications are devoted to the problems of analysis of

¹ Izvarin A.V., Komplektovanie gosudarstvennykh arkhivov dokumentami obshchestvenno-politicheskikh organizatsii Rossii noveishego vremeni: na primere RGASPI i TsAOPIM (Acquisition of the state archives of the documents of socio-political organizations of modern times: for example, RSASPH and CASPHM): candidate's dis., Moscow, 2006, P. 2.

mass sources, which include complexes, record keeping documents¹. L.V. Borisova has noted the lack of works on the major thematic complexes paperwork public documents for 1920s – 1980s, the need to study the characteristic of this documents and their varieties². In recent years, a considerable number of source theses devoted to the study of record keeping systems and certain types of documents³. The subject of their study would also be relevant interdisciplinary methods for the study of certain types of sources, expanded the scope of application of the method of content analysis developed by foreign researchers⁴.

The second group consists of source research of documents of the Russian socio-political associations in the period under review. Were created the studies of the complex of documents of the Communist party, based on new methodological base⁵. Since the beginning of 2000-ies sources of the post-Soviet socio-political associations are introduced into scientific circulation, the results of source analysis of program documents, journalism, periodical press

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¹ Koval'chenko I.D., *Metody istoricheskogo issledovaniya* (Methods of historical research), Moscow, 2003; *Ocherki istochnikovedeniya massovoi dokumentatsii XIX – nach. XX v.* (Essays on source studies of mass documentation of the XIX – early XX century), Moscow, 1979; Litvak B.G., *Krest'yanskoe dvizhenie v Rossii v 1775 – 1904 gg.: istoriya i metodika izucheniya istochnikov* (The peasant movement in Russia in 1775 – 1904: the history and methodology of studying of sources), Moscow, 1989; Shepelev L.E., *Vspomogatel'nye istoricheskie distsipliny*, 1985, vol. 16, pp. 24-51; Voronkova S.V., *Massovye istochniki po istorii promyshlennosti Rossii kontsa XIX – nachala* XX vv. (Mass sources on the history of industry of Russia in the late XIX – early XX centuries), Moscow, 1995; Voronkova S.V., *Rossiiskaya promyshlennost' nachala KhKh v.: istochniki i metody izucheniya* (Russian industry of the early twentieth century: sources and methods of study), Moscow, 1996 etc.

² Borisova L.V., *Otechestvennye arkhivy*, 1994, No. 2, pp. 19 – 29.

³ Tsunaeva E.M., Deloproizvodstvennaya dokumentatsiya uchrezhdenii voennogo plena NKVD/MVD SSSR i organov upravleniya imi kak istoricheskii istochnik (Record keeping documentation of the institutions of the military captivity of the NKVD/MVD of the USSR and controls them as a historical source): candidate's dis., Volgograd, 2010; Meshkov A.N., Protokoly voiskovykh komitetov XI armii Yugo-Zapadnogo fronta (mart 1917 – fevral' 1918 g.) (Protocols of the military committees of the XI army South-Western front (March 1917 – February 1918)): candidate's dis., Moscow, 2011; Vasil'eva E.V., Dokumentatsiya Tyumenskogo oblastnogo Soveta narodnykh deputatov (1944 – 1994 gg.) kak istoricheskii istochnik (Documentation of the Tyumen regional Council of people's deputies (1944 – 1994) as a historical source): candidate's dis., Tyumen, 2012 etc.

⁴ Berelson B., Content analysis in communication research. New York, 1971; Lasswell H.D., Propaganda Technique in World War I. Cambridge, 1971; Gorobii A.V., *Otnosheniya SSSR i FRG 1985 – 1991 gg*.(Relations between the USSR and Germany 1985 – 1991): candidate's dis., Moscow, 2011 etc.

⁵ Afiani V.Yu., *Arkhivovedenie i istochnikovedenie otechestvennoi istorii. Problemy vzai-modeistviya na sovremennom etape* (Archival studies and source studies of Russian history. Problems of interaction at the present stage), Reports and abstracts of presentations at the III All-Russian Conference. February 25 – 26, 1999, Moscow, 1999. pp. 156 – 163; Kabanov V.V., *Isto-chnikovedenie istorii sovetskogo obshchestva* (Sources of the history of Soviet society. A course of lectures), Moscow, 1997 etc.

of the Russian national-Patriotic movement of the 1960s – 1990s.¹, statements, speeches by leaders of parties and movements, electoral programmes of electoral blocs etc. of the 1992 – 1996 in their ethno-political aspects was published².

The third group includes works analyzing the formation of the Russian archival source base for the history of the socio-political associations during the period under review, including the regional aspect³. It should be noted a number of publications of employees of archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, as well as the monograph of D.I. Ibragimov outlined the main trends in the field of recruitment of documents in the Republic in the 1960 – 2000s, examined the composition and content of funds of National archives of the Republic of Tatarstan and personal collections in CSA HPD RT, however, the monograph did not include in its review of the funds of the post-Soviet socio-political associations in this archive⁴.

The fourth group includes works on the history of socio-political associations in the period under review. The history of the origin and evolution of the new socio-political associations, including regional, largely remained outside the framework of scientific researchs⁵. More attention of experts was drawn to the problems of election technologies, interethnic relations, etc. The basis for different interpretations of the situation in Russia during the period under review was the modernization theory⁶. In particular, the Russian transformation of the 1990s is considered by the researchers in terms of the theory of socio-political revolutions⁷. A famous sociologist, an expert of elite O.V.

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¹ Zelenko L.V., *Ideologiya russkogo natsional'no-patrioticheskogo dvizheniya 1960 – 1990-kh gg.: istochnikovedcheskii analiz programmykh dokumentov i publitsistiki* (The Ideology of Russian national-Patriotic movement of the 1960s – 1990s: source analysis of policy documents and journalism): candidate's diss., Moscow, 2002.

² Kudrina A.M., *Natsional'nyi vopros v programmakh i taktike rossiiskikh politicheskikh partii i obshchestvennykh dvizhenii 1992 – 1996 gg.* (The national question in the programs and tactics of political parties and social movements, 1992 – 1996): candidate's dis., Moscow, 2002.

³ Chereshnya A.G., *Otechestvennye arkhivy*, 2003, No. 5, pp. 21-25; Abramova A.Yu., *Otechestvennye arkhivy*, 2003, No.3, pp. 31 – 33; Izvarin A.V., *Otechestvennye arkhivy*, 2006, No. 5, pp. 39 – 43.

⁴ Yusupova N.V., *Gasyrlar avazy - Ekho vekov*, 1999, No.1/2, available at: http://www.archive.gov.tatarstan.ru/_go/anonymous/main/?path=/pages/ru/3ipd/94puba/99ist; Sadykova R.B., available at:

http://www.archive.gov.tatarstan.ru/_go/anonymous/main/?path=/pages/ru/3ipd/94puba/64; Ibragimov D.I., *Istoriya arkhivnoi sluzhby Respubliki Tatarstan (vtoraya polovina XX – nachalo XXI vv.)* (The history of the archival service of the Republic of Tatarstan (second half of XX – beginning of XXI centuries)), Kazan, 2011 etc.

⁵ Razuvaeva N.N., *Otechestvennaya istoriya*, 2006, No.4, pp. 145 – 158.

⁶ Poberezhnikov I.V., *Problemy istorii Rossii*, Vol. 4: Evraziiskoe pogranich'e, Ekaterinburg, 2001, pp. 217 – 246.

⁷ Starodubrovskaya I.V., Mau V.A. *Velikie revolyutsii. Ot Kromvelya do Putina* (The Great revolution. From Cromwell to Putin), Moscow, 2004.

Kryshtanovskaya developed the concept of "bureaucratic revolution". The subject of studying of foreign authors was the problems of nationalism, ethnicity in Soviet society and in the post-Soviet space². The number of dissertations was aimed at studying experience of reforming the Russian political system in the 1990s, the formation of the parliamentary system, including the regions of Russia³. According to V.Y. Gelman, 1990-s was the period of formation of the Russian political regionalistics⁴.

In the mid 1990s-2000s the interest of researchers to the modern political history of regions of the late 1980s – 1990s, including Tatarstan as a specific region, has increased⁵. Comparative cross-regional studies the main factors that influenced the processes of state-building, and constitutional models devoted to the dissertations of I.G. Gubanova and A.V. Golysheva⁶. In the work of V. Mikhailov was introduced into the scientific circulation the materials from the archives of State Council and National archives of the Republic of Tatarstan during the study period⁷. On the focus of Russian and foreign researchers were the problems of national and ethnic identity in the region, the analysis of the "Tatarstan model" of transforming society⁸. Professor E.R. Ta-

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¹ Kryshtanovskaya O., White S. From Soviet Nomenklatura to Russian Elite. Europe-Asia Studies, 1996, Vol. 48, No.5, pp.711-733.

² D'Ankos E.K., Raskolotaya imperiya. Natsional'nyi bunt v SSSR. London, 1982; Khantington S., Tret'ya volna. Demokratizatsiya v kontse XX veka, M., 2003 etc.

³ Gelman V.Ya., Ryzhenkov S.I., Bri M. Rossiya regionov: transformatsiya politicheskikh rezhimov (Russia of regions: transformation of political regimes), Moscow, 2000; Nechipas Yu.V. Istoricheskii opyt reformirovaniya politicheskoi sistemy Rossiiskoi Federatsii v 90-e gg. (Historical experience of reforming the political system of the Russian Federation in 90-e gg.): candidate's dis., Moscow, 2000; Gosteva S.R., Istoriya stanovleniya i razvitiya sovremennogo parlamentarizma v Rossii: Na materia-lakh Gosudarstvennoi Dumy Federal'nogo Sobraniya Rossiiskoi Federatsii (History of formation and development of modern parliamentarism in Russia: On materials of the State Duma of the Federal Assembly of the Russian Federation): candidate's dis., Voronezh, 2001 etc.

⁴ Gelman V., available at:

https://eu.spb.ru/images/pss_dep/gelman_po_tu_storonu_sadovogo_kolza.pdf

⁵ Lutskii A.G., *Evolyutsiya politicheskogo rezhima Respubliki Tatarstan: 1991-2001 gg.*(Evolution of the political regime of the Republic of Tatarstan: 1991-2001): candidate's dis., Moscow, 2003; Bogachev A.V., *Protivorechiya institutsionalizatsii demokra-tii v rossiiskom regione: Na primere Respubliki Tatarstan* (Contradictions of institutionalization of democracy in Russian regions: On the example of Republic Tatarstan): candidate's dis., Kazan, 2003 etc.

⁶ Gubanova I.G., *Protsessy gosudarstvennogo stroitel'stva v respublikakh Srednego Povolzh'ya v kon. XX* v. (The Process of state building in the republics of the Middle Volga in the end of XX century): candidate's dis., Moscow, 2006; Golysheva A.V., *Konstitutsionnaya reforma v Tatarstane, Kalmykii i Karelii v 1990 – 1994 gg.* (Constitutional reform in Tatarstan, Kalmykia and Karelia in 1990 – 1994): candidate's dis., Moscow, 2011 etc.

⁷ Mikhailov V.V., *Stanovlenie federativnykh otnoshenii v Rossiiskoi Federatsii v 1990 – 2002 gg.: na primere Respubliki Ta*tarstan (The formation of Federative relations in the Russian Federation in 1990 – 2002: on the example of Republic Tatarstan): doct. diss., Moscow, 2005.

⁸Raviot J.-R., *Idel'*, 1994, No. 7-8, P.50-51; Raviot J.-R. La Republique du Tatarstan au coeur de la construction federale en Russie, depuis 1988: l'invention de la souverainete-association// L'Islam

girov identified the main socio-economic, political, legal and geopolitical priorities, considered in the context of national and state interests of Russia, propossed the concept of national interests of the Tatar people and Tatarstan¹. Monographs on the history of the Tatar people and Tatarstan, which are the result of a comprehensive study of documents for the contractual process between the Government of the Russian Federation and the Government of Tatarstan 1990 – 1995, and on the basis of personal memories written by a member of the delegation of the Republic of Tatarstan, doctor of historical Sciences, the academician I.R. Tagirov². Results of research of problems of formation of party system in modern Russia presented in thematic collections of articles and articles in leading scientific periodicals³. Comparative analysis of formation and development of parties and party systems is contained in researchs of T.V. Rediskaya, B.I. Makarenko, I.M. Lokshin, E.Y. Meleshkina⁴ and the study of the process of institutionalization and functioning of the party system modern Russia, devoted to the work of E.S. Zaslavsky, and J.G. Korgunyuk⁵. In the dissertations of the period under review, the researchers aimed to review the role, place and degree of participation of political parties in parliamentary elections, sought to identify the historical features and functioning of the multipar-

de Russie. Paris: Maisonneuve et Larose, 1997; Walker E.W. The Dog That Didn't Bark: Tatarstan and Asymmetrical Federalism in Russia. The Harriman Review, Vol. 9, No. 4 (Winter 1996); McAuley M. (1997). Russia's Politics of Uncer-tainty. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. P. 1 - 12 etc.

¹ Tagirov E.R. *Tatarstan: natsional'no-gosudarstvennye interesy: politicheskoe esse* (Tatarstan: national interests: political essays), Kazan, 1996; Tagirov E.R., Narod v puti. Istoriya Tatarstana v kontekste mirovoi tsivilizatsii (The people on the road. History of Tatarstan in the context of world civilization), Kazan, 2008 etc.

² Tagirov I.R. Istoriya natsional'noi gosudarstvennosti tatarskogo naroda i Tatarstana (The history of the national statehood of the Tatar people and Tatarstan), Kazan, 2008; Tagirov I.R. Na stremnine vremeni (At the rapids of time), Kazan, 2011 etc.

³ Danilov M.V., Vestnik Moskovskogo universiteta, ser. 12: politicheskie nauki, 2011, No. 5, pp. 48 – 58; Reshetnikov O.M., Vlast', 2013, No. 1, pp. 82 – 86; Makarenko B.I., Lokshin I.M., Polis. Politicheskie issledovaniya, 2015, No. 3, pp. 85-109 etc.

⁴ Redinskaya T.V., Stanovlenie i razvitie partii i partiinykh sistem v evropeiskikh stranakh v Noveishee vremya i rossiiskii opyt: sravnitel'nyi istoriko-politologicheskii analiz (Formation and development of parties and party systems in Europe in the Newest time and the Russian experience: the comparative istoriko-politological analysis): candidate's dis., Moscow, 2006; Makarenko B.I., Lokshin I.M., Meleshkina E.Yu., Mironyuk M.G., Petrov N.V., Partii i partiinye sistemy: sovremennye tendentsii razvitiya (Parties and party systems: modern trends), Moscow, 2015 etc. ⁵ Zaslavskii S.E., Zotova Z.M., Komarovskii S.E., Sovremennye politicheskie partii Rossii: analiz programm i ustavov (Modern political parties of Russia: analysis of programs and statutes), Moscow, 2004; Korgunyuk Yu.G., Stanovlenie partiinoi sistemy v sovremennoi Rossii (The formation of the party system in modern Russia), Moscow, 2007; Korgunyuk Yu.G., Stanovlenie partiinoi sistemy v sovremennoi Rossii (The formation of the party system in modern Russia): extended abstract of doct. dis., Moscow, 2009 etc.

ty system in the conditions of transformation of Russian society in 1991 – 2000's¹.

The research activities of post-Soviet Tatarstan's socio-political associations was laid by D.M. Isakov in articles revealing the background, especially the ideology and tactics of socio-political associations in Tatarstan, conceptual foundations of modern Tatar national movements. In the book "Sovereign Tatarstan" he was enabled office documents of current archives of some of the socio-political associations². In the book "Powerless independence of the Republic of Tatarstan", along with analytical articles of G. Murtazin, was published more alternative drafts of the Constitution, programs, appeals and other documents of current archives of the Tatar public center (TPC), the Committee for the protection and realization of the sovereignty of Tatarstan "Sovereignty" (Committee "Sovereignty"), the Republican party of Tatarstan, The regional public movement of integration "Idel-Ural" (movement "Idel-Ural")³. Some problems of institutionalization and functioning of specific socio-political associations of Tatarstan were investigated in several dissertations⁴. S.A. Sergeev has described the types, manifestations and peculiarities of political opposition in modern Russia at various levels (national, regional, municipal)⁵. The analy-

¹ Maruashvili Z.R., Stanovlenie mnogopartiinosti kak zakonomernost' demokraticheskogo razvitiya Rossii: istoriko-politologicheskii analiz (The Development of a multiparty system as a pattern
of democratic development of Russia: historical and politological analysis): doct. diss., Moscow,
1999; Fedorinov V.E., Politicheskie partii Rossii v usloviyakh stanovleniya i razvitiya plyuralizma
(Political parties of Russia in the conditions of formation and development of pluralism): doct.
diss., Moscow, 2002; Gizatulin R.R., Kommunisticheskie partii i organizatsii v politicheskoi zhizni
Rossiiskoi Federatsii: 1993-2004 gg. (The Communist parties and organizations in the political life
of the Russian Federation: 1993-2004): candidate's dis., Moscow, 2006; Uzunyan T.T., Politicheskie partii v Rossiiskoi Federatsii (Political parties in the Russian Federation): candidate's diss.,
Moscow, 2011 etc.

² Iskhakov D.M., *Panorama-Forum*, 1995, No. 1-2, pp. 48-69; Iskhakov D.M., *Suverennyi Tatarstan: dokumenty, materialy, khronika* (Sovereign Tatarstan: documents, materials, chronicle), Moscow, 1998 etc.

³ Murtazin G.G., *Bespravnaya samostoyatel'nost' Tatarstana (1989 – 1991 gg.)* (Disenfranchised the independence of Tatarstan (1989 – 1991) in 3 vol), vol. 1, Kazan, 2008; vol. 2, Kazan, 2009; vol. 3, Kazan, 2010 etc.

⁴ Gibadullin R.M., *Tatarskoe natsional'noe dvizhenie v reshenii problemy gosudarstvenno-go vozrozhdeniya Tatarstana (1988 – 1992 gg.)*(Tatar national movement in addressing the state of revival of Tatarstan (1988 – 1992)): candidate's dis., Kazan, 1995; Tafaev G.I., *Regional'naya mnogopartiinost' v usloviyakh transformatsii Rossiiskogo obshchestva: Problemy formirovaniya i funktsionirovaniya na materialakh respublik Povolzh'ya i Pri-ural'ya* (Regional multi-party system in the conditions of transformation of Russian society: Problems of formation and functioning on materials of republics of the Volga and Ural regions): doct. dis., Moscow, 1995; Krasil'nikova O.V., *Izbiratel'nye kampanii v Respublike Tatarstan (1990 – 2000 gg.): istoriko-politicheskii analiz* (The election campaign in the Republic of Tatarstan (1990 – 2000): historical and political analysis): candidate's dis., Kazan, 2002 etc.

⁵ Sergeev S.A., *Politicheskaya oppozitsiya v sovremennoi Rossii: federal'nyi i regional'-nyi aspekty* (Political opposition in contemporary Russia: Federal and regional aspects): doct. dis., Kazan, 2005.

sis of accounting documents of CSA HPD RT identified the following research themes in the archive: "The social and political life of Tatarstan in the XX century", "Interethnic relations in the city of Naberezhnye Chelny (1985 – 1994)", "History of youth organizations of Tatarstan", etc., and themes of dissertations¹. Source base of these studies became the documents of the funds of TPC (F. 8246), Tatar national independence party "Ittifaq" (TNIP "Ittifaq") (F. 8247), Committee "Sovereignty", (F. 8245) Association of workers of the Tatar national education "Magarif" (F. 8248), Tatar society "Vatan" for relations with compatriots abroad (F. 8251), Tatar regional (Republican) party Committee (F. 15), Tatar Committee of the young Communist League (F. 4034), the Party "Unity and progress" (F. 8240), women's public organization "Association of Tatar women "Ak kalfak", Kazan" (F. 8266), the Executive Committee of World Congress of Tatars (F. 8260)².

Based on the historiographical review of the scientific works we can draw the following conclusions. First, currently, researchers continue to improve the methods and to research complexes of documents of public authorities and some varieties of documents of socio-political associations. But, on the other hand, complex of documents of contemporary national and regional socio-political associations, concentrated in the archives, still was not an object of source research.

Secondly, due to the lack of works on formation of the source base on the history of the socio-political associations of Tatarstan in the post-Soviet period, the work will attempt generalizations relevant experience CSA HPD RT.

Thirdly, the attention of scientists was drawn to the political processes that took place as a whole in the country and in the regions, including Tatarstan during the period under review. However, it should be noted the deficiency of studies of regional and national character, devoted to the study of the for-

¹ Sultanov F.M., *Tatarskoe natsional'noe dvizhenie v rossiiskom i mirovom sotsial'no-istoricheskom kontekste* (Tatar national movement in the Russian and the world socio-historical context): candidate's dis., Kazan, 2000; Kil'deev M.V., *Organizatsionno-upravlencheskie osnovy razvitiya etnopoliticheskikh partii i dvizhenii v postsovetskoi Rossii: regional'nyi aspect* (Organizational and managerial basis for the development of ethno-political parties and movements in post-Soviet Russia: a regional aspect): candidate's dis., Kazan, 2002; Nemirovskii V.V., *Politicheskaya kul'tura obshchestvennykh dvizhenii kak ob"ekt istoriko-politicheskogo issledovaniya: Na materialakh respublik Srednego Povolzh'ya; seredina 1980-kh – 1990-e gg.* (Political culture of social movements as an object of historical and political studies: On materials of republics of the Middle Volga region; the mid.1980s – 1990s): candidate's dis., Kazan, 2003; Bushuev A.S., *Razvitie politicheskogo soznaniya molodezhi Respubliki Tatarstan (1985 – 2004 gg.): istoriko-sotsiologicheskii aspect* (The development of the political consciousness of the youth of the Republic of Tatarstan (1985 – 2004): historical and sociological aspects): candidate's dis., Kazan, 2007 etc.

² Current archive of CSA HPD RT. Card index of records of the users and themes of research in CSA HPD RT for 1991 to 2013; The log of extradition cases to the users of the reading hall of CSA HPD RT for 1991 – 2013 etc.

mation and development of modern socio-political associations by analyzing the source of their documents. Historiographical review shows that selected for the research thesis is poorly understood.

Source base of the dissertation is presented in two groups. *The first group* consisted of archival sources stored in the collections of the CSA HPD RT. The archive generates 23 funds of socio-political associations. Documents which reflect the relationship between the Communist party and other public associations of the Republic late 1980s – 1991, have been identified in the Fund of the Tatar regional (Republican) party Committee (F. 15). Materials of the national movement TPC deposited also in the section "Documents of social activities" based on personal Fund of M.A. Mulyukov¹. Documents of the National Parliament "Milli Majlis" identified in the Foundation of one of its leaders – Aydar Halim². In CSA HPD RT in the personal Fund of the scientist M.F. Safarov a collection of documents was consisted sources of more than 70 socio-political associations during the period under review ³.

Documents of a wide spectrum of socio-political associations representative representing source base to conduct a comprehensive source studies-economic analysis, and divided into groups according to the classification by types: 1) management documents; 2) photographs, 3) personal documents, 4) material sources. Management documents are divided into types according to documental functional approach to the functions document in organization): 1.1) Organizational-administrative documentation, 1.2) documents for main activities 1.3) the documents on the personnel, 1.4) financial and economic documentation.

Due to the fact that the Fund is a Multinational movement of Tatarstan "Consent" in CSA HPD RT contains only photographs⁴, in the our study also were involved the documents of the personal archive of Professor O.N. Korshunova: - treatment leaflets of this organization, which she received on the activities of the movement in 1992 – 1996.

Information about the dynamics of the number socio-political associations-sources of completing of archive receipts to archive documents identified from an current archive of CSA HPD RT (a list of organizations-sources of acquisition⁵, annual plans and activity reports of CSA HPD RT for the considered period⁶). We used the complex of secondary documentary archival infor-

¹ F. 8257, Mulyukov M.A., I. No.1, 24 files for 1947 – 1997.

² F. 8282, Aidar Khalim (Khalimov B.N.), I. No. 1, 81 files for 1960 – 2003.

³ F. 8296, Safarov M.F., I. No. 1, I. No. 5, 645 files for 1989 – 2011.

⁴ F. 8292, Mnogonatsional'noe dvizhenie Tatarstana "Soglasie" (The multinational movement of Tatarstan "Consent"), I. No. 2ph, 14 files for 1992 – 2000.

⁵ Current archive of CSA HPD RT. List of organizations-sources of acquisition of CSA HPD RT, 1996; List of organizations-sources of acquisition of CSA HPD RT, 2005.

⁶ F. 8274, I. No. 1, FF. 8, 24, 39, 57, 73, 82.

mation: historical references to inventories of funds, and inventory funds on the basis of which details the species and quantitative composition of the funds and collections.

The second group consists of the published sources:

Normative documents regulating the work of the socio-political associations during the period under review providing an opportunity to consider the relationship of state power, its institutions with the socio-political associations, tracing the transformation of these relationships, the transition of political system from one-party to multiparty¹. A collection of official documents "The White book of Tatarstan. The path to sovereignty", prepared by R.S. Khakimov, contains documents on the results of the negotiations between the Government of the Russian Federation and the government of the Republic of Tatarstan in 1990-1995². They considered normative documents regulating the interaction between the socio-political associations and the state archives³, including the regional⁴ and documents governing the proceedings in socio-political associations⁵ and regulations of CSA HPD RT¹.

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¹ Vedomosti S'ezda narodnykh deputatov SSSR i Verkhovnogo Soveta SSSR, (Law of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics of 9 October 1990, No. 1708-1 "On public associations", 1990, October 9, No.1708-1), 1990, October 17, No 42, art. 836; Zakon RF «Ob obshchestvennykh ob'edineniyakh» (The Federal law "On public associations" 1995, May19, No. 82-FZ), Moscow, 1997; Rossiiskaya gazeta (The Federal law "On political parties", 2001, July 11; Rossiiskaya gazeta (The Federal law "On amendments to the Federal law "On political parties", 2001, July 11, No. 95-FZ', 2004, December 20, No. 168-FZ), 2004, December 24 etc.

² Belaya kniga Tatarstana. Put' k suverenitetu (Sbornik ofitsial'nykh dokumentov) 1990 – 1995 gg. (The white book of Tatarstan. The way to sovereignty (Collection of official documents) 1990 – 1995), Kazan, 1996.

³ Rossiiskaya gazeta (The Federal law "On the archival affair in Russian Federation", 2004, October 1, No.125-FZ), 2004, October 27; Osnovnye pravila raboty gosudarstvennykh arkhivov (The Basic rules of state archives of the Russian Federation), Moscow, 2002; Pravila organizatsii khraneniya, komplektovaniya, ucheta i ispol'zovaniya dokumentov Arkhivnogo fonda RF i drugikh arkhivnykh dokumentov v gosudarstvennykh i munitsipal'nykh arkhivakh, muzeyakh i bibliotekakh, organizatsiyakh Rossiiskoi akademii nauk. (The Rules of the organisation of storage, acquisition, the account and use of documents of Archival Fund of the Russian Federation and other archival documents in state and municipal archives, museums and libraries, institutions of the Russian Academy of Sciences), 2009, May 5, No. 13893, available at: http://portal.rusarchives.ru/lows/pohkuidaf.shtml etc.

⁴ Gasyrlar avazy – Ekho vekov (The law of the Republic of Tatarstan "About archival fund of the Republic of Tatarstan and archives", 1996, June 13), 1996, No. 3/4, pp.10 – 16; Respublika Tatarstan (Law of RT "On amendments to the Law of the Republic of Tatarstan "About archival Fund of the Republic of Tatarstan and archives", 2006, July 28, No. 644-ZRT), 2006, August 4, No. 155; Polozhenie o TsGA IPD RT (The charter of the CSA HPD RT), available at: http://www.archive.gov.tatarstan.ru/_go/anonymous/main/?) etc.

⁵ Perechen' tipovykh dokumentov, obrazuyushchikhsya v deyatel'nosti goskomitetov, ministerstv, vedomstv i drugikh uchrezhdenii, organizatsii, predpriyatii s ukazaniem srokov khraneniya (A list of typical documents produced in activities of state committees, ministries, departments and other agencies, organizations, enterprises with the indication of periods of storage), Moscow, 1989;

- 2. This group includes also reference materials on the history of the socio-political associations of Tatarstan: information and analytical materials on the problems of reforming the electoral system, formation of a multiparty system and its specificity in Tatarstan², archival manuals and guides CSA HPD RT³.
- 3. Periodical materials: a regional newspapers ("The Republic of Tatarstan", "Kris", "VA-Bank", etc.), newspapers of social and political associations ("Slovo Communista" "Sovereignty", "Nezavisimost", etc.) were identified in the stock of the socio-political associations, the collection of periodicals of scientific and reference library of CSA HPD RT and Fund of scientist M.F. Safarov (F. 8296).

Overall, despite the absence in the files of the complexes record keeping documentation of some socio-political associations engaged in the work of a range of sources appear to be relevant for the decision of tasks in view and

Perechen' tipovykh upravlencheskikh dokumentov, obrazuyushchikhsya v deyatel'nosti organizatsii, s ukazaniem srokov khraneniya (a List of typical administrative documents formed in activity of the organisations, with instructions of periods of storage), Moscow, 2002; Perechen' tipovykh upravlencheskikh arkhivnykh dokumentov, obrazuyu-shchikhsya v protsesse deyatel'nosti gosudarstvennykh organov, organov mestnogo samoupravle-niya i organizatsii, s ukazaniem srokov khraneniya (The list of standard administrative archival documents generated in the course of activities of state bodies, local self-government bodies and organizations with indication of periods of storage), approved by the order of the Ministry of culture, 2010, August 25, No. 558; GOST 6.38-90 (System of organizational and administrative documents), Moscow, 1992; GOST R 6.30-2003 (Unified system of Organizational and administrative documents). Requirements to execution of documents), Moscow, 2003; Obshcherossiiskii klassifikator upravlencheskoi dokumentatsii. OK 011-93 (Russian classification of management documentation), Moscow, 2002 etc.

¹ Vavilova G.G. *Metodicheskie rekomendatsii po komplektovaniyu TsGA IPD RT dokumentami obshchestvennykh ob'edinenii* (Guidelines on acquisition of documents of public associations in CSA HPD RT), Kazan, 2006; Vavilova G.G. *Pamyatka po rabote s obshchestvenno-politicheskimi organizatsiyami v TsGA IPD RT* (The instruction of work with political organizations in CSA HPD RT), Kazan, 2006.

² Kynev A.V. *Vybory parlamentov rossiiskikh regionov 2003 – 2009 gg.: Pervyi tsikl vnedreniya proportsional'noi izbiratel'noi sistemy* (The Elections of the parliaments of the Russian regions 2003 – 2009: First cycle of introduction of a proportional electoral system), Moscow, 2009; Mukhametshin F.Kh., Lozovoi A.P., Bakirov N.B. etc., *Tatarstan – na perekrestke mnenii* (Tatarstan at the crossroads of opinions), Kazan, 1993; Terent'eva I.V., Alishev A.S., Fokin A.V., *Politicheskie partii i obshchestvennye dvizheniya v Respublike Tatarstan* (Political parties and social movements in the Republic of Tatarstan), Kazan, 1994.; Terent'eva I.V., Belyakov R.Y., Safarov M.F., *Politicheskie partii i dvizheniya RT* (Political parties and movements in the Republic of Tatarstan), Kazan, 1999; Terentyev A.M., Belyakov R.Y., Safarov M.F. *Politicheskie partii v Respublike Tatarstan* (Political parties in the Republic of Tatarstan), Kazan, 2011 etc.
³ Arkhivy Rossii: putevoditel' TsGA IPD RT (The archives of Russia. Guide of CSA HPD RT), Moscow, 1999; Tsentral'nyi gosudarstvennyi arkhiv istoriko-politicheskoi dokumentatsii Respubliki Tatarstan: Kratkii spravochnik po fondam (2006-2010) (The Central state archive of historical and political documentation of the Republic of Tatarstan: guide to the funds (2006-2010), Kazan, 2012.

allows to find out information capabilities documents socio-political associations to obtain factual and interpretative information about the transformation processes of the late 1980s – early 1990s, and to evaluate the completeness, accuracy and originality of the information.

Methodology and research methods. The study is based on the principle of historicism and objectivity, systematic approach. Source analysis in this dissertation contributes to the study of information capacity of documents of social and political associations. The use of a quantitative method is intended to provide information on the composition of complex of documents of social and political associations in CSA HPD RT. Text structure of programs and propaganda documents examined by the methods of formulary analysis, as they have repeated items of initial, main and final protocols. Formulary analysis of the structure of charters and protocols is conducted by studying the order and sequence of their details in accordance with the requirements of relevant regulations. To study the sections of the programs and propaganda documents author uses private methods of philological analysis: the comparative-stylistic method is used to establish similarities and differences in the linguistic design of the same content of the text in Russian and Tatar languages, method of comparison of the texts with their draft choices, and comments allows to identify the style of the authors¹. To explore programs and propaganda documents critical analysis contained in the text stylistic features, themes, ways of reasoning, reflecting political positions of the associations, supplemented by the technique of "binary oppositions" was applied².

To identify informational potential of leaflets, open letters, statements and other propaganda documents of social and political associations the method of content analysis was applied. The following were highlighted as the unit of analysis: referential and non-referential linguistic units and conceptual-categorical, propositional units, means of artistic expression (epithets, metaphors) that form complex conceptual structures: clauses about the past and expectations for the future, etc. identified in the texts on the basis of the frequency of their use. The method of intent-analysis of propaganda documents was used as a tool to study the temporal variability of social representations, their cultural differences, and methods of reasoning and translation³.

¹ Gavrilova M.V., *Metody i metodiki issledovaniya politicheskoi kommunikatsii* (Methods and the research methods of political communication), St.Peterburg, 2008, pp. 37-38.

² The technique of binary oppositions was used by the researchers in the study of the construction of ethnic identity in the national media materials, for example: Sagitova L.V., available at: http://www.tataroved.ru/institut/etnolog/publ/1/#_ednref83

³ Gavrilova M.V., *Metody i metodiki issledovaniya politicheskoi kommunikatsii* (Methods and the research methods of political communication), St.Peterburg, 2008, pp. 37-38.

Thus, in the presented research model method of analysis combines a heuristic strategy for the study with interdisciplinary approaches in the study of complex documents.

The scientific novelty of the work lies in the appeal to putting they in the stock of the CSA HPD RT documents socio-political associations broad political spectrum. Active study of the national movement RT was expelled from the sphere of attention of researchers the activities of the new Communist, social democratic and other organizations with region specific. Remained virtually unstudied collections of documents socio-political associations transferred to the archive by the scientist M.F. Safarov¹. In this paper we investigate the information potential of new unpublished documents of the late 1980s – 2000s, which characterize the political situation and the formation of a multiparty system in the Republic of Tatarstan.

Practical significance of the research lies in the fact that its results can be used in the creation of works on the history of post-Soviet Russian patogeneza, the modern history of Tatarstan, the development of training courses, of the history of social and political thought, the Tatar national movement, the formation and development of a multiparty system in Tatarstan; to optimize the formation of source complex in CSA HPD RT.

The main provisions submitted for protection:

- 1. In the period from 1991 to 2007 in the activities of CSA HPD RT it is possible to determine the phases of the positive and negative dynamics of the receipt of the documents socio-political associations in connection with the increase in the number of associations during the 1990s and their decrease in the process of reforming the electoral system of Russia since the beginning of the 2000s. A comparative analysis of the information about the composition and contents of office complexes by quantitative method allowed to draw conclusions about their completeness and the ability to define a representative sample to conduct the content analysis of a certain type or group of documents of the period under review.
- 2. Identified the following external features of documentation of sociopolitical associations: normative documents regulated and by the early 2000s standardized structure and content of statutes and reports; other documents are not always drawn up were in accordance with the rules adopted in the system of administration; they reflect the experience of the introduction of the practice of management in the Republic of Tatarstan in two languages, there is almost no frequency of occurrence information.
- 3. As a result of the analysis of the individual formula-ROV programme and propaganda documents socio-political associations in the structure of the

¹ Current archive of CSA HPD RT. Logs extradition cases to users in the reading room of CSA HPD RT for 1991 – 2013.

programmes identified elements in the initial (sender), the core (preamble, proclamation, narration, disposition, sanction) and endpoint protocols (date and place of composition), the composition of the initial Protocol of promotional documents-inscriptie and salutary, in the structure of their basic Protocol is the promulgation, narration, disposition, sanction, final Protocol includes corroboration, datum, appreciatio.

- 4. Identified the following groups as reflected in the documents of the socio-political associations information about organizationally-administrative and is on the substantive activities of associations. Information on the main activities of the socio-political associations can be divided into information about planning and about the results of work of associations. Information on problems of the reconstruction of the implementation of the programs and annual plans (perspective and current planning), due to the absence or fragmentation of reporting information detected from the protocols, information and propaganda documents, allows you to sum up the results of their participation in election campaigns, events, legislative activities, work on the study of public opinion, expansion of the social base, to determine the nature of relationships with other associations and public authorities.
- 5. A comparative analysis of the provisions of the regulations and programs of socio-political associations in the editions of different years allowed to identify the criteria for the separation of socio-political associations in ideological poles. in relation to the perspectives of the state order of the Republic documents of the Organization of Communists of the Republic of Tatarstan (OC RT), later reorganized as The Communist party of the Republic of Tatarstan (CP RT) containes the provisions of the revival of the updated Union; the programs of Electoral bloc "Equality and Legitimacy" (EB "E&L") includes a provisions of the build the legal state of the Republic of Tatarstan in the Russian Federation. Documents of TNIP "Ittifaq" and the Committee "Sovereignty" statements about the right of establishing an independent national state. The national associations classified in relation to the projects of integration of the republics of the Volga and the Urals: a Confederation "Idel-Ural" (Movement "Idel-Ural"), the Association of Turkic peoples (in the programs of TPC), the international Union of denominations (in documents of "Milli Majlis").
- 6. The key descriptors of the programs and propaganda documents of the socio-political associations of Republic for 1988 1996 (they were identified through content analysis) allow to conclude the prevalence in the documents of EB "E&L", OC RT (CP RT) (and after the formation of the people's Patriotic Union of the Republic of Tatarstan also in the documents of TNIP "Ittifaq") electoral profitable provisions on the obligations of social protection of the population: the indexation of deposits 1992, reducing crime, fighting corruption, improving the welfare of citizens. In documents of TNIP "Ittifaq", TPC

and the Committee "Sovereignty" in the justification of policy sovereignty prevailed provisions for the realization of historical justice, equality of peoples, the continuity of the statehood of the Volga Bulgaria, Golden Horde, Kazan khanate. The similar provisions in the argument of EB "E&L" and the national associations in terms of socio-political changes in the country in late 1980s – early 1990s are references to international legal instruments and the legitimacy of political acts and results of elections and referendums declared their recognition by the international community.

7. The results of the intent-analysis of propaganda documents of TNIP "Ittifaq", TPC, Committee "Sovereignty," EB "E&L", OC RT (CP RT) for 1988 – 1996 indicate the specific features: the prevalence in the disposition of documents intentional blocks of self-presentation, justification of their own positions and proposed actions, identification of the category of "We" and neutral category "Third party" (audience) that serves to enhance the intentions, cooperating socio-political associations with his supporters. In the narrative part of the document category of "Situation" is most often positioned by negative intentions in relation to past events and existing situation, blame and responsibility for the situation imposed on opponents (a category of "They") and serve as discrediting their activities and intentions of enemies and potential consequences of their actions.

Approbation of the work. The main results of the dissertation are reflected in 19 works of the author, including 4 in the scientific journals recommended by higher attestation Commission of the Russian Federation, Chapter in collective monograph and tested in the course of participation in national and international conferences (2008-2016). The thesis was discussed and approved at the meeting of the chair of humanitarian disciplines of the "KNRTU" and the Department of historiography and source study of Kazan (Volga) Federal University.

The structure of the work. The work consists of introduction, two chapters, conclusion, list of used sources and applications.

THE MAIN CONTENT OF THE WORK

In the introduction substantiates the relevance of the topic, put the purpose and objectives of the research, defines the object, pre-met, the chronological and territorial framework of the study, analyzed the domestic and foreign scientific literature, sources, denoted the scientific novelty and practical significance of the work.

In the first Chapter "Documents of socio-political associations: characteristics of the source of the complex" by analyzing the parameters of the acquisition the conditions and stages of formation of the complex source in CSA HPD RT. Further analyzed the evolution of the structure of the main types of

documents of socio-political associations regulated by Federal laws on public associations, on political parties, the Standards of administrative records during the period under review. Structure of programme and propaganda documents which was not regulated by legal documents related to the procedure of preparation through analysis of their individual forms.

In the first paragraph, "The stages of formation of the complex of documents of socio-political associations in CSA HPD RT" based on the study of changes in the list of sources of recruitment and the dynamics of income documents in the archives of the stages of the positive and negative dynamics of the number of socio-political associations-sources of acquisition and reception of various types of documents. The study showed that the formation of a representative set of sources for the history of a wide spectrum of sociopolitical associations during the period under review was influenced by such factors as changes in the socio-political situation in the country and in the region, as well as the development and implementation of the regulatory framework governing the activities of the socio-political associations. In the first stage of the complex formation of socio-political associations sources (1996 – 2001) to the archive the documents of the new Republican socio-political associations, regional branches of the Russian socio-political associations, which appeared in late 1980s - early 1990s was received. Border the start of the second stage is the entry into force of the Federal law "About political parties" 2001 defining the minimum threshold of the number of party members, with the result that ceased to exist many national and regional branches of the Russian parties of the late 1980s – 1990s, carrying out delivery of documents to the archive until 2005, during the third phase 2006 – 2010 in archive a large part of the documents to 2007 inclusive of regional branches of the Russian political parties and movements-the sources of acquisition archive, established after 2001 and eliminated them because it fails to overcome the minimum threshold of the number after the adoption of the Federal law of the Russian Federation "On amendments to the Federal law "On political parties" 2001 July 11, No. 95-FZ" of 2004, December 20, No.168 and after the check of activity of the parties in 2006 by the Federal registration service has focused. The author came to the conclusion that the observed since the beginning of 2000ies the reduction in socio-political associations led respectively to a reduction adopted documents. Total planned reception in CSA HPD RT during the period under review has decreased almost tenfold, and if up to 2005, the growth of actual admission depended on the reception of administrative documents outside the plan ceased operations organizations of the CPSU and the Komsomol, 2008, reception of administrative documents from the socio-political associations was reduced to 150 files a year. Since 1995, the archive is equipped with the personal documents (since 2005 they accounted for more than half of the reception of documents), and since 1996 the photographs, however, in 20012007, their volume did not exceed 10% of the total. The author outlined the problems and prospects of replenishment of the source base complex in CSA HPD RT.

In the second paragraph of "Structure and composition of the source of the complex" author examines the changes in regulation, documental practices of the socio-political associations during the period under review in Federal governmental laws on public associations, on political parties, the Standards of the official documentation. Next, determined what types of documents generated in the management system of the socio-political associations, deposited in the archive, the author applied for regulations and guidelines CSA HPD RT and secondary documentary archival information: inventories of the funds and historical references to them.

Identified the external features of the documentation socio-political associations. Organizational-administrative documentation prepared by the working groups, commissions, therefore, the authorship can only be installed in personalized projects and review the projects documents and some documents of activities (articles, reports, propaganda documents). The authors of the leaflets, election programs are lawyers, political scientists, sociologists, historians, and writers, what defines professionalism in the development of the structure and content of texts.

Comparative analysis of the composition and content of documents of the funds of socio-political associations and collections within the archive using the quantitative method allowed to draw conclusions about the degree of their completeness. In the complexes of socio-political associations revealed the predominance among the organizational-administrative documentation of statutes and programs, and among the documents of the main activity of protocols, propaganda, documents and correspondence. Material sources represented only in the collection of complexes of socio-political associations (F. 8296. M.F. Safarov). Personal documents and personnel, presented in fragments. More often than not financial documents, so the study of the financial activities of socio-political associations based on documents CSA HPD RT is not possible and requires other sources. The fragmentation of the complex of documentation of some of the socio-political associations allows us to explore only some aspects of their activities, not all periods of the existence of socio-political associations have sufficient source base for reconstruction. Data on number of sources of each type or group of sources for a certain period in the stock of the socio-political associations and the collection of the files identified using the quantitative method presented in the applications in Microsoft Excel. They allow to calculate general population and representative sample to conduct the content analysis of certain types of sources for the period under review, or conduct a group sample to explore the whole complex of documents. The structure and content of statutes and reports of the socio-political associations

was determined by normative documents and complicated in the process of development of regulatory documents. Documentation of socio-political associations often were not issued in full compliance with the requirements of normative documents. The study of the structure of programs and propaganda documents which was not regulated by normative documents related to the procedure of preparation through the analysis of individual forms allowed us to determine the specific form of these types of sources. This allowed to conclude about the prospects of the study of the information potential of a narration, disposition and sanction consisting of core protocols these types of sources.

In the second Chapter, "Information potential of sources of the history of socio-political associations" were revealed to the group information recorded in the sources; the features and methods of fixing information in these groups, which allowed to make conclusions about the completeness, accuracy and originality of the analyzed data.

In the first paragraph "Documents CSA HPD RT as a source on the history of the formation of socio-political associations" within the group information about the organizational and administrative activities divided into subgroups: institutional associations, the activities of the Supreme bodies of management are presented in the statutes of the socio-political associations in the editions of different years and protocols comparative analysis of which allows to reveal changes of structure of the socio-political associations, conditions of membership, procedure of formation of governing bodies and their powers. Study of programmes of socio-political associations helped to reveal how was carried out the selection by the compilers of the texts of these documents best electoral clauses and their specifics in the region. In the programs of most of the socio-political associations were identified provisions fixing the following criteria for the demarcation of the companies in the period considered: economic (the exit from the crisis) and cultural issues (expansion of spheres of use of the Tatar language, strengthening of traditional faiths), values and ideological poles: relation to the collapse of the USSR and its reasons, to the integration of the republics of former Soviet Union. Attitude to government has varied from the requirements of the status of a Union Republic for Tatarstan, the further Association with Russia in documents TPC, or separation from it in documents of TNIP "Ittifaq" to the recognition of the collapse of the Soviet Union "the greatest tragedy" and the need "step by step reconstruction of the Soviet Union," in program documents of OC RT. In program documents of the national socio-political associations there were various projects of integration of the republics of the Volga and Ural regions.

In the second paragraph "Informational capabilities of documents on the main activities of the socio-political history-making" in the sources were identified subgroups information on the planning and on the result of the work of socio-political associations. Comparison of information from sources on the

current and prospective planning activities of socio-political associations with information reporting, background information and official documents of the socio-political associations allows to summarize the extent to which they were implemented. Information on the preparation and carrying out of various actions identified from the report, background information, legal documents, correspondence with public authorities and periodicals socio-political associations allow us to draw conclusions about that period of the late 1980s – early 1990s was marked by conduct on the part of socio-political associations these types of political actions like protests and demonstrations, political hunger strike, and during the mid 1990-ies – 2000-ies. organization change tactics to Association in political blocs such as the Round table of social organizations, holding conferences and initiating litigation cases on illegal, in their opinion, actions of the Central election Commission of RT. Letters, treaties and agreements provide information about the relationship between the socio-political associations, for example, about the specifics of block of the CP RT and the TNIP "Ittifaq" in 1996, and of unifying processes among the social democratic parties and movements in the Republic in 2001, and subsequently included in the regional branch of the political party "Social-democratic party of Russia", as well as unifying processes among organizations in regional branch of political party "Soyuz pravyh sil" ("Union of right forces") in Tatarstan. It is revealed that due to the restriction of access to letters from citizens, the study of the evolution of political culture and mass consciousness in different categories of the electorate, can be the results of public opinion polls conducted by the socio-political associations are comparable to official surveys.

Propaganda documents reflect the main directions of work of the organizations to expand its social base and can complement information of such party documents as programs and statutes. The study of the texts of the brochures of socio-political associations identified the use of compilers such means of information influence, as a compilation of "preventive responses" identified the following "sharp" questions from the audience: personnel of the parties, the support of certain social groups, transparency of election procedures, and the attitude to the collapse of the Soviet Union, on the situation in Chechnya. The print editions of the opposition socio-political associations is interesting for research because it can provide a subjective review of the events in its own way reveals to the issue of interethnic relations, describe socio-economic, political situation in the Republic and in Russia as a whole.

Carried out using Microsoft Excel, content analysis of texts of propaganda and program documents of the six socio-political associations for 1988 – 1996 was identified dominant in the texts referential and preferentially language units as well as binary oppositions and related epithets reflected the ways of broadcasting and reasoning certain ideology in the minds of the audience. Style features of the propaganda documents of political associations de-

pended on the directions of the documents on uttering in front of a particular audience and influence it. They are characterized by the use of colloquial and journalistic language, including figurative and emotionally expressive. Revealed the predominance in the narrative part of the source preferen-social and negative emotive journalistic language regarding the qualities and actions of opponents, and in the disposition, on the contrary, positive adjectives, forming a positive audience perceptions of the proposed socio-political associations ideological positions. A large part of the descriptors play the role of marking the positions of the organizations regarding of the categories "We" – "They" by binary oppositions. Comparative analysis of the texts of pre-election propaganda leaflets of different genres in Russian and Tatar languages reveal different ways of their construction and positioning of a positive image of the candidate: "authority in a particular subject" or "patron" and sync with the preferences of a certain part of the electorate of the Republic during various campaigns in accordance with electoral cycles.

The predominance in most of the texts of propaganda documents of socio-political associations use of verbs allows to draw conclusions about the intentional orientation of speech acts. The use of predominantly illocutionary and perlocutionary speech acts in the texts indicates the dominance of the emotional impact on the recipient of the function of this type of documents. Most of the intentions in the propaganda documents were aimed at self-presentation, including through the use of perlocutionary speech acts. It illustrate the positive outcome in the case of support of this candidate. Characterized by other researchers as a category of neutral orientation "Third party" (audience) and "Situation" in the investigated texts intentional patterns are identified. Intentanalysis of programs and propaganda documents helped to reveal the overall structure formed by the intentional blocks in the structure of the narration and the disposition of the main Protocol on the categories "We", "They", "Third party" and "Situation", in temporal categories of "Past", "Present" and "Future" and the specifics of intentional patterns the main categories of this texts.

In the Conclusion the results and the perspectives of the study was summed up. Given general conclusions about documents of socio-political associations in CSA HPD RT as much shaped by the content of the historical complexes of the source. They allow to explore the features marking the position of the socio-political associations on ideology, political strategy and tactics, identify their evolution under the influence of the changing political situation in the Republic, as well as discuss some of the results of interventions, their outreach, legislative activities, relations with other socio-political associations and state bodies of RT, so they can be used in further studies post-Soviet political transformation processes in Tatarstan.

The appendices contains graphs, tables, charts, reflecting the dynamics of the number socio-political associations-sources of completing of archive receipts to archive documents of socio-political associations during the period and their species composition and matrix conducted a content analysis of propaganda and program documents of socio-political associations.

The thesis of dissertation were published in following works:

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Ershova G.N. *Vestnik Kazanskogo tekhnologicheskogo universiteta*, 2010, No. 3, pp. 243-248.

- 2. Ershova G.N., Otechestvennye arkhivy, 2011, No.1, pp. 30-34.
- 3. Ershova G.N., *Istoricheskie, filosofskie, politicheskie i yuridicheskie nauki, kul'turologiya i iskusstvovedenie. Voprosy teorii i praktiki,* 2012, No. 8(22), part. II, pp. 63-66.
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Publications in other scientific journals:

- 5. Ershova G.N., *Tinchurinskie chteniya* (Tinchurin readings), Proceedings of the III Youth International Conference, Kazan, KSPEU, 2008, pp. 66-67:
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