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**THE CONCEPT OF A CONSTITUTIONAL STATE**  
**F.F. KOKOSHKINA: THEORY AND PRACTICE OF IMPLEMENTATION**

**Specialization 5.1.1. Theoretical and Historical Legal Sciences**

**ABSTRACT**

of the Dissertation for the Degree of Candidate of Legal Sciences

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**The relevance of this research topic** stems from the academic community's persistent interest in fundamental issues of state and law, touching on the constitutional foundations of the Russian state and the dissemination of ideas based on the rule of law and civil society in the Russian Federation today. Political and legal reform at the turn of the 20th and 21st centuries led to the establishment of a constitutional order in Russia. The democratization of the legal and political life of society increased interest in Russian constitutional and legal doctrine. The search for an ideal model for building a constitutional state continues, and therefore, the ideas of pre-revolutionary Russian legal scholars remain relevant.

This study focuses on the concept of the constitutional state proposed by Fyodor Fyodorovich Kokoshkin (1871–1918), a prominent Russian lawyer and scholar, publicist, public figure, and one of the founders of the Constitutional Democratic Party. He made significant contributions to the development of Russian jurisprudence and the theoretical aspects of the study of state and law. A legal scholar who adhered to the principle of the rule of law, F.F. Kokoshkin considered it important for the state to provide the population with rights and freedoms, and he studied the national question. He worked as a private lecturer and extraordinary professor at the Imperial Moscow University, taught at the A.L. Shanyavsky Moscow City People's University, lectured at the Higher Women's Law Courses in Moscow, and edited the newspaper "Russkie Vedomosti." An active socio-political figure, F.F. Kokoshkin held the posts of deputy secretary in the first State Duma, chairman of the Legal Council, and state controller of the Provisional Government. After signing the Vyborg Appeal, Kokoshkin was removed from political activity for a long time, but continued to develop certain legal issues, participating in the legislative work of the Constitutional Democratic Party.

F.F. Kokoshkin's pre-revolutionary scientific works were widely known not only in the Russian Empire but also abroad. F.F. Kokoshkin's work was published in foreign newspapers: *Politique etrangere. Les partis de gauche en Russie et la situation generale* (translated from French: Foreign Policy. Left-wing parties in

Russia and the general situation)<sup>1</sup>, En Russie. La Dissolution De La Douma (translated from French: In Russia. Dissolution of the Duma)<sup>2</sup>.

The study of F.F. Kokoshkin's experience in constructing a theoretical model of a constitutional state and its implementation through active socio-political and legislative activities is of undoubted interest not only for science, but also for legal practice, which allows for a holistic approach in the context of reforming the modern Russian legal system.

**The degree of development of the scientific problem.** The development of models of a constitutional, rule-of-law state in Russia received considerable attention from Russian legal scholars in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, including the works of A.S. Alekseev<sup>3</sup>, V.M. Hessen<sup>4</sup>, A.D. Gradovsky<sup>5</sup>, B.A. Kistyakovsky<sup>6</sup>, N.M. Korkunov<sup>7</sup>, S.A. Kotlyarevsky<sup>8</sup>, S.A. Muromtsev<sup>9</sup>, P.I. Novgorodtsev<sup>10</sup>, B.N. Chicherin<sup>11</sup> и G.F. Shershenevich<sup>12</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> State Archives of the Russian Federation. F. R-5839. Op. 1. D. 19. L. 101.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. L. 102.

<sup>3</sup> See more details: *Alekseev A.S.* Machiavelli as a Political Thinker. Moscow: Publishing House of the Bookseller A.L. Vasiliev. 1880; *Alekseev A.S.* Russian State Law: Lecture Notes. 4th Ed. Moscow, 1897; *Alekseev A.S.* The Political Doctrine of J.-J. Rousseau in Its Relation to Montesquieu's Doctrine of the Balance of Powers and as Viewed by One of Its Newest Interpreters. St. Petersburg: Senate Printing House, 1905.

<sup>4</sup> See more details: *Hessen V.M.* General Theory of the State: Lectures Delivered at the St. Petersburg Polytechnic Institute. St. Petersburg: Typo-lit. I. Trofimova, 1912.

<sup>5</sup> See more details: *Gradovsky A.D.* Coll. Works. Vol. 2: History of Local Self-Government in Russia; District of the Moscow State. St. Petersburg: Type. M.M. Stasyulevich, 1899; *Gradovsky A.D.* Coll. Works. Vol. 4: State Law of the Major European Powers: Vol. 1. St. Petersburg: Type. M.M. Stasyulevich, 1900.

<sup>6</sup> See more details: *Kistyakovsky B.A.* Political and legal significance of the manifesto of October 17, 1905 // *Legal Bulletin*. Moscow, 1915. Book XI (III). P. 107-111.

<sup>7</sup> See more details: *Korkunov N.M.* Russian State Law. Vol. I. Introduction and General Part. Sixth edition. St. Petersburg: M.M. Stasyulevich Publishing House, 1909.

<sup>8</sup> See more details: *Kotlyarevsky S.A.* Decentralization and Federalism // *Scientific Word*. 1905. No. 7. pp. 73-80; *Kotlyarevsky S.A.* Government and Basic Laws // *Nov'*. 1906. No. 2; *Kotlyarevsky S.A.* The National-Regional Question in the Program of the Constitutional Democratic Party // *Polar Star*. 1906. No. 6.

<sup>9</sup> See more details: *Muromtsev S.A.* Law and Justice // *Collection of Law and Social Knowledge*. St. Petersburg: Type. Stasyulevich, 1893. T. 2.

<sup>10</sup> See more details: *Novgorodtsev P.I.* Lecture Notes on the History of the Philosophy of Law. Moscow: V.M. Sablin, 1908.

<sup>11</sup> See more details: *Chicherin B.N.* Philosophy of Law. Selected Works. Moscow: Yurait Publishing House, 2024.

F.F. Kokoshkin was one of the most prominent figures in Russian intellectual political and legal thought at the beginning of the 20th century, which led to particular interest in his scholarly work among Russian society at the time<sup>13</sup>, including through the publication of journalistic articles in the newspaper «Voice of Moscow»<sup>14</sup>. Following the tragedy that occurred on the night of January 6-7, 1918, a separate Committee for the Perpetuation of the Memory of F.F. Kokoshkin and A.I. Shingarev was created, reproducing the legal scholar's speeches, «full of contemporary interest», in print.<sup>15</sup>

It is worth noting individual newspaper articles about F. F. Kokoshkin, published both immediately after his death and several years later, including essays by N.I. Astrov<sup>16</sup>, V.D. Bonch-Bruevich<sup>17</sup>, M.V. Vishnyak<sup>18</sup>, A.A. Kizevetter<sup>19</sup>, P.N. Milyukov<sup>20</sup>, P.I. Novgorodtsev<sup>21</sup>, V.A. Obolensky<sup>22</sup>, B.V. Savinkov<sup>23</sup>, P. Kheraskov<sup>24</sup>, P.P. Yurenev<sup>25</sup>. Of particular note is the publication «In Memory of

<sup>12</sup> See more details: *Shershenevich G.F.* General Theory of Law and State. Lectures. Moscow: I.D. Sytin Publishing House, 1908.

<sup>13</sup> See more details: *Kokoshkin F.F.* On Constitutionalism and Parliamentarism. *Russkie Vedomosti*, 1907, No. 236; *Kokoshkin F.F.* In Conclusion of My Dispute with Professor Guerrier. *Russkie Vedomosti*, 1907, No. 239.

<sup>14</sup> See more details: *Kokoshkin F.F.* The Last Attempt to Reconcile Octobrist Lawyers with Jurisprudence // *Russkie Vedomosti*. 1908. No. 37.

<sup>15</sup> *Kokoshkin F.F.* England, Germany, and the Fates of Europe. Moscow: Committee for the Perpetuation of the Memory of F.F. Kokoshkin and A.I. Shingarev, 1918. P. 4.

<sup>16</sup> See more details: *Astrov N.I.* Martyrs. *Russkie Vedomosti*, 1918, No. 3; *Astrov N.I.* Prototype of Russian Tragedy. *Latest News*, 1918, No. 1452.

<sup>17</sup> See more details: *Bonch-Bruevich V.D.* On the murder of Kokoshkin and Shingarev // *Penal Servitude and Exile: Historical and Revolutionary Bulletin*. 1934. No. 1; *Bonch-Bruevich V.D.* On the murder of Kokoshkin and Shingarev // *Penal Servitude and Exile: Historical and Revolutionary Bulletin*. 1934. No. 2.

<sup>18</sup> See more details: *Vishnyak M.V.* In Memory of F.F. Kokoshkin // *Days*. 1925. No. 669.

<sup>19</sup> See more details: *Kizevetter A.A.* Kokoshkin and Shingarev // *Russian Vedomosti*. 1918. No. 3.

<sup>20</sup> See more details: *Milyukov P.N.* In Memory of Citizen Friends // *Latest News*. 1918. No. 1452.

<sup>21</sup> See more details: *Novgorodtsev P.I.* In Memory of Fyodor Fyodorovich Kokoshkin and Andrei Ivanovich Shingarev // *Russkie Vedomosti*. 1918. No. 4.

<sup>22</sup> See more details: *Obolensky V.A.* «Constitutionalist and Democrat» (In Memory of F.F. Kokoshkin and A.I. Shingarev) // *Latest News*. 1918. No. 1452.

<sup>23</sup> See more details: *Savinkov B.V.* In memory of F.F. Kokoshkin // *Russkie Vedomosti*. 1918. No. 13.

<sup>24</sup> See more details: *Kheraskov P.* From the life abroad of F.F. Kokoshkin // *Russkie Vedomosti*. 1918. No. 11.

the Victims»<sup>26</sup>, prepared by A.A. Kizevetter to preserve the memory of the members of the Constitutional Democratic Party killed by the Bolshevik regime, including the first victims, A.I. Shingarev and F.F. Kokoshkin.

During the Soviet era, research into F.F. Kokoshkin's views was virtually ignored. This lack of interest in the legal scholar's views stemmed from the Soviet socialist system's ideological intolerance of the approaches of pre-revolutionary liberal figures. This situation changed in the 1980s and 1990s. Some scholars began to mention F.F. Kokoshkin and his activities during the First Russian Revolution and the February Revolution<sup>27</sup>.

For an understanding of F.F. Kokoshkin's liberal ideas, the works of V.V. Shelokhaev<sup>28</sup> and V.A. Tomsinov<sup>29</sup>, published at the turn of the century and providing insight into the legal scholar's biography and his position on key state and legal issues, are valuable. Of particular significance is A.N. Medushevsky's «Dialogue with Time»<sup>30</sup>, which analyzes foreign sources held in the National Archives of France, containing autobiographical information about F.F. Kokoshkin's life.

F.F. Kokoshkin's scholarly works, which address specific issues of state and law, continue to be studied in the current stage of development of Russian theory and history of state and law. A.N. Medushevsky compiled a collection of the legal

<sup>25</sup> See more details: *Yurenev P.P.* F. F. Kokoshkin in the Provisional Government // Latest news. 1918. No. 1452.

<sup>26</sup> See more details: *Kizevetter A.A.* In memory of the victims // Collection of articles / ed.: N.I. Astrova, V.F. Seeler, P.N. Milyukova, book. V.A. Obolensky, S.A. Smirnova and L.E. Elsheva. Paris, 1929.

<sup>27</sup> See more details: *Shelokhaev V.V.* Cadets – the Main Party of the Liberal Bourgeoisie in the Struggle against the Revolution of 1905–1907: monograph. Moscow: Nauka, 1983; *Shatsillo K.F.* Russian Liberalism on the Eve of the Revolution of 1905–1907: monograph. Moscow: Nauka, 1985; *Dumova N.G.* The Cadet Party during the First World War and the February Revolution: monograph. Moscow: Nauka, 1988; *Pustarnakov V.F., Khudushina I.F.* Liberalism in Russia. Moscow: IFRAS, 1996.

<sup>28</sup> See more details: *Shelokhaev V.V.* The fate of a Russian parliamentarian (F.F. Kokoshkin) // Domestic history. 1999. No. 5. P. 44-73.

<sup>29</sup> See more details: *Tomsinov V.A.* Russian legal scholars of the 18th-20th centuries: essays on their lives and works. 2nd ed., suppl. Vol. 3. Moscow: Zertsalo-M, 2015. P. 95-142.

<sup>30</sup> See more details: *Medushevsky A.N.* Dialogue with Time. Russian Constitutionalists of the Late 19th – Early 20th Centuries. Moscow: Novy Khronograf, 2010. P. 200-259.

scholar's most significant works<sup>31</sup> and examined issues of constitutionalism and the rule of law in F.F. Kokoshkin's teachings<sup>32</sup>. O.E. Kutafin examined the development and spread of Russian citizenship and constitutional ideas in Russia, drawing on the works of F.F. Kokoshkin<sup>33</sup>. A.A. Nikitchik analyzed legal principles in the legislative practice of Russian lawyers of the early 20th century, touching on F.F. Kokoshkin's views on these issues<sup>34</sup>.

In recent years, fundamental studies have been published on the methodology, sources of law, and the evolution of the science of the history of law and the state in Russia, which laid the theoretical foundations for writing this work. Among these, it is necessary to highlight the monograph by E.A. Frolova, which shows the influence of the philosophy of I. Kant and his school on the methodology of studying law, its essence, society, and the state in Russia in the second half of the 19th – first half of the 20th century<sup>35</sup>; a collective monograph prepared by S.V. Kodan, D.A. Pashentsev, E.A. Frolova and a number of other authors, «Hierarchy and Coordination of Sources of Law: Theoretical and Comparative Aspects» (Moscow, 2025)<sup>36</sup>; as well as the fundamental study by M.A. Kozhevina and T.F. Yashchuk, which demonstrates the evolution of the science of the history of law and the state in Russia (18th–20th centuries)<sup>37</sup>.

<sup>31</sup> See more details: *Medushevsky A.N.* Kokoshkin F.F. Favorites. M.: Ross. watered encycl. (ROSSPEN), 2010.

<sup>32</sup> See more details: *Medushevsky A.N.* F.F. Kokoshkin and Russian constitutionalism // Comparative constitutional review. 2006. No. 2 (55). P. 179-184; *Medushevsky A.N.* F.F. Kokoshkin and the theory of the rule of law in Russia // Magazine Mir Rossii. 1997. No. 3. P. 115-154; *Medushevsky A.N.* Reflections on modern Russian constitutionalism. Moscow: ROSSPEN, 2007.

<sup>33</sup> See more details: *Kutafin O.E.* Russian citizenship. Moscow: Jurist, 2004; *Kutafin O.E.* Russian constitutionalism. Moscow: Norma, 2008.

<sup>34</sup> See more details: *Nikitchik A.A.* Principles of Law in the Liberal Political and Legal Thought of the Russian Empire in the Second Half of the 19th – Early 20th Centuries: Cand. of Law Dissertation. Omsk, 2024.

<sup>35</sup> See more details: *Frolova E.A.* Philosophy of Law in Russia: Neo-Kantianism (second half of the 19th – first half of the 20th century). Moscow: Prospect, 2019.

<sup>36</sup> See more details: Hierarchy and coordination of sources of law: theoretical and comparative aspects / Vasiliev A.A., Kodan S.V., Frolova E.A., Pashentsev D.A. and others. M.: «Infra-M», 2025.

<sup>37</sup> See more details: *Kozhevina M.A., Yashchuk T.F.* Evolution of the science of the history of law and the state of Russia (XVIII–XX centuries): monograph. Moscow: Norma, 2023.

Of particular interest are the scientific works of K.A. Soloviev<sup>38</sup>, in which the main determinant is the scientist's own interest in the social and political parties and events of those years, including from the perspective of F.F. Kokoshkin's participation in them.

he problems of the relationship between the state and law, the catalogue of human and civil rights and freedoms, and the position of public organizations during the period of late imperial Russia, which were also considered by F.F. Kokoshkin, were the subject of research by V.N. Kornev<sup>39</sup> and A.S. Tumanova<sup>40</sup>.

The first monographic study of the socio-political activities of F.F. Kokoshkin was the candidate's dissertation on Russian history by A.G. Klushin, who attempted to study the life and career of F.F. Kokoshkin, focusing special attention on his views on the national question, the participation of a lawyer in the political life of Russia. A.G. Klushin identified four stages in the life of F.F. Kokoshkin: the formation of F.F. Kokoshkin's state and legal views; F.F. Kokoshkin's state and legal views and his socio-political activities during the First Russian Revolution; F.F. Kokoshkin's scientific and social activities in 1907-1917;

<sup>38</sup> See more details: *Soloviev K.A.* The «Conversation» Circle: In Search of a New Political Reality, 1899-1905. Moscow: Rossiyskaya Politika Encyclopedia (ROSSPEN), 2009; *Soloviev K.A.* The Union of Liberation: The Liberal Opposition in Russia at the Beginning of the 20th Century. Moscow: Novoye Literaturnoye Obozreniye, 2021; *Soloviev K.A.* The Vyborg Appeal. The Theory of Passive Resistance // Tauride Readings 2019. Actual Problems of Parliamentarism: History and Modernity: Collection of Scientific Articles. International Scientific Conf.: in 2 parts / edited by A.B. Nikolaev. St. Petersburg: Center for Scientific and Information Technologies "Asterion", 2020. Part 1; *Soloviev K.A.* Autocracy and the Constitution. Everyday Political Life in 1906-1917. M.: New Literary Review, 2019; *Soloviev K.A.* Social Movement in Russia. 1891–1905. M.: ANO «Heritage Center», 2024.

<sup>39</sup> See more details: *Kornev V.N.* Liberal Concepts of State and Law in Russia at the Beginning of the 20th Century (1905–1917). Belgorod, 2001; *Kornev V.N.* Problems of the Theory of State in Liberal Legal Thought in Russia in the Second Half of the 19th – Early 20th Century: Abstract of a Doctor of Law Dissertation. Moscow, 2006.

<sup>40</sup> See more details: *Tumanova A.S.* Public organizations and the Russian public at the beginning of the 20th century. Moscow: Novy Khronograf, 2008; *Tumanova A.S., Kiselev R.V.* Human rights in liberal legal thought and lawmaking of the Russian Empire in the second half of the 19th – early 20th centuries. Moscow: Publishing house of the Higher School of Economics, 2011; Self-organization of the Russian public in the last third of the 18th – early 20th centuries / ed. Moscow: Russian Political Encyclopedia (ROSSPEN), 2011; *Tumanova A.S., Safonov A.A.* Human rights in the political and legal discourse of the period of the First Russian Revolution // State and Law. 2017. No. 2. P. 60-68.

F.F. Kokoshkin's political activities in 1917-1918 and his tragic death<sup>41</sup>. Meanwhile, the problems of interest to us on the theories of the origin of the state, law, and power in the interpretation of F.F. Kokoshkin, the constitutional state, its characteristics, the catalogue of human and civil rights and freedoms, as well as the practice of implementing the concept of a constitutional state through the legislative activity of F.F. Kokoshkin were beyond the scope of the author's attention.

In recent years, works have been published devoted to the analysis of the activities of F.F. Kokoshkin and his views on the state and law. Among such studies, it is worth noting the works of D.V. Alontseva<sup>42</sup>, T.E. Gryaznova<sup>43</sup>, S.A. Zavrzhny<sup>44</sup>, O.V. Kvasova<sup>45</sup>, A.V. Lapaeva<sup>46</sup>, M.V. Lomonosova<sup>47</sup>, O.S.

<sup>41</sup> See more details: *Klushin A.G.* Socio-political activities of F.F. Kokoshkin: dis. ... Cand. of History, Orel, 2000.

<sup>42</sup> See more details: Alontseva D.V. Theory of «state» law of F.F. Kokoshkin (dedicated to the 150th anniversary of his birth) // In the collection: Prospects for the development of legal and state institutions. Collection of scientific papers of the 4th Int. scientific conf. Kursk, 2021. P. 96-99.

<sup>43</sup> See more details: *Gryaznova T.E.* The idea of democracy in Russian liberal legal thought of the second half of the 19th – first half of the 20th century: author's abstract. diss. ... Doctor of Law. Nizhny Novgorod, 2010; *Gryaznova T.E., Yazov A.N.* Judicial power in the interpretation of Russian lawyers of the late 19th – early 20th centuries // Bulletin of Economic Security. 2016. No. 6. P. 32-34; *Gryaznova T.E.* Theory of state and law of F.F. Kokoshkin // Bulletin of Omsk University. Series: Law. 2017. No. 3 (52). P. 21-25; *Gryaznova T.E., Buchakova M.A.* Local self-government in the understanding of liberal representatives of Russian jurisprudence of the late 19th – early 20th centuries // Bulletin of Tomsk State University. Law. 2019. No. 33. P. 5-14; *Gryaznova T.E.* Theory of the constitutional state of F.F. Kokoshkin // Legal problems of strengthening Russian statehood. Collection of articles of the All-Russian scientific and practical conf. Tomsk. 2021. P. 18-20; *Gryaznova T.E.* Theory of federalism in the legal science of Russia in the late 19th - early 20th centuries // Federal state: historical and legal experience and modern practices (on the 100th anniversary of the formation of the USSR): materials of the International scientific and practical conf. Omsk, 2022. P. 342-346.

<sup>44</sup> See more details: *Zavrzhnov S.A.* Institute of administrative justice in the works of F.F. Kokoshkin // Education and Law. 2025. No. 1. P. 215-218; *Zavrzhnov S.A.* F.F. Kokoshkin's teaching on the forms of formation of law: theoretical and legal analysis // Justice. 2025. Vol. 7. No. 2. P. 54-66.

<sup>45</sup> See more details: *Kvasova O.A.* State power in the psychological and sociological concept of the state by F.F. Kokoshkin // Historical and legal problems: a new perspective. 2020. No. 2. P. 38-42.

<sup>46</sup> See more details: *Lapaeva A.V.* The relationship between the state, power and law in the views of F.F. Kokoshkin // Collections of conferences of the Research Center Sociosphere. 2012. No. 34. P. 71-74; *Lapaeva A.V.* The idea of popular sovereignty in the political science theory of F.F. Kokoshkin // Science, education and innovation, collection of articles of the international scientific and practical conf. 2016. Publisher: OOO «OMEGA SCIENCES» (Ufa). P. 159-162;

Neverova<sup>48</sup>, V.B. Romanenko<sup>49</sup>, E.V. Safronova<sup>50</sup>, K.N. Trunov<sup>51</sup>, A.N. Yazov<sup>52</sup>. Of particular interest are the works of T.E. Gryaznova, where F.F. Kokoshkin's theoretical views on law and the state are examined in detail. In the scientific articles of O.S. Neverova, F.F. Kokoshkin's views on civil equality, the concept of the state and its goals are revealed. Individual scientific works of A.V. Lapaeva are related to the liberal concept of the constitutional state of F.F. Kokoshkina.

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*Lapaeva A.V.* The liberal concept of the constitutional state of F.F. Kokoshkin. Tatishchev readings: current problems of science and practice. Proceedings of the XIV International scientific and practical conf.: in 4 vols. Vol. 2. 2017. P. 37-40.

<sup>47</sup> See more details: *Lomonosova M.V.* «On the death of F.F. Kokoshkin and A.I. Shingarev»: manuscript of N.I. Kareev in the Pushkin House // *Sociology of Science and Technology*. 2020. Vol. 11. No. 2. P. 113-127.

<sup>48</sup> See more details: *Neverova O.S.* The Concept of «State» in the Teachings of F.F. Kokoshkin // *Bulletin of Tambov University. Series: Humanities*. 2008. No. 11. P. 558-562; *Neverova O.S.* Kokoshkin F.F. on the Goals of the State // *Science and Modernity*. 2010. No. 1-3. P. 217-221; *Neverova O.S.* State Body as a Legal Category in the Teachings of F.F. Kokoshkin // *Science and Business: Paths of Development*. 2010. No. 1. P. 3-5; *Neverova O.S.* Private and Public in the Teachings of F.F. Kokoshkin // *Science and Modernity*. 2010. No. 4-2. P. 333-337; *Neverova O.S.* Civil equality in the state-legal theory of F.F. Kokoshkin // *Issues of modern science and practice. Vernadsky University*. 2012. No. S1 (38). P. 80-85.

<sup>49</sup> See more details: *Romanenko V.B.* Development of the Theory of Separation of Powers in the Works of V.M. Gessen and F.F. Kokoshkin // *Law and State: Theory and Practice*. 2010. No. 7. P. 123-125; *Romanenko V.B.* F.F. Kokoshkin on the Model of the Constitutional Principle of Separation of Powers in Russia // *Theoretical and Practical Aspects of Scientific Research: Proceedings of the International (Correspondence) Scientific and Practical Conf.* / Ed. A.I. Vostretsov. Neftekamsk: Scientific and Publishing Center «World of Science» (IP Vostretsov Alexander Ilyich), 2017. P. 548-554.

<sup>50</sup> See more details: *Safronova E.V.* On the Concept and Features of the State // In the collection: *Problems and Prospects for the Development of Russia: A Youth Look into the Future. Collection of scientific articles of the 4th All-Russian scientific conf. Kursk, 2021.* C. 103-107; *Alontseva D.V., Safronova E.V.* State and legal views of F.F. Kokoshkin // *Questions of State and Law*. 2023. No. 1 (1). P. 6-11.

<sup>51</sup> See more details: *Trunov K.N.* The Cadet Party and the Polish Question (1905–1917) // *Clio*. 2014. No. 12 (96). P. 39-44; *Trunov K.N.* The Cadet Party and the Finnish Question (1905–1917) // *Clio*. 2015. No. 1 (97). P. 101-105.

<sup>52</sup> See more details: *Yazov A.N.* The Idea of Civil Liberty in the Political and Legal Doctrine of F.F. Kokoshkin // *Prospects for State and Legal Development of Russia in the 21st Century: Proceedings of the All-Russian Scientific and Theoretical Conf. of Cadets and Listeners of Universities of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Russia, Students of Humanities Universities, Adjuncts, Postgraduate Students, and Applicants: in 2 Parts. Rostov-on-Don, 2015. Part 2.* P. 158-160; *Yazov A.N.* The Idea of Popular Representation in the Political and Legal Doctrine of F.F. Kokoshkin // *Law and State: Problems of Methodology, Theory, and History: Proceedings of the 5th All-Russian Scientific and Practical Conf. Krasnodar, 2016.* P. 408-410.

The most recent study of F.F. Kokoshkin's political and legal views is S.A. Zavrazhny's PhD dissertation<sup>53</sup>, which confirms a well-founded scholarly interest in the topic under study. The work examines the methodological foundations of F.F. Kokoshkin's teachings, the scholar's views on the state and law, the forms of legal formation, and the institution of administrative justice. At the same time, the author presents a summary of many of F.F. Kokoshkin's fundamental tenets of political science, including his views on popular representation, the separation of powers, human rights and freedoms, and the national question in the context of the then-emerging foundations of the constitutional system and the principles of representative institutions. S.A. Zavrazhny also did not specifically examine F.F. Kokoshkin's participation in legislative activity, which sheds light on the practical experience of creating legal foundations for the transition from an autocratic system to a constitutional monarchy, as it developed in late imperial Russia. As is known, Kokoshkin was the leader of the Cadet Party and a deputy of the State Duma of the first convocation; he participated in the development of the draft Fundamental Law of the Russian Empire (October 1904, July 1905), the Electoral Law (October 1904, July 1905), the law on local self-government (May-June, October-December 1906, January-April 1907), and on the structure of the Kingdom of Poland (March 1906, September-December 1914, February-June 1915). From March 20 to July 10, 1917, he headed the Legal Conference under the Provisional Government, and in May 1917 he became chairman of the Special Conference for the preparation of the draft Regulation on the elections to the Constituent Assembly. At Kokoshkin's initiative, both the general theoretical principles of the electoral system and specific issues were developed: the duration of the convocation and the optimal number of deputies, the structure and scope of authority. These issues formed the subject of our research.

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<sup>53</sup> See more details: *Zavrazhny S.A. State and legal views of F.F. Kokoshkin: dis. ... Cand. of Law: 5.1.1. M., 2025.*

Among the works of Western authors who contributed to the development of the topic we have chosen, it is worth noting the work of V. Rampton<sup>54</sup>, which examines the history of the development of liberal concepts in Russia, the article by E. Lohr on V.M. Hessen<sup>55</sup>, the articles by E.K. Wirtschafter<sup>56</sup> and J. Burbank<sup>57</sup> on law and legal culture in the Russian Empire at the beginning of the 20th century, the monograph by D. Taps<sup>58</sup>, which reveals the problems of federalism and national relations, the work by R. Pipes on P.B. Struve<sup>59</sup>.

Thus, to date, no systematic study has been undertaken of F.F. Kokoshkin's concept of a constitutional state, nor of its practical implementation model in lawmaking. Furthermore, not all of the pages of this eminent scholar's biography, which significantly influenced the formation of his legal views, have been studied, just as many of F.F. Kokoshkin's scholarly works have not been fully explored. This dissertation aims to fill these gaps.

**Purpose and objectives of the study.** The purpose of the study is to reconstruct F.F. Kokoshkin's views on the constitutional state, its content, and elements, based on an analysis of his scholarly works and practical socio-political and legislative work as a political scientist.

The stated goal necessitated the need to address the following objectives of this dissertation:

- to characterize the origins and stages of F.F. Kokoshkin's development as a legal scholar of state affairs;
- to identify the philosophical and legal principles of F.F. Kokoshkin's state and legal doctrine;

<sup>54</sup> See more details: *Rampton W.* Liberal Ideas in Tsarist Russia: From Catherine the Great to the Revolution (St. Petersburg: Academic Studies Press / Bibliorossika, 2024).

<sup>55</sup> See more details: *Lohr E.* The Ideal Citizen and The Real Subject in Late Imperial Russia // *Kritika*. Vol. 7. № 2. Spring 2006. P. 173-194.

<sup>56</sup> See more details: *Wirtschafter E.K.* Russian Legal Culture and Rule of Law // *Kritika*. Vol. 7. № 1. Summer 2006. P. 61-70.

<sup>57</sup> See more details: *Burbank J.* An Imperial Rights Regime. Law and Citizenship in the Russian Empire // *Kritika*. Vol. 7. № 3. Summer. 2006. P. 397-432.

<sup>58</sup> See more details: *Taps D.* Conceptual Foundations of Federalism: Monograph. St. Petersburg: Legal Center Press, 2002.

<sup>59</sup> See more details: *Pipes R.* Struve. Biography. Vol. 1. Moscow: Moscow School of Political Studies, 2001.

- to characterize the foundations of the theory of state and law in F.F. Kokoshkin's teaching;
- to reveal the content of popular representation as a feature of a constitutional state in F.F. Kokoshkin's teaching;
- to identify the relationship between federalism and autonomy in F.F. Kokoshkin's concept of a constitutional state;
- to characterize the separation of powers as a feature of a constitutional state in F.F. Kokoshkin's concept of a constitutional state;
- to analyze human rights and freedoms and their guarantees in F.F. Kokoshkin's concept of a constitutional state;
- to examine the drafts of the Basic and Electoral Laws of the Russian Empire and identify F.F. Kokoshkin's role in their creation;
- analyze the draft laws on civil equality, on the inviolability of the person, home, and correspondence, and on the inviolability of State Duma deputies, prepared with the participation of F.F. Kokoshkin;
- examine the draft laws on local self-government and on the structure of the Kingdom of Poland, developed by F.F. Kokoshkin.

**Object and Subject of the Study.** The object of this study is F.F. Kokoshkin's views on the legal nature of law and the state, his concept of a constitutional state, and its embodiment in his drafts of the Basic and Electoral Laws, bills on civil and political liberties, draft laws on local self-government, and the bill on the organization of the Kingdom of Poland.

The subject of this study is F.F. Kokoshkin's scholarly works, bills drafted with his participation, and his socio-political and legislative work as a political scientist.

**The theoretical basis of the study** was formed by the works of modern Russian scientists, revealing the formation and development of ideas on natural rights and the constitutional state (A.A. Bulgakova, A.A. Demichev, T.E. Gryaznova, V.A. Ilyukhina, R.V. Kiselev, A.G. Klushin, V.N. Kornev, O.E. Kutafin, A.V. Lapaeva, A.N. Medushevsky, A.A. Nikitchik, D.A. Pashentsev,

A.A. Safonov, A.S. Tumanova, E.A. Frolova), individual aspects of the functioning of the State Duma of the Russian Empire (A.F. Smirnov, V.V. Shelokhaev), the views of liberal lawyers of imperial Russia on the problems of constitutionalism, parliamentarism and the rule of law (A.S. Alekseev, V.M. Gessen, B.A. Kistyakovsky, N.M. Korkunov, S.A. Kotlyarevsky, G.F. Shershenevich), approaches to resolving issues of federalization and decentralization of Russia in domestic jurisprudence in different periods of time (V.V. Korolkov, S.A. Korf, S.A. Kotlyarevsky, O.E. Kutafin).

**The methodological basis of the study** includes a combination of general (philosophical), general scientific, and specifically legal methods. The fundamental tenets of the dialectical method allowed for a comprehensive understanding of F.F. Kokoshkin's state, legal, and political views. His views were analyzed using such general scientific methods as the systemic-structural approach, analysis, synthesis, induction, deduction, abstraction, and generalization.

The following research methods play a significant role in the work: 1) the biographical approach, the use of which made it possible to trace the evolution of F.F. Kokoshkin's views from the standpoint of the socio-political and socio-cultural environment, showing the scientist's personal contribution to the reconstruction of historical and legal processes and state and legal institutions; 2) the formal-legal method, thanks to which it was possible to analyze the texts of bills developed by F.F. Kokoshkin as a member of the Constitutional Democratic Party and a deputy of the State Duma of the first convocation, and regulatory acts of late imperial Russia; 3) the comparative-historical method, the application of which made it possible to trace the formation and development of F.F. Kokoshkin's state and legal views in the context of the changing Russian political and legal reality in the context of a comparison of the scientist's views during the periods of the First Russian Revolution and the February Revolution; 4) the comparative-legal approach, with the help of which it was possible to compare the ideas of F.F. Kokoshkin's views on the constitutional state with the ideas of Russian and Western European thinkers, and also to analyze the legislative projects developed

by the scholar, taking into account the European constitutional experience, which were widespread in pre-revolutionary Russia; 5) finally, special attention is deserved by the methods of the Cambridge school, developed by Quentin Skinner<sup>60</sup>, which allowed the author not only to study the documentary texts and scientific works of F.F. Kokoshkin themselves, but also to immerse himself in historical processes in the context of the time when the corresponding texts were written, attempting to reconstruct the intellectual thought of F.F. Kokoshkin, thus revealing the underlying reasons for his scholarly search for an ideal model for building a constitutional state and his attempts to implement it in socio-political life.

**The research information base**, taking into account its subject matter, purpose, and objectives, consists of the following blocks:

1. Archival sources, which include materials located in the Central State Archives of Moscow (hereinafter referred to as TSAM), the State Archives of the Russian Federation (hereinafter referred to as GARF), and the Manuscripts Department of the Russian State Library (hereinafter referred to as the MD RSL). Among them, we can highlight the materials we discovered, located in the Central State Archive of Moscow (TSAM) in collections 184 «Moscow Provincial Zemstvo» (File of the Moscow Provincial Zemstvo Council on the service of the member of the provincial council F.F. Kokoshkin), 233 «Moscow Lyceum of Tsarevich Nicholas» (Requisition sheets for the issuance of salaries and other information on the expenses for the maintenance of the lyceum), 417 «Moscow Commercial Institute» (File of the teacher Fyodor Fyodorovich Kokoshkin) and 418 «Moscow University» (File of the Council of the Imperial Moscow University on the retention of Fyodor Kokoshkin at the University, File of the legal testing commission on Fyodor Kokoshkin and File of the Chancellery of the Inspector of Students of the Imperial Moscow University on the admission of Fyodor

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<sup>60</sup> *Skinner K. Methodological Manifestos // The Cambridge School: Theory and Practice of Intellectual History / Comp. T. Atnashev, M. Velizhev. Moscow: New Literary Review, 2018. P. 109.*

Kokoshkin as a student), which reveal the teaching activities of F.F. Kokoshkin and his work as a zemstvo activist.

Of particular note is collection 1190 «Fedor Fedorovich Kokoshkin, lawyer, associate professor at Moscow University, deputy of the First State Duma, state controller of the Provisional Government, member of the Constitutional Democratic Party», housed at the State Archives of the Russian Federation. The collection contains biographical information about F.F. Kokoshkin, his individual works, and personal documents. The most valuable material in the collection, which describes Kokoshkin's character traits and his involvement in socio-political activities, are the diaries of M.F. Kokoshkina, the lawyer's wife.

An important archival source for characterizing F.F. Kokoshkin's views is collection R-5839 «Petrunkevich Ivan Ilyich, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Constitutional Democratic Party (1909–1915)», held by the State Archives of the Russian Federation. It contains the article «In Memory of F.F. Kokoshkin», as well as letters from F.F. Kokoshkin to I.I. Petrunkevich from 1906 to 1916, which contain valuable information about individual stages of F.F. Kokoshkin's life and his political and legislative activities within the People's Freedom Party.

Of notable interest for solving the research objectives were the materials from collections 523 «People's Freedom Party (Cadets)», 1779 «Chancery of the Provisional Government» and 1792 «Legal Conference under the Provisional Government» of the State Archives of the Russian Federation, which reflect the legislative activities of F.F. Kokoshkin as part of the Constitutional Democratic Party, the Provisional Government and the Legal Conference under the Provisional Government.

Important information is contained in collection 218 (cardboard 138 «Articles and materials of Fyodor Fyodorovich Kokoshkin») of the OR RSL, where we discovered fragments of documents for the period from 1909 to 1916, revealing the legislative and teaching activities of F.F. Kokoshkin.

2. Scientific works of F.F. Kokoshkin, which include lectures; brochures and articles in magazines and newspapers; prefaces to publications; editing of

individual books and speeches in the State Duma of the first convocation. To study the state and legal views of F.F. Kokoshkin's most significant sources are the scientist's works on the general theory and history of the state, state law: «On the Question of the Legal Nature of the State and Organs of State Authority» (1896), «Civil Liberty as a Concept of State Law» (1898), «The Budget Question in States with Representative Government» (1905), «On the Grounds for the Desirable Organization of Popular Representation in Russia» (1906), «Regional Autonomy» (1906), «On the Rights of Nationalities and Decentralization» (1906), «On the Question of Reforming the Senate» (1908), «Lectures on General State Law» (1911), «The Legal Nature of the Manifesto of October 17» (1913), «On the Responsible Ministry» (1915), «Autonomy and Federation» (1917), «Republic» (1917), «Constituent Assembly» (1917), «England, Germany and the Destiny of Europe» (1918).

3. Personal documents shedding light on the motives of F.F. Kokoshkin's socio-political activities, hidden in official sources, which influenced his views on state and legal matters. These are the diaries and memoirs of his contemporaries: M.M. Vinaver, V.F. Dzhunkovsky, A.A. Kizevetter, P.N. Milyukov, V.A. Obolensky, and A.I. Shingarev. Of considerable interest is the essay by V.E. Kokoshkina and I.Yu. Guadagnini on F.F. Kokoshkin, based on the memoirs of the scientist's brother (V.F. Kokoshkin), excerpts and speeches of the jurist, and the opinions of his contemporaries about him and his social, political, and legal activities.

4. Published documents of political parties and organizations, regulatory legal acts, draft laws developed in the early 20th century by representatives of the People's Freedom Party and the lower house of parliament; decrees, manifestos and other legal acts of the pre-revolutionary period. This group of sources includes: the Imperial Manifesto on the Improvement of the State Order of October 17, 1905, the Imperial Manifesto on the Dissolution of the State Duma and the Time of its Convocation in a New Composition of July 9, 1906, the Fundamental Laws of the Russian Empire of April 23, 1906, etc., as well as preparatory materials developed

by F.F. Kokoshkin, among which it is necessary to highlight the draft Fundamental and Electoral Laws of the Russian Empire, the draft reform of zemstvo self-government developed in the parliamentary faction of people's freedom; the draft amendments and additions to the regulations on provincial and district zemstvo institutions; the draft law «On the Structure of the Kingdom of Poland».

**The validity and reliability of the research results** are achieved due to the fact that the obtained conclusions: are based on the study of a wide range of representative (published and unpublished) sources and scientific research literature; are consistent with modern research methodology; reflect the views of proponents of the dominant approaches to understanding the state and law in legal science; are based on approaches recognized by the scientific community in the field of studying the history of political and legal doctrines, the theory and history of state and law, and other humanities - philosophy and history; and have been tested in publications and speeches at representative events.

**The scientific novelty of this dissertation** lies in its systematic historical and legal reconstruction of F.F. Kokoshkin's concept of a constitutional state and its practical implementation in the scholar's legislative work, which had not previously been the subject of independent study in the academic community. This is supported by the following results:

- archival documents from the collections of the State Archives of the Russian Federation, the Central State Archives of Ammunition, and the Regional Archives of the Russian State Library have been introduced into scholarly circulation for the first time, revealing new biographical pages in F.F. Kokoshkin's life; the scholar's works on specific political and legal issues, published in print media such as *Russkie Vedomosti* and *Nov'*;

- the content of the concepts of «state organ», «state power», «public recognition», «unions of states», «regional autonomy», «responsible ministry», «civil liberty», «legal norm», and «public proclamation» in F.F. Kokoshkin's views has been established;

– F.F. Kokoshkin's contribution to the legislative work of the first State Duma and the People's Freedom Party is revealed.

**The theses submitted for defense and possessing scientific novelty:**

1. Based on the analysis of archival sources, personal documents, and materials from political parties and organizations, this is the first time in historical and legal science that a periodization of F.F. Kokoshkin's development as a legal scholar specializing in state affairs has been formulated:

1) 1893–1903 – research and academic activities: training in the legal profession, work on a master's thesis, teaching at the Imperial Moscow University, the Tsarevich Alexei Lyceum, and the Moscow Society for the Dissemination of Commercial Education;

2) 1903–1904 – participation in zemstvo congresses and «semi-legal» political associations;

3) 1905–1906 – increased political activity as a member of the Constitutional Democratic Party and deputy of the first State Duma;

4) 1906–1908 – participation in the signing of the Vyborg Appeal, the criminal trial of former deputies and its consequences for the legal scholar;

5) 1908–1916 – engagement in journalism and teaching, work on bills related to the nationality question;

6) 1917–1918 – the final stage of F.F. Kokoshkin's life, associated with the resumption of political activity, holding the posts of Chairman of the Legal Conference under the Provisional Government, Chairman of the Special Conference for the Preparation of Regulations on Elections to the Constituent Assembly, and State Controller of the Provisional Government (which corresponds to paragraph 66 of the specialty passport 5.1.1).

2. It has been proven that F.F. Kokoshkin was one of the founders of the categorical apparatus of general state law. It has been established that the scholar introduced such categories into Russian legal scholarship as «state organ», «state power», «associations of states», «regional autonomy», «responsible ministry», «civil liberty», «public recognition» and «public proclamation». Among these

legal phenomena, the concepts of state power, regional autonomy, civil freedom and public proclamation have become recognized (which corresponds to paragraph 66 of the specialty passport 5.1.1).

3. The theoretical sources of the formation of the philosophical and legal foundations of F.F. Kokoshkin's views are identified:

- the legal scholar adopted the views of A.S. Alekseev on the issue of studying the legal nature of individual legal categories and the need to introduce a responsible ministry;

- in the context of the separation of powers, the scholar adhered to the tripartite concept of C.L. Montesquieu and defended J. Locke's position on the need to grant citizens inalienable rights and freedoms;

- studying the doctrines on the relationship of law to the state, the legal scholar developed the theories of the primacy of law, the primacy of the state, and the parallelism of law and state, agreeing with the opinion of G. Jellinek and L. Duguit and adhering to the concept of the simultaneous development of these phenomena;

- aligning himself with the ideas of M. Weber, the scholar similarly distinguished between the methods of creating law, classifying customs as traditional, laws as rational-legal, and the extraordinary form of legal formation in the form of public proclamation as charismatic;

- the legal scholar supported the methodological approaches of A.D. Gradovsky and M.M. Kovalevsky in identifying and resolving existing problems in the Russian state and had a similar range of research interests;

- his fellow members of the Cadet Party, S.A. Muromtsev, P.N. Milyukov, and I.I. Petrunkevich, influenced the scholar's development as a politician;

- the legal scholar became a follower of S.A. Muromtsev's philosophical ideas, defending the social origins of law (which corresponds to paragraph 66 of the specialty passport 5.1.1).

4. It is substantiated that F.F. Kokoshkin equated the concepts of «rule of law» and «constitutional state», calling the latter a practical form of expressing the

ideas of the former and without identifying specific criteria characterizing the rule of law as an independent phenomenon.

The following fundamental features of F.F. Kokoshkin's concept of a constitutional state are established, allowing it to be distinguished from an absolute state with the sole power of a monarch:

- popular representation;
- separation of powers.

Additional features of F.F. Kokoshkin's constitutional state are identified:

- guarantees for the implementation of the separation of powers;
- personal and political rights and freedoms of man and citizen;
- autonomy and federalism (by preserving the unity of the state while granting regional autonomy to ethnic outlying areas);
- a form of government in the form of a parliamentary republic (which corresponds to paragraphs 6 and 66 of the specialty passport 5.1.1).

5. The fundamental groups of human and civil rights and freedoms that are essential to F.F. Kokoshkin's model of the constitutional state have been established:

- the right to participate in the exercise of state power (political rights of citizens granted to a limited circle of individuals);
- the right to assistance or patronage of the authorities (state protection from offenses);
- civil liberty rights (personal rights of citizens).

It has also been revealed that F.F. Kokoshkin considered civil liberty an important legal category, classifying it within the sphere of public law and implying by it non-interference by the state in the sphere of individual free activity (which corresponds to paragraphs 11 and 66 of the specialty passport 5.1.1).

6. Identified on the basis of a comparative analysis of scientific works and draft laws developed by F.F. Kokoshkin, that the theoretical views of the scientist on popular representation, regional autonomy, separation of powers, rights and freedoms of citizens, the national question were reflected in his legislative activity

in the preparation of the drafts of the Basic Law of the Russian Empire (October 1904, July 1905), the Electoral Law (October 1904, July 1905), bills on civil equality (May 1906), on the immunity of deputies of the State Duma (June 1906), on the inviolability of the person, home and the secrecy of correspondence (May-June 1906), the law on local self-government (May-June, October-December 1906, January-April 1907), the law on the structure of the Kingdom of Poland (March 1906, September-December 1914, February-June 1915). (which corresponds to paragraph 43 of the specialty passport 5.1.1).

7. It has been established that the resolution of the nationality question was a key aspect of the practical implementation of F.F. Kokoshkin's concept of a constitutional state. It has been demonstrated that the scholar insisted on the unity of the Russian state, not the empire, distinguishing between these concepts and advocating for regional autonomy in Finland and Poland, the essence of which meant the independence of local legislative authorities from the center in matters of their jurisdiction.

The following factors of state unity in F.F. Kokoshkin's concept have been identified:

- legal factors (centralization and sovereignty);
- internal factors (folk psychology);
- external factors (material resources).

The key groups of rights that were to be granted to individual nationalities living in the territories of regional autonomies have been identified:

- equality of all before the law;
- the right to cultural self-determination, including the equality of languages, while maintaining the status of the Russian language as the national language (which corresponds to paragraphs 6, 11, and 43 of the specialty passport 5.1.1).

**Theoretical and practical significance of the dissertation.** The theoretical significance of the work lies in the fact that it systematizes scientific knowledge about the state-legal concept of F.F. Kokoshkin. The results of the study deepen understanding of the formation in Russian political and legal thought of the theory

of a constitutional, legal state, parliamentarism, separation of powers, federalism and autonomy. The practical significance of the study is determined by the possibilities of using its results: a) in the process of teaching courses on the history of political and legal doctrines, the history of the state and law of Russia, the theory of state and law, constitutional law, b) in the training of scientific and pedagogical personnel in the scientific specialty 5.1.1. «Theoretical and historical legal sciences», c) in research activities dedicated to the political and legal doctrines of the late 19th - early 20th centuries and closely related theoretical and legal problems.

**Validation of the research results.** The main content and conclusions of the dissertation were discussed at meetings of the Scientific Center of the Nizhny Novgorod Institute of Management – a branch of RANEPА – and are being used in educational programs for seminars on the courses «History of Political and Legal Doctrines» and «History of the State and Law of Russia» at Tambov State University named after G.R. Derzhavin.

The results of the study were reflected in 15 scientific publications of the author (5 of which – in peer-reviewed scientific publications included in the list determined by the Higher Attestation Commission under the Ministry of Science and Higher Education of the Russian Federation for the publication of the main scientific results of dissertation research), as well as in reports at scientific conferences of various levels (national and international): «Modern issues of state, law, legal education» (Tambov, December 22 2022, 2023, 2024), «State and Law: evolution, current state, development prospects» (St. Petersburg, April 27-28, 2023, April 24-25, 2025), «Comparative Law and Comparative Law in the context of the past, present, and future» (Penza, October 23-24, 2024), «Formation and development of the legal profession: legacy of generations» (Tambov, November 22-23, 2024), «Current issues of law through the eyes of young researchers» (Ryazan, February 6, 2025), «Formation and development of the legal profession: legacy of generations» (Tambov, November 22-23, 2024), «Current issues of law through the eyes of young researchers» (Ryazan, February 6, 2025), «Formation

and State development in the face of external and internal challenges» (Penza, April 2, 2025), «Law and Politics: History and Modernity» (Omsk, May 15-16, 2025).

**The structure of a dissertation** is determined by the purpose and objectives of the research. It includes an introduction, three chapters comprising eleven sections, conclusions and recommendations, and a list of references and bibliography.