

Summaries and keywords

Makarenko V.P. Reading Hanna Arendt: bureaucracy and power (Part II)

Summary: For the first time in the Russian-language scientific literature, the concept of bureaucracy Hannah Arendt was reconstructed in connection with her approach to the analysis of power as a phenomenon that confronts violence. The author applies to the analysis of the method of deep reading and conceptual routine and raises many questions related to the interpretation of Arendt's ideas. The problem of applying the Arendt concept to the study of Russian power and bureaucracy is posed.

Keywords: Hannah Arendt, bureaucracy, power.

Majatsky M.A. Towards to a flexible code: the languages of social sciences in pursuit of an elusive object

Summary: How to deal with the growing mutual misunderstanding of social sciences? To build further on a multi-lingual Babel tower or try to create (knowingly poor) Esperanto? What does «the proper language of science» mean today, when most researchers are professionalized through several sciences, often combine them in their work, and teach different disciplines? Today, practically nobody uses the language of only one scientific discipline. Similarly, science has lost its linguistic rigour, opened to intrusions from other sciences. V. Bibikhin stressed the danger that every special scientific language conceals: to pretend to impersonate the language of thought as such. All three of his favorite thinkers — Heidegger, Wittgenstein, Derrida — consciously built their own idiom to avoid the jargon of any science, may it be even philosophy.

Its author traces also other components of the «code of the epoch»: mobility; fluidity (recently, that of status, or of identity); hybrid and symbiotic character of patriotism and globalization (with schizophrenic distribution of discourses); intense communication between the metropolitan Russia and the Russian diaspora; various belated effects of the end of communism (such as deep suspicion of any «common» or «high» idea). For philosophy, especially profound threats come from the rehabilitation of the «opinion» (doxa) to the detriment of «truth» and the end of the era of the epokhê, abstinence from utterance, judgment. The logic of abstinence contradicts to the tempo of utterance and to the parrhesia, i.e. the free speaking whatever you think.

Keywords: modern free-thinking, anthropological catastrophe, the language of philosophy and science, manipulative strategies, the end of the epokhê.

Demin I.V. Conservatism of Borders: On the Issue of “Common Denominator” of Various Types of Conservatism

Summary: The article is devoted to the problem of finding the “common denominator” of the various interpretations and types of conservatism. The main manifestations of “conservative spirit” (fundamental conservatism, liberal conservatism, social conservatism, and revolutionary conservatism) are viewed and the foundations of criticism of the liberal-progressivist thinking in the

context of four types of conservatism are revealed. The insufficiency of traditional answers to the question about the integral characteristics of conservatism is shown.

Keywords: conservatism, typology of conservatism, traditionalism, liberal conservatism, social conservatism, conservative revolution.

Kuznetsov A.M. Ethnopolitical Dimension of Formation of a New International Order: Some Issues of the Study

Summary: This paper explores ethnic dimension of International Relations. This dimension comprises various phenomena such as ethnic separatism and ethnic conflicts or ethnic minorities' claims for independence. The importance of ethnic dimension for a new world order formation can be better understood if we remember that there are nearly 200 nation-states in the world that host more than 5000 different ethnic groups. It is possible to conclude that there are no other opportunities except to move away from direct relationship between ethnic/national revival and ethnic separatism. We need to give an adequate response to ethnic challenge and prevent the world from slipping into "new feudalism".

Keywords: world order, complexity, ethnos, ethnicity, ethnic group, nation building.

Martianov V.S. The Political Order of Modernity in the Context of the Rent Transformation of Capitalism

Summary: The article argues that interrelated market models, constant economic growth and high labor employment experience increase difficulties. In the course of robotization, people are excluded from the technological chains, the market gives way to the state, the ability to work for the majority increasingly ceases to be a key source of existence, and the long-term continuation of global economic growth is not obvious. The model of the social state does not cope with new superfluous people, and social stratification increasingly begins to be determined not by the usefulness of people in the market, but by their value to the state that distributes political rents and resources. The Russian peripheral Modernity, in the situation of domination of natural rent's sources, demonstrates these rent-class shifts in its structure and the rematch of the natural state model with the greatest intensity. It is argued that potential challenges to the rent-class political order may come from multiplying precarious groups and superfluous people, excluded both from the market and from access to socio-political rents.

Keywords: crisis of the market, Modernity, political order, precariat, rent, rental transformation, stratification, new estates, periphery, neo-patrimonialism.

Fan I.B. Mass Consciousness and Symbolic Politics

Summary: Investigating the problem of identifying the reasons for the specifics of modernization in present-day Russia, the author focuses on the state of mass consciousness of Russians characterized by fragmentation, archaism, catastrophic attitudes, and admissibility of violence, social mistrust, and disbelief in the future. Such a consciousness is postcolonial. The author reveals two types of factors influencing the current situation: the historical inertia of the imperial (Russian and Soviet) culture; actively constructing a new state ideology through a special symbolic policy. The first type of factors in the concepts of multiple modernities (Sh. Eisenstadt, J. Arnason, R. Tucker) and the theory of internal colonization (A. Etkind) is described as an "imperial heritage". The political regime in present-day Russia is seen as post-imperial and post-communist. At the same time, a special symbolic policy aimed at constructing state ideology is

carried out in the public sphere. The author explores the elements of conservative ideology, shows their meaning, functions, political consequences.

Keywords: mass consciousness, symbolic politics, state ideology, political modernization, imperial culture, political order, political mythology, nationalism.

Startsev Y.Y. Problematisation of Corruption in Public Political Discourse: a Quantitative Approach

Summary: The article contains a quantitative content analysis of the array of statements of seven opinion leaders related to the problem of corruption. The object of the study was Internet blogs and texts of official interviews and speeches (blogs by M. Kats, A. Navalny, N. Starikov, I. Strelkov, S. and A. Udaltsov, transcripts of S. Kurginyan's online lectures, transcripts of press conferences and addresses of the President RF). Frequency semantic models of each of the studied text arrays are constructed, their structure and correlation with each other are revealed. The result of the study was a comparative characteristic of the structure of anti-corruption discourse in relation to the studied textual arrays.

Keywords: corruption, political discourse, public opinion.

Klyamkin I.M. Russia-Ukraine: a chronicle of events and a thematic commentary (2014–2017)

Summary: In the publication is presented the selected materials from the diary, which the author has been working on in Facebook since 2014. From the variety of topics touched upon, it was those to select that are relating to the events in Ukraine — the Maidan, the revolutionary change of power in Kiev, the accession of Russia to the Crimea, the actions in Donetsk and Lugansk as well as the perception of these events in Russia. It is implied not only perception by its leadership and other officials, but also by society on the whole — by both broad layers of the population and various intellectuals. In the center of author's attention are such phenomena as the mass and elite “crimnashism” (Crimea-is-ours-ism), the cult of “truth” (“our power is in truth”) which dominates over all moral and legal concepts and disavows these concepts, and the “alternative civilization”, the meaning of which reveals itself in the statements of its ideologists regarding Ukrainian events and in the reaction of Russia to them. In the I.M. Klyamkin's publication, much attention is paid to the problem that has manifested itself in these events, namely, to the problem of the rights of society, with respect to the democratic elected lawful authority, if the latter violates the law with the connivance of the legal institutions depending on this authority. The Facebook format has predetermined the polemical nature of the most authors' texts.

Keywords: Russian-Ukrainian relations, chronicle, Maydan, accession of the Crimea to Russia, the Donetsk People's Republic (DPR or DNR), Luhansk People's Republic (LPR or LNR).

Nikolsky S.A. On the architecture of Russian government and society, or Games with the Snake Gorynych

Summary: For more than three hundred years Russia has been judged concerning its evolution as “walking in a circle”, moving “on the track” or “marking time”, and if short-term development periods occur, they are categorized as having a “catching-up character”. Why is this so? In the author's opinion, the case is in the three historical constants of Russian life: “empire”, “autocracy” and “property / lack of ownership.” They are the primary, basic and fundamental in relation to other

phenomena, for example, to such widely discussed as democracy, freedom and human rights, the separation of powers, the rule of law or civil society.

Keywords: society, power, empire, autocracy, property, philosophy, political science, history, culture, personality.

Haitun S.D. The Phenomenon of the Russian Nomenclature

Summary: The article is a summary with additions to the main theses of the monograph “Nomenclature against Russia: An evolutionary dead end”. It is shown that officials are pulled into the social system denoted by the term “nomenclature”, into the privileges based on their collective (i.e. belonging to nomenclature) property. This is a special form of property formed at the expense of private and state property, and that makes the nomenclature a selfish enemy of the bulk of the population and the market, and its management of the country makes mediocre and extremely expensive. The nomenclature has already destroyed the USSR, and now it is ruining Russia. In economics, this is manifested in the fact that, as an enemy of private property, the nomenclature de facto destroys the market. The solution is to abolish the privileges of officials, that is, they should be equalized in this respect with the rest of the population. Boris Yeltsin “forgot” to do this, and we have today in Russia what we have. Lee Kuan Yew in Singapore canceled the privileges of officials and that allowed him to defeat corruption. “Solidarity” also abolished the privileges of officials, and things are going better in Poland.

Keywords: social system, nomenclature, nomenclature property, privileges of officials, the Soviet nomenclature, the Russian nomenclature, the Chinese nomenclature, the Chinese way, corruption, oligarchs, Boris Yeltsin, Lee Kuan Yew, “Solidarity”.

Lubsky A.V., Kolesnikova E.Y. Mental Programs and Models of Political Behavior in Russian Society

Summary: The article reveals the conceptual content of reflective and non-reflective structures of mental programs that determine the modal and normative models of political behavior in Russian society. An idea of the normative type of personality in Russia is given, and in the mental matrix of that personality such basic values as state, power, order, authority, “to be like everyone”, justice, and the specific features of political behavior in Russian society are described as modalities. On the basis of cognitive construction, features of liberal, liberal-etatistic, conservative and etatistic-liberal versions of the modal model of political behavior in contemporary Russian society are revealed.

Keywords: mental program, mental matrix, social behavior, political behavior, modal model of social behavior, normative model of social behavior, liberal model of social behavior, conservative model of social behavior, liberal-etatistic model of social behavior, etatistic-liberal model of social behavior.

Kara-Murza A.A. The concept of “Russian northernerdom” in the heroic odes by G.R. Derzhavin (on the issue of Russian identity)

Summary: This article explores the valuable contribution the Russian poet and state-man Gavriil Romanovitch Derzhavin (1743–1816) made to creation of the concept of “Russian Northernerdom” as a meaningful “identification matrix” which played a significant role in the geopolitical, philosophical and ideological thought of the 18th and the first third of 19th centuries.

And only in the middle of the 19th century, as the “classical” Russian dispute between “Westerners” and “Slavophiles” begun, this concept was pushed back into the distance.

Keywords: history of Russia, national identity, geopolitics, Russian northernerdom, westernism, culture, literature.

Aronson O.V. Economics of contagion (notes on the Leo Tolstoy's theory of art)

Summary: In the article, the Leo Tolstoy's essay “What is art?” is analyzed in the context of the late socio-critical period of the writer's work and his concept of simple living. In this perspective, the famous “infection theory” can be interpreted antipsychologically in economic and ethical categories, and Tolstoy's aesthetics itself becomes the vehicle of ethics and economics at the level of sensuality. This further emphasizes the correlation of Tolstoy's ideas with Proudhon's “economy of poverty”.

Keywords: aesthetics, art, infection, society, social criticism, economics, poverty, simple living, Leo Tolstoy, Proudhon.

Mininkov N.A. The Relevance of Alexander Schmemann's Diaries in the Year of the Centenary of the Revolution

Summary: The publication of Alexander Schmemann' diaries allows us to get acquainted with the church life of the Russian emigration. It gives an opportunity to understand the personality of an outstanding thinker and his estimation of the processes that took place in 1973–1983 in the emigrant environment and in the development of Soviet culture. Some remarks by A. Schmemann about the processes in the life of Soviet society, about the youth and the mission of church are very precise and of interest. This concerns his remarks about the new Slavophilism in the USSR, about youth conformism and the church archaism. According to V.P. Makarenko, A. Schmemann acted as a radical 'contestator' (objector). This can give an idea of the possible place of the person in today's Russian society which is in a historical impasse.

Keywords: A. Shmemann's diaries, Orthodox Church in emigration.

Korenevsky A.V. Comprehension of “Byzantinism” in the public and innermost texts of Protopresbyter Alexander Schmemann

Summary: The article is devoted to the analysis of the views of protopresbyter Alexander Schmemann on the role and significance of the Byzantine tradition in the Orthodox religious consciousness and ecclesiastical life. These views can be considered as a direct continuation and sui generis epilogue of sesquicentennial Russian “Byzantine heritage” debate which was started by P. Chaadaev. The author focuses on a comparative analysis of Schmemann's outgivings on “Byzantinism” in his published works and “Diaries”; the author concludes that despite the seeming discrepancies between Schmemann's public and diary statements on “Byzantinism”, they do not contradict each other and are solely due to differences of discourses.

Keywords: protopresbyter Alexander Schmemann, Byzantinism, Orthodoxy, church, theocracy, romanization.

Khalilov T.A. Political Order and the Problem of Ideology

Summary: The published material is an information-analytical report on the All-Russian Scientific Conference “Political Order and the Problem of Ideology”, held on 2017 May 18–19, at the Southern Federal University (Rostov-on-Don, Russia). The participants of the scientific conference was made an attempt to analyze the next key problems: cult of the state and social order (V.P. Makarenko); post-truth as an expression of information cynicism in politics (K.M. Cwynar); political and ideological consequences of rent transformation of the social structure of Russian society (V.S. Martyanov); ideological needs of the Russian elite (L.G. Fishman); mass consciousness and symbolic politics (I.B. Fan); right-radical ideologemes in student consciousness (S.P. Potseluev, M.S. Konstantinov); conceptualization of the main political cleavage between “pochvenniki” (Russian native soil conservatives) and “zapadniki” (Russian pro-Western liberals) (Y.Yu. Startsev); subjects, regimes and effects of institutionalization of political order in post-Soviet Russia (T.A. Khalilov), etc. The presentation of monographs and journals of the Institute of Philosophy and Law of the Ural Branch of the Russian Academy of Sciences was held within the framework of the scientific conference.

Keywords: political order, political ideology, Russian power, bureaucratic state, political alienation, political language, game rules.