

Summaries and keywords

Makarenko V.P. The Problem of the Poisonous Fruits of Socialism: Michel Foucault's Lessons in the Context of the Soviet Experience

Summary: Michel Foucault considered fear of the state and of the atomic threat as a constant feature of modernity: “The state and the atomic threat – better the atomic threat than the state, or the state no better than the atomic threat, or the state that presupposes the atomic threat, or the atomic threat that presupposes and necessarily entails the state.” In other words, the French thinker identified five configurations of fear toward the state, in which the atomic threat, after the bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, became an integral component.

To analyze these configurations, Foucault developed the concepts of progressive etatization and commercial etatization. Progressive etatization refers to the perception and definition of the state as the result of a regime of governance. According to Foucault, progressive etatization involves analyzing the state as an effect of a mode of governing – while simultaneously rejecting essentialist and organic metaphors. The state has no essence, no heart or internal organs; it is neither a universal nor an autonomous source of power. The state is an effect, a contour, a mobile cross-section of continuous etatization – of ceaseless interactions that transform sources and methods of financing and investment, centers of decision-making, forms and types of control, and relationships between local and central authorities. Commercial etatization, in turn, is a modern form of the closed corporate state.

Both concepts are introduced to critique three centuries of state governance (18th–20th centuries). Foucault believed that this system of governance failed to resolve the tensions between law and order, the state and civil society, politics and life.

This article raises the problem of systematizing the parallels between Michel Foucault's research findings, the writings of Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn, and the historiographical reflections of Mikhail Gefter in explaining the causes of this state of affairs.

Keywords: poisonous fruits of socialism, concepts of Michel Foucault, Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn, Mikhail Gefter.

Sukharev M.V. The Power of Social Institutes

Summary: Social institutions are the rules of behavior in society. But people (and organizations) constantly violate these rules if they are very interested in it. In addition, different rules of behavior sometimes apply simultaneously in society, for example, official law and public opinion. Thus, a person falls into the field of action of opposing forces when institutions act on a person (or an organization) in various directions. The rules of behavior cannot act on their own, in order to put them into effect, human activity is required to bring these rules to the attention of society, convince them of the need to comply with them, monitor their implementation and punish those who do not comply with the rules. The article suggests using socially necessary time spent by people (usually

acting as part of organizations) to maintain it as a measure of the institute's capacity. Also, the amount of money spent on maintaining this institution can be a measure of the capacity of the institute. On the basis of judicial statistics of the Russian Federation, an assessment of the capacity of a number of formal institutions (laws) was carried out.

Keywords: institutional power, social institutions, institutional economics, economic agent, investment climate.

Ivannikov I.A. Interpretations of the State in Modern Theory and Practice

Summary: The state is one of the most complex social institutions. Throughout its history, it has undergone significant transformations, evolved, and become increasingly conducive to the development of individual freedom. The purpose of this article is to formulate the most suitable definition of the state, taking into account both theoretical perspectives and practical considerations. The definition is proposed following a brief overview of various approaches to conceptualizing the state and an identification of its key characteristics.

The state is presented as a historically developed sovereign organization of public political power in society, tasked with safeguarding the established legal order and its values, as well as regulating economic and other social processes within the boundaries of national territory.

Keywords: state, state power, approaches to defining the state, state sovereignty, national territory.

Neretina S.S. Thaw – Stagnation – Sunday – Frost

Summary: In this work, reflections on the second half of the twentieth century and the first two decades of the twenty-first century are presented through the prism of the author's memoirs, insofar and insofar as the author was a participant in the described time. This should be correlated with the book “Philosophical loneliness”, the articles “The Time of turning points” (Political Concept. 2023. No. 1) and “Dissenters” (Philosophical generations. Moscow, 2022). Reflections relate primarily to the problems of attitudes to the past, changes and stalling of consciousness. The task of modernity is to correlate thought and action with epochs lost in the archaeological sense and the impending new, to which we attribute our own and inherited customs, signs and symbols, without knowing their own meaning. Understanding these issues requires distinguishing between levels of activity: an instant reaction and an imperceptible change in mindset. The urgent need for such distinctions is a sign of a deep social crisis in need of critical thought.

Keywords: thaw, crisis, dissidence, outsider, reaction, stagnation, revolution, war, rehabilitation, generation.

Rozin V.M. Reflections on Two Works by M.Ya. Gefter (On the Thirtieth Anniversary of His Death)

Summary: This article offers commentary on two works by Mikhail Gefter: *There Will Be No Third Millennium* and *Stalin Died Yesterday*. The author notes a convergence of views with Gefter, particularly in their understanding of the methodology of history. Several issues that arise from reading these works are discussed: Gefter's conception of history as a series of local histories, each with its own beginnings and endings; differing approaches to reconstructing the personalities of Lenin and Stalin; and Gefter's proposed explanation of the logic behind the Russian Revolution.

The article outlines a methodological framework for addressing these issues, which involves the analysis of two objects: first, Gefter himself, as a scholar examining Russian history and its key

figures (Lenin, Stalin, etc.); and second, the author of this article, who analyzes and reflects upon Gefter's works. The author suggests that Gefter's reconstruction opens a perspective for resolving Russia's developmental deadlock: not revolution but evolution; not a unitary state but a federation – one thoughtfully designed and supported by a new social order and legal framework.

The final part of the article presents a brief historical self-identification of the author. Drawing on personal history and an analysis of the life of Emanuel Swedenborg, the author outlines his own understanding of history and historical methodology, emphasizing the overlaps with Gefter's perspective.

Keywords: history, time, past, future, reconstruction, facts, thinking, methodology, leaders, state.

Rodoman B.B. The Feeling of the State

Summary: Boris Borisovich Rodoman studied issues that connect theoretical geography with a broad corpus of the humanities, which also includes reflection on the phenomenon of the state. One vivid example of this is the series of his articles published in the present issue.

Keywords: Rodoman, geography, state, images of the state, mass consciousness, patriotism, morality.

Andresky St. Chapters 14–20 from the Book “Wars, Revolutions, Dictatorships: Studies of Historical and Contemporary Problems from a Comparative Viewpoint”

Summary: The journal “Political Conceptology” publishes the translation of chapters fourteen to twenty from Stanislav Andresky's book “Wars, Revolutions and Dictatorships: A Study of Historical and Contemporary Problems from a Comparative Point of View”.

Keywords: Stanislav Andreski, theoretical legacy, comparative studies of wars, revolutions, and dictatorship.