

## **Summaries and keywords**

### **Rubtsov A.V. Civilization Choice in the Post-Soviet Context: Real and False Goals**

*Summary:* The paper presents the analysis of the problem concerning civilization choice as the need to change the vector of development — overcome fatal depending on commodity export and import of goods and technologies. The author examines the institutional and political reasons for the hidden escape from the problem and the replacement of it by a kind of conservative idealism with explicit traditionalist slant. The ideology of an ambitious raw material appendage is regarded in the light of the development of external traits of post-colonial consciousness with signs of narcissistic disorder. Revealed simulations of identity in this kind of ideology demonstrate increasing exhaustion in conditions of search of exit from postmodernity.

*Keywords:* civilizational choice, commodity dependence, changing vector of development, course change of official ideology, postcolonialism, narcissistic disorder on the subject level, exit from postmodernity.

### **Kuznetsov A.M. Some General Issues of Theory and Epistemology in the Analysis of Dynamics and Autopoiesis of Social and Political Systems Reproduction**

*Summary:* It is noted in the article questions of stability and development of social and political systems haven't received adequate attention in literature yet. One of the reasons of this situation was postmodern challenge under the influence of which concepts of political, socio-political systems, actually, have been discredited. However in the sphere of natural sciences system paradigm continued to develop successfully. Bad experience of using natural-science developments for the solution of social and humanitarian problems and attempts of creation socio-political systems theories on the basis of the ideas of sociology and political sciences can be overcome due to use of concepts general scientific character. Their further implementation into social and political sphere must be made by taking into account her anthropological measurement, acceptance of a role the environment and returning to correct understanding of structure systems. With this consideration in mind concepts of complexity, an autopoiesis, operational isolation and observation can be used for the decision at the new level of problem of stability and reproduction of social political systems.

*Keywords:* social and political system, system paradigm, autopoiesis, observation.

### **Letnyakov D.E. Anti-Communist Revolution of 1991: Towards a Demarginalization of the Term**

*Summary:* The article argues that it is possible to use the concept of “revolution” relative to the events of Perestroika and the collapse of the Soviet Union. The author critically analyzes the

terminological alternatives proposed in academia (coup, counter-revolution, revolution from above, etc.), as well as the arguments that the collapse of the USSR didn't look like a classical revolution. In addition, the paper attempts to determine the character and time frame of the anti-communist revolution.

*Keywords:* revolution, Perestroika, anti-Communism, collapse of the USSR, nationalism, post-Soviet states.

**Ratz M.V., Kotelnikov S.I., Sleptsov B.G. Power or Governance? Chapter 6. A Kind of Conclusion. What Do We Want from the Authorities and What Should We Do Ourselves to Implement Our Wishes?**

*Summary:* The article completes the series of publications of the authors in the years 2014 — 2017. Some questions of the methodology of social transformations are considered, primarily in connection with the problem of Russia's exit from the “rut” of successive reforms and counter-reforms. The specifics of working with social ideals, in contrast to directly implemented social projects, are discussed. The notion of the ideal of Development is introduced and its most important aspects are considered. Development and Right are proposed as the constitutional regulation framework for ideology and politics.

*Keywords:* methodology, social transformations, Russia, ideals, Development, Right, ideology, policy/politics.

**Davydov A.P. Russia: Socio-Cultural Foundations of the Moscow-Horde Politarian Complex of Managing Power (XII century – 1917)**

*Summary:* This article — about the syncretic mechanism of “power-property-management”, which originated in the Vladimir-Suzdal principality in the XII century. This system was finally formed in the Moscow-Horde imperial-tribal way of managing the country in the XIII–XIV–XV centuries. It was a political support of the Moscow kingdom / Russian empire over the next centuries and remained in Soviet and then in post-Soviet Russia almost unchanged. This pre-state control mechanism has a permanent structure — “autocracy”, “serfdom”, “corrupt official”. In this article, it is referred to as “politarian” (the term of the historian Yu.I. Semenov). The growing split between the politarian system and democratic shifts in the course of the anti-serf reform on February 19, 1861, the Stolypin reform (1906–1911), the liberalization of the government in accordance with the manifesto of October 17, 1905, the events of 1917 is analyzed. 1861–1917 they did not win — the stratum of the historically formed ordinary consciousness was too large. The Bolshevik revolution was the victory of the most soil of all the revolutionary parties that fought for power in 1905–1917 and, therefore, most interested in preserving the Russian politarian system. It is assumed to continue the study of the Russian politarian system in the Soviet and post-Soviet modifications with the formation of the methodology for its reform.

*Keywords:* Russia, power, property, management, monopolies, pre-state elements, reform of 1861, Stolypin reform, manifesto October 17, 1905, revolution of 1917, oligarchs.

**Derluguian G.M. The Highland Princes, Party Protégés and Tomato Dealers: Two Hundred Years of Social Evolution of the Adyghe Elite**

*Summary:* In the article, on the basis of a wide range of historical materials and the results of sociological observations, the power and managerial design of Adygheya is analyzed. The author

believes that for the time being in Adygheya and in the nearby centers (Krasnodar, the resorts of the Black Sea Coast) a new anti-elite is being formed — the Adyghe gangsters and racketeers acting on the already divided illegal space patriarchally united and very cruel.

*Keywords:* Adygheya, shadow economy, tribalism, world system, nepotism, anti-elite, provincialism.

### **Sinelnikova E.F. Legislative and Regulatory Framework of Relations between Authorities and Scientific Societies in the First Post-revolutionary Years**

*Summary:* The article is devoted to the study of legislative and regulatory framework for the relationship between government and scientific societies in the initial period of the history of the Soviet state and law, when there was a revolutionary renewal of statehood during social, political and economic transformations. The study is based on archival sources from the funds of scientific societies and scientific and administrative power bodies stored in the State Archives of the Russian Federation and the Central State Archives of St. Petersburg. In addition, the article focuses on the first legislative acts of the Soviet government, which defined the conditions and regulated the functioning of scientific societies. The study of legislative and regulatory acts adopted in the period from October 1917 to August 1922, allows identifying features of the relationship of scientific societies and the Soviet government at the initial stage of the formation of the state organization of science.

*Keywords:* Scientific societies, legislative and regulatory regulation, power and society, administrative practice, history of national science, the first post-revolutionary years, Soviet power, Provisional Government.

### **Rizhinashvili A.L., Volkova A.S. “Protective Painting” in Hydrobiology: the Scientist's Compromise between the Ideology of Conquest and Environmental Attitudes in the 1930s – 1940s in the USSR**

*Summary:* It is well known that Russian mass consciousness identifies ecology science and environmental practice. The roots of this identification have a basis in the special nature of the activities of environmentalists in the USSR during The great terror (1930–1940-ies). In order to defend their right to independent research, they tried to promote and implementation environmental principles. In the conditions of the ideology of conquest of nature imposed by the authorities, scientists used a model of behavior called “protective coloring”. On the example of program of works hydrobiologist V.I. Zhadin is shown evident protection of environmental facilities business ecologist, applied sincerely share the official views. From the very beginning Zhadin appeared in his works in such a way that later under ideological pressure he did not have to make significant concessions and repent of his own beliefs. All this not only allowed him to work calmly in turbulent times, but also to carry out valuable environmental proposals. It is assumed that sincere service to the ideology of the restructuring of nature saved the scientist and his research team from repression.

*Keywords:* totalitarian regime, “cultural revolution”, history of ecology, history of Hydrobiology, V.I. Zhadin.

### **Klyamkin I.M. Monitoring Political Developments: Facts and Comments**

*Summary:* We continue to publish the Facebook diary texts by Professor I.M. Klyamkin. This issue includes entries from September to November 2018, the author continues to consider the

intention of the Russian authorities to implement the technological and social-economic breakthrough and the preparation for its implementation, evaluates the prospects of this policy, financial security which is largely entrusted to the people. In foreign policy, I.M. Klyamkin still pays a lot of attention to the Ukrainian direction — the published texts analyze the events that demonstrate the finally obvious inconsistency of positions in the Minsk-Normandy negotiation format and the exhibition of the peacekeeping potential of this format. The Ukrainian theme is also touched upon in critical notes about the mentality in the Russian liberal environment, where the incomplete of Ukrainian reforms is beginning to be interpreted as their failure. The author is also interested in the dynamics of public sentiment in a number of other texts — in particular, concerning Russian history and perception of its various aspects. I.M. Klyamkin was actively engaged in the network discussions during the the 25<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the tragic events of the autumn of 1993 involving his texts of previous years to justify the protected position. Another selection of I.M. Klyamkin's notes deserves, in our opinion, consideration of those who are interested in what is happening in the country and its conceptualization.

*Keywords:* Russia, Ukraine, technological breakthrough, Minsk agreements, Donbass election, Russian liberals.

#### **Shashkova Ya.Yu., Devyatiyarova A.I. Parties and Elections in the Altai Territory in the 1990s – early 2010s**

*Summary:* The article analyzes the status and functions of parties in the Russian political system as well as reveals the reasons for their differences from the Western version which was borrowed during the political transformations of the 1990s. Based on data on the composition of party factions in the region parliaments of Western Siberia and sociological surveys, the authors prove the discrepancy between the formal and informal institutional content of Russian parties. The thesis of the close relationship between the transformation of Russian parties into channels for promoting particular or business interests, their active use of modern marketing methods of political activity, and the steady de-legitimization of this institution in the mass consciousness is substantiated.

*Keywords:* political parties, political institutions, party functions, political transformations, regions of Western Siberia.

#### **Lyubarev A.E., Shpagin S.A. Party Reform and Dynamics of Inter-party Competition in Regional Elections 2012–2018**

*Summary:* The article analyzes how the party reform of 2012, which increased the number of political parties in the country, influenced the results of elections and the composition of regional parliaments in 2012–2018. It is shown that in 2012–2013, when parties were freely admitted to the elections, inter-party competition increased, but this had little impact on party representation in the legislative bodies of the regions. After the majority of parties were again required to collect voters' signatures for admission to the elections in 2014, inter-party competition began to decline, and the dominance of United Russia increased. This trend changed only in 2018 due to changes in the political situation in the country.

*Keywords:* regional elections, political parties, the effective number of parties.

### **Korgunyuk Yu.G. Party Reform and Changes in the Structure of Electoral Dissociations**

*Summary:* The article analyzes from the perspective of the cleavage theory the results of elections to regional assemblies by party lists (2012–2014). It is stated that increasing number of electoral participants led to multiplication of political dimensions and, indirectly, of electoral cleavages. From this point of view, the 2012–2014 regional elections are regarded as an experimental field for running new ways of providing electoral results the Kremlin needed. Increased political competition in some regions is interpreted as an effect not so much of new participants' appearance as of easing the pressure on voters dependent on the state. It is also noted that the tendency to tightening the requirements for election participants since 2014 immediately led to a decrease in the number of electoral and especially political cleavages.

*Keywords:* cleavage theory, political parties, electoral cleavages, political cleavages, elections to regional assemblies.

### **Mikhaleva G.M. Party Reform and Regional Party Systems**

*Summary:* Moscow is a capital with an abundance of resources, concentration of capital and elite, increased activity of citizens, so the elections here have a test character for the whole country. Deep social divisions and regional heterogeneity play a significant role. In addition, any elections in Moscow are related to the Federal agenda. By the rigidity of electoral authoritarianism, Moscow is ahead of many regions of the country, to ensure the desired result; the authorities use a wide range of different resources here. Despite the mass protests that preceded the elections to the Moscow city Duma in 2014, the authorities managed to ensure the necessary result without using falsifications: no representative of the non-parliamentary opposition received a mandate.

*Keywords:* Moscow, elections, heterogeneity, administrative resource, mayor, Moscow city Duma, mass protests, political machine, election campaign, turnout, known result.

### **Kiselev K.V. Sverdlovsk Region: Atypical Typicality**

*Summary:* The article analyzes the political processes that took place in the Sverdlovsk region in the electoral cycle of 2011–2016. The technologies used in the elections are investigated in detail. It shows how the processes were gaining momentum, which ultimately led to the fact that the Sverdlovsk region gradually lost its political uniqueness. The article uses the data of the initiative post-electoral research conducted after the completion of the election of the Head of Yekaterinburg-Chairman of the Yekaterinburg City Duma, in which E. Roizman won.

*Keywords:* Sverdlovsk region, political parties, elections, E. Roizman, political technologies, political identity.

### **Shashkova Ya.Yu. Parties and Elections in the Altai Territory in the 1990s – early 2010s**

*Summary:* The article analyzes the trends of party and electoral processes in the Altai Region, shows the impact on them of the socio-economic and socio-cultural characteristics of the region, monocentric political regime. Based on data on the activities of party organizations and electoral statistics, the author characterizes the party field of the Altai Region of the 1990s–2010s as limited, structured and stable. The thesis was proved the change of electoral ratings of parliamentary parties in the region in the 2010s was connected neither the emergence of new parties nor a change in the

value preferences of voters. It was associated with the disappointment of the population in the ability of the current government to solve the remaining socio-economic problems.

*Keywords:* political parties, elections, Altai Region.

### **Perfil'yev Yu.S. Elections to the Legislative Assembly of the Irkutsk Region in 2013**

*Summary:* The analysis of the results and the applied political technologies in the framework of the election campaign to the Legislative Assembly of the Irkutsk Region in 2013 is proposed. A content analysis of the content of the election platforms of political parties participating in the elections was conducted; the strengths and weaknesses of the election campaigns of each election participant were identified.

*Keywords:* political parties, elections, electoral process, political technology.

### **Yevdokimov N.A. Political Parties after the 2013 Elections in Bashkortostan**

*Summary:* The Republic of Bashkortostan is a region with a high level of control over electoral processes and a significant administrative resource. The branches of political parties in the republic are deprived of political independence. Attempts by parties to declare their own position actually lead to the fact that they are deprived of real political prospects and opportunities in the region. The processes taking place within the political elite of the Republic, as well as the specifics of the development of interethnic relations also have a significant impact on the development of the regional party system.

*Keywords:* Republic of Bashkortostan, political process, elections, regional party system, election campaign, electoral history, administrative resource.

### **Neretina S.S. About the Techniques of Thinking Speech by V.V. Bibikhin**

*Summary:* The article is devoted to the philosophy of the outstanding and internationally recognized Russian philosopher Vladimir Veniaminovich Bibikhin (1938–2004), whose ideas are the subject of numerous conferences, “round tables”, seminars, philosophy schools, articles by his colleagues, listeners and students. In this paper, the Bibikhin's philosophy is presented through the description of the techniques of his thinking speech: return, shrewdness, intimacy, interrogativeness, grasping, and delay effect. Bibikhin interested in the world as it is, the fullness of him. “Language of Philosophy”, “Forest”, “World”, “Property”, “Another beginning”, “The Internal Form of Word”, “Know Yourself”, “Changing Aspect” — all these books representing a record of thinker's lectures delivered at the philosophical faculty of Moscow State University. However, the topics deployed by Bibikhin's philosophy were much broader: “The ontological foundations of truth”, “State and law in the "Politics" of Aristotle and other authors”, “Race for the Being. Achilles and the tortoise”, “Search for one's own in "Alcibiades" by Plato” and more. The close relationship of the thinker with the ancient tradition, above all the Aristotelian is showed. Examples of critical analysis of his philosophy are given.

*Keywords:* Bibikhin, philosophy, technique, reversibility, aspect, energy, law, shrewdness, intimacy, interrogativeness, speech.

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**Bibikhin V.V. Excerpt from the First Section of the Book: An Introduction to the Philosophy of Law. — Moscow: Dmitry Pozharsky University, 2013**

*Summary:* The journal “Political Conceptology” publishes a fragment of the book by V.V. Bibikhin “Introduction to the Philosophy of Law”.

*Keywords:* Bibikhin, philosophy, law.

**Chebany K.V. Introduction to the Reading of Butler (Book Review on Irina Zherebkina, Sergey Zherebkin. War and Peace by Judith Butler. — Saint-Petersburg: Aleteia, 2018. — 157 P.**

*Summary:* The aim of the reviewed book is to introduce to the Russian speaking audience the contemporary American philosopher Judith Butler not only as a feminist and a queer theorist, but as a contemporary political philosopher who interprets contemporary politics and practices of resistance in terms of the new ontology of the social, the ontology of precarity, whose conceptual apparatus allows to productively research theoretical and practical issues which we are relevant in our post-Soviet political, economic and cultural context.

*Keywords:* political ontology, performativity, precarity, psychic life of power, radical democracy.