

Summaries and keywords

Makarenko V.P. The Problem of Developing the Theory of Bureaucracy: the Case of Russia

Summary: The article raises the problem of using transformations in Russia over the past three hundred years as a material for creating a theory of bureaucracy that differs from Weber's concept. This problem is solved on the basis of the application of concepts developed at the Rostov School of Political Sciences of the Southern Federal University (Russia). A conceptual apparatus is being developed that allows studying Russian, Soviet and post-Soviet bureaucracy in connection with the process of forming an opposition in Russia, which is free from stereotypes of bureaucratic activity, behavior and thinking. Such an opposition could not arise either in monarchical, Soviet, or post-Soviet Russia. The reasons are explained in the theory of bureaucracy, which contains a reconstruction of Marx's definition of bureaucracy as a social parasite organism, a reflection of many social contradictions and the embodiment of political alienation. The cognitive situation in modern Russia is discussed; ways for the researcher to circumvent the choice imposed on him by the post-Soviet government, the specifics of the genesis and structure of the police society in the country.

Keywords: Soviet bureaucracy, approaches to its research, ways of reproduction in modern Russia.

Buldaikov V.P. Towards a General Theory of the Crisis of the Empire

Summary: The author claims that the roots of the revolution lie deeper than allowed by the mentality of the Enlightenment. It should be considered in the paradigm of historical cyclicality, which produced especially large-scale and painfully affects to complexly organized imperial systems. As applied in Russia in the 17th – 20th centuries, the systemic crisis, with varying degrees of intensity, went through the following stages or levels: ethical, ideological, political, organizational, social, ochlocratic, recreational. It was a synergistic process, the chaotic course of which, in the final analysis, turns out to be dependent not on ideology and politics, but on the psychology of the masses. Its result was due to the fact that the masses, having exhausted all the possibilities of getting out of a critical situation, turned to historical experience, that they see. In Russia, it is associated mainly with the paternalistic type of worldview.

Keywords: Russia, empire, systemic crises, mass consciousness, radicalism, ideology, politics, ochlocracy, frustration, conformism.

Lysenko V.G. Cognition of the Alien as a Way of Self-Knowledge: The West, India, Russia (an Attempt at Xenology)

Summary: The article proposes a philosophical concept of “xenology” (the science of alien) as a way of knowing oneself through the knowledge of the culturally and civilizationally alien as a way of forming identity “self-construction”. The author formulates four principles of xenology.

First: we can realize our Self only through the “not-Me”, the other, the alien. Second: civilizational, cultural and national identity is actualized when confronted or in conflict with someone else's identity. For example, the Greeks realized themselves as “political animals” only against the background of “barbarians”. Third: our “self-construction” is already embedded in the very model of someone else. Fourth: the image of a stranger in a particular culture can serve as an important indicator of its level of development (tell me what your alien is, and I'll tell you what you are), as well as an instrument of both self-affirmation and self-understanding, self-esteem, self-criticism, and a stimulus for self-improvement.

As an illustration of these principles, the article offers nine models of the alien, highlighted on the material of the cultural history of two civilizations – European and Indian as well as in connection with the analysis of modern Russian reality. The models develop into a sequence that is determined by the movement from the biological to the social and cultural: xenophobic (ethological), mythological, model of antipodes, model of races, model of the initial state, passeist model, model of the natural state, heterotopic and universalist models. We humans, as a biological species, have a fear of the alien, but we rise above this fear with the help of social and cultural mechanisms that allow us to expand and deepen our identity from family, collective, ethnos, nation to the entire human race (presumption of humanity). In the conclusion of the article, the author examines the manipulation of “friend-foe” identities based on the xenophobic model in modern Russian political discourse.

Keywords: xenology, xenophobia, “self-construction”, identity, self-knowledge, biological, social, cultural, “friend or foe”, Russian political discourse.

Khrenov N.A. On the Psychological Interpretation of the Prehistory, History and Posthistory of Revolutionary Consciousness in Russia: How do “Gods” Arise in a Profane Society?

Summary: The article raises the question of the activity of the psychological factor in extreme situations taking place in the history of peoples, such as revolutions and wars. In the Russian science of the twentieth century, which is influenced by the ideas of Karl Marx, usually the study of such extreme situations is limited to the consideration of sociological, economic and political aspects. Less attention is paid to the effect of the psychological factor, since it is usually associated not with the collective, but with the individual principle, although it is extremely difficult to separate one from the other. This is a problem. Inattention to psychology in Russia is also explained by the boom, associated with the birth of an industrial or mass society in the XI century, the laws of functioning of which should be understood. As a result, there was a bias in science towards sociology. In addition, the underestimation of both the individual and the psychological principle of domestic science is due to K. Marx, whose theory is exhausted by social and economic factors. At the turn of the XX–XXI centuries, Russian science has outlived the underestimation of the psychological factor. One of the directions in these shifts can be considered the formation of social psychology as a science, which in its early stages was designated as the psychology of the masses. It is difficult to do without this science when the subject of research is the activities of politicians. Extreme historical situations, which were enough in the twentieth century, put people in the center of public attention who turn from ordinary ordinary politicians into leaders. As it happened in Russia with Lenin and Stalin. In this process of transformation of ordinary revolutionaries into leaders, not only the personal qualities of politicians – contenders for power are significant, but also the projections of ideal images of leaders, initially born in extreme situations in the mass consciousness, or, more precisely, in the unconscious of the masses. Leaders are, as a rule, supersensible images of the mass unconscious that take on a sensory image. Their emergence is a consequence of awakened mythological and symbolic thinking, which, as it often seems, no longer exists for a long time. However, such extreme situations as revolution and war actualize archetypes and myths, and leaders begin to

be perceived as “cultural heroes”, i. e. images of myth. In other words, “gods”. This process of the birth of “gods” in pre-revolutionary, revolutionary and post-revolutionary Russia can be illustrated by the biographies of Lenin and Stalin. The article traces how such a significant event in the history of Russia as the revolution of 1917, usually associated with the progress and aspiration of the people to the future, demonstrates regression on a psychological level, i. e. the displacement of later levels of thinking and the activation of more ancient archaic layers of consciousness. In order to explain this phenomenon, it is necessary to turn to the psychology of the masses or to social psychology as a science, which becomes the subject of this article.

Keywords: Russia, West, East, Byzantium, Russian Revolution, French Revolution, sociology, psychology, social psychology, ideology, mythology, cultural hero, leader, regression, Marx, Lenin, Stalin, chiasm, sects, cultural unconscious, sociology of revolution, dehumanization, S. Soloviev, V. Reich, S. Moscovici, M. Moss, A. Etkind, P. Sorokin, Y. Davydov, A. Bely, A. Blok, F. Abramov.

Vasiliev V.V. The Generation of Free Russia

Summary: In the article, the author reflects on the generation of the Moscow nineties starting from personal memories and his own philosophical career. It is argued that it was the generation of the nineties with the greatest consequences for themselves that relieved the experience of Russia's transition from totalitarianism to freedom in the late 80s – early 90s of the XX century. The author, in particular, argues that this experience is responsible for the individualism characteristic of many representatives of this generation. The article discusses the situation at the Faculty of Philosophy of Moscow State University at the turn of the 90s, the achievements of Moscow philosophers from the generation of the nineties and a number of trends and problems of modern Russian philosophy.

Keywords: philosophical generations, nineties, Faculty of Philosophy of Moscow State University, Institute of Philosophy of the Russian Academy of Sciences.

Kozyrev A.P. We are a Generation of Optimists

Summary: The article is an essay on the time of its author's student life, which occurred in 1985–1992, the time of the breakdown of the Soviet system and a sharp change in the research and teaching paradigm in philosophy. From the ideological doctrine, philosophy turns into a broad outlook of worldviews, the “transcendental background of culture” (Yu.M. Lotman), the basis of humanitarian and general cultural knowledge. In the article, in a free author's manner, recollections of the Faculty of Philosophy of Moscow State University and the Institute of Philosophy of those years, about the journals “Beginnings” and “Logos”, about the communities that existed at that time are given. It is suggested that in the history of generations, the points of breaks and separations are very important.

Keywords: Faculty of Philosophy of Moscow State University, Institute of Philosophy, Russian Philosophy, “Logos”, “Beginnings”, “Chronicler”, music, V.S. Soloviev, S.S. Averintsev, S.S. Khoruzhiy, G.S. Knabe, A.V. Panin, V.V. Mironov.

Anashvili V.V., Chubarov I.M. Present Past

Summary: The article analyzes the professional formation of the generation of philosophers who came to the Faculty of Philosophy of Moscow State University in the last years of the USSR and graduated from it already in the “new” Yeltsin's Russia of the early 90s. In particular, the situa-

tion of general cultural lag in which several generations of Soviet and post-Soviet people found themselves in the context of world culture is thematized. By several examples, the thesis of the asynchrony of their acquaintance with the phenomena of Western culture at different levels and, as a result, falling out of the general logic of their formation is substantiated. The article also presents the history of the creation and development strategy of the philosophical journal “Logos” as a project to overcome the mentioned backlog. In conclusion, the authors attempt to explicate the ontological, epistemological and ethical-aesthetic foundations of their generational background.

Keywords: the formation of philosophers of the 90s, cultural lag, mass culture, phenomenology, the strategy of the Logos journal, the philosophical foundations of the generational background.

Nikiforov O.V. Che vuoi? (The Choice of the Faculty of Philosophy (MSU) and the Attempt of the “Logos” of the 1990s)

Summary: The text thematizes the “subcultural-philosophical” situation of the 1990s in “post-Soviet” Russia highlighting the context of “relevance” and “fragmented discontinuity” of the period when personal “philosophical choice” was coupled with the urgency of practical actions for the formation of micro-communities (one of the longest and most notable at that time was the philosophical journal Logos (Moscow, 1991...)) that studied the array of both domestic and world “philosophical heritage” in terms of their discovery for self-actualizing thought-action of those who participated in that philosophical generation of the “vague” 1990s.

Keywords: the choice of the philosophical, Moscow State University 1987, the philosophical journal “Logos”, “Logos” of the 1990s, the philosophical generation, gap, micro-event, community, Institute of Philosophy of the Russian Academy of Sciences, Autobiography.

Kara-Murza A.A. Between Terror and Sanctity: the Life and Destiny of Ilya Bunakov-Fondaminsky (1880–1942)

Summary: The article examines the life path of the Russian intellectual and politician Ilya Isidorovich Fondaminsky (1880–1942; literary and political pseudonym “Bunakov”). Coming from a Jewish merchant family, Fondaminsky was unable, due to the “Jewish quota”, to get a decent education in Russia and, after graduating from a private gymnasium, went to study philosophy and history at the Universities of Berlin and Heidelberg, where his professors were Kuno Fischer, Wilhelm Windelband, Heinrich Thode. After returning to Russia in 1904, he became one of the leaders of the Moscow committee of the Party of Socialist-Revolutionaries, participated in the work of the Combat group, preparing terrorist acts, and during the December (1905) armed uprising in Moscow, purchased weapons at the personal expense. He was repeatedly arrested, and in 1907 went to the first emigration (1907–1917). After the February Revolution – he was one of the leaders of the Executive Committee of the Council of Peasant Deputies, the General Commissar of the Provisional Government in the Black Sea Fleet, from which he was elected a deputy of the Constituent Assembly. After the Bolshevik coup and the dispersal of the constituent assembly – a member of the “white” underground, and since 1919 again an emigrant. I.I. Fondaminsky became one of the central figures of the Russian post-revolutionary emigration in France: he published the journals “Modern Notes” and “Novy Grad”, conducted extensive cultural and educational activities, becoming increasingly interested in religious issues. During the German occupation of France, Fondaminsky received Orthodox baptism, but in 1942 he ended his earthly days together with his fellow Jews in the gas

chamber of Hitler's Auschwitz-Oswenzim. In 2004, he, along with three other Russian ascetics-emigrants, was beatified by the Patriarchate of Constantinople of the Orthodox Church.

Keywords: Fondaminskii-Bunakov, philosophy, emigration, the socialist-revolutionaries, the terror, the Orthodoxy.

Obolonsky A.V. Ethnopolitical Conflicts in Transit Time as Moral and Psychological Phenomenon (Attempts of Diagnosis and Treatment)

Summary: The article is devoted to an analytical review of psychoanalytic and other psychological approaches to the description and overcoming of ethnopolitical conflicts in Russia and other post-Soviet countries. The materials of the multinational research group International Dialogue Initiative and the scientific works of its members are widely used. The concept of psychological trauma is considered in detail, as well as the phenomenon of post-traumatic syndrome inherent in societies of the transit period. National enmity is considered on the basis of a number of examples through the prism of the psychoanalytic concept of "chosen" trauma. Considerable attention is paid to the psychological aspects of the treatment of ethnotrauma. In this regard, the positive aspect of the attitude to the past wars is considered as a common, but already experienced, mourned and buried trauma, which, from the point of view of psychoanalysis, contributes to its adaptive experience and transformation in the public consciousness, and, ultimately, reconciliation between former enemies. One of the key factors for this is the concept of the universal human need to have both enemies and allies developed by the outstanding psychoanalyst V. Volkan.

Keywords: psychoanalysis, history, psychological trauma, post-traumatic syndrome, national enmity, historical fault, war, conciliation, allies.

Andresky S. Chapters 8–9 from the Book "Wars, Revolutions, Dictatorships: Studies of Historical and Contemporary Problems from a Comparative Viewpoint"

Summary: The journal «Political Conceptology» publishes a translation of the eighth and ninth chapters of Stanislav Andreski's book «Wars, Revolutions, Dictatorships: Studies of Historical and Contemporary Problems from a Comparative Viewpoint», published in 1992 by publishing house Frank Cass.

Keywords: Stanislav Andreski, theoretical inheritance, comparative studies of wars, revolutions and dictatorships.