

## Conversation with Günter Gaus

*Hannah Arendt*

*Grigori Dashevsky*  
(translator)

Book Reviewer, Publishing House "Kommersant"  
4 Vrubelya Str., Moscow, Russian Federation 125080  
Email: dashewsk@mtu-net.ru

Hannah Arendt was interviewed by Günter Gaus, a German journalist and politician, for the program "Zur Person" (the channel ZDF in Germany). Arendt speaks of the turning points in her biography, which were essential to her work. Arendt also tells about her attitude toward intellectuals, philosophers, politics, totalitarianism and democracy. She rejects her belonging to philosophers, as she considers herself as a political theorist and notes the general hostility philosophy used to have toward political issues. Arendt says about what her self-awareness of being Jewish. Important was what happened in Germany after Hitler came to power. It was not only the persecution of Jews, but also the willingness of intellectuals to connect to the new regime. It was Coordination Policy (Gleichschaltung) that permanently alienated Arendt from intellectuals willing to explain and support any regime. The next important set of issues linked with her move to the United States and the need to write in English that was so uncomfortable for a woman deeply rooted in German culture. Finally, the key experience that largely determined the intellectual development of Arendt was the knowledge of the extermination camps, especially Auschwitz. "There was something with which we all never could handle". Arendt and Gaus also address this specific relationships between individuals which Arendt calls love, and she wants to strictly separate this kind of relationships from the concept of the political. She also insists on the importance of publicity for the contemporary politics, which involves large groups of people.

*Keywords:* Hannah Arendt, political theory, Nazism, Jewishness, totalitarianism, thinking, democracy

## Beyond “Pure Science” and Philosophic Contemplation

*Ilya Matveev*

Graduate Student, European University at St. Petersburg (EUSP)

3 Gagarinskaya Str., Saint-Petersburg, Russian Federation 191187

E-mail: matveev.ilya@yahoo.com

During the 20th century there have been many attempts to reconstitute political knowledge as objective, value-neutral empirical science. One of such attempts was the “behavioral revolution” in political science. However, apart from this tendency a different one can be traced: scholars strived to openly acknowledged political goals and values as a factor in their own work. In this case one can speak of “engaged knowledge”. Pierre Bourdieu, a representative of this tradition, spoke of the need to give up an image of the “scholar who locks himself up in his ivory tower” and stop the “flight into purity”. He urged scientists to bring their knowledge outside academia and join social movements. In the similar vein Michael Burawoy emphasized the necessity to make sociological knowledge available to the wider public. The article reveals the ways in which engaged knowledge distances itself from the image of political and social scholarship as “pure science” as well as from the approach of political philosophy with its emphasis on philosophic contemplation. This perspective opens up the way for the analysis of Max Weber’s ideas on the value neutrality of scientific knowledge, essential features of the “behavioral revolution” in political science, as well as Leo Strauss’ views on the nature of political philosophy. The article develops the ideas of feminist standpoint epistemology, which is contrasted with the scientist’s “gaze from nowhere” and philosopher’s “gaze from above”. Finally, the article gives account of the problematic relation between engaged knowledge and the Marxist tradition.

*Keywords:* scientism, objectivism, epistemology, political engagement, intellectuals, value-neutrality

### References

- Althusser L. (2012) Preobrazovanie filosofii [The Transformation of Philosophy]. *Neprikosnovennyj zapas*, no 5, pp. 73–96.
- Balibar E. (1994) *Masses, Classes, Ideas: Studies on Politics and Philosophy Before and After Marx*, London: Routledge.
- Bourdieu P. (2002) Za angazhirovannoe znanie [For an Engaged Knowledge]. *Neprikosnovennyj zapas*, no 5, pp. 61–63.
- Burawoy M. (2008) Za publichnuju sociologiju [For Public Sociology]. *Social'naja politika v sovremennoj Rossii: reformy i povsednevnost'* [Social Policy in Contemporary Russia: Reforms and Everyday Life] (eds. P. Romanov, E. Iarskaia-Smirnova), Moscow: Variant, CSPGI, pp. 8–51.
- Dahl R.A. (1961) The Behavioral Approach in Political Science: Epitaph for a Monument to a Successful Protest. *American Political Science Review*, vol. 55, no 4, pp. 763–772.
- Daston L., Galison P. (1992) The Image of Objectivity. *Representations*, no 40, pp. 81–128.
- Foucault M. (2002) *Intellektualy i vlast': izbrannye politicheskie stat'i, vystuplenija i interv'ju* [Intellectuals and Power: Selected Political Papers, Addresses, and Interviews], Moscow: Praksis.
- Gunnell J. G. (1986) *Between Philosophy and Politics: The Alienation of Political Theory*, Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press.

- Harding S. (1993) Rethinking Standpoint Epistemology: What Is «Strong Objectivity»? *Feminist Epistemologies* (ed. L. Alcoff), London: Routledge, pp. 49–82.
- Holdren N., Touza S. (2005) Introduction to Colectivo Situaciones. *Ephemera*, vol. 5, no 4, pp. 595–601.
- Jay M. (1986) *Marxism and Totality: The Adventures of a Concept from Lukacs to Habermas*, Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Kachanov Ju. (2000) *Nachalo sociologii* [The Principle of Sociology], Moscow, Saint-Petersburg: Institut jeksperimental'noj sociologii, Aletejja.
- Lecourt D. (1977) *Proletarian Science? The Case of Lysenko*, London: NLB.
- Lukacs G. (2003) *Istorija i klassovoe soznanie: issledovanija po marksistskoj dialektike* [History and Class Consciousness: Studies in Marxist Dialectics], Moscow: Logos-Al'tera.
- Lynd R.S. (1939) *Knowledge for What? The Place of Social Science in American Culture*, Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Marx K. (1955) Tezisy o Fejlerbahe [Theses on Feuerbach]. *Sochinenija, tom 3* [Collected Works, vol. 3], Moscow: Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo političeskoj literatury, pp. 1–4.
- Matveev I. (2012) Al'tjusser: politika teorii [Althusser: The Politics of Theory]. *Neprikosnovennyj zapas*, no 5, pp. 55–72.
- Mauger G. (1999) Sociologičeskaja angazhirovannost' [Sociological Engagement]. *Pojetika i politika* [Poetics and Politics], Moscow, Saint-Petersburg: Institut jeksperimental'noj sociologii, Aletejja, pp. 292–324.
- Mills C.W. (2000) *The Sociological Imagination*, New York: Oxford University Press.
- Norton A. (2005) *Leo Strauss and the Politics of American Empire*, New Have: Yale University Press.
- Pavlov A. (2008) Pragmatičnye nasledniki političeskoj filosofii Leo Shtrausa [Pragmatic Heritors of Leo Strauss' Political Philosophy]. *Istorija filosofii* [History of Philosophy], vol. 13, Moscow: Institut filosofii RAN, pp. 98–109.
- Pavlov A. (2010) Grazhdanskaja vojna političeskoj teorii [The Civil War of Political Theory]. *Političeskaja konceptologija*, no 4, pp. 40–65.
- Proctor R. (1991) *Value-Free Science? Purity and Power in Modern Knowledge*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Showalter E. (1987) *The Female Malady: Women, Madness, and English Culture, 1830–1980*, New York: Penguin Books.
- Smith S. B. (2007) *Reading Leo Strauss: Politics, Philosophy, Judaism*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Strauss L. (1988) *Persecution and the Art of Writing*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Strauss L. (2000) *Vvedenie v političeskuju filosofiju* [An Introduction to Political Philosophy], Moscow: Praksis.
- Strauss L. (2012) Presledovanie i iskusstvo pis'ma [Persecution and the Art of Writing]. *Sociologičeskoe obozrenie*, vol. 11, no 3, pp. 12–25.
- Weber M. (1990) Nauka kak prizvanie i professija [Science as a Vocation]. *Izbrannye proizvedenija* [Collected Works], Moscow: Progress, pp. 707–734.

## Correspondence on Schmitt and the Political

*Anatoliy Akhutin*

Assistant Professor, Russian State University for the Humanities  
6 Miusskaya Sq., Moscow, Russian Federation 125993  
E-mail: filippovaf@gmail.com

*Alexander Filippov*

Professor of Sociology, National Research University Higher School of Economics  
20 Myasnitskaya Str., Moscow, Russian Federation 101000  
E-mail: filippovaf@gmail.com

Discussion of the Carl Schmitt's concept of the political takes the form of a dialogue. Anatoly Akhutin, a philosopher, raises three questions in a letter to Alexander Filippov, a sociologist. These questions are: (1) On Sovereignty. Sovereign, according to Schmitt, is the one who can introduce a state of emergency. Does it mean that the state of emergency can be a way to the approval and support of dictatorial powers? (2) The concepts *Entschlossenheit* (resoluteness) in Heidegger's work and *Entscheidung* (decision) in Schmitt's writings are dangerous. The totalitarian bias is apparent here. (3) On speech and democracy. What is political being of humans? Are "friend", "enemy", "struggle" the proper concepts to understand and describe it? Alexander Filippov answers these questions. (1) Correct understanding of Schmitt's point of view is only possible if the distinction made in his book "Dictatorship" (1921) between the commissar and the sovereign dictatorships is taken into account. (2) Schmitt and Heidegger were strongly influenced by the German philosophical anthropology. That is why we should better take into consideration the lectures on the *Basic Concepts of Metaphysics* instead of *Being and Time*. One of the most important answers Heidegger has given to his opponents in these lectures concerning the concept "resoluteness" was that *Entschlossenheit* is not a property of individuals and does not belong to the nature of human existence. (3) At this point, there is no discrepancy between Akhutin and Filippov. Schmitt wrote mainly about the political opposition of one nation to another people and the internal politics in times of crisis.

Keywords: Carl Schmitt, political, war, Heidegger, democracy, dictatorship, polis, speech

## Political Philosophy and Political Economy

*Kamil Galeev*

Undergraduate Student, National Research University Higher School of Economics

20 Myasnitskaya Str., Moscow, Russian Federation 101000

E-mail: kamilkazani@gmail.com

Review of *Translating Empire: Emulation and the Origins of Political Economy* by Sophus A. Reinert (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2011).

## Herzen and Slavophiles

*Andrey Teslya*

Assistant Professor, Pacific National University  
136 Tihookeanskaya Str., Khabarovsk, Russian Federation 680035  
E-mail: mestr81@gmail.com

The article discusses the relationships between Herzen and Slavophiles from the 1840s to the first half of the 1860s. The article highlights 3 period of relationships: (1) Moscow period (1842–1846), (2) the first phase of Herzen's emigrant life (1847–1855), (3) the period of Herzen's maximum influence on Russian public life and thought (1856–1862) and of decline (1863–1870). Special attention is paid to the influence of Slavophil views on Herzen in the 1850s, when Herzen worked upon the idea of so-called "Russian socialism". Herzen's first personal acquaintance to Slavophiles occurred at the spring of 1842. Personal contacts have corrected significantly his earlier views and evaluations developed on the basis of his assessments of "Westernizing" camp and quite limited acquaintance to Slavophil texts. Slavophil problems get a new impetus during the emigration period when Herzen, being a part of "European revolutionary emigration", vividly observes a connection between revolution and national movements. With the beginning of reign of Alexander II, there is a revival of social life and reformatory plans. On this basis occurs the maximum rapprochement of Herzen with Slavophiles, especially with the most liberal part of the movement (I.S. Aksakov, Y.F. Samarin). Break-up between Herzen and Slavophiles took place in 1863 due to the differences in positions concerning January revolt in Poland. The differences, however, refers to a drastically different original perspectives, only manifested themselves during the crisis.

*Keywords:* Herzen, Slavophilism, socialism, narodnichestvo, nation, nationalism

### References

- Aksakov K. (1889) *Polnoe sobranie sochinenij. T. I: Sochinenija istoricheskie* [Complete Works, vol. 1: Historical Works], Moscow: Universitetskaja tipografija.
- Belinsky V. (1982) *Sochinenija. T. 9: Pis'ma* [Works, vol. 9: Letters], Moscow: Hudozhestvennaja literatura.
- Borisenok I. (2001) *Mikhail Bakunin i "pol'skaja intriga": 1840-e gody* [Mikhail Bakunin and the "Polish Intrigue": The 1840s], Moscow: ROSSPEN.
- Derzhavin N. (1939) Herzen i slavjanofily [Herzen and Slavophiles]. *Istorič-marksist*, vol. 1, no 1, pp. 125–145.
- Dudzinskaja E. (1983) *Slavjanofily v obshhestvennoj bor'be* [Slavophiles in the Social Combat], Moscow: Mysl.
- Dudzinskaja E. (1983) Slavjanofily i Herzen nakanune reformy 1861 g. [Slavophiles and Herzen on the Eve of 1861 Reform]. *Voprosy istorii*, no 11, pp. 43–59.
- Eidelman N. (1999) *Svobodnoe slovo Herzena* [Herzen's Free Speech], Moscow: URSS.
- Emeljanov E., Teslia A. (2012) "Edinstvennyj golos, k kotoromu prislushivaetsja pravitel'stvo" ["The Only Voice That Government Gives Ear to"]. *Sociologičeskoe obozrenie*, vol. 11, no 3, pp. 45–59.
- Gershenson M. (2000) *Izbrannoe, T. 2: Molodaja Rossija* [Selected Works, vol. 2: Young Russia], Moscow, Jerusalem: Universitetskaja kniga, Gesharim.
- Gershenson M. (2000) *Izbrannoe, T. 3: Obrazy proshlogo* [Selected Works, vol. 3: Images of the Past], Moscow, Jerusalem: Universitetskaja kniga, Gesharim.

- Ginzburg L. (1973) *O psihologicheskoj proze* [On Psychological Prose], Leningrad: Hudozhestvennaja literatura.
- Herzen A. (1954–1965) *Sobranie sochinenij. V 30 t.* [Collected Works], Moscow: AS USSR.
- Herzen A., Ogarev N. (1955) *Literaturnoe nasledstvo. T. 62. Kn. 2* [Literary Heritage, vol. 62, Book 2], Moscow: AS of the USSR.
- Kavelin K. (1989) Avdot'ja Petrovna Elagina [Avdotia Petrovna Elagina]. *Russkoe obshhestvo 30-h godov XIX v. Ljudi i idei: memuary sovremennikov* [Russian Society in 1830s. Persons and Ideas: Contemporaries' Memoirs] (ed. I. Fedosova), Moscow: MGU.
- Khestanov R. (2001) *Alexander Herzen: improvizacija protiv doktriny* [Alexander Herzen: Improvisation contre Doctrine], Moscow: Dom intellektual'noj knigi.
- Khristoforov I. (2011) *Sud'ba reformy: russkoe krest'janstvo v pravitel'stvennoj politike do i posle otmeny krepostnogo prava (1830–1890-e gg.)* [The Fate of the Reform: Russian Peasants in Government's Policy before and after the Emancipation, 1830–1890s], Moscow: Sobranie.
- Kireevskij I. (1911) *Polnoe sobranie sochinenij. T. II* [Complete Works, vol. 2], Moscow: Put'.
- Koshelev A. (2011) *Samoderzhavie i Zemskaja дума* [Autocracy and Zemsky Duma], Moscow: Institut russkoj civilizacii.
- Malia M. (2002) *Sovetskaja tragedija: istorija socializma v Rossii. 1917–1991* [The Soviet Tragedy: A History of Socialism in Russia, 1917–1991], Moscow: ROSSPEN.
- Malia M. (2010) *Alexander Herzen i proishozhdenie russkogo socializma. 1812–1855* [Alexander Herzen and the Birth of Russian Socialism, 1812–1855], Moscow: Territorija budushhego.
- Poroh I., Poroh V. (1989) A. Herzen i I. Aksakov na rubezhe 50–60-h godov XIX veka [Herzen and Aksakov at the Turn of 1850–60s]. *Revoljucionnaja situacija v Rossii v seredine XIX veka: dejateli i istoriki* [Revolutionary Situation in Russia in the Middle of 19th Century: Figures and Historians], Moscow: Nauka, pp. 85–102.
- Poroh V. (1971) Otnoshenie I.S. Aksakova k «krest'janskoj reforme» 1861 g. (po neopublikovannym pis'mam) [Aksakov's Attitude Toward "Peasant Reform" of 1861 (Based on Unpublished Letters)]. *Nekotorye voprosy otechestvennoj i vseobshhej istorii* [Some Questions of Russian and World History], Saratov: Saratov University, pp. 71–84.
- Presniakov A. (1991) Vospominanija E.M. Feoktistova i ih znachenie [Feoktistov's Memoirs and Their Significance]. Feoktistov E. *Za kulisami politiki i literatury. 1848–1896* [Behind the Curtain of Politics and Literature, 1848–1896], Moscow: Novosti, pp. 5–12.
- Ramishvili A. (1957). Herzen v bor'be so slavjanofil'stvom [Herzen at Struggle with Slavophilism]. *Trudy Tbilisskogo pedagogicheskogo instituta*, vol. 11, pp. 309–337.
- Ramishvili A. (1957). Povest' Herzena «Soroka-vorovka» (K voprosu otnoshenija Herzena k slavjanofil'stvu) [Herzen's Story "The Thieving Magpie" (Toward a Question of Herzen's Attitude toward Slavophilism)]. *Trudy Tbilisskogo pedagogicheskogo instituta*, vol. 12.
- Samarin I. (1911). *Sochinenija. T. XII: Pis'ma 1840–1853* [Works, vol. 12: Letters, 1840–1853], Moscow: Mamontov.
- Samarin I. (2012) Pis'mo I.F. Samarina A.I. Herzenu (ot 9 maja 1858 g.) [Letter of U.F. Samarin to A.I. Herzen (May 9, 1858)]. *Sociologicheskoe obozrenie*, vol. 11, no 3, pp. 60–74.
- Teslya A. (2012) Debaty o narodnosti [Nationality Debates]. *Sociologicheskoe obozrenie*, vol. 11, no 1, pp. 99–119.
- Teslya A. (2012) Zapreshhennaja 6-ja stat'ja I. S. Aksakova iz cikla "O vzaimnom otnoshenii naroda, obshhestva i gosudarstva" [The Censored Sixth Article by Ivan Aksakov from the Series "On the Mutual Relationship Between People, Society and State"]. *Sociologicheskoe obozrenie*, vol. 11, no 2, pp. 41–70.
- Tsimbaev N. (1978) *I.S. Aksakov v obshhestvennoj zhizni poreformennoj Rossii* [I.S. Aksakov

in the Public Life of Post-Reform Russia], Moscow: MGU.

Tsimbaev N. (1986) *Slavjanofil'stvo (iz istorii russskoj obshhestvenno-politicheskoj mysli XIX veka)* [Slavophilism (From the History of Russian Socio-Political Thought of the 19th Century)], Moscow: MGU.

Shchukin V. (2007) *Rossijskij genij prosveshhenija* [Russian Genius of the Enlightenment], Moscow: ROSSPEN.

Zhelvakova I. (2010) *Herzen* [Herzen], Moscow: Molodaja gvardija.

## Tikhomirov's Diary (December 1905)

*Lev Tikhomirov*

*Alexander Repnikov*  
(editor)

Chief Specialist, Russian State Archive of Socio-Political History  
15 Bolshaia Dmitrovka Str., Moscow, Russian Federation 125009  
Email: repnikov@mail.ru

Lev Tikhomirov (1852–1923) was one of the active members of the narodnichestvo movement. From 1879 he was a member of the Executive Committee of “Narodnaya Volya” party. After the assassination of Alexander II by the members of “Narodnaya Volya” and defeat of the party, he went abroad, where, together with P. Lavrov, he edited the “Journal of Narodnaya Volya”. In 1888, in Paris, his pamphlet *Why I Ceased to Be a Revolutionary* was published, where he criticized the revolutionary path of development. In the meantime Tikhomirov send a petition to Alexander III, in which he expressed remorse for his previous activities and requested permission to return to Russia (which was granted). In monarchist Russian Tikhomirov became one of the leading writers of the conservative camp, and from 1909 to 1913 headed the newspaper “Moscow News”. Being an author of historical and philosophical works and memories, for decades he was considered a renegade who betrayed a revolutionary struggle. In recent years works of Tikhomirov as a monarchist started to arouse a significant interest. However, only the study of all the major events of his life and philosophical evolution can reveal the originality of Tikhomirov's views as revolutionary and as conservative. These events are reflected in his diary. Tikhomirov kept the diary for over 30 years. Shortly before his death he gave it to the Rumyantsev Museum, where they are preserved today. However, Tikhomirov's diary virtually unknown to the public.

*Keywords:* Lev Tikhomirov, social thinking, revolution, Russian conservatism, historical biography, history of political parties

### References

- Archbishop Nikon (Rozhdestvensky) (2004) *“Kozni vragov nashih sokrusheni...”: dnevniki, 1910–1917* [“Break the Intrigues of Our Enemies...”: Diaries, 1910–1917], Minsk: Pravoslavnaja iniciativa.
- Arseniev N. (1962) O moskovskih religiozno-filosofskih i literaturnyh kruzhkakh i sobranijah nachala XX v. [On Moscow Religious-Philosophical and Literary Circles and Assemblies at the Beginning of the 20th Century]. *Sovremennik*, no 6.
- Burin S. (1994) *Sud'by bezvestnye: Sergej Nechaev, Lev Tihomirov, Vera Zasulich* [Unknown Fortunes: Sergey Nechaev, Lev Tikhomirov, Vera Zasulich], Moscow: Institut vseobshhej istorii RAN.
- Cosmas and Damian Maroseyka Church (2003) *Episkop Tikhon (Tikhomirov), sostavitel' akafista svjatym Kosme i Damianu Azijskim* [Bishop Tikhon (Tikhomirov), a Compiler of Acathistos to Cosmas and Damian of Assia], Moscow: Hram svjatyh bessrebrenikov Kosmy i Damiana na Marosejke.
- Davydov Y. (1996) *Gluhaja pora listopada* [Blanking Time to Leaf Fall], Moscow: Terra.
- Davydov Y. (2001) *Bestseller* [Bestseller], Moscow: Vagrius.
- Dzhunkovskiy V. (1997) *Vospominaniya, T. 1* [Memoirs, vol. 1], Moscow: Izdatelstvo im.

Sabashnikovyh.

- Ermashov D., Prolubnikov A., Shirinyants A. (1999) *Russkaja social'no-politicheskaja mysl' XIX — nachala XX veka: L.A. Tikhomirov* [Russian Social and Political Thought of the 19th — Beginning of 20th Centuries], Moscow: Knizhnyj dom.
- Florensky P. (1998) *Arhiv svjashhennika Pavla Aleksandrovicha Florenskogo, Vyp. 2* [An Archive of Priest Pavel Florensky, issue 2], Tomsk: Vodolej.
- Florensky P., Bulgakov S. (2001) *Perepiska svjashhennika P. A. Florenskogo so svjashhennikom S. N. Bulgakovym, Vyp. 4* [The Correspondence of Priest P.A. Florensky and Priest S.N. Bulgakov], Tomsk: Vodolei.
- Fomin S. (2002) Iz dnevnika L.A. Tikhomirova (Moskva, 1901, 1905, 1912–1917 gg.) [From the Diary of L.A. Tikhomirov (Moscow, 1901, 1905, 1912–1917)]. ...*I dany budut Zhene dva kryla* [...The Woman Will Be Given the Two Wings], Moscow: Palomnik, pp. 585–626.
- Fudel S. (2001) *Sobranie sochinenij, T. 1* [Collected Works, vol. 1], Moscow: Russkij put'.
- Golubtsov S. (1999) *Moskovskaja Duhovnaja Akademija v nachale XX veka: professura i sotrudniki* [Moscow Theological Academy at the Beginning of the 20th Century: Faculty and Staff], Moscow: Martis.
- Kirianov Y. (ed.) (1998) *Pravye partii, 1905–1917 gody: dokumenty i materialy, T. 1* [Right-wing Parties, 1905–1917: Documents and Materials, vol. 1], Moscow: ROSSPEN.
- Lachaeva M. (2010) Vitte S.Y. [S.Y. Vitte]. *Russkij konservatizm serediny XVIII — nachala XX veka: jenciklopedija* [Russian Conservatism of the Middle of the 18th — Beginning of the 20th Centuries: An Encyclopaedia], Moscow: ROSSPEN.
- Milevsky O. (2004) *Lev Tikhomirov: dve storony odnoj zhizni* [Lev Tikhomirov: Two Sides of One Life], Barnaul.
- Minakov A. (2010) Suvorin A.S. [A.S. Suvorin]. *Russkij konservatizm serediny XVIII — nachala XX veka: jenciklopedija* [Russian Conservatism of the Middle of the 18th — Beginning of the 20th Centuries: An Encyclopaedia], Moscow: ROSSPEN.
- Mikhailov O. (1996) *Aleksandr III: zabytyj imperator* [Alexander III: Forgotten Emperor], Moscow: Armada.
- Nachapkin M. (2007) *Maloizvestnye stranicy russkogo konservatizma* [Little-known Pages of Russian Conservatism]. *L.A. Tikhomirov: zhizn' i mirovozzrenie* [L.A. Tikhomirov: Life and Outlook], Ekaterinburg: RGPPU.
- Nikolaev G. (2006) *Jeshatologicheskij triptih* [Eschatological Triptych]. *Jeshatologicheskij sbornik* [Eschatological Miscellanea], Saint-Petersburg: Aletheia, pp. 358–396.
- Novoselov M. (1904) *Policejsko-vrachebnyj protokol i hristianskie dobrodeteli* [Police-Medical Protocol and Christian Virtues], Saint-Petersburg: Berezhlivost.
- Novoselov M. (1911) *V tihoj pristani* [In the Haven of Refuge], Sergiev Posad.
- Novoselov M. (1994) *Pis'ma k druž'jam* [Letters to Friends], Moscow: PBSTI.
- Novoselov M. (1994) *Pis'ma M.A. Novoselova k L.N. Tolstomu* [Letters of M.A. Novoselov to L.N. Tolstoy]. *Minuvshee: Istoricheskij al'manah, Vyp. 15* [The Past: Historical Almanac, issue 15], Moscow, Saint-Petersburg: Atheneum-Feniks, pp. 371–423.
- Omelyanchuk I. (2010) *Russkaja monarhicheskaja partija* [Russian Monarchical Party]. *Russkij konservatizm serediny XVIII — nachala XX veka: jenciklopedija* [Russian Conservatism of the Middle of the 18th — Beginning of the 20th Centuries: An Encyclopaedia], Moscow: ROSSPEN.
- Omelyanchuk I., Repnikov A. (2010) *Sojuz russkih ljudej* [The Union of Russian People]. *Russkij konservatizm serediny XVIII — nachala XX veka: jenciklopedija* [Russian Conservatism of the Middle of the 18th — Beginning of the 20th Centuries: An

- Encyclopaedia], Moscow: ROSSPEN.
- Pavlov N. (1927) *Ego Velichestvo Gosudar' Nikolaj II* [His Majesty the Lord Nikolay II], Paris.
- Pertsov P. (2002) *Literaturnye vospominanija, 1890–1902* [Literary Memories, 1890–1902], Moscow: Novoe literaturnoe obozrenie.
- Poliakov A. (2010) Velikany sumraka [The Giants of Twilight]. *Molodaja gvardija*, no 7-8, 9, 10, 11-12.
- Poliakov A. (2011) Velikany sumraka [The Giants of Twilight]. *Molodaja gvardija*, no 1-2.
- Poliakov A. (2011) *Velikany sumraka* [The Giants of Twilight], Moscow.
- Posadsky S., Posadsky A. (2009) *Lev Aleksandrovich Tihomirov: filosofsko-kul'turologicheskie iskanija* [Lev Alexandrovich Tikhomirov: Philosophical and Culturological Search], Saint-Petersburg: SPbKO.
- Repnikov A. (2010) Gringmut V.A. [V.A. Gringmut]. *Russkij konservatizm serediny XVIII — nachala XX veka: jenciklopedija* [Russian Conservatism of the Middle of the 18th — Beginning of the 20th Centuries: An Encyclopaedia], Moscow: ROSSPEN.
- Repnikov A. (2010) Pobedonostsev K.P. [K.P. Pobedonostsev]. *Russkij konservatizm serediny XVIII — nachala XX veka: jenciklopedija* [Russian Conservatism of the Middle of the 18th — Beginning of the 20th Centuries: An Encyclopaedia], Moscow: ROSSPEN.
- Repnikov A. (2010) Shcherbatov A.G. [A.G. Shcherbatov]. *Russkij konservatizm serediny XVIII — nachala XX veka: jenciklopedija* [Russian Conservatism of the Middle of the 18th — Beginning of the 20th Centuries: An Encyclopaedia], Moscow: ROSSPEN.
- Repnikov A., Milevsky O. (2011) *Dve zhizni L'va Tihomirova* [Two Lifes of Lev Tikhomirov], Moscow: Academia.
- Repnikov A., Soloviev K. (2010) Sharapov S.F. [S.F. Sharapov]. *Russkij konservatizm serediny XVIII — nachala XX veka: jenciklopedija* [Russian Conservatism of the Middle of the 18th — Beginning of the 20th Centuries: An Encyclopaedia], Moscow: ROSSPEN.
- Sverchkov D. (1926) *Tri meteora: G. Gapon, G. Nosar', A. Kerensky* [Three Meteors: G. Gapon, G. Nosar, A. Kerensky], Leningrad.
- Soloviev K. (2010). Kireev A.A. [A.A. Kireev]. *Russkij konservatizm serediny XVIII — nachala XX veka: jenciklopedija* [Russian Conservatism of the Middle of the 18th — Beginning of the 20th Centuries: An Encyclopaedia], Moscow: ROSSPEN.
- Tikhomirov L. (1927) *Vospominanija L'va Tihomirova* [The Memoirs of Lev Tikhomirov], Moscow, Leningrad: Gosizdat.
- Tikhomirov L. (1930) 25 let nazad: iz dnevnikov L.A. Tihomirova [25 years Ago: From the Diaries of L.A. Tikhomirov]. *Krasnyj arhiv*, vol. 1–5.
- Tikhomirov L. (1933) Iz dnevnika L.A. Tihomirova [From the Diary of L.A. Tikhomirov]. *Krasnyj arhiv*, vol. 6, pp. 82–128.
- Tikhomirov L. (1935) Iz dnevnika L'va Tihomirova (Period stolypinshhiny) [From the Diary of L.A. Tikhomirov (The Period of Stolypinshchina)]. *Krasnyj arhiv*, vol. 5–6.
- Tikhomirov L. (1936) Iz dnevnika L'va Tihomirova (Period stolypinshhiny) [From the Diary of L.A. Tikhomirov (The Period of Stolypinshchina)]. *Krasnyj arhiv*, vol. 1–2.
- Tikhomirov L. (1992) *Monarhicheskaja gosudarstvennost'* [On Monarchist Statehood], Saint-Petersburg: Rossijskij imperskij sojuz-orden, "Komplekt".
- Tikhomirov L. (1998) *Monarhicheskaja gosudarstvennost'* [On Monarchist Statehood], Moscow: Oblizdat, Alir.
- Tikhomirov L. (2004) *Monarhicheskaja gosudarstvennost'* [On Monarchist Statehood], Moscow: Biblioteka Serbskogo Kresta.
- Tikhomirov L. (2006) *Monarhicheskaja gosudarstvennost'* [On Monarchist Statehood],

- Moscow: Ajris-press.
- Tikhomirov L. (2008) *Dnevnik L.A. Tikhomirova, 1915–1917 gg.* [The Diary of L.A. L.A. Tikhomirov, 1915–1917], Moscow: ROSSPEN.
- Tikhomirov L. (2010) *Monarhicheskaja gosudarstvennost'* [On Monarchist Statehood], Moscow: ROSSPEN.
- Trofimov A. (2001) Episkop Tikhon (Tikhomirov) [Bishop Tikhon (Tikhomirov)]. *Novaja kniga Rossii*, no 4, pp. 61–64.
- Shulgin V. (1992) “*Chto nam v nih ne nravitsja...*” [“What We Do Not Like in Them...”], Saint-Petersburg: Hors.
- Shcherbatov A. (2002) “Obnovlennaja Rossija” i drugie raboty [“Renewed Russia” and Other Works], Moscow: Russkaja panorama.
- Yakovlev A. (2001) *Korona i krest: sceny rossijskoj cerkovnoj zhizni konca XIX — nachala XX veka* [Crown and Cross: Scences from the Russian Church Life of the End of the 19th — beginning of the 20th Centuries], M.: Palomnik.
- Yakovlev A. (2005) *Korona i krest: sceny rossijskoj cerkovnoj zhizni konca XIX — nachala XX veka* [Crown and Cross: Scences from the Russian Church Life of the End of the 19th — beginning of the 20th Centuries], Moscow: Terra-Knizhnyj klub.

## Social Theory and Trauma

*Ron Eyerman*

*Daria Khlevnyuk*  
(translator)

Graduate Student, State University of New York at Stony Brook  
Stony Brook, New York, USA 11794-4356  
Email: d.khlevnjuk@gmail.com

Ron Eyerman is one of the authors of the cultural theory trauma with an introduction by Jeffrey Alexander. This text may be seen as a case-study, that underlines and illuminates some of the main features of their theory. Using the examples of three significant social theory texts, Horkheimer and Adorno's "Dialectic of Enlightenment", Freud's "Moses and Monotheism" and Bauman's "Modernity and the Holocaust", this article illustrates the difference between personal, collective and cultural trauma. All of those texts are connected to the same event – the Holocaust – and the outcome of this event. Bauman and Adorno could have become the victims, but instead survived bearing the trauma, conceptualizing it and thus becoming predecessors of the cultural trauma theory. Ron Eyerman shows the complexity of the relationship between personal and collective trauma, and the construction of social theory. In analyzing these texts he goes into history of their creation, finding evidence of the traumatic experience of the authors. He also analyzes aesthetic characteristics of the texts, showing these texts as not only pieces of social theorizing but also as personal experiences, trying to find meaning in gaps, voids and inconsistency. The aim is also to illustrate how personal trauma can impact the construction and representation of social theory.

Keywords: cultural trauma, collective memory, sociology of memory, cultural sociology, social theory, psychoanalysis, Holocaust

### References

- Adorno T.W. (1967) *Prisms*, Cambridge: MIT Press.
- Adorno T.W. (1991) *Notes to Literature*, New York: Columbia University Press.
- Adorno T.W. (2010) *Guilt and Defense: On the Legacies of National Socialism in Postwar Germany*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Adorno T.W., Frenkel-Brunswick E., Levinson D., Sanford N. (2001) *Issledovanie avtoritarnoj lichnosti* [The Authoritarian Personality], Moscow: Serebrjanye niti.
- Alexander J. (2004) Toward a theory of cultural trauma. *Cultural Trauma and Collective Identity*, Berkeley: University of California Press, pp. 1–30.
- Anderson M. (2008). Documents, photography, postmemory: Alexander Kluge, W.G. Sebald and the German family. *Poetics Today*, vol. 29, no 1, pp. 129–153.
- Bauman Z. (1989) *Modernity and the Holocaust*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Caruth C. (1996) *Unclaimed Experience: Trauma, Narrative, and History*, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Erikson K. (1994) *A New Species of Trouble: Explorations in Disaster, Trauma, and Community*, New York: Norton.
- Eyerman R. (2001) *Cultural Trauma: Slavery and the Formation of African American Identity*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Eyerman R. (2008) *The Assassination of Theo van Gogh: From Social Drama to Cultural*

- Trauma*, Durham: Duke University Press.
- Eyerman R. (2011) *The Cultural Sociology of Political Assassination: From MLK and RFK to Fortuyn and Van Gogh*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Eyerman R., Alexander J.C., Breese E.B. (eds.) (2011) *Narrating Trauma: On the Impact of Collective Suffering*, Boulder: Paradigm Publishers.
- Fassin D., Rechtman R. (2009) *The Empire of Trauma: An Inquiry into the Condition of Victimhood*, Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Franklin R. (2011) *A Thousand Darkesses: Lies and Truth in Holocaust Fiction*, New York: Oxford University Press.
- Freud Z. (1993) *Chelovek po imeni Moisej i monoteisticheskaja religija* [Moses and Monotheism], Moscow: Nauka.
- Giesen B. (2004) The trauma of the perpetrators: the Holocaust as the traumatic reference of German national identity. *Cultural Trauma and Collective Identity*, Berkeley: University of California Press, pp. 112–154.
- Habermas J. (1975) *Legitimation Crisis*, Boston: Beacon Press.
- Habermas J. (2008) *Filosofskij diskurs o moderne* [The Philosophical Discourse of Modernity], Moscow: Ves mir.
- Hartman G. (1996) On traumatic knowledge and literary studies. *New Literary History*, vol. 26, no 3, pp. 537–563.
- Heins V. (2011) *Beyond Friend and Foe: The Politics of Critical Theory*, Boston: Brill.
- Horkheimer M., Adorno T.W. (1997) *Dialektika Prosveshhenija* [Dialectic of Enlightenment], Moscow: Medium.
- Horkheimer M., Adorno T.W. (2002) *Dialectic of Enlightenment: Philosophical Fragments*, Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Horsman Y. (2011) *Theaters of Justice: Judging, Staging, and Working Through in Arendt, Brecht, and Delbo*, Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Kaplan E.A. (2005) *Trauma Culture: The Politics of Terror and Loss in Media and Literature*, New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press.
- LaCapra D. (2001) *Writing History, Writing Trauma*, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Leys R. (2000) *Trauma: A Genealogy*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Liotard J.-F. (1998) *Sostojanie postmoderna* [The Postmodern Condition], Moscow, Saint-Petersburg: Institut jekperimental'noj sociologii, Aletheia.
- Muller-Doohm S. (2005) *Adorno: A Biography*, Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Muller-Doohm S. (2005) Theodor W. Adorno and Jurgen Habermas — two ways of being a public intellectual: sociological observations concerning the transformation of a social figure of modernity. *European Journal of Social Theory*, vol. 8, no 3, pp. 269–280.
- Olick J.K. (2003) What does it mean to normalize the past? Official memory in German politics since 1989. *States of Memory: Continuities, Conflicts, and Transformations in National Retrospection* (ed. J.K. Olick), Durham: Duke University Press, pp. 259–288.
- Pickford H.W. (2005) Preface. Adorno T.W. *Critical Models: Interventions and Catchwords*, New York: Columbia University Press, pp. vii–xii.
- Pollock F., Adorno T.W. (2011) *Group Experiment and Other Writings: The Frankfurt School on Public Opinion in Postwar Germany*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Rabinbach A. (1997) *In the Shadow of Catastrophe: German Intellectuals Between Apocalypse and Enlightenment*, Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Rosenblatt L.M. (1978) *The Reader, the Text, the Poem: The Transactional Theory of The*

- literary Work*, Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press.
- Rothberg M. (1997) After Adorno: culture in the wake of catastrophe. *New German Critique*, no 72, pp. 45–81.
- Ryan J. (1991) Postoccupation literary movements and developments in West Germany. *Legacies and Ambiguities: Postwar Fiction and Culture in West Germany and Japan*, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, pp. 189–206.
- Said E.W. (2005) Freud i neevropejskoe [Freud and the Non-European]. *Sinij divan*, no 6, pp. 7–38.
- Schlant E. (1999) *The Language of Silence: West German Literature and the Holocaust*, New York: Routledge.
- Smelser N.J. (2004) Psychological trauma and cultural trauma. *Cultural Trauma and Collective Identity*, Berkeley: University of California Press, pp. 31–59.
- Van Reijen W., Bransen J. (2002) The disappearance of class history in “Dialectic of Enlightenment”: a commentary on the textual variants (1947 and 1944). Horkheimer M., Adorno T.W. *Dialectic of Enlightenment: Philosophical Fragments*, Stanford: Stanford University Press, pp. 248–252.
- White H. (1990) *The Content in the Form: Narrative Discourse and Historical Representation*, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Wiggerhaus R. (1995) *The Frankfurt School: Its History, Theories and Political Significance*, Cambridge: MIT Press.
- Ziege E.-M. (2009) *Antisemitismus und Gesellschaftstheorie: die Frankfurter Schule im amerikanischen Exil*, Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp.
- Zolkos M. (2010) *Reconciling Community and Subjective Life: Trauma Testimony as Political Theorizing in the Work of Jean Amery and Imre Kertesz*, New York: Continuum.

## A Mistake about Causality in Social Science

*Alasdair MacIntyre*

*Andrei Korbut*  
(translator)

Research Fellow, National Research University Higher School of Economics  
20 Myasnitskaya Str., Moscow, Russian Federation 101000  
E-mail: korbut.andrei@gmail.com

The article considers the problem of actions–beliefs link. As author shows, the widespread approach in social science, those origins can be traced back to Hume and Mill and which tries to reveal the causal relations between beliefs and actions, is mistaken. It is mistaken because it proposes that, firstly, beliefs and actions are distinct and separately identifiable social phenomena and, secondly, causal connection consists in constant conjunction. MacIntyre, instead, proposes, taking as a starting point the distinction between physical movement and human action, to consider the actions–beliefs link in terms of the descriptions which the action should correspond to. If we, on being asked for an explanation of what we have done, refer it to an antecedent condition of a Humean kind, we precisely remove it from the class of actions and assign it to, most probably, the class of physical movements. To explain behavior as a genuinely human action, an explanation must refer to the customarily recognized rules of a particular social order. This presupposes that (1) action must fall under some description which is socially recognizable as the description of an action; (2) an action must fall under a description and my actions under a description available to me; and (3) agent can do only what he/she can describe. As an illustration of his approach, author examines the role of Stalin’s philosophical work “Dialectical and historical materialism” in the process of the ideological “closing” of Soviet society.

Keywords: action, social theory, belief, causality, description, Stalin

## Contents

<b>POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY</b>	
Conversation with Günter Gaus.....	3
<i>Hannah Arendt</i>	
Beyond “Pure Science” and Philosophic Contemplation.....	24
<i>Ilya Matveev</i>	
<b>SCHMITTIANA</b>	
Correspondence on Schmitt and the Political.....	34
<i>Anatoliy Akhutin, Alexander Filippov</i>	
<b>BOOR REVIEWS</b>	
Political Philosophy and Political Economy.....	48
<i>Kamil Galeev</i>	
<b>RUSSIAN ATLANTIS</b>	
Herzen and Slavophiles.....	62
<i>Andrey Teslya</i>	
Tikhomirov’s Diary (December 1905).....	86
<i>Lev Tikhomirov, Alexander Repnikov</i>	
<b>CULTURAL SOCIOLOGY</b>	
Social Theory and Trauma.....	121
<i>Ron Eyerman</i>	
<b>TRANSLATIONS</b>	
A Mistake about Causality in Social Science.....	139
<i>Alasdair MacIntyre</i>	
Abstracts.....	158