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FROM THE PAST TO THE FUTURE

**(The social order of new Russia in the context
of national historic experience)**

The almost twenty years of new Russia's history demonstrate the indifferent attitude of the citizens' majority to the values of freedom, democracy, private property, market and liberalism as components of the ideological foundation of the existing Constitution of the Russian Federation. Evidently, on the eve of the 1990s, having abandoned the Marxist-Leninist perceptions on development of society and state, the national political elite was unable to propose to society an adequate conception of social-political development. As a result, for the whole period of its formation new Russia has been in the state of a profound world look crisis, which prevented formation of the long-term political course of the country.

The results of sociological research prove the above said. The question concerning the perception on direction of the country's movement and on the national aims set by the present leadership in 2005 was responded in the following way: rather clear perception – 14% of the answers, rather vague perception – 41%, no perception – 22%, has been let taken its course – 18%. In the end of 2009, the results

showed greater despondency – 86% of respondents had no vision of the Russia's direction of movement.

It is not accidental that the images of the past dominate in consciousness of Russians. According to sociologists, Russians prefer state planning and distribution (from 36% to 58% of responses in various years) and the Soviet political system (from 24% to 48%); the social system based on private property and market relations causes less enthusiasm (from 28% to 40%) of respondents, while from 15% to 23% of respondents are attracted by western democracy. The political and economic system of contemporary Russia is considered as the best system as follows: from 13% to 36% of respondents. It is evident that the search is needed for new and untraditional approaches to elaboration of the conception of social order of the country.

The study of national historic process within the context of history of the world civilizations is in great need in the process of this work. As a founding principle there should be stressed the idea of V.O. Klyuchevsky that the crux of world history consists in the counter struggle between idealism and realism in all spheres of society's life, primarily in the sphere of "human spirit". As the scientist noted, the idealists are convinced that the destiny of the peoples is fixed by a certain reasonable basis and is determined by an ideal scheme of world structure. On the contrary, the realists do not recognize the existence of the supreme basis in history. Life of people, to their mind, should be saturated with practicality, wisdom, politicians' ability to see and to express the needs and interests inherent to different strata of the population, which should be taken into account in the course of the choice on the way of further society's development. Of great interest are also deliberations of great historian on the method of realistic study of society's life, which should foresee perception of the

origin, the course and conditions of forms and the nature of human common life.

One of the most significant features of research activities of philosophers of the past, which has a permanent theoretical-methodological meaning, is the intention to separate the scientific and the philosophic approaches in the course of study of society life. According to them, the subject of science is the reality, the facts, the environment; the subject of philosophy is the thinking, which is not limited either by time, or space, or natural and social environment. Just therefore the scientific method supposes an all-round comprehension of society's lie on the basis of veracious knowledge and not on speculative construction of this life according to ideal perception on it. Neither human activity, nor the process of its research can be surrendered to the despotism of the idea, as was stressed particularly by S.L. Frank. The consignment to oblivion of this truth always results in reproduction of the revolutionary-heroic principle, which is fatal for the mankind. Just due to this circumstance any adequate public force assuming the courage to influence the historic course of events should constantly remember that the state's good includes each just public interest of every citizen and every class, considered I.A. Ilyin.

Appraising via the prism of these ideas the contemporary situation of the national public thinking, the author regards that many approaches for study the problems of the public development in Russia are marked to a larger extent by philosophical and speculative and to a lesser extent by the scientific and concrete characteristic. And the significant fact is ignored that all mega-theories used more often as a methodological basis of contemporary studies of social systems of Russia appeared as a result of generalization of realities of quite another social environment, which was radically different from the Russian social environment; these theories are as follows: the formation theory

attributed to K. Marx and F. Engels, the civilization-confessional conceptions of M. Weber and S. Huntington, the civilization-national theories of A. Toinbi and F. Fukuyama, the theory of the post-industrial society of D. Bell and O. Toffler, the theory of forms of exchange of K. Polani and D. Dalton, the theories of the world-systemic analysis of F. Brodel and I. Wallerstine. O. Klyuchevsky with sagacity wrote: “We asked the West-European wisdom to come and to teach us to learn sense but we tried to replace it by our sense”.

The analysis of contemporary knowledge of society in the context of realism and idealism leads to another conclusion – the methodological exhaust and lack of perspective of the alternatives “capitalism – socialism”, “democracy – totalitarianism”, “liberalism – authoritarianism”, which are actively used by national researchers for the last decades in the course of comprehension of the sense of public systems’ problems. Keeping as a research device these alternatives being ideological rudiments of continuing ‘cold war’ the researchers condemn themselves to existence in captivity of mythic perceptions of history, theory, policy and practice of national social reforms. By conservation of the shaped study tradition the researchers will be never able to escape dogmatism and to start study of the social system of the Russian federation on the principally new theoretical-methodological orbit – the multiform and genuine scientific movement of research thinking.

The world history’s experience convincingly proved that the civilizations possessing a chance to use extensively the values and institutions of freedom, democracy, liberalism, private property and market finally have more advantageous conditions for the accelerated social progress, satisfaction of needs and interests of people. However, this experience demonstrates as well the following: all mentioned values and institutions are nothing else than the external

display of inner foundations of functioning of the corresponding social structures. In sum, the taking root in the social system of primary democratic or primary administrative methods, of liberal or authoritarian, of market or distribution principles is the result of not so much the subjective activities of participants of historic process as the consequence of the impact of the whole complex of objective circumstances inherent to each country (or a group of countries). Exactly these circumstances have a decisive influence on shaping of a certain social genotype.

The sense of each concrete genotype in some cases creates a rather comfortable environment but in other cases engenders a mighty mechanism, which hinders realization of the scenario chosen by the political elite. Just therefore the process of elaboration of reforming contemporary society should be started from the search for a certain genetic code, a paradigm of social development, which not only in the past but also at present determines the characteristic of reciprocal action, its aims and methods, determines the destiny of a number of attempts to change the historic course of development.

What is the national social genotype? In other words, what should be referred to the specifics of origin, formation and evolution of Russian civilization, to the nature of its difference from the West-European model of social order? According to P.N. Milyukov, in Eastern Europe the state organization was shaped earlier than the process of internal economic development could create it, while in West Europe the state order was the result of the internal process.

The European society and state were constructed organically upwards: the centralized power became the political superstructure above the previously shaped middle strata of landowners, which, in its turn, naturally grew out of the formed lowest strata of settled peasants. In Russia the system of social relations was constructed on the basis of

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