

V.I. Chumakov

CONSERVATIVE DIRECTION OF RUSSIAN
SOCIAL AND POLITICAL THOUGHT AT THE
LATE OF THE 19TH AND THE FIRST HALF
OF THE 20TH CENTURY

Monograph

Edition II illustrated

New York
2025



The St. Catherine's Church in the Moscow Kremlin is a house church in the name of the holy great martyr Catherine, part of the Grand Kremlin Palace complex. It was built in 1808–1817 in the Gothic style and had two chapels: the southern Kazan chapel (1818) and the northern Nativity of the Baptist (1880). In 1929, the church was destroyed along with other monastery buildings.

Author:

Chumakov V.I. — Ph.D. in Pedagogical Sciences, Associate Professor of the Department General and Clinical Psychology, Institute of Public Health named after N.P. Grigorenko, Volgograd State Medical University of the Ministry of Health of the Russian Federation

Chumakov, Vyacheslav Igorevich. Conservative direction of russian social and political thought at the late of the 19th and the first half of the 20th century: monograph / V.I. Chumakov. — New York , 2025. — 91 p. — Text: electronic.

The presented monograph aims to examine the legacy of two original Russian thinkers of the 19th and 20th centuries, Lev Tikhomirov and Ivan Ilyin. The author studied the evolution of the views of philosophers in the context of the development of socio-political thought of the conservative direction, the concept of the state and the applicability of the Western model of liberal democracy for Russia. The monograph contains a historiography of the study of the works of L. Tikhomirov and I. Ilyin. The ideas of the thinker on the role of the church in the issue of state building, the workers' and peasants' issues are presented. Particular attention is paid to the analysis of the theories of the nature of Russian monarchical power and legal consciousness. The author hopes that the materials of the monograph will stimulate colleagues to independent ideological searches in the field of history of social thought. The monograph is intended for students, postgraduates, teachers and all those interested in the history of Russia and Russian socio-political thought.



Chumakov V.I. — Ph.D. in Pedagogical Sciences, Associate Professor of the Department General and Clinical Psychology, Institute of Public Health named after N.P. Grigorenko, Volgograd State Medical University of the Ministry of Health of the Russian Federation

TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION	5
Chapter I.L.A. Tikhomirov: from revolutionary radicalism to conservatism.....	11
1.1. Evolution of the thinker's views.	11
1.2. Reform projects of L.A. Tikhomirov	22
Chapter II. Creative biography of the Russian philosopher I.A. Ilyin.	35
2.1. Moral and ethical views of the philosopher.....	35
2.2. Socio-political journalism of I.A. Ilyin	46
Chapter III. Socio-political views of L.A. Tikhomirova and I.A. Ilyin.....	52
3.1. Review of socio-political theories of the conservative trend of Russian social thought 19th — early 20th centurie.....	52
3.2. State system and justification of monarchical statehood in the works of L.A. Tikhomirov and I.A. Ilyin.....	62
3.3. The problem of democracy in the works of thinkers.....	75
3.4. Criticism of socialist theories by Tikhomirov and Ilyin	85
LIST OF SOURCES	89
LIST OF REFERENCES	90

INTRODUCTION

At the beginning of the 21st century, in the new socio-political conditions in Russia, interest in Russian conservative socio-political thought is reviving in Russian historiography. In today's unstable socio-economic and political times, the study of the legacy of Russian conservative thought is especially relevant. Russian society now faces no less complex tasks than those it had to solve at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries. The current phenomenal interest in the theorists of conservatism creates a unique situation in recent decades: in Russian society, there is hope for a special mission of traditionalist thought in the matter of reviving national statehood. In connection with this state of mind of modern society, researchers of Russian conservatism are faced with the enormous task of creating a new history of Russian thought, rearranging priorities and determining the true significance of different thinkers in the general historical scheme of development of Russian philosophy ... This task seems extremely complex, since the researcher of conservative creativity is forced to work with extremely limited material, having practically no authoritative judgments of past years to facilitate his task. The relevance of the problem of Russian conservatism (as a phenomenon of world social thought and practice) is important not only in the theoretical and methodological sense, but also in the applied sense. Conservatives have posed a number of enduring fundamental problems that have been troubling the minds of humanity for centuries: personality-society-state, man and power, the price of social progress, traditions and innovations in the process of historical development, etc. Conservatism, as an intellectual and political trend in the history of Russian social thought, has received very little attention in Soviet historiography. To a large extent, this trend has been consigned to oblivion. In recent years, works have begun to appear devoted to individual representatives of Russian conservatism, their political and legal views. However, many problems in the history of Russian conservatism have not yet been reflected in scientific literature; there are no generalizing works on the history of this trend in Russian social thought. This situation is primarily due to the fact that for decades historians have studied mainly the views of representatives of the revolutionary democratic direction, and their opponents were spoken of either in passing or exclusively in a negative light. The situation has begun to change in recent years.

Conservatism (from the Latin *conservare* - to protect, to preserve) is an ideological and political movement, whose supporters are fighting to preserve the traditional, established foundations of the social system. Conservatives are

A common point of view is to identify conservatism with reaction. But this

is not entirely true. Conservative ideology seeks to preserve existing forms (in this case, the socio-political system), to give stability to social relations, and to prolong this state in society. Reaction is a political course (ideology) that seeks to return to old, obsolete political forms.

The history of conservatism begins with the Great French Revolution of the late 18th century, which challenged the very foundations of the old order, all traditional forces, and all forms of aristocratic rule. The basic tenets of conservatism were first formulated in the works of E. Burke, J. de Maigras, and L. de Bonald. The starting point of modern conservatism can be considered the publication in 1790 of E. Burke's famous book *Reflections on the Revolution in France*. The term "conservatism" itself came into use after F. Chateaubriand founded the journal "Conservator" in 1815.

During the 20th century, various currents of Russian social thought emerged - revolutionary democratic (N.G. Chernshevsky, A.I. Herzen, N.A. Dobrolyubov), liberal (N.K. Mikhailovsky, K.D. Kavelin, B.N. Chicherin). The formation of the Russian conservative movement took place at the end of the 17th - beginning of the 20th centuries in the works of such major public figures as N. M. Karamzin, G. R. Derzhavin and V. A. Zhukovsky. The political course of Nicholas I was supported by the theory of "official nationality" developed by S. S. Uvarov in a number of works. In the 30-40s of the 20th century, the ideas of "official nationality" were reflected in the historical works of M. P. Pogodin, M. Korf. Conservative tendencies were also evident in the worldview of the Slavophiles of the 40s of the 20th century (A. S. Khomyakov, I. V. Kireevsky, Yu. F. Samarin, I. S. and K. S. Aksakov). The era of reforms of the 1860-1870s gave birth to a new type of conservative statist. A prominent theorist of the conservative persuasion was M.N. Katkov - a publicist, publisher, professor of the philosophy department Moscow University, then editor of government publications - the newspaper "Moscow Vedomosti", the magazine "Russian Bulletin".

The work of F. M. Dostoevsky, his socio-political concept had a huge influence on the evolution of socio-philosophical thought in Russia as a whole, on the moral and religious philosophy of the late 19th - early 20th centuries.

The main scientific issues of the philosopher V. Solovyov were of a purely religious nature. In the history of Russian conservative thought, Solovyov's theocratic theory became a turning point. His philosophical works and articles contained, however, original socio-political views.

An original thinker of the second half of the 20th century was K. N. Leontiev. He belonged to the representatives of late Slavophilism. At the same

time, his views were distinguished by eschatological ideas, strict religiosity, and political conservatism. He believed that Russia was threatened by Western civilization, which had entered the third period of its development - secondary simplification and decline. He sharply criticized democracy, parliamentarians, and K.P. Pobedonostsev. He was suspicious of everything new, believing in the inviolability and stability of the existing order in Russia. The ideas of L.A. Tikhomirov and I.A. Ilyin can serve as an attempt to give conservatism not only a religious and philosophical, but also a legal and legal justification. The economy remained a weak point of Russian conservative ideology. Tikhomirov took certain steps here. He also developed projects for reforming the Russian political system. L.A. Tikhomirov is known as the "creator of the theory of the progressive evolution of autocracy." It seemed that conservative ideology had completely exhausted itself at the beginning of the 20th century. But this did not happen. Conservatism as a type of thinking did not disappear.

The socio-political views of I.A. Ilyin were a great contribution to the theory of Russian conservatism. Conservatism, as an ideological and political movement in the history of Russian social thought, has not been sufficiently studied in domestic historical science. First of all, the theoretical and methodological problems in this topic have not been studied, the field of problems in its interrelations and historical environment has not been defined. Many components of conservatism (economic, social, confessional, foreign policy) still remain on the periphery of the research process. Specifically, the work of L. Tikhomirov and I. Ilyin was the subject of study by their contemporaries: S. Frank, Z. Gippius, A. Bely, N. Berdyaev paid attention to them in the context of the controversy surrounding the sensational issue in Russian circles. emigration

Ivan Ilyin's book "On Resisting Evil by Force", published in Berlin in 1925. A. Bely saw in Lev Tikhomirov "a new type of philosopher", having in mind his unusual fate. Such a precise and reserved in his assessments thinker as G.P. Fedotov also wrote about the "mysterious Lev Tikhomirov" in his work

"The Tragedy of the Intelligentsia". The disputes about the fate of Russian culture between A. Bely and I. Ilyin became well-known. The views of Tikhomirov the revolutionary were analyzed by G.V. Plekhanov, who classified him as a follower of Lavrov and Bakunin.

Abroad, the religious philosophy of I. Ilyin was studied by N.O. Lossky and V.O. Zenkovsky. But at the same time, they missed the socio-political aspects of his views. Another major researcher of Ilyin's work was N.P. Poltoratsky, who paid much attention to the controversy surrounding Ilyin's book

"On Resisting Evil" by Force among the Russian emigration. He noted the contradictory combination of German classical philosophy and traditional Russian original ideology in Ilyin's ideas. The works written in the Soviet period were characterized by the study of the problem of the development of conservative thought in Russia from the standpoint of Marxist-Leninist ideology. The evolution of conservatism was considered in the mainstream of the growing class struggle in the Russian Empire at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries. At the same time, the identification of conservative-protective ideology with reactionary is characteristic. Among Soviet historians in the 70s, Tikhomirov's ideas were analyzed by V.N. Kostylev, who devoted the topic of his dissertation to the study of monarchist ideology in the philosopher's journalism. Kostylev emphasized the inconsistency and contradictory nature of his constructions. But at the same time Kostylev noted that Tikhomirov sought to take into account in his program of transformations the demands of not only the ruling classes, but also other social groups in Russia, including the working class. In the 90s, there was an increased research interest in Tikhomirov and Ilyin among historians and social scientists. Works by V.A. Gusev appeared, devoted to the problems of state structure in the works of Ilyin. He noted the combination of Ilyin's theoretical principles with liberal ideas and values. Yu.T. Lisitsa and Yu.L. Tikhomirov devote their works to the socio-political aspects of Ilyin's philosophy. Researcher N.K. Gavryushin pays attention to the polemics between Ivan Ilyin and A. Bely. Ilyin's biography was studied by I. Smirnov and V. Kuraev. Ilyin's work arouses interest and response among teachers.

The problem of searching for the origins of Russian conservative thought remains controversial today. V.V. Shelokhaev devoted his work to this topic. As for political conservatism specifically, V.V. Leontovich, for example, traces its origins back to 1762, when Catherine II ascended the Russian throne. Modern researchers believe that Russian political conservatism emerged only at the beginning of the 20th century. Of the modern original interpretations of conservatism, V.I. Tolstykh is interesting, who believes that conservatism is not an ideology, but a certain position of a particular ideology. "Conservatives," the author believes, "are among liberals, socialists, and nationalists, forming a "fundamentalist wing of people from existing ideologies." In recent years, works have appeared that more objectively assess the role of the conservative movement in the history of Russian thought (K.F. Shatsillo

"Russian Conservatism of the 20th Century M., 2000). (V.F. Pustarnakov "Liberal Conservatism and Liberalism in Russia in the 19th – early 20th Centuries: Differences and Similarities" M., 2000) What place do Ilyin's ideas

occupy in Russian social thought? This question is controversial in modern historiography. Some researchers consider his work as a continuation of Russian conservative thought of the late 19th – early 20th centuries. Others classify Ilyin as a representative of the Russian liberal tradition.

Over the past two years, the work of Ilyin and Tikhomirov and the problem of Russian conservatism have once again attracted the attention of researchers. Quotes from Ivan Ilyin have repeatedly been heard during public speeches by Russian President Vladimir Putin. Finally, several general theoretical works on Russian conservatism have been published. I have many problems of the development of Russian conservative thought that were not considered by Soviet historiography. Conservative thinkers are illuminated from a completely different point of view. A grandiose reassessment of the significance of various currents in the overall picture of the development of Russian thought is taking place. The purpose of the monograph is to determine the features and compare the socio-political views of L.A. Tikhomirov and I.A. Ilyin. Based on the purpose of the study, a number of non-retrievable tasks of this monograph can be identified:

- to analyze the evolution of L. Tikhomirov's views, to identify the main stages in the development of his work;
- to consider the main state-legal and socio-political ideas of I. Ilyin;
- to compare the views of these philosophers on the state, monarchy, problems of democracy, to highlight the differences in their criticism of socialist theories;
- to determine the significance and place of the socio-political views of L.A. Tikhomirov and I.A. Ilyin in Russian social thought.

To fulfill the objectives of the study, the following sources were used: works by L. Tikhomirov and I. Ilyin devoted to religious, moral and ethical — topics; "Axioms of Religious Experience", "Apocalyptic Doctrine of the Fates and End of the World". The book "Religious and Philosophical Foundations of History" by L. Tikhomirov is unique in its content. For the first time, human history was analyzed from a religious point of view. The work shows the emergence and logical development of religious movements in human societies, the mutual connection and continuity of religious ideas. Works by I. Ilyin "Hegel's Philosophy as a Doctrine of the Concreteness of God and Man", "On Resisting Evil by Force". In the first work, the subject of his studies is the understanding of classical German philosophy, he studies Hegel. In the book "On Resisting Evil by Force" Ilyin sharply criticizes L. N. Tolstoy's teaching on non-resistance. Articles, monographs, studies by L. Tikhomirov of a socio-political

nature: articles from 1892-1897 rr. from the magazine "Russian Review", articles and speeches from the book "Towards the Reform of Renewed Russia". In them, the thinker expresses his views on the problem of supreme power in Russia, provides an analysis of socio-economic problems, and formulates his projects for reforming the Russian political system. L. Tikhomirov's fundamental work "Monarchist Statehood" (1905) stands apart here. In this study, Tikhomirov examines the monarchical principle of government from its inception. Here he gives recipes for reforming the autocracy. In the Russian philosophy of Russian statehood there is only one book that can be placed next to "Monarchical Statehood" - this is the study of P.E. Kazansky "The Power of the All-Russian Emperor". Ilyin's emigrant works are devoted to a greater extent directly to political problems. He becomes an active publicist. Ilyin's socio-political views are expressed in his own periodicals "Russian Bell" (1927-1930), "On the Coming Russia" (1940-1941), in the collection of articles "Our Tasks" (1948), in the book "The Path of Spiritual Renewal" in these works he continues the philosophy of state and law, here he is a firm monarchist and nationalist, a supporter of the hierarchical class system, a society built on rank; and only in returning to these principles

Ilyin envisioned a fruitful future for post-communist Russia. He also thought about the fate of Russian culture.

Memoirs, recollections, personal correspondence of thinkers: "Shadows of the Past" – memoirs of L. Tikhomirov, begun by him in 1918, He intended to write about 80 essays. The purpose of this work is to create a kind of documentary cross-section of the era, its spiritual moods and social aspirations. The narrative features famous Russian and foreign public figures: here are revolutionaries Mikhailov, Khalturin, Plekhanov; Russian conservatives Leontiev, Astafiev, Kireev and others. Correspondence of thinkers with politicians, writers, hierarchs of the Orthodox Church.

The chronological framework of the research in the monograph covers the period from the 1880s to the mid-20th century. The selected chronological period best suits the achievement of the goal and objectives of the study.

The methodological basis of the monograph is the basic principles of historical knowledge. The principle of historicism is used, which involves the study of phenomena and objects in all their diversity and specific historical conditions from the moment of origin, development to the transition to another state and objective, requiring a comprehensive analysis of the phenomenon in all its complexity. General historical research methods are used in the work - descriptive, comparative-historical.

The author will gratefully accept any comments and suggestions from colleagues, teachers, students, doctors at tchumakov.vi@gmail.com

CHAPTER I.L.A. TIKHOMIROV: FROM REVOLUTIONARY RADICALISM TO CONSERVATISM

1.1. EVOLUTION OF THE THINKER'S VIEWS

We often hear about the enormous significance of the changes currently taking place in Russian public consciousness. We have become more knowledgeable and think more freely, but our process of cognition has not been freed from political tendentiousness. The returned N.A. Berdyaev, S.N. Bulgakov, P.B. Struve and others, who paved the critical path from Marxism to Christianity, have firmly taken authoritative positions in the consciousness of the intelligentsia, and at the same time we are not yet ready to understand the more radical representatives of the Russian cultural tradition. Meanwhile, the need to understand the activities of these people is felt more and more acutely.

Lev Aleksandrovich Tikhomirov (1852-1923) is a figure that is in many ways prophetic for Russian history of the 20th century, personifying the tragic fate of the Russian revolution. One of the "pillars and apostles of revolutionary ideology in Russia", an outstanding Narodnaya Volya member, he later publicly renounced his revolutionary convictions, published a brochure "Why I Stopped Being a Revolutionary", asked the Tsar for pardon, returned to Russia and became an ardent supporter of Orthodoxy and autocracy. This is what prompts me to start talking about Lev Aleksandrovich Tikhomirov, who went through a difficult path of returning from extreme left radicalism to firm national conservatism. The special place of L.A. Tikhomirov and the significance of his ideas in the history of Russian thought is determined by the fact that he represents an extremely rare type of national political thinker in our country. The identification of the religious-moral and spiritual-national characteristics of the Russian Orthodox monarchical statehood allowed Tikhomirov to correctly explain the paradoxical, from the European point of view, combination of autocracy and public self-government, central state power and extensive zemstvo freedoms, which was a stable principle of the Russian political system. As we see today, Russia could not hold out for seventy years on despotic centralism alone. Would it have survived, grown stronger and achieved comprehensive development during its thousand-year history, relying only on the centralism of power? Tikhomirov strictly substantiated in his works the fundamental necessity of developed civil liberties precisely for the Orthodox autocratic monarchy, which cannot exist without connection with popular opinion. His concept reflected not only the political structure of society, but also the national-religious worldview; he believed that "... a moral union of the Church and the state, a moral unification of the

Church and the state in a national collectivity" was necessary.

A notable attempt to renew monarchist ideas were his writings, which put forward the concept of the progressive evolution of autocracy. His spiritual turn from revolutionism to monarchism, from atheism to Orthodoxy and from positivism to mysticism is a unique phenomenon in its own way in Russian spiritual history. After all, we are not talking about just a change of ideals, similar to the creative evolution of many Russian philosophers who turned from Marxism to idealism. This is a completely different case, because Tikhomirov had to renounce not only his convictions, but also the very practice of revolutionary struggle, part ways with his party comrades, and abruptly break with his way of life and environment. It is no coincidence that some of his party comrades (such as Vera Figner), trying to explain this mysterious transformation of Lev Tikhomirov, this "rare in its characteristics type of person, one half of whose life is the complete opposite of the other", could not find anything better than to declare him mentally ill. However, Lev Tikhomirov's personality and fate made no less strange an impression on people far from revolutionary orthodoxy. Andrei Bely, for example, saw in Tikhomirov a new type of "religious-philosophical eccentric", emerging in Russia at the beginning of the 20th century. We are not talking simply about a philosopher or a religious thinker-God-seeker, but about a personality as a whole, who strangely refracted within himself a religious-philosophical idea. Andrei Bely placed Nikolai Morozov, Anna Schmidt, and Alexander Dobrolyubov, whose life paths were marked by a bizarre play of fateful forces, in the same row with Tikhomirov.



Lev Tikhomirov - revolutionary

To understand the origins of this mystery, let us briefly dwell on the biography of Lev Tikhomirov. He was born in Gelendzhik into the family of a military doctor. Even in his school years, he developed revolutionary convictions.

His family tree represented a number of clergymen who lived in the Tula province. True, his father did not follow this path. In his "Memoirs" Lev Tikhomirov emphasized that his upbringing was clearly at odds with his spiritual roots. But this was the time of the "sixties", when the spirit of nihilism reigned everywhere, which Tikhomirov called "the fight against the Russian fun

In 1870, Lev Tikhomirov entered the Moscow University in the Faculty of Law and from the second year he plunged headlong into revolutionary work. In 1874, he was arrested. Lev Tikhomirov spent more than four years in the Peter and Paul Fortress awaiting trial.

In November 1873, Lev Tikhomirov was arrested, accused in the "trial of 1893" - a trial of participants in the "going to the people" in the special presence of the Governing Senate in St. Petersburg. From the summer of 1878 - a member of the Executive Committee, the administrative commission and the editorial board of "Narodnaya Volya". After the trial in 1878, Lev Tikhomirov was released, since the years in prison fully compensated for the sentence assigned to him. But this freedom was very relative, because, having returned to revolutionary activity, he was forced to go underground. After the defeat of the Narodnaya Volya party in 1881-1882, Lev Tikhomirov emigrated abroad, to Paris, where, together with P. L. Lavrov, he edited the Vestnik Narodnoy Volyi. It was abroad that a spiritual turning point began to develop in Tikhomirov's soul, which finally took shape by 1886. "This internal falling away from the revolutionary worldview of mine took place in an extremely painful process... convinced of the falsity of the revolutionary idea, I could not help but look for the truth, for a reasonable idea." L. Tikhomirov also had a very negative reaction to the Russian revolutionary diaspora with its "sectarian ideology, coterie bustle and confrontation of personal ambitions." In 1888, Lev Tikhomirov renounced his revolutionary convictions, published a brochure entitled "Why I Stopped Being a Revolutionary," asked Alexander Sh for pardon, and in 1889 returned to Russia and became a convinced monarchist. "The revolutionary period of my thought is over," he wrote then, "I have not renounced my ideals of social justice. They have only become more coherent and clear."

The essence of this turning point consisted in L.A. Tikhomirov's acquisition of a mystical sense of life. The uniqueness of his spiritual experience consisted in the fact that he derived this mystical sense not from the Eastern Christian mystical tradition - like Russian saints and spiritual people, not from deep philosophical speculation - like V. Solovyov with his gift of revelation or S. Frank with his "mystical rationalism", not from meetings with mahatmas like E.P. Blavatsky or the Roerichs, not from visits to mystical centers of the world like G. Gurdjieff, not from anthroposophical lectures of R. Steiner - like Andrei Bely, not from reading occult literature like most adherents of theosophy, but from the experience of revolutionary struggle. Lev Tikhomirov could rightfully be called a mystic from the revolution, a mystical revolutionary. "While observing life, I have long noticed," he wrote back in Russia, in 1879, 1880, 1881, "that we, imagining to do everything in our own way, act, however, like pawns, moved by someone's hand, in order to achieve a goal not ours, but some unknown to us. I was surprised by the presence of some hand not only in the general course of our policy, but directly in the fate of me and my comrades. This unknown hand acted so powerfully that I experienced superstitious fear." The mystical feeling of life washed over Tikhomirov with particular force abroad. This was also facilitated by a number of family and everyday circumstances: everyday instability, need, the hopeless illness of his son, as if punishment for an unrighteous life,

the final break with former comrades and the painful days of loneliness in a remote, remote suburb of Paris... Here Tikhomirov has an ideal opportunity for a merciless analysis of his entire past life. Seized by a mystical mood, he hopes to find in the Gospel a solution to the question of how to live on. A page accidentally opened tells him: "And he delivered him from all his sorrows, and gave him wisdom and favor with Pharaoh, the king of Egypt" (Acts 7:10). Again and again he randomly opens the Gospel, and again it opens in the same place. So in L.A. Tikhomirov gradually came to the conclusion that providence was telling him to turn to the tsar with a request to return to his homeland, for only there could he be freed from his sorrows and gain the favor of his compatriots.

In 1888, L. Tikhomirov, the author of the sensational confession "Why I Stopped Being a Revolutionary," received the most gracious permission to return to Russia. Here he actively joined the creative and socio-political life. At this time, he wrote and published a number of works that interpreted his turn to Orthodoxy and the monarchy on the basis of the previous revolutionary experience: "The Beginning and the End. Moscow, 1890; "The Clergy and Society in the Modern Religious Movement." Moscow, 1893; "The Struggle of the Century." Moscow, 1896; "Liberal and Social Democracy." M., 1896; "Individual power as a principle of state structure", M., 1897; "Sign of the Times. The Bed of the Ideal", M., 1899; and others.

From 1907 to 1913, Tikhomirov was the editor of the newspaper *Moskovskie Vedomosti*, but his spiritual interests were closely connected not only with the problem of monarchical statehood, but also with the ideas of Christian mysticism, interpretations of the Apocalypse, and religious esotericism. On this basis, his spiritual rapprochement with M.V. Lodyzhensky (1852-1917), a Russian religious writer and author of the *Mystical Trilogy*, took place. L.A. Tikhomirov, who received M.A. Lodyzhensky's religious circle, Novoselova, turns to participation, in which he tries to understand his mystical experience in philosophical concepts of "various categories of being", thereby developing the philosophical tradition of "rational mysticism", opposing theosophical and occult mysticism. He accepted in its development many new ideas, which was largely determined by the knowledge of the opponents - the revolutionaries and good liberals, their ideology, organization and tactics. With a certain amount of truth, he wrote: "I am afraid that I see and understand something that others will not understand soon, and perhaps when it is already too late." That is why he wrote to the Minister of Internal Affairs Durnovo that he would very much like to engage in propaganda of "proof of the need for monarchical power for Russia", the development of a "positive program for the organization of autocratic statehood". Lev Tikhomirov made a significant contribution to the theory of Russian conservatism. Conservative thought as presented by Pobedonostsev did not find further development and exhausted itself. A theorist of a different nature was L.A. Tikhomirov, whom

Pobedonostsev helped to return to Russia in 1889, where over time he became one of the leading ideologists of conservative-conservative thought. In contrast to K.P. Pobedonostsev, L. Tikhomirov considered it absolutely necessary to carry out certain reforms in order to strengthen the autocracy, since “conservatism, which would be right as a denial of this fruitless revolutionary progress, deserves no less reproach when it limits itself to only one denial and does not see positive work before society, forward movement, that is, also progress, but only in the evolutionary sense. Real life does not know revolution as a creative principle. But it also knows neither immobility nor backward movement.” However, these thoughts did not lead L. Tikhomirov to liberalism, which, generally speaking, proceeded from the same premises. On the contrary, L. Tikhomirov, no less sharply than K. Pobedonostsev, criticized the liberals, who were declared by him to be the main culprits of the revolutionization of Russian society. In a series of essays "Beginnings and Ends. Liberals and Terrorists" he showed the close connection between liberalism ("beginnings") and the revolutionary movement ("ends"). Manifesting itself in forms "outwardly harmless", liberalism, in L. Tikhomirov's opinion, often "does not inspire fears, does not cause internal opposition from the government", and meanwhile the influence of liberals "is enormous for producing revolutionaries" and "insignificant when they need to be restrained." Liberals, both morally and materially, and in their press organs, provide revolutionaries with the most direct, and often decisive, assistance. “There is not a single revolutionary movement that does not have its roots or reflections in legal literature.” It was the liberal press that formed the public opinion that, in the case of V. I. Zasulich, “recognized the revolutionaries’ right to kill.”

As a naturally active person and also well acquainted with the organization of the revolutionary movement, L. Tikhomirov did not admit the idea that social movement, ideological currents and public life can develop on their own, without outside interference from a strong state power. In this regard, he anticipated the tactics and behavior of the totalitarian regimes of the 20th century, which crushed everything and everyone from science, culture, art to the purely personal life of citizens. “Whatever we take,” L. Tikhomirov asserted, “political power, economic organization, the conditions of education of the individual in the family and religious institutions, all this gets the opportunity to act beneficially only when it comes together in a harmonious system that permeates society from its smallest cells to the center. How much is needed for the existence of, for example, a monarchy, traditions that are developed from the long joint action of the monarch and the people, what habits in different classes of the people, what subtle ways of mutual understanding of the people and the authorities.” Well aware that these “traditions,” “habits,” and “subtle ways of mutual understanding” not only develop

spontaneously, but can be successfully created and formed through outside intervention, L. Tikhomirov proposed a whole set of means for creating this “harmonious system.” First, L. Tikhomirov, together with K. Leontiev, came to the idea that in order to counteract the “organized parties” hostile to the autocracy, it was necessary to form a secret society, something like a Masonic lodge or a Jesuit order of conservatives, as K. Leontiev joked. Such an elusive and invulnerable society for its opponents (some representatives of the highest bureaucracy were counted among its opponents) should not have any connections with the government, since this could discredit the society and “tie up” its autonomy and independence. An experienced conspirator, L. Tikhomirov proposed to create this society under the innocent guise of some scientific or charitable circle. Future members of the society were also outlined: V.A. Gringmut, Yu.N. Govorukha-Otrok, E.N. Pogozhev, I.V. Popon, A.A. Aleksandrov and other employees of the “Russian Review” and “Moskovskie Vedomosti”. Most of them later, already during the revolution of 1905-1907, united in various Black Hundred organizations. But, naturally, such a secret organization could not be numerous and in order to influence broad layers of society, L. Tikhomirov proposed to implement other measures. To create something like a future union of writers” - “a corporation of people of the pen”, as L. Tikhomirov proposed to call it. The corporation was to have its own congresses, its own governing bodies, and even its own judicial bodies, be subordinate to the government, and consist of people “with a firm belief in certain indisputable principles of morality and public good.” The purpose of this corporation was defined very vaguely, which gave its “leading figures” ample opportunity for any arbitrariness: “to serve not the party and directions, but the Tsar and the Fatherland, the entire country, the entire nation.” L. Tikhomirov’s idea was actively picked up by the entire conservative press – “Grazhdanin,” “Moskovskie Vedomosti,” “Russky Vestnik,” but met with decisive objections from the liberal press.

But the time for this had not yet come and the autocracy did not implement Lev Tikhomirov's proposals, although, as the future showed, they could have been implemented. Another, albeit not so new, contribution to conservative thought was L. Tikhomirov's proposal to regulate the entire education system in Russia from parochial schools to universities, to place education under the strict tutelage of the church and the state, which were to control and approve programs and the composition of teachers. Tikhomirov considered it necessary to protect students from the influence of revolutionary propaganda: “they should not normally engage in purely political activity.” Only in this way, L. Tikhomirov believed, through long-term education and “training”, could one get rid of the godless and anti-state Russian

intelligentsia - the main enemy (together with the "foreigners") of the "truly Russian state system" - the autocracy. "A living moral feeling thus forms the basis for the success of the state's actions. But the state in itself has no means of generating this feeling necessary for it. The state can take measures to ensure that the moral feeling is not undermined by the spread of immoral teachings, or the demoralizing spectacle of triumphant vice, etc. Numerous articles by L. Tikhomirov were repeatedly collected in thematic collections and published in large editions. The former bomber was noticed at the very top of Russian society and was granted a smile by the highest." However, more far-sighted than Nicholas II, Tikhomirov was less satisfied with his activities and the work of his comrades. "The remnants of the past, the liberal-revolutionary one, survived 13 years quietly and without success, but in the strictest isolation and discipline they retained all their positions, even retained the people, uniforms, and banners around which entire armies could rally tomorrow."

Unlike K.P. Pobedonostsev with his primitive faith in unconditional conservatism and its victory, the more subtle, searching L. Tikhomirov was a great pessimist. Conservatism and faith in the principle of monarchy did not prevent L. Tikhomirov from soberly assessing Russian reality in many ways. A year before the first Russian revolution, he wrote in his diary: "The monarchy organized by Alexander III fell apart and revealed its complete failure." He realized that "Russia is rushing full steam toward revolution," and the "old governing system" is unable to contain it and will inevitably be destroyed. In these conditions, in his opinion, efforts should have been aimed at preserving the idea of autocracy, introducing into the consciousness of the people the idea that the current disorder in governance, restrictions on freedom and tyranny do not at all reflect the essence of the Russian monarchy, that self-government, popular representation, personal freedoms, legality, etc. not only do not contradict the interests of the autocracy, but "even serve as the surest guarantee of its strength and the best security against all kinds of revolutionary tyranny."

A number of major works, including the four-volume work "Monarchist Statehood", numerous brochures, hundreds of articles in which he not only tried to prove the utopian nature of revolutionary and liberal programs, but also to substantiate the need for an autocratic form of government for Russia, allow us to speak of Tikhomirov as a major theorist of autocracy. He supplemented the conclusions of his predecessors with a position on the people's right to openly express their opinions, aspirations and interests to the monarch, to advise and effectively assist him, which requires a ramified system of class representation, direct communication between the tsar and delegates of all classes and strata of the population, and the provision of citizens with "reasonable rights and freedoms."

Hoping to "conquer the working world," to become its mouthpiece (not a self-proclaimed one, but a recognized one), L. Tikhomirov even tried to prove that the workers were "the closest in spirit class" for the autocracy and for himself. "Not a break with the state, but a rapprochement ... that is what the facts of state-labor relations show." The autocracy is the defender of the interests of the people, and therefore it sought to take into account the demands of almost all classes and social groups. This sometimes led to internal inconsistency and contradictory nature of its constructions.



Lev Tikhomirov. Russian conservative thinker.

L. Tikhomirov's first monarchist work was the confessional book "Why I Stopped Being a Revolutionary" (1888). In the darkest colors, depicting the life of revolutionaries, similar to the life of a "hunted wolf", the apostate criticized his former comrades for their circle mentality, ideological stagnation, and unwillingness to take into account the real will of the people and the real state of affairs in Russia. At the same time, declaring that he "did not abandon his ideals of social justice", which supposedly became "only more harmonious, clearer", Tikhomirov substantiated the impossibility and uselessness of the revolutionary path to achieving them, contrasted it with the path of "peaceful progress", the path of reforms. He called on the opposition to attack "the power established in Russia and, thinking about improvements ... think about how to make them with the autocracy, under the autocracy." Without denying the existence of serious errors in the government's activities, Tikhomirov explained them by the underdevelopment of Russian society and the absence of "state-minded" figures in it. The main task was to prepare "mature minds" and development plans. Having repeated the provisions of the liberal-populist theory of "small deeds" in the economic part, Tikhomirov dwelt in more detail on the justification of some palliative measures of a political nature, speaking out, in particular, for the easing of censorship, the regulation of student life, the expansion of the "area of jurisdiction of the zemstvo", giving it the significance of "the lowest organ of government", etc. He did not abandon plans to create a "party of progress", which, recognizing the autocracy and consciously going into an alliance with it, should always have a practical program ready. Tikhomirov hoped that, having seen the reliability of the party, the rationality of its program, the tsar would not find anything better than to call it to govern the country. But the final decision on all issues of Russian life belongs inalienably to the emperor.

Autocracy, he noted, is "a result of Russian history that does not need anyone's recognition and cannot be destroyed in any way, as long as there are tens and tens of millions in the country who know and do not want to know anything else in politics." In this regard, Tikhomirov considered the attempts of revolutionaries to impose a republican system on Russia to be violence against the peasant. The main objects of criticism of Ya. Tikhomirov are increasingly becoming bourgeois liberalism and the "democracy" that goes along with it, which follows from the teachings of K. Marx. In the series of essays "Beginnings and Ends. Liberals and Terrorists" the close connection that exists between liberalism in all its manifestations ("beginnings") and the revolutionary movement ("ends") is noted. It was precisely liberalism with its inherent or attributed characteristics (materialism, cosmopolitanism, parliamentarism, constant opposition, etc.) that Tikhomirov declared to be the main culprit in the revolutionization of Russian society. Moreover, he accused liberal society of directly aiding the "underground", of morally and even materially supporting it. Tikhomirov paid special

attention to the opposition (primarily liberal) press. Working for the magazine "Russian Review" (1890-1894), Tikhomirov criticized the populists, who saw capitalism as a brake on the socialist transformation of the country, and at the same time warned against underestimating the negative socio-political consequences of this system. His reasoning concerning the problems of economic development in Russia sounds surprisingly relevant: "we must decisively reject the plan that proposes to solve our economic problems by reorganizing Russia according to the type of the so-called advanced industrial countries of Europe." "Undoubtedly," he wrote, "some general national, or, to put it more specifically, simply state reason that organizes production is necessary."

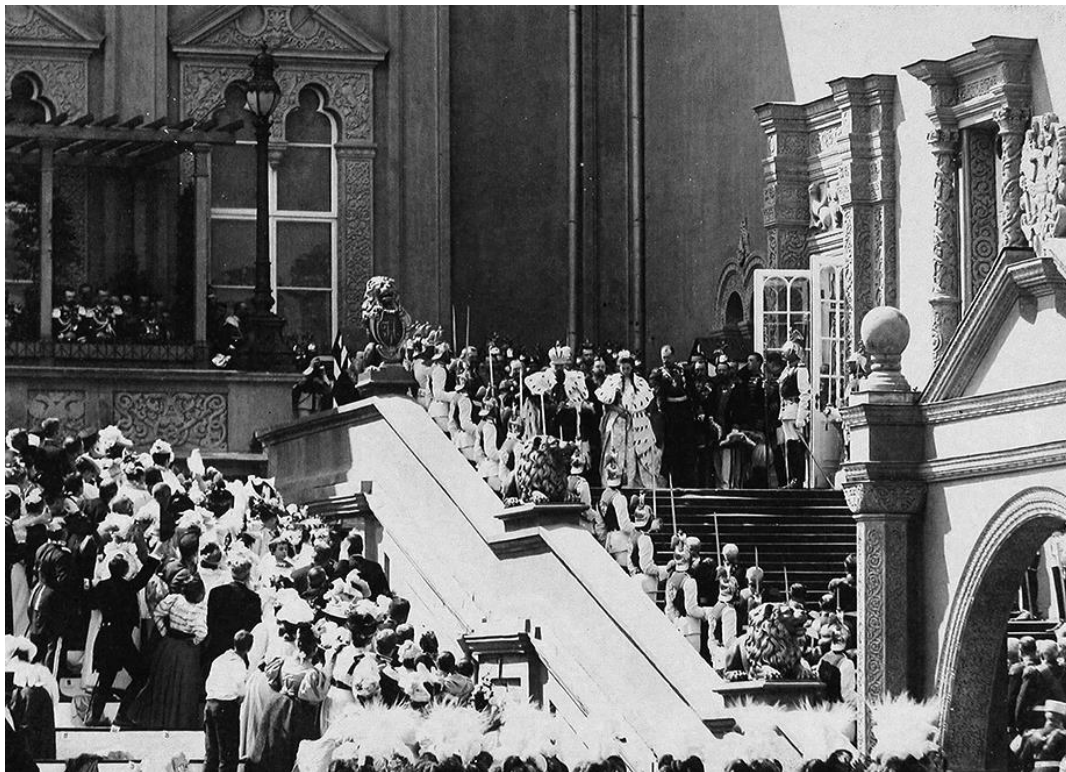
Advocating for active state intervention in the economic life of the country, Tikhomirov called for taking into account economic laws and advocated for the development of Russian economic thought. The main features of a reasonable economic policy, in his opinion, were as follows: accelerated development of large-scale industry of the "factory type", its "high degree of concentration", mandatory "coordination" of economic laws with the socio-political interests of society and the state, "revitalization of the economic activity of the state", a caring policy in the labor issue ("reasonable protection of workers from capitalist exploitation", "establishment of pensions for the elderly", "mediation in disputes" between workers and the capitalist, prescription of a "mandatory working environment", assistance to workers in the development of "various forms of ownership"). As the liberal-constitutional elements became more active in Tikhomirov's works, the calls for the autocracy to "defend the Russian cause" and "destroy evil" "by all means by which the social structure is maintained", "to maintain a formidable force for treason and disobedience" grew stronger. The culmination of this campaign came at the end of 1894-1895 - the time of the illness and death of Alexander III and the beginning of the reign of Nicholas II. It was then that Tikhomirov's essays appeared in *Moskovskiye Vedomosti* under the general title "Constitutionalists in the Era of 1881".

He argued that liberalism could become a direct threat to the autocracy and cause a catastrophe for the Russian cause. Many pages of the essays resembled police reports indicating the "most dangerous" "liberals among those living. Tikhomirov insisted that "all the large layers lay firmly, and above them the autocratic power towered just as firmly. In a dangerous state of social instability was only a small middle layer of the educated class, from which came ... constitutionalists and fanatical revolutionaries." But the impending revolution prompted Tikhomirov to develop his own programs of transformation.

1.2. REFORM PROJECTS OF L.A. TIKHOMIROV

At the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries, debates flared up in Russian educated society around the idea of a constitutional monarchy. Perhaps the most complete and profound justification of the constitutional system was presented by B.N. Chicherin. Chicherin's concept was the subject of sharp criticism by L. Tikhomirov. The controversy concerned, first of all, the political and philosophical justification of the idea of a limited monarchy. In the article "Statehood and Classhood" Tikhomirov also refuted Chicherin's opinion about the inevitable demise of the class state, believing that "the origin of the estates is a civil phenomenon, not a state one."

In the four-volume monograph "Monarchical Statehood", published in 1905, Tikhomirov offers an alternative to the projects of the liberals and radicals. Its first part ("The Origin and Content of the Monarchical Principle") is devoted primarily to proving that autocracy is the best form of supreme power. It is emphasized that in disputes about the advantages of one or another form of government, the discussion must first of all be about the ideal. "One cannot criticize the monarchy on the basis of the practice of Russian absolutism," he never tired of repeating, "just as one cannot criticize democracy in general on the basis of the realities of the ochlocracy of the bourgeois parliament."



Coronation of Emperor Nicholas II and Empress Alexandra Feodorovna on May 14 (26), 1896 in the Assumption Cathedral of the Moscow Kremlin.

The monarchy does not at all consist in the arbitrariness of one person or a bureaucratic oligarchy... It consists in the sole expression of the idea of the entire national whole. In order for this to be a fact, and not a signboard, a certain organization and system of institutions are needed that are capable of turning the Russian monarchy from the regressive path leading to its destruction to the progressive path leading "to strengthening and flourishing." The book gradually unfolds a picture of a future national kingdom, where "the monarch is in communication and unanimity with the people," "the individual and the public act energetically," "the common good," "the stable well-being of the estates," "the rights and freedom of each and everyone" have been established, where, thus, "the reasonable demands" of all modern trends in political thought have been realized. Not limiting himself to declarations, L. Tikhomirov proposed to the autocracy a program of "priority practical reforms" in order to disarm the impending revolution by peacefully implementing its "reasonable demands." L. Tikhomirov could not provide convincing evidence of the "reformist capabilities" of the monarchy of his time. All that remained was to assert that "it is self-evident that the sovereign cannot have anything against useful reforms." "The monarch must know that if there is no religious feeling in the people, then there can be no monarchy" L. Tikhomirov admitted that the monarchy has a weak side - "the danger of transition to absolutism." But to eliminate this danger, he proposed only one means - to prepare worthy bearers of supreme power.

The monarch is endowed with a prerogative, i.e. the right to act "outside the legally established norms, in accordance only with the duty to give triumph to the highest, moral, divine truth." At the same time, Tikhomirov proceeds from the position that "truth is above the law"; it is the nationwide faith in the sanctity and omnipotence of truth, "public conscience," and "not the law, not punishment, and not the observing power," that constitutes "the greatest guarantee of fair interpersonal relations." The Tsar is the guarantor of this "public conscience." It is necessary to immediately emphasize that L. Tikhomirov was an opponent of hasty reforms in the "era of all kinds of unrest and rebellion."

Tikhomirov put forward the revival of church administration, the social organization of the nation, the restructuring of government institutions, and the legislative formalization of the rights and obligations of subjects as the primary tsarist reforms.

In the church question, L. Tikhomirov's program boiled down to the separation of church and state, which was considered the basis for the establishment of a "democratic union of church and state" in the future, the restoration of the patriarchate,

and the "democratic reorganization of the parish." It was emphasized that the restoration of the correct structure of the Russian Church could only be accomplished by a Local Council of the Russian Church, properly composed, i.e. with the proper advisory participation of the clergy and laity. He especially emphasized that "the participation of the religious principle is absolutely necessary for the existence of the monarchy as the state Supreme Authority." L. Tikhomirov attached particular importance to the correct social organization of national forces and their participation in state administration. He insisted on class (corporate) rather than general civil (party) representation, which would inevitably lead to the Russian people falling from the hands of one bureaucratic bureaucracy into the hands of another, a "party bureaucracy", worse and more dangerous.



Moscow priests, early 20th century

Speaking about Russian legislation, L. Tikhomirov emphasized that the new fundamental laws did not define what popular representation should do, and he believed that "the constitution of 1906 produced... the undermining of statehood". True popular representation, Tikhomirov argued, should be a representation not of parties, and not even of classes or estates, but of smaller social groups and strata united in special corporations, formed by natural, unconstrained by state regulation, free work of members of the nation.

The participation of "public elements" in state administration can be manifested in 3 areas:

- 1) in administration that allows direct action of popular forces (local authorities, trade unions, etc.);
- 2) in the area of legislative activity of the state;
- 3) in the area of control over management.

In all these areas, the public and the bureaucracy will complement each other, mutually control and expose all kinds of errors and abuses.

"Local governance", as well as governance of class and professional organizations, must be in the hands of "public institutions", and "the bureaucracy here is primarily the controlling organ". All social groups and strata must be represented in "public institutions" in proportion to their numbers and economic and social importance. In this regard, pointing out the inadmissibility of the fact that <for example, a huge mass of peasants should be suppressed by a hundred families of the privileged classes", Tikhomirov immediately noted that the opposite should not be allowed. In the same way, the recognition of the need for broad rights and competence of these "public institutions" was to a large extent "compensated" by the requirement that they be accountable to state power. As for the "middle state administration" (provincial, etc.), L. Tikhomirov left it "primarily in the hands of bureaucratic institutions".

Public forces were assigned an "advisory and controlling" role here. One of the main conditions for the proper functioning of the highest state institutions is the consistent separation of powers (legislative, executive, judicial), strict observance of the law. L. Tikhomirov pointed out the inadmissibility of such a state of affairs, when the law turns into decoration through the publication of various "temporary rules", ministerial circulars, and supreme orders. The will of the monarch as the highest legislative authority "must express the greatest awareness, thoughtfulness, reason, and compliance with the circumstances and spirit of the nation", therefore, it is the legislative advisory activity "that must be surrounded by the presence of the best forces of the country that can only be found", i.e. "advisory people of the governed people themselves". The executive power must have the right and duty to "act

independently on its own responsibility". - The direct participation of the supreme authority in "executive management should be manifested only in the strictly necessary sphere". Tikhomirov repeatedly insisted on shortening the sessions of the State Duma." The "royal дума" is endowed with control functions, the members of which, being "established completely independently", are in direct communication with the supreme power and have "universal competence". The дума must include delegates from all the highest authorities: legislative, executive and judicial, and, in addition, "a significant number of members elected or summoned from among the social forces themselves".

He considered it to be the "public element" that was the most important "factor of control" over the bureaucracy. The Tsar's Duma, having the right of legislative initiative, should also be "the place of ordinary reports of ministers" and "endowed with the right to inquire of them and to present the supreme authority with conclusions regarding this or that degree of responsibility of ministers", up to and including bringing them to trial. At the same time, L. Tikhomirov proved the inexpediency of a bicameral Duma, as was practiced in the parliaments of Western states. Such a division, he believed, would inevitably lead to mutual distrust and hostility between "state officials" and people's representatives, and therefore to the weakening of the supreme authority as an organ supporting the necessary unity of state and public forces. Finally, in order to ensure "the greatest possible communication between the supreme authority and the nation", L. Tikhomirov also envisaged the periodic convocation of advisory Zemsky Sobors. A little later, in August-September 1906, under the influence of revolutionary events, Tikhomirov even allowed the idea that the subject of discussion at such a council could be the question of the supreme power: "Whatever the council wishes, that will be established." At the same time, he wanted to hope that the "people of the land" represented in the council, and not politicians, would be people of the "creative and protective layer" and, of course, would restore autocracy.

The supreme power sanctioned by the people would possess the most important feature of any power - force. Tikhomirov is convinced that any state "is held together, first of all, by force, by the compulsory maintenance of conditions of community life in it." But "the principle of separation of powers, in his opinion, applies only to the administrative sphere, and not as non-Supreme."

Tikhomirov's reasoning about the "correct foreign policy" was especially relevant at that time. The Russo-Japanese War that had ended not only proved the "inadequacy of our institutions" and "the absolute necessity of internal reforms", but also weakened Russia's international positions and undermined its military might. Tikhomirov feared that Russia would not have time to "develop the forces for a worthy

peaceful existence”, and therefore, as he wrote, “will not receive even gnawed bones at the feast of the successful”. The defeat in the war with Japan, having postponed the “final solution of the Far Eastern problem” for an indefinite period, made, in his opinion, a situation quite real in which Russia would have to solve this problem in more difficult conditions for it, in a struggle with the “united Mongolian world”, a struggle that would require millions of human lives and tens of billions of rubles from the country. But he insisted on the need for an “active policy in the Far East” with the goal of “introducing the Far East to the Christian world...”

In the face of the threat of impending military upheavals, according to Tikhomirov, the national question came to the fore, which for him focused on the problem of the unitarism of the Russian Empire: The correct national policy, he believed, would naturally lead to the "merger of all nationalities into one great nation" in Russia, realizing the "creative abilities of both the founding nation and the nations-collaborators gathered around it." From the standpoint of this ideal, he criticized the national policy of the government, which, instead of "achieving unity by strengthening the centralizing, unifying force," tried "to achieve this by weakening local forces." According to L. Tikhomirov, such a policy is a policy of fruitless internal struggle, and not internal unification. Arguing about the need for a "reasonable monarchical policy" and the correct structure of state institutions, Tikhomirov did not forget the rights of the individual. Underestimation of this issue inevitably leads to a struggle between the individual and the state, a struggle in which "for the good of the state itself, one must sometimes wish it as many defeats as possible, since every victory of the individual over the system that is stifling it serves the development and perfection of the latter." Tikhomirov declared the "struggle for individuality" (following N.K. Mikhailovsky) to be one of the most important laws of social life. Certain contradictions can be noted here. On the one hand, the existence of a real monarchy, in his opinion, is simply impossible without freedom of the press, the right to association and assembly, resistance to the illegal demands of the authorities, etc. Therefore, the evolution of monarchical statehood should be accompanied by a further expansion of the range of political rights and personal freedoms arising "from natural law, innate, connected with the very nature of the individual, society and the state." On the other hand, Tikhomirov advocated "unanimity" in educated circles and increased control by the authorities over the education system. He also spoke "about the benefits of a special type of censorship, not for the purpose of prohibition, as before, but for the purpose of recommendation."

Despite some moderately liberal, essentially bourgeois demands, Tikhomirov's program as a whole did not go beyond the framework of patriarchal-conservative theories and, in the conditions of Russia at the beginning of the 20th century, could not become a reasonable and truly saving guide to action for the monarchy of Nicholas II. The events of

1905-1907 rr. clearly confirmed this.

Emperor Nicholas II, although he approved of Lev Tikhomirov's book, awarding the author a silver inkwell, was unable to follow his advice. Under the pressure of the revolution, tsarism was forced to take another step and side with the bourgeois constitutional monarchy, so hated by Tikhomirov and unnatural for the autocracy itself (but the only saving one for it). Realizing the importance and complexity of the solution to the labor issue for the future of tsarism and his own, P.A. Stolypin took an unprecedented step. He invited Lev Tikhomirov from Moscow to St. Petersburg as an expert. He was given a position in the Main Directorate for Press Affairs, but his main duty was to give his thoughts and recommendations on the labor issue directly to the prime minister.

Tikhomirov did this in a number of letters addressed to Stolypin, as well as in a series of brochures. The first such letter was dated October 31, 1907. In it, the author outlined his main theoretical and political views in connection with the labor issue. The reason was the materials sent to him by Stolypin on the Western European labor movement, which the government newspaper *Rossiia*, headed by the same Gurlyand, had taken up the study of. "I have long read the data you gave me on the trade union organizations," wrote Tikhomirov, "I have not written to you only because you are, of course, busy with the current Duma issue." "The *Rossiia* data themselves, although they were obviously collected as the articles were being compiled, seem to me to provide correct statistics on the labor movement, although not without omissions... Thus, no attention has been paid to the movement of the French yellow workers.

The German Christian workers' unions have also been left without due attention. Meanwhile, their membership is growing faster than that of socialist workers, and even, according to Bernstein, reached 300,000 in 1907, and according to the data of their recent congress (in Frankfurt, I think), it even reached 600,000. In order to estimate the latter figure, we must remember that the number of Social Democrats (paying party quotas) this year also does not exceed 600,000 people. The remaining million-odd workers, called Social Democrats, do not, strictly speaking, belong to the party." However, Tikhomirov further notes, these articles contain an even "more important shortcoming: the absence of any conclusions and even the absence of any definite point of view for evaluating the workers' social movement. The author is only afraid of it (which is partly correct), but he hesitates as to what to do with it. Therefore, in these lines I will set forth my point of view on workers' organizations.

"The first and main conclusion that Tikhomirov made was precisely the inadmissibility of a purely negative approach to the labor question. Since workers' organizations are generated by life and, therefore, are indestructible, it is necessary to master them and use them in the interests of the state. "In politics and public life,"

Tikhomirov developed his thought, "everything is dangerous... It is clear that a workers' organization can be dangerous. But weren't noble, peasant, and all sorts of other organizations dangerous?.. The question of the danger of an organization does not solve anything for me. The question can only be: is the organization called for by the needs of life? If so, then it must be carried out, since if the authorities and the law do not carry it out, then other opponents of the authorities and the law will. If the state authority does not fulfill what is called for by the needs of life, it... is punished for this by the revolutionary movement." And if so, then "the conclusion from this is that our state must now introduce the organization of workers into the circle of its thoughts and concerns. All the difficulties and dangers of this matter must be taken into account, but in no way can they stop the state from fulfilling its duty to this huge layer of the population." Tikhomirov believed that "The forces of public care ... cannot be realized otherwise than by changing the nature of popular representation." Tikhomirov believed that it was more difficult to organize Russian workers in an appropriate manner than in England and Germany. There, the worker is engaged in his labor "constantly and exclusively" and therefore he is "easy to convince" that "excessive demands, capable of ruining the factory, are disadvantageous for the workers themselves." Russian workers, "who come from the village, are deaf to this: the most important thing for such a worker is to bring to the village not 100, but 200 rubles, and for these miserable 100 extra rubles he is ready to ruin a million-dollar establishment. Why? Because in a year he does not even expect to be a worker, but only dreams of buying a horse and going into agriculture." Nevertheless, the organization of workers is necessary, but simply borrowing the experience of other countries will not do. The main lesson given by this experience "is that everywhere measures have proved successful only to the extent that they were adapted to local conditions. This adaptation to our conditions is the first condition for the success of our activity."

Tikhomirov insisted on this thesis. His other fundamental thesis was that the realization of the labor question, like all the others, was possible only on the basis of a "firm policy. But with a shaky, wavering policy... not a single social question... can be carried out, especially one as complex as the labor question. . . ". He emphasized that "the labor question has invaded Russia in its most archaic revolutionary manifestations". In other words, Tikhomirov was an ardent supporter of Stolypin's "pacification". In the final part of his notes, entitled "General Considerations on the Desirable Formation of the Relations of the Authorities to the Trade Union and Revolutionary Movements", Tikhomirov again set out his basic ideas. "Our attitude toward the trade union movement was inextricably linked with our attitude toward the revolutionary movement". He explained his idea as follows: "Just a few years ago, no one thought about organizing industrial workers except revolutionaries; then, when the revolution broke out with general

strikes, the need to remove the actions of the revolutionaries from the difficult-to-observe "illegality" led to the creation of the law of March 4, 1906; and now, when the revolutionaries have shown that "legality" can be used even better than "illegality," new projects arise under the name of "trade unions" or "societies," but in reality on methods of combating revolutionaries among the workers. Thus, in relation to the workers' organization, the "directive" is given by the revolution." This is precisely the reason for the "great unrest and upheavals." The trade union movement in itself "contains nothing revolutionary, but even has a great anti-revolutionary character... In the trade union movement and the revolutionary movement, we have before us two completely different phenomena... requiring completely different measures, completely different attitudes toward power." And at the same time, Tikhomirov is forced to admit, the revolution draws its physical strength primarily from the environment of trade unions entangled with revolutionaries, "our working class... very easily succumbs to the influence of the social-revolutionary movement." Where is the way out? It is not in composing new police laws, but in creating in the country "confidence in the impossibility of violent revolutions so that the reasonable part of the workers can restrain the revolutionary impulses of the youth and the unstable part of the workers, directing the development of the entire class along the path of peaceful development."

In order to achieve such a mood, "decent earnings" are needed, for which it is necessary to "revive industry, increase production." But for this "the country must be pacified." And so the circle is closed.

The fight against the revolution, Tikhomirov emphasized, "cannot be waged only in the working class environment... the revolution must be fought in its entirety, and not only in its individual manifestations." To this end, he proposed:

"emergency measures with respect to individual manifestations, the elimination of the main sources that feed the flow of revolutionary sentiment and the revolution's faith in its omnipotence and triumph." Specifically, here he had in mind a new change in the Fundamental Laws of 1906, i.e., essentially, a new coup d'etat in the sense that it would be shown that the supreme power is "omnipotent and not limited by anything except itself." Such an act is necessary in order to knock out the main "initiative" of all pre-revolutionary weapons: the formations produced. "Attributing to revolutionary pressure... gives rise to the conviction that everything can be done by a bold rebellious pressure." Therefore, it is necessary to establish in the people the opposite idea:

"Everything has been done by the will of the supreme power, and nothing can be done by the will of the revolution." As for emergency measures, "banditry must be quickly, without stopping at anything, eradicated, and all measures must be taken that are necessary to deprive revolutionaries of the means of action by exploiting free speech and unions. In other words, if it becomes necessary to reintroduce military field courts,

they should be introduced.

In conclusion, Tikhomirov proposed one equally curious measure: "To allocate land to peasants locally through widespread resettlement, without wasting time on formalities, in the order of supreme administration and relying on local institutions or a specially convened peasant landowners' conference in Tsarskoe Selo." Tikhomirov proposed his own project under the title "Regulations on Workers' Societies." He began his explanatory note with his favorite idea: when they talk about trade unions, they do not really mean them, but the labor question as such. "In reality," he writes, "in Russia the important question is only workers' societies, not trade unions. Everyone thinks only of the workers when they work out projects for trade unions, they are afraid of the workers, they want to satisfy their needs, they want to stop or weaken the influence of socialism on the workers." And if this is so, then there is no need to deceive ourselves and engage in the "organization" of all categories of workers, understanding them "as a class, as an estate in the full complex of its needs, with all-class discipline." The history of the trade union movement leaves no doubt that the workers are a special class, the "fourth estate," and this is precisely what we should proceed from when creating legislation that "must be workers' legislation, not trade union legislation."

Since the labor question is extremely complex, "it is most advantageous for now to allow organization, rather than decree it." But the government must constantly control and direct "this popular initiative," and for this it is necessary, "without losing time, to create labor legislation and institutions that would allow the government to go hand in hand with the popular organizational movement." It is necessary to create:

"1) a special "Regulation on workers' societies and unions," which in the future will develop into a regulation on the working class;

2) a special institution in charge of labor affairs, for now concentrating on workers' societies;

3) a special auxiliary workers' bank to provide credit assistance to workers' societies."

"The guiding idea" of the draft "Regulation on workers' societies" was specified by the author in four points:

"a) so that permanent workers, as those most interested in the prosperity of the industry that feeds them, gain predominant influence among the working masses;

b) so that workers have sufficient rights to improve their standard of living;

c) so that the authorities retain sufficient supervision and the possibility of timely repression; d) so that workers do not come to hostility with other classes, but, if possible, are directed towards the path of mutually beneficial peaceful coexistence." The draft "Regulations" contained many points.

The 1st article proclaimed the goal of workers' societies to be "the maintenance and improvement of good conditions for their work." Article 2 indicated the ways of achieving this goal: increasing earnings, concluding collective agreements with entrepreneurs, participating in the elections of factory elders and in organizing, together with entrepreneurs, arbitration courts and other "institutions for settling misunderstandings," the establishment of consumer shops, savings banks, public apartments and houses, etc., the issuance of unemployment benefits, dowry benefits, funeral benefits, etc., the establishment of libraries, courses, readings, "caring for the religious and moral needs of their household members": inviting preachers, church services, pilgrimages, organizing evenings, home performances, walks, the acquisition of real estate both by society as a whole and by its individual members.

Article 4 "imposed the obligation" on societies to ensure that their activities "did not threaten public safety and did not destroy the productivity of industrial enterprises and the general development of national production." Article 12 stated: "Workers' societies managed by political parties are prohibited." Article 13 divided the members of the society into actual and temporary, the former could only be permanent workers. Only they (Article 14) could be members of the board of the society, and when voting, the vote of an actual member had to be at least one and a half votes. Articles 32 and 33 provided for the procedure for closing the society and punishing its members if the activities of the society began to threaten public safety" or took "an obviously immoral direction." Having familiarized himself with the insurance bills according to the Special Journal of the Council of Ministers, Tikhomirov fully approved the police innovations added to them, which were discussed above. At the same time he proposed: since it so happened that the labor legislation began with the insurance bills, to give the planned sickness funds a "broader social character" by adding provisions on savings banks, cooperatives, etc. He expressed a vigorous protest against the "extraordinary generosity" of the bill towards the workers at the expense of the industrialists. "This incredible generosity" should be "subject to revision", since it corrupts the workers ¹

The labor issue has returned to normal. According to A. Ya. Avrekh, the bold "theoretician" from the former Narodnaya Volya turned out to be a hopeless conservative and routine. But this is not evidence of Tikhomirov's personal limitations. His verbose project-mongering once again showed that the regime simply did not have positive means of solving the labor issue in its favor.

Tikhomirov's theoretical reasoning was considered "excellent" by signs, and even having implemented some of the ideas of his program in the conditions of the revolution's decline, P. A. Stolypin soberly noted that attempts to implement it in full would be "a

malicious provocation and the beginning of a new revolution." And Tikhomirov himself believed less and less in the reality of his utopia, admitting on the pages of his diary that Russia had finally entered, obviously, "on the banal bourgeois path"; and most importantly, he almost no longer believed in the ability of any, even the most ideal monarchy to ensure the "common good" and progress. "They have loaded everything too much into bureaucracy and absolutism." In 1914, Tikhomirov withdrew from active public life. The futility of attempts to reform the autocracy prompted the thinker to abandon politics, "to retire completely." In his diary (entry dated January 13, 1914), he explained this step as follows: "It would be a shame to support a government that is clearly insignificant, alien to the smallest signs of the ideal, and therefore capable only of rotting and corrupting the people." The last years of his life were spent in Sergiev Posad. Here he worked on a book of memoirs, "Shadows of the Past," which appeared to him as if in the apocalyptic light of revolutionary reality. The theme of the Apocalypse attracted the attention of L. A. Tikhomirov back in 1907. When he published an article in the journal of the Moscow Theological Academy, Christian, entitled "On the Seven Apocalyptic Churches," in whose image he saw a kind of outline of the history of the Universal Church. In letters to M.V. Lodyzhensky, a Russian religious writer, he tries to comprehend the ideas of Christian mysticism. It also attracted Tikhomirov in the last years of his life in Sergiev Posad. According to the memoirs of S. Fudel, he arranged a reading of the "Apocalyptic Tale" at his home, the plot of which unfolds against the backdrop of the last days of the world. But the Apocalypse was not only in the story, it was clearly felt in life itself. Lev Tikhomirov, who died in 1923, managed to see the embodied mysticism of the revolution.

CHAPTER II. CREATIVE BIOGRAPHY OF THE RUSSIAN PHILOSOPHER I.A. ILYIN

2.1. MORAL AND ETHICAL VIEWS OF THE PHILOSOPHER

In the past 20th century, Russian socio-political thought was not deprived of talents capable of embracing the historical past of Russia and foreseeing the course of its future development. Only now, after many decades have passed, we turn to the forgotten legacy of Russian philosophical thought and discover there amazing prophecies that opened up new horizons in understanding the world and man. In the 20th century, Russia was the first to enter the era of historical cataclysms, and therefore Russian thinkers were able to sense the deep tendencies that were destined to determine the entire further development of European civilization before others.

However, most of what was understood and expressed then was not heard in time. One of those who, by the power of his talent and spiritual strength, cared for the preservation of Russia's historical experience was the outstanding philosopher, political scientist, religious thinker and public figure Ivan Alexandrovich Ilyin. His work, with the exception of individual works, is unknown in his homeland. Ilyin is a representative of the conservative, religious trend of Russian philosophy: the author of the most significant work on Hegel in the history of Russian idealism, "Hegel's Philosophy as a Doctrine of the Concreteness of God and Man", which received a wide response in Western European philosophy in the middle of the 20th century.

Ivan Ilyin was born in Moscow on April 9, 1883, and he owes the main qualities of his personality to his ancestors, ordinary Russian people. From them, the boy inherited simple secrets of earthly happiness, life rules, and attitude toward man. Ilyin successfully completed his studies at the gymnasium and entered the Moscow University, Faculty of Law. His scientific inclinations were already evident in his student years. In many ways, their development was facilitated by the outstanding political scientist P.I. Novgorodtsev. After graduating from the university, Ilyin was left in the Department of Encyclopedia and Law to prepare for the title of professor.

In 1909, he passed his master's exam and was confirmed as a privat-docent of the law faculty. According to established tradition, he was sent on a foreign mission. In Berlin and the Sorbonne, the famous university centers in Europe, the young scientist attended lectures by outstanding specialists in Western philosophy and social law. Upon returning to his homeland, I.A. Ilyin was actively engaged in

teaching until his exile in 1922. The scientist's fate did not fit into the process of breaking up and reorganizing society; the state of workers and peasants did not need a lawyer like I.A. Ilyin saw himself as. The basis of his ethical views was the conviction that spirituality is the key to true happiness. For Ilyin, spirituality is impossible without freedom, religiosity, and love for the homeland. As for other Russian thinkers, the image of the Bolsheviks was unacceptable for Ilyin both aesthetically and ethically. Ilyin was distinguished by his moral intransigence towards the communist system.



Yong Ivan Alexandrovich Ilyin, Russian conservative philosopher

This system, as N.A. Berdyaev noted, was hostile to the spirit. "The revolution did not spare the creators of spiritual culture, and was suspicious of spiritual values." For Ilyin, the principle of spiritual freedom, personal creativity, and initiative were important. All of this was rejected by the revolution. "Communism as it revealed itself in the Russian revolution, denied freedom, denied the individual, denied the spirit."

Ivan Ilyin had to endure six arrests. The Moscow Revolutionary Tribunal intended to pass a punishing sentence, but due to the incompleteness of the accusation, the scientist was acquitted.

I.A. Ilyin's book "Hegel's Philosophy as a Doctrine of the Concreteness of God and Man" was published in Moscow at the very beginning of 1918. It was a time ill-suited for thinking about the eternal problems of existence; people in Russia

at that time were concerned with something completely different. The new regime, established in October 1917, had already clearly demonstrated what kind of future awaited the country; the methodical destruction of the entire pre-revolutionary way of life had already begun. However, the academic sphere still continued to live by the old laws. In the spring of 1918, the law faculty of Moscow University held a public defense of Ilyin's master's thesis, dedicated to the philosophy of Hegel. The official opponents - Professor P. I. Novgorodtsev and Professor Prince E. N. Trubetskoy - noted the unusually high level of work, as a result of which the dissertation candidate was awarded not only a master's degree, but also a doctorate in the field of state sciences.

In the same year of 1918, Ilyin's clashes with the new government began: during the year he was arrested four times, and the last time (in December) he was tried in a revolutionary tribunal, but acquitted due to an omission of the charge of "anti-Soviet agitation". The twilight of the future universal catastrophe had already fallen on the country; only a few years would pass, and they would thicken into pitch black night, free thought would be banished from Soviet Russia for a long time, banished even in the literal sense. Among the figures of Russian culture exiled in 1922 would be many outstanding representatives of the Russian philosophical "renaissance", including Ivan Alexandrovich Ilyin.

His work on Hegel will be forgotten for a long time, even his name will become taboo on this side of the "iron curtain", especially after it becomes legendary in the circles of the Russian emigration, becoming the personification of the unyielding struggle against Bolshevism, being forever associated with the ideology of the White movement. Among such unclaimed prophecies was Ilyin's work published in 1918. Today we must evaluate it as one of the most original works not only in Russian, but also in all European philosophy of the 20th century. In this work, Ilyin turned out to be a true discoverer of one of the most influential and original trends in European philosophy of our century, refracted very differently in the existential ontology of M. Heidegger, and in the neo-Hegelianism of J. Wahl, A. Kojève, J. Hyppolite, and in the "atheistic" existentialism of J.-P. Sartre and A. Camus.

All these very different philosophical schools are united by one and the same aspiration - to evaluate man's position in the world in a completely new way, to understand his role and his fate in history in a new way. Earthly, historical, imperfect life of man turns into the absolute center of reality in the philosophy of the 20th century; the history of man appears as the central link in the metaphysical history of the world; the tragedy of man becomes the direct embodiment of the tragedy of the entire universe. Was he, like Berdyaev and Bulgakov, involved, even

to a small extent, in the ideological preparation of the greatest Russian turmoil? It is too early to judge, although there are specialists in Russian history who, without hesitation, attribute such involvement to I.A. Ilyin. In doing so, they refer to his work on Fichte the Elder.

Young Ilyin's interest in classical German philosophy could well be explained by the traditions of Moscow University, which had developed back in the days of Granovsky. However, this interest in German idealists was too stable for I.A. Ilyin. From 1901 to 1906, Ilyin studied at the Faculty of Law and was awarded the title of candidate for his essays on Kante. The revolutionary rehearsal of 1905 apparently did not influence Ilyin, and if it did, it was in a very peculiar way. Over the next three years, he wrote such works as "The Teaching Schelling on the Absolute". "On the Science of Fichte the Elder", "Ideas of the Concrete and Abstract in Hegel's Theory of Knowledge", etc. Many innovative trends in European philosophy at the beginning of the 20th century turned to Hegel's legacy and easily discovered the sources of almost all new themes and ideas there. Hegel suddenly became an extremely modern philosopher, moreover, it turned out that he had remained an incomprehensible philosopher until that time.



Ivan Ilyin before Bolshevik Revolution.

The basis for the new reading of Hegel at the beginning of the century was a

closer study of his early works. This was initiated by W. Dilthey, who in his work "The History of Young Hegel", published in 1905, interpreted Hegel's early works in the spirit of the irrationalism philosophy of life. In 1907, Dilthey's student G. Nohl first published these works under the title "Theological Manuscripts of Young Hegel". An analysis of Hegel's early work has made it possible to understand that the formal completeness and rigor of his philosophical system, which appears in his most famous works, grew out of the romantically passionate and far from any formalism religious quests of his youth. On the one hand, the fundamental characteristic of each person is his absolute individuality, which determines his separation from other people, his "loneliness". But, on the other hand, all people are united in some supersensible spiritual integrity, in their highest spiritual essence. Ilyin traces all the most important phenomena of our individual and social life to this contradiction.

First of all, this applies to the phenomenon of law. Following his teacher Novgorodtsev, Ilyin tries to combine in his interpretation of law the traditionally opposed legal ideas of Kant and Hegel: the idea of personal freedom, spiritual independence of man and the idea of the spiritual unity of people. Ilyin's first major work, "The Concepts of Law and Power" (1910), treats law as an expression of the spiritual unity of people. The next major work, the article "The Idea of Personality in Stirner's Teachings" (1911), is devoted to the opposite "pole" of human existence. In Stirner's philosophy, Ilyin discovers an important tendency that overcomes the peculiar "totalitarianism" of Hegel's philosophy - the assertion of the absolute value of the concrete, the individual, the singular.

The mechanism of interaction of the metaphysical "poles" of human existence is especially clearly explained in the article "On Courtesy" (1912) using the example of forms of communication that develop in the life of people together. The most important of them - politeness, courtesy, tact - are depicted by Ilyin as forms of compromise between opposites - the desire for isolation, the elimination of unwanted intrusion into the "monad" of the human personality and for unity with others, penetration into their inner world. At the same time, already in his early works, Ilyin asserts the insurmountable tragedy of human existence, which is associated with the contradiction between "loneliness" and the unity of people. The essence of man turns out to be "unhappy consciousness", torn between the desire for unity with the universal and the understanding of the impossibility of going beyond the limits of one's limitations, finitude. Not limiting himself only to the phenomenology of human communication, Ilyin strives to find an ontological justification for this contradiction. It is in this part of his philosophical quest that he develops his most original ideas, close in spirit to the circle of ideas of European personalism and existentialism. Ilyin borrows the foundations of the ontology of

human existence from Fichte and Hegel. Fichte is important to him because in his philosophy man for the first time ceased to be reduced to an abstract epistemological subject and was understood as an absolutely concrete and absolutely free human spirit, carrying within itself the true divine principle of the world (Ilyin wrote about this in the articles "The Crisis of the Idea of the Subject in the Science of Fichte the Elder" (1912) and "Fichte's Philosophy as a Religion of Conscience" (1914)). Accepting Fichte's point of view, Ilyin formulates another contradiction, which is connected with man, but goes far beyond our finite existence and turns out to be a contradiction of God himself. Calling Fichte's philosophy "anthropocentric pantheism," Ilyin understands God both as a spiritual entity in which all people are united and as the basis of the individual, unique personal existence of a separate person. In order to comprehend the possibility of uniting these opposite sides of the existence of God and man, Ilyin turns to the philosophy of Hegel.

The two-volume work on Hegel is undoubtedly the pinnacle of Ilyin's philosophical work, where the ideas of his early works are united into a coherent concept, and from here the lines of his further creative development diverge. "Hegel's philosophy," Ilyin said, "cannot be understood by thought alone, it requires the revelation of spiritual experience...". Rethinking, following Dilthey, the Hegelian system in the spirit of irrationalism, Ilyin finds in it the basis for a unique philosophy of world tragedy. The universe is imagined here as an arena for the struggle of two elements: divine, good, spiritual and irrational, evil, material. The material element itself was created by God so that, by ordering it, subordinating it to his power, God could more fully embody his being.

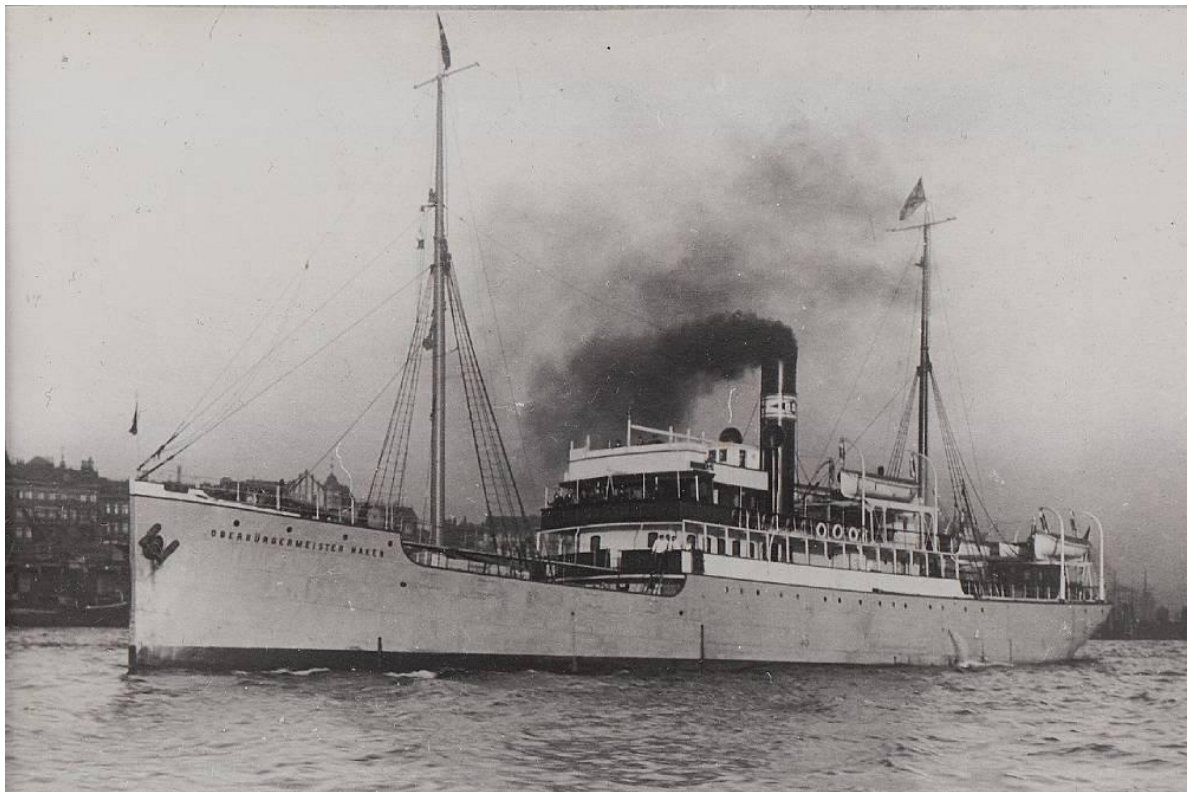
The Hegelian system, according to Ilyin, is a depiction of the "path of God", united with the material element and transforming it according to his laws. The fate of the world is thus formed as a chain of victories of the divine principle; among these victories are the emergence of integral objects in inanimate nature, the emergence of living organisms and, finally, the emergence of man. However, man turns out to be not only the pinnacle of the dominance of the divine principle, but also the limit of this dominance. The chain of "God's victories" in the world could be continued if further development led to the removal of man's limitations, to the overcoming of his finitude, expressed in his mortality. But this, Ilyin believes, is impossible; Hegel's Absolute State as such a spiritual unity of people, in which their finitude is completely overcome, remains an unrealizable utopia. In man, not only the divine, but also the lower, irrational element celebrates its triumph.

Moreover, since God turns out to be incapable of "defeating" his own creation (the material element of the world), we have to admit that his very essence contains a certain "inferiority", and his main quality is suffering. Man, as the highest incarnation of God,

turns out to be the center of the "world tragedy"; all contradictions and conflicts of existence find their final embodiment in him, in man the divine, good principle and the principle of evil and material chaos converge in a decisive battle, his uncompromising struggle with evil for good and perfection determines not only his own historical destiny, but also the destiny of the whole world.

Like many Russian people who did not agree with the ideologists of the revolution and the historical path predicted by them, Ilyin found himself an outcast. Thus, in 1922, he was doomed to lifelong exile for "non-recognition of Soviet power".

He had to arrange his life in difficult circumstances, new cultural and ethnic environments and the unsettled nature of life made themselves felt. For more than 11 years, I.A. Ilyin was a professor at the Russian Scientific Institute in Berlin.

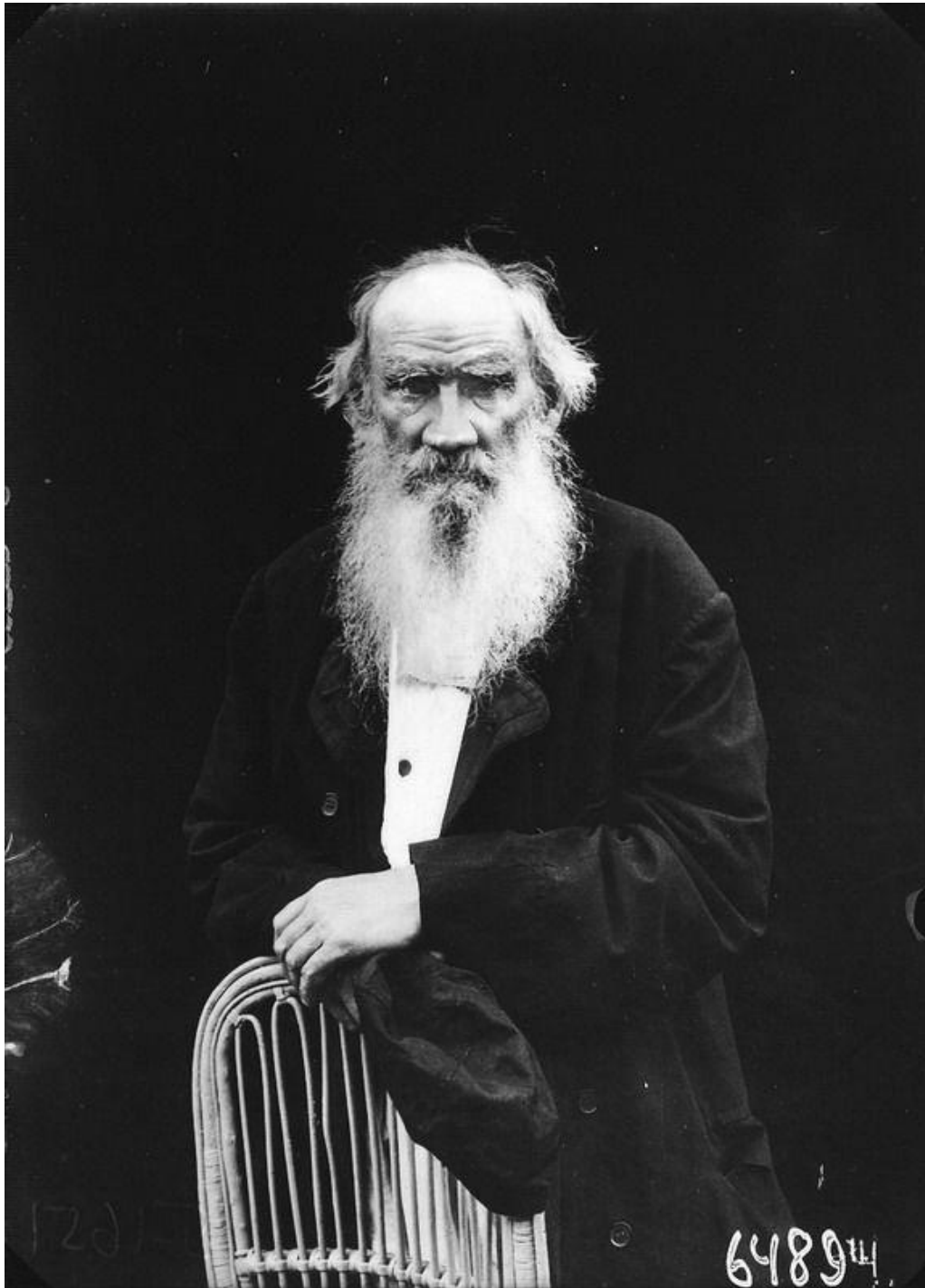


"Philosophical Steamship" is the collective name for the operation to expel from the RSFSR representatives of the intelligentsia who were opposed to the Bolsheviks abroad in 1922-1923. The term was coined by the philosopher and mathematician S. S. Khoruzhy, who published an article with this title in two issues of the Literary Gazette in 1990/

Along with teaching, he often gives public lectures in a wide variety of audiences in Europe. During those same years, Ilyin created his best works, devoted to questions from the fields of philosophy, law, history, art and literature. In 1934, after the Nazis

came to power, he was fired from the Russian scientific institute. In the summer of 1938, he left Germany for Switzerland.

Ilyin's landmark work is his study "On Resisting Evil with Force." In it, he sharply criticizes Leo Tolstoy's teaching on non-resistance. written in 1925. Belongs to the Berlin period of the philosopher's work. Ivan Ilyin says that Leo Tolstoy calls any recourse to force in the fight against evil "violence" and considers it an attempt to "blasphemously" usurp God's will.



Leo Nikolaevich Tolstoy, Russian writer and thinker

Leo Tolstoy's teaching on non-resistance to evil by force is based on the fact that responding to violence with violence leads to an increase in evil in the world. In order to save oneself and one's soul, a person must stop doing evil and committing violence, including when he himself becomes the object of evil and violence.

Tolstoy takes the Gospel text as the basis for his teaching - the Sermon on the Mount of Jesus Christ and his words "do not resist evil." He believes that this is the cornerstone of Christian teaching. At the same time, Tolstoy draws attention to the fact that many other religious and philosophical traditions - Buddhism, various currents of Hinduism - contain similar ideas of non-harming, non-violence, and rejection of violence

Book "On Resisting Evil with Force." became the subject of heated debate for several years. Almost the entire Russian diaspora took part in this debate: N. Berdyaev, D. Merezhkovsky, N. Lossky, P. Struve, S. Frank, the hierarchs of the Russian Orthodox Church - Metropolitan Anthony, Archbishop Anastassy, writers I. Shmelev, A. Remizov, Z. Gippius and others.

Ilyin points out that not every use of force should be considered violence. "Violence" should be called only arbitrary, reckless coercion, coming from an evil will or directed towards evil. He believed that

"Count L. N. Tolstoy and his associates pass off their flight from the problem as its solution"¹⁰⁴. In order to prevent irreparable consequences of a gross error or bad passion, a person striving for good must first seek mental and spiritual means to overcome evil with good. Resistance to evil by force and sword is permissible not only when it is possible, but also when it is necessary, because there are no other means. In this case, it is not only the right, but also the duty of a person to enter this path.

Does this mean that the end justifies the means? Of course not. The path of force and sword, says Ilyin, "is both obligatory and fair." "Only the best of people can implement this injustice without becoming infected by it, can find and observe the proper limits in it." The theme of the "Orthodox sword" was repeatedly revived in Russian thought, especially during the Napoleonic invasion. "Here, we should especially highlight the books of V.F. Ern "The Sword and the Cross" (1915), "Time is Slavophile. War, Germany, Europe and Russia" (1915), as well as "The Spiritual Meaning of War" by I.A. Ilyin (1915). I.A. Ilyin's brochure marked the beginning of his work on one of the most complex problems of Christian culture. But in the pre-revolutionary years, on a patriotic wave, the debate was not so much about "resisting evil by force" as about the metaphysical premises and consequences of the world conflict: they were looking for connections between the Krupp military industry and

the philosophy of Kant... But during the civil war, Tolstoy's idea of "non-resistance" unexpectedly found adherents again.

It was at this time that Prince E. N. Trubetskoy, in his final book, *The Meaning of Life* (1918), spoke out with all decisiveness in favor of an active Christian struggle "for the world," for the universe, warning that abandoning this struggle meant voluntarily surrendering to the power of the Antichrist. Ilyin undoubtedly shared this conviction of E. N. Trubetskoy, as evidenced by his bold speech delivered in 1921 and dedicated to the prince as a fighter for Christian culture: "Spiritual Culture and Its National Leaders." Ilyin saw another leader of the nation and a truly Orthodox commander in Admiral Kornilov.

In a series of speeches dedicated to this hero of the "white cause," Ilyin for the first time developed in sufficient detail his views on "resisting evil by force." In his article "Kornilov's Idea," Ilyin came forward as a convinced ideologist of the "Orthodox sword," who found spiritual support in the iconographic images of Archangel Michael and St. George the Victorious. He defended a seemingly self-evident truth, arguing that no one has the right to "allow villains to offend the weak, corrupt children, desecrate churches, and destroy the homeland." However, this truth had been self-evident for the Russian intelligentsia a decade earlier. Now it had to be viewed through the prism of international recognition of the Bolshevik state, which exercised its power from a position much stronger than that of Emperor Julian the Apostate, the first enemy of Christian theocracy. And so Tolstoy's idea of "non-resistance" not only regained relevance, but also imperceptibly became identified with the evangelical principles of obedience to external authority. I.A. Ilyin, of course, foresaw such a development of events and thoroughly prepared to refute Tolstoyism.



General Lavr Georgievich Kornilov.

His article on Kornilov's idea was only a prelude to his fundamental study "On Resisting Evil by Force", published in 1925. The problem of a person's absolute responsibility for himself, for other people, for the whole world was always one of the main ones in Ilyin's works. It is examined in particular detail in the book "On Resisting Evil by Force". If in his work on Hegel Ilyin's focus was mainly on the "path of God" in the world, then the book "On Resisting Evil by Force" is entirely devoted to the "path of man". First of all, the concept of evil is concretized here. If earlier it was identified with the faceless empirical elements of the world, now Ilyin asserts that the only location of the fundamental evil of the world is the soul of man.

From this thesis, combined with the idea of "loneliness", the physical isolation of each of us, it follows that the constant struggle with evil in one's soul is the duty of each person, and only the person himself is capable of finally defeating this evil. But at the same time, due to the spiritual interconnection and interdependence of people, they are obliged to help each other in their struggle to the best of their ability, that is, they are responsible not only for themselves, but also for others.

Human life appears as a continuous, never-ending struggle, and none of us has the right to shirk it; "neutrality" in this case means "indulging" in evil, leading to allowing it into one's soul and spreading it to other people. Although the book does not contain any references to the specific historical circumstances that led to its appearance, Ilyin not only did not hide, but also persistently emphasized the direct connection between his theoretical constructs and the ideology of the White movement. He viewed the victory of Bolshevism in Russia as the final revelation and triumph of the evil, Satanic principle in the history of mankind. Accordingly, the struggle against Bolshevism acquired universal significance for him, became a kind of Armageddon, the decisive battle between the divine forces of good and the Satanic forces of evil; not only a conciliatory, but even a neutral attitude towards the Bolsheviks, towards the Soviet power meant for Ilyin an agreement with Satan himself. It is not surprising that after his expulsion from Russia, he found himself in the camp of the right-wing emigration and soon became one of the spiritual leaders of the White movement. In the second half of the 1920s, Ilyin devoted all his energy to active political and journalistic work aimed at uniting forces ready to continue the irreconcilable (including armed) struggle against the communist regime in Russia. For this purpose, in 1926 he even began publishing the magazine "Russian Bell", which existed until 1930. A new stage in the development of I.A. Ilyin's work began, which will be discussed below.

2.2. SOCIAL AND POLITICAL JOURNALISM OF I.A. ILYIN

Only the collapse of hopes for the imminent fall of Bolshevism and the change in the political situation in Germany (where he lived since 1922) in the early 1930s forced Ilyin to devote himself to philosophical work again. In 1932-1935 he wrote the book *The Path of Spiritual Renewal*, which marked a significant change in his worldview. Previously, the central principle of Ilyin's philosophy was the idea of man's

responsibility for the course of history, which required active participation in the world. But in the early 1930s, history itself proved the doom of the struggle with its ruthless laws; European civilization was inevitably entering a long era of dominance of "unleashed evil," which no force could pacify. Understanding this, Ilyin now brings to the forefront the requirement for man to cultivate in himself the foundations of faith, love, conscience, which presupposes a departure from the world rather than an active struggle with it. This theme becomes the main one in all of Ilyin's later works. In his work "The Path of Spiritual Renewal," I.A. Ilyin identifies such categories as patriotism, nationalism, and internal and external freedom. Ilyin pays attention to the problem of the relationship between knowledge and faith. He emphasizes the differences between Orthodoxy and Catholicism.

The problem of true nationalism can be resolved in connection with the spiritual understanding of the homeland. According to Ilyin, nationalism is love for the spiritual uniqueness of the people. National pride should not degenerate into dull self-opinion and shallow complacency. It should not instill in the people a mania of grandeur. A true patriot learns from the political mistakes of his people, from the shortcomings of their character and culture. Spiritual love for an object can also imply criticism of it. Ilyin identifies ironic, spiteful, unfair, nihilistic, and destructive criticism; this is how enemies criticize. There is loving criticism, educational criticism, creative criticism, even when it is angry; this is constructive criticism, such criticism inspires courage and the will to overcome one's weaknesses.

In 1938, he left Germany, fleeing persecution by the Nazis, and settled in the Bern suburb of Zollikon, where he spent the last 16 years of his life. Here he wrote the books "The Singing Heart. A Book of Quiet Contemplations", "The Path to Obviousness" and "Axioms of Religious Experience" (in 2 volumes). The main principle of Ilyin's philosophizing is the strict alignment of all his ideas with canonical Orthodox dogma. Naturally, some of the fundamental principles of his philosophy were radically revised. First of all, this concerns the problem of man's relationship to God. Rejecting the idea of the identity of God and man, Ilyin now calls the desire for complete dissolution in God one of the main "temptations" of religious experience. In accordance with this, the assessment of man's position in the world changes. Returning to the traditional understanding of the almighty and good God, Ilyin limits the meaning of man's earthly life. God is infinitely higher and more perfect than man, therefore only his plan determines the fate of the world and the purpose of man; only within the framework of this purpose can we speak of man's responsibility and freedom. During his years in Switzerland, Ilyin collaborated with the Russian Christian Labor Movement, speaking in its periodicals and collections. It was less politicized than the White Guard Russian All-Military Union, with which the philosopher was closely associated.



Russian philosopher Ivan Alexandrovich Ilyin in exile

Ilyin's scientific work was exceptionally fruitful; his books were published on philosophy, jurisprudence, the history of political doctrines, and on religious and cultural issues: "The Religious Meaning of Philosophy. Three Speeches" (1924), "On Resisting Evil by Force" (1925), "The Path of Spiritual Renewal" (1935), "Fundamentals of Art. On the Perfect in Art" (1937), "Fundamentals of Christian Culture" (1938). The following series of his brochures date back to this period:

"The Motherland and Us" (1926), "The Poison of Bolshevism" (1931), "On Russia. Three Speeches" (1934),

"Creative Ideas of Our Future" (1937), "Fundamentals of the Struggle for National Russia" (1938). These works finally revealed the profound shift in his theoretical interests and passions that had been in evidence since 1916-1920. The Russian thinker's thoughts were now focused on the problems of Russia, its history, the search for spiritual and social revival of Russia, and questions of the moral development of the individual. In solving these problems characteristic of the philosophy of the Russian diaspora, Ilyin stood somewhat apart, preserving his inherent "non-generic facial expression" and his sharply expressed individuality. This also applies to his style of philosophizing and his political sympathies. He tried to contrast the striking and sweeping thought of N. Berdyaev, L. Shestov, and D.

Merezhkovsky with a strict and clear form of philosophizing. The thinker was characterized by his integrity and straightforwardness, his inability to make any deals with his conscience, and his hostility to any forms of suppression of the human personality.

N.P. Poltoratsky says in his book that "as a person Ilyin was an exceptionally integral and impressive nature, harmoniously combining a powerful intellect, a warm heart and a strong will. It was a spirit rooted in instinct, accepting the world, the state, the nation and culture, seeking in everything the objective and obvious and thirsting for the divine." His philosophy was never abstract, it was objective. It was expressed definitely, accessibly, figuratively, through the attitude to religion, to the tragic world and Russian reality, and finally, to art and culture. Ilyin's language is precise and figurative, literary criticism itself in the process turns into a work of art, sounding both fresh and topical.

Even in the "free" West, the works of the Russian philosopher, publicist and critic were hushed up, published very reluctantly, selectively. Much has not been published to this day in Russian philosophy. Those who are supposed to know about such phenomena "according to the staff" are in a hurry to form a Russian soul, in the words of Ilyin, "childishly trusting, sincere, kind and humbly repentant slavish soul." And "wise patience and the ability to forgive and obey" are considered a sign of our national inferiority. What was the final position of Ilyin in Russian philosophy, in that brilliant circle of religious thinkers whom Russia is rediscovering today? The subject matter of his work, as has already been said, set him apart. But it was not only a matter of subject matter. It would change later; Ilyin would leave the Hegelian studies and turn to the subject that constituted the fundamental and core problematic of Russian thought. Russia and Christianity will be at the center of his work. And yet, a distinct distance between him and others will remain.

As N.P. Poltoratsky, the main contemporary expert and researcher of Ilyin, writes: "Ilyin occupies a very special place in that galaxy of Russian thinkers who created modern Russian religious philosophy. And this is not only because he diverged ideologically from the most famous of them: Rozanov, Merezhkovsky, Bulgakov, Berlyayev, Frank, Vyacheslav Ivanov, Karsavin and others. After all, the differences were between these authors themselves. In Ilyin's case, it is not a matter of the fact itself, but of the nature and content of this difference. The difference was acute and extended to a number of areas. I would reveal the essence of this "acute difference" as follows: Ilyin, with the same subject matter, is a philosopher of different origins, of a different school. He does not share the common Slavophile and Soloviev roots, but retains the training of German classical philosophy with its bias towards formal construction. In addition, his individual style was marked by

cold rhetoric and pedantry. "A stranger, a foreigner, a German" is Berdyaev about Ilyin. Ivan Alexandrovich did not remain in debt, having assessed the thought of Berdyaev (as well as Rozanov and Bulgakov): "Philosophy is infinitely temperamental and paradoxical." The meaning of philosophy, according to Ilyin, is in the knowledge of God and the divine basis of the world, namely, in the study of truth, goodness, beauty as emanating from God. Ilyin explains the decline of modern art by the insufficient spread of religion among the people at the present time, expressing the hope that a period of religious revival will come again. Thus, the influence of Hegel is strongly felt in Ilyin's work. Ilyin sheds new light on Hegel's system, although many of his positions, according to V.V. Zenkovsky, are controversial.

The subject of philosophy according to Ilyin is God: "philosophy," writes Ilyin, "investigates to the extent of its divinity"; "philosophy accepts the subject of religion. Thus, if before the revolution I.A. Ilyin was more of a religious philosopher, then after 1917 the theme of the Russian revolution occupies a central place in his work, now he is an orator who brought to the audience a passionate, always caring and significant word. The defining line of Ilyin's work is the desire to rethink the historical past of Russia, to understand the causes and circumstances of the revolution that destroyed a powerful state.

The spiritual heritage of I.A. Ilyin is enormous. His work is inseparable from Russia and its people. A special place in his work is occupied by the preparation and publication of articles, which ultimately made up two large volumes "Our Tasks. The book was not conceived as a complete independent work. It was a prompt response to the burning issues of the day. This work of Ilyin can be called a kind of anthology of Russian life, since it contains information about the past of Russia, the foundations of its state structure, its culture, spirituality.

Due to the circumstances determined by Ilyin's emigrant status in Switzerland, at first he did not sign his articles, and the name of the author of "Our Tasks" was first mentioned only in 1952. Initially, the articles were intended for like-minded people from the Russian General Military Union (POBC). The first issue was published on March 14, 1948. Over the course of 6 years, 215 of them were published.

The central place in the book is occupied by the question of the revolution - how it was prepared, carried out. What are the sources and causes of the national tragedy. Ilyin convincingly debunks the myth about the national origins of the Russian revolution. The point is that not all the reasons for the tragic trials are rooted in the uniqueness of the national character of the Russian people, are conditioned by the essence of Russian life. But, nevertheless, he is forced to admit that "the madness of the Russian revolution arose not only from military failures and unrest, but also from

the lack of political experience, a sense of proportion, patriotism and a sense of honor among the masses and the revolutionaries." Ilyin insisted that Russia "not be confused with the Soviet state." He was sure of the coming great war of the West against the "left totalitarians and the Comintern". Ilyin's journalism is extensive. Researchers call for the fact that "it would be necessary to slowly sort out the émigré legacy".

The basis of his hope in life was an ineradicable, deep and firm faith in a better future for Russia. Looking at life soberly, realistically perceiving the laws of history, Ilyin understood that the old Russia would never be repeated. He realized that neither the West nor the United States would bring true deliverance, no attempts to copy the Western way of life, to transfer the methods of Western civilization to Russian soil would lead to the acquisition of independence.

"No people in the world had such a burden and such a task as the Russian people. And no people has come out of such trials... such originality, such spiritual depth." Ilyin proceeded from the fact that Russia needed a new Russian person, with a cognitive, moral, updated religious, property, economic and civil way of life.

CHAPTER III. SOCIAL AND POLITICAL VIEWS

L.A. TIKHOMIROV AND I.A. ILYIN

3.1. REVIEW OF SOCIAL AND POLITICAL THEORIES OF THE CONSERVATIVE TREND OF RUSSIAN SOCIAL THOUGHT OF THE 19TH - BEGINNING OF THE 20TH CENTURY

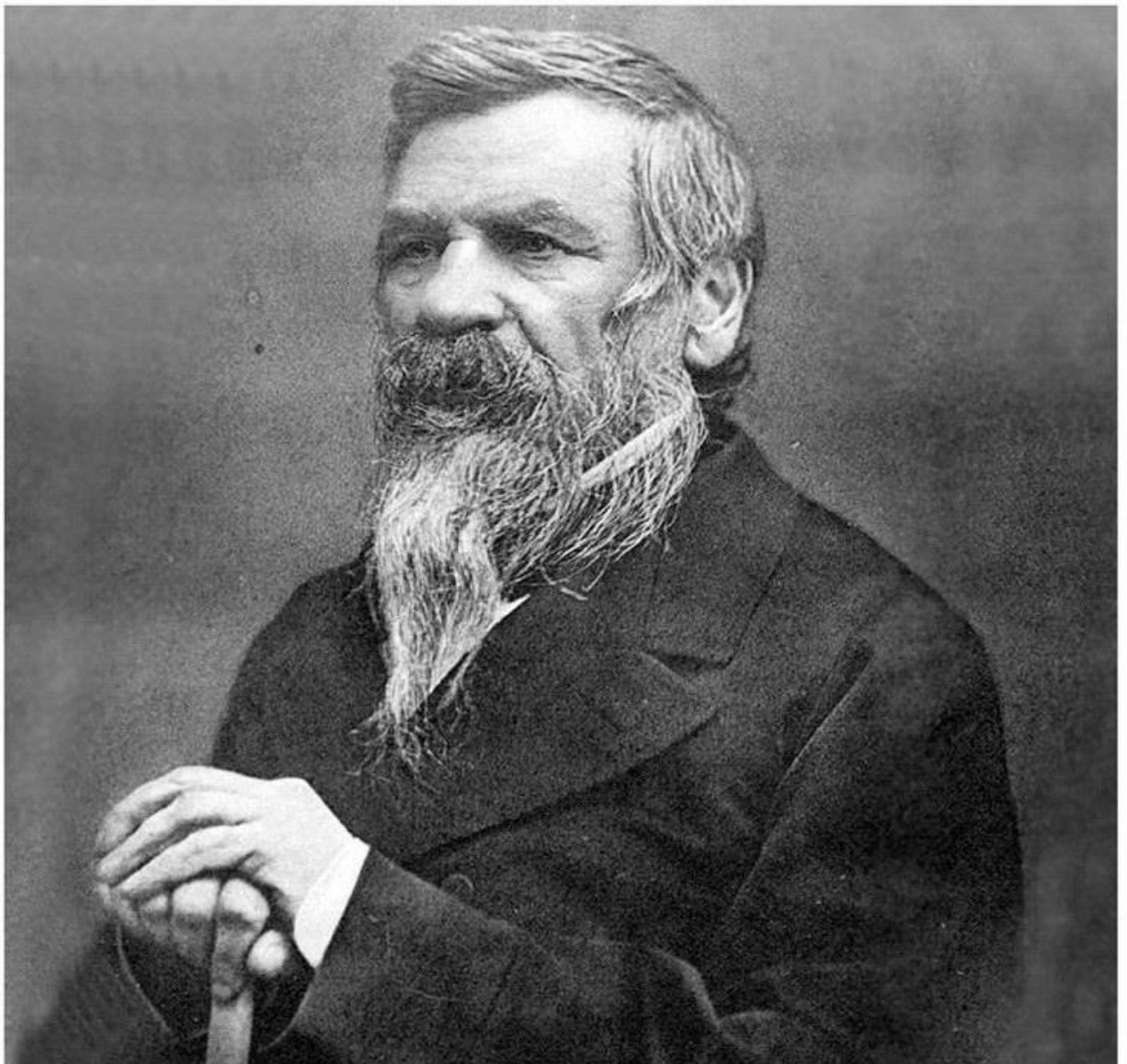
The emergence of Russian conservatism as an ideological and political movement is a controversial issue in Russian historiography. Most researchers date it to the end of the 18th - beginning of the 20th centuries. It was caused by the influence of the ideas of the Great French Revolution, which, despite the restrictive measures of the Russian authorities, found a response among the Russian intelligentsia. Historian V.Ya. Grosul believes that conservatism began to take shape at the beginning of the 20th century during the era of Alexander I. Political and social heterogeneity is a characteristic feature of Russian conservatism, which "never represented a single monolith." But despite all the dissimilarity and diversity of forms of the conservative movement, Russian conservatism had its own political characteristics. Until the beginning of the 20th century, conservatives advocated the preservation of autocratic power as a manifestation of the universal world order. The domestic conservative ideology was organically linked with the Orthodox religion, relying on religious dogmas in the development of theoretical constructs, recognized the imperfection of human nature, the unreasonableness and sinfulness of which can be overcome only through moral self-improvement in the bosom of the church. The peculiarities of this movement are also the acceptance of the social, mental and physical inequality of people as a universal given, the desire to preserve traditional groups, estates and classes.



Stepan Petrovich Shevyrev – russian literary critic, literary historian, poet, and public figure of Slavophile convictions.

The ideologists of conservatism unconditionally recognized the inviolability of private property. Conservative figures always "fight for the preservation of traditional, established foundations of public life." Conservative ideas, which were in line with official government thought, were expressed by such major public figures of the late 18th - early 19th centuries as N.M. Karamzin (1766-1826), G.R. Derzhavin (1743-1816) and V.A. Zhukovsky (1783-1852). The Minister of Public Education, Count S.S. Uvarov, developed the "theory of official nationality" in a number of works. It was systematically introduced in schools and universities. In the

1830s and 1840s, the ideas of “official nationality” were reflected in the historical works of M.P. Pogodin, in the literary works of M.I. Zagoskin, N.V. Kukolnik, F.V. Bulgarin, in textbooks and periodicals. Pogodin’s associate in defending the “protective tradition” was Professor of Russian Literature S.P. Shevyrev. Adhering to the doctrine of official nationality, he attributed such traits as obedience, humility and religiosity to the Russian people. S.S. Gogotsky, O.M. Novitsky, P.D. Yurkevich were also major ideologists of conservatism.



Mikhail Petrovich Pogodin was a Russian historian, collector, journalist and publicist, fiction writer, and publisher. Privy Councillor (1871). In 1841–1856, he published the magazine *Moskvityanin*, which was close to the Slavophiles. He developed the ideas of Pan-Slavism.

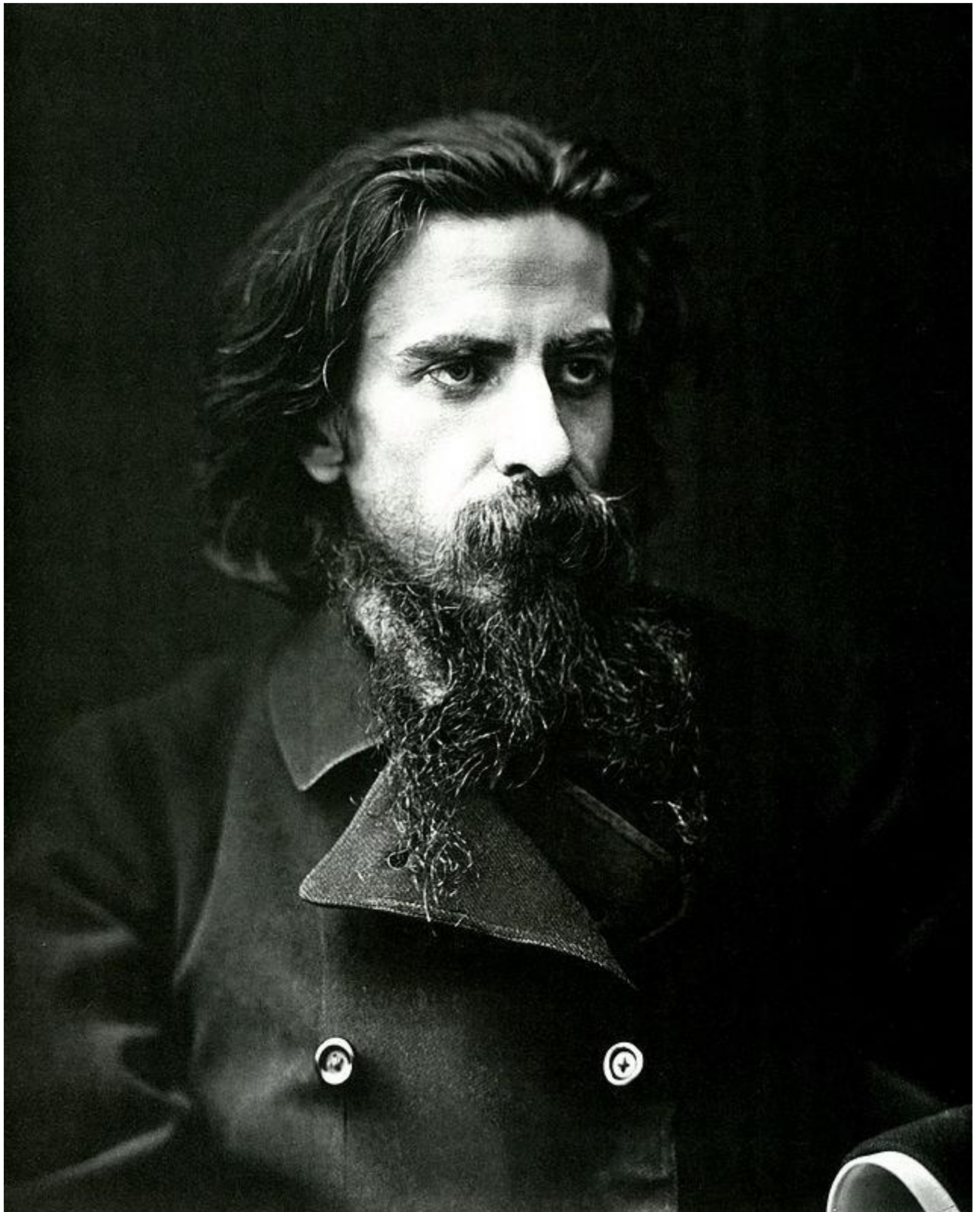
A prominent theorist of the conservative persuasion was M.N. Katkov was a publicist, publisher, professor of the philosophy department at Moscow University, and then editor of government publications - the newspaper Moskovskie Vedomosti and the magazine Russkiy Vestnik. Throughout his life, he fought against radical ideas and their spread in Russia, attacking democratic publications. Katkov's leading political conviction was the idea of the inviolability of autocracy, which he saw as the highest form of statehood.



Mikhail Nikiforovich Katkov (13 February 1818 – 1 August 1887) was a conservative Russian journalist, influential during the reign of Alexander III.

The works of F. M. Dostoevsky, his socio-political concept had a huge influence on the evolution of socio-philosophical thought in Russia as a whole, on the moral and religious philosophy of the end of the 20th century. Dostoevsky is also important in

historical and political thought as a prophetic writer. Psychologically, he anticipated the emergence of totalitarian regimes of the 20th century. Among those ideologically close to Dostoevsky were A. A. Grigoriev, N. N. Strakhov, who stood on the positions of "pochvennichestvo" (fundamentalism). The main scientific problems of the philosopher Vladimir Solovyov were of a purely religious nature. In the history of Russian conservative thought, V. Solovyov's theocratic theory became a turning point. His philosophical works and articles, however, contained original socio-political views. Solovyov's monarchism was special: the division of power between the high priest, Caesar and the prophet seriously undermined the idea of its indivisibility. The predominance of ethics over psychology and authoritarianism colored all of Solovyov's teachings about the state. The latter is defined as a person, but not a legal entity. The state should be based on the balance of many forces, expressed in the law as "a common limit for all warring parties." In his opinion, all state public life should be built on the foundations of Christianity. All social and political relations should be of a Christian nature.



Vladimir Sergeyevich Solovyov Russian religious thinker, mystic, poet and publicist, literary critic, teacher.

An original thinker of the second half of the 20th century was Konstantin Nikolaevitch Leontiev. He belonged to the representatives of late Slavophilism. At the same time, his views were distinguished by eschatological ideas, strict religiosity, and

political conservatism. He believed that Russia was threatened by Western civilization, which had entered the third period of its development - secondary simplification and decline. Leontiev saw a way out for Russia in following the Byzantine tradition, which he understood as an autocratic state based on the values of Orthodox Christianity. He claimed that "it is not we who need to teach the people, but rather we ourselves who need to learn from them." Leontiev sincerely did not understand democracy, revolutionary, and even liberal views, and remained their implacable opponent.



Konstantin Nikolaevich Leontiev – russian physician, diplomat, religious conservative thinker, philosopher, writer, publicist, literary critic, and sociologist. At the end of his life, he took monastic vows with the name Clement.

He sharply criticized democracy, parliamentarism, and K.P. Pobedonostsev. He was suspicious of everything new, believing in the inviolability and stability of the existing order in Russia. Pobedonostsev rejected the idea of people's power and any other forms of limiting the supreme power of the monarch. He saw the strength of autocratic power in the historically established unity of the autocracy and the people. Remaining a consistent supporter of absolute monarchy, Pobedonostsev sharply criticized any changes.



Konstantin Petrovich Pobedonostsev – russian lawyer and statesman, a confidant of Emperor Alexander III, the main conservative ideologist, writer, translator, and church historian. Professor, actual privy councilor (1883), state secretary (1894). Member of the State Council (since 1872), chief prosecutor of the Holy Synod (1880-1905).

L.A. Tikhomirov and I.A. Ilyin made a great contribution to the theory of Russian conservatism. However, their paths to conservative creativity were different. Lev Tikhomirov took a worthy place in the ranks of theorists of Orthodox monarchical conservatism, having gone through a difficult path of evolution from a revolutionary to an ideologist of autocracy. Tikhomirov began his public activity as a member of an anti-state party, and then became an apologist for the state.

The formation of the state-legal, social views of the thinkers took place in different eras. Tikhomirov lived in the conditions of the existence of the Russian Empire, having the opportunity to offer recipes for reforming the autocracy. Ilyin's journalism was formed during the period of the existence of the Soviet state. If Tikhomirov's views were more practical, then A. Ilyin's ideas were of an abstract nature of criticism of the communist state. Ilyin was already thinking about the future post-communist Russia. Based on this, although both Tikhomirov and Ilyin belong to the same conservative trend of Russian social thought, certain differences can be traced in their views. It should be noted that, in contrast to K.P. Pobedonostsev, L. Tikhomirov considered it absolutely necessary to carry out

certain reforms to strengthen the autocracy, since he was convinced that delay in reforms would inevitably lead to a social revolution. But these thoughts did not lead him to liberalism.

On the contrary, L. Tikhomirov criticized the liberals no less sharply than K. Pobedonostsev, who were declared by him to be the main culprits of the revolutionization of Russian society. It is necessary to emphasize the evolution of the thinkers' views. L. Tikhomirov went from being an ideologist of revolutionary orthodoxy to Orthodox conservatism. Then, having become convinced of the impossibility of effectively reforming the autocracy, Tikhomirov moved away from active public activity. The theme of the apocalypse and mystical religious quests are now at the center of his thoughts. The development of Ilyin's views went through several stages.

Before the 1917 revolution, Ilyin was a religious philosopher, then his thoughts shifted towards moral and ethical quests. In exile, Ilyin became a prominent publicist and collaborated with many publications.

The conversion of the former Narodnaya Volya member Lev Tikhomirov to Orthodox and monarchist ideals occurred in a situation where the foundations of the conservative worldview (in its classical understanding) had already been significantly undermined by the bourgeois transformations of the second half of the 19th century and the growing revolutionary situation. The first quarter of the 20th century was a turbulent period in the development of Russia. In pre-revolutionary public thought, there were disputes around the problem of the state and socio-economic structure of the Russian state. During these discussions, several trends emerged within the framework of conservatism. According to V.V. Shelokhaev, among the conservatives there were their own "rightists", "who linked their fate with the authoritarian regime", who sharply opposed long-overdue reforms, "the center" or "reformist conservatism" that advocated moderate reforms of the political system (for example, the idea of a legislative advisory popular representation in the form of the Zemsky Sobor), and, finally, "leftists", who often criticized the autocratic regime and advocated its limitation by a legislative form of popular representation (the State Duma) ("liberal conservatism").

In the 19th and 20th centuries, the social base of Russian conservatism is increasingly expanding and in the process of understanding the evolutionary development of Russia, in addition to the nobility, representatives of a wide variety of strata are drawn into the process of understanding the evolutionary development of Russia (some layers of the merchant class, the commercial and industrial bourgeoisie, part of the intelligentsia, the middle strata of the city and village).

The state-legal and socio-economic views of L. Tikhomirov and I. Ilyin played a

significant role in this polemic. Their positions are "an original creation of philosophical, historical and political thought, exceptional in its brevity, conciseness, richness, precision and depth, containing many new, thoroughly thought-out ideas." What place did their ideas occupy in the overall picture of Russian thought? This will be discussed below.

3.2. STATE SYSTEM AND JUSTIFICATION OF MONARCHICAL STATEHOOD IN THE WORKS OF L.A. TIKHOMIROV AND I.A. ILYIN

Tikhomirov's socio-political views are set out in numerous articles in the magazines "Russkoye Obozreniye" (1892-1997), "Moskovskie Vedomosti" (1900s) and the work "Towards the reform of the renewed Russia". He also collaborated with the magazine of the Russian People's Union named after Michael the Archangel

"Pryamoy Put", his works were published in publications of the religious and theological direction. Ivan Ilyin outlined his vision of state, social, legal problems in the works "On the Coming Russia", "The Path of Spiritual Renewal", a collection of articles from 1948-1954. "Our Tasks". Tikhomirov and Ilyin are characterized by the substantiation of the idea of statehood on a moral, spiritual basis. The state in their understanding is an organic unification of people, a union of the nation.

Tikhomirov asserted the supra-class character of the Russian monarchical state — “the state... in its meaning is a classless institution, an organization of general power over all classes, over all national strata.” According to Ilyin, the state is “a homeland formed and united by public law.” Law and the state arise from the inner spiritual world of man and are realized through the medium of legal consciousness.” In the complex interweaving of various state forms, Tikhomirov sees three main ones: aristocratic, democratic and monarchical. Each of them played its role in history, had its merits and shortcomings. However, Tikhomirov’s sympathies definitely belong to the monarchy. Tikhomirov asserted that not only a monarchy that has lost its internal ideals, but also a democracy can turn into a despotic system of power called absolutism.

Moreover, in a democracy, with its “lack of ideas,” the probability of such a transformation is even greater: the masses, calculated only by quantity, recognize only their own strength and nothing else. Absolutism as a system of power and ideas is accompanied by one phenomenon, inseparable from it, - the emergence of bureaucracy. This phenomenon is characteristic of both monarchies and democracies. In both cases, there is a falsification of ideas: in democracies - the will of the people, in monarchies - the will of the monarch. But in monarchical systems, the final mixing of autocracy with absolutism is still hindered by ideocratic "amendments" - the influence of the Orthodox ideal. Tikhomirov considers parliamentarism to be the pinnacle of bureaucratization: its invariable attributes are the atomization of opinions and programs, deliberate lies of statements, squabbles, profanation.

The idea of "monarchical statehood" worried not only L.A. Tikhomirov. The idea of the primacy of the monarchy over politics was also asserted by the philosopher Ivan Ilyin, since it is "at the intersection of statehood, religion and morality", i.e. the legal principle is closely intertwined with the moral one. I.A. Ilyin also distinguished between the concepts of autocracy and absolutism. He emphasized that the autocrat is not omnipotent, like the absolute monarch. The autocratic sovereign is limited by ideological and moral-ethical principles, the Orthodox faith. Moreover, Ivan Ilyin believed that "in order to resolve the issue of the difference between a monarchy and a republic, it is necessary, without going beyond the limits of science, to go beyond the limits of jurisprudence. It is necessary, without breaking with scientific material - state laws, political phenomena and historical facts, to penetrate their philosophical, religious, moral and artistic meaning and to comprehend them as the state of the human soul and human spirit", since the question of monarchy is a "super-legal" question.

The loss of the Orthodox ideal and the destruction of the old social hierarchy is associated with the emergence of a new leader in a chaotically mixed society - the intelligentsia. Paradoxically, the bureaucracy in every way supports this group in its aspirations: "Despite the obvious war of the intelligentsia against the autocracy", public institutions were organized in such a way as to give power to the intelligentsia.

The link between the bureaucracy and the intelligentsia was final. This fact became decisive for the transformation of the monarchy into absolutism. According to Tikhomirov, only after 1861 did Russia truly turn into a police bureaucratic state, reminiscent in form of the European police absolutism of the 18th century.

The denial of statehood as a principle is fraught with two consequences: the result will be either the subordination of man to the strongest, i.e. a state of anarchy; or the subordination of man to the elemental forces of nature, economics, and history. In the liberal utopia, humanity is called upon to destroy deliberate and reasonable power over itself, but for what purpose? In order to submit to the elemental power of the economy, which will suppress our freedom with all the ruthlessness of the forces of nature. But only statehood, according to Tikhomirov, will save freedom, a strong and monarchical statehood. One-man power can be supreme only when a nation places a certain moral, all-encompassing ideal over its political creativity, even places it above the state. Tikhomirov completely agrees with Leontiev that the "bright ideal of autocracy" is taken from the political doctrine of Byzantinism, but its ideological roots lie deeper: they are in the Christian understanding of the general goals of life. The internal unity of monarchism and Orthodoxy does not exclude the diversity of external relations between the state and the church: the supreme power can become the center of religion (caesaropapism), the state can be subordinated to church institutions

(ideocracy), an alliance can be concluded between the church and the state, in which the monarch is subordinate to the religious idea, and his supreme power is directly subordinated to God (theocracy).

Theocracy as the supremacy of the ideal is contrasted by Tikhomirov with the process of external formation of power, which takes place under the leadership of democracy and class system of the Western type. Tikhomirov's deep respect for the Russian monarchical state flowed from "a clear awareness of the subtlety, complexity, natural organicity... of political life", and, one can add following Ilyin, a special ability to have a tsar." By their nature, Tikhomirov believes, Russian people can only be monarchists or anarchists - democratic forms of the Western type have never been close to the national consciousness. The egalitarian process that began in Russia after 1861 only demonstrated this truth, since it did not touch the depths of the national psychology. However, a gap emerged between the supreme power and the people, "not being in direct communication with the people, the bearer of supreme power really loses the ability to be an echo of the people's aspirations."

What can keep Russia on the true path? Tikhomirov reminds us that Leontiev saw such a path only in conservatism and conservative politics. Doubting the spiritual youth of Russia, the great conservative believed that it had already reached the ultimate stage of its development and was beginning to decline. And if so, then there is no longer any need to think about the further development of forces, but rather about how to spend them less and thus move more slowly towards the inevitable end.

What can a monarchical state do to prevent or at least postpone the tragic end? First of all, to fulfill its highest duty, going along with the nation along the historical path allotted to it. If the state idea of the Russian people is simply a fantasy and a mistake, then it should accept the usual (Roman) idea of the state as a purely legal system. If the Russian idea, although lofty, is beyond the strength of the Russian people, then this idea is abolished for Russia by itself, and along with it, the "world mission of Russia is abolished, for in the sphere of building a state on a legal basis, absolutely all peoples have shown their superiority over the Russians." As a result of such a gloomy end, even if someone in the territory of the former Russian empire will establish their own new state, then, in any case, it will no longer be Russians, but "Poles, Tatars or even Jews", but not Russians, who in such a case "in the name of justice, in the name of truth, must renounce domination and honestly pass to the role of a subordinate nationality, not arranging, but accepting the arrangement from those who are smarter".

Russians themselves must decide their fate: obvious and eternal truths are in their hands - Orthodoxy, monarchy, nationality - it remains to make a choice. This is

not so simple. Many have lost faith in the "Russian idea" and mission, bow down to other peoples and cultures to the detriment of their own. Others show complete confusion, which in no way contributes to solving the problem. But Tikhomirov hopes that there should still be healthy forces in society capable of preventing the process of complete decomposition of culture. Unlike Leontiev, Tikhomirov has not yet completely lost hope. If former colleagues in the revolutionary movement believed that Tikhomirov had gone mad, then such an outstanding mind as the conservative K.N. Leontiev, on the contrary, was very interested in Lev Aleksandrovich's journalism. In the early 90s of the 19th century, fate brought them together. By this time, Leontiev was painfully pondering how socialism should enter his historiosophical scheme. In particular, he believed that, unlike the liberalism imposed by Western Europe, socialism is nothing other than despotism and should be a natural continuation of the entire course of Russian history.

At the beginning of the 20th century, Tikhomirov was the editor and publisher of the monarchist newspaper "Moskovskie Vedomosti". As an expert in the fight against the revolutionary movement, he was appointed a member of the Council of the Minister of Internal Affairs. In 1907-1908, he was a member of the Pre-Council Conference. He published articles in both the "Moskovsky Vestnik" and "Russkoye Obozreniye". K. P. Pobedonostsev, an extremely reserved person, praised Tikhomirov for a number of his publications. But it should be noted that the book

"Monarchist Statehood" by Lev Alexandrovich did not arouse interest, since, written extremely seriously, it was considered "boring" even by the "right". Only the publication of L. A. Tikhomirov's main work in 1905 made the public remember it. Despite the alleged "partisanship" of

"Monarchist Statehood", it is not at all a political document, since ideally the monarchy itself should stand above the parties. If we try to define the general principle of Ilyin's approach to political problems, it is the "organic understanding of politics". According to it, various political systems and forms of government develop like living organisms according to their own internal laws, which bind all their constituent elements into a single and inseparable whole and do not allow arbitrary, externally violent changes. These patterns are formed on the basis of the specific culture of the people, wisdom that has been accumulating for centuries and is not verbally expressed. Established methods of political activity bear the imprint of the country's geographical conditions, the nature of its historical path, and the religious beliefs that have dominated for centuries. Following Tikhomirov, Ilyin believed that any political reforms should be evolutionary in nature. Sharp leaps and revolutions are considered harmful or even disastrous, since they destroy the continuity of culture, lower its level, and throw society back into barbarism. The principle of the "organic understanding of politics" is identical

to the motto of medicine: "Do no harm!" He denies the effectiveness of one and the same political model or scheme for different socio-cultural communities. <...There is no single measure, no single model system for all peoples and states, and there cannot be one." The form of organization of political life in the state should not be assessed in itself, but taking into account the predisposition of the spiritual world of the people to its assimilation. "The state form is not an "abstract concept" and not a "political scheme" indifferent to the life of peoples, but a way of life and a living organization of the people. From this point of view, political activity does not tolerate adherence to any dogmas or standards; on the contrary, it seeks original ways to remove emerging social problems, relying on a deep understanding of the spiritual world of the people and a thorough analysis of the specific historical conditions in which it finds itself.

According to Ivan Ilyin, the true foundation of social institutions (primarily the state and law), culture as a whole is the human spirit, which unites art, science, philosophy, morality, law, and religion. Ilyin assigns a leading role to the last element, since, in his opinion, religious feeling, connecting the individual with God, fills the human spirit with content and meaning. Legal consciousness, being the source of the real state and law, at the mature stage of its development invariably acquires a religious character. Moreover, undeveloped forms of legal consciousness are capable of passing to mature ones precisely because religiosity in a person increases. Thus, religious consciousness, according to Ilyin, constitutes legal consciousness and the rule of law: Christian ethics leads to the affirmation of the intrinsic value of the individual, patriotism, solidarity, mutual respect and trust, that is, those principles on which a mature state should be built. Modern humanity, from Ilyin's point of view, "having fallen away from God", found itself in a deep crisis (world wars, anti-monarchism, Bolshevism, fascism). The only way out of it is possible by returning to religious roots, which should entail, in his opinion, political renewal. "Everything that happened in the world in the 20th century and continues to happen today testifies to the fact that Christian humanity is experiencing a deep crisis." As the basic forms of the state, Ilyin traditionally distinguishes between monarchy (unlimited and constitutional) and republic, which can be democratic, aristocratic and oligarchic. Highlighting the legal characteristics of monarchy (the supreme state power is inherited, the monarch exercises his power for life and is not responsible for his actions) and republic (the supreme state power is elected for a certain term, its bearers are formally responsible for their actions), he considers them insufficient for a clear distinction between these forms. Therefore, Ilyin considers it necessary to transfer the analysis of forms of government from the formal-legal plane to the sphere of religion, morality and psychology, which in fact meant studying not so much the legal construction of forms of government, but rather the

monarchical and republican types of legal consciousness.

Characterizing the monarchical legal consciousness (and therefore the monarchy as a form of government), Ilyin identifies a fairly long list of features and properties in it, based on an “irrational-intuitive” and mystical perception of reality. World history, society, state, law, and man are understood by the monarchical legal consciousness as God’s providence unfolding in time and space. The monarch is a sacred person connected with God, which is the source of his “extraordinary duties and extraordinary responsibility.” The religious perception of power, uniting the monarch and the people, awakens in them “farsightedness, wisdom, and self-sacrifice,” and also forms a desire for self-education and self-restraint. Based on love for God, “inner spiritual work” creates the legal foundations of society and power, leads to an understanding of legal duties as religious, “the work of the Sovereign is selfless service...” The religious unity of the monarch and the people determines such an important feature of the monarchical legal consciousness as familism, patriarchy. Subjects must feel themselves members of one family, their "family affiliation", blood connection through a common ancestor. Patriarchy, imbued with the spirit of history and returning a person to his origins, brings with it conservatism and traditionalism. A monarchist, according to Ilyin, is not inclined to "quick and easy innovation", he is reluctant to decide on radical reforms and undertakes them only when they are ripe.

Ilyin considers an important feature of the monarchical legal consciousness to be the need for the personification of power, the state, the people, the homeland in a specific person - the monarch, who becomes the spiritual center, "a living identity, overcoming separateness and personally embodying the sought-after unity of the nation." Hence the inherent centripetalism, integration and accumulation of monarchical legal consciousness, manifested at the psychological, political and economic levels. In the conditions of a monarchy, Ilyin considers it natural to gather all human, material and other resources of the country into a single center, to accumulate national energy in the "spiritual, volitional and - political power - of the Sovereign." - He sees monarchical statehood as a kind of organic whole, which in a spiritual and emotional impulse is capable of solving great problems. For Ilyin, autocracy is "the highest manifestation of legality, a sense of duty in the supreme state official." A distinctive feature of a monarchy is the "cult of rank", by which Ilyin understands the construction of the state and social relations in general on the basis of a hierarchy of human virtues. In a monarchy, the authority of the best reigns. At the highest level of such an ethical and political organization stands the monarch, possessing excellent qualities in all respects. The most important qualities of a subject are dignity and honor, which consist, according to Ilyin, in voluntary

submission to a freely recognized legal authority. Serving the sovereign means for a subject not disobedience and servile lack of will, but an active and creative process. Ilyin attributes trust and love for the monarch, loyalty to him, as well as the principles of discipline and subordination to the most important elements of monarchical consciousness.

Ilyin sees the main practical difficulty and danger for the monarchy in the problem of establishing the limits of loyalty and obedience of subjects. Ultimately, he advocates that man himself, as a religious, moral, free and legal personality, should independently decide this issue from the standpoint of natural law. Ilyin closely links the viability of the monarchy with the degree of maturity of individual and public monarchical legal consciousness. He believes that the organization and functioning of a monarchical state are specific to each country and require compliance with a number of conditions concerning the size of the territory, the number and density of the population, its national and social composition, state and economic tasks, religious confession and psychology of the people, the level of culture and legal consciousness. Monarchical statehood is seen by these two philosophers, so different in education, destiny and views, as something inherent in the Russian people, or more precisely, the peoples inhabiting the empire, since, as we will see further, the title of the monarch is as if impersonated, whether his election to the throne or some other means of elevation are not so important. The principle of "autocracy" itself is important, i.e. the principle that Tikhomirov outlined in the "light" version of the book "Monarchical Statehood" "Sole power as a principle of state structure". It is absolutely unimportant who sits on the throne, the principle of monarchical statehood itself is important, where the monarch is both a symbol of the state and the supreme arbiter over parties that express the interests of a particular social group, class or estate. Religious education of both future bearers of power and the people is important. "The monarch must know that if there is no religious feeling in the people, then there can be no monarchy."

Moving on to the consideration of the historical and philosophical views of Lev Alexandrovich Tikhomirov, it is necessary to note that he adhered to the same point of view as Konstantin Leontiev. Russia should focus on the closest historical analogy and at the same time the source of Christian culture - Byzantium. Leontiev, based on his experience of life in the Balkans, determined that the kinship of the language and culture of the Balkan Slavs could not at all become the common denominator that could become the core of unity for the "Slavic world". In the Turkish possessions in the Balkans, the intelligentsia sought to adopt the lifestyle of the Europeans and thereby tried to immerse themselves in the leveling Western European egalitarianism. The educated classes of the Balkans sought to adjust

themselves to the standard of the average European and, consequently, to destroy the colorful culture inherent in the heirs of Byzantium - Bulgaria, Serbia and other countries; It is not for nothing that Rozanov characterized such views as "an aesthetic view of history." Therefore, to value a tribe for a tribe is a stretch and a lie, Leontiev himself wrote.

Tikhomirov came to the same conclusion using the example of Byzantium itself - a multinational state united not by ethnicity, but by the principle of autocracy and Orthodoxy, which existed throughout the history of the Eastern Roman Empire in parallel. According to Tikhomirov, monarchical statehood is based on autocracy, Orthodoxy and nationality. There is nothing new in the initial premises here, this theory itself was put forward at the beginning of the 19th century by the Minister of Education S.S. Uvarov. Tikhomirov developed it in detail and argued it comprehensively.

Konstantin Leontiev, consistently cutting off all those principles on which Russia can stand, came to the conclusion that the monarchical principle is the only organizing principle and the main instrument of discipline. Apparently, conversations with the writer-monk greatly influenced the formation of Lev Tikhomirov's concept. We do not know whether K.N. Leontiev influenced Tikhomirov either in personal conversations or when Lev Alexandrovich read the works of this thinker, but for Tikhomirov, as for Leontiev, the "national idea" is also an "instrument of world revolution". In his work "Sole Authority as a Principle of State Structure" L.A. Tikhomirov notes: "In a monarchy, the supreme authority seeks before itself only the representation of private group interests, but in no way national... If the monarchical supreme authority for some reason does not represent national interests, then, therefore, from that very moment it loses ... (the meaning of existence) and is subject to replacement by another form of government." Therefore, "in a monarchy there can only be a question of the methods of communication with the nation, but not of national representation."

How does Lev Tikhomirov propose to resolve the issue of communication with nations? "This... is achievable precisely with the idea of an estate state, that is, when naturally forming national strata become estates, apply to the state service with those of their sides" that are suitable for this. He believed that the State Duma must be "subjected to a radical transformation." "The supreme power is vested in the people, the numerical majority." In his work "Autocracy and Popular Representation," the philosopher presented a project for its reorganization. Outlining his view on a limited monarchy, Tikhomirov said that "the very form of constitutional monarchy is not yet a fully organized democracy," here any system, according to Lev Tikhomirov, is based on a certain ideocratic principle. Such an

ideocratic principle for the monarchy (as it seems to the writer) is the moral principle, and it, in turn, rests on religion, and for Russia this principle is pure Orthodox religion, not clouded by the religious and philosophical refinements of the theological intelligentsia. Tikhomirov was a mystic. On the basis of Lev Tikhomirov's interpretation of religious dogmas, V. Solovyov even gave rise to controversy.

VI. S. Solovyov in a review of L. Tikhomirov's book "The Clergy and Society in the Modern Religious Movement" - "The Question of "Unauthorized Intellectualism", published in December 1892 in the "Bulletin of Europe", very ironically responded to Lev Tikhomirov's desire to banish religious unauthorized intellectualism: "All particularists," Tikhomirov wrote, "should generally be damned for "unauthorized intellectualism". The irony is that Tikhomirov himself dared to speak out on religious topics, "without having the proper clerical rank for this," and numerous participants in religious gatherings that sporadically arose and disappeared at the beginning of the 20th century also expressed their thoughts, and they were far from orthodox. However, the greatest interest is aroused by the fact that clergy, members of religious-philosophical societies, spoke there with much more radical views than "particular" persons. The history of this polemic goes back to 1889, when Tikhomirov sharply criticized V. Solovyov's book "Russia and the Universal Church." The most important thing, according to Tikhomirov, is that the monarchy, first of all, needs "correct relations with the church." According to the thinker, "an almost religious reverence is transferred to the social sphere," and "church life begins to seem like just some special corner of human life," "the satisfaction of religious needs," something like a theater or gallery for satisfying aesthetic needs. But this, we repeat, is the case if the church is separated from the state and "freedom of conscience" comes. But social life, which replaces religious life, is included, according to Tikhomirov, in the hierarchy of other types of life; it is far from first place for him: inorganic life, organic life, animal life, and, finally, spiritual life, inherent only to man. All these types of life "are subject to the general law of unity, the existence of the collective, the collective." Each hierarchically lower level "constitutes only a certain subsoil for the higher strata." And together they are all subject to the highest organizational principle.

However, the pathos of all of Lev Tikhomirov's work is "sole power." How does this "sole power" fit in with the traditional Orthodox Church? Given the vague moral feeling that subjects have for the supreme power, "the monarchical principle of power... is unthinkable." That is why "it requires subordination that is basically voluntary." Moreover, monarchical power must be imbued with it and itself submit to this same ideal. "The monarchical principle of power," writes L.A. Tikhomirov,

"having a personal bearer, most easily provides the necessary unity, not allowing for an unlawful merger. The monarch, belonging to the Church, himself submits to it, bears its moral demands, and directs his state structure in the spirit of the Church." This is the highest point in the development of Lev Tikhomirov's state and legal thought. The monarch is the pinnacle of both secular and ecclesiastical power (although the official appointed by him officially leads the Church). "Christian teaching is capable of indicating the greatest social truth," the philosopher reminded.

Lev Aleksandrovich Tikhomirov can be very conditionally classified as a "philosopher." Rather, he is an ideologist who did not adhere to any specific schools or trends in his system of proofs. Here is both a "natural scientific" attempt to provide a basis for the doctrine of monarchy, and a desire, "having knocked the weapon out of the enemy's hands," to try to crush him with the same weapon. But the main pathos of Tikhomirov's work lies in the fact that he claims to create an "ideocratic" myth about some dissimilarity of Russia from other countries, about a country relying on ancient Byzantine traditions, about some elusive "national spirit," "corporatism of estates" that voluntarily refuse the monarch "to delegate his powers to them." About some popular "truth", as elusive as the "people's spirit", "truth" that can be "carried by the most wretched representative of the "people", nevertheless, much more valuable in the eyes of Lev Tikhomirov, than the parliament, to which "the best, the most worthy representatives of the estates" are elected. The main pathos of the thinker, thus, is directed not so much against anarchy, which nevertheless ends in dictatorship, and that - in sole power, i.e. monarchy, as against liberal "seekers of political benefits" who are shaking the harmonious monolith of autocracy.

Another worst enemy of the autocratic Russian state L.A. Tikhomirov considers Tolstoyism with its non-resistance to evil by force, i.e. failure to comply with the instructions of the authorities - anarchy not active, but passive, for which it is impossible to bring to criminal responsibility by law. First of all, the psychological factor lies in the emergence of statehood. In the transition from tribal relations, writes Tikhomirov, the need for the organization of society arises. Incidentally, the same thing happens in nature: here, according to the writer, the principle of cooperation or corporatism operates. If one could imagine such a society where each member "is in a state of internal independence and self-satisfaction... then it is clear... society is thereby abolished." And if freedom and unfreedom operate alternately, equilibrium reigns, that is, "civil state."

Moreover, the state of civil society, or a kind of "social contract," according to which people a priori recognize their leading or subordinate role, is not despotism at all, but a necessary condition for the balance of relations in this society. And

according to K.P. Pobedonostsev, in the psychology of every person there is a "search for power over oneself." Quoting him, Tikhomirov notes: "This force, without prior agreement, unites people; into society." From a psychological point of view, the desire for submission is a rather feminine trait (we can recall similar statements by N.A. Berdyaev and V.V. Rozanov), but submission is not always a sign of weakness, writes Lev Tikhomirov, - however, it is the best, most subtle property of our nature. Freedom plays a much greater role in private life, in civil life - submission is primarily a social state, since here human cooperation finds its expression."

The relationship between freedom and coercion is explained by L. A. Tikhomirov in the following way. Let us assume that the terms of the "social contract" are violated by someone and personal freedom comes to the forefront, while necessity recedes into the background. Under these conditions, any power capable of restoring the balance, even by very cruel and unfair measures, is perceived as a blessing. But under one very important condition: if this power has clear and definite goals, understandable, and therefore approved by the overwhelming majority of society. This is the "truth". Power grows by itself, it is enough to understand and consciously accept it, and this, as we see, leads to the assertion that a priori consciousness exists in human psychology. Tikhomirov clearly defines supreme power, imbued with a certain higher idea, and governing power. Let us assume that the supreme idea professed by the supreme power, the executive, is either lost or distorted - then a coup d'etat occurs. In any state, writes Tikhomirov, three forms of statehood coexist, alternating in their prevalence: monarchy, oligarchy and, finally, democracy - the lowest self-government: communities, assemblies, etc. But one of them can prevail. Ideally, when the monarch relies on the oligarchy. But the oligarchy is economically independent, and therefore leads to freedom. The service class is the bureaucracy. This class is indebted to the sovereign already insofar as its well-being depends entirely on the royal service. But the greed of officials knows no bounds. Hence the instability in the state. If democracy replaces all other forms, then anarchy sets in. To prevent anarchy is the task of any normally functioning state organism, which, by self-organizing, eliminates anarchy and again returns the state structure to one of the three main forms. The bureaucratization of Russia, which all thinkers without exception saw as the root of evil, led to the supreme idea reaching the localities in its distorted, unrecognizable form. The Russian people, according to Tikhomirov and Ilyin, are inclined either to monarchy or to anarchy.

Ilyin also considers the history and statehood of Russia from the position of monarchical legal consciousness. Russian history, from his point of view, developed

as a struggle between the impulse for freedom and the strict necessity of the state, between the tendency towards anarchy and the instinct of national self-preservation. He concludes that in Russia, "either autocracy or chaos are possible: Russia is incapable of a republican system." The Russian monarchy, which grew out of the fundamental needs of the Russian soul, harmoniously combined authoritarianism and self-government, and was an example of mutual loyalty, respect and love between the tsar and the people. At the heart of such unity was the ability of the Russian people to perceive the state not formally and legally, but religiously and morally, as a living organic whole. Ilyin notes the "sensitive talent" of the Russian tsars, who, relying on religion, served their people "with faith and truth."

The power of the Russian autocrats, while formally absolute, was never actually so; it was always limited by religious and ethical norms, the opinion of the people... Ilyin highly values the Russian monarchs of the 19th century (especially Nicholas I and Alexander II), who, in his opinion, tried to protect Russia from wars and revolutions and direct its development along a reformist path. At the same time, according to Ilyin, the Russian monarchy was never able to become completely above-class and non-partisan, although in the 18th-19th centuries the autocrats actively strove for this. Ilyin pays much attention to the last Russian monarch. In his opinion, the reign of Nicholas I was marked by "creation and progress", under him Russia made a significant step forward. But Ilyin reproaches the emperor for leaving the throne without a fight. Being a convinced and consistent monarchist, Ilyin, nevertheless, tried to avoid extremes. He had an equally negative attitude towards both left and right radicalism, believing that political extremism leads to the death of the monarchical state, and therefore, Russia. Thus, the Black Hundreds organizations (the monarchical "Union of the Russian People", "Union of Archangel Michael", etc.) pursued, according to Ilyin, an anti-people and anti-state policy: they wanted a tsar who would defend class and oligarchic interests, created an atmosphere of cultural oppression of small nationalities, incited anti-Semitism, called for blind obedience, using primitive demagoguery.

As N.P. Poltoratsky noted, "Ilyin fought ideologically and politically on two fronts - against the extreme left and the extreme right." The Black Hundreds, he concludes, became one of the reasons for the revolution in Russia. The Bolsheviks' rise to power in Russia became possible, according to Ilyin, as a result of the weakness of the monarchical legal consciousness. Ilyin perceived the collapse of the monarchy as the death of Russia.

The idea of a totalitarian communist state, in his opinion, was alien to the Russian people; the Bolsheviks, having imposed it by force, humiliated and corrupted the nation. Therefore, in historical perspective, after the collapse of

communist power (Ilyin believed that sooner or later this would happen), the Russian people, before building a monarchical state, must repent and purify themselves, revive their Christian conscience and faith in the power of good. At the transitional stage, he proposed establishing a "national dictatorship" in Russia, which, relying on "loyal troops" and "sober and honest patriots", would have to stop chaos and lead society to freedom. Nevertheless, in practical terms, Ilyin always took the position of a "non-party contemplative" during his years of emigration (as, incidentally, in the pre-revolutionary period).

He believed that in emigration there was no necessary soil for the emergence of parties. Any political organization, in his opinion, is almost inevitably doomed to party politicking and the dominance of demagogues. Therefore, Ilyin always refused the numerous offers he received to head this or that political movement. In this regard, he said: "I can be neither a Mason nor an anti-Semite. For me, there is one law: honor, conscience, patriotism. For me, there is one measure - the Russian national interest." Ilyin proposed that the Russian emigration unite on a broad anti-Bolshevik platform and limit their activities to two tasks: explaining the specifics of Russia to the West and studying the processes taking place in the Soviet Union. Thus, Tikhomirov and Ilyin were ideologists of statehood. Tikhomirov defended the need to preserve the monarchy in Russia as an integral part of the Russian national organism. "The triumph of statehood ... is always inevitable, no matter what theoretical anarchy we begin with."

Why did the efforts of the conservatives to save Russia fail? According to researcher V.V. Zvereva, "the conservatives did not go beyond the desire to consolidate the existing foundations of the political system," "this is their tragedy both as thinkers and as major personalities who did not find understanding and support from the authorities."

3.3. THE PROBLEM OF DEMOCRACY IN THE WORKS OF THINKERS

The idea of democracy occupied the minds of many thinkers. Democratic transformation of the political system seemed to be a cure for all ills. L.A. Tikhomirov and I.A. Ilyin were consistent critics of democracy as a principle of state structure. Having been an adherent of the idea of democracy for many years and having consciously broken with it, Lev Tikhomirov became one of the best critics of the democratic principle of power, having built a complete system of its refutation. Having experienced a grandiose reassessment of value, he tried to convey his new convictions to everyone.

Criticism of democracy became the first topic that Lev Tikhomirov addressed upon arriving in his homeland. Comparing the actual foundations of liberal democracy with what was declared at its inception, Tikhomirov saw their almost complete inconsistency. "Instead of democracy," he wrote, "we have here parliamentarism and the dominance of parties." The people's will as the supreme power in the state is called upon to resolve all issues of governance. "But," says Tikhomirov, "it is impossible to identify this will, because the vast majority of ordinary people knew nothing about governing the state." Ilyin echoes Tikhomirov here, emphasizing that in a democracy "broad freedom will always be politically harmful." "Anyone can cast a ballot, but not everyone can responsibly cope with the burden of state judgment and action." In order to accustom people to the expression of the will of the state, according to Ilyin, it is necessary to start with a limited right to vote, since "the entire people cannot be competent in these matters and responsible tasks." Ilyin believed that the unity and strength of power in democracies is declining. Democracy brings stratification to the state, the idea of class struggle, and party intransigence. Tikhomirov argued that democratic representations and parties are the place where a new ruling class of politicians arises.

According to Tikhomirov, democracy is being replaced by the dominance of parties, which instill their private will and private opinion in the people. "There is not a single form of government," Tikhomirov summed up, "in which the influence of popular desires on current affairs would be so hopelessly suppressed as in this creation of a theory that tried to build everything on the people's will." Tikhomirov singled out two ideas that are the basis for democracy. The first is that state power must be supranational, because it exists for the good of all, and the second is that power can exist only if the population is ready to submit to it. This, according to the writer, leads to the extinction of the very idea of democracy. Tikhomirov never tired of repeating

that the choice of the principle of supreme power depends on the religious, moral, psychological state of the nation, on the ideals that formed the worldview of the nation.

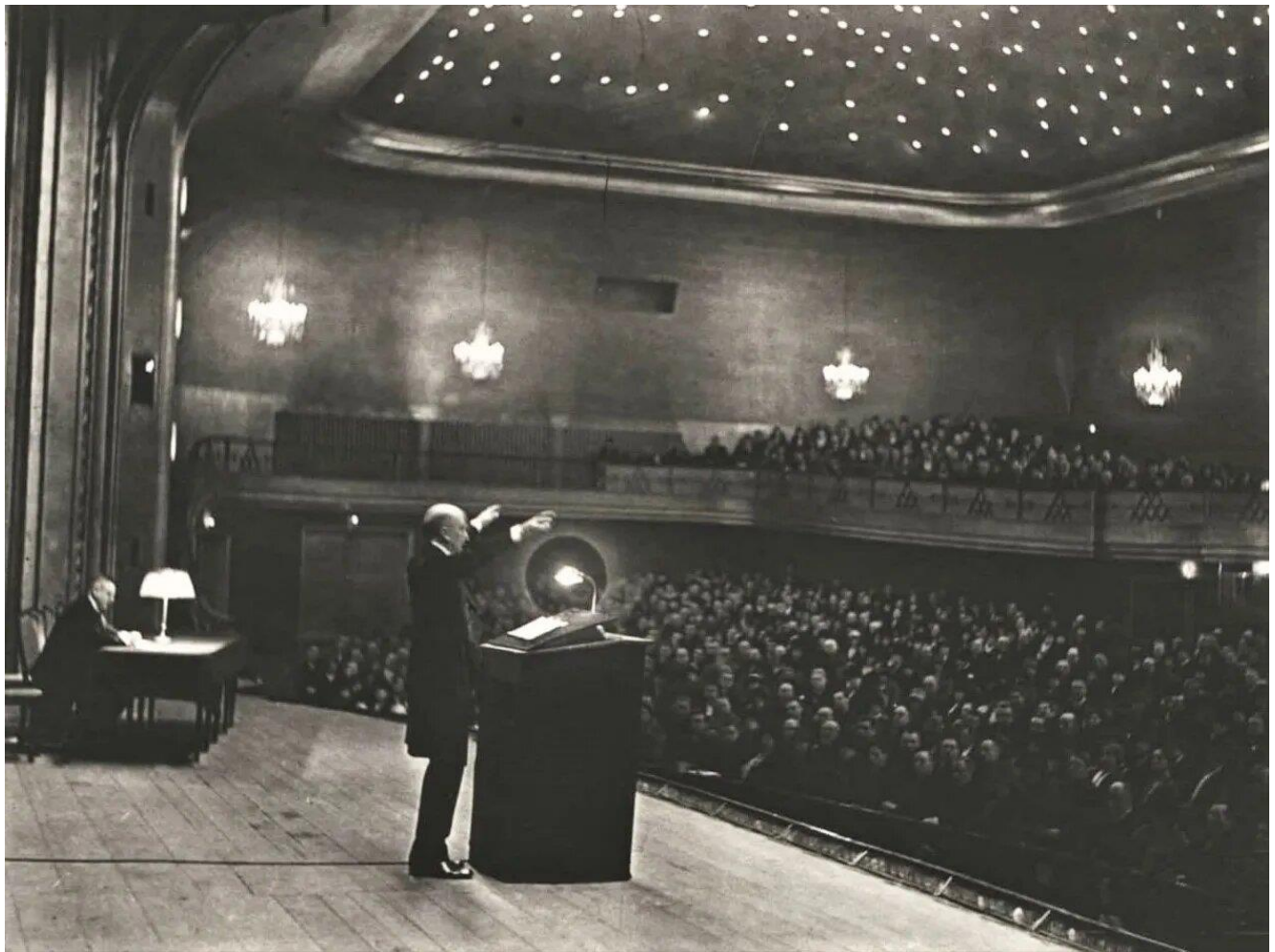
Democracy, with its appearance, called into question the high understanding of the individual, its moral essence. Tikhomirov emphasized that liberal democracy rejected faith in God, but tried to leave Christian moral concepts. I.A. Ilyin demonstrated the disastrous consequences of the practice of democratic governance using the example of the February Revolution of 1917. In his opinion, the Provisional Government unleashed "all the evil and criminal forces available in the country, from the Bolsheviks to professional recidivists." He recalled that democracy then turned into a political slogan, "a confession of faith," a panacea, an absolute, indisputable value.

Ilyin sought to develop a more sober view of democracy, to reveal the complexities and dangers that can arise in the conditions of an uncritical attitude towards it and excessive haste in introducing it into state life. "Democracy is not a single value and is equal to itself everywhere, democracy is not simply a state form that can be slapped on any people - it will do - it will do." As for L.A. Tikhomirov, he defined democracy as a godless principle. He wrote that in democracies the people are a "deity" to whom they submit and serve. This deity is unpredictable and bloodthirsty, like the ancient pagan gods. "If we are destined to live," said Tikhomirov, "then we must seek other ways." The omnipotence of the bureaucracy, the fading of national initiative create a crowd instead of a people, and it is in the crowd that democratic ideas about the supremacy of power become predominant. Tikhomirov believed that the struggle of democracy with autocracy is not just a political cataclysm. The essence of the conflict lies deeper.

Two profound ideas collided in this struggle: the idea of unity and the idea of division. In human nature there is a search for power over oneself, to which one could submit, and this feature of the psyche constantly pushes a person to search for an ideal, which he would like to follow. But from the desire for independence comes a crude and demonic vanity in human nature. Tikhomirov emphasizes: if freedom is a personal quality, then power and subordination are primarily social states. L.A. Tikhomirov noted that in a state with varying degrees of power, all forces and monarchy or autocracy operate. He also tried to prove the compatibility of autocracy and popular representation, arguing that "these two principles are mutually complementary." I.A. Ilyin, for example, wrote that the US president enjoys such plenitude of power that only some kings and princes can envy, and oligarchy is the most unstable, but harmful to autocracy power, since it is financially independent, and, finally, democracy in the form of local self-government, a force that has gotten out of control, leading to

rebellion and anarchy. So, what kind of power does the nation trust?

Democracy expresses trust in quantitative power; aristocracy - in qualitatively higher power, here "a certain rationality of power"; and only monarchy - in moral power. Aristocracy as a form of power is the weakest: it is forced to serve and be dependent on the one it serves. Democracy in the sphere of governance almost always actually submits to one or another form of aristocracy that it hates, while at the same time is constantly forced to resort to dictatorship every time there is an urgent need to implement the pressing will of the people. Dictatorship, which so often turns into Caesarism at that stage of its development, is very close to the monarchical principle."



I. A. Ilyin at a lecture, 1920s.

Republican legal consciousness, according to Ilyin, is opposite to the monarchical one in all its main positions. In a republic, a utilitarian-rational perception of power prevails; the state, politics and law are considered the work of human hands, and not of God's providence. State power, understood as the will of the people, has an impersonal character and dissolves in the collective, and the state itself is a kind of conglomerate, a mechanical combination of persons ("equalizing all-mixing"). - The

psychology of a republican - presupposes a cult of independence, personal success, career, rejection of authorities and a critical perception of power. Accordingly, one of the main principles of the organization of a republic is distrust of power, the need to establish control over it and guarantees against possible despotic encroachments on the part of the head of state. The formal democratic mechanism used in the republic is aimed, according to Ilyin, at electing "dependent, obsequious and evasive divers" who do not threaten anyone with their superiority.

Republican legal consciousness is distinguished by centrifugalism, aspiration for all kinds of differentiation, innovation and radicalism, which in practical terms is expressed, according to Ilyin, in the processes of autonomization and federalization of the country, resulting in the collapse of the state and anarchy.

The establishment of Soviet power in Russia, the fascist system in Italy and the National Socialist system in Germany prompted Ilyin to analyze these phenomena, which he rightly called totalitarian regimes. Ilyin was one of the first deep and thorough critics of totalitarianism, who gave its systemic characteristics. As he correctly believes, totalitarian regimes could only arise in the 20th century, when the appropriate technical conditions (railways, telegraph, telephone, radio, aviation) and enormous administrative capabilities (a powerful state apparatus providing for universal political investigation and denunciation) appeared. By totalitarianism Ilyin understands a system in which compulsory and comprehensive regulation of citizens' lives is carried out, a person becomes completely enslaved, and freedom is criminal and punishable. A totalitarian regime is a kind of slave dictatorship based on a godless materialistic worldview, complete submission, fear, terror, and the autocracy of a party clique. Ilyin evaluates totalitarianism as a "terrible and unprecedented in history" phenomenon, based on "animal and slave mechanisms." It deprives "citizens of all independence." According to Ilyin, totalitarian regimes can be either left-wing (communist) or right-wing (fascist). While he completely rejects communist dictatorships, his attitude toward fascism is more complex. On the one hand, he sees in fascism a healthy and necessary desire of the nation to accumulate its energy, to protect itself from the onslaught of cosmopolitan communism. From his point of view, communist ideas and practice "eat away" at the national foundations of the people, emasculate their identity, thereby depriving them of vitality. Fascism, on the contrary, supports and protects everything national, makes it the basis of political, economic and cultural construction. At the same time, Ilyin believes that fascism in theory and practical implementation "made a number of deep and serious mistakes": it was irreligious, cultivated a party monopoly that led to corruption and general demoralization, went into the extremism of "nationalism and militant chauvinism", used socialist ideas, fell into "idolatrous Caesarism with its demagogy, servility and despotism" and, ultimately, created a totalitarian system. The deformation

of fascist ideas was especially evident in Hitler's Germany, which Ilyin saw both before and after World War II as the main (after Bolshevism) national enemy of Russia. Ultimately, Ilyin's reasoning about fascism boils down to freeing this theory from false positions, leaving its "healthy core", and abandoning the compromised term "fascism". In this sense, he positively evaluates the dictatorships of Franco (Spain) and Salazar (Portugal), considering them free from the shortcomings of Italian and German fascism. In addition to totalitarianism, Ivan Ilyin identifies and analyzes such a type of political regime as authoritarianism. The above criticism of the republican form of government gives an idea of Ilyin's negative assessment of traditional Western democracy. It should be added to what has been said that he saw in democracy a threat of transition to totalitarianism. As he believes, the power of the crowd and parties, when using a formal electoral mechanism, constantly strives to develop into despotism. In addition, modern democracy has a tendency to move closer to socialism, which in the long term may end with the establishment of a totalitarian communist state. An authoritarian regime is preferable because it ensures the rule of the best people and grants representative bodies only advisory rights. Under an authoritarian system, the ruling aristocratic elite, firmly leading the people along the path of freedom and law, is a reliable guarantee against the onset of totalitarianism. Ilyin considers the experience of Russia, which politically developed and strengthened precisely under an authoritarian regime, to be an instructive example of this kind.

Ilyin sharply opposed all types of political doctrinaireism, i.e. the absolutization of any abstract political model and the desire for its universal implementation, imposing it on all peoples without taking into account their cultural and historical specifics. If at the end of the 19th - beginning of the 20th century such a model, which had a strong influence on the value orientations of the European and Russian public consciousness, was the socialist reorganization of society through revolution, then by the middle of the 20th century, according to Ilyin, the most fashionable was the democratic state system. Fanatical faith in democracy as a cure-all, Ilyin believed, is based on the absolutization of the external side of human freedom and disregard for its internal side, which should be understood as "the ability of the spirit to independently see the correct law, independently recognize its authoritarian force and independently implement it in life." According to Ilyin, any political system is reasonable, strong and effective when it is based on spiritual foundations that correspond to it. "These foundations disappear and the political system degenerates: first into its own sinister caricature, and then into its direct opposite." As spiritual foundations on which alone democracy, which presupposes the ability of the people to govern the state, can be firmly based, Ilyin singles out "a confident and living sense of state responsibility," "free loyalty" and basic honesty,

a sense of duty and incorruptibility, respect for laws and the state system. In addition, the people must have an appropriate state-political outlook, a deep understanding of the historical, international and domestic tasks of their country; a high level of consciousness, including political consciousness, expressed in sufficient education and the ability to think independently and reasonably; finally, a sense of self-worth and strength of personal character — those necessary qualities that are also inherent in this people. The absence of these qualities in the people under conditions of external freedom, the split of society into many warring parties stimulates egoism, groups for which all means in the political struggle are good. Social solidarity falls sharply. Ilyin believed that democracy "debilitates state power". The incompetence of the people is an ideal ground for the self-affirmation of careerists, adventurers and all kinds of messiahs. The lack of rationality is replaced by emotions that turn into bitterness, hatred, a war of all against all and, as a consequence, sooner or later leads to one or another form of totalitarian dictatorship. In this sense, Ilyin considers the position of political forces whose slogan is: "Democracy - immediately and at any cost!" to be irresponsible doctrinaire. Such a position is the result of the inability or unwillingness to correlate good intentions with reality. It leads to political blindness, external imitation, the desire to keep up with fashion to the detriment of sober political analysis.

In order to avoid political extremes and the slogans that correspond to them, it is necessary, according to Ilyin, to clearly understand the dual nature of the state structure, to clearly see the "corporate" and "constituent" tendencies that manifest themselves to varying degrees in the development of any state, simultaneously complementing and mutually negating each other. The corporate tendency reflects the specifics of the development of a corporation based on the equality of its members who join it solely of their own free will and are endowed with the right to freely leave. Members of a corporation have the right to choose the necessary authorities, as well as to disavow them, to propose solutions to pressing problems, to set conditions for participation in the corporation. A corporation is built from the bottom up and is based on the absolute equality of every voice. As a prototype of such a state structure, Ilyin points to a workers' cooperative.

"The constituent tendency is associated with the activities of an institution that is built from the top down and in which the relations of "command of subordination" are clearly expressed. Members of an institution do not form the strategy and tactics of its activities, do not decide on issues of admission to the institution or exclusion from it. This is the competence of unelected and unaccountable authorities. In place of corporate freedom of expression, the institution's guardianship and education of its members is put. Ilyin names the army, school, and hospital as the prototypes of the

institution.

Ilyin believes that the supporters of the slogan "Democracy - immediately and at any cost!" adhere to a utopian point of view about the possibility and usefulness of implementing a purely corporate type of state structure. Utopian - because the state will always remain an institution, for example, in relation to all citizens with an immature legal consciousness: children, minors, the mentally ill, the politically senseless, criminal, immoral elements. This is obvious.

Ilyin emphasizes that it is more difficult to understand something else, namely: the purpose of human life is not to engage in politics, but to create culture. Politics is only an instrument that provides the best opportunities for cultural development. It cannot and should not involve the entire people, wasting their time and energy. Politics will always remain the business of a competent minority, and, consequently, the state will never completely lose its constituent principle. This is especially evident in relation to such important areas of state life as public education, the court, defense, and diplomacy.

The corporate tendency will always be limited by:

- 1) the compulsory nature of the state union in general (subordination - citizenship, loyalty without any "insofar as", taxes, military service, court sentence and punishment);
- 2) the very technique of state and especially military construction (issues requiring secrecy and personal responsibility, questions of strategy and tactics - are not voted on);
- 3) the current level of legal consciousness in the country;
- 4) the necessary economy of energy (people definitely do not live in this world to politicize)." At the same time, the absolutization of the state system as an institution and the complete denial of the corporate tendency lead to another extreme that opposes democracy, namely totalitarianism. Therefore, the correct state structure must combine both of these tendencies and have an ideal measure of their relationship. This measure is different for different peoples and specific historical stages of their development.

When determining it, many factors should be taken into account, among which Ilyin singles out the size of the state's territory, climate, population size and density, its national and social composition, religious affiliation, state and economic tasks, the structure of the national economy and, most importantly, the cultural level of the people. Only a thorough analysis of these and a number of other factors makes it possible to establish such a relationship between the corporate and constituent principles in the state structure that, on the one hand, would not hinder the spiritual development of the people, and on the other, would not open the door to anarchy. There are no and cannot be ready-made recipes here.

The growth of the political, legal and moral culture of the people steadily expands the possibilities of the corporate state structure and allows for a gradual weakening of the constituent principle. The state structure will be "the more perfect, the higher and stronger the level of legal consciousness in the country and, accordingly, the stronger the prevalence of the corporate spirit over the spirit of the guardian institution." However, political reformism should in no case run ahead, outstripping "advances" in the spiritual sphere. This circumstance should always be kept in mind when carrying out any reforms.

Ilyin paid special attention to the process of transition from totalitarian power to democratic power. In his opinion, totalitarian regimes are short-lived, because they cause inevitable economic catastrophes and set the overwhelming majority of the people against themselves. But the collapse of the totalitarian system is only the beginning of a long and difficult period of political development, requiring caution and circumspection for successful advancement toward democracy.

Is it possible to implement democracy immediately after the victory over totalitarianism? According to Ilyin, it is impossible, since totalitarianism leaves behind such traces in the public consciousness that will have an effect for a long time. He calls these traces "totalitarian decomposition of the soul", a number of "sick deviations and habits", which include: "political denunciation (often deliberately false), pretense and lies, loss of self-respect and native patriotism, thinking with other people's thoughts, flattering servility, eternal fear". The totalitarian regime, replacing laws with the voluntaristic discretion of officials, deals a crushing blow to the legal consciousness of citizens. "Criminal (criminal) treatment of man with man" is sanctified by the highest interests of politics. "But what is worse: the regime arising from this mixture has placed citizens in conditions in which it is impossible to live without "blat", without one or another illegal or semi-legal means of satisfying their needs: the black market, theft, corruption, protectionism and nepotism, the principle of "you give to me, I give to you", etc.

Democracy will not stand on such a foundation, and the treatment of these spiritual ailments requires time, consistency and persistence. The people must learn to understand freedom, to need it, to value it, to know how to use it and to fight for it." One of the "most important conditions for the establishment of democracy is the economic independence of citizens. By this independence Ilyin means "not wealth, and not entrepreneurship, and not land ownership, but the personal ability and social opportunity to feed one's family with honest, even hired labor. A free citizen must feel himself in life as an independent worker, not cast out of the life of his country, but organically included in the real circulation of life. Only those who feel themselves to be breadwinners, benefiting their people, have a basis for

incorruptible expression of will and voting... Without this, democracy quickly degenerates into a continuous fight of groundless grabbers..." Unlike totalitarianism, authoritarianism does not at all pretend to total state regulation.

Moreover, it is interested in developing the independence and initiative of citizens. This system firmly holds in its hands only the key and decisive levers of public life, without interfering in private life and without engaging in intrusive guardianship. Authoritarianism does not need a huge bureaucratic and repressive apparatus that shines a light on the life of society to the very bottom, allowing citizens everything that is not prohibited by the state. The meaning of authoritarianism is not in violence, but in the education of citizens, in strengthening the role of law and the economic independence of man. Its main argument is authority, not force. Of course, such a type of government, if unable to implement the stated tasks, risks sliding into totalitarianism. However, this danger is in no way greater than in the conditions of premature introduction of democracy. The guarantees against political catastrophe are the effective functioning of the authoritarian dictatorship, its consistency in solving the main problems.

I. Ilyin believes that after the collapse of the totalitarian regime, an authoritarian dictatorship can take three main forms: the dictatorship of a "party democrat"; the dictatorship of a small collegial body that will be subordinated to a large collegial body; a one-man dictatorship that relies on spiritual strength and the quality of the people saved by the dictatorship. The most adequate form of authoritarian power during the transition from a totalitarian system to democracy, from Ilyin's point of view, is a one-man dictatorship. It is devoid of the shortcomings of other forms. "A party democrat inevitably experiences pressure from his party; he cannot decisively abandon the ideological dogmas, schemes and slogans preached by it, or demonstrate independence of thought and action." The viability of any state, regardless of the form of government, according to Ilyin, is determined by the presence of an aristocracy and the degree of its influence in society. Democracy is worthless if the state lacks a mechanism for promoting truly talented, gifted citizens. The inability to form an aristocracy and attract it to power is a sure sign of a state crisis, a harbinger of political catastrophe. Ilyin noted two positions in relation to the aristocracy. The first is conditioned by envy and egoism. It does not tolerate social superiority, advocates for universal equality, and treats everything extraordinary with suspicion and malice. The second sees the aristocracy as a benefit for the state. This position comes from the belief in the fundamental inequality of people in their basic qualities (health, strength, will, education, honesty, nobility, talent, etc.). Adherents of this position value in people not those traits that make them related to others, but, on the contrary, unique, original,

outstanding traits. They are confident that objective inequality should also determine different attitudes towards people "in accordance with their properties, qualities and deeds." This is what social justice is all about. I.Ilyin called it the "idea of rank", which is necessary for the effective functioning of state power.

The "Idea of Rank" has two sides: the actual rank, which is nothing more than the qualities inherent in a person, and the social rank - the powers, rights and obligations of a person that are recognized by society and the state. The ratio of the actual and social ranks may be different.

When the actual and social ranks coincide, the state is an effective and healthy organism. This is a sure sign of the correct form of government, a factor that ensures the authority of power and the flourishing of national culture. When the actual and social ranks do not coincide, conditions arise in which the upper floors of the social ladder are occupied by low and unworthy people. And this indicates the depravity of the state form, the approaching crisis of the state. «...Corrupt bureaucracy, a bad king, a stupid and ignorant professor, a dull and evil teacher, a dominance of talentless "artists", callous and cruel officers, judges without legal consciousness, parliamentarians without a sense of responsibility, a police force lacking courage...".

The new aristocracy should not be a closed caste, but a mobile stratum replenished with new capable people, always ready to free itself from the incapable. It should act as a bearer of the cult of law, blocking the voluntarism of officials. To do this, it is necessary to close the possibilities of "feeding" from office, private profit from official position. At the same time, the aristocracy becomes a spiritual leader only by virtue of the worthy carrying of the "leading idea", understood and shared by all the people. All this serves as a necessary condition for the education of respect for power in the masses, an understanding of the deserved special conditions that the leading stratum needs to effectively perform its functions. An important factor in the transition from totalitarianism to democracy is "strong state power".

I.Ilyin, in full accordance with the principle of "organic understanding of politics", approaches the analysis of this concept from the side of its internal content, believing that "power is, first of all, and most of all, spirit and will, i.e. dignity and rightness at the top, which are met by free loyalty from below." He asserts: "The power of power is, first of all, its spiritual and state authority, its respect, its recognized dignity, its ability to impress citizens. ... The true power of power consists in its ability to call without threatening and to meet with a true response from the people." Strong power, I.Ilyin noted, is not at all the one that causes fear, widely uses punitive organs, the apparatus of coercion. On the contrary, the need for regular violence on the part of the authorities is a sign of its internal weakness, the absence of spiritual authority, the inability to persuade with arguments. In addition, it would be a mistake to consider the

power that seeks to control all spheres of public life, right down to the personal lives of citizens, to be strong. This desire only confirms the lack of trusting relations between the authorities and the people, the fear of the authorities to lose sight of any trifle. The power that claims comprehensive regulation weakens itself, because it needs the growth of the bureaucratic apparatus, a system of terror and universal denunciation, opposes itself to the masses and is internally rejected by them. Totalitarian power is strong only in appearance, from the outside. Thus, rejecting totalitarianism and being skeptical about democracy, I.Ilyin gives clear preference to an authoritarian regime. I.Ilyin, soberly assessing the realities of history, understood that the revival of the monarchy in post-communist Russia is impossible. Therefore, he advocated the introduction of an authoritarian regime with the subsequent development of democratic principles ("limited voting rights").

L. Tikhomirov, criticizing democracy, put forward ideas about the system of rights and responsibilities of the individual. This was especially important at the beginning of the 20th century, when there were no clear definitions and laws in this area that protected human rights. And in resolving this issue, he believed that the monarchy "promises a more solid guarantee of individual rights than democracy."

3.4. CRITICISM OF SOCIALIST THEORIES BY TIKHOMIROV AND ILYIN

It is difficult to name other conservative publicists who devoted so much attention to the criticism of socialism. Tikhomirov considered the social democratic movement to be the most dangerous of all revolutionary movements. As early as 1891, warning the government, he wrote: "The successes of social democracy show that this movement is arguing about whether its growth is inevitable or unavoidable. It could be a triumph, but it is frivolous to doubt its possibility. If a socialist revolution is planned in the destinies of humanity, then it will be carried out, of course, by the party." Tikhomirov considered socialism to be false, "a deeply erroneous teaching." Tikhomirov harshly criticized Marxist ideas about the state. He believed that a revolutionary state would be built on "the enslavement of all citizens under the banner of the whole society," and "the party 'ruling class of politicians', the bureaucracy will lead it." He especially emphasized that "socialism takes away the idea of the fatherland from man." Tikhomirov pictured production under socialism as a "huge organization of serf labor," a new edition of feudalism. Marx's thesis on the withering away of the state was declared by him to be an empty phrase, necessary for deceiving

the workers: the state, the supreme power, classes, a certain hierarchy of society, etc. - all these are "eternally identical and essentially unchanging" foundations of any social life, which man is not able to destroy.

Tikhomirov saw in Marxism a denial of personal freedom, initiative and creativity of man, he called Marx's teaching "unheard of reactionary." Tikhomirov saw the main mistake of Marx's opponents - the populists, both revolutionary and liberal - in the fact that they are unable to "discern in our peasantry a living national stratum, but still think to see in it a detached class." Hence the intelligentsia's desire to "recreate Russia" not on national, but on class (peasant for the Narodniks, proletarian for the Marxists) foundations. Ilyin believed that socialist transformations could only be carried out in totalitarian states. Here his assessments are often emotional. Like Tikhomirov, he saw private property as the main obstacle to the victory of socialism. The example of the Soviet state showed, in I.A. Ilyin's opinion, that a socialist state is a machine for suppressing class enemies and for the forced organization of labor. The independence of citizens in such a state will come to an end. Unlike Ilyin, L.A. Tikhomirov singled out the "positive" aspects of scientific socialism, he repeatedly emphasized the coherence of Marx's teaching. Among the "merits" of socialism as a doctrine, he listed the analysis of the economic factor, the clarification of the place of the working class in the production system, criticism of bourgeois theories of progress, propaganda of collectivism and solidarity, classifying its creators among the "strongest minds of the 20th century".

Socialists showed the gaping ulcers of Western capitalism, forced the ruling circles and the bourgeoisie to make concessions to the working masses. Tikhomirov saw the origins of socialist doctrines in the abuses of bourgeois society. He identifies the socio-political reasons for the emergence of socialist doctrines. - The Western state was deprived of direct connection with the social structure of society, as a result of which it had to establish it through parties, and this, in Tikhomirov's opinion, would lead to a class seizure of power. "The bourgeois idea, in the name of individual freedom, established non-interference of the state in economic relations." But the state should not completely leave the socio-economic sphere. It must intervene in the economy when necessary, smoothing out the contradictions of bourgeois society. Having taken this path, Tikhomirov assured, the state could fight socialism "as an idea pouring out an idea." With regard to Russia, Tikhomirov noted that "social democracy now has an influence on the workers because it proves to them that the trade union struggle is part of the struggle for socialism.

The state, by declaring trade unions a means of "lawful" struggle between labor and capital, thereby "as if by itself" recognizes "the correct starting point of socialism about the class struggle." This is the main flaw in the very idea of a trade union

movement, which must be abandoned, and replaced by "the idea of care, in which even repression loses its odious character, for it has in mind the needs and benefits of the workers themselves." The Russian state, proclaimed Tikhomirov, "must be at the head of the national organization and for neglect of this can lose all credit among the people."

Tikhomirov claimed that socialism arose as a doctrine in the 19th century, which prepared a favorable ground for its development. Disorganized masses of the population appeared everywhere, in which medieval forms of communality were destroyed without the creation of any new organization. "Freedom of industrial action created enormous resources in the hands of a few strong and successful people." The state did not enter into any regulation of industrial relations. At the same time, the contradiction of the liberal state was the recognition of the principles of equality and freedom of man.

Lev Tikhomirov noted that "the proletariat is an ideal environment for the dissemination of socialist ideas." This is facilitated by its position - the absence of property, discipline, "the habit of work." "Previously the proletarian had a sole master - now society becomes the master, that is, in reality, the people who have subjugated the thought of the proletarian, those very rulers of the parties, the socialist intelligentsia..."

A huge mass of workers came to the state of a propertyless proletariat, and this mass expressed its protest against extreme individualism in the form of the idea of communism in the teachings of Saint-Simon, Owen, Fourier, Louis Blanc, Leroux, Cabet. Tikhomirov gave examples - the non-viability of communist communities: they fell into disrepair and fell apart. And their inhabitants became impoverished.

Tikhomirov also singled out the "delusions of socialism": this teaching is becoming "more and more materialistic", this teaching "kills respect for the individual". He saw the main criterion for the difference between civil society and socialist society in the presence of personal (private) property and free labor, which socialism "absolutely categorically denies". Tikhomirov, like Ilyin, places special emphasis in his criticism of socialism on substantiating the importance of private property. In his opinion, "we should not destroy property, but rather make efforts to ensure that all people possess it."

According to Tikhomirov, socialist teaching calls for the opposite: since there are few owners, it is necessary to destroy property altogether. Tikhomirov also attributed a disdainful attitude toward family, religion, and national statehood to the peculiarities of socialist teachings. Ilyin, following Tikhomirov, noted that the socialist state, by extinguishing private property, organizes a monopoly initiative of a "single bureaucratic center." This leads to "the complete and irrevocable dependence of all workers on the caste of party officials." The Russian intelligentsia, Ilyin notes, was drawn to socialism because it had lost its Christian faith (under the influence of Western enlightenment). But it retained Christian morality. It wanted to establish a "social order", that is, freedom, justice,

equality and brotherhood. The intelligentsia wanted to achieve this through a radical socialist transformation of society.

Ilyin points out that true sociality must be sought in a non-socialist system. He especially emphasizes that this will not be a "bourgeois system". This will be a system of "legal freedom and creative sociality".

Tikhomirov noted, like Ilyin, the denial of the historical community by the preachers of socialism. At the same time, socialist teachings are becoming increasingly radical and "sharply revolutionary". Tikhomirov made a significant contribution to the development of economic problems, which was uncharacteristic of conservative monarchists. His criticism of socialist teachings was thoroughly argued, based on extensive statistical material. He was convinced that a firm, consistent policy of the authorities in resolving economic and social problems would lead to socialism "sinking by itself", defeated not by material force alone, but by moral force, "the force of truth of the historical community". Thus, L.A. Tikhomirov and I.A. Ilyin spoke out against undermining the foundations of society, moral principles, and called for reasonable reforms of the society of their time. They called for a search for means of action within the framework of the existing social order.

LIST OF SOURCES

1. Ilyin I.A. Our tasks. - Moscow, 1992.
2. Ilyin I.A. On resisting evil by force // Novy mir. - 1991. - № 10.
3. Ilyin I.A. Our tasks // Yunost. - 1990. - № 8
4. Ilyin I.A. Selected articles // Nash sovremennik. - 1993. - № 3.
5. Ilyin I.A. On the connection of people in good and evil // Psychological journal. - 1992. - № 13.
6. Ilyin I.A. Burial of embalmed Tolstoyanism // Questions of philosophy. - 1992. - № 4.
7. Ilyin I.A. On the revolution // Slovo. — 1990. — № 11.
8. Ilyin I.A. Correspondence with A. Bely // Questions of Philosophy. — 1995. № 7. № 17.
9. Ilyin I.A. Homeland and Genius // Molodaya Gvardiya. — 1994. — № 3.
10. Ilyin I.A. About the New Man // Slovo. — 1993. — № 5 (6).
11. Ilyin I.A. Selection of the Best / About Democracy // Novoye Vremya. — 1993.
12. Ilyin I.A. Complete Works. — Moscow, 1993.
13. Ilyin I.A. Lonely Artist. — Moscow, 1993.
14. Ilyin I.A. Path to Obviousness. — Moscow, 1993.
15. Ilyin I.A. Hegel's Philosophy as a Teaching on the Concreteness of God and Man. — Moscow, 1992.
17. Ilyin I.A. About Russia. — Moscow, 1991.
18. Ilyin I.A. Axioms of Religious Experience. — Moscow, 1993.
19. Tikhomirov L.A. Shadows of the Past. Memories. — Moscow, 2000.
20. Tikhomirov L.A. Monarchical Statehood. — St. Petersburg, 1992.
21. Tikhomirov L.A. Letters to Lodyzhensky // Questions of Philosophy. 1992. — No. 5.
22. Tikhomirov L.A. Apology of Faith and Monarchy. — Moscow, 1999
23. Tikhomirov L.A. Critique of Democracy. — Moscow, 1997.
24. Tikhomirov L.A. Individual power as a principle of state structure. — Moscow, 1993.

LIST OF REFERENCES

1. Avrekh A.Ya.P.A. Stolypin and the Fates of Reforms in Russia. — Moscow, 1991.
2. Anthology of World Political Thought. Vol. 4. — Moscow, 1997.
3. Bely A. Beginning of the Century. — Moscow, 1990.
4. Belov V.I. Preface // Ilyin I.A. Lonely Artist. — Moscow, 1993.
5. Berdyaev N.A. Self-knowledge // Selected Works. — Rostov-on-Don, 1997.
6. Bulychev Yu. Checking with Russia // About the Life and Work of L.A. Tikhomirova. — Moscow, 1992. — No. 2-4.
7. Volobuev O.V. Party Aspect of Conservative Reforms // Russia in the Conditions of Transformations. — Rostov-on-Don, 2001.
8. Gavryushin N.K. In the debate on anthroposophy: Ivan Ilyin versus Andrei Bely // Questions of philosophy. — 1995. — № 7.
9. Rakhshmir P.Yu. Conservatism in the past and present. Moscow, 1987.
10. Grosul V.Ya. The emergence of Russian political conservatism // Russian conservatism of the 19th century. Ideology and practice. — Moscow, 2000.
11. Grosul V.Ya. True and imaginary conservatism // Russia in the conditions of transformation. — Rostov-on-Don, 2001.
12. Gusev V.A. Conservative political science of Ivan Ilyin // Sociological studies. — 1992. — № 4.
13. Gusev V.A. Problems of state structure in the works of I.A. Ilyin // Social and political sciences. — 1992 — № 10.
14. Evlampiev I.A. Ivan Ilyin and his book about Hegel // Hegel's philosophy as a doctrine of the concreteness of God and man. — Moscow, 1992.
15. Zverev V.V. Preservation of traditions or hostility to novelty // Russia in the conditions of transformations. — Rostov-on-Don, 2001.
16. Zenkovsky V.V. History of Russian philosophy. — Moscow, 1991.
17. Ivannikov I.A. Liberal ideas of I.A. Ilyin on reforming Russian legislation // Liberal conservatism: history and modernity. — Moscow, 2000.
18. History of political doctrines / edited by A. Martyshin. — Moscow, 2000. № 1.
19. Isaev A.V. Transformations of the Monarchical Idea // Rodina. — 1993.
20. Kuraev V. Philosopher of the Strong-Willed Idea // The Path to Obviousness. — Moscow, 1993.
21. Leontiev K.N. Golden Autumn of Russia. — Moscow, 1993.
22. Leontiev K.N. East, Russia and Slavdom. Political Philosophy publicism

- (23. Yu.T. Russian Truth of Ivan Ilyin // Nash sovremennik. 1993. — № 3.
1 23.Lyubimov B.N. Ilyin on Resistance to Evil // Novy Mir. — 1991.
8 24.№ 10.
7 25.Makaev V.V.I.A. Ilyin on the Russian Soul // Pedagogy. — 1999.
2 26.Nazarov V.N. The mysterious Lev Tikhomirov // Questions of philosophy.
- 27.1992. — №№ 5.
1 28.About Russia and Russian philosophical culture. — Moscow, 1990.
8 29.Plekhanov G.V. Our disagreements // PSS. — Moscow; Leningrad, 1923. —
9 T. 2.
1 30.Polis. — 1995. — № 4.
) 31.Repnikov V.V. Conservative model of reorganization of Russia // Russia in
. the conditions of transformations. — Rostov-on-Don, 2001.
32.Smirnov //. Zhunenny path of I.A. Ilyin // Axioms of religious experience. —
— Moscow, 1993.
33.Smirnov //. I.A. Ilyin About spiritual renewal of Russia // Our tasks. —
M Moscow, 1992.
o 34.Smolin M. State ideas of Lev Tikhomirov // Apology of faith and monarchy.
s — Moscow, 1999.
c 35.Smolin M. On democracy and on Tikhomirov's criticism of it // Critique of
o democracy. — Moscow, 1997.
w 36.Khoruzhy S. Heritage // Youth. — 1990. — № 8.
, 37.Pelokhaev V.V. Social and philosophical roots of conservatism // Russia in
the conditions of transformation. — Rostov-on-Don, 2001 .
1 38.Shatsillo A.F. Russian conservatum of the 20th century. — Moscow, 2000.

9
9
6
.

L
i
s
i
t
s
a