

близких друзей и как-то отвечать перед ними за свои поступки. Люди за пределами этого круга, как и государство в целом, относятся к категории «чужих», по отношению к которым человек не имеет никаких моральных обязательств. Все остальное человечество относится к категории «врагов», которые, согласно официальной позиции властей, готовы на все, чтобы порушить традиционные российские ценности, и, следовательно, с ними можно вести себя как угодно. В этой ситуации описанное выше противоречие, о котором сегодня говорят многие, – между традиционной нравственностью русского человека и современным падением нравов, – является иллюзорным. Русский человек раньше был не более и не менее нравственным, чем теперь. Но и раньше, и теперь социальная-политическая

реальность нуждалась не в нравственно вменяемой личности, а во внутренне несвободном человеке, верящем в моральные предписания, идущие сверху, и основанные (в зависимости от политической конъюнктуры) на религиозном или атеистическом фундаменте.

Выход из этого положения один: до тех пор, пока высшей ценностью общества не станет свободно мыслящий и свободно выбирающий свою нравственную позицию человек (неважно, религиозную или нерелигиозную), ни о каком повышении морального уровня общества говорить не приходится. Можно сформулировать эту мысль и по-другому: до тех пор, пока свободно мыслящий и ответственно поступающий человек не сделает себя высшей ценностью общества, о морали следует забыть.

## THE RUSSIAN SOUL: ETERNAL FEMININITY AND ETERNAL «BABJE»

T. Muravitsky (USA)  
B. Emelyanov (Russia)

**Русская душа:  
вечная женственность и вечно бабье**

The history of the use of gender descriptions for determination of mental and national peculiarities of a nation lasts for hundreds of years. The enigma of Femininity and Masculinity was always interesting to philosophers, scientists, and writers. They were interested because as N. Berdjaev asserted, «categories of sexes - masculine and feminine - are not only anthropological... but also cosmical.»

However, one needs to note that the interest in this topic is not symmetrical: most of the gender research and statements of the philosophers is devoted to a woman. The interests, philosophical and ideological attitudes of the authors of these statements are different, but all of them try to solve the mystery of masculinity-femininity by juxtaposition the concepts of man and woman.

Since antiquity Masculinity and Femininity correlate to each other as material and spiritual

(ideal) essences, like a body and a soul. However, there is an opinion of some Russian philosophers that Femininity is not worse, but different and has the same value as Masculinity.

The concepts of Masculinity and Femininity are one of the most important in Russian Philosophy. It exists in many areas of the humanities. And the most interesting application of this concept is in description of Russian national character and Russian mentality.

Many works and statements on this issue belong to Nicolas Berdjaev. He affirms that in European countries, particularly in Great Britain, France and Germany, «at some stage of development the national masculine spirit arose, forming a national structure.» But it did not happen in Russia. Instead Femininity prevailed there. Why? «There was no knighthood in Russian history. Consequently, Russia as a nation, did not develop a sense of discipline and culture of personal honor.» According to Berdjaev, this is a lack of Russian culture: «... all of masculinity, giving a form and freedom in Russia, was not Russian, but imported from West-European culture, French or German, or from Ancient Greek culture.»

Russia is a focus of contradictions: on one side, it is a passionate and spontaneous country, and on other side, its people are humble and submissive, ready to submit to power. In his famous article «On eternal bab'e in the Russian soul» N. Berdjaev stressed his point that «babje» is «slavish.»

Not all Russian philosophers agree with Berdjaev's point of view. For example, Nicolas Lossky stated that: «Sometimes it is said that Russians have a feminine essence. It is wrong. Russians, particularly the Great-Russians branch, who created the great state in difficult historical conditions, are the masculine predominantly, but they combine Masculinity and soft Femininity.»

Vladimir Ern also did not agree with Berdjaev and wrote: «Currently [that is, during World War I] when the Russian soul is demonstrating heroic deeds, bright power and «solar spirit,» Berdjaev says the «eternal babje» exists in the Russian soul.»

In the history of Russian thought, it is known that the Russian soul is a mystery. Feodor Tjutchev wrote the most famous poem about this.

Russia can't be understood by reason,  
Russia isn't measured by common means.  
It is quite unique.  
Russia can only be believed in.

Berdjaev noted: « Even for us (ourselves) Russia is an unexplained mystery.» Russia is a contradictory, antinomious country. We cannot explain the Russian soul by any doctrines.

For Russian thinkers and writers Russia has a feminine image; it is «a bird-troika,» «Mother,» «Motherland.» It is common for Russia to desire to help others in their burdens, to ease their lives.

Feminine for Russia is really the «Eternal Feminine.» Here is one of the arguments.

Russian philosopher and immigrant Georgy Fedotov wrote: «The Russian cult of sacred feminine essence did not include either a sacred immaculate state or adoration of Beauty.» Therefore Mary is not named Holy Virgin or Heaven Tsarina in Russia. Her name is the Mother of God because Her main image conveys the matriarchal principle. The Western cult of the Virgin Mary is characterized by its erotic attitude towards Her, portraying Her as a Beautiful Lady. But in

Russian culture the principle of activity is more important: «Demeter appears stronger than Aphrodite».

It is a fact that the maternal aspect of the Mother of God is honored in Russian culture. Therefore, Russians always consider the need to care for a woman as a successor of a clan.

There was a duality in attitude towards a woman: her role was limited by procreation and she could not participate in solving other social tasks. The archetype of a Russian woman and all her essential characteristics correspond to her maternal being. This aspect is related to the cosmological principle.

Berdjaev wrote: «...motherhood is a cosmological principle to protect a life from danger and to raise not only children, but also all humans, who could be considered eternal children. Potentially a woman is a mother not only of a particular person, but also of the whole universe, protecting the world from sin.»

Life is usually more diverse than any standards. The femininity of Russian women is not limited by maternity. Iljin wrote: «... being especial feminine, she can manifest and realize masculine temper by a form of eternal Femininity... She radiates inner harmony, in which eternal femininity and eternal masculinity are expressed.»

Furthermore, Russian history demonstrates many examples of self-sacrifice of Russian women (Decembrist's wives, for example), heroic behavior of women-soldiers during wars, women-physicians, and researchers.

Berdjaev noted: «If only the feminine principle prevailed in the world, then there would be no history: the world would stay in «a domestic state,» family circle.»

For Westerners Russianness (русскость) is expressed by three words - «mysterious Russian soul.» This phrase contains a Feminine element because «soul» is researchers, but also foreign ones pay attention to the fact that modes of Russian mentality are defined through the female grammatical gender.

Not only Russian researchers, but also foreign ones pay attention to the fact that modes of Russian mentality are defined through the female

grammatical gender. For example, there are.

Sobornost' (female gender) is Russian collectivism, «Orthodox Church communal brotherhood» of Russians. Sobornost' is the opposite of Western individualism. It is significant that Russians have prejudice against individualism and are devoted to spiritual collectivism as S. Frank thought.

Religiousness (female gender) is one of the most important characters of Russian mentality. In N. Lossky's opinion, the main virtue of Russians is

Religiousness and connecting with it, search for the Absolute Good and purpose of life. And the central object of religion can vary. For example, it could be a faith in the future communism.

The name of Russia is the Holy Rus'. It expresses the essential of Russian identity - Sanctity. Western writers pay attention to Russian aspiration for Sanctity. For example, Schubart wrote: «It is not an exaggeration to say about natural Christianity of the Russian soul or maybe even of the Slavic soul. Russians were Christians even before they adopted Christianity.»

Truth characterizes Russianness in knowledge. In Russian philosophy the epistemology has its own particular traits. It contends that intuition, mysticism, unconsciousness prevail in knowledge and rationality is insufficient and even harmful because it impedes to acquiring of knowledge. And if Western people live by «a head (reason) and analysis,» Russians listen to the heart and orient their knowledge toward practice and justice. Only Russians different «Pravda-truth» and «Pravda-justice».

Some features of Russian mentality, which are considered negative, have female nuances.

Many Western writers consider formlessness and its variant, infiniteness as negative characteristics. The latter phenomenon usually corresponds to Russia's unlimited geographical territory. Many researchers believe that Russian territory is colossal and Time has not begun yet there. In Russian roots are in eternal, and Russians give only in the present, according to Schubart. Russians have unlimited time because they are firmly convinced that they are eternal creatures. They have divine light-mindedness in the extreme, to challenge a destiny.

Russian interpretation of Time correlates with another Russian characteristic. It is chaotic state. The West is interpreted as an order; Russia is believed to be the Cosmos of Chaos, accomplishing revolutions and perestroikas. So it is said about the «breadth» of the Russian soul. Berdjaev wrote: «The Russian man is generous in his nature, «broad» like the Russian land, like Russian fields. Slavic chaos storms into him.»

And chaos is related to anarchy. It is known that «... Russian muzsik (мужик) is anarchist in his nature.» Another manifestation of Russian chaos is an inconstancy, which is considered a female feature. Most of the Western writers explain this phenomenon differently. Some of them suggest it is a change of opposing attitudes (capricious like a woman). Others believe it is the inability or unwillingness to refuse any request. In other words, they consider it preferable to initially agree to a request, and then later renege on the promise.

One of the distinctive features of Russians is maximalism, which is expressed by craving for Absolute and negation of relativity. Russian's slogan is «Everything or Nothing.» Dmitriy Likhachev noted: «One feature, being known long ago, is Russian's misfortune, it is an inclination to reach for extremes, limits of possibility.» Schubart suggested that Russian «culture of the end» opposes the Western's «the golden mean» because Russians do not a gray area, that can unite extremes.»

In the beginning of the World War I, N. Berdjaev wrote an article as an answer to Rozanov's book «War 1914 and Russian revival». The article was entitled «About «eternal babje» in Russian soul.» He opposed Rozanov's point of view of «eternal babje's worship of government and power.

He agreed: «Russian people have ability to be submitted to state power, have humility of personality in community... The great misfortune of Russian mentality is its female passivity, which becomes apparent by «babje» lack of courage. Otherwise he confirmed that this «babje» pushes down, destroys Russia and freedom from that «babje» is the salvation of Russia.» Russians' fatalism and weak will result in passivity. Russians have a favorite word «avosj» (авось), «maybe». It

indicates inability to predict future events and to plan. It expresses a feeling of helplessness in the face of power, nature or destiny. It is «oblomovness» («обломовщина»), weak will: Russians often cannot carry their deals through to the end. As a result an image appears, which often is used for comparing Russians to Westerns: the former can reach heights, which the latter cannot. Russians have attained great heights in many areas, literature, science, theatre, but in other areas of everyday life, they fall below the level of common European.

One of the other female features of the Russian soul is openness: Russia is always developing. Russia has simplicity. There are real feelings, a sincere soul and a hate to hypocrisy.

Sensitivity: for Russians, feelings are more valuable than reason, they like to dream and are overly sensitive.

Sacrificialness: Camus wrote: «It is undoubt-

edly true that Russian people can share with Europe their sacrificial power and America - its creative power.»

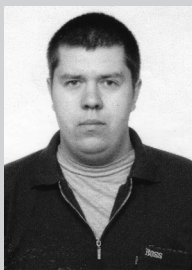
Gentleness (softness) is female care for other people and is characterized by kindness, peacefulness and patience.

But the most mysterious and unknown feature of the Russian soul is its duality, which is a female characteristic. In the Russian soul there are anarchism and a cult of a state, national tolerance and chauvinism, spiritual freedom and terrible slavery, sanctity and amorality.

All these features of the feminine Russian soul determine its attitude towards God, destiny, the world, and its native land as a mother. Everything may be rebuilt and remodeled because nothing is permanent in Russia. So Russia is perceived as a country, in which everything is possible. It is a country of unlimited opportunities.

## ВНЕШНЕПОЛИТИЧЕСКИЕ ОРИЕНТАЦИИ РОССИЙСКОЙ ЭЛИТЫ

Р.С. Мухаметов



Мухаметов  
Руслан Салихович

ассистент кафедры теории и истории политической науки факультета политологии и социологии УрГУ, доцент МАДИ

Современное российское государство переживает непростой исторический период после краха коммунистической идеологии. На месте старых установок и доктрин образовался идейный и ценностный вакуум (хотя в последнее время предпринимаются робкие попытки его заполнить). Главный кризис, который испытывает наша страна, - это кризис идентичности, который связан с неспособностью самоопределиваться в качестве субъекта мировой политики. Консервация подобного состояния чревата утратой

Россией своего места и роли в системе международных отношений. В таких условиях становится актуальной проблема поиска консенсуса относительно внешнеполитической идентичности России, что является важным и необходимым условием выхода страны из кризиса. По этому вопросу ведутся уже не первый год широкие дискуссии, которые характеризуются столкновением различных точек зрения и мнений. Сравнительное описание взглядов представителей различных направлений, сравнительный анализ подходов, сформировавшихся в процессе разработки внешнеполитической стратегии России с использованием обширного материала, опубликованного в средствах массовой информации, позволяет представить наиболее полную картину внешнеполитических ориентаций российской элиты.

В современной дискуссии внутри страны по поводу курса российской дипломатии можно условно выделить четыре основных