

РЕВОЛЮЦИЯ

РОССИИ

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ABSTRACTS

PHILOSOPHIE DER RUSSISCHEN REVOLUTION

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REVOLUTIONARY VIOLENCE IN REVOLUTIONARY PHILOSOPHY: NEW WAYS OF STRUGGLE

"The October Revolution owes its success to proletarian science": the philosophers who placed a bet on loyalty uphold this thesis. On one hand, this meant work in heteronomous conditions for them. On the other hand, philosophy became a state science¹, the first among others: philosophy was entrusted with managing the image of future. In conditions after the civil war the ambivalent position of philosophy – subordinate and privileged one – made possible new ways of struggle: authoritarian acts with respect to opponents and militant rhetoric.

Before philosophy under the "dictatorship of proletariat" there was philosophy as a political struggle – political and intellectual confrontation of V. Lenin and A. Bogdanov and other "Machists", the highlight of which were almost simultaneous events, the publication of "Materialism and Empiriocriticism" and expulsion of Bogdanov from the party. After the October Revolution the philosophers increased intellectual rates instead of concessions in autonomy: if philosophy has to be an ideological "weapon" of proletariat, it should be such that makes all the other types of weapons effective and finally becomes the key to revolution success. According to A. Deborin, "all the revolution, all the actions, all the steps, all the activity, all that was done. All that was permeated with the scientific spirit..."². On one hand, the thesis about scientific character of the revolution drew a line between bourgeois revolution and proletarian one, which is built on scientific, i. e. philosophical, principles, on the other hand, it was polemically directed against positions of E. Enchmann and S. Minin, who considered philosophy survival of the past and classly hostile to proletariat. A. Troitsky, a supporter of Deborin, proved the necessity of philosophy through Lenin's unity of theory and practice: Lenin warned in advance tactical mistakes in political struggle by seeing their roots in theory, i. e. in philosophy³. Another Deborinite G. Bammel showed the significance of dialectics for revolutionary thinking and revolutionary practice: "...only the method of dialectical materialism... allowed critically put in practice the great Marxist the-

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1. Bikhov A. Paradoxy impertivnoi internatsionalizatsii v 1943–1953 gg. / Sovetskoe gosudarstvo i obshchestvo v period pozdnego sotsializma. 1945–1953 gg. Materialy VII Mezhdunarodnoi nauchnoi konferentsii. Tver', 4 6 dekabria 2014 g. (The Paradoxes of imperative internationalization in 1943–1953 / Soviet state and society in the late Stalinism period. Materials of VII International scientific conference. Tver, December 4 6, 2014.) Moscow, Politicheskaiia entsiklopediia, 2015. Pp. 46 47.
 2. Torzhestvennoe zasedanie posviashchennoe desiatiletiiu Oktiabr'skoi revoliutsii. 24 noiabria 1927 g. (Solemn meeting dedicated to the tenth anniversary of the October Revolution. November, 24, 1927.) Arkhiv Rossiiskoi akademii nauk. F. 350. Op. 1. D. 129. L. 8.
 3. Troitsky A. Filosofii na sluzhbe revoliutsii (Philosophy in the service of revolution). Pod znamenem marksizma (Under the banner of Marxism), 1924, no. 4 5. P. 17.

ory"¹. I. Luppol took a similar position: "philosophy in Soviet Union, connecting its fate with the fate of proletarian revolution, goes and develops according to the only correct way of its realization, which at the same time is realization of communism"². These words seem to be obvious and only a repetition of Lenin's phrases but in that debate the argument about practical benefit of theory was used for saving philosophy as an independent discipline.

The philosophers often resorted to military metaphors, which referred to revolutionary events and the civil war, irrespective of that fact whether they had combat experience. "Philosophical front", according to Luppol, required "sacrifice"³, and when the struggle against idealism has not been actual yet in conditions of monopoly of Marxist philosophy the purity of Marxist orthodoxy was seen as such a worthy goal like the class purity. The Deborinites and the "Mechanists" fought for intellectual hegemony, opportunity to speak for the last truth in the long discussion full of mutual anathemas. Thus, Deborinite N. Karcv accused the opponents: "We stand for the unity of Marxist-Leninist front but you want to break it by giving 'freedom' to all the critics of Marxism and all the bumbler in Marxism"⁴.

Different schools in Soviet Marxism became impossible as well as factions in the party after the 10th Congress. The completion of the discussion in favor of the Deborinites was, if not violent, then authoritarian. In 1929 during the Second All-Union Conference of Marxist Leninist Research Institutions the Deborinites insisted on ending the discussion, whereas a representative of "Mechanists" A. Varjas expressed the desire to continue the dispute and did not consider himself as a loser. The administrative resource of Deborin let him and his supporters declare themselves winners and in the resolution of the Conference condemn the "Mechanists" as revisionists.

Soon the Deborinites themselves fell in a new battle for the purity of Marxism. The Bolsheviks M. Mitin, P. Yudin and their supporters minimized philosophical sublimation of violent practice and in this fundamentalist logic philosophy became such a weapon like a rifle in worker's hands. The rhetoric of "fronts" exploited by the Deborinites (united Marxist-Leninist one, the front of struggle against the Enchmannites and the "Mechanists")

1 Bammel G. Lenin i logika revolutsii. (Lenin and the revolution's logic.) Pod znamenem marksizma (Under the banner of Marxism), 1924, no 2. Pp. 47-48.

2 Torzhestvennoe zasiedanie posviashchennoe desiatiletiu Oktiabr'skoi revolutsii. 24 noiabria 1927 g. (Solemn meeting dedicated to the tenth anniversary of the October Revolution. November, 24, 1927.) Arkhiv Rossiiskoi akademii nauk. F. 350. Op. 1. D. 129. L. 37.

3 Ibid. P. 21.

4 N. Karcv. Rech' (Speech). Trudy vtoroi vsesoiuznoi konferentsii marksistsko-leninskikh uchrezhdenii (Works of the Second All-Union Conference of Marxist-Leninist Research Institutions). Moscow, Izdatel'stvo Kommunisticheskoi akademii, 1930. P. 107.

was intercepted by the Bolsheviks: now the “fight on two fronts” was against the “Mechanists” and the “Menshevizing Idealists”, i. e. the Deborinites.

To paraphrase Marx, violence was the midwife of the old philosophy when she was pregnant with a new one. Is not it possible to explain the social immortality of Mitin in the late Soviet era by the impossibility of violent practices in philosophy after Stalin's death?

МАРИЯ МЕНЬШИКОВА

Старшая лаборантка сектора гуманитарных экспертиз и биоэтики, участница исследовательской группы истории философии советского и постсоветского периода Института философии Российской академии наук

Биография

В 2016 г. окончила Московский государственный университет им. М. В. Ломоносова, получила диплом бакалавра философии с отличием. Тема выпускной квалификационной работы – «Концептуальные и социальные структуры диалектического материализма в СССР». В настоящее время учусь в магистратуре философского факультета Государственного академического университета гуманитарных наук. С 2016 г. работаю старшей лаборанткой в секторе гуманитарных экспертиз и биоэтики, в исследовательской группе истории философии советского и постсоветского периода Института философии Российской академии наук (руководитель – С. Корсаков). Участвую в семинаре по переводу философской литературы (руководители – С. Гавриленко, А. Писарев, переводимые авторы – А. Мол, П. Осборн, Р. Брассье, У. Селларс, Ф. Моретти, А. Уильямс и Н. Шрничек), в исследовательской группе А. Бикбова по социологии философского знания.

Публикации

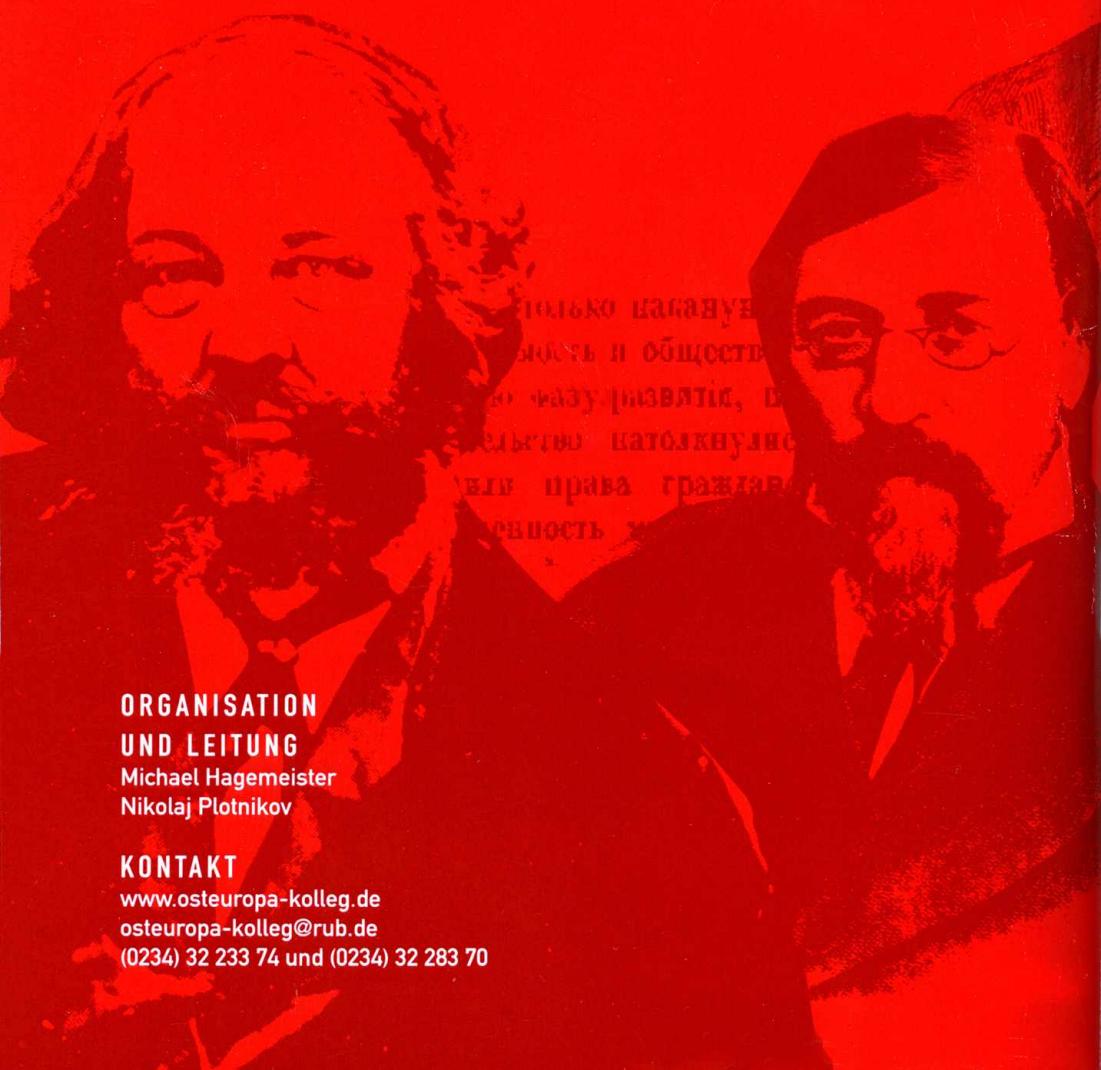
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2. Нет философии, кроме гносеологии, и Ильенков – пророк её. Рецензия на книгу: Эвальд Ильенков, Валентин Коровиков. Страсти по тезисам о предмете философии (1954–1955) / Ав-тор составитель Е. Иллеш. М.: «Канон +» РООИ «Реабилитация», 2016. — 272 с. // Логос. 2016. № 6. С. 259-262.
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ОТЕЧЕСТВЕННАЯ

ЗАПИСКА.

ЧТО ДѢЛАТЬ?



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...лы права граждан
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