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TÍTULO: El discurso nacional-religioso y el sistema político de la Rusia moderna.

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RESUMEN: La formación del espacio político y cultural post-secular, brinda amplias oportunidades para la recepción de las tradiciones confesionales en una ética social de los estados nacionales del presente; sin embargo, la calidad de la moral de masas no mejora en absoluto y la tolerancia confesional no permite contrarrestar los movimientos religiosos radicales. Finalmente, la realización en un discurso del presente secular del escenario post-secular se convierte en la identificación de este presente como una civilización post-cristiana o sociedad post-cultural. En el presente trabajo se aborda esta problemática.

PALABRAS CLAVES: Historia y filosofía, religión, sociedad, política nacional, esfera espiritual.

TITLE: The national-religious discourse and the political system of modern Russia.

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ABSTRACT: The formation of the post-secular political and cultural space provides ample opportunities for the reception of the confessional traditions in a social ethic of the present national states; However, the quality of mass morality does not improve at all and confessional tolerance does not allow to counteract radical religious movements. Finally, the realization in a discourse of the secular present of the post-secular scenario becomes the identification of this present as a post-Christian civilization or post-cultural society. In the present work this problem is addressed.

KEY WORDS: history and philosophy, religion, society, national policy, spiritual sphere.

INTRODUCTION.

However, other ontologic model which is directly not considering subjective activity of the Absolute simply does not exist. Therefore, paying tribute to the desperate attack of reason to universe bastions, it is necessary to state some fatigue and even - doubt in the forces (after fight against religion the best that the reason could make it to pay attention to themselves and to start introspection. Reason, having turned as a result of introspection into simple intelligence, recognized own negligibility ... The philosophy turned again itself into the servant of belief) [Hegel, G.W.F., 1977]. However, after to it, the theology comes to the rescue, in a point of their interpenetration the possibility of rational knowledge of new quality - post-secular is found [Milbunk J. 2009].

The essential gnoseological characteristic of post-secularity turns out the fact that, on account of a new possibility of rational philosophizing, it cancels claims of reason on monopoly in possession of the truth. Therefore, whether regardless of that the post-secularity reaction to tyranny of rationalism, or its otherform is, it is possible to note that crisis of rationalism, acted as the main reason for a statement of post-secular ontologic model as cultural basis of the global structures of daily occurrence ready to accept house elves and orks as objective reality.

DEVELOPMENT.

Materials and Methods.

Methodological basis is the principle of historicism as the universal basis for studying of tendencies of social development in general and social activity of religious associations in particular. It promotes not only to logical and objective studying of process of interaction of faiths and the states, but also to identification of a certain regularity in transformation of the main institutes of the religious communities and evolution of the ideas of ethnoreligious character allowing the personality to rely on traditional values.

Authors applied an integrated approach to a problem research, with use of achievements and methods of the humanities. The studied phenomena are considered in their interrelation, discrepancy, in total all factors, quantitative and qualitative characteristics. In work approaches of a concrete historical research are combined with methods ideal and typological which will be mobilized in sociological and political sciences in the ratios necessary for the solution of research tasks. And also general scientific methods of a research: analytical, statistical, comparative and comparative, textual.

Results.

Presence of a similar tendency in Russia is obvious though our post-secular order has some specifics and essential features. One of them - the leading role of elite in refusal of the project of rational and materialistic state construction. At the same time, the set of judgments concerning intentions and motives of the state turn to mysticism can be pulled together to two positions. The first: having exhausted the controlled values of society, the state in the permanent aspiration to expand a control zone, reached the confessional periphery which intended to absorb for the purpose of integration of people and resources for increase in their profitability [In more detail about the mechanism of the state expansion see: Scott J.S. 2009]. Second version: the embodiment of the anarchist movement setting as the purpose the destruction of all totality of civilized life behind a mask of the existing constitutional state [Chesterton G.K. 2000] realized as threat of a social suicide described by Chesterton will mobilize elite for reception, confessional values in hope that these relics will help legitimation of the existing mode.

It is represented that these scenarios do not contradict, and supplement each other, and at such approach, the state presented it as "transcendental object" which existence already is value.

Meanwhile, they noticed Shelley

"And many more Destructions played

In this ghastly masquerade,

All disguised, even to the eyes,

Like Bishops, lawyers, peers, or spies".

The fluid dichotomy of the good and evil described at Chesterton by means of images of a masquerade, according to S. Zhizhek, excludes a possibility of existence of the modern constitutional state as a justice citadel: "our law and an order are a shameful masquerade" [Zhizhek S., 2011]. Rational order, turning around in chaos, actually "removes" the tomistky idea about

representation of a hail heavenly, a hail terrestrial in the sense that "the totality of the most rational causal order of inconsistent, is irrational and makes not - all".

References to the validity and objectivity cannot already be considered as the sufficient proof as the condition of reliable knowledge is unattainable. Whether "Is one of lessons of the theory of relativity and quantum physics, - S. Žižek questions, - the fact that the modern science undermines our elementary ideas of the relations in the nature and forces to believe (to accept) in the most "senseless" things"?

The person acting in the post-metaphysical present acting as a final receptacle in which the Spirit reaches the relevance cannot rely on external indicators; deprived of the reliable phenomenological shelter and rational "smooth water", the individual is forced to permanent testing of the external environment now, and without any hope for objective legitimation of limited individual experience (the reason can work only with objects of phenomenal experience, the true reality is inaccessible to it), which sensual component acts nowadays, the only end result of the personified absolute knowledge. Terrible freight of responsibility lies down on shoulders of the modern person - such is the price of free will, thought out of a theological context.

Respectively, in the post-secular world also the view of the state reduced to the level of one of "not - all" (it is indicative that in Augustinian Theosophy, the state was thought as a certain absolute evil while the thomism - remaining the official doctrine of Catholicism - concerns to it with deep sympathy, believing "A terrestrial hail" consubstantial to "A heavenly hail"), the absolute which is unreasonably applying for the status changed. Therefore, the ensuring confessional consent treated as one of utilitarian problems of the state cannot be realized.

It is possible to specify some more reasons for which the ideal of interfaith consent cannot be reached by means of tension of the state institutes. The modern national state - a product of Modern times, in which architecture of the idea of the visible proof of the union of the person and Spirit

where the community of people is thought to the transcendental idea caused by participation acting as motive and justification of human activity. When the illusiveness of the ideas which carriers is not individual consciousness was proved, also defects of the state confessional policy as social institute became obvious.

The post-metaphysical philosophy which arose in specific intellectual climate of a postmodern, realizing the limits, refused criticism of religion and judgments of the absolute. Instead, the emphasis is placed on definition of the reasonable limits dividing reason and belief. The collapse of the Soviet atheistic mode and hard work on legitimation of the latest Russian statehood becomes a historical background for action of post-metaphysical philosophy in our country. In these conditions, the state confessional policy which was coming down to the accelerated reception in public life of traditional confessional forms acts as one of factors of mobilization of social resources.

Strategic results of this policy had to become - such level of interfaith tolerance which would allow legitimate presence of the different religious communities at uniform state space; autonomous progress in science out of the return correlation with belief; use in public dispute of secular justifications [Uzlaner D. 2011]. It was supposed that if all participants follow the undertaken obligations, the social world will be guaranteed to society, and all conflicts will be resolved during the complementary discussions where each of the parties is ready to make concessions. At the same time, on especially scientific basis, we would have to understand "what to expect from each other if we want to provide in our strong national states the civilized address of citizens with each other, despite an unprecedented variety of cultures, and religious outlooks" [Habermas J. 2008].

DISCUSSIONS.

This picture of state and confessional harmony painted by J. Habermas, and acting as the purpose of the Russian state and confessional policy has a number of essential shortcomings: self-restriction of

philosophy, its refusal of metaphysics turns into a celebration of the most irrational beliefs, blossoming of fundamentalism and essential difficulty of interfaith dialogue.

The impossibility to use in interfaith a discussion the pseudo-rational argument, - according to K. Meyasu, does interfaith dialogue empty that from the point of view of Absolute comprehension, of course, does not matter, but if to consider a condition of dialogue as social value, looks serious violation of stability of communicative system of society [Meillassou. 2007]. As a result, in the only way to the absolute, there is a blind belief what gives notable preferences to fundamentalists, who without recognizing dialogue value, had an opportunity of free propaganda.

CONCLUSIONS.

On this general, so to speak difficulty, is imposed also especially domestic: the population to which "it was allowed to see death and shame of one of the most powerful terrestrial kingdoms"; and twice less than in hundred years with the deepest suspicion watches activity of the state in the confessional sphere. So-called "ordinary people", in general, quite reasonably argue that assignees of those who deprived crowd of "religion opium" can hardly work on its reconstruction seriously.

In the become well-known speech delivered on February 16, 1924 in Paris, I.A. Bunin remembered the words of the historian V.O. Klyuchevsky: "The end to the Russian state will be when our moral bases when icon lamps over Sergiya Prepodobny's tomb go out collapse and a gate of his Monastery will be closed, - having highlighted that, - it is impossible, to serve criminal to its darkness" [Bunin I.A., 1924]. Carrying out, - in a historic-philosophical retrospective, - a bunin precept, Russians (against the background of intensive development of confessional activity) do not rely on administrative Orthodoxy of the latest elite, actually rejecting its claims on spiritual leadership. With Islam, or for example, the Buddhism, the situation is approximately also, but as historical experience testifies, Christian civilization (Christendom) appears the most sensitive to secular audit.

Especially as in the state confessional policy, it is staked on reception not only traditional religious doctrines, but also - ceremonialisms, and it does "belief in her traditional Christian understanding if not impossible, then, at least, extremely difficult - its acceptance demands from the person of huge efforts", - mostly superfluous.

The space of post-secular is formed not by compulsory return of obscure ritual procedures, but the approval of the new social culture integrating philosophy and theology as "a ratio of one rationality, one mind with another". And the role of the state in the statement of new parameters of post-secular social consensus cannot be decisive.

Therefore, though the state confessional policy in modern Russia is pursued, in general, competently, she cannot - tell more precisely: it should not - to be effective: the approval of interfaith tolerance - the society task which does not have a direct bearing on state construction. As a bright illustration of this situation the Volga region, and experience of realization of the state confessional policy in regions of the Volga Federal District, and first of all, - the Republic of Tatarstan can serve as history of establishing interfaith dialogue on average.

At the same time, search of new forms of state and confessional interaction should not exclude realization of the state confessional policy allowing keeping track of dynamics of post-secular culture which genesis, mediates innovative transformations of political system which forms are meanwhile a little studied and essence - mostly - is not obvious.

Conflict of interests.

The authors declare that the provided information has no conflicts of interest.

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