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I.A. Il'in on the civilizational development of Russia**Lyudmila G. Koroleva**

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Abstract

The relevance of the topic of the article is determined by the need to "reassess" Russian conservatism, the rejection of the superficial acceptance of its individual provisions. Ivan Aleksandrovich Il'in created an anti-European, anti-liberal model of society. But at the same time, he expressed many fruitful ideas: about the nature of social values and institutions, their organic nature, the danger of careless and arbitrary attitude towards them, about outside and above-party politics, and about patriotism and genuine nationalism. They require our attention and understanding. Russian revolutions, distinctive features of Russian culture, the problems of the difference between republican and monarchical legal consciousness, true patriotism and nationalism, the causes of Russian revolutions are considered in this article. The analysis allowed the author to make a conclusion about the specifics of the Russian political space. It is important to focus on the spiritual and moral complex of conservatism: the priority of national interests, the state, faith, family, morality, conscience, social responsibility of the individual, spirituality, service. For modern thinking, the question can only stand in the plane of optimizing interest groups along the entire chain of social ties – individual (personal), group or collective (of an enterprise, corporation, party, etc.) and system-wide (nationwide). In relation to Russia, taking into account its traditions, the growing diversification of system-wide needs could be adequate.

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Keywords

Conservatism, human rights, civilization, culture, Il'in.

Relevance of the Topic

Russian philosophy of the nineteenth and first half of the twentieth century is a form of ideological and cultural reflection in which Russian intellectuals tried to comprehend and implement their "answers" to the "challenges" of history. And today Russia defines its identity and role in the world's civilizational processes. Having faced this task, we must turn to the intellectual, spiritual, and moral experience that Russian professional and journalistic philosophical thought has developed and that retains to this day.

Our task is complicated by the fact that the acquisition of an age-old reality must be considered and mastered through criteria that are relevant in culture, in the economy and political life of modern society and man. It is necessary to conceptualize modern views on culture, civilization, globalization, civil society, the legal (social) state in the context of an objective and detailed dialogue with the Russian (mainly religious) philosophy in order to identify in the spiritual experience of the past all the achievements that are valuable for the practice of modernity. There can be no successful and sustainable development of culture without economic, careful, and reasonable preservation of spiritual and philosophical heritage, without continuity of spiritual ideals and norms.

All the pre-revolutionary years, philosophy in Russia developed with amazing activity, reaching a previously unprecedented level. After the revolution, some of the prominent philosophers found themselves in exile, but the majority remained at home. In the autumn of 1922, the Soviet government sent abroad a group of philosophers, journalists, historians, sociologists, and economists whose activities were oppositional in relation to the system. Among them was the outstanding philosopher and lawyer Ivan Aleksandrovich Il'in.

On October 3, 2005, a solemn ceremony of reburial of the ashes of General A.I. Denikin and philosopher I.A. Il'in, as well as their spouses, took place at the Donskoy Cemetery in Moscow. About two and a half thousand people took part in the ceremony of reburial of the ashes.

The Human Right to a Decent Existence

Il'in's scientific innovation lies in his creation of the concept of an autocratic rule of law as the highest type of statehood. There were no such attempts in Russian conservatism before him. "The catastrophe," writes the thinker, "that broke out in the history of the Russian people and has since threatened other countries, occurred because for many decades, composing together into centuries, spiritual evidence faded and disappeared in the souls; that is, the correct perception and experience of great spiritual objects - revelation, truth, goodness, beauty, and law" [Il'in, 1998, 444]. The thinker thus refers law to the foundations of human existence. Hence, the recognition of law as an absolute value, the categories of legal awareness and law and order fundamental to the life of any society inevitably follows. And he sees the salvation of the Motherland in the creation of a right-wing state. The rule of law, according to Il'in, is "like a living system of mutually recognized rights and obligations", designed to connect people with each other on the basis of reciprocity. Defending their rights, a person wants their recognition and observance by other people. At the same time, he also makes it his duty to recognize and respect the rights of others. It is obvious that "legal consciousness is a person's will to observe the law and the law, the will to be loyal to his behavior, the will to obey the law" [Il'in, 1998, 447]. All the mental forces of a person participate in the legal consciousness.

I.A. Il'in distinguishes between natural law and positive law (legal norms established by the legal authority and subject to application). The recognition of natural law for each person confirms the beginning of legal duty and legal equality in people's lives. This is necessary because people are unequal

to each other "neither in body nor in soul", as well as in the content of their spiritual life. But they are equal in their right to a decent life, to free self-affirmation. Il'in further clarifies that the right to lead a spiritually worthy life is not limited to the absence of obstacles to existence and the possession of only "daily bread". It includes the right to leisure (which was demanded by Aristotle for a "man free from nature"). And the independence of the spirit presupposes the right to education and development of the soul, self-government of a person as a free subject of law, spiritual freedom, spiritual self-activity, spiritual dignity, and equality. In this part of his teaching, the conservative I.A. Il'in continues the best traditions of Russian liberal thought, which proclaimed the human right to a "decent existence."

I.A. Il'in is a supporter of the hierarchical estate system, a society based on rank. Only in returning to these beginnings does he think of a fruitful future for Russia. People, both in the face of God and by nature, are of different quality, of different values, and therefore should not be equal in their legal rights. Here he is the heir not only of T. Carlyle, whom he quotes, but also of K.N. Leont'ev. Justice requires, according to Il'in, not equality, but substantive and fair privileges. But the reader immediately raises the question of the legality, criteria, and boundaries of these "subject privileges" (and, accordingly, infringement of the rights of other, non-privileged people).

As a creative spiritual center, a person, Il'in believes, needs to have a solid, tangible "nest" on earth – private property. And the state should accept the economic freedom of citizens, not seek to seize their property. The philosopher justifies the need for private property by the fact that it causes spiritual motives for intense creative work in a person, stimulates economic enterprise and personal initiative (and thereby strengthens character), gives a sense of confidence, teaches creatively to love work, land, one's hearth, and homeland, awakens and educates legal awareness, economic solidarity, and freedom [Il'in, 1993, 272-273].

The objections of the modern reader are not at all caused by I.A. Il'in's thesis about the need for private property as a guarantee of economic independence of the individual, but his denial of liberal principles. In modern production, the isolated free private owner has not been the dominant figure for a long time. It is included in various economic structures. Market relations – between commodity owners, commodity producers, sellers, and buyers of labor – are based on the principle of formal equality, which Il'in opposes. Otherwise, there is an economic and spiritual appropriation of the human person by the state.

I.A. Il'in on true patriotism and nationalism

A significant place in the work of I.A. Il'in is occupied by the consideration of the problems of true patriotism and nationalism. The basis of a normal sense of justice makes a person a member of a single global community – a citizen of the universe. But the empirical conditions of life make it necessary to divide people into special – territorial, national, state – communities. Legal unity within the state does not exclude legal communication that goes beyond its borders. The world unity of peoples on the basis of international law is the task of humanity. Patriotic love, which dissolves the universal natural brotherhood, is a "creative act of spiritual self-determination". Unfortunately, Il'in writes, love for the motherland often lives in the souls in the form of an unreasonable, objectively indefinite inclination, degenerating into militant chauvinism, then into hypocritical pathos. The one who speaks to the motherland also understands, consciously or unconsciously, the spiritual unity of his people. Love is true when a person acquires an object that deserves it in its objective value. And if "this subject is the spiritual life and spiritual heritage of his people, then he becomes a true patriot: he commits an act of spiritual self-determination, by which he identifies, in a holistic and creative state of mind, his fate with the spiritual fate of his people" [Il'in, 1997, 247-248].

This intimate rooting in personal spirituality does not exist in the republican legal consciousness. Il'in believes that for Republicans, the feeling of love for the motherland, its people, the army, and officials is simply ridiculous. Only those who really, truly love the Sovereign build their own state. The monarchical sense of justice introduces into public service and political construction the beginning of a feeling of sincere, noble, active love, "love for the monarch, which is inextricably intertwined with love for his people and fatherland. The monarchical system itself requires from a citizen not only law-abiding, but also the participation of feelings and hearts" [Il'in, 1998, 502]. As in other provisions on the superiority of the monarchy over the republic, Il'in operates with a certain symbol, an ideal model of the monarchy. This concept hides an absolutely positive and timeless image of Russia. Il'in's republic is certainly a negative image of Europe and North America. Of course, he rightly captures the negative aspects of Western democracy, for example, the dependence of the presidential candidate on parties and on the mass of voters. Election campaigning often puts him in the position of a seeker, a mass "saint", a demagogue, whose speeches are listened to by idle and greedy crowds of people who can express their disapproval of him in the most rude and humiliating forms. The candidate tries to please the crowd by shaking hands, showing off his wife, making political and economic promises, etc. In the republic, distrust of the head of state is expressed in a system of limiting and depersonalizing "guarantees".

One of the reasons for the Russian revolutions of 1917, according to Il'in, is the lack of a strong and faithful monarchical legal consciousness of the people. The carelessness of the right-wing protective parties, the tragic situation of the proletariat, the thoughtless rebellion of the peasantry and the utopianism of the intelligentsia led to a terrible catastrophe. Another reason for the revolutions was the centrifugal gravity of the Slavic character. Life on a vast flat area with a sparse population and the spirit of Asian nomadism pushed the Russians to antisocial behavior, leaving creative work for turmoil and pogrom.

Il'in was a convinced monarchist, but a "non-resolute". He believed that it was imprudent and harmful to impose a monarchy on a people who had forgotten how to have a king. For Russia, after the collapse of Bolshevism, it is necessary, in his opinion, to find the right combination of monarchical and republican preferences with the aristocratic, leading layer of the "national dictatorship".

I.A. Il'in on the peculiarities of Russian culture

I.A. Il'in has his own solution to the problem of the correlation of culture and civilization, the peculiarities of Russian culture. The subject of his attention was the spirit – the inner and extrasensory experience. To comprehend spiritual essences, I.A. Il'in used the Husserl method, interpreted as follows: "first to be, then to act, then to philosophize." The main subject of I.A. Il'in's philosophical research was Russia and the Russian people. In lectures delivered in German in various cities of Switzerland in 1941 under the general title "The essence and originality of Russian culture", he emphasized that it is spiritual culture that presupposes a certain depth of content and leads to the most secret and sacred foundations of existence, to the sources of life. Therefore, culture cannot be interpreted as something material or formal.

The philosopher rightly speaks of the need to clearly distinguish between culture and civilization. "Culture is spiritual, primary, creatively purposeful, organic. Civilization is technical, secondary, reproducible, mechanistic, materially and instrumentally created. Culture concerns the inner world, the most significant in it, the holy, the main thing. Civilization concerns the more external, useful, material, secondary". The basis, the "template" of culture is morality, "a deep, loving, faithful heart" [Il'in, 1996, 590]. The railway, highway, telephone, airplane, capital, etc. – all this is civilization, it is indifferent to

cultural values, it can serve both the ideal state, the commune, and antisocial capitalism. Civilization always deals with the question "how?" and never with the question "what?". This difference allows I.A. Il'in to explain the civilizational lag of Russia: Russia and its civilization have been destroyed, shaken, turned into ruins, slowed down, restrained for centuries, and therefore the Russian people cared about internal culture. The philosopher defines Bolshevism as a carrier of an uncultured, dead violent civilization. Quite in the spirit of the conservative ideology of the 19th century, I.A. Il'in explains the separation of Russia and Europe by the latter's ill-will, ignorance of each other, confessional differences, political prejudices. The "late comer" (like Hegel in Jena, where Schelling was head of the department) is always wrong. He is behind, inexperienced, mysterious, plotting something incomprehensible. But behind in terms of civilization, Russia has always remained original in its culture and creatively developed country.

According to Il'in, the attitudes of the Russian Orthodox soul are heartfelt contemplation, love of freedom, childlike spontaneity, a living conscience, will of overall perfection, and faith in the divine formation of the human soul. The ancestral phenomena of Russian Orthodoxy are prayer, old age, Easter, veneration of the Virgin and saints, and the icons. In understanding them lies the key to Russian religion, soul, and history. "Russian culture is built on feeling and heart, on contemplation, on freedom of conscience, and on freedom of prayer" [Il'in, 1996, 411]. Secondary forces are will, conscious thought, legal consciousness, and organizational functions. Distinguishing the image of God in Russian culture from the "intellectualized idealism" of German philosophy, Il'in characterizes it in the spirit of the tradition of God-manhood as real perfection. The kingdom of God, a concept in the making, embraces us all and transforms us all.

The formation of Russian culture was influenced by the nature and climate of Russia. Il'in points out the incorrectness of the Western European opinion about the utmost enjoyment of "destruction" and "disorder" by the Russians. The pleasure of the intensity of being, the immediate proximity of the natural elements is combined with the ability to "feel" into the divine essence of the world. Therefore, national power and passion lend themselves to form. Perfect order and harmony are dormant in the obvious spiritual element of the people. An example of this is the work of Pushkin and Dostoevsky. When understood as freedom, the victory of chaos, lack of character, looseness (promiscuity) is a great vital task of Russian culture. I.A. Il'in rightly notes that such attitudes of Russian national consciousness as dreamy maximalism, groundless idealism, lack of discipline, willingness to transgress the letter of the law, conservatism, and lack of desire for creative property negatively affect the development of the economy and law. The Russian peasant "by private property ... understands only "mine" and remains indifferent or takes any alien "yours" with scepticism. What belongs to "me" is inviolable; and what belongs to "you", you must protect from my extra-legal and potentially illegal claims" [Il'in, 1996, 409].

Speaking about the creative idea of Russia as a free Christianization of culture, the philosopher, however, vehemently protested against the idea of the clericalization of the state and culture: "Culture and the state – in terms of their form, essence of being, instinctive motivating forces – must remain secular and free" [Il'in, 1996, 618]. Earthly culture is created by the people. And therefore neither the state nor the church should think of suppressing, displacing, or replacing this activity.

Relevance of I.A. Il'in's ideas

In the works of I.A. Il'in devoted to these problems, we find a symbolic, ideal model of Russia; and Russia is not a certain epoch and in a certain state, but Russia in general. This timeless, non-historical reality is a pseudonym of an original cultural and historical type that is alien (like the slavophiles and N.Y. Danilevskiy) to the West. Absolute positive values are embodied in this non-historical and supra-

historical phenomenon. To Russia, which found itself in a difficult situation due to circumstances, I.A. Il'in pointed out the only true, in his opinion, and the only way of salvation worthy of its remarkable qualities. The analysis of I.A. Il'in's works is important because within the framework of the "reassessment" of Russian conservatism, the tendency of uncritical acceptance of its individual provisions, "pulling out" quotations, and fascination with superficially assimilated "monarchical consciousness" has emerged.

Il'in created an anti-democratic, anti-European, anti-liberal model of society. But at the same time, he expressed many fruitful ideas: about the nature of social values and institutions, their organic nature, the danger of careless and arbitrary attitude towards them; about outside and above-party politics, about patriotism, and genuine nationalism. They require our attention and understanding.

The analysis of socio-political processes in our country allows us to confirm the main thesis of conservatism that it is always necessary to strive for the improvement of social institutions, and not to set the task to remake them entirely and immediately. It is necessary, as Burke pointed out, to constantly act within both values and institutions that are not created by us [Burke, 1864, 97-98]. K. Popper expresses similar thoughts in his work "Open Society and its enemies", creating the concept of social engineering. The transformers of society who want to completely rebuild the social world immediately are like an artist erasing everything from the canvas in order to paint everything on it anew. They do not understand that they are thereby destroying their own thoughts, plans, and their utopia, which are also included in the old picture. The result is not a Platonic ideal model, but chaos. At the same time, there is no reason to believe that a complete reconstruction of the social world will immediately lead to a working system. It will still require a long and difficult process of minor corrections, in other words, a rational method of gradual engineering, which should have been applied initially [Popper, 2013, 210].

Conclusion

It can be concluded that the specifics of the Russian political space is the orientation towards the spiritual and moral complex of conservatism: the priority of national interests, the state, faith, family, morality, conscience, social responsibility of the individual, spirituality, and service. Flat Westernization, rejecting domestic traditions, especially in conditions when European liberalism has become social, is "outright archaic, entailing very vicious and destructive stereotypes." For modern thinking, the question can only stand in the plane of optimizing interest groups along the entire chain of social ties: individual (personal), group or collective (one of enterprise, corporation, party, etc.), and system-wide (nationwide). In relation to Russia and taking into account its traditions, the growing diversification of system-wide needs could be adequate.

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И.А. Ильин о цивилизационном развитии России

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Аннотация

Актуальность темы статьи определяется необходимостью «переоценки» российского консерватизма, отказа от поверхностного принятия отдельных его положений. Иван Александрович Ильин создал антиевропейскую, антилиберальную модель общества. Но в то же время он высказал много плодотворных мыслей: о природе общественных ценностей и институтов, их органичности, опасности небрежного и произвольного отношения к ним, о внешней и надпартийной политике, о патриотизме и подлинном национализме. Они требуют нашего внимания и понимания. Анализ позволил автору сделать вывод о специфике российского политического пространства. Важно акцентировать внимание на духовно-нравственном комплексе консерватизма: приоритет национальных интересов, государства, веры, семьи, нравственности, совести, социальной ответственности личности, духовности, служения. Для современного мышления вопрос может стоять только в плоскости оптимизации групп интересов по всей цепи социальных связей – индивидуальных (личных), групповых или коллективных (предприятия, корпорации, партии и т.п.) и общесистемных (общегосударственных). Применительно к России с учетом ее традиций может быть адекватной растущая диверсификация общесистемных потребностей.

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Ключевые слова

Консерватизм, права человека, цивилизация, культура, Ильин.

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