

ZINOVIEV

an outstanding magazine

150

A. Chekhov's 150th
Anniversary

2009

Discourse of the Year:
Can't Buy Freedom
from Money

20

Revisited in 20 years.
The Unknown Duel
Between Zinoviev and
Yeltsin on French TV

The Book of Peace.
The Mission.
The Ideal.
The Service.

Nº 1 (6)

2010

Dream of a New Man

Sergei Mironov, Speaker of the Federation Council, Visits the
Monument to Alexander Zinoviev in Kostroma

Zinoviev. An Outstanding Magazine

Founded in 2007.

After 10 May 2006 the friends, associates and followers of the Russian thinker Alexander Zinoviev, as well as the members of the non-profit organization Olga Zinoviev and Daughters for the Promotion and Support of the Work and Ideas of Alexander Zinoviev decided to found a magazine that would correspond to the Gestalt, Weltanschauung, intellectual and personal capacity of the enlightened The Man for All Seasons.

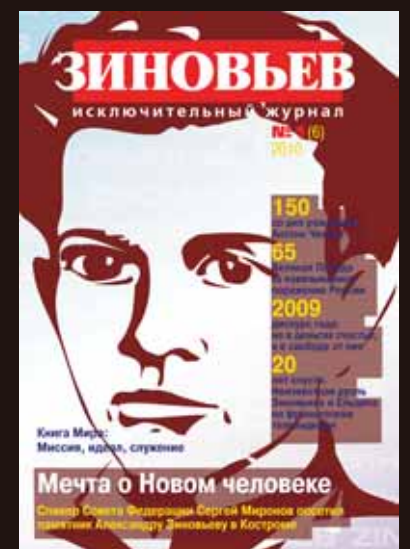
The magazine focuses on social and political issues; it is a forum, an open discussion board – a Speakers' Corner of sorts – for novel ideas and bold discussions, vivid journalism with no fixed rules but one, namely, that of respect for everybody else's personal point of view. The authors are scientists, politicians, journalists and representatives of the fine arts, both young and well-established. The magazine strives for awareness of, and timely reaction to, the entire scope of the contradictory and controversial social environment of the XXI century. It has no geopolitical or historical borders, and its pages unite the Old World and New World authors alike.

Analyses, prognoses, hypotheses and interviews with lucid and articulate individuals, as well as sovereignty, professionalism and integrity are the hallmarks of the new biannual.

It is difficult to name the most interesting publications. They are all vivid, exclusive and full of unexpected phenomena – outstanding would be the right word to describe them, which is consistent with the claim inherent in the very name of the magazine. Our authors include Sergei Baburin, Abdusalam Guseinov, Vladislav Surkov, Yuri Solodukhin, Alexei Pilko, John M. Walker, Borislav Milosevic, Mark Salzberg, Nikolai Zlobin, Vladimir Bolshakov, Vadim Mezhyuev, Yuri Boldyrev, Ernst-Jörg von Studnitz, Igor Mikhailov, Stanislav Petrov, Yuri Danilin, Mikhail Rudy, Maksim Lavrentyev, Igor Ilyinskiy, Ernst Neizvestny, Valeriy Lukov, Xenia Zinoviev, Oleg Nazarov, Stanislav Stremidlovsky, Pavel Rodkin, Mikhail Logvinov, Andrei Filin, Tamara Zinoviev, Yuri Naumov and Polina Zinoviev – the intellectual elite of Russia and our friends abroad.

The editors have a great number of manuscripts in their hand, which contain striking and often controversial ideas, and the number of selected authors keeps growing.

The editorial board of the Zinoviev Magazine.



Special edition in English

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Alexander Zinoviev: I Have a Dream of a New Man

Something quite horrible has occurred – the human being can barely be said to exist any more, it virtually verges on extinction. The fact that individual human beings keep on getting born does not negate the grim reality that human beings no longer exist as entities that influence the course of historical events. We must start from scratch here, commencing with level zero – the creation of a New Man. A civilised, idealistic, utopianist, naïve, starry-eyed, non-egotistical, human being quite untouched by shrewdness. Such people did exist in the days of yore, they lived among us, we were accustomed to knowing such people. Rousseau and Locke dreamed of such human beings, likewise Hobbes and Descartes. Could they have all perished without a trace? I think not.



N. I. Slyunyayev, Governor of Kostromskaya Oblast, O. M. Zinoviev and A. N. Kovalchuk, sculptor, People's Artist of Russia

Nobody can actually leave the world – the only destination for aspiring emigrants is a new level of culture, a new level of intelligence and a new level of morals. It is possible to emigrate into the inner space. I do not think humanity will degrade completely, and we might as well hope that human beings remain as human as possible, notwithstanding the emergence of the new savage, one covered from head to toes in electronics and gadgetry of all sorts. Yet this new savage remains perfectly barbaric. Still, for as long as we remain human, we have to realise that none of these cybercreatures could ever replace the most important identifier of humanity – the fire of the mind. This is a wonder for which there is no substitute.

I see the emergence of a New Man being as the only hope we have as a sentient species, and I do hope that this miracle happens before too long. All these years we have seen the practical, businesslike, shrewd, cruel and egotistical people methodically trample down everything that's decent and humane about people. All I want is for the New Man to survive, it is my fondest and most cherished dream. Otherwise there is no hope for our survival as a species.

From an interview given by A. A. Zinoviev to Stanislav Stremidlovskiy, a news-writer for the Rossiyskiye Vesti newspaper (22–29 March 2006).

The New Man is a civilised, idealistic, utopianist, naïve, starry-eyed, non-egotistical, human being quite untouched by shrewdness

Sergei Mironov: «I am certain that the New Man is already emerging – basically, there are such individuals among ourselves, and, fortunately, we have much of what identifies one in our hearts, virtually all of us»

The Zinoviev magazine presents the answers given by Sergei Mironov, Speaker of the Federation Council, to the questions asked by Olga Zinoviev as well as the students and professors of the Kostroma State University in the A. A. Zinoviev Memorial Auditorium during the visit of the Speaker of the upper house of the Russian parliament to the university.

O. M. Zinoviev: Mr. Mironov, you are probably aware that Alexander Zinoviev challenged the future generations to address the issue that he believed to be the most poignant – namely, the preservation of the New Man being, one that is unselfish, honest, pure and idealistic. He was tireless in reiterating that should this New Man fail to evolve in our technogenic world for lack of time or opportunity, the human race will be doomed. It would be of great interest to us all to learn your opinion. Do you believe that this New Man being has got a chance to survive? Won't it be like walking among rabid wolves naked and unarmed for this evolved human?

S. M. Mironov: Thank you so much for your question. I have already identified myself openly as an optimist, and I am certain that the New Man is already emerging – basically, there are such individuals among ourselves, and, fortunately, we have much of what identifies one in our hearts, virtually all of us. However, many of us are too shy to let such traits manifest themselves for fear of awkwardness, for seeming old-fashioned and so on. This is why so many people do not let their more sincere and human part be seen by others. Still I'm absolutely positive that this New Man will eventually evolve. This cannot happen elsewhere – we carry the legacy of the great Russian culture, its spirituality, and we rely on the intellect of our eminent predecessors – Russia has a mission of presenting a new paradigm to the world, of finding new meanings, including new answers to the question of the meaning of life. I have no doubt that it is going to happen, is beginning to happen, in this very XXI century, in spite of all the perturbations we encounter. Russia shall present a new way of its very own to the whole world, but not the way it used to – not employing the method of trial and catastrophic error, as was often the case



Sergei Mironov, Speaker of the Federation Council, during his visit to the N. A. Nekrasov Kostroma State University

with our experimentation and providing a great deal of negative example for the other countries as well as positive. I am thoroughly convinced that Russia has a special mission, one of paramount importance to human civilization, and that the implementation of this mission shall occur in the XXI century. Let us refrain from using the word «ideology» here – the Russians shall create a new Weltanschauung, a new cognitive and epistemological approach. Fortunately, my rank allows me access to information without any filters, with the aid of the Internet and modern technology and gives me the ability to interact with

a large number of people, none of which are intimidated by my rank or office in any way – they want to speak the truth, and to speak of their problems. «Asking embarrassing questions» would be putting it mildly – they really have a piece of mind to give the officials. Being an official myself, I am not afraid of engaging in dialogue, nor am I afraid of making statements of any kind – thus, whenever I encounter the people, be it during an official or an unofficial visit, I always look for an opportunity to deviate from the planned programme and itinerary, to communicate with people I wasn't really supposed to meet and speak with, taking routes I wasn't supposed to take. I often meet people with amazingly beautiful inner worlds. However, there is the very poignant issue of the information we receive through the mass media, the television and so on, and the information we do not receive, although we really should. Yet people are still capable of outstanding feats of heroism, saving human lives, for instance, or let us consider your very own lifelong example of unswervingly heroic behaviour, and unique people do exist, not just somewhere out there, but in our very cities, on our very streets, and this is the source of optimism and certainty that Alexander Zinoviev spoke, wrote and dreamed about. They will exist, because they already exist. And, most importantly, the most optimistic notion is that there is something of such a person in virtually anyone. However, the imposition of alien ideals and stereotypes leads to people being shy of demonstrating their most redeeming qualities.

Let me address what appears to be an unrelated issue, but let me assure you that my example concerns such manifestations of unbecoming shyness and of adopting behavioural models that have got nothing in common with our people. About three years ago I was approached by a number of scientists who had invented a very simple device with a hand sensor that made it feasible to detect all the drugs and medications taken by a given person over the period of the last three years, including anaesthetics and the like. So we came up with a very interesting experiment – we came to a school in Moscow and addressed some of the senior graders with a proposal to get tested voluntarily. They had a heated discussion first, with some laughs and so on. Then one of them came up and put his hand on a sensor – with a negative result. Then another one came, and another, and another . . . Suddenly, everybody gasped in amazement – I didn't even understand what it was all about. Then everybody else joined in. They kept staring at each other very attentively and shouting. I was thoroughly confused. It turned out that the whole class had a reputation of heavy substance abuse. Fortunately, it was all a bluff – nobody was stupid enough to go anywhere near that junk and poison, they were amazed to find out they weren't as bad as they fancied themselves to be.

This was a very interesting experience and a valuable lesson of how deeply negative role models are rooted in the mass consciousness. Everybody is supposed to show how cool they are. In reality, the young people have enough brains and common sense to stay free from drugs. This is why I insist that what we are being exposed to by proxy of the media, including the television, has got little in common with what we are, with what we should be proud of, what anybody could cite as proof of being a real human being, strong in body and spirit, and capable of demonstrating it without stooping down to negativity and animosity, but merely by power of positive example.



Sergei Mironov, Speaker of the Federation Council, during his visit to the N. A. Nekrasov Kostroma State University

O. M. Zinoviev: Would you please tell us about the chances of restoring justice in Russia instead of merely discussing it? Could it be that the Russian society has already passed the point of no return, after which the very notion of social justice ceases to be valid?

S. M. Mironov: I am truly grateful for your question. Before I answer it, I feel obliged to refer to the 7th paragraph of our Constitution, which claims Russia to be a socially protected state. To tell you the truth, this is what one may refer to as a statement of intent in the business world. It is a declaration, and we have to strive to comply with what has been declared. However, to be objective, it has to be said that Russia can hardly be called a socially protected state today, seeing as how social injustice is still rampant here. And I can tell you when and how this enormous discrepancy will be overcome: when actual political competition becomes the norm in our country. The advantage of the real multiparty system is a very rigid control over the actions of the governing party. If a party wins a single election, this is by no means a guarantee that some other party doesn't win the next election. The key factors here are strict control and keeping detailed records of every action, proposals for alternative solutions and so on – all of the above comprises the basis for the choice of an optimal direction in addressing such issues as social protection. The experience of truly democratic countries, where a viable multiparty system and real political competition are already a reality, demonstrates that most problems of this sort are perfectly soluble. This is why we see more and more examples of political competition today, occurring under our very eyes, in perfect correspondence with the intentions and aspirations of Mr. President and Mr. Prime Minister. This is why when I think about the nearest future, I believe that we shall soon be addressing all the issues and problems concerning the implementation of social justice for all the citizens of our country.

Elvira Balandina,

Philosopher and professor (Russia)

The Way Towards the New Man

The dream of a New Man, or the men and women of the future, is something the European culture has been aware of starting with the Renaissance. There were enough reasons for it, most of them centred around the general Zeitgeist, for which the orientation towards the future became more valuable and important than inspiration from the past. Giordano Bruno, one of the controversial but doubtlessly heroic philosophers of the Renaissance, called his philosophy «a philosophy of the dawn». The name expresses the intimation of the new epoch where man will truly become a creator of himself and of his world. These dreams fit the Christian canon perfectly well – promises of the new land and the new world were given to the new people in the New Testament. However, various historical interpretations of the «new people» often gave practical results whose compatibility was dubious at best. It is all the more amazing given the similarity between the initial ideas of what the New Man should be like. If we attempt a reconstruction of all the characteristics of the New European, we shall come up with roughly the following.

The New Man has to have no limitations in the realisation of whatever potential he or she may possess. The opportunity to live and create freely, in accordance with one's own nature and not as a result of violence and coercion, is absolutely vital, likewise the ability to live without polluting and destroying one's environment, without using natural resources to produce weapons for destroying members of the same species. This New Man has got to have a better type of spiritual sustenance and adhere to values that make it feasible for one to leave the routine outside one's scope of attention. We are referring to a person that can never sell out, not even for all the gold in the world, and lack of funds is never seen as an acceptable reason to commit a crime. Neither the threats, nor the blackmail of lesser beings can cause such people any harm – they realise that a human being is more than flesh and blood, more than intellect – something much deeper, the conduit of History itself, and the one responsible for it.

The archetypal traits of the New Man were inherited from the epoch of Renaissance and the newer period, and have transformed into a multitude of theories and projects concerned with bringing up the future humans. The unrestrained fantasies about the Brave New World and the glorious New Man have been set back somewhat by Kant's seemingly simple question: what is a human being, who simultaneously is part of nature and subject to its laws, and the realm of freedom, where human beings set their own rules? The question turned out to be anything but easy, and discussions concerning possible answers are held even today.

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The questions posed by Kant in all three of his Critiques had the single goal of establishing the ontological boundaries of realms – such as the realm of environment and the realm of freedom, thus answering the question of what a human being really is as follows: an entity that exists within and across boundaries. On the one hand, existence is finite, being a part of the physical world; on the other hand, human ability to act freely associates them with infinity. The finiteness is determined physically – humans are mortal, as well as sense-wise, since the senses have a finite capacity, and also intellectually – human mind is limited by such categories as consciousness and such ideas as that of the mind. Had this description been exhaustive, humans would be little different from clockwork dolls wound up by some higher power. Sentience would not help much – the difference between a sentient automaton and one that is incapable of thinking or being aware of its own existence is marginal at best. Fortunately (although this is seldom perceived as the greatest fortune of all), people are capable of transcending fixed rules in their actions when they act freely, or «spontaneously», as Kant puts it. We believe him to define the New Human as someone capable of solving the seemingly insoluble problem of being capable of free actions in spite of any limitations imposed by nature and society. Awareness of these limitations did not stop the philosophers' ideal humans from transcending some of them – they were capable of actions impossible from the point of view of the laws of nature, breaking free from established social norms, often to be justified by posterity.

Occasional «error» of the carrier of historical future supported the dream of the New Man and created new philosophical conceptions, each time finding a new understanding of the dilemma of combining liberty and tradition, and whether such a combination is possible in the first place. Unlimited freedom and ability to break every taboo and breaking every barrier but death and physical finiteness leaves us in the hands of Marquis de Sade. In a way, his is another «new type» of human – someone who knows no laws but those he breaks. He remains in our collective cultural memory as a monster, simultaneously attractive, since he personifies the temptation of absolute freedom, and repulsive, since the destruction of moral laws is the destruction of humanity itself.

Its polar opposite is the embodiment of the «little man» as portrayed in great detail by virtually every Russian writer of the XIX century: someone who lacks any freedom at all. The audacity to test one's personal freedom to the maximum and a certain courage by utter self-effacement resonate with each other in their destructive pathos.

The ontological foundations for sadism as the philosophy of a human being bound by no law or norm is given in Nietzsche's Übermensch concept. Yet Nietzsche dreaded seeing his Übermensch as a mindless beast armed to the teeth and capable of nothing but violence. His Übermensch is the dawn of the new era, a predator who has become free from everything that has held it back for ages – morality, religion, traditional ways of thinking and behaving. Breaking the cage, destroying the whips, the iron bars, and the tamers with their entire arsenal is thus a noble deed, rising above those balancing between freedom and slavery, let alone the ones who remain in slavery of their own accord, having traded their freedom for security and comfort. Freedom is what gives one the right to rise above the obsolete humanity, to evolve into a new species of a new age, which can only be glimpsed from a distance, but which is nonetheless imminent. This is the pathos of Nietzsche's Übermensch, which still inspires a great many people. The most appealing thing is that nobody else can judge whether you are an Übermensch or just a slave with delusions of grandeur. You are both the judge and the defendant. The Übermensch trap appealed to many – not just young boys tempted by the «rough military lyricism», but also eminent politicians, public figures, artists and writers who praised or cursed the New Man, but invariably fell prey to his appeal.

One of the first ones to point out the great danger of unlimited personal freedom was the Russian philosopher Vladimir Solovyov. He wrote an essay to address the concept of the Übermensch entitled «The Übermensch Idea».

What is the appeal and the danger of Nietzschean philosophy according to Solovyov? The appeal is that it opens every path in life for one to choose. Should one fail ultimately, there will be no one to blame – it was his own choice. Whoever chooses the path is likely to wish for something bigger and better, to cross a few borders, to exist outside the confines of the daily grind – nothing can be done about that. The entire history of human society, as well as a host of individual biographies, testify that man has constantly widened his reach, expanding his environment. Nearly every boundary can be overcome. The confines of space – the constant wish to go beyond the horizon known to every child, desire to see new lands and seas. The limits of an individual consciousness as results of thoughts and emotions can overcome any obstacle – they expand by mobilizing body resources in extreme conditions, by using technology and external sources of energy to adapt. The temporal boundaries are pushed back as well due to higher life expectancy, constant «living in the future» – planning, prospects, utopian ideas and hopes.

However, there is one last boundary that cannot be crossed while humans remain human – the boundary of life itself. We know from experience that everything dies – humans, social organisms and whole civilizations. Death is the final limit to any existence, it ends everything, and the Übermensch is also pow-



The Legend of Danko (illustration to the story by M. Gorky)
Artist Makeev 1966–1967

erless in the face of death. The alternative suggested by the Russian philosopher is by no means new, and it has been around for thousands of years – the only way to overcome death is to move towards God, which brings one outside the confines of purely human existence, and is also the ultimate realisation of freedom. «For complete and real freedom a human needs to have power over his own nature and not just his environment» . . . «To reach this internal freedom, or to have power over one's own nature, you cannot move from within yourself – it would be tantamount to trying to lift yourself by the hair»; «. . . Abstract transcendence of the baser facets of nature in the name of one's own true self, personal dignity etc, can only be a long leap upwards invariably followed by a fall»; «the aim of true philosophy is to facilitate the transfer of the current centre of human existence from its nature to the world of absolute transcendence in its field, the field of knowledge, in other words, philosophy must serve the end of joining it to that which truly exists».

One might believe this to be a solution. In order to evade the extremes of absolute freedom and implement an insurmountable drive towards freedom in full, one has to choose one way of the many promised by freedom of will, to choose a single true way to the divine. However, one might come up with a number of interesting questions, namely:

1. Is there any point in going this far?
2. What exactly is the nature of this divine goal, given the multitude of gods created by mankind?

As for the former, it is up to the individual to decide on the limit to be reached in search of the meaning of his own existence.



The monument to Yuri Gagarin in Moscow
(A. Bondarenko, 1980)

Circumstance, the epoch, the newly-adopted and inherited values, hopes and aspirations, all affect his decision to find the road that «leads towards the temple». A road walked by others before you may serve you for direction – the collective historical memory divided into thousands and millions of roads already walked whose value comes from time itself, a memory that elevates to the level of human or national memory.

The second question leaves one with a choice. The finite point and last frontier here is God in his religious interpretation. But which God exactly? Even given the unity of all gods, there is a wide choice. The Trinity or just Christ? Jehovah or Allah? Are gods «professionals, as the Greek pantheon suggests, or are they deified forces of nature invented by the pagans? And so on, and so forth. The ability to identify with some denomination automatically revokes the question of choice, leaving none – this kind of freedom turns out to be defective, and belief in the ability of a single given confession to bring one to God runs the peril of degenerating into the routine of meaningless ritual, or a maudlin kind of blind faith without much thinking. Both have provoked a wide range of feelings in the rational man, nearly all of which lay in the negative spectrum.

A philosophical study of the phenomenon of faith from the Gnostics to Jaspers, Wittgenstein, Derrida, Eliade et al, leads us to another thought: it is possible to «leap to godhead within the man», to enter a transcendental state outside the daily reality, dictated by the feeling of one's identity, a deeply perceived necessity to «break on through», to realise one's potential for freedom.

This is by no means a leap into nothingness – it has a direction, which is usually set by the norms of the epoch and something

like faith, albeit a faith that isn't alien to reason. There is a double determination, to be more precise: circumstance dictates the course for the implementation of one's freedom of choice, yet the one who makes the choice can affect the location of the goal. The place of the godhead as known from traditional religion is taken by some human idol who receives the same attention a god would be entitled to. However, unlike god, idols can decay and fall into dust. Every culture created ideals that existed simultaneously or in a sequence. Despite all the differences, all such ideals had something in common – namely, the ideal changed along with the cultural values and directions, although the main features remained immutable, such as the basic ethics that had once made it possible to claim the existence of a universal system of human values as «a must». Any «ideal human» would be a two-layer entity, one of the layers being oriented at «common human values» and the other specifying the values in question in compliance with the demands of the epoch. Such contradictions can only be resolved as part of the process of historical dynamics, which is why any ideal, while being in theory finite and the highest value in and of itself, could by no means fully correspond to associated aspirations in reality.

Another possibility to make a leap from «the realm of necessity to the realm of freedom» lies with the Human Idea. Unlike the Ideal, the Human Idea does not contain any finite forms or facets. It merely stimulates evolution while making one conscious of the same. The idea of the New Human lacks finiteness by definition, although it aspires to be finite, it lacks a target matrix, although it implies the existence of goals and aims. Therefore, the Human Idea is not a complete project, nor is it likely to achieve completion anywhere in definable future – it is the Tao, an infinite journey. An idea requires faith and determination, yet implies constant reflection, which stipulates the absolute necessity of a mind, which is understood in the Kantian fashion as the ability of producing ideas and principles of the more abstract sort. The Human Idea is a constantly replicating and primarily rational meme which requires comprehension, dialogue and communication, as well as a unique manner of presenting itself. The individuality of a produced or imported idea implies the involvement of Another, and such involvement may include the entire human race. One's self-realisation is impossible without recognition among fellow humans. An individual identity can only have stability if it finds recognition and affirmation – not only in the present, but also the past, projecting itself over the cultural values and rallying beacons existing in the past and the future.

The latter strikes one as rather important if we are to address modern human condition. Its dominant tendency is destruction – the destruction of the divine in a man when religion becomes an element of tradition or a political factor, thereby losing its initially sacral meaning.

The destruction of the human ideal as a single entity and its replacement by a set of required (or even mandatory) qualities such as patriotism, compliance with laws, including tax laws, political awareness and loyalty. The destruction of the very Human Idea and its replacement with a set of qualities testifying to nothing but a given individual's economic success, an outstanding career, material wealth and egotistical orientation at material success in life.

The total destruction of certain human qualities in the modern man, and the loss of God, the Ideal and the Idea, do not imply any imminent catastrophe per se; they are simply a way for us to see the necessity to stop and have a good look around. Nearly every philosopher insists on the necessity of pondering the individual as well as collective existence, starting with Socrates, and there is no proof that thinking about the meaning of life can lead us astray from life itself, according to the mirthless opinions of Nietzsche and Heidegger. To think of oneself, to crave the growth of one's human qualities, the possession of the intangible quality that makes a human soul truly noble – this set of guidelines is approved by the best minds of our day and age, the thinkers that we are lucky enough to call contemporaries.

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8 – A. A. Zinoviev. I am Dreaming of the New Man. – Moscow, 2007.

Announcement

The VIII World Congress of Slavonic Scholars is to Discover Alexander Zinoviev's Legacy

The Legacy of Alexander Zinoviev
July 28, 2010

ICCEES Eurasia VIII World Congress 2010
Stockholm 26-31 July 2010
Prospects for Wider Cooperation
www.iccees2010.se

The VIII World Congress of the International Council for Central and East European Studies (ICCEES 2010) will be held to address the issue formulated as follows: «Eurasia: Prospects for Wider Cooperation» (26–31 July 2010, Stockholm Conference Centre, Stockholm, Sweden).

The Alexander Zinoviev Legacy Round Table Discussion will be part of the Congress, due to take place on 28 July 2010. It will be presided by Dr. Elizabeth Teague, British Foreign and Commonwealth Office, (UK). Opponent: Professor Grahame Lock (Oxford University, UK). Experts and reports: Philip Hanson (Chatham House, UK): «The Russian Tragedy: the Defeat of the Anti-Sovietism»; Michael Kirkwood (as a private delegate, Belgium): «The Meaning of Ideology in the Works of Alexander Zinoviev»; Olga Zinoviev (The Zinoviev Scientific Research Centre,

Russian Federation): «Alexander Zinoviev: A Hero of Our Time».

The International Congress of Slavonic scholars (the ICCEES) is a quinquennial event. Mikhail Gorbachev, the former president of the USSR, has agreed to give an opening speech.

The ICCEES is a global network of scientific research facilities, institutes and individual scientists specialising in the field of the Russian language and the issues pertaining to Central and Eastern Europe. Previous International Congresses were held as follows: Banff (Canada, 1974), Garmisch-Partenkirchen (Germany, 1980), Washington, DC. (USA 1985), Harrogate (UK, 1990), Warsaw (Poland, 1995), Tampere (Finland, 2000) and Berlin (Germany 2005). The last congress of Slavonic scholars had 1792 participants from 49 countries.

Vladislav Surkov: Some Thoughts on the New Man

On 17 December 2008 Vladislav Surkov, First Deputy Chief of Staff of the Russian Presidential Administration, accepted the invitation by Sergei Baburin, Rector of the Russian State University of Trade and Economics, and paid a visit to the University. In his opening address he provided the staff and the students of the RSUTE with an overview of a number of problems related to the state's domestic policies and answered their questions. In particular, he has provided an analysis of the dynamics of the party system's evolution, and emphasised the necessity of revolutionising the Russian economy in a creative and innovative manner and ceasing the unfortunate dependence on the export of raw materials once and for all.

The Zinoviev magazine is happy to offer you an excerpt from the dialogue between Vladislav Surkov and Olga Zinoviev, who participated in the meeting.

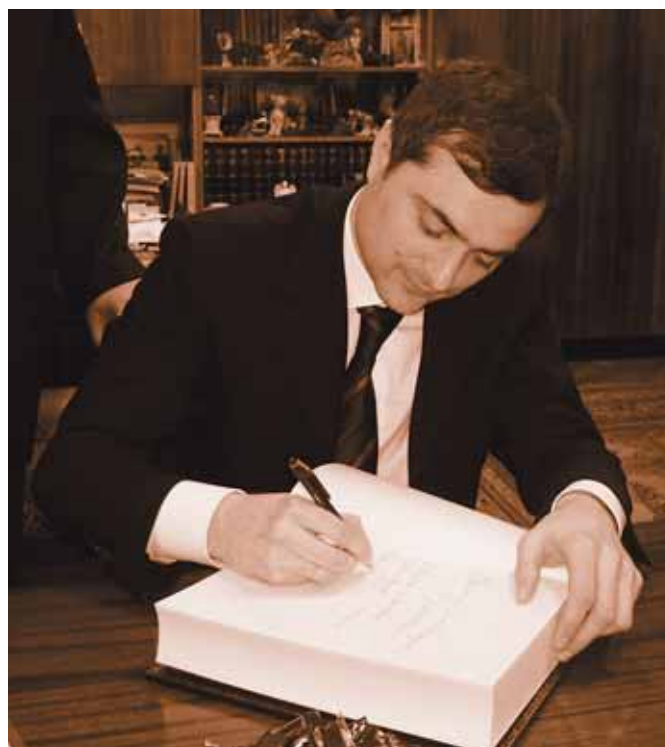
Sergei Baburin: We have with us today Olga Zinoviev. You know her well enough, and she is certainly no stranger here – we have founded the Alexander Zinoviev Scientific Centre headed by Mrs. Zinoviev.

Olga Zinoviev: Mr. Surkov, it is a great pleasure to see you here – to me, you were a legendary figure, and I hardly thought I would ever meet you personally, my attempts notwithstanding. I am glad that we have finally managed to meet.

I understand you to be the primary ideologist to affect the mental life of our country and, possibly, the only person capable of answering the following question: how do you envision the policy, or, rather, the ideology of nurturing the New Man in the new, democratic post-Soviet Russia? How do you interpret this concept personally?

Vladislav Surkov: That's some question you have there. This issue is of paramount complexity, and I am by no means certain of my ability of answering it with sufficient clarity and precision. The problem is doubtlessly important, and I have myself mentioned the necessity of changing a great deal about one's general mentality in order to achieve certain goals. According to Andrew S. Grove, only the paranoid survive, and a politician certainly needs to be a paranoid to a certain extent – one must also have this relentless grip on affairs and keep saying the same thing over again.

Thus, I believe this to be yet another opportunity for such repetition: we have to motivate our citizens, particularly the



During the visit of Vladislav Surkov, First Deputy Chief of Staff of the Russian Presidential Administration, to the Russian State University of Trade and Economics (17 December 2008)

youth, along two lines, the first being the establishment of a sense of personal dignity. This may come at a considerable cost, and I am not referring to idle boasting or some holier-than-thou lackey mentality when one rejoices at outsmarting the other – this has got nothing to do with what I'm on about. It's the very mere sense of human dignity that I am referring

Vladislav Surkov:
«The key thing is to motivate the youth along the following two lines: the establishment of a sense of personal dignity and the thought that by creating something innovative one can truly compete»

stance. We have always tried to get Communism going now, and the frying pans could wait. And yet they cannot – they stand for a humanisation of life, for putting the person first, which leads one to freedom from mentally suppressing one's feeling of one's own worth.

Let me illustrate with an example – it's a lengthy answer, but I'll do my best to be as brief as I can. I supervise a number of youth- and party-oriented organisations, and I often come to them and say: folks, let's pretend I'm a perfect stranger, I want to hear you encourage me to become a member of your organisation. I am really interested in what they have to say. Most often the language they use is appallingly full of clichés – it's really horrible, and I tell them: even being very fond of Vladimir Putin, Dmitriy Medvedev et al, I would never ever consider joining your organisation seriously. Nobody, not a single person reacted to this little provocation of mine in the following way: what's your name? How is it going? Why are you so happy/sad? Still nobody has tried to find out anything about their alleged interlocutor, or truly make an effort of making their interlocutors join them, along the lines of: «How about a drink? We can have one nearby, at the facilities of Russia United». They would have people enlisting by the thousand. Yet they try to hit you with Putin's Plan first. What plan? Why should anybody care about any plans? This person was just passing by on the way to the supermarket, why should any of your plans be of any interest to him or her?

to in reality («I cannot be treated like that by definition», «I comprehend», «I trust nothing at face value, nor do I reject things offhandedly, and I do not opine I am smarter than my neighbour» and so on). This is the most difficult goal to achieve, and once we get that far, everything else will follow. The second motivation has to be the thought that by creating something innovative one can truly compete and establish oneself in society.

By innovative I mean something people will take an interest in, not a novelty one desires to impose upon everybody else. Pardon the banality, but people need non-sticking frying pans, that much is a fact; yet it really remains to be seen whether they require Communism, for in-

They have this idea that the entire country exists in this common political space of ours, which is rather limited in reality. The country has issues of its own to take care of. I am of the opinion that nobody really sees the government as something «higher up». For you, for us and for everybody else it is right there, on the same plane as the TV set, and not any higher than the viewer. This is why one simply must assert oneself as just another person – one's position might give one extra resources, but being human is what it's all about.

This loss of human interest is the main problem Russian tradition and mentality have today, ditto our political culture. We always regard the human being as an obstacle – our science is similarly afflicted. When I was a very young man, back in the Soviet epoch, I saw our fighter planes and missiles, and couldn't help wondering – if we have missiles, fighter planes capable of dealing significant damage to the Americans, if we have such power, all those scientists and luminaries we are told about, why haven't we got any decent washing machines? A primitive question as it may be, but it is truly of enormous importance. Nobody tries to show an interest in what makes people tick – neither scientists, nor technicians, nor indeed party officials ask the man in the street about his needs. I can tell you what I need – a frying pan where nothing burns or sticks, beer bottles that open without a bottle-opener and so on. There are people in the West who are concerned with the problem of making the cap seal the bottle properly and yet be capable of coming off at the twist of one's fingers, eliminating the need for a bottle-opener. It is a serious problem dealt with by scientists and whole industrial facilities. If we get into the details of how it was done and how many stages the technical process have, we can see it as the embodiment of a whole lifestyle. Ours is different – nobody cares about such trifles.

This loss of human interest is the main problem Russian tradition and mentality have today, ditto our political culture. We always regard the human being as an obstacle

This is the very attitude that has to be changed, and I haven't got the foggiest idea as to how one should go about changing it. Strange as it might sound to you (and I have to confess to being a bit of a romantic in this respect) – I think that one might go about it by means of constant reiteration. The American ruling classes could go on about their values in their sleep, and that much is, in a way, a result of tireless repetition. I disagree with certain technophiles and pragmatists who claim it pointless to communicate with human beings – one has to frame the communication correspondingly. Humans aren't Pavlov's dogs, for

goodness' sake, why should be subject them to electric shock therapy to make them move where we want them to move? I think people deserve better and can understand explanations – provided the society's stability is maintained and so on.

Humanisation is a complex of measures including a less rigid legal system – «convenience» and «everything for the human being» are abstractions. We have to start with real human needs, what people want. And people want to be entertained.

For as long as our elite is to lack team spirit and the capacity for self-sufficiency and self-organisation, we shall see no changes for the better

The entire modern civilisation is focussed on entertainment – people are always entertained in some way, new games, new gimmicks and so on. People need this – they have their breakfast, their pint of beer, their job (if there is one given the recession et al), the daily grind, the constant need to do something. There is such a mechanism as an election, and opportunities for social work are numerous and varied. Technology has brought this

luxury into existence by liberating a colossal number of people. What we have today is an over-abundance of people – more than we need to create all the material goods that we use.

Therefore, a large host of people is involved in the so-called service industry, just to have an outlet for their energy. You need a certain frame of mind to be able to entertain people. That's what America does – they entertain us, we watch their films and follow their elections, it is a humorous show for everyone, in a way.

This is why I believe that humanisation requires a certain element of benign entertainment, as well as the knack for inven-

tion. I believe this to be the very foundation for the sense of personal dignity, self-respect and so on, and nothing will change about it. I hope that a new patriotism will emerge from it someday – neither mandatory nor sectarian, a patriotism that has got nothing in common with hatred and a chip on one's shoulder, but a healthy patriotism capable of being critical of itself.

Incidentally, we have gathered in a university today. We have to be aware that the Western elite (I refer to the West a lot, since, after all, the Western countries are ahead of everybody else in a vast number of respects, whatever you say) grows from a system of students' fraternities – we could call those the hotbed of a nation. We have nothing of the sort – what we can conceive of is either the Komsomol or nope. This is lamentable, because where one has generation solidarity held together by a set of common goals, one has a nation – those who end up as leaders, bosses, administrators and scientists set the plank for everybody else. This is the only way we can form an elite. Let me reiterate that a sense of personal dignity has to be the basis for the elite's solidarity and capacity for governing itself – when we have that, we shall have everything else. For as long as our elite is to lack team spirit and the capacity for self-sufficiency and self-organisation, we shall see no changes for the better.

What is the instinct we obey at the moment? As soon as a national boss shows a weakness, the way they were wont to in the 90's, everybody runs to obey a Western boss, everybody has to look up to America for everything, to fall for the reputation of omnipotence and omniscience ascribed to the USA. The financial aspect of our current situation is a perfect example of perfectly sincere religious adoration of the Wall Street on the part of some of our leaders who define our financial policies, without any malicious intent – just an example of thoughtless absolute fetishising. This is something we could do without, too.

This just about sums up my views on the subject. Let me reiterate: I believe that seeing as how all the structures and institutions in question have a few common traits, we have to preach this aloud – we have to talk about it all the time. We have to keep on talking, and talking, and talking some more – we may see some changes eventually, as I firmly believe. So far very little has been said in this respect.

The Book of Peace

The Zinoviev Magazine is publishing an exclusive interview given to Olga Zinoviev by **Madame Chantal Bernard**, the pioneer author of the very first Book of Peace. This is the first time the Russian public learns of the unique international project known as the Book of Peace, which became a symbol of an international goodwill movement.

Olga Zinoviev: Dear Chantal, when did you first get this amazing idea of creating one of the most unique books in the history of enlightened humanity?

Chantal Bernard: This idea, or dream, dates all the way back to my childhood, when the horrendous imagery of the war of 1939-45 became forever ingrained in my childhood memories (I was born in 1930).

O. Z.: Who is the target audience of your book and your entire project, unusual as it is? Why did you launch it in the first place?

C. B.: It is my will to address the people of the whole world, to families and children raised feeling nothing but contempt for the war – the ultimate pre-requisite for reaching the ideal of peaceful cohabitation!

O. Z.: Did you ever find yourself thinking that your missionary work and your hopes were somehow illusionary? What was your source of strength?

C. B.: It has always been my hope to convince people today in order to ensure peace for future generations.

O. Z.: This book is a child of yours, and you have dedicated your whole life to it with nothing short of Apostolic devotion.

C. B.: My project is but a seed that I carry into the world. It will find good soil someday, and it will grow . . .

O. Z.: There are, after all, other famous international organizations with similar goals – addressing the problems of wars, pain, suffering, orphans and families scattered all across the world . . .

C. B.: Yes, there's the Red Cross, which was founded by the Nobel laureate Henri Dunant in 1901, and it proves its utility and courage in times of peace whenever there are epidemics, natural disasters, and so on . . .

O. Z.: . . . yet your Book of Peace expresses a very deep and heartfelt hope . . .



Madame Chantal Bernard (2000)

Chantal Bernard's most horrible memory is a bombing in Algeria, when she saw a bomb hit a kindergarten while the children's mothers were forcefully held under lock in the marketplace – allegedly for their own safety! After the bombings the mothers saw a horrible sight – the building was in ruins, with the children buried underneath. This happened in 1942, but the memory is just as fresh and haunting for Chantal today. 43 years later she commenced the most long-term project of her life: the Book of Peace.

C. B.: This book is the expression of what I have been hoping for all my life – peace for every race, every culture and every religion. We are all siblings.

O. Z.: What is your biggest joy and your biggest disappointment in life and the creation of your Book of Peace?

C. B.: My most vivid impression is an inspired dream of Peace; the greatest disappointment is how few people have any interest in this dream.

Paris, 31 January 2010.



Alexander Zinoviev, Madame Chantal Bernard with spouse (2000)

THE INTERNATIONAL BOOK OF PEACE

This unique book, created as a result of a tremendous body of work of a petite woman with a strong spirit – Madam Chantal, received contributions from the following people as of 2002:

- 42** Presidents and Heads of State from all across the planet,
- 25** Nobel laureates (17 of them being Laureates of the Nobel Prize for Peace)
- 43** Religious figures of all denominations
- 48** Academicians of L'Académie française,
- 101** Artists and so on.

There are also ministers, ambassadors, writers, scientists . . .

One can but marvel at the heartfelt conviction and inflexible willpower of this amazing woman, who seems to come from a different age – someone who cannot be stopped by deaf hearts and closed doors. She has dedicated her whole life to a unique mission of hope and joy – a mission of peace. A true will to serve humanity, which requires no reward, deserves all our respect and gratitude for providing such a wonderful example of resilience and faith in the New Humanity.

The official web site of the International Book of Peace can be found at:

www.livre-international-de-la-paix.org

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Alexander Zinoviev's autograph in the International Book of Peace (1990)]

«I do not believe in the existence of other planets but the Earth inhabited by living and sentient creatures. Life in general and humanity in particular are unique and inimitable phenomena. Should they reach extinction on Earth, the Universe shell forever remain dead and soulless».

Alexander Zinoviev, Munich, April 1990.

LE LUTRIN
 Œuvre de Georges Jeanclous pour le Livre International de la Paix
 Fonte en bronze



The autograph of George Jeanclous in the International Book of Peace



The autograph of Jean Marais in the International Book of Peace



The autographs of Kofi Annan (1998) and Hosni Mubarak in the International Book of Peace



The autographs of Claude Verlinde (1992) and Federico Mayor in the International Book of Peace



The autograph of Yves Saint Laurent in the International Book of Peace



The autograph of Michel Henry in the International Book of Peace



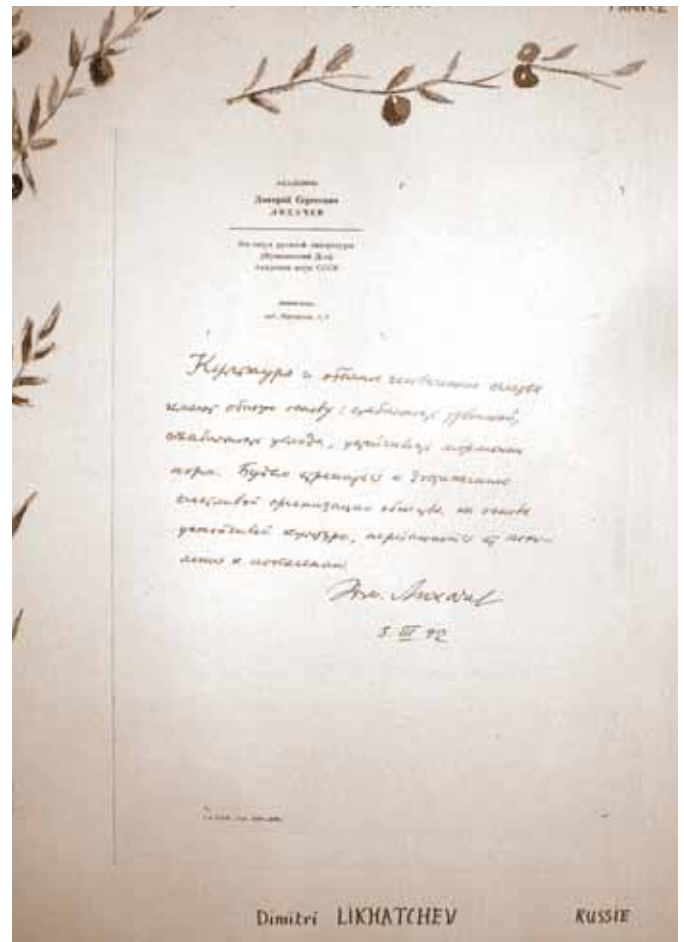
The autograph of Jean-Michel Jarre in the International Book of Peace (1995)



The autograph of Polina Zinoviev in the International Book of Peace



The autograph of Michelle Battut in the International Book of Peace



The autograph of Dmitry Likhachev in the International Book of Peace

Sergei Mironov,

Speaker of the Federation Council, Russian Federation

Intellectual Liberty as a Resource for Russia's Development. Zinoviev in Our Future

Speech at the III International Scientific Conference of Zinoviev Readings at the Russian Academy of Sciences concerning the Methodology and Logic of Social Studies in the Works of A. A. Zinoviev and contemporaneity (Moscow, 12 May 2010)

Dear colleagues!

I am grateful for your kind invitation to take part in the work of this important and representative philosophic forum. The Zinoviev Readings are becoming a major event in our country's intellectual life.

The nature of man has always been of interested to philosophers, and Zinoviev addresses the same issue. His idea is that Russia's new ideology after the fall of Communism has to be essentially humanist. One has to go to the very foundation of being – the human. Let me quote a passage: «you have to start everything from scratch – from the «I» . . . If you want the world to change in a direction you find more appealing, you have to change yourself».

Why am I saying this here? The programme of our political party, A Just Russia, which I have the honour of representing here, begins with this very supreme value – the human being. Not the state, nor the domestic or international policy of the government. The human. We have invested a great deal of effort in making the solution of social problems a priority on the political and economic agenda of our country. The most important goal is the expansion of an individual's options for the realisation of said individual's potential, his freedom of choice. This is why we find the philosophical legacy of Alexander Zinoviev to be of particular value to us.

We follow the philosophical discussions of today very closely. The global economic recession and the drastic changes in the economy make it especially important that we understand the epoch's ideology. I have said it many times before that this recession is social first and foremost – the economy and finance come second.

The traditional cognitive schemes can no longer explain the transformations we witness. We require new intellectual practices.



Sergei Mironov at the III International Scientific Conference of Zinoviev Readings at the Russian Academy of Sciences (Moscow, 12 May 2010).

We find a lot in Zinoviev's works. For instance, his understanding of the modern society as a metasociety with aggressive social technologies intruding the natural flow of events and the mechanics of forced disintegration of «undesirable» social systems is extremely relevant to us today.

Alexander Zinoviev is a man whose life is an example of true spiritual freedom. He has used every opportunity given to him by the academic community to the maximum. Notwithstanding the stifling ideological atmosphere of the 50's, the 60's and the 70's in Russia, academic institutions remained as bastions of

The most important goal is the expansion of an individual's options for the realisation of said individual's potential, his freedom of choice

unconquered scientific thought, creative daring and independence.

The Institute of Philosophy has given rise to a number of outstanding individuals and original schools of philosophy. The Academy of Sciences did not oust Sakharov in spite of enormous pressure from the CPSU elite.

However, the Institute of Philosophy was by no means a fraternity of free researchers that Zinoviev dreamed of. Let us recollect his striking and much quoted statement: «I am a

sovereign nation of one». All his books amaze the reader – not only by the depth of thought, but also by the freedom of judgement freely exercised by the author, and the author alone.

The main contradiction inherent in the life of any thinker in our world is the impossibility of living in society, yet not being a part of it.

Zinoviev solved this contradiction in his own way, having attained a complete independence from any form of government and created a world of his own, where he conducted his mental experiments on society and rather risky experiments on his own self.

Zinoviev was capable of using his freedom in the right ways. He never participated in the rat race for success, never tried on the laurels of a rebellious figure, and never tried to act as an authority on interpretation or an arrogant guru. He allowed nobody to manipulate him, which sets him quite apart from the majority of Russian dissidents. He always remained a true Citizen.

The creative legacy of Zinoviev includes virtually every genre – critiques, enlightenment, journalism, social theory and so on. There is no dogma of authority, no stereotypes, popular ideas, idols or self-deceit. He found it quite easy to expose the king's nakedness. He actively shaped people's perception of the world and fought against intellectual misery. His book «A Russian Destiny. Confessions of a Dissident» is a true masterpiece of self-study which reveals his desire to understand himself rather than make an impression. This is a position that only a true intellectual could assume.

Zinoviev claimed the most important element to be «a scientific and philosophic mind shift» – teaching the ability to think independently. He believed it to be the only way of transcending the vicious circle of pseudo-issues and addressing the real problems of the present day.

We are in dire need of a philosophic estimate of our every new project. Our country is on the road of modernisation, but much



Sergei Mironov at the III International Scientific Conference of Zinoviev Readings at the Russian Academy of Sciences (Moscow, 12 May 2010).

remains unclear in terms of conceptions used. There are countless «prognoses» and «scenarios» of Russia's future, and much is being said about near and remote prospects, more often than not quite irresponsible. The latest marvel of ideological thought of the ruling party is «conservative modernisation».

However, if these home-bred conservatives represent the avant-garde of our political thought, we can only be sure that our comedians and satirists shall always be well-provided for creative materials.

One often gets the impression that a part of our community of intellectuals has engaged in circular political motion, recreating whole strata of the recent stagnant past – this time as a farce. One believes the philosophic community to be responsible to a large extent, since it prefers to stay as far away from politics as possible. Nevertheless, the importance of methodological expertise in the taking of important political decisions grows daily.

It is impossible to build a house without a foundation. It is equally impossible to revive a country without a clearly defined plan for the future. I am not referring to inculcated doctrines, which become instruments used for manipulating the public opinion, but rather the ideas that serve as the basis of a country's cultural identity.

What is the philosophy of a country's revival? What should its philosophical choice be like? What are the primary obstacles in the way of modernisation? How do we overcome the tendency of constantly returning to catching up with someone? Philosophers have the best qualification for answering these questions. Therefore, the key object of any modernisation is, to my deepest conviction, society itself. The methodological resources of philosophy are bottomless here – nobody can see the reasons for whatever happens to a society than a philosopher; nobody can evaluate the dangers and systemic risks that it encounters.

Philosophy directly affects political thought by working on conceptions of solving such problems as social equality and justice, civil activity, inter-cultural dialogue, the development of democratic institutes and a great many others – including the programmes created by the political parties of today.

I would like to revert to the active citizenship of Alexander Zinoviev.

Although he appeared to exist outside the society, he always worked in its interest. He has always remained with his people. He wasn't a party member, but he wasn't apolitical, either.

The discussion concerning the ideological bias of intellectuals, which began in the second half of the XX century, continues, but the people who form the public opinion in the West are actively engaged in the process of taking strategic decisions. If we consider historical precedent, philosophers such as Popper, Habermas, Huntington and Rawls were actively engaged in political consultation. Or we can go even further back in history and think of the profound effect that the ideas of the English

**This recession is social
first and foremost –
the economy and
finance come second**

liberals and the French enlightenment had on the authors of the American constitution. Western intellectuals such as Noam Chomsky, Umberto Eco and Alain Badiou follow the tradition of being involved in political life today.

The works of Zinoviev tell us openly that the intrusion of philosophic ideas into politics is a necessity. But it doesn't have to serve the ends of the business environment or be based on servility and obsequiousness. Ilya Selvinskiy, a Russian poet who fought in the Great Patriotic War, wrote the following lines:

*We were taught to think in straight lines
Which was called the formation of views
Blind leaders with panic-gripped minds
Feared the sighted might give them their dues*

Zinoviev used the mathematical apparatus extensively in order to describe human society. One needs to be fully informed to govern successfully; yet any governor always finds his information incomplete.

Stalin knew the industrial leaders of the first five-year plans on a first name basis. However, the sheer volume of data grew by a factor of ten thousand. Totalitarianism is doomed from this viewpoint alone, historically so. It simply cannot cope with the volume of information received by a single centre.

This example came to my mind during a discussion of the priorities of modernisation. Our party remains true to the opinion that one has to begin with fine-tuning the political system, by implementing a real multiparty model and actual political competition. The political system has to become simpler, not more complex. Otherwise, the government officials gravitating to a

single political party shall make every new project doomed from the start.

The process of preparing for political decisions of paramount importance needs the participation of every citizen – not merely in order to make the changes to be made more legitimate, but also in order to assure the support for the modernisation among the citizens.

Let me say a few words about the importance of Zinoviev's legacy to the new socialism and the generation of new ideas by its proponents.

Zinoviev's personal ideology was paradoxical in many respects, combining elements of many different ideas and doctrines. He considered the Soviet society ideological in nature, and the torrents of ideology produced by the Socialist countries – a menace to all mankind.

His famous advice goes like this: «Ignore the official ideology. Any attention you pay it makes it stronger». Incidentally, this is a piece of advice that he did not follow himself, since he criticised ideology in many ways. The «Westernist» ideology received just as merciless a scrutiny – he called it, I quote, «a means of stuffing one's brain to the maximum in order to leave no place for anything else or any remaining need to use the brain».

It is therefore very difficult to speak of Zinoviev's attitude to Socialism. The only thing obvious is that he was no defender of the Socialist system – he defended the truth about Socialism. He did not moralise – he conducted his research of the Soviet society as a new type of social formation. «Communism as a Reality» is one of the few books that can give you an idea of what kind of society had existed before 1991 today, and what our legacy is for the new millennium.

His reasoning is categorical and often relentless – many of his judgements strike one as controversial and even unacceptable to a certain extent. He does not make the Soviet system look better than it was in reality, yet he does not curse it, either.

His conclusions are, as ever, paradoxical – on the one hand, Socialism is a far cry from perfection; on the other hand, it has many advantages over the «Westernism», despite losing the Cold War.

It is most significant that Zinoviev claimed that Socialism was by no means a randomly evolved political system in Russia – he proves that it conforms to the cultural traditions and the spirit of the Russian people the most, and explains it as a result of legitimate historical processes. Much of what has been destroyed together with the Soviet state is being revived, albeit in a different form.

In the early 90's Zinoviev was one of the few who rose against the mass ideological attack on the Soviet system, the introduction of rabid anti-Communism into the public opinion. Let me conclude as follows.

Zinoviev was aware that we live in a country that lacks historical and ideological identity, one that comes from nowhere and goes nowhere, and has done everything he could to help us form a clear idea of the future. It is symbolic that some of his books were published as part of the series entitled «History of the XXI Century. Prognoses, Prospects and Predictions».

Alexander Zinoviev tried to construct independent, autonomous and logically consistent models both in science and in politics.

A logician not only by occupation, but also by mentality, he moved his thought from the simple to the more complex, from simple models to systems of the highest complexity. In sociology, this is expressed in the formation of a specific cognitive apparatus of Zinovievian Sociology.

Alexander Zinoviev proves it step by step that Russia has got a historical route of its own, highlighting the unique and most specific traits of the Russian social model.

A Just Russia is a political party that stays adamant in its defence of the conception of new XXI Century Socialism. It is also of the opinion that our homeland is capable of implementing a paradigm shift to transform social reality completely in the new millennium, and reach an unprecedented level of evolution, setting a standard for everybody else and making the XXI century the Century of Russia.

**Alexander
Zinoviev
is a man whose
life serves as an
example of true
spiritual freedom**

In one of his interviews Zinoviev said that Russia has got to «out-smart» the West, to demonstrate its intellectual and spiritual superiority.

The Party Programme of A Just Russia openly states the following: «The future of Russia lies in its intellectual potential».

In December 2005 yours truly and Alexander Zinoviev wished the readers of the Literaturnaya Gazeta newspaper a Happy New Year, and I remember his words with perfect clarity: «I want my people to survive as a historically significant entity in the horrible conditions of the present day that have no precedent. A ruthlessly objective understanding of reality and the status quo is a vital prerequisite. I wish my fellow countrymen to strive towards realising this much, no matter how frightening it may sound. Otherwise we shall merely be wiped out from human history».

This may be a harsh thing to wish – yet it is honest and responsible.

News



International Scientific Conference

**ZINOVIEV READINGS
AT THE RUSSIAN ACADEMY OF SCIENCES**

The methodology and logic of social studies in the works of A. A. Zinoviev and the realities of the present day.

12 May 2010, Moscow, Russia

32A Leninskiy Prospekt,
RAS Presidium, Presidential Hall.

Dr. Ernst-Jorg von Studnitz,

former German ambassador to Russia

The Special Relationship Between Germans and Russians – a Contribution for Europe

Lecture by Dr. Ernst-Joerg von Studnitz at the II International conference «Zinoviev Readings» at Moscow State University on 6 November 2008. Topic: « East – West – Russia»

To speak at an International Conference honouring the great Russian philosopher, writer and scholar Alexander Zinoviev is a great honour. I thank the organisers of this distinguished meeting that they included me in the rank of people who pay tribute to the outstanding achievements of Alexander Zinoviev. As a German contributor I see a special obligation to try to do justice to a man, who was forced to leave his home country in 1978 and resettled in Munich for the following 21 years, only to return to his native country in

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1999 and live there for the last seven years of his life. When the Soviet authorities of the Brezhnev era forced him out of the country he had reached the height of his professional career as a distinguished professor of the most prestigious Russian university, Moscow State University. Though he was already a well known writer to start a new life in exile at this age was in no way easy. The impressive series of

books he published during these years and the recognition he earned with a number of high ranking prizes awarded to him shows that his productive life was not interrupted, quite to the contrary, maybe his successes were only possible be-



Dr. Ernst-Jorg von Studnitz at « Zinoviev Readings» at Moscow State University in 2008

cause of the drastic challenges which life in exile presented to him. The creative personality of Alexander Zinoviev was unfettered through his life under the conditions of Western freedom. Of course, he remained a highly independent personality and did not join the chorus of anti-communists attacking the Soviet Union, which he still considered his mother country. He never ceased to be faithful to Russia, irrespective whether it was ruled by communism or by the post-Soviet system under Yeltsin and Putin. He directed his criticism against all those traits which he considered to be



At the German Embassy in Moscow: reception on the occasion of the return of Alexander Zinoviev and his family to Russia after 21 years of exile in 1999

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alien to real Russian-ness. For a convinced Westerner, a German, this resolute commitment to one's own country is hard to follow. The confrontation with the fateful German history of the 20th century has taught us Germans to think about our own country and people in a more measured and self-criticising way. Since these two views are extreme opposites and cannot be easily reconciled I find it particularly worthwhile to take a closer look on some aspects of German Russian relations which stand out among those existing

between Russians and other peoples in Europe. In examining this relationship of two truly European peoples with their peculiarities it will become visible that it's fruits receive their value from the contribution they bring to the community of all European peoples. I say that with a conscious view to the profound criticism Alexander Zinoviev brought forward against Western values and attitudes, because I am convinced that Germans and Russians, Russia and the West must not remain entrenched in their reciprocal feeling of alienation, but are rather challenged to find a new common ground. The awareness of common achievements in the historic past and the willingness to meet the tasks of the future together will be this necessary service to Europe.

The present relationship of Russia to her Western neighbours has become complicated in 2008. The war in Georgia and the controversies over a possible membership of the Ukraine and Georgia in NATO have created distrust among them. Russia, as announced by President Medvedyev, is seeking a new European Security Structure, which will be the paramount security institution in Europe, over-arching existing institutions, like NATO and the European Union. The new structure would give Russia a word in all security matters concerning Europe and on the basis of a consensus principle, similar to the one existing in the, in Russian eyes, almost defunct Organisation of Security and Cooperation in Europe, based on the Helsinki Final Act of 1975, would prevent any decision to be taken against Russia. This Russian idea meets considerable hesitation among the Western Europeans. In general, it is understood that in the 21st century security in Europe cannot be organised against Russia, but only with her co-operation. Western Europeans find it difficult, however, to co-operate with a country that is lead by a very outspoken nationalist foreign policy. This is not a problem between Germany and Russia, because between them all open questions stemming from the second world war and the post-war regime – with the exception of the problem of deported cultural treasures – have been solved in 1990. Yet, territories formerly under Soviet rule, like the Baltic States, or in the So-

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viet realm, like Poland, are unwilling to accept a security system which gives their former masters a renewed right to determine their fate. They trust their security to the United States and their security system, NATO. To the extent that the Ukraine and Georgia are moving away from the Russian system of governance, with its strong elements of centralised power, the NATO option becomes increasingly attractive. This meets of course considerable Russian resistance. For Russia the ties to both these countries, former republics within the Soviet Union, are for historic reasons emotionally so strong that their membership in NATO is conceived to be an act of enmity.

In the same way that Russia wants a right of co-determination in European affairs the United States exercise through NATO final authority in European security matters. It is difficult to perceive that the United States might be willing to share that authority with any other power. To overcome this stalemate a longer process of gradual reconciliation between the West and Russia would be helpful. Here German and Russian experience comes into play.

The strongest tie binding Germany and Russia together is the century old cultural texture. It is noteworthy that in spite of all atrocities which both peoples committed against each other, particularly during the Second World War, the reciprocal esteem for the culture of the other people remained undamaged. The German contribution to the development of Russia in the fields of science and education, philosophy and music are known to any educated Russian. I will only name a few, but highly important personalities. Everybody knows that the father of the Moscow University, Lomonosov, received his university education in Germany. Leibniz, the founder of the Russian Academy of Science is as little forgotten as the mathematician Euler or the great scientist Alexander von Humboldt, the father of Russian geology, a field of particular importance for this energy rich country. In philosophy it is not only Karl Marx with his historic influence on Russian political thinking in the 20th century, but also Hegel and Kant, who are living witnesses of close interaction between both countries. Many more should be mentioned. Let me add only that German music of great composers like Bach, Mozart, Beethoven and Brahms is almost considered to be Russian music, so much have they influenced musical life in the country. Look at the impressive gallery of portraits of the most important composers in the Great Hall of the Moscow Conservatory, the majority are Germans, but they are part of the culture of the country. Among German poets Goethe holds the rank of the best known German personality altogether, sharing this position, however with Hitler, which is testimony to the fact that the sufferings of the Second World War cannot be forgotten. Heinrich Heine is almost better known to Russians than to Germans. Schiller is among the most played frequently foreign authors on Russian stages, and the 20th century writers like Thomas Mann, Heinrich Böll and Günther Grass are as well known to Russian as to German readers.

The reciprocal picture is similarly impressive. Russian literature has an extremely high influence on world literature as a whole, and likewise on German readers. Particularly the great

Russian novelists of the 19th and 20th centuries have left their imprint on cultural and philosophical thinking in the world and in Germany. First of all the giants Tolstoy and Dostoyevsky have to be named here. Their immense influence on German thinking cannot be estimated high enough. In the 20th century authors like Pasternak and Solzhenitsyn have taken a comparable position in receiving the highest degree of attention among German readers. The playwright Anton Chekhov is omnipresent on German stages and counts among the most performed authors altogether. For Russian ears it is sad to hear that their most beloved poet Pushkin has not achieved a similar top rank of popularity in Germany as he enjoys in Russia. Many have tried to explain that, maybe it

Wladimir Putin and Alexandre Zinoviev called the collapse of the Soviet Union the greatest geopolitical catastrophy of the 20th century

is the complexity of his poetry that has not found a congenial translation to bring it as close to the heart of Germans as is the case in Russia. But with a view to Russian literature one has to emphasise the enormous influence it has had on German writers and artists since the late 19th century. The works of Ernst Barlach and Käthe Kollwitz and of the poet Rainer Maria Rilke owe some of the most valuable impulses in their creative work to the cultural influence of Russia. As much as German music is part of

Russian culture, the same is true for Russian music in Germany. The great Russian composers like Tchaikovsky, Mussorgsky and Rimsky-Korsakov of the 19th century and Prokofiev, Shostakovich and Alfred Schnittke in the 20th century and even the contemporary composer Gubaidulina appear regularly in German concert halls and on stage. It has even become customary that Russian operas are sung in Russian, due to the availability of Russian singers.

In the fine arts the reciprocal influence has been so intensive that famous Russian painters spent long periods of their lives in Germany so that some of them like Kandinsky, Malevich, Yavlensky and El Lissitzky are almost considered to be German artists, because their influence, particularly in the twenties of the 20th century in and around the Bauhaus has been enormous. The famous exposition Berlin-Moscow of 1995 has demonstrated this symbiotic relationship in a masterful way. Conversely, that became also visible in the Berlin-Moscow exhibition, modern German architecture had a very large influence on Russia in the twenties of the 20th century. Leading German architects of that period have created landmark buildings in the Soviet Union.

After the Second World War the split of Europe and Germany in the Cold War was the dominant fact of political life on the

continent. The German Democratic Republic as a Soviet construct to solidify the political and military position of the Soviet Union in Central Europe, was strictly tied into the Eastern Bloc led by the Soviet Union. The Federal Republic of Germany, as the state that tried to reconstitute German statehood in Europe, was the main ally of the Western Alliance under American leadership. For several decades antagonism, even enmity determined the relationship. Nevertheless, already in 1955, with the famous visit of Adenauer to Moscow, the first effort was undertaken to re-establish not only diplomatic relations, but also gradually a new system of co-operation through co-existence in Europe. This became possible through the awareness of an age old common European past. The Helsinki process which began with détente policy in the late sixties was crowned by the signing of the Helsinki Final Act in 1975. It was only possible because there was a feeling of a common history and, more importantly, of a common responsibility to preserve peace in Europe. Gorbachov's famous phrase of the Common European House expressed a reality. It is indicative that ideas to repeat the success of the Helsinki process in Asia were never realistic, since this sense of belonging together did not exist there, as it did in Europe. The Helsinki Final Act was only possible when the relationship between the two German states had changed from antagonism to co-existence with the intention to intensify this relationship in order to make the division of the country easier for people in both German states. Be it only mentioned briefly that such policy is practically nonexistent between North and South Korea.

Even though on the outside the political facts were determining, there is a noticeable undercurrent which I attribute to the cultural ties between the West and the Soviet Union which fostered the will to come together again and overcome the rift of the Cold War. This became quite visible in the enthusiasm with which the fall of Communist rule was greeted both in Russia and in the West. Today the joy of August 1991 after the collapse of the putsch against Gorbachov and the beginning of freedom in Russia is replaced by a sense of loss. Putin called the collapse of the Soviet Union the greatest geopolitical catastrophe of the 20th century. Alexander Zinoviev has seen it in the same way. For me as a Westerner and a German this assessment is impossible to share.

The different view of the importance of communist rule not only in the Soviet Union but also over Central and Eastern Europe that divides contemporary thinking in Russia and the West seems to me the greatest impediment for the establishing of the Common European House. I am convinced that efforts are necessary to first understand why this assessment of the past is so different in Russia and the West. The second step would then be to seek a common understanding as a basis for closer, integrated European institutions, which will not be the same as we know them today, but which will serve the common interest of all countries in Europe, including Russia. With the rich and difficult historic experience of Russians and Germans together, these two peoples are best qualified to undertake the task of determining and eventually overcoming, or at least reducing the dividing perceptions of the past.

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Germans are bringing to this dialogue the decade old result of crucial self-examination why a people that prided itself on being the country of poets and thinkers could fall so deep and embrace National Socialism with its Führer Adolf Hitler as the salvation from the historic troubles after World War I. How was it possible that Germany brought war over the whole of Europe and how could this people kill six million Jews and be responsible for the death of about 55 million people during that war? There are numerous efforts for an explanation, and none is completely convincing. In this situation I will give you my personal response and will explain to you why I find a personal response of particular importance. Here we find ourselves in a fundamental difference between Russian and German thinking, and becoming aware of it might be a helpful first step in the search of a common ground. The basic question is, what is the driving force in history, is it as Tolstoy puts out in «War and Peace» the impersonal, unintelligible force of fate, or is it the doing of men. For people growing up with German philosophy the answer can only be emphasising the impor-

tance of the individual. There could be no freedom of the individual if an overwhelming fate would be all-deciding. Even more so, if fate were given this importance there would be no room for personal responsibility. The difference between the two attitudes is, whether one accepts the notion «right or wrong my country» or, whether one follows the concept «man is responsible for his deeds».

Confronted with a terrible past the temptation is great to shun away from personal responsibility and blame the crimes on circumstances, human weakness and over-powering forces of the ruling group. I am not claiming personal resistance and demanding opposition at all cost. That is unrealistic and can-

not be demanded from anybody. That kind of heroism can only be exercised as a free deed flowing from an individual decision. No one has the right to demand it from somebody else. But one can demand that citizens act following their conscience. A characteristic sign of dictatorship is the dazing of citizens' conscience. Once conscience is silent almost anything becomes possible. In a society of free people the awareness of the rule of conscience is the basis of freedom and the rule of law.

When we as Germans look at the dark years of Nazi history, or when Russians evaluate the Stalinist past, the task is not to pass judgment on human beings of that time. As Christians we know that a higher authority will do it. But as people living today we have to ask to what extent is the past still present in our days and how do we deal with that influence. The measuring stick for this can only be our conscience in that we ask ourselves, what is right for me to do today in the given situation. The extent to which an individual will be able to respond to this challenge is of course quite different and it depends on the place he holds in society. People in public life have more possibilities to be heard and wield influence. But those are in no way only politicians. The importance of scientists, academicians, poets and writers can as a matter of fact reach much farther, because they can be heard everywhere when they are perceived as moral authorities acting from their conscience. In this context invariably names like Andrey Sakharov, Alexander Solzhenitsyn, Dmitry Likhachov or Alexander Yakovlev come to my mind. If you ask for similar moral authorities in Germany, I would name the high esteem that the conspirators against Hitler are given in post-war Germany. The motivation which led Adenauer to seek a new relationship with the Jewish people, and the speech the then Federal President Richard von Weizsäcker gave on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of German defeat in 1945, are in vivid political memory in Germany.

The lesson Germans have learned is that the dignity of man is the highest guiding principle in public and private life. It deserves similar respect in the relations with foreigners and other countries. If we do not always live up to that standard, don't see it as hypocrisy, but rather as human weakness. It should not be seen as pharisaic when Germans, and also Europeans in general, apply these standards in judging the Soviet past. The loss of millions of human lives in the revolution and on Stalin's command cannot be justified by anything. Not to talk about them and let them be forgotten is another inhuman act which the present generation commits against those victims. This is where the contemporaries can change the moral balance in Russia's history. This is a painful process, we Germans know it by experience. This process is made even more difficult if it is accompanied by foreign criticism. For me this explains why Russia today feels humiliated and takes a position of self-justification. But this does not solve the problem. It probably would be helpful if the ground for glorification of the Soviet past were examined more closely. To me the main reason lies in the dissatisfaction with the historic development in the post-communist years. The false expectation that democracy means the end of socialist economy and wealth for everybody rather quickly, the anger about the wild capitalism which enriched a few immensely and

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It is impossible to separate the thinking and decision making of today from accepted values that govern the mentality. In my view there lies the root of the lack of understanding between Europe and Russia today. When I said, I cannot accept Alexander Zinoviev's positive attitude to the Soviet phase of Russian history, I must emphasise at the same time that the encounter with a thorough thinker like him, is a strong impetus to inquire once more, why we are confronted with this problem of understanding. As we see the urgent desire for acceptance as an equal and valuable member in Europe on the one side, we have to see the other side of the balance represented by the Western Europeans. For them the Soviet past is a horror and they do not want it to ever come back. Understanding means taking the position of the other side. Thus Europeans have to realise the Russian feeling of disparagement, which is only disguised by a forceful international posture, and the Russians have to take into account the feeling of insecurity which frightens Russia's small western neighbours.

This demands a dialogue between Russia and the West as the beginning of a new structured relationship on the European continent. Germany and Russia share so much historic experience that they are best suited to begin this dialogue without doing harm to each other. The fruits of this undertaking will be to the advantage of all European peoples large and small. It is my wish that out of a conference like today's, where we honour Alexander Zinoviev, as the necessary provocative thinker, we will be able to start a movement that really brings peace to our European continent in the true sense of the word, i.e. that the peoples of Europe can live in a state of mutual understanding and satisfaction. This is a cause worthy to work for, and everybody, wherever life has put him, can contribute to this task.

Michael Kirkwood,

Slavicist and professor (United Kingdom)

On Translating Zinoviev

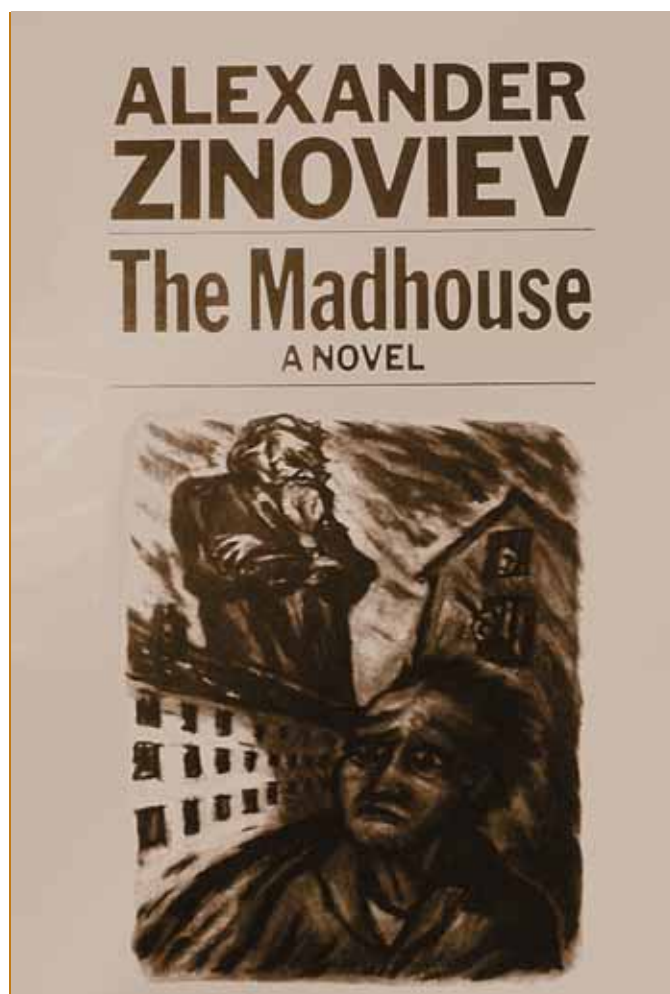
Primary intent of «The Madhouse» is to strip bare the enigma and grandeur of main ideological centre of USSR.

Having much enjoyed Wladimir Berelowitch's article «On Translating Zinoviev» (Zinov'ev, No. 1 (2), 2008, 24-5), I thought it might be interesting to know how other translators approach the challenge of translating Alexander Alexandrovich's works. Perhaps the following short account of my own experience in this matter might serve as the second example in what could be a whole series of accounts by translators from different countries and cultures, which, taken together, would constitute an interesting contribution towards the interpretation of Zinoviev's world. This is all the more important as regards Zinoviev's works pertaining to the era of the «global manhill». After all, if it was worth reading the Zinoviev of the 1980s and 1990s, it is at least as important to read his works which deal with what has been going on since the «most important turning point in history».

I shall begin with a short exposition of my own theory of translation. It envisions a collaborative effort on the part of the author of the original text and the translator (= the author of a new, more or less equivalent text). Both authors collaborate in the quest for the common, «underlying» text which gives rise not only to the «original» text but also to every variant/translation. From this viewpoint the «original» text is but one (albeit the first) surface variant (and perhaps not even the most successful) of this common underlying text. In this respect the «underlying text» may be regarded as a kind of «proto-text».

When I speak of «equivalence» (a concept which is rejected by some specialists), I have in mind three parameters: equivalence as regards content; equivalence as regards expression; equivalence as regards pragmatic objective. In other words, what does the author want to say, how does s/he want to say it and why does s/he want to say it? Wladimir Berelowitch in his article wrote about his experience of translating The Yawning Heights (Ziiaushchie vysoty). For my part, I want to provide an account of my own experience with regard to The Madhouse (Zheltyi dom). Everything that Wladimir Berelowitch says regarding the untranslatability of Yawning Heights applies to the text of The Madhouse. Moreover, my task was not only to translate the novel into English, but to shorten it by 50% at the request of the British publisher. In this endeavour I was assisted by Alexander Alexandrovich himself, who sent me his suggestions.

As we know, the novel contains four parts. I decided to reduce each part more or less by 50%, although in principle I could



Cover of English edition of «The Madhouse» (London, 1986)

have taken out the whole of part 3, since this part does not interweave with the rest of the fabric of the novel. But I reduced this part also only by 50%, because I did not wish to deprive the English reader of the pleasure of discovering what made the Soviet countryside actually «Soviet». (In this regard Zinoviev revealed to me much more about Soviet country life than the entire output of the so-called «derevenshchiki».) My guiding principle was to preserve the general structure of the novel. I was helped in this by the fact that the novel contains in its more than 800 individual texts themes which are developed in chains of texts which interweave to form the complex canvas of the work taken as a whole. Sometimes it was possible to shorten some of these chains. But there were individual texts which



Olga Zinoviev and professor M.Kirkwood at the First Zinoviev readings in Moscow University (2007)

could not be incorporated into these chains and these were easily removed. Another guiding principle was this: retain as far as possible the humorous texts, particularly the poems.

My first translation problem was the actual title of the novel. A literal translation of the Russian produces the variant «The Yellow House». But this variant entirely fails to capture the real meaning of the Russian «Zhelyti dom» in the context of Zinoviev's novel, namely its colloquial meaning of «madhouse». My translation was published under the title *The Madhouse* (in contradistinction to the French *La Maison Jaune* or the German *Das Gelbe Haus*). Here we are talking about the third parameter of equivalence, i.e. equivalence of intention.

I shall exemplify my viewpoint by my translation of one of the poems from the novel, namely a poem about the yellow house itself. From the viewpoint of defining the «unit of translation» with regard to the text, this is by no means an easy task. Some of the text is translated, some of it is not, some of the original text is omitted, something is added to the translation which is absent in the original, etc. But if we approach the task of translation from the perspective of defining the fundamental utterances at the level of the «proto-text», together with the basic intention – to mock the scientific activity of the employees in the «madhouse» – I am so bold as to suggest that the «proto-text» is manifest in both the Russian and English variants to more or less the same degree. Here are some examples (in abbreviated form) of the proto-text in the Russian variant: In the centre of Moscow there is a yellow building in which scientific colleagues are employed. They are «tasked» with producing thoughts of an «epoch-defining» significance. They come to work every day, engage in different activities, some scientific, some purely career-serving, some of a purely anti-capitalist/ideological character. Examples are given of these tasks in an obviously humorous tone with a view to ridiculing the creative activity of the scientific collective.

There now follows the two variants (the Russian and the English) of this underlying 'proto-text':

Est' v Moskve, schitai chto v tsentre, zhelyti dom,
 There is in Moscow, in the centre, an edifice of yellow hue,
 S vidu – dom, kakikh polnym-polno okrest.
 It looks like all the others, but it's not,
 No v sereдке razmestilsia v dome tom
 For deep within it every day a team of experts meets anew,
 Mirovoi i epokhal'nyi mysl'i trest
 To mass-produce a flood of epoch-making thought.
 Den' za dnem v nego techet ljudskoi potok
 They come in of a morning, a steady stream of folk,
 R'ianykh truzhenikov trepa i pera
 To push their pens and manufacture all their bull.
 Dlia prosizhivaniia iubok i portok
 They sit about and «labour» – it really is a joke.
 Dlia dvizhen'ia v kandidaty, v doktora,
 To fiddle Ph.D's and so forth, is the rule.
 Dlia rechei, dlia uprazhnen'ia zhadnykh rtov,
 To speechify, to chatter, give their mouths some exercise,
 Dlia raznosov i khvastlivogo vran'ia,
 To tear a strip off junior staff or rabbit on
 Dlia okladov, dlia zaniatia postov, –
 About how wonderful they are, or higher up the ladder rise,
 Sobiraiutsia sotrudniki s ran'ia.
 Is why they gather in the morning ere the dawn.
 Chtob naukam put' iskanii osveshchat',
 To illuminate the paths along which science has to go,
 Chtob iskusstvam dolg partiinyi poruchit',
 Impose important party duties on the arts,
 Chtob uspekhi nashei zhizni obobshchat',
 Or generalise from life's experience and its great successes show,
 Chtob drugikh umu i razumu uchit',
 Or how to others nous and wisdom it imparts,
 Chtob protivnikov pomoiami oblit',
 To empty over all opponents a metaphorical pail of slops,
 Chtob reviziiu raskapyvat' do dnia,
 To nail revisionism dead with all its might,
 Chtob tsitatami planetu zavalit', –
 To bury earth beneath quotations until it on its axis stops,
 Zasedaiut v etom dome dopozdna.
 Is why the team of «experts» works till dead of night.

As was stated above, I consider that Alexander Alexandrovich and myself worked together to compose two variants of a common underlying proto-text. For me what was most important was to transmit/reproduce the essence of what he intended. This particularly applies to the nuances and connotations which permeate Zinoviev's works, especially with regard to his humorous poems. Translating a poem entails composing a new poem which provokes an equivalent reaction in the reader of the translation to that of the reader of the original. A Russian poem is replaced by an English poem. Russian humour is replaced by English humour. Russian connotations are replaced not by identical, but by equivalent connotations – in so far as that is possible, of course. It is not for me to judge the extent to which I have been successful. But that was my approach with all four hundred or so individual texts of the abbreviated version of the original work. It was a complex undertaking, but I confess that I derived a great deal of pleasure in attempting to render faithfully the author's intentions as they were expressed in the pages of *Zhelyti dom*.

SDC-Display: Social Design 2009

Expert analysis of Russian and international achievements in humanities and intellectualism

SDC-Rating (The Social Design Corporation Ratings Centre) presents the SCD Social Design 2009 display – an expert analysis of Russian and international achievements in humanities and intellectualism). The annual analysis is performed by the Expert Council formed by the representatives of the media and the academia and professional analysts for a better understanding of the processes that take place in the domain of the humanities, as well as unveiling the contemporary tendencies of social and political progress.

1. DISCOURSE OF THE YEAR

Can't buy freedom from money

«Can't buy freedom from money» can be regarded as the encapsulation of the discourse of the year. The fact that the world is becoming more and more «spiritually oriented» may be explained by a deeper understanding of one simple truth, namely, that the most important problems, including that of material wealth, can only be solved if the money ceases to be the primary yardstick.

Previously, all we saw was a lengthy trend that started in the 1980's and rendered everything in human life to monetary value. Even those who disagreed still moved along with the majority of consumer society and the ideology imposed by it.

Poll results published by Gallup International (the Voice of the People poll of 36,556 people from 54 countries) testify to a change of the trend: the crisis isn't over yet, but the optimism has grown, and 45% of the planet's populace «hope for a better future».

For more than 20 years the UN development programme (UNDP) has conducted annual research and calculation of the so-called Human Development Index worldwide, which accounts for such factors as the standard of living, education and literacy rate, life expectancy and a number of other factors (the USA rate 12th currently, Russia being 67th, and China, 81st).

The data pertaining to the «happiness index» may be a little more demonstrative. The King of Bhutan suggested to use the Gross National Happiness term. The GNH index is calculated with respect to such parameters as sustainable development, preservation and promotion of cultural values, conservation of the natural environment, and establishment of good governance.

The most famous «happiness index» in the world is probably the Happy Planet Index introduced by the New Economics Foundation from the UK. Their research leads one to the conclusion that the level of a given country's economic or industrial development

does not depend directly on the standard of living or material affluence (China ranks 20th, Russia – 108th, the USA is 114th and so on). Money isn't tantamount to happiness, then.

The change in the global trend is also obvious from the results of the study conducted by the JWT Agency (the largest advertising agency in the USA and a subsidiary of the WPP Group), and the associated poll aimed at studying the latest consumer trends, and potentially reflecting the current Zeitgeist and analysing connections existing between seemingly unrelated factors and phenomena that affect human life. The aim of the study is finding new innovative solutions, business concepts, brand creation and promotion and so on. One of the key trends discovered as a result of this research is the search for «alternative prosperity criteria» (as opposed to the «classical» criteria, according to which progress is measured in terms of economic growth).

As applied to Russia, the problem of finding a viable alternative (the creation of an innovative economic cluster) can also be defined in terms of finding a different approach to the administration of state funds (basically, we have seen the first investments in many years in the area of future technologies and innovative research as opposed to the high short-term income projects that dominate the market. It is symptomatic that investments in future-oriented projects (such as technopoleis, or «cities of the future») were made during the second year of the global recession and not at the peak of petrodollar prosperity. It has become obvious for the Russian government that it has to invest in the human capital – in intellect and other intangible assets, that is. Oddly and unexpectedly enough, the crisis has suddenly brought a number of costly projects which have nothing to do with immediate income to the attention of the leading politicians and intellectuals.

A factor that is somewhat related to the discourse of the year is the policy of mandatory corporate responsibility implemented in a number of countries as a civilised way of holding down excessive greed.

The most noteworthy initiatives in this area are the decisions made by Nicolas Sarkozy, President of France, and the British Prime Minister Gordon Brown, who addressed the world by proxy of the Wall Street Journal to announce the introduction of a new banker bonus tax as a means of restoring the financial balance in the world and, consequently, the world economy (their respective countries also introduced a nonrecurring «super-tax» with a 50% rate applied, in particular, to the companies receiving financial help from the government during the crisis. The USA followed suit, but the implementation of the measures was incomplete here, as well as Slovenia.

2. SOCIAL DESIGNERS OF THE YEAR.

The TED conference: a synthesis of technology and design Rashid Nurgaliev, Russia's Federal Minister of the Interior

The 2009 title of Social Designer of the Year goes to the company whose influence over the sector of innovation is recognized as the greatest – the non-profit Technology Entertainment Design Team Conference (www.ted.com), which has been an annual event ever since 1984 (symbolically, the presentation of the first Macintosh computer took place as part of this very event).

The mission of the TED Conference has been formulated by Chris Anderson, its curator, organiser and spokesperson, as the location and support of «ideas worth spreading». It is just as remarkable that the personal slogan used by Chris Anderson is: «I Have a Dream!».

The mission of the TED Project is finding people in the areas of technology and science and integrating them in the domain of design. Every participant of the conference has an opportunity of presenting his or her idea (report topics vary between science, the arts, politics, culture, business, world problems and entertainment).

The TED Conference has devised the TED Prize of \$ 100,000, which may go to any individual with a wish to change the world. For instance, the TED Prize of 2009 was given to Sylvia Earle, an oceanologist and a member of the Google Ocean project aimed at preserving the planet's oceans, Jill Cornell Tarter for the disclosure of data pertaining to the Search for Extra-Terrestrial Intelligence (SETI) project, and to composer José Antonio Abreu from Venezuela for having founded a network of youth orchestras that includes some 300,000 to date and has changed the life of thousands of children, functioning as a vehicle of social relief and deep cultural reform.

Experts have decided to give the title of the leading Russian social designer of 2009 to the Russian Minister of Internal Affairs, Rashid Nurgaliev, who voiced the suggestion of giving citizens the right to resist unlawful measures on the part of corrupt police officers as a reaction to the multitude of cases when the police force exceeds its authority in defiance of the law. This is the very first time in the history of police forces that the Head of the Force suggests that citizens should be given the right to defend themselves in cases of unlawful arrest and so on. This proposal of a citizen initiative for defence against the uniformed criminals was reflected in the exuberant slogan «Nurgaliev Said Go Get 'Em» courtesy of the Russian tabloid press.

3. A SOCIAL DIAGNOSIS.

A necessary condition for the modernisation of Russia is a new ruling elite

No modernisation is possible in Russia for as long as the current political system continues to exist due to the catastrophic lack of necessary qualities in the existing elite, the enormous off-the-books economy and ubiquitous corruption, and no systematic measures taken to fight all of those. Corruption has led to the formation of a «state within the state» that destroys the real state, and cosmetic PR measures are no longer sufficient to address this situation.

It appears that the modernisation of Russia can only happen by proxy of a changing social system, or a transition from the obsolete liberal capitalism to a modern socially-oriented market economy, and a new ruling elite is a necessary pre-requisite.

Moreover, a democratic modernisation of Russia has to happen soon – Russia hasn't got a great deal of historical time left. The only way of implementing this modernisation is a cardinal reform of society and the state – otherwise the country will keep plunging further into the mire of corruption and crippled economy behind the smokescreen of PR constructs. If no measures are taken to address the issue as soon as possible, further events can follow one of the three scenarios:

The mild scenario. The necessity to call an external expert to occupy the position of the Prime Minister at the very least – someone who isn't rooted in the local social, cultural and psychological environment. Such a person will have to be able to bring along a team of his own, which will devise a system of procedures aimed at fighting corruption. The elite becomes more and more aware that in order to rule a country in the modern world one needs a special competence and outstanding personal qualities.

The worse scenario. Despotic modernisation in accordance with the Stalinist scenario used in the 1930's.

The worst scenario. A possible loss of a part of Russian territory and even the possibility of disintegration into subjects gravitating to different geopolitical centres of power. Some of those subjects will carry on with the modernisation, others will not, similarly to the model of the dissolution of the USSR and the formation of a number of extremely heterogeneous countries and political systems in its wake.

However, if the above measures turn out to be sufficient for modernisation, they are far from sufficient inasmuch as victory over corruption is concerned, since it will persevere in the modern Russian conditions. Corruption has become a de facto cornerstone of every social and political activity. Corruption is the primary scourge of the Russian society, and can only be overcome with the emergence of the New Type of Human – people with a strict self-discipline and unswerving moral qualities, which will be capable of handling the situation. We are talking about years and years of effort aimed at a deep cultural transformation of both man and society.

4. THE DE-MYSTIFICATION OF THE YEAR

The Apocalypse got cancelled again

The crisis has shown that the global economic recession was nowhere near as perilous as the economic apocalypse predicted by the pessimists. No radical change took place on the global level, either – merely a set of minor corrective measures that have left the existing life style intact in its entirety. The world today is nowhere as near as fragile as the harbingers of the apocalypse would like us to believe, and the existing system has no viable alternative so far, for as long as no viable model is developed.

Furthermore, the actions of the G20, and the Western countries in particular, have demonstrated all the pragmatism and conservatism of their leaders – a position that can be summed up as follows: «You have no viable alternative to the existing social structure, and we are forced to support the ones who had brought about the recession in the first place».

This goes to demonstrate the absence of a viable intellectual alternative first and foremost, ipso facto proving the stability of the existing system. However, the issue of American leadership has been raised, as well as the possible existence of another geopolitical power capable of world leadership.

5. THE INTERNATIONAL PROJECT.

USA attempts to share the burden of world leadership with China

The international project of the year is the USA initiative (the so-called Kissinger-Brzezinski project), whereby the Americans are trying to «share the burden of world leadership» with China.

China has finally managed to claim the status of the world's second largest superpower, having taken over Japan. The new status of China and America's desire to delegate some of the burden of global leadership and responsibility before the world became reflected in the official request of the US administration (the proposal made by President Barack Obama to Hu Jintao, President of China, during the visit of the former to Beijing in November 2009) to China concerning the creation of a bilateral coalition for the solution of international problems. This unprecedented act of the American administration is an indirect sign of substantial problems in the implementation of the US global strategy and the lack of sufficient power.

The international Kissinger-Brzezinski project strives to divide the world anew and accomplish a complete change of the global institutional construction, and also to solve a number of short-term problems such as getting China to join the anti-Iranian coalition and to make the trade wars between Washington and Beijing less brutal.

China has de facto rejected the offers of the States (this is obvious from the taciturnity of the Chinese as well as such actions of China as large-scale investment in the oil refinery complex of Iran). The position of the Chinese proves that the official Beijing remains circumspect and uncertain of the reliability of the USA as a partner, or, possibly, that the Chinese administration intends to wait for the moment when the exist-

ing dominant social structure proves itself incapable of performing its basic functions. However, it is also possible that China merely lacks a global strategy of its own. One must nonetheless point out that China stays very active, and does it where one expects it least, including the African continent, which testifies to the complex and multifaceted nature of China's involvement in world affairs.

6. SOCIAL CATAclySM

Ethnic clashes in Xinjiang, China

China is facing a new phase of the Uyghur problem, which has three components that threaten the country – separatism, religious extremism and international terrorism.

Mass ethnic clashes led to the troubles in the administrative centre of the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region, the city of Urumqi (the part of China that borders with Kyrgyzstan). The clashes took place between the Uighurs, the titular ethnic majority of the autonomous region, and the Han Chinese, the dominant Chinese ethnic group which is nonetheless a minority in this region.

The clashes coincided with the G8 Summit of 8–10 July 2009 in Aquila, Italy, which is why the Chinese President Hu Jintao failed to participate. According to the official Beijing version, the clashes in Urumqi were organised via the Internet by the Western social media. Another party blamed for the clashes is the International Uyghur Congress (formerly known as the National Congress of the East Turkestan, with headquarters located in Germany; the head of the organisation resides in the USA, and it has branches in a number of countries including Kyrgyzstan and Kazakhstan).

Xinjiang is one of the five national autonomies in China, and has the reputation of a troublemaker region. Xinjiang is where the Eastern Turkestan Islamic Movement is active – an international terrorist organisation that supports the creation of a new Islamic country – East Turkestan (the ideological plan implies subsequent unification with the so-called West Turkestan, namely, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan, all of them post-Soviet states. Muslim Uyghurs who live in China are ethnically related to the Turkic peoples of Central Asia.

The ethnic clashes between the representatives of different ethnic groups in China are becoming a regular affliction – in 2009 they took place in the provinces of Xinjiang, Guangdong and Hebei. The active policy of making Han Chinese settle in the autonomous regions of China may be one of the reasons of ethnic clashes.

7. SOCIAL INNOVATION

PR as a means of reforming the Russian Ministry of the Interior

There was a very obvious trend in the Russian media of 2009 – there is a certain party attempting at using PR methods as an alleged means of reforming the Russian police force (the so-called Militsiya) and the Ministry of the Interior. The identity of the party in question remains undiscovered.

It is possible, especially considering that each and every administrative method of reforming said institution applied to date has failed, that an unofficial directive was issued in order to launch a smear campaign in order to cause a major public out-

rage by proxy of Major Alexei Dymovskiy's video address to Vladimir Putin published online immediately before the professional holiday of the Militsiya, which has exposed the situation in both the Ministry and the Force as critical.

This could be a herald of industrial-grade media campaigns that will be launched to accompany the reform that the masses are so anxious for.

8. THE IDEOLOGICAL TENDENCY

The final victory of PR over ideology. The use of temporary ideological constructs

We have witnessed what appears to be the final victory of PR over ideology. Given the lack of long-term ideological conceptions, a number of temporary ideological constructs of short-term proto-ideological effect are wont to be used in their lieu, such as «Obama's Platform», «Medvedev's Modernisation», «Putin's National Projects» and so on. This PR activity conceals no ideology that can be expressed in tangible terms to the populace, contenting itself by inducing the infiltration of the political consciousness of the masses by snippets of makeshift conceptual constructs whose main purpose is to divert the public attention from the less inspiring aspects of modern reality.

The same is true about Russia's foreign policy and its consequences – no position is defined in terms of affairs with foreign powers, be they close neighbours or faraway partners (for instance, the change of government in the Ukraine did not bring about any well-advised strategy of conducting affairs with the new ruling elite that would be intelligible to every Russian citizen).

One must also admit that as much is true throughout the entire former Soviet Union, either outfitted in Soviet hand-me-downs (Belarus, for instance, uses a makeshift construct that constitutes a patchwork of the old Soviet ideology interspersed with nationalistic bits of dubious compatibility), or reliant on temporary ideological constructs based on the concept of opposition (viz. the anti-Russian sentiments dominant among the leaders of the former Soviet republics after independence and the anti-Soviet sentiments shared by the majority of the Russian ruling elite).

This tendency is unlikely to lead anywhere unless an ideology of some sort emerges. Right now there are no individuals capable of either conceiving an ideology or promoting one.

9. THE LITERARY PROCESS.

Russian literature as falling behind the times

The Russian publishing market demonstrates a clear tendency for the marginalisation of intellectual literature, which is made especially obvious by an analysis of the names of authors winning literary prizes. For example, according to the experts, the books nominated for the Russian Booker Prize of 2009 include no prose of significance – trailblazers are conspicuously absent. The segment of intellectual literature continues to devolve, while every writer of fiction becomes more and more commercialised. If the commercialisation of literature has been a fait accompli in the West for a while now, it is at its peak as a process in Russia today. Yet we have not reached the point of no return on the road towards complete commercialisation – so

far. There were state-inspired attempts of supporting literary magazines that publish prose and verse and have always been considered the hotbed of Russian literature. This is an event of significance, but it does not suffice for so much as the preservation of Russian literature, let alone its evolution (measures have been taken to support 12 magazines; in a variety of cases they amounted to the purchase of subscription).

As for the content, ideological and otherwise, modern Russian prose sports two clearly defined tendencies.

1. Commercial prose has given rise to the protagonist whose only merit is financial success, all very tangible and measurable.

2. The most popular fictitious character type among the writers of what amounts to the intellectual literature of today is defined as a failure whose greatest woes are, once again, of financial nature.

Russian literature is far behind the way the country evolves – it got stuck in the 1990's, the period of post-Soviet disruption. Hence the general atmosphere – the very first Big Snatch of the adventurous 90's, and the continuance of associated «pleasures». Hence the protagonists capable of enjoying the infinitely protracted personal comforts in an addict-like fashion.

Modern Russian literature is one of materialism and defeatism, and its intellectual level remains abominably low. It offers the reader no spiritual, humanist, cultural or civilisation-oriented alternative – even the biographies of characters positioned as failures are never analysed as possibly containing a viable alternative to material comfort. There is nothing new in the way of positive trends or influences.

10. THE INFORMATION TREND

A propensity for visionariness

The propensity for visionariness is likely to debase and discredit strategic planning on behalf of the state.

Dmitriy Medvedev and Barack Obama can be seen as prime examples of visionaries and infatuated with idealistic policies. They have both tried to inspire the society as well as the ruling elite to go through enormous changes, without however providing anything in the way of a concise tactical plan of reaching specified objectives.

If the practice of uncontrollable generation of visionary agendas continues for another year or two, neither politician will be taken seriously eventually. If neither politician manages to produce anything tangible towards the end of the term, it will amount to failure.

Barack Obama's position is the least enviable in this case – his leadership and strategic vision are much more likely to be perceived as compromised if he fails to demonstrate to the world decisions and actions aimed at leading the world out of the global economic recession.

The image of future Russia as envisioned by the President Dmitriy Medvedev differs substantially from the visions of his predecessors, when the main idea was a constant rise in the nation's wealth and the Gross Domestic Product.

The Russian scenario has the auxiliary negative factor of the «power tandem». It has more cons than pros at the moment for the following reasons: firstly, the elite may get the illusion of playing off the «conservative» against the «liberal» with any degree of success, as well as the possible introduction of changes in the way the country evolves in the atmosphere of closed political dialogue and communications; secondly, the strategic vision may be discredited by the inability of the visionary leader to implement his strategy. If the bicephalous eagle is acceptable as a heraldic figure, it is very trying as a symbol of real policies and the evolution of the state.

The discredited ideas of strategic vision have dire consequences for a nation – namely, a long period of identity and ideology-related rehabilitation, as well as the loss of the ability of forming a strategic vision for a long time.

11. INTERNET TECHNOLOGY

Microblogs as facilitators of social awareness

The rapidly rising role of microblogs (a new species of the so-called Social Media) in social and political life is particularly symptomatic. According to expert opinion, Twitter has been instrumental in the Iranian social outcry organisation-wise; in particular, the usage of the #IranElections hashtag, the first and only source of information during the first stages of the protests that left television far behind in terms of operativeness. The hashtag is a Twitter instrument used for marking all the «tweets» associated with a given situation. The list of most discussed topics of the day, or Trending Topics, is based on the popularity of a given hashtag. This makes it possible to follow a given topic, event or chain of events on an almost real-time basis and be aware of the latest changes in a given trend at any given time. Twitter was the means to unite various groups of society and became the most operative source of information concerning the events that took place in the wake of the Iranian presidential election.

Microblogs have greatly improved the status of social networks after their ability to make short posts available for everybody to read made it possible to penetrate the information space of a country as closed for the outside world as Iran, even though the authorities have blocked access to such services as Facebook, Twitter, FriendFeed, YouTube and Google.

Twitter, the most popular microblog service in the world located at www.twitter.com, is an easy-to-use means of communication within a given group of people – the name reflects a symbolic parallel with communication among various species of birds.

Experts who estimate the involvement of individuals in a given social action point out that microblog users have a certain psychological necessity to maintain contact and exchange short newsfeeds as means of remaining in constant touch with all the other members of a given group. We have also seen the phenomenon of online leaders capable of capturing and maintaining the attention of a certain audience that gravitates towards their microblogs. The emerging phenomenon of online authority depends on an individual's personal qualities as well as popularity, the ability to set and follow audience trends, or a leader's awareness of all the latest goings-on in the fields of information, psychology and culture associated with a given audience.

12. VISUAL POLICY

Design of double purpose.

Modern design is what constitutes the objective and visual environment of an individual. It permeates the world of human emotions and affects human identity and sexuality. Although design serves a consumer society (and its propagation only became possible as a result of consumption), it forms an individual's personal environment that is closely associated with said individual's freedom and happiness. Hence the dichotomy inherent in design on every level of production and consumption.

You are what you wear, what you drive, where you live and so on. Design made this message universal for the both the vehement supporters of the system and its confused opponents . . . Design forms the global style of the consumer society, as well as the stylistics of «social resistance» and a personal barrier of sorts. The suggested global designer solutions are further adapted by every individual to meet his or her personal needs.

We see the ever growing number of works and projects in modern industrial design, architecture, fashion, identica and public service announcements that go beyond the pale of the modern industrial design, structure and convention. This tendency is the most manifest in the rebranding campaigns launched by virtually every large corporation. Design is becoming relevant to the human scale emotionally and on the household scale, remaining a fundamental factor and the instrument for manipulations used by the System in the Orwellian sense.

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www.socialdesign.ru

Abdusalam Guseinov: Consumer Society: Pros and Cons

In April, 2009 Olga Zinoviev, editor-in-chief of the Zinoviev magazine, spoke to Academician Abdusalam Guseinov, Director of the Institute of Philosophy, Russian Academy of Sciences.

Olga Zinoviev: The consumer society and consumerist philosophy have given us a new type of human being of sorts – the consumer. Can it be considered a viable subspecies of homo sapiens?

Abdusalam Guseinov: We have to be frank to the uttermost when we speak of consumerism. I have never noticed any critics of consumerism to lead an ascetic lifestyle, or so much as show a modicum of restraint in what concerns personal comfort. I have encountered a Russian colleague in Budapest once, a self-professed Russian nativist who claimed the Western way of life to be destructive for one's morals. We were walking through a clean, picturesque and cosy suburb with accurate rows of cottages, which could be considered the epitome of individualism, middle-class values and everything bourgeois in general – everything that outraged my colleague as a thinker. Having observed all those «manifestations of depravity», he uttered: «In fact, I wouldn't mind living like that, either». The representatives of non-Western cultures criticise the alleged lack of spirituality and the militant «materialism» of the Western way of life. But don't they aspire towards reaching the Western consumer standards?

When we speak of consumerism, we refer to the end product – supermarkets, cultivation of sensuous pleasures and the rampant growth of needs. Yet we tend to forget certain cornerstones of the consumerist civilization's Weltanschauung, its social and political as well as ethical and economic foundations, such as technical and scientific progress, the democratic system, market-driven economy and the value of success in life. None of the above can be ripped out of its context. It is quite obvious, really: consumption is dependent on production as its premise and inference, which makes it dependent on labour, creativity and an active stance in life.

I am not trying to proclaim the necessity of differentiating between healthy or reasonable consumption and its pointless and degraded manifestations. The so-called meaningless consumerism manifest as hundreds of types of the same product and countless purposeless objects are in some way more representative and adequate for the understanding of the fact that the homo sapiens species of today is the human consumer. What we have to realise and have enough courage to admit is



Abdusalam Guseinov

that what we vaguely refer to as consumerism and feel rightly repulsed by is a perfectly normal (as in natural and explicable) product of the New Western civilization with its general orientation at creating a human paradise, an active and constructive

Any productive criticism of consumerism is only possible from within a consumer society

attitude to life, civil equality and individual responsibility manifest as an economy-based society used as the vehicle for the attainment of this civilization's goals. Voltaire countered Rousseau's proclamations about returning to a state of primordial purity that had allegedly existed before civilization with an inspired observation concerning that in this case the latter might as well be prepared



Ceremony in honour of Academician A. A. Guseinov, RAS, Honorary Doctor of the St. Petersburg University of Humanities and Social Sciences (St. Petersburg, 12 April 2009)

to live on treetops and feed on acorns. Likewise, we could ask the present-day critics of consumerism a simple question: are they prepared to do without electricity and rely on horsepower?

I could sum up my position on consumerism as follows.

Firstly, any productive criticism of consumerism is only possible from within a consumer society. It cannot be productive if we oppose consumerism ideologically and attack its modern forms as unreasonable, let alone if we aspire to go against the flow of history and build a new Mediaevalism. Such criticisms are only realistic and capable of offering a more viable moral alternative if they are delivered by a representative of a post-consumerist society. I would like to emphasise that Zinoviev was ruthlessly critical of Westernism as a specific way of life. He was a most outspoken and radical critic of the modern Western society. But his aspirations did not in any way concern the Eastern civilizations, pan-Eurasianism or other non-Western sources. Zinoviev was of the opinion that the only way of escaping the pitfalls of Westernism can be found from within the West. In a word, it is inspiring that human society has reached the modern level of consumption standards and keeps on raising it, and discouraging that it is likely to carry on beyond all reason if it stays content with the status quo.

Secondly, we shall disregard the issue of whether the New European civilization has reached a stage that requires new forms of social and economic evolutions in a given society, merely stating that it has doubtlessly reached the level when it is capable of cultivating a new post-consumerist morality. One's moral position is always a matter of personal choice dependent of the meaning that an individual finds in life. It has got little to do with the environment. Morality is one's ability to keep one's integrity and dignity regardless of the circumstances, or, in certain cases, and most significantly so, in spite of the circumstances, whatever they are. Nevertheless, it will hardly be a mistake to assume that it is easier to maintain one's moral integrity and become a master of one's own destiny when the material part is provided for that in face of the necessity to struggle for the most basic means of sustenance.

Olga Zinoviev: Would you be kind enough to formulate the basic ethical principles applicable to Russia?

Abdusalam Guseinov: How could anyone come up with a proposition like that? Were I to accept it, I would have to claim the ability, competence and right to make moralist statements on behalf on Russia and ethics itself. I have none of the above, and I don't think anyone at all would be qualified, thank God, or we would really have to worry about the fate of Russia and its moral fibre.

There's this whole business of thinking about Russia. When several high-ranking Soviet officials formed the Gang of Eight, they thought they were doing what was good for Russia. When Yeltsin and his clique signed the Belavezha Accords, they also thought of Russia and what was best for it. Maybe if they thought about Russia less, they would be more capable of thinking about the consequences of their actions? White power skinheads with their xenophobic slogans such as «Russia for the Russians» and barbaric acts of violence call themselves defenders of Russia. The greater good of Russia is also the alleged agenda of obviously pro-Western powers. Everybody has the greater good of Russia as their primary motivator, to listen to them. But do we really have to profess our love all the time if we really feel it? We don't proclaim our love for our mothers for everyone to hear, do we?

The New
European
civilization has
reached a stage
requiring that it
assume new
forms

It is even more preposterous to speak on behalf of morals. We can have skills and knowledge pertinent to a given area of expertise and we have authority in that field – one can be a Professor of Mathematics, children's surgeon or a top-notch fitter, but how can one claim to have any authority in the field of morals? What would it amount to, anyway? This person would have to adhere to certain moral standards and be of outstanding moral fibre, yet one of the indubitable characteristics of a person of great integrity is that the person in question is never conscious of having it, being highly critical of one's own moral standing and virtually incapable of assuming the role of an authority on morals capable of judging others in this respect. I would once again like to refer to Alexander Zinoviev here, and not merely because this is an interview for the Zinoviev magazine. He developed a set of moral guidelines of his own, which he called his science of being, or Zinovyoga. However, he didn't even begin to suggest anything in the way of having others follow them – moreover, he warned everyone about having created them for personal usage exclusively. He did not impose his teaching on the others – on the contrary, he warned everyone against attempting to follow his teaching. The implication is that one creates a moral programme of one's own and is fully responsible for its ethical validity.

It all boils down to being wary of the Greeks bearing gifts, or, rather, the people who make claims on behalf of Russia and on behalf of ethics.

This is why I cannot accept your proposal of formulating anything in the way of «basic ethical principles applicable to Russia». Apart from the general scientific considerations as voiced earlier, another reason why I cannot do it is that there are countless examples of such sets of principles published by all sorts of parties, and nobody takes any of them seriously. The impossibility of devising such principles as well as the lack of need for anything like it has been proven empirically. The most I can do is voice a very general consideration concerning the moral fibre status quo, or, rather, the greatest vulnerability of Russian morals.

Any criticism of Russian morality is usually associated with thievery and corruption. There is no shortage of examples of both – they exist as a constantly dominant tendency in social behaviour despite the changing times and social systems. However, I believe that we are at our most vulnerable in what concerns the lack, or a dangerous weakening of the sense of personal dignity.

We have a shortage of dignity, and this has numerous consequences – for instance, the fact that we remain torn between Europe and Asia fumbling for an adequate feeling of national identity. Some say we're a European country, others dispute this claim, more still go for the Eurasian label and so on. As if living in Russia did not suffice. One hears a great many references

We have a shortage of dignity – of personal dignity as individuals and of national dignity as a nation

to the Swedish version of socialism with expressed wishes of living «like they do in Sweden». How about the lost battle of Poltava, or the Protestant faith, or the relatively small population – do we want all of that, too?

Or let us consider how we divide all foreigners in two groups: real ones, from the West, and pretend ones, from Asia and Africa. We are obsequious with the former and arrogant with the latter. Or the fact that we are ever so likely to redraw the picture of our past in order to adapt it to the dominant political paradigm, being especially prone to demonising the periods when our country was at its most powerful. Back in the days of the Soviet Union it was customary to be harshly critical of the post-Napoleonic Russia with its dominant position among the European countries – it was usually referred to as «the gendarme of Europe». Today the Soviet past is more often than not painted in glum and repulsive hues, as though we were ashamed of living in a former superpower that affected the course of history substantially over those years.

I have only named a number of particularly vivid cases which testify to the lack of conscious perception and personal dignity. There are countless other cases. Thievery and corruption are closely related thereto – they flourish in a climate of a social psychology where obsequiousness and abjection on the one



Academician Abdusalam Guseinov, RAS (St. Petersburg, 12 April 2009)

hand are balanced by despotism and conceit on the other. I would say that the very structure of our social behaviour puts little emphasis on respect for an individual and an individual's dignity. Let us consider the following example. A certain directive has been issued (or I would rather say – hasn't been cancelled as of yet) to transfer the ownership of the building that currently houses the Russian Academy of Sciences' Institute of Philosophy to the Pushkin museum. I withhold my opinion on how justified that decision has really been – what I would like to consider is the following. Not once prior to the issue of the directive in question has anybody thought to enquire about what the Institute of Philosophy might have to say on this subject. Nobody has even thought of addressing the faculty of the Institute directly or trying to convince them to vacate the building of their own accord. Neither the authorities, nor the management of the Pushkin museum, which appears to have no qualms whatsoever about claiming the premises of an academic institution located in the museum's vicinity for its own needs, have so much as notified the Institute. I don't think it would be far-fetched to say that decisions of this sort are only very marginally different from the actions of landholders in Czarist Russia who sold their villages or lost them in card games.

Alas, it is true that we have a dire shortage of dignity – personal dignity as individuals and national dignity as a nation. It isn't just a defect in the way we are brought up, or the backwards nature of local education. The processes that can be identified as the true reasons for this can be traced a long way back into our belated history, and require a great deal of hard and uncompromising work on our future.

Happy 80th Anniversary, Madhouse!

On 12 April 2009 the Institute of Philosophy of the Russian Academy of Sciences celebrated the 80th anniversary of its foundation. On 14 April the faculty of the IP of the RAS held a ceremony in celebration of this occasion.



The congratulatory note sent by Dmitry Medvedev, President of the Russian Federation (2009)

Dmitriy Medvedev has congratulated the faculty of the Institute of Philosophy of the Russian Academy of Sciences on the 80th anniversary of the Institute's foundation. The congratulatory telegram says the following, in particular:

«The RAS Institute of Philosophy is a prominent academic institution of great authority. It has nurtured a series of outstanding scholars who have contributed to the world of philosophical thought enormously. The names of A. F. Losev, E. V. Ilyenkov, A. A. Zinoviev and M. K. Mamardashvili are held in great esteem all across the world.

The institute continues its fruitful research work today. Close cooperation with academic institutions of great renown abroad, active participation in international conferences, publishing projects and exchange programmes, primarily with CIS colleagues.

I expect your Institute to continue making valuable contributions into the study of fundamental problems of philosophy and poignant issues of today. Your experience and knowledge shall raise the prestige of Russian science and facilitate the development of humanities and serve as a beacon for talented young philosophers».

www.kremlin.ru/news/3745

The first Russophonie Festival Turns to the Ideas of Alexander Zinoviev

On 30 January 2010 a round table discussion with The Global Anthill – Without Illusions as its agenda took place in Paris, France, as part of the First International Russophonie Festival, focussing on the ideas and the creative output of the Russian thinker Alexander Zinoviev. The Round Table also became a part of The New Dialogue, a large-scale international project. The Round Table's participants included Professor Michael Kirkwood (*UK), Professor Georges Nivat (France), Professor Guy Bensimon (University of Grenoble, France), Laurent Bloch (Paris Dauphine University), Gérard Conio (University of Nancy), Max Klopfer (Professor of Philosophy, University of Augsburg), Christine Mestre (Russophonie, France), Olga Zinoviev (Editor-in-Chief of the Zinoviev Magazine), Jean Toschi Marazzani Visconti (journalist and writer, Italy) and a number of other delegates.

The discussion considered the related issues of human existence and the social structure of modern society in the relentless environment of globalization and the contemporary political agenda. Among the issues discussed was also the ethical conception of Alexander Zinoviev involving the New Type of Human as related in The Global Anthill, The Russian Tragedy, The West and The Comprehension Factor.

The Russophonie festival is sponsored by the Boris Yeltsin Foundation and the Russkiy Mir Foundation. The round table discussion was held in the building of the Council of Le Kremlin-Bicêtre, Paris, France.

www.prix-russophonie.org

The Russian Drama of **Alexander Vertinsky**

About a year before his death Vertinsky wrote the following to the Deputy Minister of Culture: «The officials pretend I don't exist, as though I did not return to the country. Nobody writes or says a single word about me. According to the journalists and the newspaper staff, «there is no signal». None is likely to appear, either. Nonetheless, I do exist! And the people like me (may my lack of modesty be pardoned). I have finished my fourth and fifth tours of our country, I have nearly given three thousand concerts!» . . .



Alexander Vertinsky as Pierrot (1918)

Notwithstanding the great popularity of the singer, the official Soviet press treated him with restrained hostility. According to the singer's biography on the «Actors of the Soviet and Russian Cinema» web site, shortly after the end of the war a campaign against lyrical songs was launched – they were proclaimed harmful and leading the Soviet people astray from their task of creating a better future. Nobody mentioned Vertinsky directly, but the implications sufficed. His records were called back from the shops, his songs were never played on the radio, and the press remained taciturn about his enormously successful concerts. The great singer virtually ceased to exist.

(translated excerpt from the Russian Wikipedia)

Alexander Vertinsky US and Our Homeland

*As we sail the seas and oceans,
Landing on shores distant, we
Take along that Russian potion,
Bitter wine of ennui.*

*There is no realisation
That compassion found without
Is devoid of consolation
And as heavy as a clout*

*It's high time for us to say it,
There's no mirth in journeys long,
Why be timid to display it
When you aren't in the wrong?*

*Yes, high time to catch our breath now,
Time to rest, the best we can,
And accept it without wrath now:
Done is done, for any man*

*And no matter just how vicious
Your old mother may have been
It's no credit to your species
To accuse her of that sin*

*Yet we see her glow and flourish
From her igneous hell reborn,
To regret she could not nourish
And forgive us, the forlorn.*

May 1935, California



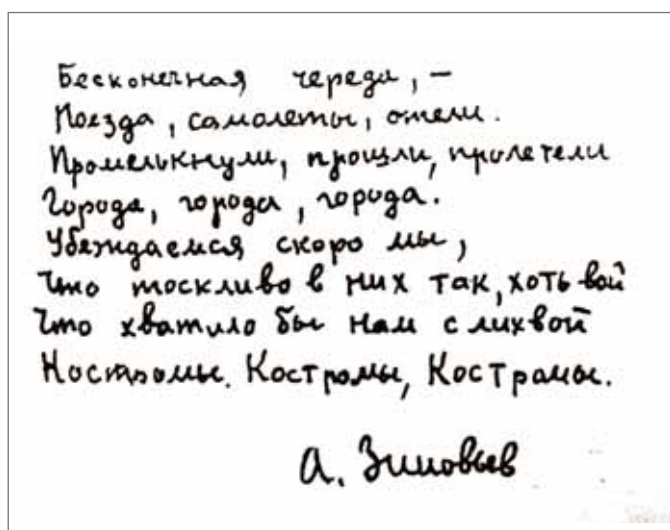
The Opening of a Monument to the Great Russian Thinker Alexander Zinoviev in Kostroma

On 29 October 2009 a ceremonial opening of a monument to Alexander Zinoviev, the internationally renowned thinker, philosopher, sociologist, writer and Professor of the Moscow State University.

The opening ceremony coincided with the National Russian Conference organised under the motto of «Tradition and Innovation in Higher Professional Education» and its memorial Zinoviev readings.

The ceremony was held at the public garden in front of the N. A. Nekrasov Kostroma State University. Participants included Igor Slyunyayev, Governor of Kostroma Oblast, Academician Viktor Sadovnichiy, RAS, Rector of the MSU, Olga Zinoviev, widow of the scientist, head of the A. A. Zinoviev Research Centre and Editor-in-Chief of the Zinoviev magazine, Andrei Kovalchuk, sculptor, author of the monument and President of the Artists' Union of Russia, Abdusalam Guseinov, Director of the IphRAS, Academician Gennady Osipov, RAS, Academician Vladislav Lektorskiy, RAS, as well as a host of other scientists, artists and members of the general public, Russian as well as foreign.

Olga Zinoviev expressed her gratitude as follows: «The opening of a monument to Alexander Zinoviev is an event of national – federal – significance. The first monument to the great philosopher, sociologist and logician, not just in Russia but in the whole world, is a very noble and honourable act on behalf of the city and the land of Kostroma. Kostroma is the hero of the day, and the whole world hears what is being said here».



Autograph: Poem by Alexander Zinoviev



Academician Viktor Sadovnichiy, RAS, Rector of the MSU, at the opening of the monument to A. A. Zinoviev in 2009

Viktor Sadovnichiy, Rector of the M. V. Lomonosov Moscow State University, has called it «a monument to a great citizen. The Moscow State University opines that the monument to Professor Alexander Zinoviev, MSU, is a monument to truth itself, a monument of justice. It is a monument to culture, science, education and the Russian land itself.

Governor I. N. Slyunyayev has promised to open a museum in the historical part of Kostroma that would exhibit the personal belongings and the library of A. A. Zinoviev. The Governor said: «Today we express our gratitude to an outstanding scientist and a great son of the land of Kostroma – a courageous, honest and righteous man, a meticulous researcher, whose whole life was an enormous service to all of us, contemporaries and posterity alike».

According to Academician A. A. Guseinov, a friend of Alexander Zinoviev, «this monument is a result of a colossal effort of the spirit; moreover, it marks the beginning of the process whereby



Academician Abdusalam Guseinov, Director of the IphRAS, at the opening of the monument to A. A. Zinoviev in 2009

Zinoviev's legacy is accepted and understood by the aspiring scholars of contemporaneity, and I am mirthful to see the Kostroma State University set an example to us all».

Professor N. M. Rassadin, Rector of the N. A. Nekrasov Kostroma State University read the unforgettable verses from «A Gospel for Ivan», a poem by Zinoviev, with great warmth:

*A sequence of murky tomorrows –
Of hotels and aeroplanes and trains
Washed away by a thousand rains
The boroughs, the boroughs, the boroughs
They're as bleak as a lost romance
And we howl as we come to see
What would heal our despondency –
Kostroma, Kostroma, Kostroma.*



G. V. Osipov, Academician of the RAS and a recognized patriarch of Russian sociology, has called Zinoviev an outstanding Russian patriot and a genius of Russian philosophy and sociology.

In one of his last interviews Zinoviev said that he considered the primary objective of his life accomplished and that he would just like people to have awareness of one percent of the entire body of his work.

The people of Kostroma decided to honour the legacy of the great scientist with another event that coincided with the opening of the monument – they opened a memorial auditorium named after A. A. Zinoviev at the Kostroma State University, which features a broad selection of works of Alexander Zinoviev.



S. N. Baburin, A. A. Guseinov, O. M. Zinoviev, I. N. Slyunyayev and G. V. Osipov at the A. A. Zinoviev Memorial Auditorium in 2009

His life is as full of contradictions as the history of the country that he loved so much. He described the social and political life of the Soviet Union in his acrid satire. He opened many people's eyes onto the social system that seemed immutable, by such books as «The Yawning Heights», The «Madhouse», «Homo Sovieticus», «Radiant Future» and «Go to Golgotha». Zinoviev was disappointed by what he saw in Russia after his return, and, staying true to his uncompromising code of ethics, spoke the bitter, ruthless truth, opening the people's eyes on the freshly-adopted liberal values and urging them to remember the old ones with honesty and gratitude.

The relations, friends and colleagues of the formerly dissident scientist and writer watched a spectacular performance of dramatized excerpts from the «Yawning Heights» given by the students of the Kostroma State University right at the foot of the monument, with great interest.

Three years after his death Zinoviev was immortalised in the land of his birth. The name of Alexander Zinoviev, the author of over 50 books and hundreds of scientific articles, fighter pilot of WW II, Winner of the Alexis de Tocqueville Prize and Honorary Citizen of France, Italy, and Kostroma, however, still remains to be discovered by the posterity.

Sergei Mironov, Speaker of the Russian Federation Council, Lays Flowers to the Monument to A. A. Zinoviev in Kostroma

27 March 2010, Kostroma. A solemn ceremony of laying flowers to the monument to A. A. Zinoviev by Sergei Mironov, Speaker of the Russian Federation Council, was held today in Kostroma. The ceremony was attended by Olga Zinoviev, the widow of the eminent philosopher, sociologist and writer, as well as Igor Slyunyayev, Governor of the Kostroma Region, students of the N. A. Nekrasov Kostroma State University, and representatives of the media and the general public.

The visit of S. M. Mironov coincided with the Second Parliamentary Historical and Cultural Heritage of Russia Forum held as part of the Romanov Festival. The visit of the Speaker of the Russian Federation Council included a meeting with the students and professors of Kostroma State University held at the A. A. Zinoviev Memorial Auditorium.

After the meeting at the Kostroma State University, Olga Zinoviev said: "The first time in 10 years after our repatriation to Russia the supreme authorities of the country have openly expressed their admiration and respect for the great Russian thinker Alexander Zinoviev – this joyous occasion took place in Kostroma, the land of his birth. The visit of Sergei Mikhailovich Mironov to the Kostroma State University and the laying of a wreath to the monument to Alexander Zinoviev, as well as the meeting with the students of Kostroma in the A. A. Zinoviev Memorial Auditorium are all deeply symbolic events, which I firmly believe to say the following: Alexander Zinoviev has returned to the place of his birth. Alexander Zinoviev is in greater demand in Russia than ever.

I also find it very symbolic that the name of Alexander Zinoviev can be heard at Second Russian Historical and Cultural Legacy Parliamentary Forum – he is truly an integral part of our national legacy and represents the most deeply insightful current in Russian thought. It would be expedient to remember that Alexander Zinoviev said the following once: «The fate of my works will be the same as the fate of Russia itself».

Zinoviev's insights have made the Kostroma forum truly unique and historical – participants included the members of political parties as varied as Yedinaya Rossiya (United Russia), Spravedlivaya Rossiya (A Just Russia) and the Communist Party of the Russian Federation. This demonstrates the existence of a potential for goodwill and unification, and real opportunities for constructive political dialogue.



Sergei Mironov, Speaker of the Russian Federation Council, lays flowers to the monument to A. A. Zinoviev in Kostroma (2010)

I am delighted to discover Sergei Mironov as a prominent political figure with an enormous potential, who is unafraid of the epoch's challenges. This is the only way for a leader of an influential political party – the one known as «A Just Russia». It is also symbolic that the New Man was mentioned by the Speaker of the Russian Federation Council, who expressed his certainty that Alexander Zinoviev's dream would eventually become a reality, before a young audience.

Kostroma is a sight for sore eyes, especially compared to most other subjects of the Russian Federation. What one feels here is a revival of the Russian spirit, patriotism that comes from the heart and great aspirations for the future. Much of this can be credited to Igor Nikolayevich Slyunyayev, the Governor of the Kostroma Oblast, who has managed to bring his region from bleak hopelessness to innovative development in a mere two years».

Blogosphere Snippets



rezerved:

A true philosopher has to be a poet, too, to a certain extent. This was eventually complemented by another requirement: a logical congruence of the world of images (system of terms) created by a given philosopher. Finally, this system, or model, has to work – in other words, it has to facilitate the understanding of the outside world to some extent at least. From this point of view, Russia has had a poor crop of philosophers. This is why I consider Alexander Zinoviev the first and, for the meantime, the only true Russian philosopher.



loony_leo

I am reading Zinoviev's «Dreaming of the New Man» and I can't put it down. The book is a collection of his interviews. Such a colossal personality! His intelligence is amazing. It is a great pity that few people are aware of his work. His language is so easy to follow, yet it is hard to read the book since everything he predicted 10 years ago comes true, the worst of his prognoses in particular. It is truly painful to think on the prospects that our country has. I realise that a lot of what I had thought about is reflected in his writing, although he obviously saw the processes he described with a great deal more clarity, ditto the future. A great man.



piter239

The Russian Tragedy by Alexander Zinoviev is a book that has influenced me enormously. It made me want to ponder what I did and did not like about the USSR, which I remember well enough, although I was in my teens when it ceased to exist. There is this vague feeling that I was one of those who let something slip away, who did not manage to defend the works of selfless, talented and honest people and save them from destruction, my age notwithstanding – people who really cared about the future of humanity, without any sarcasm or hidden meanings.



gomo_sovetikus

My very nickname testifies to my being a typical Soviet person who was born somewhere, studied and then worked. I have retired now. Why do I position myself as a

homo soveticus? I worked a lot for a pittance, and I haven't stolen so much as a rusty nail. I have barely managed to save enough to buy a 4-room flat just before all hell broke loose – I am referring to the Perestroika, of course. I have been a member of the Pioneer Organisation since the third grade, a member of the Komsomol since the age of 14 and a communist since the age of 20. I was the last one among my colleagues to take back the CPSU membership card in 1994. It was really hard to believe the Party had been disbanded. I borrowed the name from Alexander Zinoviev, whose books I enjoy a great deal.



axshavan

I finished reading the Global Manthill a few days ago. It is a book about our future, or, rather, the future of what we call the Western World and the people that inhabit it. There are robots and lasers all around, obviously enough, but the human is the most important element, human psychology and the social system. Lasers et al are merely necessary attributes of future society, ditto poverty, unemployment, debauchery, bureaucracy and «democracy» that only serves the interests of the top of the society. Such a far cry from glossy mass entertainment magazine copy with Esquiresque illustrations, this is something a person with brains would read. Plus one.



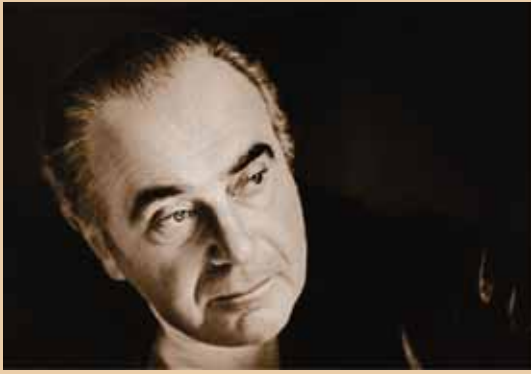
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Unfortunately, he is really very little known in Russia. I usually suggest my students to read the Zinovyoga, and it is a text that has left nobody indifferent. One of my students, knowing nothing else about Zinoviev but his authorship of the text in question, said that the author was a man of Socratic level, no less.



dm-kalashnikov

I remember seeing a TV interview with Zinoviev in 2006. I knew nothing of who he was, why he was famous and what reason anybody would have to study his works. Now I know he was a true genius. At the end of the interview he said that he would like it for some people to study his works, even if they only manage to digest a hundredth part of what he had written. I vow to comply with his request. I will study his works, I promise.



«Alexander Zinoviev is one of the greatest modern writers insofar as pure literature is concerned, perhaps, the greatest»

Eugene Ionesco, playwright (1909-1994)

Eugene Ionesco

News

A Round Table Zinoviev Discussion in Donetsk



On 22 April 2010 the Russian Centre of the N. K. Krupskaya Universal Scientific Oblast Library hosted a round table Zinoviev's Intellectual Legacy Discussion in recognition of the work of Alexander Zinoviev (1922–2006), an outstanding Russian logician, philosopher, sociologist and writer. Participants of the discussion included the leading faculty members representing the universities of Donetsk.

The phenomenon of Alexander Zinoviev was addressed by Professor V. V. Fyodorov, ScD (Philology) Department Chairman of Russian Literature at the Donetsk National University. N. V. Smirnov, Assistant Professor of the Trans-Regional Human Resource Management Academy, Cand. Sci. (Philosophy), who had read Philosophy at the MSU together with Alexander Zinoviev, shared some of his recollections with the public. N. I. Bukhteyev, Assistant Professor from the Donetsk State University of Management, Department of Sociology, Cand. Sci. (History), made a speech with a concise rendition of Alexander Zinoviev's logical sociology, naming it the only reliable way of scientific cognition for the modern society. The scholar has voiced a number of critical opinions concerning the development of modern society and education. The specifics of the genre of sociological novel established by Alexander Zinoviev have been reviewed by A. A. Sorokin, Assistant Professor from the Donetsk National University's Department of Russian Literature. Xenia Fedotova, a student whose major is philology, has made a speech on the topic formulated as follows: «Zinoviev's Novel Go to Golgotha: Tolstoyism vs. Nativism», which turned out to be of particular interest to the audience.



A round table Zinoviev Discussion (Ukraine, april 2010)

The round table discussion also featured a run of the documentary Alexander Zinoviev. The Testament, as well as acquaintance with literary works from the vaults of the library established under the motto of Alexander Zinoviev: A Russian Destiny – An Experiment in Russian History.

All the participant took active part in the discussion, making it interesting and informative. The general atmosphere of the round table discussions was one of goodwill. The prospects for the future have been laid down after the enumeration.

The Russkiy Mir foundation can be found at www.ruskiymir.ru

Dedicated to the 150th Anniversary of Anton Chekhov

Alexander Zinoviev. My Chekhov*

(Excerpts)

CHEKHOV IN MY LIFE

. . . Literary scholars have written so much about Anton Chekhov (1860-1904), that we could all but introduce the term «Chekhovian Studies» for referring to what may be perceived as a new discipline. I do not intend to make any tangible contribution to this discipline, since I do not consider myself any expert in Chekhovian studies in particular or indeed literary studies in general. My attitude to Chekhov has got nothing to do with those disciplines. Likewise Lermontov, Saltykov-Shchedrin, Dostoyevsky and a number of other Russian writers, Chekhov has been an integral element of my cultural environment and spirituality, a sympathetic voice in my understanding of the human environment whose attitude towards it was very similar to my own.

HISTORICAL CONTINUITY

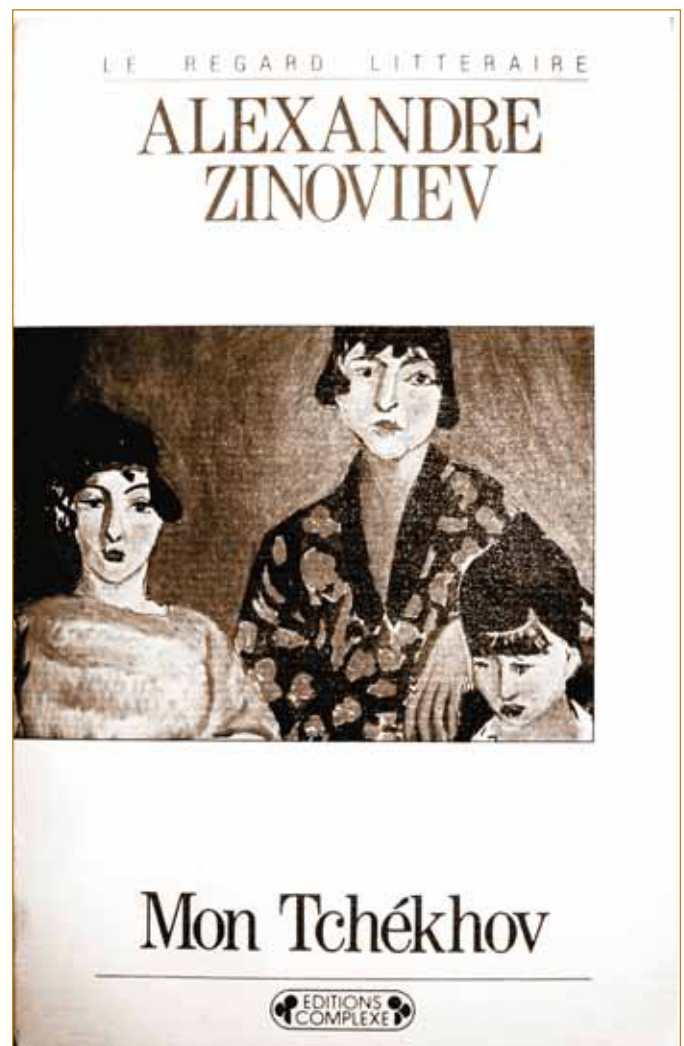
. . . As I have already mentioned, the years of the literary «pause» have given me time to develop a sociological conception of the Communist society. I shall explain one of its aspects that has proven vital in my understanding of Chekhov's works.

. . . I studied the Soviet society by means of immediate observation as opposed to studying the classical works of the Russian literature. I had to consult with them again, since the most important humanist issues they addressed also bothered me a great deal – me and a host of thinking Russians, who observed them rise again – in a new form and with unprecedented poignancy. The Chekhovian problems have turned out to be the most important.

CHEKHOV'S WORLD

. . . Social relations, which were expanding at a mind-boggling rate in Chekhov's times, have served as the precursors of the future Communist (or Socialist) society, and they were manifest the most in what concerned public officials. Czar Nikolai I let it slip once that Russia was ruled by thirty thousand stolonachalniks (midranking government officials). Towards the beginning of the XX century, Russia's institutional power has grown even more. It is for a good reason, then, that a government official is one of the key figures in Chekhov's books, if not indeed the immortal protagonist, whereas the representatives of all the other social categories are considered in terms of their

* *The first, and, so far, the only Russian publication of Zinoviev's essay entitled «My Chekhov» took place in 1992 in the Zvezda Magazine (issue #8).*



the cover of the French edition of *My Chekhov*, an essay by Alexander Zinoviev (1989)

similarity to the state officials or lack thereof in every function and relation. Chekhov claimed Russia to be «a government issue country». He has managed to demonstrate it with amazing artistic power how the position of a person in the social system and hierarchy of the Russian society started to transform into the dominant factor ruling over every other aspect of one's life in terms of one's ideology morality and psychology, and he uses the state officials as perfect examples. In this respect Chekhov is a much more legitimate predecessor of the realistic critics of the Communist social system than any other writer of pre-revolutionary Russia.

. . . Chekhov is unequalled in Russian literature in his ability to demonstrate how one's social standing defines every other aspect of one's life, including one's family, friends and amorous relations.

. . . It was the interest in the bureaucratic aspect of society that allowed Chekhov to discover a whole new realm of events that were never reflected in literature before, seemingly unimportant routine events and phenomena that have revealed their decisive role in the creation of a particular social system and way of life to his unrelenting eye. According to one of his characters (from his short story entitled «The Fear»), the scariest thing is the routine that you cannot escape.

I believe the most significant sociological aspect of Chekhov's writing to be the discovery of the reign of non-entities and trifle affairs – the routine that constitutes the foundation of a society organised into a state. From this point of view, what the Soviet literary critics defined as Chekhov's inability to ascend to the level of a Marxist understanding of Russian realities is much closer to historical reality than similar cognitive facilities inherent in the Marxist paradigm. The seventy-year experience of Soviet history has proven that the reign of non-entities and the tyranny of trifles did not wane in Socialist Russia – it kept growing stronger until it grew to involve every aspect of social life.

FREEDOM AND ENSLAVEMENT

. . . Chekhov believed the lack of freedom to be one of the greatest evils of the contemporary social system. He claimed this time and again, both as the author and by proxy of his characters. But stopping there would be banal. Chekhov has managed to express something a great deal more significant than the obvious fact that freedom was lacking. The «Man in the Shell» is one of the most amazing short stories that he had written in this respect – it is truly one of the most impressive works written by Chekhov.

. . . The lack of freedom and the enslavement of a man are the inevitable consequences of the existing social system. This lack of freedom and slavery is not an evil imposed upon the people by some external power. It is their own creation. Some members of society are active and voluntary servants of the existing order of things. The teacher Belikov, the protagonist, is a typical representative of this category of people.

. . . Chekhov's characters are never rebels, mavericks or revolutionaries. Their protest and rebellion is limited to the scope of their family, conversation and brief epiphanies. Soviet literary critics believe this to be a weakness of Chekhov's, who failed to notice the capacity for protest and the revolutionary power of the Russian people. This may well be. However, we are interested in something else – namely, the fact that Chekhov has managed to reach so fundamental a layer of Russian social life that the problem of freedom ceases to be political in its respect and becomes sociological.

THE INTELLIGENTSIA

. . . When Chekhov started to «record his ruminations», he turned to studying and describing the very part of Russian society that saw thinking and conversing about important existential issues as its duty due to upbringing, education and social standing, or the intelligentsia – people with university education.

. . . Literary scholars believe Chekhov to have «uncrowned» the intelligentsia – they usually refer to the ideals and programmes popular among the representatives of the intelligentsia back in the day. However, Chekhov managed to do more than that, whether voluntarily or not – he has uncrowned the intelligentsia as a special social category. He has managed to demonstrate the futility of ideals and programmes of the intelligentsia as resulting from its social position, the social relations imposed on its members as a result of their profession.

This is perfectly true about the intelligentsia. Let us consider the end product of the above process – Soviet Russia.

THE PROBLEM OF THE MEANING OF LIFE

. . . Basically, I believe the problem of the meaning of life to be pessimistic by definition. When there's nothing to look forward to, a thinking and suffering human being has no other option but to find a means of escaping his captivity inside himself and in a certain way of organising his behaviour.

Many of Chekhov's characters complain about the pointlessness and meaninglessness of the life that goes on or approaches its end, about the lack of ideals and so on. This motif





A. P. Chekhov and L. N. Tolstoy. By P. A. Sergeyenko (1901)

is the most manifest in his play *Uncle Vanya*. Although the end of the play may initially strike one as optimistic, this kind of optimism makes pessimism look mirthful. Let me quote the words of the female protagonist: «We shall patiently bear the trials that fate imposes on us; we shall work for others without rest, both now and when we are old; and when our last hour comes we shall meet it humbly, and there, beyond the grave . . . we shall see that bright and beautiful life». This goes beyond pessimism. This is abysmal despair. The last words of the play are as follows: «We shall rest». The «rest» in question comes after death, of course.

I must say that the role of a great writer isn't merely to make the reader approve of his ideas and imagery – some of the latter has to make the reader protest. Chekhov's *Uncle Vanya* (and, to a certain extent, some of his other plays) had once made me furious with protest. It would be better to waste one's physical and mental powers on whatever one wants than suffer at the thought of wasted years and hoping for rest after death. I have been a proponent of rebellion from my very youth. It may be pointless, irrational, absurd, hopeless and fruitless rebellion, but rebellion nonetheless. Life is likely to pass by at an alarming speed, and from the point of view of eternity it makes little different whether one lives twenty years or a hundred. I thought that the quality of life is defined by the success of one's rebellion against one's environment, the society, the entire course of history, the Universe itself. Chekhov's intelligentsia was privileged, all the suffering of his characters notwithstanding. It struck me as contrived – pointless suffering of people living in conditions I couldn't even dream of, being at the bottom of the social dustbin. Everything I encountered was contrary, and everybody turned out an enemy. My rebellious ideology was a result of hopelessness and despair that go quite beyond the limit of what a sentient being can bear.

. . . The book «Live», which I wrote in 1982, but haven't published yet for a number of reasons*, my characters encountered the problem of life as the problem of ideological and

* the first publication of A. A. Zinoviev's novel «Live» took place in 1991 (issue #10 of the *Zvezda* magazine, 1991)

psychological self-defence, given the conditions where they can change absolutely nothing about the existing social system. I believe them to be the heirs of Chekhov's characters in this respect.

OBJECTIVITY IN LITERATURE

. . . One of the most important characteristics of Chekhov's work that was pointed out by virtually everybody who has ever written about him is his «objective manner» – the absence of any judgment expressed by the author, who gives the readers the opportunity to draw their own conclusions. Many believed Chekhov to be a writer lacking a clear and definite *Weltanschauung*. The Soviet literary studies tried to

Literature

has lost its

leading

cultural role

portray Chekhov as a forerunner of the so-called «Socialist Realism», and thus vehemently denied this allegation, ascribing Chekhov a very clearly defined *Weltanschauung*, which he definitely did not have. Chekhov simply tried to avoid bias and prejudice.

. . . The most interesting thing here is that objectivity of literature is mentioned by a writer whose main vocation is humour and satire. How does one combine a humorous and satirical attitude to reality, which appears to be extremely subjective, with the intent to maintain objectivity? My analysis of Chekhov's works and my own literary experience have led me to the following conclusions.

We have to distinguish between humour and satire as literary means aimed at making the reader laugh, and the kind used in the capacity of an epistemological instrument and a means of expressing the result of observation aimed at reflecting the objective nature of life's phenomena.

. . . The greatest satirical and humorous works of literature aren't all that funny in the regular meaning of the word. They amaze us by their precision, concise formulations, expressiveness and deep understanding of social phenomena.

They provoke an inner laughter, an intellectual laughter. They conform to the criteria of intellectual aesthetics, not entertainment. For example, the works of Gogol and Saltykov-Shchedrin do not contain much of what could be considered funny from the point of view of entertainment. If we re-read such outstanding works of Chekhov's humour and satire as «Man in the Shell» or «Ward #6», we are unlikely to laugh much. As for his plays, which Chekhov himself defines as the essence of comedy, there is absolutely nothing funny about them. What kind of comedy would end with the death of one of the characters as a result of a duel or a suicide? Chekhov's works are comedies, that much is true, but comedies in the vein of Dante and *Balsac*.

CHEKHOV'S ATTITUDE TO REALITY

Chekhov did point it out once that there is more good in life than bad. Some of his characters occasionally claim life to be beautiful. However, Chekhov's attention is focussed on the less ap-

K. KRASUKHIN. RANK AND DECORATIONS OF CHARACTERS IN RUSSIAN LITERATURE // LITERATURA. 2004, #11, PAGES 9-14.

«The brightest guiding light in the research of a subject of great complexity covered most sparsely by all the other authors was My Chekhov, the article of A. Zinoviev. The Russian emigrant writer and sociologist who resides in Munich now is known in Russia as the author of the Yawning Heights. What he writes about in his article is his very own vision of Chekhov, and he has no ambition of making any great contribution into Chekhovian studies. Chekhov has always been an element of his spiritual world, remaining a life-long companion and a beacon of sorts in both scientific and literary work. In this book Zinoviev tells us of what he has managed to experience and ponder due to Chekhov's influence.

The author attempts to conduct a sociological analysis of Chekhov's work – he studies the relations between different state officials in the post-Revolutionary Soviet Russia as the same fundamental social phenomena that lay at the core of Chekhov's literary work.

Zinoviev believes the state official to be the most important character type used by Chekhov, while the representatives of every other social category are only of interest insofar as they mimic the officials in some of their functions and relations.

A. Zinoviev considers himself to belong to the tradition of Saltykov-Shchedrin and Chekhov, which he defines as sociological realism; he uses logic to exhaust every opportunity offered thereby and shape it as a literary and logical conception in his work.

Zinoviev is the only researcher I have encountered to employ a systematic and profoundly scientific approach to the subject of state officials in Chekhov's art, and I have relied on his conception a great deal in my own work.

I believe this article to be worthy of in-depth methodological research for better understanding of Chekhov's works as taught in schools from the point of view of sociological realism».

peeling facets of life. As the old Russian proverb goes, «a barrel of honey and a spoonful of tar – if you don't taste the bitter, you won't taste the sweet». The Russian existential barrel of honey contains a whole bucketful of tar, and the contents of the barrel can only be referred to as honey in a very circumspect and by-the-way manner. Chekhov's work is a study of this «tar», or the evils inherent in the Russian life. His whole body of work demonstrates that the root of all evil is the dominant paradigm of social relations. Chekhov considers these relations unnatural and harmful.

. . . The existing social relations are unnatural because their consequences go against our moral ideals of goodness and justice. This position has led Chekhov into a psychological stalemate. How does one overcome the contradiction between reality and a moral ideal? There are two ways – to bring reality in correspondence with the moral ideal or to reject the latter. History chose the second way, having sacrificed the moral ideal to objective necessity.

. . . I see Chekhov as a doctor (and he was a doctor by profession, after all) who knows the patient to be doomed, who doesn't merely feel compassion to an incurably ill human being, but lives his life as his own, identifies with the patient completely, and who must also have the medical duty of giving some sort of hope to the incurable kindred spirit. This is not the same role as that of a priest at the bed of a dying Christian or in the cell of a criminal to be executed – his was the role of a doctor of incurable diseases.

CHEKHOV'S PROGENY

. . . Chekhov as a writer was lucky in many respects. The conditions his books were written and published in are presented as «the horrible conditions of reactionary thought and Czarist censorship». When we compare these «horrible conditions»

to the conditions that the modern Russian writers have found themselves in, who are to the Soviet society what Chekhov had been to the Russian society before the revolution, one laughs with a great deal of sadness. Chekhov's «horrible conditions» were the next thing to paradise in comparison. The general situation in and around literature was unique, undreamed of today. Literature dominated culture in those days.

. . . Modern writers striving to carry on the tradition of sociological realism are confronted by a completely different scenario. Literature has lost its dominant role to cinema, television, mass entertainment events, video, journalism, political spectacle and sports. However, literature has grown to Gargantuan proportions unheard of previously. It has become a mass phenomenon in terms of writers, not readers. Literature has transformed into a realm of the entertainment industry that no longer conforms to the laws of culture and aesthetics, but rather the laws of production, politics and propaganda. A well-versed reader, a true connoisseur of literature, has become exceptionally scarce, lost control over the evolution of literature and dissolved among arbitrary readers with primitive and perverse tastes, if the word indeed can be applied. The aesthetic criteria used for evaluating literary art have turned to dust, becoming replaced by the anti-aesthetic criteria imposed by the strata of society formerly known as literary plebs or Philistines, which have grown particularly numerous. The relative interest in literature is wavering, and the ideological pressure it suffers is truly immense.

. . . The worst conditions of all are the conditions of Russian literature among the emigrants in the West. Soviet literary critics ignore it, ditto the press. Any mention made in the media usually has political connotations. The number of readers in the Soviet Union is extremely limited. The regular mass reader, who

could become the judge of its literary merit, is beyond its reach. No serious literary criticisms are published in the West, either – whatever one reads in the Western press is tendentious, supercilious and reeks of dilettantism. The press is interested in political aspects of emigrant literature and not its literary characteristics. Insignificant works are praised as masterpieces while truly innovative works are ignored. All the criteria of quality and scale for the authors and their works have been distorted. This is done with full awareness, deliberately, in accordance with the strategy of the Western ruling classes to ignore Russian culture wherever possible.

. . . In the last few years the «free» Russian literature has received a staggering blow from behind. The West fell for Gorbachev's «Perestroika» and «Cultural Renaissance» ruse, forgetting everything ever written by the representatives of

the «free» Russian literature in order to open everyone's eyes on the nature of the Soviet social system and the entire Soviet way of life. Nowadays the West cares more for the opinion of the Soviet party officials and their literary lackeys than what the «free» Russian writers have lived their lives for. I wrote enough about the «Cultural Renaissance» of today and Gorbachevism in general in my book entitled Gorbachevism; for the meantime I will merely state that Gorbachev's Cultural Renaissance is mere thievery from the forbidden «free» literature and pitiful attempts of emulating it.

. . . The «free» Russian literature ended up unable to defend its priority and innovation. And we, the heirs of Chekhov, can only dream of those «dreadful» conditions he lived and worked in.

Munich, December 1987.

News

The IX International A. P. Chekhov Theatre Festival

In January 2010 Chekhov's 150th anniversary was celebrated. The writer's anniversary is a crucial event in the culture of the whole world, and Chekhov's plays are well-represented on the stages of many theatres all across the world.

From 25 May to 30 July Moscow hosts the Ninth International Chekhov Theatre Festival. The Festival programme is dominated by plays of all sorts – drama, musical and circus show with theatrical elements, all of them interpretations of Chekhov's plays and plays about Chekhov. The participants of the Festival include theatres from Russia and many other countries such as France, Spain, Germany, Canada, Switzerland, Sweden, Belarus, Armenia, Japan and Taiwan. We shall see plays staged by Frank Castorf, Daniele Finzi Pasca, Mats Ek, Lin Hwai-min, Gerardo Vera, Josef Nadj, Jo Kanamori, Wajdi Mouawad, Nacho Duato, Akop Kazanchyan, Alexei Borodin, Alexander Galibin and Dmitriy Krymov. D. Chernyakov's production is staged by the International Chekhov Theatre Festival.

Moreover, the Festival programme features an Argentine production based on Uncle Vanya staged by D. Veronese and successfully performed in Paris last year, and a quaint Chilean production entitled The Neva and staged by G. Calderon. The foreign programme of the festival will be concluded by a Nacho Duato production featuring the music of Bach, which, according

to the critics, is sufficient to recognise Duato as one of the leading choreographers of our time. This production shall serve as a prologue of sorts to the “international series” of the programme of the next Chekhov festival. The new Chekhovian productions of Muscovite theatres shall also be included in the Festival programme.

The Festival in Moscow curates the Laboratory of Young Directors, and the Summer School for Young Actors and Directors from all across the world in Yalta in July.

Chekhov's plays will be performed in many theatres in Russia and abroad throughout 2010 in St. Petersburg, Yekaterinburg, Chelyabinsk, Kazan, Yalta, Paris, Berlin, Madrid, Stockholm, Vienna, Chicago, Montreal, São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro, Minsk, Baku, Yerevan etc.

The official site of the festival is located at www.chekhovfest.ru



Dedicated to Mikhail Sholokhov's 105th Anniversary

. . . for the artistic power and the epic span of the novel portraying the Cossacks of the Don in a time of great strife for Russia

Mikhail Sholokhov's Speech at the Nobel Banquet

On this solemn occasion I find it my pleasant duty to extend my thanks once more to the Swedish Academy, which has awarded me the Nobel Prize.

As I have already had occasion to testify in public, the feeling of satisfaction which this award arouses in me is not solely due to the international recognition of my professional merits and my individual characteristics as a writer. I am proud that this Prize has been awarded to a Russian, a Soviet writer. Here I represent a multitude of writers from my native land.

I have also previously expressed my satisfaction that, indirectly, this Prize is yet another recognition of the novel as a genre. I have not infrequently read and heard recent statements which have quite frankly astonished me, in which the novel has been declared an outdated form that does not correspond to present-day demands. Yet it is just the novel that makes possible the most complete comprehension of the world of reality, that permits the projection of one's attitude to this world, to its burning problems.

One might say that the novel is the genre that most predisposes one to a profound insight into the tremendous life around us, instead of putting forward one's own tiny ego as the centre of the universe. This genre, by its very nature, affords the very widest scope for a realistic artist.

Many fashionable currents in art reject realism, which they assume has served its time. Without fear of being accused of conservatism, I wish to proclaim that I hold a contrary opinion and am a convinced supporter of realistic art.

There is a lot of talk nowadays about literary avantgardism with reference to the most modern experiments, particularly in the field of form. In my opinion the true pioneers are those artists who make manifest in their works the new content, the determining characteristics of life in our time.



M. A. Sholokhov receiving the Nobel Prize for literature in 1965

Both realism as a whole and the realistic novel are based upon artistic experiences presented by great masters in the past. During their development, however, they have acquired important new features that are fundamentally modern.

I am speaking of a realism that carries within itself the concept of life's regeneration, its reformation for the benefit of mankind. I refer, of course, to the realism we describe as socialist. Its pe-

cular quality is that it expresses a philosophy of life that accepts neither a turning away from the world nor a flight from reality, a philosophy that enables one to comprehend goals that are dear to the hearts of millions of people and that lights up their path in the struggle.

Mankind is not divided into a flock of individuals, people floating about in a vacuum, like cosmonauts who have penetrated beyond the pull of Earth's gravity. We live on Earth, we are subject to its laws and, as the Gospel puts it, sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof, its troubles and trials, its hopes for a better future. Vast sections of the world's population are inspired by the same desires, and live for common interests that bind them together far more than they separate them.

These are the working people, who create everything with their hands and their brains. I am one of those authors who consider it their highest honour and their highest liberty to have a completely untrammelled chance of using their pens to serve the working people.

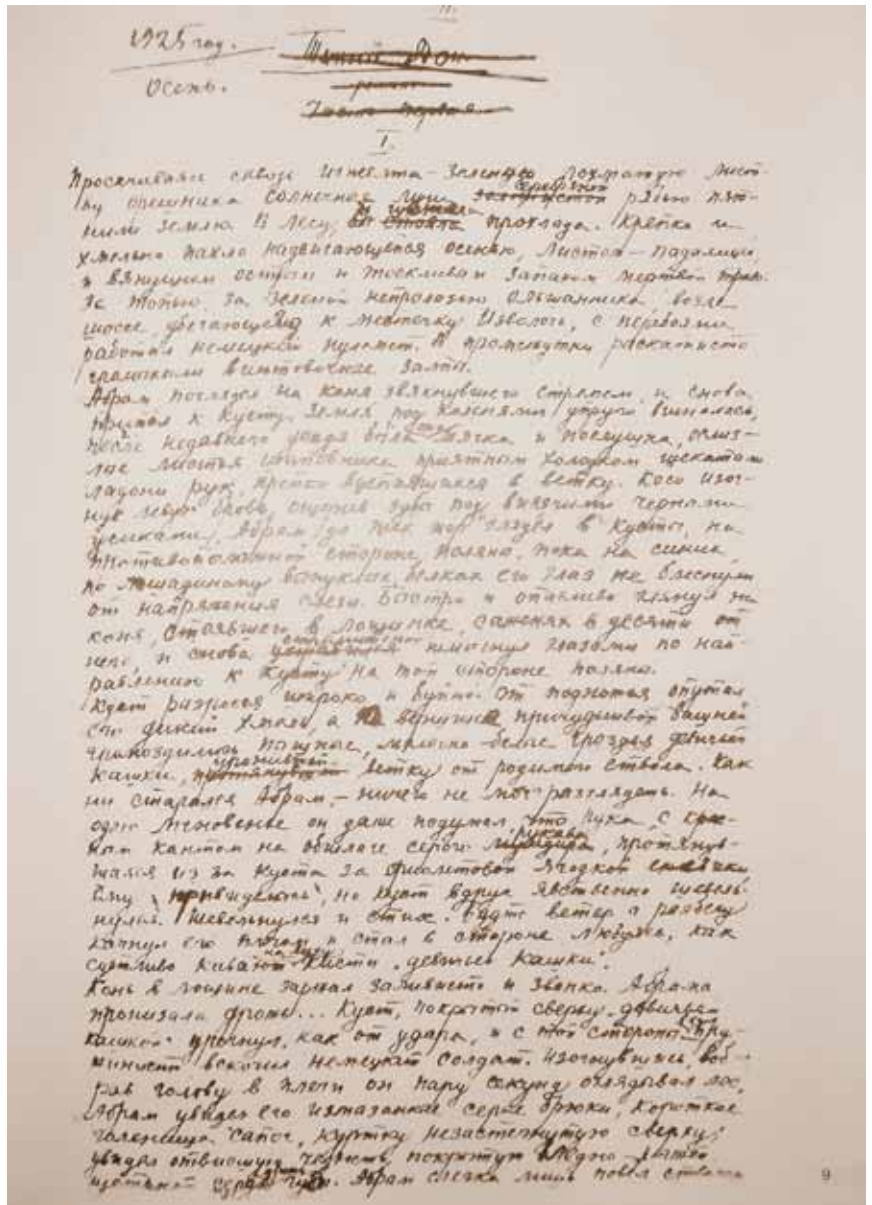
This is the ultimate foundation. From it are derived the conclusions as to how I, a Soviet writer, view the place of the artist in the world of today.

The era we live in is full of uncertainty. Yet there is not one nation on Earth that desires a war. There are, however, forces that hurl whole nations into the furnaces of war. Is it not inevitable that the ashes from the indescribable conflagration of the Second World War should move the writer's heart? Is not an honest writer bound to stand up against those who wish to condemn mankind to self-destruction?

What, then, is the vocation and what are the tasks of an artist who sees himself, not as an image of a god who is indifferent to the sufferings of mankind, enthroned far above the heat of battle, but as a son of his people, a tiny particle of humanity?

To be honest with the reader, to tell people the truth – which may sometimes be unpleasant but is always fearless. To strengthen men's hearts in their belief in the future, in the belief in their own ability to build this future. To be a champion of peace throughout the world and with his words breed such champions wherever those words penetrate. To unite people in their natural, noble striving toward progress.

Art possesses a great ability to influence people's intellects and brains. I believe that anyone has the right to call himself an artist, if he channels this ability into creating something beautiful in the minds of men, if he benefits humanity.



M. A. Sholokhov's manuscript. The first page of Quietly flows the Don, 1925

My own people have not followed beaten tracks in their historical journey. Their journey has been that of the explorers, the pioneers for a new life. I have regarded and still regard it as my task as an author in all that I have written and in whatever I may come to write, to show my great respect for this nation of workers, this nation of builders, this nation of heroes, which has never attacked anyone but which knows how to put up an honourable defence of what it has created, of its freedom and dignity, of its right to build the future as it chooses.

I should like my books to assist people in becoming better, in becoming purer in their minds; I should like them to arouse love of one's fellow men, a desire to fight actively for the ideal of humanity and the progress of mankind. If I have managed to do this in some measure, then I am happy.

I thank all those of you here tonight, and all those who have sent me greetings and good wishes in connection with the Nobel Prize.

1965

Pavel Rodkin,

graphic designer, expert in the field of visual communications (Russia)

The Art of Combining the Incompatible

The combination of incompatible elements, the mixing of different forms and environments, the diffusion of structural and temporal boundaries are all integral elements of the epoch of post-modernism, which defines the condition of the contemporary communicative process. What had once seemed impossible (or grotesque and therefore singular) is being implemented in modern visual arts and advertising as a fully functional product for the masses.

The TVEL Values calendar also follows this seemingly paradoxical route, combining a corporate calendar with ethical maxims. Even for the postmodern paradigm this combination seems unexpected, odd, wild and impossible . . .

However, if the modern system permits for the ubiquitous implementation of diffusion, why not make a breakthrough in this direction, where nothing has existed so far? Especially given that complex solutions aiming at joining a semantic kernel with a striking modern visual form in the domain of corporate, state, political and social communications is particularly relevant today. In corporate practice of the last couple of years we encounter the artistic reflection of aesthetic values for the very first time – this fact alone deserves attention. After all, the topic of ethics is artfully dodged and formalised by corporate communiques. So if the designers have enough skill for improvising on a few ironic motifs blended with second-hand transnational corporate dogma, nobody has managed to produce ethical content on a thoroughly new level. The TVEL Values project is a brave enough venture in the epoch of positive value deficiency and dehumanisation.

Aren't TVEL Values too straightforward, obsessive and didactic, and thus bound to breed resentment? One must admit that the developers have managed to harmonise the content and the visual part with compromising neither the functionality of the calendar, nor its representation value or indeed gift value. The designers have created serious yet vivid images in a complex and highly individualistic visual environment. Only a highly artistic product can evoke emotion and carry the positive image of the company across.

The TVEL Values calendar can doubtlessly be considered a new word in corporate communication and it is an uncommon phenomenon – it leaves similar projects far behind in terms of ideas and imagery, especially given the complexity and ambiguity of the problem at hand.

In corporate practice of the last couple of years we encounter the artistic reflection of aesthetic values for the very first time



the full version of the TVEL Values calendar can be found at www.flashart.ru



THE IDEA BEHIND THE CREATING A FUTURE BY REVIVING THE HERITAGE PROJECT.

A unique project – the visual and symbolic imagery of the TVEL calendar broadens the visual horizon and stylistics of the global Atomic Renaissance and creates a number of parallels between ethics and the Atomic Renaissance.

The Renaissance epoch, which spanned the period between the XIV and the early XVII century, was a period of colossal changes that concerned the system of values for the most part – one's attitude to creation itself.

The Renaissance epoch was a period of unprecedented intellectual and artistic efflorescence. This is when the foundations of the modern European culture were laid, a period of inspired scientific discoveries, a period when man was put at the centre of being, a period when a powerful ethical social progress paradigm had formed.

The idea that a human being is the greatest value of all dates from the Renaissance epoch. Humanism became one of the most spectacular facets of the Renaissance culture and mindset.

Humanism is a way of thought that puts the greater good of humankind above everything. It is what defines the real value of everything that goes on in the world.

Ethics can harmonise different facets of human life. The humanitarian and the technocratic approaches have ceased to be mutually exclusive.

The literary compound consists of crucial quotes from the works of the most eminent thinkers of the Renaissance. A whole series of great individuals' images have been recreated for the calendar – true geniuses: thinkers, visionaries and prophets.

Their piercing sight reflects the wisdom of the ages and reaches the modern man with its message of ethics.

The creative avant-garde of the Renaissance proclaimed the necessity to re-appropriate the values of the ancient world, yet they have created absolutely novel works of art and constructed a number of architectural and engineering marvels. It wasn't mere emulation of the ancient ways – the Renaissance opened a road towards the future and towards progress.

The geniuses of the Renaissance have de facto created a new culture and a new civilization – morals, aesthetics and intellects reached a new level of standards.

Due to the uncompromising ethical position of the sages, heroes and poets chosen for the purpose, we can all but hear them proclaim these eternal human values most solemnly, capturing our attention by these words: Justice, Dignity, Humanism, Tradition, Partnership, Trust, Creativity, Knowledge, Truth, Labour, Service, Duty . . .



Première Of a New Documentary in Four Parts

ALEXANDER ZINOVIEV. THE YAWNING HEIGHTS. THE EPIC DOCUMENTARY

Kultura TV channel: Alexander Zinoviev's popularity among the general public is by no means adequate to the sheer magnitude of his unique personality.

TV channel: Rossiya Kultura

Director: Maksim Katushkin

Released in: 2009

First aired in: 2010.

Preview at:

<http://zinoviev.info/wps/archives/153>

This documentary isn't merely providing a list of facts from the biography of Alexander Zinoviev the philosopher, sociologist and writer. First and foremost, it is a philosophical and sociological analysis of the history of the Soviet Union in the context of world history as reflected in the works of Alexander Zinoviev.

A Russian Destiny. The Confession of a Dissident. Part one.

We are told about the life of Alexander Zinoviev before the engagement of Russia in the Second World War. His arrival in Moscow. An attempt to found a terrorist group that would assassinate Stalin. Participants: Olga and Xenia Zinoviev. The film includes recordings of Zinoviev's interviews given over the course of several decades as well as historical newsreels and fragments of *The New Gulliver* («Новый Гулливер»), a film by Alexander Ptushko.

A Russian Destiny. The Confession of a Dissident. Part two.

The beginning of the Great Patriotic War. Service in the Red Army. Enrolment into the Moscow State University. Thesis defence, senior thesis defence, marriage. The formation of Alexander Zinoviev the logician and philosopher. The documentary features Olga Zinoviev, the musician Yuri Naumov, the international journalist and writer Vladimir Bolshakov and Academician Abdusalam Guseinov of the RAS, Director of the Institute of Philosophy). The film also includes recordings of Zinoviev's interviews given over the course of several decades.

The book.

Work on «The Yawning Heights», the first sociological novel of the XX century. The publication of the book in Switzerland. The



documentary features Olga Zinoviev, Vladimir Bolshakov, Yuri Naumov, Abdusalam Guseinov and the artist Polina Zinoviev, A. A. Zinoviev's daughter. The film includes recordings of Zinoviev's interviews given over the course of several decades.

«The Global Manthill»

The period of exile for Zinoviev's family. The writer's conflict with the «Vaticans of Westernism» (as Zinoviev used to refer to the Western media). Repatriation after «one of the most nefarious acts of the West in Yugoslavia» in 1999. «The Global Manthill», one of the most disturbing and visionary contemporary novels (it received a Best Novel award in Italy in 1999). The book's real significance is to be appreciated yet, just like the entire scientific and literary legacy of Alexander Zinoviev. The documentary features Olga Zinoviev, Polina Zinoviev, Academician Anatoliy Fomenko, a mathematician from the RAS, Yuri Naumov and Vladimir Bolshakov.

A TEST SCREENING OF THE DOCUMENTARY ABOUT THE RUSSIAN THINKER ALEXANDER ZINOVIEV HAS BEEN SHOWN AT THE ST. PETERSBURG STATE UNIVERSITY

St. Petersburg, 11 March 2009, Thursday. The Rossiya K (STVC Kultura) TV Channel, St. Petersburg State University, Zinoviev News Magazine, and the Obraz Studio, St. Petersburg, have organised a test screening of the TV documentary Alexander Zinoviev: The Yawning Heights at the St. Petersburg State University Auditorium on 11 March 2010 at 16:00.

The Zinoviev Magazine Film Club has concluded the screening with a discussion on the issue formulated as «A Dream of the



Olga Zinoviev at the test screening of the film at the St. Petersburg State University, 2010

New Man» presided over by Olga Zinoviev, Editor-in-chief of the Zinoviev magazine.

The Russian viewer has a chance of seeing a documentary that studies the life of an outstanding person with a truly unique destiny, someone who made a unique decision. The four episodes that form the Yawning Heights cycle are named after Zinoviev's books, and the title of the cycle itself is that of his most famed oeuvre – the book that marked a sharp turn in Alexander Zinoviev's life, and they tell a true story of courage and perseverance, a story of one rebellious intellectual going against the system and proving victorious, a story of an individual's successful rebellion against the Leviathan of entropy, a story of how a single person can take on the epoch and the system, a story of one's freedom of creative research, a story of a hero of our time who serves the truth uncompromisingly.

The film focuses on Alexander Zinoviev and his epoch with its antitypes – we witness how determination, fearless integrity and refusal to compromise clash with obsolete stereotypes, and gallantry emerges victorious, giving birth to a great country and its feats of true greatness. The documentary gives us a glimpse of how a thinker perceived the shift of the historical planetary hazard axis, the deformity of globalization, the war on terrorism and the intellectual impotence of the powers that be. The documentary features Academicians Abdusalam Guseinov and Anatoliy Fomenko, Sergei Kara-Murza, Vladimir Bolshakov, Olga Zinoviev and the philosopher's daughters.

Olga Zinoviev, the writer's spouse and comrade-in-arms, said the following in her public address: «I am grateful to the Kultura



Left to right: Marina Maksimova, St. Petersburg State University, Natalia Rodomanova (producer), Olga Zinoviev, Ivan Yegorov (Rossiya TV Channel) and Maksim Katushkin (director). St. Petersburg, 2010.

TV channel, which was faced with the formidable challenge of returning Alexander Zinoviev to the Russian culture and history. I am delighted that the viewers have an opportunity of seeing a chronicle of a Russian tragedy with perfect clarity of vision and witnessing the fate of my very own Alexander Zinoviev.

Another person who deserves to be mentioned separately, someone who deems this film to be a most important landmark in his cinematographic career and his greatest creative success to date – Maksim Katushkin, a very talented Russian director. I find him to be a person of great sensitivity, someone who be-



Left: Maksim Katushkin, director, and Natalia Rodomanova, producer, Director of the Obraz Studio. St. Petersburg, 2010.

comes enamoured with his protagonist for life, recreating his image juxtaposed against perfectly tangible historical motion and immersing the viewer in a changing feel of the epoch, which one finds perfectly plausible. His role is one of an advocate of truth and justice; it is a brave role, and he is full of determination, defending his protagonist with every means available.

I would also like to express my gratitude to the entire creative team of the famed Obraz studio from St. Petersburg, known for making unique and very memorable films reflecting the epoch via the biographic medium of a single person».

Our Choice

THE DUEL BETWEEN YELTSIN AND ZINOVIEV ON FRENCH TV: 20 YEARS LATER

Programme: Apostrophes #709
Date: 9 March 1990
Host: Bernard Pivot
Producer: Jean-Luc Léridon
TV Channel: Antenne 2
Country: France
Languages: French, Russian
Participants: Boris Yeltsin, Alexander Zinoviev, Alexandre Adler

www.ina.fr

The Russian audience has its first chance in twenty years to see the legendary show by Bernard Pivot aired on Antenne 2, the French TV channel, and remembered by millions of European viewers as the duel between the Russian thinker Alexander Zinoviev and the Russian politician Boris Yeltsin.

It goes without saying that both individuals have maverick reputations. The guests of the programme voice their opinions on the USSR, Gorbachev, the Perestroika, Stalin, privilege and each other.

This is a chance of experiencing the unique atmosphere of the legendary literary programme known as Apostrophes,

conceived and hosted by one of the most famous French TV hosts, Bernard Pivot, a favourite of several generations of European intellectuals for 28 years alongside his other, more famous programme – the cult TV show «Bouillon de culture».

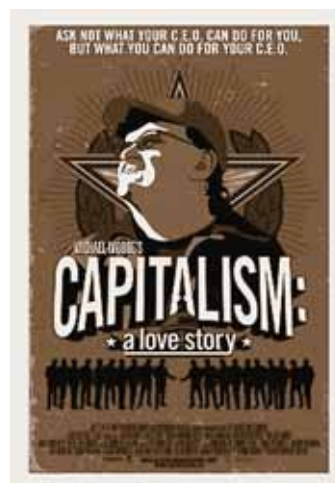
According to the information leaked by the presidential entourage, this TV show was the reason why Boris Yeltsin refrained from participating in live TV debates in the future.



CAPITALISM: A LOVE STORY

By Michael Moore (2009)
Country: USA
Genres: Drama, documentary
Featuring: Thora Birch, William Black, Jimmy Carter, Elijah Cummings, Baron Hill, Marcy Kaptur, John McCain, Michael Moore, Sarah Palin, Ronald Reagan et al.

This love story ended with a scandalous divorce. The documentary studies the genesis of the global financial crisis and tells the story of how the American taxpayers' money is misappropriated and misused, exposing banks, corporate entities, executives and politicians who, according to the director, have successfully carried off «the greatest robbery in the history of their country». Michael Moore's film has been called the Nuremberg Process of Capitalism.



Alexander Zinoviev's books have been translated into Serbian and published by L'Age d'Homme, Switzerland (www.lagedhomme.com)



A. Zinoviev. The Yawning Heights. Lausanne, «L'Age d'Homme», 2010 (in Serbian).

A. Zinoviev. Go to Golgotha. Lausanne, «L'Age d'Homme», 2010 (in Serbian)

A. Zinoviev. The West and the Phenomenon of Westernism. Lausanne, «L'Age d'Homme», 2010 (in Serbian).

الغرب
ألكسندر زينوڤيڤ
ترجمة عادل اسماعيل

تصدير على الغلاف

«التحت صلبة شوه البشرية وتطورها شكلا يمكننا ان نستعمله في وصفه مفاهيم ستملا لترويج البشرية كله في القرن المدي والمتحيزين ومنها "العربية"، و"المولمة" وسواهما. ويبدو ان ذلك سيكون تريبا لتقوى تراجيديته كثيرا تراجيديا الماضي كلها.

ماهي ظاهرة "العرب" هذ، التي نزلت تلك العذرية الماطقة بدولة علمي حيازة دون ان تطلق ملقة واحدة ؟ وفي ما يمكن مصدر قوتها؟ وما هي افق تطور البشرية تاجيسا على هذا المثل الذي أتت إليه معركة العرب التاريخية عند التنويع؟ وهل هذا الانتصار هو فعلا كما تصوره الدعاية العربية المزعومة بقسدا، والدعاية التوافقية للغرب في روسيا؟

ما الذي جعله فعلا هزيمة العرب العالمية لقبه البشرية ؟ تلكم هي الأسئلة التي يطرحها على نفسه الكاتب، وعالم الاجتماع، والفيلسوف الروسي الكبير الكسندر زينوڤيڤ. وقد أجاب عنها في كتابه "الغرب"، الذي تقدمه اليوم للقارئ العربي».

مقدمة الروسية بقلم المؤلف

يعرف نظام البلدان العربية الاجتماعي حتى الآن على أنه الرأسمالية من حيث أسسه الاقتصادي، والديكتاتورية من حيث نظامه السياسي. أرى أن هذا التعريف لا يتسم مع الواقع ولا أعني أن العرب لم تعد فيه رأسمالية ولا ديكتاتورية (فيما موجودتان فيه بوفرة)، بل أن نظام البلدان العربية الاجتماعي الواقعي لا يقتصر على الرأسمالية أو الديكتاتورية فهاتان الظاهرتان لا يمكن اعتبارهما سمتين الحاسمتين للنظام الاجتماعي العربي، لا من حيث الشكل الذي تتخذهما، ولا من حيث المكان الذي تشتملته. ولو اعتبرناهما كذلك لكانتا تعجزان الجوهر الحقيقي لهذا العرب، ولأجمينا في فهمه الاتجاه المشتمل إبيولوجيا، وبالتالي الضائل في نهاية الأمر.

إني أطلق على نظام البلدان العربية الاجتماعي مصطلح "العربية" "الثقافية" بمعنى التكتبية، دون أن أضمن هذه الكلمة أي معنى آخر سوى أن ذلك ليس تسمية للبلدان العربية عامة، بل فقط لنظامها الاجتماعي. أما في ما لکن ماهية هذا النظام، فهذا ما ينبغي أن يستوحسه البحث العلمي الأري.

قد توصلت نتيجة تمثيلي للعربية إلى خلاصات يمكن إيجازها على النحو التالي: تسمى العربية من وجهة النظر الاجتماعية – الاقتصادية، لخلق مناسب صل ومدخل محسونة للمتفرطين في أنواع من النشاط لا تشكل عامل إنتاج مباشر للقيم والخدمات المادية، وتسمى العربية لتعزير المشروع المعاصر (العمل الحر)، بوصفه الوسيلة الأكثر فعالية لإزغم الناس على ممارسة الكبح وزيادة إنتاجية هذا الكبح والشروع المعاصر هنا لا يرتبط بالضرورة بالملكية الخاصة. ويمكن أن يخل مشروعا خاصا حتى لو لم يبق في مجال العمل ماله خاص وأحد تعود له ملكية المنشأة وتمثلها قانونيا. وتسمى العربية أيضا في المجال الاجتماعي – السياسي إلى تشديد الجانب الديمقراطي في السلطة، وتحويل الديمقراطية إلى وسيلة للتحكم بالجماعة، وتعمير الجانب الشمولي.

إن مسار العربية في الحالتين الأساسيتين للنظام الاجتماعي يسير في اتجاه يقرب بين المجتمع العربي والمجتمع التنويعي، وكان المنطوقون العربيون، لا التنويعيون، هم الذين طرحوا نظرية التقرب بين هاتين المنطوقتين. وبدن أن أقصد على التنويعية في الشرق المطلق العرب نفسه راسعا باتجاهها، ولو بطرقه المعاصرة التي تسمى في الإبيولوجيا والدعاية بالديمقراطية (الطرق الديمقراطية)، حتى ليحال العره أن العرب ذات حين استشاط خندا على الروس "المتوحشين"، لا بسبب التنويعية، بل لأنهم سبقوه في هذا المجال وتبدوا التنويعية على العريقة الروسية بشكل غير صحيح، غير ممكن، أي ليس وفق الطريقة العربية.

ميونخ 1993

«The West»

by Alexander Zinoviev
will be Published in
Arabic

«The West» by Alexander Zinoviev has been translated into Arabic (by Adel Ismail). The foreword to the Arabic edition has been prepared by Academician A. A. Guseinov, Director of the Institute of Philosophy of the Russian Academy of Sciences.



«I enjoy the works of Alexander Zinoviev, liked by many in the West – his readers realise that he didn't only write about the Soviet Union, but considered the social behaviour of an individual. This issue is just as poignant in the West».

Mario Corti, writer, translator, radio journalist (Italy)

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The literary/musical performance of the Student Theatre of the Kostroma State University at the opening of the monument to Alexander Zinoviev (based on Zinoviev's novel Go to Golgotha)



«I was born after the revolution and grew up in Soviet Russia»

«I grew up inspired by the best ideals of Communism and the best ideals of the Revolution, which I value greatly»

«It includes all the best achievements of mankind to date»

«This is my normal habitat»

«And this is the very reason why I became one of its most vehement critics»

«I realised it very early that my ideas and my Weltanschauung could only be formed by this society»

«I've lived through everything – unimaginable material conditions, arrests, the war and all the hardships it entailed»

«Nonetheless, no matter how hard this life has been, I would never trade it for another»



NOVIEV ЗИНОВЬЕВ ZINOVIEV ЗИНО
VIEV ЗИНОВЬЕВ ZINOVIEV



zinoviev
project

universe
of reason

*mundum creare
cogitantem*

**The project's Mission
is to preserve
and nurture
the comprehension
factor as the meaning
of humankind's
social existence**

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