

Summaries and keywords

Makarenko V.P. From the Ghost of Communism to the Ghost of the Religious War?..

Summary: The article analyzes the concept of absolute evil through the prism of interaction between ideological and religious systems. According to the author of the publication, the Russian history in the XX century can be regarded as a universal standard of the synthesis of war, revolution and terror, which gave rise to mass mortality of the population. The war transforms the peaceful way of reasoning into thinking in terms of war. As a result, conscience as the main criterion for assessing the norms of the human community is excluded (or marginalized) from the sphere of everyday relations. War involves primacy and aestheticization of the struggle, which goes beyond morality. As a result, a person becomes a criminal or a machine for murder. The cultivation of such a transformation becomes a special direction of political education and propaganda, which lead war criminals beyond all kinds of responsibility. That is why the following author's idea has great significance: to glorify the heroic life instead of glorifying heroic death.

Keywords: absolute evil; ideologeme of victory; glorification of heroic death; destructive potential of religious myths; synthesis of truth, non-violence and openness; negative ideological and political forms.

Soloviev E.Yu. Philosophy as Critique of Ideologies

Summary: The author brings under scrutiny the relation between philosophy and ideology in the situation of information warfare. It is characterized by the phenomenon of mirror ideological symmetry where both sides of the conflict tend to employ the same type of sophistry and casuistry. This ideological symmetry results in mobilizing the mass audiences which serves two main intentions: (a) admonishing and (b) inspiring them toward a suggested project. The admonition effect is reached by means of stirring up preemptive distrust, creating the "enemy image", implanting discrediting evidence and propagating a cult of vigilance. The standard discourse of ideological admonition is a "collage of separate information bits" which sanctions logical impudence and the loss of logical memory. This paper proposes to ground the logical defense of consciousness and of thinking in the very nature of discursivity, by resorting to logical and linguistic analysis. The inspiring projects neatly conform to the notion of mission; they are still afloat, fraught with dangerous geopolitical myths, interethnic intolerance and revived historicist speculations. According to the author, to find a philosophical response to such ideological threats one needs to promote a culture of sceptical verification of social expectations and hopes, to observe a strict distinction between a programme and an ideal (or goal), and to further develop the concept of open history.

Keywords: philosophy, ideology, information warfare, presumption of discredit, global missions, "open history" concept.

Mezhuyev V.M. Philosophy as an Ideology

Summary: This article is based on a report at the general seminar of the Institute of Philosophy of Russian Academy of Sciences. The report deals with the proof of the direct affiliation of philosophy to the entire sphere of ideology (along with religion, morality, law, etc.). By ideology here is meant the world of ideas — alienated from man and ideally represented system of his social relations. The whole classical philosophy was based on the idea of the freedom of man as a rational being from all forms of his personal dependence. Originating in antiquity, this idea was widely recognized in the modern times, in the era of the emergence of “bourgeois (or civil) society”. In this sense, the term “bourgeois philosophy” often used in connection with it is fully justified. This idea will serve as the source for all classical ideologies of the Modernity — conservatism, liberalism and socialism, surviving, albeit in a modified form, to the present day. But what can philosophy be outside of bourgeois society? For Marx, for example, the end of the bourgeois era meant at the same time the end of ideology and with it the whole of philosophy, which science should replace. Criticism of ideology is, from this point of view, not a matter of philosophy, but of science. In reality, contrary to Marx's prediction, such criticism did not become the end of philosophy, but its transition to a new quality — to the postclassical type of philosophizing, far from both science and ideology. Modern ideologists for the most part lost touch with the idea of individual freedom cultivated by philosophy. The latter will now be explored in the depths of one's own existence, which is beyond the mind and any socium. Philosophy itself more and more acquires the character of intellectual communication of individuals, free from attachment to any socially significant ideology. It becomes, as it were, an ideology for oneself (everyone is his own philosopher) or for a narrow circle of close personalities.

Keywords: philosophy, ideology, science, criticism, freedom, practice, spiritual production, idea, social relations, free time.

Potseluev S.P. Recalling Lukács

Summary: This text is an introductory article by an interpreter to the recently published collection of works by the famous Hungarian philosopher-Marxist G. Lukács (See: Potseluev S.P. Recalling Lukács / Lukács G. History and Class Consciousness. Chvostism and Dialectics. Blum's Theses (fragments) / translation from German, commentary, introductory article, indexes by S.P. Potseluev. Moscow: Russian Foundation for the Promotion of Education and Science, 2017. S. 5–51). The author considers Lukács's work in the context of the Russian Revolution of 1917 and the current trends of left philosophical and political thought. In particular, the topic of the “Russian roots” in Lukács' conversion to communism is discussed, as well as the question what part of heritage of the Hungarian thinker remains important today.

Keywords: G. Lukács, Marxism, Russia, alienation, alterglobalism.

Steshenko N.I. The Dispute about the Relation of the Expression “A and not A” to the “Dialectical Contradiction” in the Soviet Philosophical Literature of the 70–80's. XX century

Summary: This dispute was waged between supporters of both formal and dialectical logic. The expression “A and not -A” was given three meanings in the literature of the given time: 1) “A and not -A” is a dialectical formula representing the abstract and most accurate image of a dialectical contradiction; 2) “A and not-A” is a formal — logical contradiction; 3) “A and not-A” is an antinomy, where “A” is a variable for some utterance. In the article this dispute was analyzed in part, i. e. from the epistemological point of view, the logical properties of the expression “A and not

-A” are not discussed in the article. Various definitions of the dialectical contradiction (or 'subject contradiction' as another name) are analyzed in detail.

Keywords: formal contradiction, dialectical contradiction, antinomy, formal logic, dialectical logic.

Kolakovsky L. The Relevant and Irrelevant Concept of Marxism

Kolakovsky L. Priest and Fool: Reflections on the Theological Heritage of Modern Thinking

Summary: October 23, 2017 marked the ninetieth anniversary of the birth of Leszek Kolakovsky, an outstanding Polish and British thinker of modern times. Judging by the Runet websites, only V. Manuylov, the editor-in-chief of the newspaper “Ulitsa Moskovskaya”, responded to this date in Russia [Manuylov sine anno]. The editorial office of our magazine was also going to mark this date, but for reasons of volume the topic did not fit in the previous issue. The theoretical, moral and political legacy of Kolakovsky goes beyond any jubilee glorification and is still relevant, although in Russia it is not seriously understood [Kuznetsova 2009]. For movement in this direction, we place two articles of the philosopher, whose ideas allow us to learn from the discussion of the relationship between philosophy and ideology.

Keywords: L. Kolakovsky, Marxism, political philosophy, political ideology.

Rubtsov A.V. Before and After Postmodernity: on the Threshold of Super Modern Era

Summary: The problems of Russian modernization are discussed in the article against a background of more general macrohistorical transformations of Modern and postmodern. In the ideology of Modern (as the modern era) reveals a deep internal conflict between its “bright” and “dark” sides: the cult of the new and the apologia of the rigid order, humanism and overwhelming total organization. Totalitarianism is the legitimate product of the High Modern, and this virus was laid down in the early projects of ideal cities and an ideal society. In this regard, postmodernism is seen as a response to the realization of the idea of a total project, both in architecture and in politics (architectural metaphor). Deadlocks of postmodernism simulating lost spontaneity, and general tendencies connected with the search for an exit from postmodernism are revealed.

Keywords: modernization, High Modernity, postmodernism, politics, architecture, total project, new Enlightenment, afterpostmodernism, supernew time.

Neretina S.S. Owl Wings. The Tsarist Minister and Liberal Problems

Summary: At the end of XIX century Russia was facing transformations. Interest in various theories of country's reorganization was shown by all strata of Russian society, including its high-ranking persons. Also actively participated in this discussion the Chief Procurator of the Synod of K.P. Pobedonostsev, who wrote articles not only on religious topics, but also on socio-political ones. Among his interests were the problems of parliamentarism, democracy, socialism, the origin of the state; he introduced the ideas of the unconscious, drew attention to a new subject of history — a mass. Pobedonostsev published and rewritten under his own name the most poignant articles (it was not considered as plagiarism at that time), skillfully dissecting these problems (through figures of silence, ironic intonation, substitutions) in the spirit of a conservative monarchical bureaucracy. Expansion of the spectrum of theoretical positions is necessary for

understanding, first of all, revolutionary processes in order to exclude one-sidedness in their interpretation.

Keywords: socialism, state, democracy, evil, lie, unconscious, church, faith, reason, Herzen.

Pain E.A., Fedyunin S.J. The Problems of the Civil Nation in Russia and in the West: General and Special

Summary: This article proves that in the modern world the civil nation is one of the most important prerequisites for the formation of democratic regimes and their effective functioning. To prove this statement, the authors of the article study two types of deviation of the organization of society from the principles of the civil nation — in Russia and in the countries of the West, as well as related dysfunctions. Initially, they briefly analyze the hybrid type of national-state structure in Russia, which retains the features of the “imperial syndrome” and imitates national unity. Moreover, based on the analysis of the experience of the countries of the European Union and the United States, the authors show that the crisis now experienced by Western liberal democracy is largely due to the weakening of national unity and the establishment among the elites of ideas about the coming of a “post-national” era. In conclusion, a number of conclusions are drawn about the general patterns of the relationship between national identity, democracy and civic participation.

Keywords: civil nation, democracy, national accord, national identity, populism, cosmopolitanism, Russia, the West.

Klyamkin I.M. Russia-Ukraine: a Chronicle of Events and a Thematic Commentary

Summary: In the next collection of texts by Professor I.M. Klyamkin the course of the Ukrainian reforms that began after the Maidan is considered. The author is interested, first of all, how far Ukraine is able to progress to the rule of law. Her experience, as shown by I.M. Klyamkin, testifies that the transformation of post-communist illegal statehood into a legal state is even more complicated than the similar transformation of communist statehood. Because in the first case, along with an official, a character like the “oligarch” appeared over the ordinary man. Their mutually beneficial cooperation forms an over-legal system, functioning according to the formula “money-power-money”, as in Ukraine, or by the formula “power-money-power”, as in Russia. At the same time, the Ukrainian experience is of interest to the author not only to the discovery of the complexity of the problem, but also to the progress towards its solution. It is interesting, among other things, that in Ukraine, in the promotion of this, the reforming capabilities of the old elite, formed in the post-Soviet corrupt system, are being tested, in terms of dismantling this system and transforming it into a legal system. This elite is tied with the inertia of the clan-corporate relations and obligations. But at the same time, it is also tied with double pressure from the Ukrainian civil society and the West, which puts economic and political support for Ukraine in a strict dependence on the direction and pace of the reforms.

Keywords: Russia, Ukraine, Putin, political interests, legitimacy.

Tkachenko V.N. Ukrainian Route: from the Privatized Statehood to the Legal One (by Pages of I.M. Klyamkin's Book “Which Road Leads to the Law?” — Moscow: 2018, in print)

Summary: Ukraine is experiencing an era of change. This does not mean that the transition processes — from the privatized statehood to the legal one — will inevitably result in the

achievement of the original goals in full. But, according to Igor Moiseevich Klyamkin, everything that happens in Ukraine could be of interest to those who want systemic changes in Russia.

Keywords: Ukrainian experience, illegal statehood, rule of law, post-Soviet corrupt system, clan-corporate relations, specialized anti-corruption institutions, judicial reform.

Makarenko V.P. Sociology of Ignorance: Manipulation, Mass Production and Internal Censorship in the Social Sciences

Summary: Stanislav Andreski (1919–2007) belongs to the generation of European humanities researchers who devoted their lives to a critical analysis of the ideas of the classics of sociology (A. Comte, H. Spencer, M. Weber). This analysis took place in the context of wars, revolutions, dictatorships and other disasters of the 20th century that fell to this generation. The results of their reflection on the social reality of their time, on their historical experience are of an undoubted existential, research and methodological interest for us who are living in a not so tragic but quite stormy era of social change. The main content of the third and fourth chapters of S. Andreski's main work "Magic in Social Sciences" on the connection between national identity, democracy and civic participation is abstracted in the article.

Keywords: sociology of ignorance, manipulation, mass production, internal censorship, social sciences.

Berkowitz R. Why Arendt Matters: Revisiting the Origins of Totalitarianism

Summary: The journal "Political Conceptology" publishes the translation of the English-language article by Roger Berkovich, "Why Arendt Matters: Revisiting the Origins of Totalitarianism", presented in The Los Angeles Review of Books on March 18, 2017. Translation and publication were carried out with the author's consent.

Keywords: totalitarianism, mass movements, propaganda, terror, Hannah Arendt.

Baehr P. Personal Dilemma or Intellectual Influence? The Relationship between Hannah Arendt and Max Weber

Summary: The journal "Political Conceptology" publishes the translation of an English article by Peter Baer, published in 2005 in the journal "Max Weber Studies" 1 at the London Metropolitan University. Translation and publication of the article were carried out with the author's consent.

Keywords: Hannah Arendt, Max Weber, Karl Jaspers, politics, power, totalitarianism.

Tierds H. Within Four Walls or without them: the Architectural Reading of Hannah Arendt's Reflections about the Private Sphere

Summary: The journal "Political Conceptology" publishes the translation of the work of Hans Thiers, presented by him during a lecture at the Hannah Arendt Center at Bard College, New York. Translation and publication of the article were carried out with the author's consent.

Keywords: private sphere, architecture, public space, Hanna Arendt, space.