

Summaries and keywords

Makarenko V.P. Liberalism as a Prerequisite for Biopolitics: the Concept of M. Foucault and Russian-Soviet Practice in the Context of the Theory of Political Alienation

Summary: Michel Foucault posed the problem of analyzing state interest (hereinafter referred to as GI) and finding ways to limit it. To solve the problem, he formulated the starting premises: orthodoxy (in religion) and loyalty (in politics) are not the norms of religious and state life; the state is not a transhistorical phenomenon, and its interests are not supra-individual; therefore, revolutions (and not stability) are the norm of state existence. In order to substantiate these premises, Foucault developed cognitive means: the denial of universals and the formulation of the problem of possible history; nominalistic definition of GI; criticism of the current economic, military-diplomatic and police forms of implementation of the GI; fixing the contrast between the foreign and domestic policies of states; qualification of law, political economy and truth as ways to limit GI and necessary prerequisites for biopolitics.

These also include liberalism. In the course of lectures “The Birth of Biopolitics,” Foucault considers liberalism as the basis of a new art of government. As part of this art, he discovered and analyzed a specific problem-conceptual structure: the relationship between moderate governance and the market; transition from jurisdiction to verification; mode of truth; the difference between government and state interests; the relationship between law and truth; political critique of knowledge; police state; ways to limit government power; concepts of law; modern state mind.

The purpose of the article is to summarize Foucault’s conclusions about the main elements of this structure and pose the problem of their application to explaining the preconditions of Russian-Soviet biopolitics in the context of the theory of political alienation.

Keywords: state interest, Michel Foucault, prerequisites for biopolitics.

Obolonsky A.V. Geopolitics as an Ideology

Summary: The article presents arguments in favor of interpreting geopolitics as one of the widespread types of “false consciousness,” i.e., ideology. The author shows that the revival of the concept of geopolitics, as well as the ideas about the world of politics associated with this concept, was associated with the actualization of the neo-imperial view of the world. The basis of these ideologized ideas about politics as an arena for the implementation of the “intraspecific” struggle of states is a social Darwinist view of the world, according to which all peoples are enemies, conflict between states is the main form of relations between them according to the principle of a “zero-sum game”, and all unions, alliances and blocs are just tactical ploys that do not cancel the immanent common hostile essence. In other words, the ideology of geopolitics is based on the concept of “looking at neighbors through a gun sight.” The article is of a scientific and analytical nature and does not imply a direct connection with current policy issues.

Keywords: geopolitics, ideology, false consciousness, neo-imperialism, post-imperial syndrome.

Ivannikov I.A. The Formation and Evolution of Political Worldview by V.P. Makarenko

Summary: The article is devoted to the analysis of the personality and creativity of Doctor of Philosophy, Doctor of Political Sciences, Professor, Honored Scientist of the Russian Federation Viktor Pavlovich Makarenko. He is the author of works that over the past 50 years are relevant in their ideas, titles and touch on the most important topics in political science. The purpose of the article is to reflect the evolution of the development of the scientist's personality, his scientific creativity by period.

Keywords: bureaucracy, power, personality of a scientist, freedom of creativity, anarchism.

Baturin Yu.M. To Clarify the Notions of “Concept” and “Conceptology” (Reader's Hint)

Summary: The “concept” as a basis for the construction of the science “conceptology” is studied. The question of the concept structure, the language of its description and the possibility of using mathematics for this purpose is discussed. Conceptology is considered as a scientific understanding of political reality in interrelation with social and natural reality. The characteristics of the spaces related to the mentioned types of reality and peculiarities of their conjugation in the concept structure are analyzed. The reasons for the ineffectiveness of mathematical modeling of social processes in the era of 1970s and the chances of success of modern researchers are analyzed. It is concluded that it is possible to develop the science of politics to a level comparable in its rigor, clarity and accuracy of forecasting with physics or mathematics.

Keywords: Concept, conceptology, political science, mental space, p-adic numbers, adel.

Petrovsky H.V. Is the Notion of “Concept” Possible?

Summary: The article examines different interpretations of the notion “concept”, beginning with S.A. Askol'dov's essay “Concept and Word” (1928). Askol'dov, who treats the concept as a general notion, points out its main features, such as the function of substitution and the potential for carrying out certain actions. What is implied is the generative function of “intellectual generalities” with respect to “intellectual particularities”. In a coiled-up fashion, the concept contains within itself a movement towards what has repeatedly occurred in relation to similar phenomena. Although devoid of representation, the concept is highly effective in terms of its potentiality, and this is where its mysterious aspect resides. In contemporary studies of culture (Yu.S. Stepanov, D.S. Likhachev) the concept is seen as the embodiment of culture in the mind of its bearers. What is highlighted is, again, the substitutive function of the concept (Likhachev refers to it as the “algebraic” expression of the meaning of a word) as well as the presence of various levels or layers, which are actualized in group communication (Stepanov). Exhibiting fluidity and transitivity, the concept, unlike properly philosophical concepts, captures the dynamic of a subject's becoming in language as well as the rhythm of ongoing massive transformations, including those that embrace the realm of the political.

Keywords: concept, substitution, dynamism, potentiality, Askol'dov, Stepanov, Likhachev.

Chukin S.G. Knowledge of Politics: Conceptual Synthesis of Folk Psychology, Political Science and Political Philosophy (About the Idea of Political Conceptology by V.P. Makarenko)

Summary: The article examines the idea of political conceptology proposed by V.P. Makarenko and implemented by him in relation to current political problems. The author considers it the answer to the question of what knowledge about politics can be, bridging the gap between normative and descriptive knowledge of political phenomena. As a form of political knowledge, conceptology is a synthesis of ordinary views on politics, political philosophy and political science. It significantly weakens restrictions on language and style, allows for value judgments, a mixture of scientific and journalistic approaches, and the use of artistic images, which allows for maximum individualization of the objects under consideration. Content flexibility of concepts (as V.P. Makarenko understands and uses them) makes them a valuable methodological tool in social cognition.

Keywords: V.P. Makarenko, concept, political conceptology, analytical philosophy, assemblage, M. De Landa.

Tulchinskii G.L. Society and Subjectivity: Challenges for Political Conceptology from Soviet Experience to Digital Formats

Summary: The work contains an attempt to consider the challenges for contemporary political science, which are associated with the large-scale digitalization of socio-cultural practices, including political ones. The key point of these challenges is the anthropological challenge caused by the temptation of power for power in taming subjectivity. The ideas of V.P. Makarenko, A.A. Zinoviev, as well as the pragmasemantic approach are involved.

Keywords: power, political conceptology, pragmasemantics, semantic picture of the world, society, subjectivity, digitalization.

Aronson O.V. Evil as a Category of Modern Political Thinking

Summary: The article attempts to analyze the understanding of evil both in contemporary political discourse and in everyday word usage. For this purpose, it is proposed to revisit the problem of theodicy, since evil is almost always used in a religious sense. The article distinguishes between the process of secularization, as a result of which the omnipotence of God becomes the property and instrument of political power, and the deconstruction of Christianity, which allows us to move from political theology to secular theodicy, where our ability to think and recognize evil in the world, rather than the problem of God's justification, comes to the fore. The author argues that this is impossible within the framework of political theology, where political evil always conceals and justifies itself. This is the fate of all theodicies, which Kant calls "doctrinal," in which reason, making a claim against god (or transcendence) is always able to justify it. Kant considers the Book of Job to be the only "authentic" theodicy in which it is suffering itself, or Job's conscience, immanent to the world, that sues god. This is an important step in the direction of secular theodicy, but it is also limited in its desire to be subsumed by deity or authority. The paper suggests that we should pay attention to Job's wife's call to her husband to "curse the Lord and die." These words become the origin of an alternative theodicy – a theodicy of action, a theodicy of the victim refusing to speak to god. The author finds the beginnings of such a theodicy in Jules Michelet's historical analysis of the religious massacres of witches, where the latter appear as victims, as well as in Jean Amery's analysis of torture and his idea of the rehabilitation of the resentment. The line of rebellion leading from

the words of Job's wife to the unprecedented forms of violence of power provoked by the fear of this rebellion leads to the understanding of evil not as religious (opposing good), but as a political phenomenon of the modern world, manifested in excessive violence against the powerless victim.

Keywords: evil, theodicy, political theology, resentment, Book of Job, Kant, Jean Amery.

Rozin V.M. Notes on Power and Its Legitimacy

Summary: The article examines three points of view on the nature of power, and the author believes that power, although it belongs to the social whole, is exercised by people and is therefore anthropologically determined. At the same time, he considers sociality within the framework of a cultural approach. Examples of historically early and later forms of awareness of power are analyzed. Based on this analysis, a concept of power and an explanation of its legitimacy are proposed. The author believes that the two-layer structure of power (socio-cultural structure (order) and anthropological basis) allows us to understand both its normal functioning and, so to speak, “deviant social deviations” (anomalies). Examples of both are given. The ideas about power and legitimacy proposed by the author should be considered as ideal-typical constructions according to M. Weber. That is, these are diagrams that allow one to schematize empirical material and navigate it. When the researcher encounters new types of power, these schemes must be adjusted or new schemes must be introduced.

Keywords: power, culture, sociality, legitimacy, society.

Pain E.A. On the Evolution of the Conceptual Foundations of Russian Ethno-National Policy

Summary: On the eve of the update in 2025 of the “Strategy of State National Policy”, a discussion is unfolding in Russia about the existing and future conceptual foundations of such a policy. This discussion largely determines this article. In it, the author critically analyzes the stereotypical ideas about the national politics of Soviet and post-Soviet times that emerged in the process of this discussion. For example, about stability in the era of L. Brezhnev, a stereotype that does not take into account the rise of two varieties of nationalism in the 1960–1980s; about the “parade of sovereignties in the era of Soviet Perestroika: about multiculturalism as the supposedly official doctrine of Russian politics in the 1990s. The article analyzes the prospects for establishing a new concept of interculturalism in Russia. In this regard, the materials of a sociological study conducted by scientific teams led by the author of this article in 2018 in Rostov-on-Don are presented.

Keywords: national policy, ethnic communities, multiculturalism, interculturalism, “pre-civil society”, kunaches.

Sungurov A.Yu. The Development of Regional Parliamentary in Russia (On the Example of the Last Lensoviet and the First Convoctions of the Legislative Assembly of St. Petersburg)

Summary: The article examines the processes of formation of a new regional parliamentary in the last decade of the XX – early XXI century on the example of the Leningrad City Council of the XXI convocation, which operated in 1990–1993 and the first two convocations of the Legislative Assembly of St. Petersburg (1995–2003). Leningrad (since September 1991 – St. Petersburg Council of People's Deputies) It was rather an attempt to put into practice the slogan “All power to the Soviets”, or an authority operating in a purely parliamentary republic. At the same time, it became

an important school of parliamentary, which allowed sixteen of its former deputies, elected in 1994 as deputies of the Legislative Assembly of St. Petersburg of the first convocation, to become the basis for its successful activities, culminating in the development and adoption of a well-balanced Charter of St. Petersburg. An important characteristic of the activities of the first two convocations of the Legislative Assembly of St. Petersburg was also the absence of any dominant factions in its composition.

Keywords: Leningrad City Council, Legislative Assembly of St. Petersburg, Regional Parliamentary.

Korenevsky A.V. On the Question of the Past as the Basis for Regulating the Present and the Standard for the Future: “Mobilization of the Middle Ages” in Modern Russian Public Consciousness

Summary: The article is a homage to the outstanding philosopher and political analyst V.P. Makarenko, timed to coincide with his two anniversaries – the “questionnaire” (eightieth birthday) and the creative one – the half-century anniversary of the hero of the day’s research in the field of “Weberian studies”. Nominated by V.P. Makarenko’s interpretation of the sociological concept of Max Weber as a “special case of pseudo-historicism” – a form of conscious (“ideological”) traditionalism that arises in a situation of total collapse of social foundations, the author proposes to use as an analytical framework for understanding such a modern (including Russian) phenomenon, as “retrotopia”, which most clearly appears in the form of “medievalism” – a utilitarian reception of the ideological heritage of the Middle Ages in relation to the needs of current politics, ideology and culture. From the author’s point of view, medievalism, in the Russian version of which Byzantine images and motifs clearly predominate, is by no means an invention of our time: in fact, it is a secondary form of reception of the ideological heritage of the Middle Ages, characteristic of the 19th century. Thus, modern Russian medievalism in a broader sense represents one of the manifestations of the basic cultural metaplot of the “lost paradise” – nostalgia for the century traditionally considered the “golden age of Russian culture” and the pinnacle of imperial power.

Keywords: V.P. Makarenko, Max Weber, traditionalism, pseudo-historicism, retrotopia, medievalism, neo-Byzantinism, metaplot.

Neklessa A.I. African Transit in Regional and Global Context

Summary: The article is devoted to the methodological and prognostic aspects of the African political transformation. The umbrella category of “postcoloniality” is becoming the framework concept for several processes unfolding both in the territories of the Global South as well as in the global North. The former colonial world and its inhabitants are undergoing a complex transition: from a traditional society to a modern social order; harnessing the fruits of decolonization and diversification of forms of co-presence in the cross-border postmodern community. Today, post-colonial problems are recognized in a wide range of phenomena, and they gradually become an important element of the force that influences the outcome of this historical transition not only from the regional perspective of the Third World, but also in the global dimension.

Keywords: Africa, postcoloniality, transit of civilization, hybrid forms of power, postmodernity, new initiative class.

Rimskiy V.L. The Significance of M.K. Petrov's Social Codes Theory for the Analysis of Archaization Phenomena

Summary: Archaization is understood as following cultural patterns and programs developed in cultures that preceded modern ones. Archaization can be difficult to recognize, since it manifests itself together with more or less modern development trends, may accompany some of its achievements, positive results, when previous experience proves useful. But with the increasing complexity of society, the conditions of its existence and development, and their rapid changes, archaism rather becomes an obstacle in understanding emerging problems and finding effective ways to solve them. The recognition of archaization can be helped by identifying the characteristics of the cultures types corresponding to the three M.K. Petrov's social codes. The dominance of the social code by professions names in the social reality understanding in a particular social community or in a whole society may indicate their archaization.

Keywords: archaization, traditionalism, M.K. Petrov social codes, cultural patterns and programs.

Aronson O.V. Anarchic Ethnicity

Summary: The chapter “Anarchist Ethnicity” makes an attempt to consider the concept of ethnicity as part of the modern politics of values. The topic of ethnicity, which arose as a scientific response to a politically discredited racial theory, nevertheless, as the author shows, does not leave the political space. Both primordialist and constructivist concepts of ethnicity retain the priority of ethnic identity (separation of oneself from another, and in political form, attitude towards the enemy) in relation to that archaic (pre-political) community, which can also be extracted from the very idea of ethnos. The author proposes to consider ethnicity not as a tool for dividing communities, but as one of the forces of bringing together the weak, different, and incapable of political solidarity and mobilization. This reveals a unique ethics of ethnicity, which the author calls “ethical mythology,” since here the action of myth and ethics are inseparable. Using the example of the polemics of Derrida and Lévi-Strauss regarding preliterate societies, it is shown that the myth in which a community manifests itself in opposition to various forms of imposed political community (be it a people, a nation or an ethnic group) is a variant of arche-writing in the form in which it described in the concept of deconstruction. In fact, ethnicity contains signs of resistance to the “common meaning” and “political will”, peculiar traces of ritual, non-government practices of heterogeneous communities. The attempt made in this chapter to present such communities as the elusive source of ethnicity and as a distinguishing unit of modern political thinking, like a phoneme in linguistics, reveals the anti-authority and anti-social layer of ethnicity, which is therefore called here “anarchic”.

In the chapter “Maidan: Redefining Democracy,” through an analysis of the events that occurred in Ukraine in 2013, which resulted in a change in political power in the country, the author attempts to offer a different version of democracy. It was on the Kiev Maidan, in his opinion, that the event of depoliticization of protest took place, as a result of which many words, such as “freedom”, “justice”, “trust”, “dignity”, ceased to be moral and political tools for manipulating society, but they acquired the concreteness of practical action, not reducible to politics, morality, or economics. The article shows the Maidan effect from the side of its resistance to politics, where the dominance of affective trust exceeds possible political disagreements. It is this that Spinoza, and later Antonio Negri, describes as the “multitude” (multitudo) that underlies democracy. It is this kind of democracy that realizes “freedom”, “equality” and “justice” not as political concepts, but as affects of community, allowing for the realization of both trust and risk in a world filled with political falsehood and disinformation.

Keywords: ethnicity, people, myth, community, anarchism, arche-writing, deconstruction, Lévi-Strauss, Derrida.

Loginov E.V., Mertsalov A.V., Yunusov A.T. Philosophical Cafe

Summary: We offer the reader a short sketch of the history and theoretical mindset of the Moscow Philosophical Cafe – an association that was born among students of the Faculty of Philosophy of Moscow State University in 2009 and since then has been trying to combine in its work the rigor of a research seminar with the friendly atmosphere of a coffee break. The most famous product of the Philosophical Cafe’s activities to a wide audience is the magazine “Date Compote”.

Keywords: Moscow Philosophical Cafe; “Date Compote”; philosophical communities; modern Russian philosophy.

Afanasov N.B. Fragmentation as a Generational Strategy

Summary: The article represents the author's reflection on the key features of the philosophical generation that was formed in the Russian-speaking space in the 10s of the 20th century. The author believes that a relevant theoretical lens for considering the specifics that distinguish young people who began their journey in philosophy during these years could be an appeal to the sociological typology of generations. According to the authoritative sociologist Vadim Radaev, the designated philosophical generation belongs to the “millennials.” The key characteristics that distinguish these young people include isolation, passion for gadgets and everyday digitalization, lack of desire to build a career, and inability to integrate into large hierarchical structures. Based on his personal experience, presented in the form of brief notes on key topics shaping the intellectual generation – magazines, people, books, places – the author invites the reader to consider some circumstances of his personal intellectual biography that could serve as evidence confirming the hypothesis. Without hoping to be able to “capture” the essence of his generation, the author hopes that his memories may be useful for subsequent comparative analysis.

Keywords: generation, millennials, scientific journals, publishing, Russian philosophical space, generational strategies, fragmentation, autobiography.

Podoroga B.V. Speculative Realism for Philosophical Millennials

Summary: In this article I discuss the prospective generation of philosophers born in the mid-80s and early 90s of the last century. I associate it with the newest philosophical movement, “speculative realism.” The main thesis of this article: the named generation of philosophers, with the help of the anti-correlationist thesis of speculative realism, is trying to update the ontology of difference associated with French theory and neo-Marxism. I also compare the sociological concept of the millennial generation with the specified generation of philosophers who popularize speculative realism.

Keywords: generations, speculative realism, millennials, correlationism, ontology of difference.

Andresky St. Hiding Behind the Screen of Methodology (Chapter From the Book “Witchcraft in the Social Sciences”)

Summary: The journal “Political Conceptology” publishes a translation of the ninth chapter of Stanislav Andreski’s book “Witchcraft in the Social Sciences” (Czarnoksiestwo w naukach społecznych), which was published in 2002 by Oficyna naukowa.

Keywords: Stanislav Andreski, theoretical heritage, comparative studies of wars, revolutions and dictatorships.