

UDC 32

POLITICAL SCIENCE, POLITISCHE WISSENSCHAFT AND POLITOLOGIJA — IN THE PROJECT OF POZNAŃ PHILOSOPHERS AND POLITICAL SCIENTISTS¹

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The review regards the book “*Political Science, Politische Wissenschaft i Politologija. Antologia tekstów*” published in the frame of the project implemented at the Department of Political Philosophy, Faculty of Political Science and Journalism, Adam Mickiewicz University between 2013 and 2018. Poznań philosophers and political scientists selected representative works on political philosophy of Anglo-Saxon, German and Russian provenance, and translated them into Polish. In this way, the researchers provided representative texts to Polish readers, enabling them to meet the most popular scientific trends and to start discussions and polemics with presented theses.

Keywords: political science, project, translation, anthology.

The project “Podstawowa literatura przedmiotu a kształt współczesnej politologii. *Political science, Politische Wissenschaft i politologija w ujęciu porównawczym*” (Jeliński, Wiśniewski, Biały, Bielawska, Dulęba, Hordecki, 2017) was implemented at the **Department of Political Philosophy, Faculty of Political Science and Journalism, Adam Mickiewicz University between 2013 and 2018**. Project manager, professor doctor habilitated doctor Janusz Wiśniewski together with professor doctor habilitated Edward Jeliński and researchers of the younger generation — Agnieszka Bielawska, PhD, Filip Biały, PhD, Bartosz Hordecki, PhD and Łukasz Dulęba, MA selected representative works on political philosophy of Anglo-Saxon, German and Russian provenance, and translated them into Polish. They selected William E. Connolly, Michael Freeden and Quentin Skinner as representative scientists in political science. Gerhard Göhler, Klaus Roth, Henfried Münkler and Thomass Risse were chosen as the representatives of *politische Wissenschaft*. Vladimir Aleksandrowicz Gutorov and Aleksander Andrijewicz Shirinyants were the representatives of Russian political science in the anthology. In this way, researchers from Poznań provided representative texts to Polish readers, enabling them to meet the most popular scientific trends and to start discussions and polemics with presented theses.

¹ Review of the book: Jeliński E., Wiśniewski J., Biały F., Bielawska A., Dulęba Ł., Hordecki B. (eds.) *Political Science, Politische Wissenschaft i Politologija. Antologia tekstów* [Political Science, Politische Wissenschaft i Politologija. Anthology], Poznań, 2017.

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Filip Biały translated William E. Connolly's work on the notions that are essentially debatable in politics (Connolly, 2017, pp. 9–32). The American researcher of pluralism does not only point to the role of concepts in political science disputes, but also to the differences between descriptive (neutral) and normative notions. He sees the disputability and multidimensionality of defining politics in the fact that the concept of politics has many terms with various designations. Therefore, the definition problems enable conceptual disputes. In addition, discussions and disputes arising from the diversified defining of political concepts make it possible to observe research attitudes. Methods of responding to conflicts that result from a different perception of meanings in political science depend on the patience and inquisitiveness of a researcher. The theoretical perspective and attachment to specific definitions indicate the identity and self-identification of a researcher who *nolens volens* chooses a specific definition, guided by selected imponderables, not necessarily of a moral basis.

Łukasz Duleba and Filip Biały translated into Polish an article by a researcher from Oxford, Michael Freeden, published in the English-language version in 2005 in *The Journal of Political Philosophy*. The text addresses the issue of tools that should be available to researchers studying politics and fields that have a particular impact on the development of scientific theories. M. Freeden perceives political philosophy, the history of political thought, and political theory as of particular importance for the development of political science, but he also postulates the emphasis on the role of the political theory of politics. This is the fourth different scientific perspective on political thinking in relation to specific *case studies*. The author points out that political science, like any science, needs new, absolutely innovative approaches. He is of the opinion that decision-making processes in politics that require making choices should be pro-social. He notices the difficulty in making political decisions by observing and researching the political environment characterized by equivocity, indeterminacy, undecidability, ambiguity. His views are not isolated in this respect, for example, many experts on international relations, like Roman Kuźniar, define a strategic environment using the acronym VUCA, that is characterised by: volatility, uncertainty, complexity, and ambiguity (Kuźniar, p. 6). It is worth noting that M. Freeden draws attention to the influence of decontestation on the selection and popularity of certain political definitions. Introduced into political science by M. Freeden, the definition of decontestation says it is “making by ideology an attempt to eliminate all competing ways of understanding given notions or concepts” (Freeden, 2017, p. 39).

Decontestation is applied through the use of emotions and persuasion. It may cause simplification in understanding disputable political concepts, but on the other hand it helps to distinguish the self-identification of researchers using it and their support for specific political concepts and schools. For researchers belonging to scientific schools are characterized by attachment to specific definitions and concepts. Therefore, M. Freeden postulates not to stay in the traditional and well-understood circles of political definitions, but to create new ones by analysing and constructing new scientific categories.

The article *Truth, belief and interpretation* written by Quentin Skinner, who works at the University of London, was translated by Filip Biały and Janusz Grygieńć. The text analyses the functions of intellectual and cultural historians and emphasizes

the influence of constructivism, which by referring to ideas and beliefs affects the perception of the past. Q. Skinner emphasizes the influence of Thomas Kuhn, Keith Thomas, Stuart Clark and Emmanuel Le Roy on the current perception of the role of intellectual and cultural historians. When quoting research on the Copernican revolution and witches, he proves that one should examine the causes of erroneous reasoning of societies in the past, instead of only distinguishing false theses from the real ones. The literary and philosophical texts, which are the subject of research, are performative, that is they shape the reality, and they are enslaved by the ideology of the author, which the researcher must be able to recognize and define (Skinner, 2017, pp. 56–66; Biały, 2014, pp. 172–174).

Agnieszka Bielawska translated into Polish the article written by Gerhard Göhler and Klaus Roth, German political scientists from Otto Suhr Institute. Analyzing the works of Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel as well as philosophers and political scientists arguing with him, the researchers show how categories important in political science, such as economy, law and state authorities are interpreted and explained (Göhler, Roth, 2017, pp. 67–84). It is still disputable whether W. F. Hegel was more in favor of the emancipation of civil society or monarchy. German professors are of the opinion that explanations regarding the presence of liberal or conservative tendencies in the works of W. F. Hegel are found primarily in the so-called Jena period of the philosopher's activity. It should be underlined that W. F. Hegel inspired J. Habermas, who in 1967 interpreted the "Jena philosophy of the spirit" looking for contributions to the theory of communication in J. Hegel's texts. Michael Theunissen and Andreas Wildt also referred to W. F. Hegel's Jena Lectures when looking for explanations on the purpose of Hegel's philosophy and defining problems in the philosophy of law, which W. F. Hegel planned to solve. It is worth noting that W. F. Hegel noted the positive function of law, that is creating conditions for the realization of morality and freedom. The goal of W. F. Hegel, articulated in real philosophy, was the unity of morality and legality. In contrast to real philosophy, the relation between law and psychology was emphasized in the philosophy of law. Law is a leading category in the philosophical system of W. F. Hegel, having its source in the "free spirit".

The text *Reports: Was Machiavelli a Machiavellian? The origins of Machiavellianism and raison d'état* (translated by Agnieszka Bielawska), published in 1983 by Herfried Münkler (professor of political science at the Humboldt University) in "Politische Vierteljahresschrift" provides a reflection on the perception of Machiavellianism and *raison d'état*. Although it is a contribution from the book "Machiavelli" published in 1982 by H. Münkler, it introduces an atmosphere of renaissance reflections on the conflict between ethics and politics. The author of "The Prince" and "The History of Florence" pointed out that political theory was independent of theology, because it was characterized by a different understanding of rationality. Niccolò Machiavelli was of the opinion that it was the *raison d'état* and morality that had an impact on politics. Machiavellianism assumes "subordinating all moral values to saving the state and the good of the fatherland" (Münkler, 2017, p. 85). This attitude, resulting from *raison d'état*, makes it better to be *privatio* (an ordinary citizen) than to exercise power. The views proclaimed by Machiavelli led to the ascertainment that the philosopher refuted the medieval perception of the role of

society. By setting the boundary between what is moral and what is political, the scholar inspired later philosophers. Isaiah Berlin also referred to his thesis, acknowledging the originality of Machiavelli's views, which became a yoke for rulers, forced to accept a different authority. Max Weber was also inspired by Machiavelli's thought, pointing to the differences between personal ethics and the ethics of public responsibility. In his report, H. Münkler draws attention not only to the broad impact of Machiavelli's thought, but also to the perception of the writer as compared to other artists of the Renaissance era. While Petrarch was remembered as a moral philosopher, Machiavelli is known for making politics free from morality.

In the article "Towards a European community of communication: theoretical considerations and empirical evidence" translated by Agnieszka Bielawska Thomas Risse attempts to assess whether we can recognize the existence of a European public space in which information transfer and exchange of reflection take place (Risse, 2017, pp. 96–108). This issue, related to deliberative democracy, is widely discussed. It is not only the media that debate how society should communicate in Europe, although the activity of the fourth power is the source of analyses. In Poland, the publishing house "Polityka" translated the book "Europe is dead, long live Europe" by the German journalist Thomas Schmid in 2017 (Schmid, 2017), whereas, among scientific works, it is worth paying attention to Agnieszka Szymańska's work, which is the effect of the qualitative research conducted among German journalists on the European community of communication (Szymańska, 2016). Therefore, similarly to T. Risse, researchers, journalists, politicians and representatives of other circles may consider the condition of the European community of communication. Apart from research related to specific case studies, other general questions arise, e.g. Does the European community have a stabilizing or destabilizing effect? What causes the difficulties in building a European public space? The scientific answer to this question requires a precise methodology, based on quantitative or qualitative analysis, for example an individual depth interview. It also requires fixing the reference to constructivism in the theory of international relations, for example when analysing the European identity or the European community. Among the dominant frameworks and interpretive patterns of the European community of communication two are dominant: A). Europe as a moral community; B). Europe as a legal community. The undertaken research on the European community of communication is determined by the ongoing social discourse — T. Risse analysed the European debate on Jörg Haider's policy, while currently one of the dominant topics would be the migration crisis, or Brexit. The achievement of the German political scientist is to define the conditions for the formation of the European community of communication, i. e. similar distinction between controversial issues and indisputable ones in the society; similarities in reference points and semantic structures; mutual recognition of the participants of the discourse. Although there will be sceptics who doubt the vitality of the European community of communication, criticise the slow exchange of information, or wrong reception of the meaning codes among those discussing Europe's problems, it should be noted that the development of media and direct contacts between the Europeans will open up opportunities for creating the European community of communication and its quality will remain dependent on socialization processes.

As students of political science rarely read the original works by Aristophanes or Hesiod, the text by W. A. Gutorov, translated together with other articles in Russian by Bartosz Hordecki, seems to be very attractive. W. A. Gutorov, a researcher at Saint Petersburg State University, analyses how the ancient classical tradition treated the issues of peace, war and balance of power in international relations. The influence of the thoughts of the ancient Greeks and Romans has a broad and timeless resonance. There is no doubt that the stability of the state depends on the role of elites and the ability to conduct a moderate and balanced policy. Humanity inherited the original patterns of behaviour after ancient writers to which societies now refer. Without knowing the history of ancient Greece and Rome, it would be difficult to understand the basic principles of international relations. Therefore, when studying the attitude towards war and peace in ancient classical philosophy, according to Paul Pédech it is worth paying attention to 1. individuals; 2. political institutions; 3. geographical environment; 4. case (fortune). Peace was important for ancient Greeks as Eirene, one of the daughters of Zeus and Themis was the goddess of peace. The Roman goddess of war was Bellona — the wife of Mars, the god of war and father of the Romans. These famous figures inspired scientists and journalists, for example in the interwar period in Poland a magazine of the General Staff of the Polish Army “Bellona” was published. The issues of war and peace have become important not only for the science of security and defence, which belong to social sciences. These categories have inspired to analyses for centuries. Machiavelli, to whom W. A. Gutorov referred, inspired Raymond Aron a well-known French researcher of international relations in his consideration on the dialectics of war and peace (Aron, 1984). The article by W. A. Gutorov refers to ancient customs and tradition, which are associated with the conduct of war and peace, for example, the formation of alliances, taking patronage (*accipere in fidem*) or games. The researcher draws attention to the similarity between the Synedrion at Corinth and the functions of the League of Nations and the United Nations. In the works of Titus Livy, Seneca, Tacitus, Virgil, Pliny or other (sometimes anonymous) writers one can find answers to questions on how to maintain the state of peace or for what reasons the state of peace (eg *tertius gaudens est*) can be lost and on what terms to include *pax* (*accipere in fidem, in fidem se dedere, receptio in fidem*). Polybius presents how decision processes go, distinguishing in them the following actions: first steps, reasons, decisions and plans. The Russian researcher also explains that the balance of power should be examined at the theoretical level and by studying specific examples (Gutorov, 2017a, pp. 109–130).

Other articles by W. A. Gutorov on the political-philosophical discourse in contemporary Russia and by A. A. Shirinyants on the history of socio-political thought of Russia in 1850–1860 clearly show that contemporary Russian political philosophy and 19th century Russian historical and social thought are firmly rooted in the socio-economic life of the epochs. In his recently published essay (2015), W. A. Gutorov points out that Russian researchers refer to Western sources when assessing a current political situation in Russia. Although the Russian political scientist notes that contemporary Russia is perceived in relation to the past, for example to the communist era or the superpower policy in the 19th century, he does not approve of this

attitude. W. A. Gutorov, referring to Sergei Prozorov, is of the opinion that one should not look at Russia through the prism of the past, but examine its actual, current state. The implementation of this postulate faces obstacles. From the article one can learn more on what in foreign political science inspires Russian scholars rather than learn about Russian contemporary political scientists. Russian researchers find inspiration in Western sources and analyse the texts of Western authors. In this way, the studies of Jürgen Habermas, Raymond Aron, and Pierre Bourdieu are read again in the Slavic cultural area. This exchange of political reflections influenced the formation of political philosophy in the 21st century in Russia as an independent national discipline that draws from philosophical thinking. This discipline analyses the purpose, subject and political conditioning of political philosophy, and examines political phenomena (Gutorov, 2017b, pp. 131–148).

On the other hand, A. A. Shirinyants emphasises the importance of the history of political thought, appreciating its broad range of research (Shirinyants, 2017a, p. 149–152). This political scientist from the Moscow State University is interested in: 1). How the writer responds to the national and ethno-cultural specificity of political relations in Russia; 2). How his/her research correlates with global research in the epoch he/she represents. Adopted by A. A. Shirinyants caesura of 1850–1860 introduces the reader into the period of the rule of two tsars — Nicholas I (1825–1855) and Alexander II (1855–1881). The Crimean War (1853–1856), which ended with the defeat of the empire, the issue of liberation and the formation of the liberal trend of socio-political thought in Russia are only some of the issues that affected the discourse of representative researchers of the history of socio-political thought of Russia in that decade. They were Konstantin Sergeevich Aksakov, Yuri Fyodorovich Samarin, Konstantin Dmitrijevich Kavielin, Aleksandr Ivanovich Hercen, Nikolai Platonovich Ogariov, Nikolai Gavrilovich Chernyshevsky, and Dmitry Ivanovich Pisarev. Many of them, like J. F. Samarin, A. Hercen, and M. Chernyshevsky, found recognition in Polish historiography (Bazyłow, 1970, p. 201–220; Walicki, 2005). From A. A. Shirinyants' reflections on the achievements of K. D. Kavielin, it appears that he was the progenitor of liberalism, dealing with the state's serfdom law and administrative and self-government reforms. Russian expert Richard Pipes sees K. D. Kavielin as the creator of the Russian "state school", a talented lecturer at the universities in Moscow and Petersburg (Pipes, 2009, p. 181–183).

In the final article of the anthology A. A. Shirinyants studies the importance of conservatism in the ideological and political space of contemporary Russia (Shirinyants, 2017b, pp. 184–193). The main research problem in the article concerns the recognition of the role of ideology in theoretical and practical terms, taking Russian conservatism as an example. According to the political scientist, although modern Russian politicians often declare their attachment to conservatism, many of them do not know Russian conservative thought and cannot lead an intellectual discussion about the views of well-known theoreticians of the doctrine of conservatism. Although slogans about "conservative modernization" appear in the programmes of political parties and leaders, there is no detailed explanation of this expression. A. A. Shirinyants himself is of the opinion that Russian society needs ideology and sees its positive functions. The scientist believes that "ideology as a form of collective conscious-

ness organization, based on the past and present, is what in the static layer means the systemic principles of cooperation between social groups and institutions, what makes it possible to distinguish between *ours* and *foreign*, i. e. solves the problems of self-identification (...), while in the dynamic layer the goal, means and ways to achieve it" (Shirinyants, 2017, p. 186–187). In conservatism, an important role is played by values that have integration functions. The current emphasis on the importance of conservatism is a kind of opposition to communist views and pointing to new goals of the Russian Federation. In this way, axiology is a permanent instrument for perpetuating the status quo and for negating the pre-1991 policy, when the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics was dissolved. On the basis of the programmes of the Liberal Democratic Party and the Democratic Party of Russia A. A. Shirinyants explains how political values are understood in Russia, for example patriotism or justice, and he regrets that many politicians use them in the instrumental pursuit of profit.

Both publishing Polish political anthologies (Meller, Radomski, Strzelecki, Wojdyło, 2017) and providing translations of foreign political science works to Polish readers affect the development of this scientific field, enabling discussion and exchange of views among researchers. Therefore, the implementation of the project consisting in the selection and translation of political science works by the Poznań scientific team deserves appreciation and continuation.

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