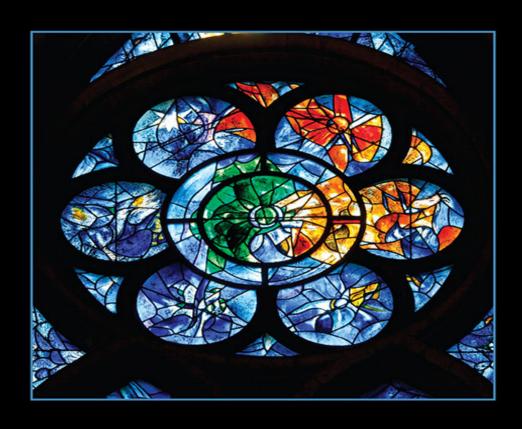# DIALOGUE AND THE NEW COSMOPOLITANISM

Conversations with Edward Demenchonok

Edited by **FRED DALLMAYR**

Dialogue and the New Cosmopolitanism

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Dialogue and the New Cosmopolitanism

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Introduction

Fred Dallmayr, University of Notre Dame

As has often been observed, the basic ideas or guiding principles of politics are today in disarray. To a considerable extent, this fact is due to an ongoing "paradigm shift," that is, a shift from the modern accent on egocentrism and state-centrism to a dawning perspective called "postmodernity" or post-individualism. Reflection on this shift is the overall theme of the present study, discussed from a variety of angles and viewpoints. Under the influence of chauvinistic populism and elitist neo-liberalism our world tends to resemble a Hobbesian "state of nature" and relentless "war of all against all." The presence of militarized hegemonies coupled with the danger of nuclear proliferation threatens the future of global humanity. Thus, we seem to have entered or are pushed into a new historical period marked by new challenges and horizons.

Present-day experiences, good and bad, require a more detailed outline of these challenges. The book is titled *Dialogue and the New Cosmopolitanism: Conversations with Edward Demenchonok*. This title points toward important roadmarks on the way to global peace. Here it is important to note that peace is not and cannot be the outcome of unilateral human efforts or designs. Basically, peace is not the result of self-centered or state-centered machination or willpower; rather, it has more the character of a gift deriving from ethical attention to others cultivated through dialogue. In international relations, dialogical interaction of this kind is called diplomacy. Clearly, such engagement cannot be the policy or serve

the interest of just one party but has to involve bilateral or multilateral negotiation. To make this possible, dialogue presupposes an ethical maturation, that is, the curbing of egocentric or state-centric designs. Thus, in the pursuit of global order, it is not sufficient to spout high-sounding slogans about "world peace," slogans not sustained by action and moral maturation.

This need for maturation carries over into the idea of "cosmopolitanism." What this term means has nothing to do with unilateral world-rule or cosmic power. Unfortunately, in the past, the term has often been used or abused for designs of global domination. The title of the present book invokes a "new cosmopolitanism," a term which does not support one-sided supremacy but aims at democratic or lateral interaction among equal partners in the world. Clearly such a vision is crucial in our present global arena. In one of his later books, Martin Luther King Jr. pinpointed the issue in its title: "Where Do We Go from Here: Chaos or Community?" With this formulation, King showed himself to be a good Christian faithful to the words of Jesus: "You know that the rulers of the Gentiles lord it over them and their great men exercise authority over them. It shall not be so among you, but whoever wants to be great among you must be your servant" (Matthew 20:25–26).

The present book pays tribute to the work and ideas of Edward Demenchonok and proceeds in the form of conversations with him. As is well known, major breakthroughs to a new paradigm were accomplished by existentialism and phenomenology, and especially by Martin Heidegger with his move from individual subjectivity to the lived world or shared "life world." This move shattered the traditional "dualisms" of self and other, inside and outside, immanence and transcendence, replacing them with a differential nexus or correlation. The distinctive features of the emerging perspective have been analyzed by many contemporary thinkers and philosophers, all cited and appreciated by Demenchonok.

What emerges here is the progressive shift from self-identity to diversity, multiplicity and transversality—though not to sheer heterogeneity or randomness. In different language, one can describe the change also as the move from monologue to conversations, dialogue or plurilogue. The running thread of the present volume thus is the recognition of plurality in our shrinking world and the need for multiple new correlations and interactions.

The book proceeds along the path toward cosmopolitanism in several steps or thematic parts. The first part explores the notion of dialogue as both a theoretical concept and a practical commitment. The second part underscores the recognition of cultural diversity in the design of a global framework. Part three focuses on the role of human identity in the maintenance of the role of law in a culturally diverse world. Parts four and five highlight the importance of freedom and rational responsibility together with the contribution of ethical pluralism in the striving for world order. The concluding part six stresses the need for cosmopolitan vision in the quest for peace and global justice.

A recognized limit of this volume is a shortage of voices from outside the Western world, especially the Far East. As editor I am fully aware of this limitation. However, I consider this gap tolerable by virtue of the fact that, together with Demenchonok, I have published a previous volume titled *A World Beyond Global Disorder: The Courage to Hope* (Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2017) which included contributions from a number of distinguished non-Western thinkers (like Tu Weiming and Peimin Ni from China, Abdolkarim Soroush from Iran, and Ashis Nandy from India). The present book is greatly inspired by these and other global voices. In my view, the voices included in both the previous and the present volume are just part of a larger conversation which is ongoing and expanding. Our hope is that, over time, this conversation will contribute to the cause of global peace and the rise of a generous dialogical cosmopolis.

University of Notre Dame, South Bend, IN, March 2022

I

INTERCULTURAL DIALOGUE

Theory and Practice

1

Justice, Power, and Dialogue

Humanizing Politics

Fred Dallmayr

Today, nothing seems more urgently needed than the emergence of something like a global "public sphere" that, as a part of global civil society, would serve as a kind of public tribunal before which political leaders—from would-be emperors to petty dictators—would be held at least morally and ethically accountable. At a time when many "leaders" seem ready to go berserk and when our world is overshadowed by warfare, terror wars, and indiscriminate killings, some restraint on ferocity needs to be imposed—which, in the absence of a global super-state (beset by its own problems), can only come from the alertness and vigilance of responsible people around the world.

In the present context, I want to reflect in some greater detail on the promises and possibilities opened up by the La Trobe Centre for Dialogue. In particular I want to explore some of the paths leading from the institutional setting—and the "dialogue" pursued in that setting—to broader ramifications in the global arena. Differently stated, I want to investigate certain parallels that exist between dialogue, or certain forms of dialogue, and various international or cross-cultural interactions, and thus sketch a transition "from theory to practice." Specifically, I want to do three things.

First, I want to talk about the meaning and contemporary relevance of dialogue, both from a theoretical-philosophical and a political angle. Next, I want to highlight different forms or modalities of dialogue or communicative interaction as they are found in actual inter-societal practices. By way of conclusion, I wish to put the spotlight on the relation between dialogue and political power, in an effort to show how dialogue can be an antidote to political domination as well as political or economic injustices and hence a resource for the promotion of global justice.

WHY DIALOGUE?

By its very name, the La Trobe Centre is committed to the "dialogue" among civilizations and ultimately among peoples. An initial question that may be asked is: What is the meaning of this commitment? or: To what has the Centre committed itself? By common agreement, the meaning of a term is best grasped by its juxtaposition to counter-terms which limit or circumscribe it. The relevant counter-term here is "monologue," that is, a situation where only one voice is allowed to talk or where one voice drowns out all others—including perhaps its own inner voice or conscience. Transferred to the political context, monologue corresponds to a policy of unilateralism or to a situation where a hegemonic or imperial power reduces all other agents to irrelevance and silence. Silhouetted against this background, dialogue denotes the communicative interaction between two, several or many interlocutors where no party can claim to have the first or the last word. Politically this translates into a policy of multilateralism or multilateral cooperation which is the opposite of any absolutism or empire. This rejection of absolutism and empire is, in turn, a precondition of just peace.

Perhaps a brief glance at etymology may clarify things. As we know, the term "*dialogue*" comes from the Greek and is composed of two parts: "*dia*" and "*lógos*." Without going into needless subtleties, we can say that "logos" in Greek means something like reason, meaning, and also (more simply) language and word. On the other hand, "*dia*" signifies "moving through" or "moving between." Hence, etymologically, dialogue entails that reason or meaning is not the monopoly of one party but arises out of the communicative intercourse between parties or interlocutors. Differently put:

the "logos" here is a shared logos, the truth a shared truth which depends crucially on the participation of several or many people or agents. This means, in turn, that dialogue is intrinsically at odds with any kind of cognitive absolutism (or a claim to "apodictic" truth)—which does not in any way signal a lapse into "relativism" or arbitrary randomness. The latter decay can only happen if dialogue is equated with empty chatter or chit-chat where participants only "pass the time of day." What protects dialogue from this decay is its constitutive "logos": Without claiming any monopoly, all participants are nevertheless oriented toward meaning and truth. They do this by remaining carefully attentive to the issue at hand, that is, by jointly seeking to explore or clarify a pressing problem or dilemma. In the political arena, the most pressing issue is justice and just peace.

If this is the general sense of dialogue, we can ask: Are we here not face to face with a perennial issue? So, why was the La Trobe Centre created recently and has special significance in our time? The simple answer—but one which requires a great deal of unpacking—is that dialogue has been egregiously neglected in modern Western history (and perhaps in the world as a whole). This statement is prone to give rise to misunderstanding. I do not mean to say that Western history and Western thought have always been entirely neglectful of the dialogical dimension. The latter claim, unfortunately, has of late gained prominence and been disseminated under such labels as "logocentrism" and "egocentrism" (without any adequate clarification of the terms "logos" and "ego"). In my view, classical Western thought—and even part of medieval thought—pays tribute to dialogue in exemplary ways. Significantly, Plato's works are written in dialogue form; Aristotle's writings reflect a teacher-pupil interaction, and Cicero pays tribute to both Plato and Aristotle in all his texts. To some extent, the dialogical spirit persisted in the European Middle Ages—a period marked by learned disputations and encounters on a high level of erudition. (Cross-culturally one may also point here to the teacher-student interaction—the *guru-shishya-parampara*—in the Indian tradition, and to the many question-and-answer passages in Confucius' *Analects*.)

A slow movement away from dialogue, however, occurred in the late Middle Ages with the rise of nominalism and scientific empiricism. With this development, a type of knowledge steadily gained center-stage which was no longer probable and open to dialogical give-and-take, but which aimed to be certain or apodictic and hence binding on everyone. Without

neglecting the role of the community of scientists, one can say that modern science, especially mathematical science, is inherently monological and oriented toward the goal of universal agreement regarding its findings. This bent of modern science was reinforced by dominant tendencies in modern philosophy, especially by the rationalism of Descartes with its focus on the centrality of the "ego" or singular "I." His well-known formula "*ego cogito ergo sum*" (I think therefore I am) implied that reality can be known by the thinking individual alone—without any need to refer to or to communicate with other people. Seen from this perspective, the "logos" is not basically a shared logos or reason, but one which can be possessed and cultivated by the individual scientist or philosopher alone. In different variations the Cartesian formula has tended to dominate Western thought until the end of the nineteenth century (a story which, in its complexity, cannot be recapitulated here).

As it happened, philosophical developments were paralleled by trends in modern politics which likewise pointed away from dialogical engagement in the direction of unilateral autonomy. Most prominent among these trends was the rise of the modern nation-state endowed with a radical autonomy labeled "state sovereignty." To be sure, throughout history, political communities have always claimed some kind of autonomy—but in a limited or circumscribed sense. In ancient Greece, city states were surely independent or autonomous from each other—but without denying their embeddedness in a larger Hellenic civilization. Similarly, during the European Middle Ages, national kingdoms or principalities were often fiercely competing with each other—but rarely to the point of rupturing or negating their participation in a larger imperial structure held together by Christian faith. It was only the fragmentation of Christianity in early modernity, and the association of different Christian confessions with independent kingdoms or states, which fragmented the earlier community and gave way to more radical conceptions of autonomy or sovereignty. To be sure, fragmentation was never complete and efforts were continuously made to reaffirm some kind of unity—under the auspices of a shared enlightened humanism, an advanced industrial civilization, and the like.[1] Yet, the fragility of these attempts was made glaringly evident in the twentieth century: with the eruption of two World Wars initially instigated by European nation-states. These events also demonstrated the pitfall of

radical autonomy: linked with violent aggression, state sovereignty is liable to destroy not only others but in the end itself.

The same twentieth century, however, also brought signs of change—and this again in both the philosophical and political domains. In the former domain, the century is noteworthy particularly for its incipient move from monologue and the Cartesian "*cogito*" to language and communication—a move frequently captured by the label "linguistic turn." This turn in due course led to a reappraisal and reaffirmation of dialogue, coupled with the renewed realization that reason and truth cannot be an individual possession but are necessarily shared with others. In this sharing, language plays a crucial role (where language needs to be taken in a broad sense as comprising a multitude of verbal and non-verbal modes of communication). The philosopher Ludwig Wittgenstein is famous for arguing that truth and meaning only make sense within the confines of a given language game—an argument which has been interpreted in many ways (and not always with sufficient attention to the "logos" of language). The basic building blocks for a theory of dialogue, during the same period, were provided by a number of other European thinkers. Thus, Martin Buber developed his interactive view of human life ("I and Thou"), while Gabriel Marcel formulated a notion of human existence strongly rooted in language and shared embodiment. Perhaps philosophically most significant and influential was Martin Heidegger's portrayal of human existence (*Dasein*) not as an isolated ego but as a mode of being which is necessarily linked with others through language and "care." Proceeding on this basis, his student Hans-Georg Gadamer articulated a conception of meaning and interpretive understanding based entirely on dialogue and communicative understanding. On a more formal or formalistic level, other theorists of the same period proposed various new conceptual models, such as those of "communicative rationality," of "discourse theory," and the like.[2]

Paralleling these developments the twentieth century witnessed innovative initiatives in the political arena, initiatives designed to correct, at least in part, the excesses of radical state autonomy. Thus, largely in response to the ravages of the great wars, efforts were made to establish at least the rudiments of shared international structures: first the League of Nations and later the United Nations with its complex array of affiliated agencies. These initiatives on the global level were seconded and supplemented by attempts at regional collaboration and unification. The

most prominent example of regional reorganization is the formation of the European Union, a process starting initially from a nucleus of a few states and expanding gradually to comprise the majority of West and East European countries. Significantly, the formation of the Union involves not only the unification of economic markets but extends deeply into political, legal, and cultural domains of life. Although most well known and most widely discussed, the European Union is only one example of regional cooperation. On a more limited scale, similar initiatives can be found in Asia, Africa, and Latin America. Likewise, within the confines of Islamic civilization, the idea of the "*umma*" (community of all Muslims) has gained renewed appeal, as a corrective to the antagonism of separate (and often artificially created) nation-states. To be sure, the sketched trend is not universally followed or effective; some countries—especially hegemonic countries—tenaciously cling to the old ways of unilateralism. Supported by exceptional wealth and military power, traditional state sovereignty in these cases tendentionally is expanded into a super-Leviathan claiming radical autonomy and blanket immunity from accountability for state actions.

MODES OF CROSS-CULTURAL DIALOGUE

Having sketched some of the reasons for the recent rise to prominence of dialogue, it now seems appropriate to move from general theoretical and historical considerations to actual practice, that is, to the ways in which dialogue is concretely practiced in inter-societal and cross-cultural relations. In this respect, I like to distinguish between at least three modalities: namely, a *pragmatic-utilitarian*, a *moral-universal*, and an *ethical-hermeneutical* form of dialogue or communicative interaction. This tripartition is an adaptation but also a significant modification of a scheme which was first proposed by Jürgen Habermas in an essay distinguishing between different types of (what he called) "practical reason."[3] The main difference between my approach and the Habermasian scheme has to do with the status of moral-universal discourse—a discourse to which he grants absolute priority while I treat it as an intermediacy modality needing to be deepened and supplemented by ethical understanding.

The tripartition I propose represents in a way an ethical ascent in the sense of a progressive move away from unilateralism and monologue in the

direction of growing mutual respect and recognition. The first modality—pragmatic-utilitarian communication—still hovers close to the domain of monologue. Each partner in such communication seeks to advance primarily his or her own interests, his or her own goals and agendas, against the interests of others. Sometimes, the impression prevails as if one simply witnesses an exchange of monologues. What saves pragmatic communication from this kind of exchange (or non-exchange) is the element of bargaining: each party, in seeking to advance her interests, needs to take into account the perceived interests of others—if only in order better to counter, circumvent, frustrate or defeat the others' interests. For this reason, even a narrowly pragmatic approach needs the medium of dialogue (however closely circumscribed). This kind of communication forms the core and foundation of modern economics and "rational choice" theory, that is, the theory according to which each partner seeks to maximize gains or profits while minimizing losses or expenditures. The narrow curtailment of dialogue in this interaction is demonstrated by the fact that rational choice can be, and frequently is, formalized in a strategic "game" scenario where each participant, without further attentiveness, pursues his or her own strategies on the assumption of the opponent's best possible strategies.

Beyond the economic domain, pragmatic communication also plays a large role in modern international or inter-societal political relations. Here, the legacy of the modern nation-state and state sovereignty still exacts its tribute both in the practice of state actors and the conceptions of mainstream scholars. Thus, the so-called "realist school" of international politics—the dominant Western perspective in this area—takes it for granted that all politics outside the domestic arena is inter-state competition where each state actor single-mindedly pursues the "national interest" (often identified with national security) while assuming that other state actors do the same. The difference between the "realist" scenario and the scenario envisaged by game theory—a difference recognized by most realists—is that inter-state politics occurs in variable historical and cultural contexts whose components cannot be neatly formalized or predicted. Hence, a measure of real-life dialogue is accepted as important by most proponents of this perspective. Evidence of pragmatic communication can be found in nearly all traditional inter-state interactions, such as trade negotiations, disarmament negotiations, settlements of border disputes, and the like. The most prominent example of such communication, carried

forward in continuous, day-to-day interactions, is traditional diplomacy (where the skill of a diplomat can probably be measured by the extent of his/her dialogical skill).

In proceeding to the second modality—moral-universal discourse—we move beyond the level of a narrowly construed self-interest, but only up to a point. The aim of such communicative discourse is to establish general, potentially universal rules of the game or norms of conduct binding on all participants in a given interaction. In order to establish and (at least in principle) follow such norms, participants must be able to transcend their immediate self-interests and to cultivate a "higher" interest in general or universal rules. To be sure, in cultivating this higher perspective, participants do not simply abandon their particular interests. On the contrary, general rules or norms are established precisely for the purpose of allowing participants to pursue their goals with minimal mutual interference or obstruction. For this reason, rules or norms must be sufficiently abstract in order not to thwart or unduly restrict individual initiatives. One speaks here of "rule-governed freedom," and most modern legal or constitutional systems seek to advance this conception. Of course, rules and norms do not exist by themselves but require some form of communicative endorsement —although the latter feature gained prominence only in modernity. Philosophically, moral-universal discourse can look back to a long and venerable tradition—stretching from Kantian moral philosophy and modern natural law all the way back to Stoic cosmopolitanism.

Moving again from theory to practice, it is not hard to find rudiments of moral-universal discourse in the international and inter-societal arenas. Thus, basic norms of potentially universal significance can be found in the rules of international law—a legal system whose development can be traced from the ancient *ius gentium* through the golden age of Spanish jurisprudence to the rise of modern international law (inaugurated by Hugo Grotius and others).[4] Again, rules and norms in this area do not exist by themselves but rely on communicative endorsement. As it happens, the central norms of international law have in late modernity been endorsed or ratified by a large majority of governments and peoples around the world. Among these rules we find the norms governing warfare (both *ius ad bellum* and *ius in bello*); the norms dealing with war crimes and crimes against humanity; the Geneva Conventions concerning the treatment of prisoners of war; the Universal Declaration of Human Rights; and many

others. It belongs to the definition of norms that actual behavior is measured against them; hence norms have (what is called) a mandatory or prescriptive, in Kant's language a "categorically binding" character. This fact has to be remembered in our time when norms, especially international norms, are often sacrificed on the altar of particular (national) interests. Thus, the rules of the Geneva Conventions are mandatory in all armed conflicts, no matter what terminology particular governments choose to adapt. Likewise, launching an aggressive war is and remains a crime against humanity, and so is the wanton killing of civilian populations. In all these instances, the collective conscience of humanity has reached a certain level below which we do not dare to regress.

To be sure, appealing to the conscience of humanity means to move already a step beyond the level of rules of the game or legal norms of conduct. As everyday experience indicates, rules or norms do not by themselves assure their observance. If resort to force is to be avoided (or minimized), the only alternative is to cultivate and strengthen the conscience of people, that is, the genuine awareness of the ethical quality of all human relations and interactions. This leads me to the third modality mentioned before: ethical-hermeneutical dialogue. "Ethical" here refers to the "ethos" or shared sense of humanity prevailing among peoples (or groups of people); "hermeneutical" points to the effort to gain better understanding among participants and thereby to enhance mutual respect and recognition. In such dialogue, partners seek to understand and appreciate each other's life stories and cultural backgrounds, including religious or spiritual traditions, storehouses of literary and artistic expressions, as well as existential agonies and aspirations. In contrast to the abstract and formal character of general rules and legal norms, ethical-hermeneutical dialogue enters into the "thick" fabric of lived experiences and historical sedimentation. The effort here is not so much to ascend above particular life stories to reach the "bird's eye" view of rule governance, but rather to render concrete life-worlds mutually accessible as a touchstone of ethical sensibility. In the language of classical philosophy (from Aristotle and Alfarabi to Confucius and Mencius), dialogue here is oriented toward the "good life"—not in the sense of an abstract "ought" but as the pursuit of an aspiration implicit in all life-forms (though able to take very different expressions in different cultures).

Since dialogue on this level speaks to deeper human motivations—leaving behind narrow self-interest—this is really the kind of communication which is most likely to mold human conduct in the direction of justice and just peace. Hence, there is an urgent need in our time to foster this mode of interaction not only on the domestic but also the global level. Fortunately—albeit on a limited scale—cross-cultural dialogue in this sense is already practiced today in a variety of forms. Examples would be inter-faith dialogues; the Parliament of the World's Religions; the World Social Forum bringing together a multitude of non-governmental organizations and grassroots movements; and the embryonic World Public Forum seeking to generate something like a public arena or global "public sphere" where the pressing political issues troubling the globe could be discussed from the vantage of justice and ethical obligations. A by no means negligible role is also played by exchange programs of scholars and students, grassroots diplomacy programs, and the like. Needless to say, much more needs to be done to make cross-cultural ethics a meaningful antidote or corrective to hegemonic ambitions and the tradition of political unilateralism.

DIALOGUE AND POWER

At this point, the question is liable to be raised, especially by political "realists": What good is dialogue in confrontation with power and domination? How can dialogue possibly serve as an antidote to the strategies of the powerful? And here one has to agree, at least initially, that the former is no match for the latter, that power at least at a first glance holds the trump card. From this fact "realists" draw the conclusion that power can only be corrected by power and that hence all the efforts of the powerless (or less powerful) should be directed at matching and even outstripping the power wielded by the powerful. But the result can easily be foreseen: the competition for power leads to a steady burgeoning power which finally culminates in a super-Leviathan (which is of little or no benefit to the powerless). In this context, it is good to remember the comment of Hannah Arendt on the role of violence: "The practice of violence, like all action, changes the world; but the most probable change is to a more violent world."[5]

There is another consideration which realists might usefully ponder: power cannot maintain itself solely through power, especially through armed force. Here the insight of the great diplomat, Abbé Talleyrand, is relevant when he observed: "There are many things one can do with bayonets, except sit on them." This means that power, in the sense of coercive force, may be useful for conquest, but it is completely inadequate for maintaining a regime over time. If a ruler wished to rely on coercive force alone, a soldier or policeman would have to be assigned to every citizen in order to ensure obedience—but then who would police the soldier or policeman? This indicates that every ruler or regime has to rely to a preponderant extent on the approval or goodwill of the citizens, that is, on their sense that the regime is not entirely out of step with their pragmatic, moral and ethical sensibilities. This need to "keep in step" is usually called legitimacy; and one can now add that, without a general sense of legitimacy, power as coercive force is in the long run powerless. Such legitimacy, in turn, is fostered by open communication in its different modes—which brings us back to the role of dialogue as a corrective to and restraint on power.

I would like to add, however, that dialogue can itself be structured in such a way as to include a critique of power and domination. This happens in what I like to call an "agonal" or agonistic dialogue or contestation. In such an agonal situation, participants seek not only to understand and appreciate each other's life forms, but also to convey to each other grievances, that is, experiences of exploitation, domination and persecution, experiences having to do with past or persisting injustices and sufferings. Hence, dialogue here serves directly the goal of a restoration of justice or just peace. Great care must be taken in this context to preserve the dialogical dimension of the encounter. In the absence of such care, there is great danger that the encounter deteriorates into a sheer power play and that the goal of justice is replaced by the desire for revenge and punishment. It is for this reason that I prefer to treat this mode as a subcategory of ethical-hermeneutical dialogue—in order to make sure that the accent is not placed purely on power, on the desire to "get even," the desire to return injustice for injustice by turning the previous victims into victimizers. Seen as an ethical engagement, agonistic contestation is not an end in itself but put in the service of healing and reconciliation.

Turning our attention to the contemporary global arena, we can find several examples of agonal dialogue put into practice. I am referring to the great commissions of inquiry established in various parts of the world at the end of ethnic conflicts and/or political dictatorships: the so-called "Truth and Justice" or "Truth and Reconciliation" Commissions. The point of these commissions has been basically twofold: first, to establish a record of past criminal actions and injustices through archival research and the interviewing of large numbers of witnesses; and secondly, to initiate and foster a process of social healing so as to prevent the future recurrence of victimization or unjust domination. The two aims are obviously in tension: while, in the first goal, agonistic contestation and confrontation assume center stage, the second goal seeks to reduce agonistics for the sake of mutual respect and understanding. Hence, great skill and wisdom are required to preserve the commissions from derailment.

By way of illustration, let me cite some words of Bishop Desmond Tutu who served as president of the "Truth and Reconciliation Commission" in South Africa. The words can be found in his book *God Has a Dream: A Vision of Hope for Our Time:*

> I saw the power of the gospel when I was serving as chairperson of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission in South Africa. . . . The Commission gave perpetrators of political crimes the opportunity to appeal for amnesty by telling the truth of their actions and an opportunity to ask for forgiveness. . . . As we listened to accounts of truly monstrous deeds of torture and cruelty, it would have been easy to dismiss the perpetrators as monsters because their deeds were truly monstrous. But we are reminded that God's love is not cut off from anyone.[6]

FROM THEORY TO PRACTICE

The series of international institutions, conventions, and commissions mentioned above reveal that the notion of an international legal and ethical order is not merely a "nice idea" but has taken roots in many domains of contemporary international life. For many centuries, philosophers and religious thinkers had speculated about the feasibility of a world parliament or a global "league of nations"; but today we have institutions which instantiate or at least approximate the content of these speculations in real-life contexts. Here we encounter another objection raised by political "realists," that is, people wedded to the primacy of power: the objection that

theories or theorizing are pointless exercises with little or no relevance for practical political life. In a particularly emphatic manner, this objection takes aim at the supposedly abstract and hopelessly "impractical" character of normative or ethical theorizing. During the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the distance between normative theory and factual reality, or between "ought" and "is," was erected into a first-order philosophical maxim: every attempt to bridge the distance between norm and fact, or to move from one to the other, was (and continues to be) denounced as a serious mental lapse (labeled "naturalistic fallacy").

No doubt, the relationship between norm and fact—or more broadly between theory and practice—is complex and cannot be reduced to a simple linear derivation. Fortunately, the philosopher Immanuel Kant has lent us a helping hand in this matter with an essay he wrote in 1793; its title: "On the Common Saying: 'This May be True in Theory, but it does not Apply in Practice.'" In his essay, Kant took exception to some arguments advanced by a prominent contemporary, the philosopher Moses Mendelssohn. Although himself a child of the Enlightenment, Mendelssohn disagreed with one of the most cherished beliefs of Enlightenment thinkers: the belief in the continuous moral progress of humankind. In his view, enlightened thought was able to generate fine and high-sounding theories or principles —theories which were perhaps beneficial to some individuals here and there but were of no use to the practical life of humanity at large. For Mendelssohn it was sheer fantasy to say, "that the whole of mankind here on earth must continually progress and become more perfect through the ages." The only thing one could say about human history with some degree of assurance was that, taken as a whole, humanity keeps "moving slowly back and forth" and that, whenever it takes a few steps forward, "it soon relapses twice as quickly into its former state." Seen from this angle, human history thus resembles the fate of Sisyphus whose practical labors are constantly thwarted or come to naught—no matter how high the ideals or theories animating the struggle.[7]

From Kant's perspective, Mendelssohn's skeptical line of reasoning was unacceptable because it vitiated both the meaning of theory or philosophy and the integrity of practical life. Basically, the skeptic's argument was predicated on a Manichean view of things which erects a gulf between norm and fact, between thinking and doing. For Kant (still imbued with some classical teachings) this kind of Manicheism was misleading by

distorting the character of both moral reasoning and practical conduct. Although famous for postulating—in his own moral theory—a series of "categorical imperatives" binding on human conduct, these imperatives were by no means akin to arbitrary or despotic commands imposed from an external source. Rather, these commands derived from reflection on human "nature," on its inherent dispositions and capabilities, including the potentiality for moral improvement. In Kantian terminology, human beings through the use of reason are able to legislate norms for their own conduct, and hence to subject themselves not to an external despot but to their own better judgment and insight. Seen in this light, theoretically formulated norms and practical conduct are no longer opposites but are closely connected or linked. As in a democratic regime (properly constructed), rulers and ruled are not at loggerheads but united in the enterprise of self-rule. To be skeptical about this possibility means to be skeptical about human life itself.

This point was forcefully put forward in Kant's essay on theory and practice. "I may be permitted to assume," he writes there, "that, since the human race is constantly progressing in cultural matters (in keeping with its natural purpose), it is also engaged in progressive improvement in relation to the moral end of its existence." Although this progressive movement may at times be interrupted, it will "never be broken off." As Kant submits, Mendelssohn himself must have been imbued with a belief of this kind, seeing that he was indefatigable in trying to teach and educate the younger generation. "The worthy Mendelssohn," we read, "must himself have reckoned on this [improvement], since he zealously endeavored to promote the enlightenment and welfare of the nation to which he belonged. For he could not himself reasonably hope to do this unless others after him continued upon the same path." Hence, moral skepticism—although a shield against an empty utopianism—offers no excuse from the hard work of education and self-transformation. At this point, Kant articulates one of his most important guideposts, valid for all times: the counsel that, irrespective of empirical obstacles or periodic setbacks, the task of ethical improvement (of both the individual and humanity at large) constitutes a moral "duty" (*Pflicht*) which cannot be shirked. "It is quite irrelevant," he writes, "whether any empirical evidence suggests that these plans, which are founded only on hope, may be unsuccessful. For the idea that something which has hitherto been unsuccessful will therefore never be successful

does not justify anyone in abandoning even a pragmatic or technical aim. . . . This applies even more to moral aims which, so long as it is not demonstrably impossible to fulfill them, amount to duties."[8] This means that the path leading from theory to practice cannot be arbitrarily disrupted without moral blemish.

It is chiefly in the field of international politics that concrete experience may lead to frustration and skepsis. In Kant's words: "Nowhere does human nature appear less admirable than in the relationships which exist between peoples. No state is for a moment secure from the others in its independence and its possessions." At another point, he speaks eloquently of "the distress produced by the constant wars in which the states try to subjugate or engulf each other"—a distress greatly increased in our time by global wars, "terror wars," and ethnic cleansings. For Kant, there is one redeeming feature, however, in this distress: namely, that the calamities and miseries endured by peoples may prompt them, at long last, with or against their express will, to form a peaceful "cosmopolitan constitution" or at least a "lawful federation under a commonly accepted international right." Thus, calamities endured in real life can provide a cue or incentive to human reasoning to reflect on the source of misfortunes and possible ways of correcting or avoiding them. Once the light of reflection illuminates the scene, however, the practical enactment of corrective measures is no longer a merely optional task but an ethical duty whose fulfillment—with the help of "divine providence"—is within reach. In Kant's words again: "The very conflict of inclinations, which is the source of all evil, gives reason a free hand to master them all; it thus gives predominance not to evil, which destroys itself, but to good, which continues to maintain itself once it has been established." Hence, theoretical moral insight and practical conduct can eventually be seen to be in harmony—contradicting the common saying: "This may be true in theory, but it does not apply in practice."[9]

In his subsequent writings, Kant always remained faithful to the notion of a possible harmony between moral insight and practice—or at least the notion that, despite enormous obstacles and constant setbacks, it was possible to reconcile the two through moral effort. It may be true, as some have asserted, that reconciliation for Kant always was unidirectional or moved in one direction, from theory to practice (where other thinkers might prefer a more reciprocal, especially dialogical relationship). Yet, Kantian "moralism" always remained tempered by common sense and human

sensibility. One of his most famous political tracts is titled "Perpetual Peace: A Philosophical Sketch" (of 1795). There, Kant made explicit room for human inclinations, commercial interests and ambitions—but without abandoning the notion of a cosmopolitan "duty." "The peoples of the earth," we read, "have entered in varying degrees into a universal community, and it has developed to the point where violation of rights in *one* part of the world is felt everywhere." Hence, through travels, commercial interactions, and improved communications, peoples have entered into a condition of "cosmopolitan right" (we might call it a "global civil society"). Thus, Kant adds in a famous formulation: "Nature guarantees perpetual peace by the actual mechanism of human inclinations. And while the likelihood of its being attained is not sufficient to enable us to *prophesy* the future theoretically, it is enough for practical purposes. It makes it our duty to work our way towards this goal, which is more than an empty chimera."[10] To these lines one can add the equally famous statement from the conclusion of *The Metaphysics of Morals* (of 1797):

> By working towards this end, we may hope to terminate the disastrous practice of war, which up till now has been the main object to which all states, without exception, have accommodated their internal institutions. And even if the fulfillment of this pacific intention were forever to remain a pious hope, we should still not be deceiving ourselves if we made it our maxim to work unceasingly towards it, for it is our duty to do so.[11]

In light of Kant's arguments, it becomes clear that the establishment of the Centre for Dialogue at LaTrobe University does not reflect an empty pipedream but responds or corresponds to deep-seated human needs or aspirations in our time. Through its manifold activities—sponsoring conferences, engaging in research and teaching—it means to move humanity some steps closer to the accomplishment of a basic moral aim shared by people around the world: the aim of perpetual peace.

NOTES

1. Reference should also be made in this context to such unifying efforts as the Holy Alliance, the Concert of Europe, and balance of power. In the background of national rivalries there was also something called "*ius publicum Europaeum*" or European public law which limited the excesses of nationalist ambitions. On the latter compare especially Carl Schmitt, *The Nomos of the Earth in the International Law of the Jus Publicum Europaeum,* trans. G. L. Ulmen (New York: Telos Press, 2003).

2. Compare in this context, e.g., Ludwig Wittgenstein, *Philosophical Investigations*, trans. G. E. M. Anscombe (Oxford: Blackwell, 1968); Martin Buber, *I and Thou*, trans. Ronald G. Smith (New York: Scribner, 1986); Galbriel Marcel, *Homo Viator: Introduction to a Metaphysics of Hope*, trans. Emma Craufurd (New York: Harper & Row, 1962); Martin Heidegger, *Being and Time*, trans. John Macquarrie and Edward Robinson (New York: Harper & Row, 1962) and *The Way to Language*, trans. Peter D. Hertz (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1971); Hans-Georg Gadamer, *Truth and Method*, 2nd rev. ed., trans. Joel Weinsheimer and Donald G. Marshall (New York: Crossroad, 1989); Jürgen Habemas, *Communication and the Evolution of Society*, trans. Thomas McCarthy (Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 1979); David Howarth et al., eds., *Discourse Theory and Political Analysis* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2000).

3. See Jürgen Habermas, "On the Pragmatic, the Ethical, and the Moral Employments of Practical Reason," in *Justification and Application: Remarks on Discourse Ethics*, trans. Ciaran P. Cronin (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1994), 1–17.

4. Compare in this respect my "The Law of Peoples: Civilizing Humanity" in *Peace Talks—Who Will Listen?* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2004), 42–43.

5. See Hannah Arendt, "On Violence," in *Crises of the Republic* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1972), 177.

6. Bishop Desmond Tutu (with Douglas Adams), *God Has a Dream: A Vision of Hope for Our Time* (New York: Doubleday, 2004), 58.

7. For this argument see Moses Mendelssohn, *Jerusalem, oder über religiöse Macht und Judentum* (Berlin: Maurer, 1783), par. 2, pp. 44–47. The argument of Mendelssohn was directed chiefly against Gotthold Ephraim Lessing (1729–1781) who had defended a theory of human moral advancement in his *Die Erziehung des Menschengeschlechts* (Berlin: Voss & Sohn, 1780).

8. Immanuel Kant, "On the Common Saying: 'This May be True in Theory, but it does not Apply in Practice,'" in *Kant's Political Writings*, ed. Hans Reiss, trans. H. B. Nisbet (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1970), 88–89.

9. Kant, "On the Common Saying," 90–92.

10. Kant, "Perpetual Peace: A Philosophical Sketch," in *Kant's Political Writings*, pp. 107–108, 114. As Kant adds in an Appendix (p. 116): "There can be no conflict between politics, as an applied [practical] branch of right, and morality, as a theoretical branch of right (i.e., between theory and practice)." In recent times, some political "realists" have cast doubt on the emergence of a global civil society and its ethical role in tempering warfare between states. For a critique of this kind of realism see my "Global Civil Society Debunked? A Response to David Chandler," *Globalizations*, vol. 4 (2007), 301–303.

11. Kant, "The Metaphysics of Morals," in *Kant's Political Writings*, 174.

2

Toward a Philosophy of Intercultural Dialogue in a Conflicted World

Raúl Fornet-Betancourt

Philosophical reflection on the multifaceted theme of dialogue, and in particular on "dialogue as an idea" and "dialogue as an experience," raises questions regarding the conditions of the possibility (or impossibility) of dialogue itself. A philosophy of dialogue or, more modestly, the attempt to conduct philosophical reflection on dialogue in the context of the real world —a world so shaken by violence—should in my view begin with the consideration that for us, as human beings, dialogue is as much an idea as it is an experience. I point this out right at the start because of its significance and centrality to the theme of this chapter.[1]

The expressions "dialogue as an idea" and "dialogue as experience" help us to see from the outset the tension between the "ideal" and the "real," in which context the whole experience of dialogue is realized. These two dimensions of the matter that here concerns us are valid as subject matters by themselves and could indeed be treated separately. In this context, I speak of this tension to highlight the problematic relation between theory

and practice that can be observed on the horizon of what we call dialogue—or, more properly, dialogues.

From this point of view, then, the theme of this chapter leads us to the theory and practice of dialogue; in other words, how we understand and practice dialogue in the processes of communication that we initiate or in which we are engaged in some way, and which can be carried out in very different manners for each dialogue. The first part of the chapter analyzes the role of dialogue as a process of critical self-examination and revision of the historico-cultural and existential conditions under which we currently practice it. The second part addresses questions about the possible contribution of philosophy to intercultural dialogue in a conflicted world.

A DIALOGUE THAT SUSTAINS OUR HUMANITY

From these preliminary reflections, we can deduce that certain expectations are incumbent upon everyone who engages in the dialogic process. Primary among these expectations is the duty for participants to ask of themselves how they will handle the problematic relation between theory and practice in the dialogic process.

Thus, reflections on these aspects and expectations that I have proposed as a means of approaching the issue that concerns us here are united in a *question to ourselves* that we cannot avoid. This question is a crucial one, for any other question about the thematic complex of dialogue, theoretical or practical, first requires us to pose this *question to ourselves*. In other words, each question that we have in relation to dialogue is a question that ultimately refers back to us.

Dialogue is an appeal to our humanity. It is an "interpellation" to human beings.[2] An in-depth analysis reveals that a dialogue for us as human beings is neither an "object" of investigation, nor an external instrumental dimension, but a constitutive part of our most intimate human reality. Much more than merely part of the human condition, dialogue is the primordial substance from which human beings—with corresponding ambivalence—develop their humanity and discern their situation in the world. Succinctly stated, a dialogue is what sustains the very nature of our humanity. In this sense, one can say that the German poet Friedrich Hölderlin was right when he spoke of humankind as a conversation—a conversation through which

we as human beings can come to knowledge of our authentic selves and true destiny in the world or, if one prefers, our historical vocation.[3]

This perspective was further developed in a range of philosophical currents during the twentieth century, and from very different positions.[4] If this perspective is valid, then we have some grounds upon which to insist that all reflection about dialogue has to take into consideration that the constitutive fundamentality of dialogue *for* and *with* us exists prior to any instrumentalization or instrumental "use" of dialogue, or any programming of discursive strategies. This means that as human beings, prior to beginning any communication, we are already *in* dialogue. In other words, the dialogism of history, that sustains us and from which we emerge, is a necessary condition for human beings to be able to enter into dialogue.

For a better understanding of this idea, before continuing I propose to interject two brief observations designed to clarify the concept of dialogue presupposed here. The first refers to the distinction between dialogue and discourse, which becomes even more illuminating in the context of our analysis, since many today think that "discourse" is a much broader concept than dialogue. They only speak of dialogue—when they speak of it at all—in the sense of a "special form of discourse."[5]

However, this interpretation is questionable because it is based on the idea that we live in a "post-metaphysical era"—a problematic idea. The reference to the term "post-metaphysical era" implies that this is an era in which the normal form of communication is composed of discourses that search at most for "agreement" within the framework of the structures of democratic public opinion. This supposes that the extant diversity of the predominant criteria (interpreted relativistically) makes any strong affirmation of a truth claim suspicious or impossible.

In contrast to this tendency toward the subordination of dialogue to the dynamic of discourses, I advocate an account that recognizes the line of demarcation between dialogue and discourse precisely through the question of its relationship with truth or, in other words, through the question of the possibility of universal comprehension in diversity. Therefore, as used herein, dialogue is understood to mean that "conversation" that, since Plato, has characterized an intermediate space in which both diversity and unity are present: a differentiation and encounter with differences, and at the same time a call for a "gathering" of the expressed diversity.[6] This also means that an existential and interpersonal dimension rooted in the life

world is always present in dialogue. By contrast, in discourse this dimension is concealed by the dynamics of depersonalized structures and institutions.

The second observation aims to elucidate the assertion that we human beings emerge from dialogues and are self-actualized through dialogues. Given the limitations of space, let me simply point out the following: this assertion must be understood against the background presupposition that tradition and community are constitutive of humanity. The human capacity for dialogue is *transmitted*, and the *transmission* is realized through tradition and community: hence the necessity of memory. Indeed, without memory, human beings lose the possibility of relating, or of maintaining an appreciation of the history that enjoins them to conversations and facilitates their present conversations.

History is contradictory, having both positive and negative aspects. It has its dark side, with many incidents of violence and inhumanity—being in large part a history of the negation of our humanity. Nevertheless, we should recognize that history is also the place where the memory of humanity[7] is formed and transmitted. It is this memory that commits us to humanity—to dialogism. In contrast, lack of memory of the past is more than an exclusive affirmation of the present; it is a fracture of the link with history, or the detachment of human beings from tradition and community. In this way, we condemn ourselves to an inability to speak, viz., to suicidal isolation.

I would add that, in addition to the emphasis on the necessity of relating with tradition and community, no less important is the idea that the essence of dialogue is *listening*. We are able to speak with one another because we are able to listen to one another.[8] But now let us return to our point.

From what has been said so far, we find that treating the subject matter of dialogue as a *question to ourselves* signifies, in the first place, the task of examining our genealogy and biography. This task is precisely a review of the quality of what the conversations of the past have contributed to what we are now, as well as a review of the way in which our life and our coexistence constitute dialogue in the present day. In other words, to deal with dialogue as a *question to ourselves* is an extremely critical task that implies both the work of cultural critique and the "examine of consciousness" at the singular level of biographies. This task is of paramount importance, in my opinion, since the quality of the theory and

practice of dialogue in our epoch depends principally on our disposition toward a critical examination of the heritage that transmits our culture to us, as well as to the personal identity that crystallizes in the biography of each as a point of orientation for thinking and acting.

This critical self-examination and revision of the historico-cultural and existential conditions under which we currently practice dialogue and think seems to be especially necessary because—as I have already indicated—we are dealing with the discernment of the consequences of a history marked by contradictions and contingency. This means that we also need to consider its other side: the underside of history—that dark side of our history that, through forms of power and domination, has introduced a "counter-finality" into historical development.[9] It contradicts the dialogism of human beings, but we internalize it, thus making the continuation of its presence and influence in history possible. We have seen this demonstrated in many past and current conflicts throughout history until this very day. Only in the light of this historical contradiction between dialogue and domination can we understand how fragile and how much in peril is dialogue or, more exactly, human beings themselves as dialogic beings. Considering this background, it is likewise understood that, in reality, perspicacious discernment means—precisely within the framework of contemporary conditions—the task of elaborating an ethics that would be politically relevant and that would contribute to the protection of the threatened humanity of human beings and of life in general.

The second part of this chapter is an attempt to contribute to this task. Nevertheless, I would like to make it clear that I understand my contribution as focused and limited, referring only to some aspects of the philosophical grounding of the necessity of intercultural dialogue in our epoch.

NOTES FOR A PHILOSOPHY OF INTERCULTURAL DIALOGUE

In the previous part, I highlighted, on the one hand, the dialogic nature of human beings and, on the other hand, that the realization of human dialogism is taking place within historical conditions which hinder it. This realization moves within the conditions characterized by a twofold

contradiction: a structural contradiction in history and the existential contradictions of the human condition we all share.

After taking this into account, the philosophy of intercultural dialogue should then begin by discussing the conditions under which dialogue is thought and practiced today, understanding that it is as much a product of global historical conditions as it is of existential conditions. A philosophy of intercultural dialogue needs to take both dimensions into account in order to avoid proceeding one-sidedly and, thus, to avoid falling either into a structuralism that forgets the subject or a subjectivism that forgets the world.[10]

For the purposes of this chapter, however, I will mainly focus on world historical conditions, emphasizing that they constitute the principal context within which the personal dimension must be viewed, and to which, unfortunately, I can only refer in passing in this chapter. In addition, this emphasis on historical conditions is important in this context to highlight the socio-political significance of a philosophy of intercultural dialogue in our historical present. Highlighting the role of philosophy in this socio-political context is more important than emphasizing the contribution of intercultural reflection to the philosophical understanding of the existential experience of dialogue. Hence, at this existential level of analysis, our approach in some respects coincides with the works of the well-known representatives of dialogic and personalist philosophy, such as Martin Buber, Emmanuel Mounier, and Józef Tischner.

Let us start with the first question, concerning the historical conditions under which today we have to think about and practice dialogue.

At the risk of being accused of adopting the attitude of the terrible "*simplificateurs*" criticized by Jacob Burckhardt,[11] I would like to say the following in regard to the complex subject matter in question: the conflicted character of the world, which presently underpins the theories and practices of dialogue, cannot be explained by the controversial diagnosis of the world political situation in the twenty-first century referred to as the "clash of civilizations."[12] Rather, it is the result of a long process that begins, from the philosophical point of view, with the predominance of calculative reason during the modernity of Central Europe, and in its political aspect with the unbridled expansion of European colonialism beginning in the fifteenth century.

The epistemological and political violence that underpins this history of the "reduction" of the other is, in my opinion, the key to understanding the conflicted character of our present time. The objectivizing instrumentalization of the world, toward which calculative reason has led us, as well as the total negation of communication that resulted from alleging that colonialism was the only basis for interpreting the world, are what enabled the enforced silencing of the other. This enforced silencing was, in turn, necessary to drive history on the path of destruction and self-destruction that continues to the present day, and which defines our present world precisely as conflict-ridden and belligerent.

The list of examples that one is able to provide as proof of these destructive processes is unfortunately very long:

- wars (including those which are not reported!) that reveal humanity's self-destruction;
- the exploitation of nature, through which Western civilization is "growing";
- the ecological crisis caused by unsustainable "progress";
- social exclusion indicative of the ever-deeper division of humanity into rich and poor, and which has to do, above all, with the dissemination of different types of strategies for the globalization of neoliberalism;
- contempt for traditions that provide meaning (and justifying this contempt as the supposed necessity of the modernization of humanity).

These examples clearly illustrate the conflicted character of our contemporary world. But upon looking deeper, we can see that what they really demonstrate is that this conflicted character has a great deal to do with the lack of dialogical relations and communication, with the silencing or the loss of the *word*. They show, for example, that during the present epoch, we are not in dialogue with nature. Nature seems to be only a "resource," and, as such, it is meant to be dominated and exploited.[13] Likewise, they show that we have failed to maintain dialogic relations with our fellow human beings. As a result of the "anthropological revolution," which has been carried out with the deployment of the organizing principle of modernity oriented toward the logic of money and private property,[14] the principles of community and solidarity have been displaced from social dynamics by selfishness, competition, and thoughtlessness. Thereby, they

give rise to the so-called society of cut-throats, within which dialogue is replaced by rivalry, mistrust, and conflict.

In this context, I should add that this "mutism," or loss of the word, which overwhelms our social relations is seen in stark relief in relationships with those whom we call "foreigners" or "outsiders." We confront them as an alterity that is different from the diversity of those with whom we share a common language and who are classified as still "belonging" to our world. In other words, because the alterity of foreigners is unfamiliar to us and does not "fit" within our system, we are bewildered and deem it "bothersome." Moreover, even when we enter into a relationship with a foreigner, it is a relationship marked "by distance within the relation."[15] Be that as it may, the main problem is the mutism that prevails in the social relations of our time and which is the origin of many conflicts, because it represents the forced result of the systematic destruction of diversity and of the silencing of the word of the other.

What can philosophy contribute to intercultural dialogue under such historical conditions? This is the second question with which I would like to continue my reflections. I begin by indicating that latent in this question is another troubling issue, namely, whether philosophy is impotent against the powers and machinations of the historic world. From this point of view, this question brings us even further toward a broader issue concerning the role that ideas play in history. It looks at the self-understanding of philosophy or the doubts that philosophy can have in a given historical period about its function in the world. With this theme, we find ourselves before an even wider horizon, on a path which goes beyond the scope of this chapter. But for the purpose of my reflections here, two aspects are important, and I will limit myself to them.

One aspect of this is that philosophy—presuming the historical effectiveness of ideas—should take its role as a science (and wisdom!) of reason seriously and publicly expose not only the plausibility but also the merits of reasonable solutions. Furthermore, philosophy should make an effort to incorporate the "culture of reason" into public opinion.[16] In my view, one moment of special relevance in this task is to make evident the immanent irrationality in the historical relations of our world. This means, precisely, that philosophy should show that the prevailing mutism is a real "dead end" or, said in a positive way, should show the path of dialogue as

the only reasonable alternative leading toward the true humanization of history.

The other aspect is that philosophers should overcome their doubts and uncertainties about the efficiency of their own work. Perhaps one might object that, with this proposal, the problem is personalized. But in this respect, I would like to respond that the philosophers are those who articulate philosophy. Philosophy, in reality, can only deliver what philosophers produce with their work—in dialogue with tradition, of course!

The answer to the question about the possible contribution of philosophy to intercultural dialogue in a conflicted world will depend, then, fundamentally on the attitude of philosophers; an attitude that precisely finds its concrete expression in the themes philosophers address, as well as in the methods they employ. Let us leave any doubt about the meaning of philosophy to those who confuse it with sterile thinking concerned only with itself. In contrast, if philosophers create a philosophy that is active in the world, they will attempt to contribute, despite all of the difficulties, to the accomplishment of the historical mission of philosophy that is proper to its task.

Therefore, we can assert that philosophy's contribution to intercultural dialogue in a conflict-ridden world consists precisely in defending and rehabilitating "the culture of reason" as an answer to the aphasia that condemns the world and human beings to conflicts.

But how can philosophy make this contribution in the present day? This is the third question, to which I will now turn. In this regard, something has already been said, above all with respect to the responsibility of philosophers. Much in fact depends on whether we, who practice philosophy, are willing to take into consideration the problems of our epoch and to work with methods that not only grant presence to philosophy in the public sphere, but that furthermore are able also to articulate its engagement and action in the present social and political world.

This idea highlights the importance of the contextualization and historization of philosophical thought. In addition, the intercultural reorientation of philosophy is another indispensable factor in the proposed task.

Thus, my conclusion is: under present conditions, philosophy will be able to carry out its contribution to intercultural dialogue only if philosophy

itself becomes inter-cultural. This challenging task of self-transformation implies the following moments:

- criticism of narrow Eurocentric determination of the "culture of reason," and, based on this,
- the restructuring of the culture of reason in the light of a dialogue of diversity, from which follows
- the transformation of culture of reason into an open space of relations wherein the "polylog"[17] of multilingual diversity is carried out; and consequently, this will create the condition for the possibility that
- the culture of reason would become appreciative of diversity and become a facilitator for equilibrium (or harmony) in diversity.

These are not all of the moments of transformation but, to me, they appear to be fundamental for the intercultural transformation through which philosophy is empowered to contribute to the world and by which human beings may recover language as an experience of a dialogic multilingualism.[18] Only such a philosophy—one that has developed as a science and wisdom of reason through an open process of attentive listening, passing through cultural diversity—will be able to contribute to breaking with the mutism of prevailing relations and to mark the emergence of dialogue as a path on which all participants really experience that their speaking has meaning because the other is fully present.

The alternative to this mutism, indicated by an interculturally transformed philosophy, is that of a *dialogue* in which multilingualism means the experience that all the participants of a conversation are necessary and wanted. In this intercultural dialogue, each interlocutor should be able to experience the mutual needing of one another. Such an experience makes it possible for each to live and witness how the others are necessary for each of us, and at the same time how each of us is necessary for every other. In this sort of dialogue, the rule that "murder is suicide" is evident.[19] It is precisely this aspect that, for me, constitutes a relevant contribution by philosophy to intercultural dialogue in today's world.

FINAL OBSERVATIONS

In the reflections just presented, I have tried to expose, above all, the theoretical base of the contribution that, in my opinion, philosophy is able to make to intercultural dialogue in the context of the conditions of our present time. Although I tried to take historical conditions into account, I should nevertheless admit that it is not the practical or socio-political aspect that is the focus of my argument, but precisely the above-mentioned dimension of theoretical grounding.

At the beginning of the chapter, I addressed the problem of the relation between the theory and the practice of dialogue. It would be a misunderstanding to conclude that mine is merely a "theoretical contribution." For, independent of the argument concerning the power of ideas, it is necessary to highlight the contextual character of the presented reflections. That is to say, it is a theoretical base that is thought from the world and for the world or, said more concretely, to facilitate dialogic thinking and acting in a world dramatically affected by various kinds of conflicts.

The "logical" continuation of this "theoretical contribution" by intercultural philosophy is, therefore, to critique the asymmetries of power, hegemonic pretenses, marginalization of so-called traditional cultures, and the social exclusion of a large part of the world population. The politics of balance and of global justice is the "translation" of the indicated contribution.

Finally, I would like to return to the question raised in the first section, about the relation between dialogue and truth. In this regard, I would also like to avoid a possible misunderstanding. Unlike postmodern philosophy,[20] intercultural philosophy is not dismissive of either universality or truth. Both are, for intercultural philosophy at least, regulative dimensions that help us to avoid having cultural diversity become arbitrary relativism or dialogue becoming merely indifferent chatter.[21]

Translated by Edward Demenchonok

NOTES

2. Intercultural dialogue is facing a hermeneutical challenge, which requires rethinking the existing theory of understanding. We need to broaden the existing horizon of our understanding by including the other's perspective as a source of meaning that has equal originality and dignity. We need to transform our way of thinking into the place of dialogical meeting with the other, who represents a different perspective, culture, and form of life. Thus, meeting with the other is "interpellation" from the other's horizon of understanding. Interpellation is not only from the other's perspective, claiming recognition of the other's freedom and dignity. Interpellation is also an expression of the meaning of an alternative order for human discourse, which is different from the partial aspect of meaning from my perspective only. Intercultural philosophy is looking for a new interpretative paradigm, which emerges precisely when the interpretation of one's own and of the other results in a common and mutual interpellation, in which the voice of each and every one is perceived at the same time as a model of a possible interpretation as well. See Raúl Fornet-Betancourt, *Transformación intercultural de la filosofía: Ejercicios teóricos y prácticos de filosofía intercultural desde Latinoamérica en el contexto de la globalización* [Intercultural transformation of philosophy: Theoretical and Practical Exercises in Intercultural Philosophy from Latin America in the Context of Globalization] (Bilbao: Desclée de Brouwer, 2001), 41, 30; Raúl Fornet-Betancourt, *Interculturalidad, Crítica y Liberación* (Aachen: Mainz, 2012). As Enrique Dussel wrote about the role of interpellation as ethical consciousness in the process of human liberation, "for many years, liberation ethics insisted in the 'interpellation' by the Other of a receptive person (who has ears to hear) as the origin of the process of liberation. . . . When someone 'in the system' is moved by the victim's explicit interpellation and accepts, in a receptive manner, taking 'responsibility-for-the Other,' another moment of the pre-discursive ethical-preoriginary reason is accomplished." Enrique Dussel, *Ethics of Liberation: In the Age of Globalization and Exclusion* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2013), 302–303.

3. Friedrich Hölderlin, 1923. *Sämtliche Werke: Historisch-kritische Ausg* [Complete works: Historical output], vol. 4 (Berlin: Propyläen-Verlag 1923), 343; Martin Heidegger, "Hölderlin und das Eesen der Dichtung" [Hölderlin and the essence of poetry], vol. 4 of *Erläuterungen zu Hölderlins dichtung, gesamtausgabe* [Explanation of Hölderlin's poetry, complete works] (Frankfurt/M.: Klostermann, 1981, 33ff.).

4. I refer here to the diversity of approaches within the so-called paradigm of language in the twentieth century from Ludwig Wittgenstein to Karl-Otto Apel and Jürgen Habermas. I am also thinking of the decisive contributions of other philosophers of different provenance, such as Martin Buber, Ferdinand Ebner, Karl Jaspers, Gabriel Marcel, Emmanuel Mounier, and Paul Ricœur. See Karl-Otto Apel, *Transformation der Philosophie* [Transformation of philosophy] (Frankfurt/M.: Suhrkamp, 1976); Edmund Braun, ed., *Der Paradigmenwechsel in der Sprach-Philosophie* [The language paradigm shift in philosophy] (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1996); Joseph Coll, *Filosofía de la relación interpersonal* [Philosophy of interpersonal relations] (Barcelona: PPU, 1990); Martin F. Meyer and Wolfgang H. Pleger, eds., *Zur Geschichte des Dialogs: Philosophische Positionen von Sokrates bis Habermas* [History of dialogue: Philosophical positions from Socrates to Habermas] (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2006); Vittorio Hösle, *Der philosophische Dialog: Eine Poetik und Hermeneutic* [Philosophical dialogue: A poetics and hermeneutic] (München: Beck 2006).

5. Helmut Heit, "Politischer Diskurs und dialogische Philosophie bei Jürgen Habermas" [Political discourse and dialogic philosophy of Jürgen Habermas], in *Zur Heschichte des Dialogs: Philosophische Positionen von Sokrates bis Habermas* [History of dialogue: Philosophical positions from Socrates to Habermas], ed. Martin F. Meyer and Wolfgang H. Pleger, 225–236 (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2006), 227.

6. Martin Heidegger, *Gesamtausgabe*: *5: Abt. 1, Veröffentlichte Schriften 1914–1970, Holzwege* [Complete works. Vol. 5/1, published writings from 1914–1970, off the beaten track] (Frankfurt/M.:

Klostermann. 1977), from 168; Bernhard Waldenfels, *Der Stachel des Fremden* [The thorn of foreigners] (Frankfurt/M.: Suhrkamp, 1990), from 43.

7. Paul Ricœur, *Histoire et Vérité* [History and truth] (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1955).

8. Friedrich Hölderlin, *Sämtliche Werke: Historisch-kritische Ausg* [Complete works: Historical output], vol. 4 (Berlin: Propyläen-Verlag, 1923), 343.

9. Jean-Paul Sartre, *Critique de la raison dialectique* [Critique of dialectical reason] (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1960).

10. As an example, we can point to the objections of Jürgen Habermas against Judeo-Christian dialogic philosophy. See Jürgen Habermas, "Der Deutsche Idealismus der Jüdischen Philosophie" [German idealism of Jewish philosophy], in *Philosophischpolitische Profile* [Philosophical-political profile], 39–64 (Frankfurt/M.: Suhrkamp, 1981); Jürgen Habermas "Kommunikative Freiheit und negative Theologie" [Communicative freedom and negative theology] in *Vom sinnlichen Eindruck zum symbolischen Ausdruck: Philosophische Essays* [From sensory impression to symbolic expression: Philosophical essays], 112–135 (Frankfurt/M.: Suhrkamp, 1997).

11. Jakob Burckhardt, Briefe /9 *Der Rücktritt vom historischen Amt und sein Nachspiel* [Withdrawal from the historic office and its aftermath] (Basel: Schwabe, 1980), 203.

12. Samuel Huntington, *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1996).

13. The cosmological crisis expressed in this civilizing tendency was the topic of the XIII Seminario Internacional del Programa de Diálogo Norte-Sur. See Raúl Fornet-Betancourt, ed., *El lugar de la tierra en las culturas. Un diálogo de cosmologías ante el desafío ecológico* [The place of the earth in cultures: A dialogue of cosmologies facing the ecological challenge] (Mainz: Wissenschaftsverlag. 2009).

14. See the analysis of this process in Eske Boeckelmann, *Im Takt des Geldes: Zur Genese modernen Denkens* [The disposable contact: Toward the genesis of modern thought] (Springe: Zu Klampen, 2004); Karl-Heinz Brodbeck, *Die Herrschaft des Geldes Geschichte und Systematik* [The domination of disposable history and systematics] (Darmstadt: WBG, 2009); and Raúl Fornet-Betancourt, "Zur philosophischen Kritik der Globalisierung" [Philosophical critique of globalization], in *Kapitalistische Globalisierung und Befreiung: Religiöse Erfahrungen und Option für das Leben* [Capitalist globalization and liberation: Religious experience and the option for life], ed. Raúl Fornet-Betancourt, 55–80 (Frankfurt/M.: IKO, Verlag für Interkulturelle Kommunikation, 2000), among others.

15. Georg Simmel, "Exkurs über den Fremden" [Essay about the stranger], in *Soziologie*: *Untersuchungen über die Formen der Vergesellschaftung* [Sociology: Inquiries into the construction of social forms], ed. G. Simmel, 509–512 (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot. 1968), 549; Raúl Fornet-Betancourt, "Hermeneutik und Politik des Fremden" [Hermeneutics and the politics of strangers], in Justin Stagl, *Verstehen und Verständigung: Ethnologie, Xenologie, interkulturelle Philosophie: Justin Stagl zum 60 Geburtstag* [Understanding and sgreement: Ethnology, xenology, intercultural philosophy for Justin Stagl's 60th], ed. Wolfdietrich Schmied-Kowarzik (Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 2002), 49–59.

16. Immanuel Kant, *Kritik der reinen Vernunft* [Critique of pure reason], vol. 3/1 of *Werke*, ed. Wilhelm Weischedel (Frankfurt/M.: de Gruyter, 1968).

17. About the concept of the "polylog," see Franz Martin Wimmer, *Interkulturelle philosophie*: *Eine einführung* [Intercultural philosophy: An introduction] (Vienna: WUV Facultas, 2004), especially 66ff.

18. For a deeper analysis of the intercultural transformation of philosophy, see Ram A. Mall, *Philosophie im Vergleich der Kulturen: Interkulturelle Philosophie—eine neue Orientierung* [Philosophy in comparative cultures: A new orientation] (Darmstadt: Wiss. Buchges, 1995); Franz Martin Wimmer, *Interkulturelle Philosophie. 1. Geschichte und Theorie* [Intercultural philosophy: 1. History and theory] (Vienna: Passagen-Verl. 1990); Raúl Fornet-Betancourt, *Transformación*

intercultural de la filosofía: Ejercicios teóricos y prácticos de filosofía intercultural desde Latinoamérica en el contexto de la globalización [Intercultural transformation of philosophy: Theoretical and Practical Exercises in Intercultural Philosophy from Latin America in the Context of Globalization] (Bilbao: Desclée de Brouwer, 2001); Raúl Fornet-Betancourt, *Interkulturalität in der Auseinandersetzung* [Interculturality in conflict] (Frankfurt/M.: IKO, Ver. für Interkulturelle Kommunikation, 2007); and Raúl Fornet-Betancourt, *Tareas y Propuestas de la Filosofía Intercultural* [Tasks and proposals for intercultural philosophy] (Aachen: Mainz, 2009).

19. Franz J. Hinkelammert, "Lo indispensable es inútil: Sobre la ética de la convivencia" [What is indispensible is useless: On the ethics of coexistence], in *Das Menschliche Zusammenleben: Probleme und Möglichkeiten in der heutigen Welt* [Human coexistence: Problem and possibilities in today's world], ed. Raúl Fornet-Betancourt, 33–46 (Aachen: Mainz Verlag, 2011).

20. See, for example, Gianni Vattimo, *Addio alla verità* [Farewell to truth] (Rome: Meltemi. 2009).

21. See Raúl Fornet-Betancourt, *Lateinamerikanische Philosophie zwischen Inkulturation und Interkulturalität* [Latin American philosophy between inculturation and interculturality] (Frankfurt/M.: IKO-Verlag für Interkulturelle Kommunikation, 1997); Franz Martin Wimmer, *Globalität und Philosophie: Studien zur Interkulturalität* [Globalism and philosophy: Studies in interculturality] (Vienna: Turia and Kant, 2003); Hamid Reza Yousefi and Ram A. Mall, *Grundpositionen der interkulturtellen Philosophie* [Fundamental positions of intercultural philosophy] (Nordhausen: Traugott Bautz 2005).

3

The Quest for Dialogue and Intercultural Philosophy

Vasily Gritsenko and Tatiana Danilchenko

Edward Demenchonok states that the dilemma for humanity today is to resolve the urgent need for dialogical relationships with the difficulties in establishing them: "on the one hand, dialogue—as the way toward removing divisive prejudices, justly resolving conflicts of interests, and collaborating on solutions to problems—has never been so urgent as now, in a world facing problems that threaten the future of humanity. On the other hand, the task of implementing dialogical relationships has never seemed as difficult as it is in today's politically and economically polarized world."[1]

In his publications, he convincingly shows the need for dialogical relationships in a culturally diverse yet interrelated world, in which all nations are facing problems on a global scale—wars in a world full of thermonuclear weapons, the underdevelopment of entire regions, climate change, and pandemics—that threaten the future of humanity. Dialogue is needed as an indispensable means for mutual understanding among people and for collaboration in finding possible solutions to acute social and global problems. These solutions, or at least the problems' mitigation, require peace and the joint efforts of all nations. However, there is no peace in sight, and other global problems are escalating. The opportunities for a more peaceful world order that opened after the end of the Cold War were

missed, and now we are witnessing a regression and the beginning of a new Cold War, which can become an overture to a World War III.

Edward Demenchonok's passion as a philosopher and genuine concern about war in a nuclear age comes not as a merely cerebral construction but from the heart and is based on his life experience: he was born during the WWII bombardments in the then Nazi occupied city of Vitebsk, survived by a miracle, and witnessed the immense suffering of the people and the heroism of those who were fighting and sacrificing their lives defending their homeland and then liberating Europe from the Nazi plague.

After visiting Hiroshima in 2007, he put together a volume in which he referred to Theodor Adorno, who wrote that Auschwitz was a relapse into barbarianism, criticized philosophy as the Western legacy of positivity, and called on philosophy to reflect on its own failure and its own complicity in such events.[2] He points out that "Adorno's statements, aimed against 'empty and cold forgetting' or shallow rhetoric about those tragic events, reflected the concerns of many intellectuals about the role of philosophy, its failures in the past, and the need for its transformation in order to fulfill its potential for humanity in the wake of the Holocaust and Hiroshima."[3] Demenchonok's search for such a transformation of philosophy, able "to fulfill its potential for humanity," became the life-long goal of his philosophical journey, at the heart of which was the theme of *dialogue*.

Demenchonok's contribution to the theory of dialogue has distinctive features, which can be briefly summarized as follows. He views dialogue not merely as a conversation but as *dialogical relationships*. He elaborates a view of human beings and society based on the principles of dialogue and communication on all its levels: individual, intersubjective, social, and intercultural. Human consciousness is dialogical and participative, human thinking is also dialogical using language, and human personality is constituted in the actualization of its dialogical relation to the other. Relations among cultures can form an intercultural dialogue. He provides a philosophical justification of the normativity of dialogue. At the empirical level of analysis, however, he notes that dialogical relationships leave much to be desired. Dialogue cannot be taken for granted, and its realization requires certain favorable conditions. He tries to understand the obstacles that hinder dialogue. He addresses the problem of these obstacles and their root cause, related to the contradictions of history, existential contradictions, and human conditions. The realization of the dialogical

potential of human relationships requires the removal of these obstacles, which means the comprehensive transformation of society and a world order, as well as changes in people's hearts and minds, a *metanoia*. Therefore, in his theory, dialogue has a profoundly transformative meaning. It offers an alternative to the existing world of monologic thinking, domination, and hegemonic globalization. Dialogical principles can be considered as a kind of theoretical basis of a new society and a new world order.

This chapter discusses the problems of the theory and practice of dialogue based on the analysis of the works of Demenchonok and conversations with him on this theme within the context of the transformational philosophical movements in philosophy. It starts with memories of the struggle for a genuine philosophy and dialogue in the 1970s–1980s, despite the obstacles posed by dogmatic ideocracy. Next, it will reconstruct Demenchonok's ideas of dialogue, developed in his analysis of Mikhail Bakhtin's dialogical philosophy, discourse ethics, transcultural theory, and intercultural philosophy. Attention will be paid to the intercultural transformation of philosophy. The chapter will analyze the dialogical dimensions of the emerging Latin American and African philosophies, as well as Latino and African American philosophies in the United States. Finally, it will tackle the transformative influence of dialogical philosophy on society and a dialogical dimension of a "new cosmopolitanism."

STRIVING FOR GENUINE PHILOSOPHY AND DIALOGUE

Edward Demenchonok, after his graduation from the prestigious Lomonosov Moscow State University, joined the Institute of Philosophy of the Russian Academy of Sciences in 1970. With a brilliant mind, an excellent education, and broad range of career opportunities, his choice of philosophy was contrary to any pragmatic reason and was driven by a noble idealism and a calling as a philosopher. He preferred material hardship but intellectual-spiritual independence. He wrote about his calling in reference to Heidegger's concept of *die Möglichkeit*, which means that an individual may view him/herself as being sent into the world with a subconsciously

perceived mission, the fulfillment of which should be the overarching goal of life: "because it *is* what it becomes or does not become, can it say understandingly to itself: 'become what you are!'"[4] It was quite risky to enter the minefield of a society in the 1970s–1980s under the rule of ideocracy, which was jealous of free philosophical thinking and saw in it (not without reason) a challenge to the official dogma. But Edward Demenchonok was not afraid of taking this risk to pursue his calling as he had the character for that, being a World War II survivor with an inner nobility of spirit, as well as a philologist and a violinist, and having the stamina of a boxing champion of the Moscow State University and a woodcutter in Siberia.

At the Institute of Philosophy, Edward Demenchonok defended his dissertation and worked as a Senior Research Fellow in the Department of Contemporary Western Philosophy. As a researcher, he studied the currents of contemporary philosophy in Western Europe and the Americas, and in his publications, he demonstrated a dialogical openness to the "other."

Demenchonok's view of philosophy was to follow philosophy's innate drive to question everything, its "openness to all questions and all possibilities, taking nothing for granted," and to challenge all authority and all ideological positions that claim no need of further examination.[5] It can also be characterized by Mikhail Bakhtin's term *vnenakhodimost'* (outsideness, exotopy, being located beyond, the ability to see something from the outside); however, this is not just distancing and indifference but rather a sympathetic and involved outsideness. Bakhtin explained that for creative understanding to occur, "it is immensely important for the person who understands to be *located outside* the object of his or her creative understanding—in time, in space, in culture," and that "a meaning only reveals its depth once it has encountered and come into contact with another, foreign meaning."[6]

Living in the milieu of Russian culture and philosophy, Demenchonok studied Western philosophical currents, published a book on technocratism and culture in the United States and articles about Latin American philosophy and the theology of liberation. In this virtual "dialogue" with philosophical texts, he was able to learn their wisdom and, at the same time, see them from his position of "outsideness" and critically evaluate them. Conversely, being well-informed about Western philosophical ideas, he was

able to see and assess ideologized pseudo-philosophy from an external perspective and within the broad picture of contemporary philosophy.

In contrast to the ideological Manichean "either-or" exclusivism, typical of the Cold War era, Demenchonok approached the relationships between Western and non-Western philosophical traditions dialogically as the interplay of their differences and similarities and the possibilities of a mutually beneficial dialogue in discussing philosophical problems of the human being, ethics, culture, and global problems. He went beyond mere cross-cultural comparativism toward interculturality as expressed by intercultural philosophy.

Thanks to his openness to the "other" and his "outsideness" position while at the Institute of Philosophy in Moscow, he was able to "discover" Latin America as a philosophical continent, and in his publications in the early 1980s, he was the first in Russia, and perhaps in Europe, to justify the emergent Latin American philosophy of liberation as an original philosophical current. The recognition of the emergence of this culturally embedded philosophical current challenged the Eurocentric canon and questioned both any "centrist" view of philosophy and the universalistic pretensions of predominant doctrines. This fresh de-centering view was perceived as an alternative not only to the Eurocentric canon but also to the straightjacket of official dogma. The view of philosophy as culturally embedded was liberating for those who were interested in regaining the Russian philosophical tradition, which was marginalized and silenced.

Demenchonok was in the cohort of those open-minded philosophers who were striving for philosophy worthy of this name and for dialogue. In analyzing the social conditions in which theories of dialogue were able to emerge and develop despite all the obstacles, Nelly Motroshilova mentioned a socio-historical paradox: on the one hand, in society, many obstacles stood in the way of dialogue (for example, between the public and the authorities) and the deep theories of dialogue. "On the other hand, these theories—in a seemingly incomprehensible way—not only arose, but also became the brightest phenomenon of science, of the culture of a 'non-dialogical' society."[7] She mentioned the contributions of Mikhail Bakhtin, Yuri Lotman, Mikhail Gasparov, and Vladimir Bibler to the development of theories of dialogue and to dialogues about dialogue. She addressed the problem of "a free person in a non-free society," a personal perspective in relation to dialogue, and the courageous integrity of the most prominent

theorists, who were able to maintain their inner freedom of spirit despite censorship, using the personality of Bakhtin as an example. In her opinion, it seems as if the limitations and suppression of the freedom of persons' creative spirit were pushing them to free thought: "in history, creative deeds, thoughts, and concepts, in fact, have always been born, multiplied, and spread *despite all the most unfavorable, unfree socio-historical conditions, and in many respects according to the general and particular laws of the development of the spirit—thanks to resistance and alienation from the forms of domination, lack of freedom and struggle with them.*"[8] She also mentioned the dialogue of "*[s]mall communities of people of spirit, of culture as 'abode' of creative dialogue.*"

Motroshilova's assessment of the conditions for contemporary discussions in the world about dialogue is particularly interesting. She pointed out the existence of another kind of obstacle for dialogue and the theory of dialogue: "the erosion of the conceptual and methodological framework of the term 'dialogue' in comparison to what took place in the works of Bakhtin himself," the distortions of using Bakhtin's concept "to justify empty eclectic chatter," when "the word 'dialogue' is deprived of its precise conceptual content," or when it is used in a very broad sense, losing its scientific rigor.[9]

She raised questions pertaining to both the theory and practice of dialogue: Can we talk about the continuation of the traditions of theories of dialogue in contemporary culture? Have there been any changes in the theoretical understanding of the dialogue itself? Based on her analysis, she concluded that "despite some—for the most part—purely formal, ritual shifts in the socio-political practice of both individual countries and humanity as a whole, there is a regression, rollback in comparison with what mankind managed to achieve in the second half of the 20th century— alas!— after cannons, tanks, airplanes, even an atomic bomb conducted their inhuman 'anti-dialogue.'"[10] She also mentioned the controversial situation regarding dialogue in the 21st century. On the one hand, dialogue has become one of the main values of social and individual relationships. On the other, as is the case with individual and spiritual values, there has been a profanation of public dialogue, the spread of pseudo-dialogue, and the praxis of contemporary talk shows with the participation of ideologically oriented experts, the "industry" of counterfeiting dialogue.[11]

This context provides a better understanding of the struggle for philosophy worthy of this name and for genuine dialogue. Demenchonok contributed to intercultural philosophical dialogue in theory and in practice. During his time at the Institute of Philosophy, he facilitated its collaboration with philosophers abroad and arranged visits from prominent philosophers such as Francisco Miró-Quesada, Enrique Dussel, Raúl Fornet-Betancourt, and Horatio Cerruti-Guldberg, among others. He established a scholarly collaboration with the journal *Concordia: International Journal of Philosophy* and was its coordinator in Russia. He participated in the Extraordinary World Philosophical Congress in 1987 in Córdoba, Argentina, and met many Latin American philosophers in person, having previously maintained a virtual dialogue with them through correspondence and the exchange of publications. In 1988 Demenchonok was invited to Colombia as a visiting professor, and he spent two years teaching and doing research there. While he was there, he wrote and published a book about Latin American philosophy and two more books.[12] In 1991 Demenchonok was invited to the University of Georgia, U.S., as a visiting professor, where he conducted further research, which he published, and continued his work as a Professor at the Fort Valley State University. He maintained his ties with the Institute of Philosophy of the Russian Academy of Sciences and his scholarly collaborations with colleagues, including at conferences and in joint publications. Dialogue remained the theme of his interest, elaborated in various registers and enriched with his life experiences and collaborations with philosophers from various countries.

BAKHTIN'S DIALOGICAL PHILOSOPHY AND THE CONTEMPORARY THEORY OF DIALOGUE

Demenchonok's conception of dialogue has its roots in Bakhtin's dialogical philosophy and is enriched with recent achievements in discourse ethics and intercultural philosophy. His work is focused on dialogical philosophy, which emerged in the early 20th century and was championed by Martin Buber and Mikhail Bakhtin, along with Franz Rosenzweig and Ferdinand Ebner, as well as Emmanuel Levinas. The dialogical turn in philosophy was in part a response to the predominance of epistemology. Buber, in his philosophical essay *I and Thou* (*Ich und Du*, 1923), opposed the

epistemological relation of *I–it* between subjects and objects of thought to the *I–Thou* encounter as a "revelation" in dialogue between subjects.[13] This is an internal, innermost, spiritual relationship, in which human life finds its meaningfulness and which allows an individual to engage in dialogue with all beings, primarily with the human and seeking the unity with God. Buber insisted that the dialogical principle was not an abstract conception but an ontological reality.

Bakhtin's main ideas were expressed in his early philosophical works, one of which, *Toward a Philosophy of the Act*, was written around 1920 (about three years earlier than Buber's *Ich und Du*) but could not be published until 1986.[14] His dialogical philosophy enshrines the principles of Socratic dialogue, such as its moral underpinning and respect for the interlocutor, commitment to the search for truth, as well as the distinction between genuine dialogue and monologic sophistry.

Based on the *Complete Works* of Bakhtin and recent publications about him, Demenchonok reconstructs Bakhtin's dialogical philosophy, highlights its innovative characteristics, and elaborates on its ideas applied in the contemporary context. He indicates that Bakhtin saw a paradigmatic shift from the monologic framework to dialogical philosophy as the main event in 20th-century thought. Bakhtin was critical of the predominant "theoretism," scientific rationalism, and the "dualism of cognition and life." His methodology challenged philosophical monologism: "in the monologic world—*tertium non datur*: a thought is either affirmed or negated or ceased to be a fully meaningful thought."[15] Criticizing this sort of philosophical monologism, Bakhtin argued in favor of dialogical principles. He drew a distinction between the natural sciences ("thought about the world") and the human sciences—the study of human beings and their spiritual world, the world of culture to which the cognizing subjects themselves belong ("thought in the world"). In human sciences, the subject as such cannot be studied as a *thing*, for, as a *subject*, it cannot "become voiceless, and consequently, cognition of it can only be *dialogic*."[16]

Demenchonok views dialogue not merely as a conversation but as *dialogical relationships*. Dialogical relationships, according to Bakhtin, are *"an almost universal phenomenon"* and refer not only to speech but permeate "*all relationships and manifestations of human life—in general, everything that has meaning and significance.*"[17]

Unlike some interpretations that mainly see Bakhtin's ideas of dialogue in terms of communication theory, Demenchonok discerns a fundamental meaning of dialogue as a metaphysics of human Being as "co-being." Dialogical relationships between I and the other (and ultimately between I and the Absolute Other) constitute the structure of Being understood as an event, "the unitary and once-occurrent event of Being."[18] This fundamental ontological structure is revealed within the absolute coordinates of I and the other and "determines the forms of existence and the forms of thought, language, and cultural meaning as such. For the realization of an event of Being, at least two personal consciousnesses are needed: the 'co-being of being.'"[19] Demenchonok points out that Bakhtin, characterizing existence as the unique and unified event of Being, at the same time emphasizes the plurality of perspectives of the participants of dialogue. He views "I" and "the other" in opposition within the unity of the event of Being, yet each retains its uniqueness and equality of value. At the same time, he underscores the dialogical co-existence of I-and-other as co-participants in the event of Being. All the values of actual life and culture are concentrated around the basic moments in the architectonic of the actual world of the performed act or deed: "I-for-myself, the other-for-me, and I-for-the-other."[20]

Demenchonok underscores the ethical dimension of Bakhtin's dialogism as its distinctive characteristic. He compares his *Toward a Philosophy of the Act* with Martin Heidegger's *Sein und Zeit* (Being and Time, 1927) and states that both thinkers, without knowing each other, were working in the same philosophical area, focusing on human individuality, and defending it from depersonalizing ideology and power. However, Bakhtin not only anticipated Heidegger's groundbreaking ideas but was nearer to the methodological innovations of contemporary philosophical hermeneutics, such as its *ethical* aspect (as found, for example, in Hans-Georg Gadamer's works). His novelty consisted of understanding moral effort as being actualized in the spatial and temporal moment while at the same time being identical and common to all human beings. "It pertained to the continuity of dutifulness (the 'ought') preserved in the conditions of the consciously comprehended uniqueness of the individual 'being-there,'"—writes Demenchonok and continues: "According to Bakhtin, understanding can never happen only from the point of view of the *self*: it requires the outside perspective of the *other*. Thus, understanding is dialogical and, ideally, in

dialogue, we respect differences and interact with others in an ethical way."[21]

Demenchonok points out Bakhtin's altruistic principle: unlike ethical systems in which "I" is considered more important than "other" (for example, Georg Simmel and Max Scheler), Bakhtin prioritizes the other over the self. This is expressed in the fundamental moral principle of "absolute self-exclusion" (*absolutnoe sebia-iskluchenie*, or the exclusion of self, self-exception).[22] "This principle of self-exclusion from the values of the present-at-hand Being implies favoring the other and imparting these values to the other," and thus I assume a duty while providing an "ethical-aesthetical kindness toward the other, and this altruistic relationship is actively realized through my responsible act or deed."[23] Bakhtin refers to Christ as an example of an altruistic morality: "in all of Christ's norms the *I* and the *other* are contraposed: for myself—absolute sacrifice, for the other —loving mercy. But *I-for-myself* is the *other* for God. . . . What I must be for the other, God is for me."[24]

In contrast to Buber's conception of dialogue, with its role for silence and revelation, for Bakhtin, the most important part of dialogical relationships is language. A dialogical orientation is a property of any word: "The word is born in a dialogue as a living rejoinder within it; the word is shaped in dialogic interaction with an alien word that is already in the object. A word forms a concept on its own object in a dialogic way."[25] Demenchonok gives a linguistic explanation for the dialogical relationship between two voices within the same utterance in the polyphonic novel, a double-voiced word in Bakhtin's terminology, which is a single syntactic unit. Within the double-voiced construction, both voices must, by definition, be syntactically interrelated while at the same time remaining two distinctly different voices. Bakhtin extended the theory of the double-voicedness of the word, which had been shown to be present in novels, into the entire sphere of language, using the term "indirect speech" (*nepriamoe govorenie*) for utterances expressing indirect (not literal) meaning. In the Bakhtinian approach, language is always a hybrid noematic-noetic phenomenon, which makes it possible to express indirect meanings. Demenchonok's analysis provides further arguments in support of the Bakhtinian idea that dialogism, and all linguistic phenomena related to it, is a constitutive characteristic of language and that the various forms of

dialogue related to language (including the dialogue of cultures) bear this property.[26]

Demenchonok shows the importance of Bakhtin's ideas of a "dialogue of cultures" for intercultural philosophy. These ideas contributed to the dismantling of the one-dimensional "monolithic" view of culture and to a deeper understanding of the diversity of cultures and justification of intercultural dialogue. Bakhtin stated that "the most intense and productive life of culture takes place on the boundaries of its individual areas," that "the boundaries of these areas are not absolute," and emphasized "the interconnection and interdependence of various areas of culture" in "culture as a whole."[27] He expanded the conception of dialogue to the realm of cultures, asserting the diversity of cultures and their mutual influence and need for each other. He describes this by using the concept of *vnenakhodimost'*: for creative understanding to occur, it is important for the person who understands "to be *located outside* the object of his or her creative understanding—in time, in space, in culture." Even our real exterior "can be seen and understood only by other people, because they are located outside us in space and because they are *others*."[28] He sees advantages of the contraposition and interaction of two consciousnesses, of "active-dialogic understanding (disagreement/agreement)," which stimulates and deepens understanding.[29]

Demenchonok provides important clarification of the expression "dialogue of cultures." He explains that Bakhtin extends the principle of outsideness to the realm of cultures, drawing an analogy between the self-consciousness of an individual and the self-consciousness of cultures. Similar to individuals, for each culture, another is needed to provide it with an outside perspective to surmount its one-sidedness and better understand itself: "It is only in the eyes of *another* culture that the foreign culture reveals itself fully and profoundly."[30] The dialogical relations of cultures can create a deeper understanding: "A meaning only reveals its depth once it has encountered and come into contact with another, foreign meaning: they engage in a kind of *dialogue,* which surmounts the closedness and one-sidedness of these particular meanings, these cultures."[31] Demenchonok rightly highlights that Bakhtin here uses the expression "a kind of *dialogue*" and that the term "dialogue of cultures" is a metaphor (albeit one that is heuristically rich as a concept in characterizing the mutual influence of cultures), while the actual dialogue takes place among individuals or groups

as representatives of different cultures.[32] The importance of the other does not mean accepting only the other's perspective at the expense of neglecting one's own: "*Creative understanding* does not renounce itself, its own place in time, its own culture; and it forgets nothing."[33] Nor does a dialogic encounter of two cultures result in merging or mixing: "Each retains its own unity and *open* totality, but they are mutually enriched."[34] He dialectically grasps both the diversity of unique cultures and their common aspects as "the differentiated unity of the culture of the epoch in which it was created," and adds that "its fullness is revealed only in *great time*."[35]

Demenchonok reconstructs Bakhtin's dialogism as a harmonious system of philosophical justifications of dialogical relationships among individuals and within culturally diverse societies. Furthermore, he sees in dialogical philosophy insights for elaborating a view of human beings and society based on the principles of dialogue and communication on all their levels: individual, intersubjective, social, and inter-cultural. It offers an alternative to a conflicted world of individualism, monologic authoritarianism, and hegemonic globalization. The principles of dialogical philosophy can be considered as a kind of theoretical basis for a new society and a more peaceful and just world order.[36]

KARL-OTTO APEL'S ETHICS OF DIALOGUE AND CO-RESPONSIBILITY

Dialogical philosophy obtained its impetus in the last quarter of the 20th century due to the movements for the recognition of cultural diversity and in response to the escalation of global problems, the possible solutions for which require dialogue and collaboration among peoples. Demenchonok traces the development of philosophical ideas of dialogue and their specific expressions in discourse ethics, transcultural theory, and intercultural philosophy.

Dialogue is at the heart of the movements for the transformation of philosophy, as undertaken by Karl-Otto Apel and Jürgen Habermas in discourse ethics, and later on by Raúl Fornet-Betancourt in intercultural philosophy. Demenchonok analyzes Apel's project of transformation of philosophy and his attempts to elaborate on the theory of the types of rationality and to resolve the problem of grounding ethics in the "scientific

age." He notes that, similarly to Bakhtin and some other representatives of dialogical philosophy, Apel opposes the narrow "scientistic" and positivist outlook and argues for the importance of ethics and a rationally grounded foundation for establishing normative criteria for judging the consequences of human activities in the age of globalization, and "elaborates on a philosophical grounding of discourse or communicative ethics."[37] Apel's new approach is based on a transcendental-pragmatic reflection on the presupposition of arguing. Instead of the Cartesian *ego cogito*, he used the transcendental presupposition of "I argue" as a member of a communication community, which implies the use of language and intersubjective discourse: "It emphasizes intersubjectivity, moving from the monologic voice of Kantian ethics toward the dialogic voice of communicative action. This approach transformed Kant's transcendental argumentation into transcendental-pragmatic argumentation."[38]

Demenchonok stresses the moral underpinning of dialogue, from Socrates to Buber and Bakhtin, which continues in discourse ethics: its normative contents "include the principles of justice, reciprocity, respect, tolerance, solidarity, and co-responsibility."[39] According to Apel, in serious argumentation, we have already necessarily acknowledged certain fundamental norms of discourse ethics. The noncontingent presuppositions of argumentative discourse, aimed at reaching a consensus, include the claims to sharing an intersubjectively valid *meaning* with partners, to *truth*, to the "*truthfulness* and *sincerity*" of speech acts, and to "the *morally relevant rightness*" of speech acts.[40] All possible discourse partners must acknowledge each other as having *equal rights* in representing their interests, as bearing *equal co-responsibility* for identifying and solving problems of the life world through argumentative discourse, and as seeking solutions for moral problems, but only by arguments and not by open or concealed violence.[41]

Regarding Apel's discourse ethics, Demenchonok raises the question of whether it is about discourse or dialogue. Both notions mean a conversation, but dialogue has a higher status than discourse. Dialogue has its relationship with truth: it means a conversation that characterizes an intermediate space in which both diversity and unity are present, it aims to attain mutual understanding about problems and their mutually acceptable solutions, and it implies engagement and an interpersonal dimension. He concludes:

Apel's discourse ethics includes responsibility, which implies obligations toward others and "planetary co-responsibility" for issues that affect the human race. Obligation implies a far higher level of personal engagement and commitment than that which is merely defined as "discourse," and it requires relations of *dialogue*. Therefore, Apel's theory of discourse ethics is not only about discourse, but in its most developed form is about ethical conditions and the possibility of a dialogical relationship, and thus it can be fairly called the "ethics of dialogue."[42]

Everyone who engages in argument presupposes an "ideal communication community" that is basically capable of adequately understanding the meaning of the arguments set forth and judging their truth, and real communities can evolve toward an approximation of the ideal one: "to some extent, the ideal community is presupposed and even counterfactually anticipated *in* the real one, namely, as a real possibility of the real society."[43] Apel's transformation of philosophy and the central role of the argumentative discourse or dialogue with clear ethical participatory norms, if consistently implemented, presuppose the potential for the transformation of society.

Demenchonok also explores the new heuristic possibilities that the dialogical approach of discourse ethics opened for political philosophy to understand the problems of justice and peace. It was Habermas who developed the discourse-theoretical conception of justice, in which the principle of universalization (U) is a rule of argumentation that makes agreement in practical discourses possible in the equal interests of everyone: "I have formulated (U) in a way that precludes a monological application of the principle. First, (U) regulates only argumentation among a plurality of participants; second, it suggests the perspective of real-life argumentation, in which all affected are admitted as participants."[44] His "dialogical" approach is contrasted to John Rawls's "monological" approach, in which his well-ordered society of justice as fairness is constructed as a mental experiment of separated individuals; it is pronounced monologically to the rest of the world on behalf of "reason," while the "other" is invisible and its voice is absent. By contrast, discourse ethics considers the moral point of view as embodied in an intersubjective practice of argumentation, and the application of its principle of universalization "calls for a joint process of 'ideal role taking,'" and from this interlocking of perspectives "there emerges an ideally extended we-perspective from which all can test in common whether they wish to make a controversial norm the basis of their shared practice."[45]

In contrast to the liberal concept of governing, which underestimates the public and deliberative aspect of democratic institutions, Habermas suggests the post-metaphysical and post-individualistic approach by pointing to the linguistic-communicative constitution of intersubjectivity, to the dialogism of communicative action, and to the historical character of communication as real practical discourses.

DIALOGUE ABOUT ETHICS AND JUSTICE

Demenchonok praises the innovative character of Habermas's discourse theory and discourse validation and highlights the advantages of the Habermasian dialogical approach to justice over the Rawlsian monological approach. At the same time, he points out the limitations of their proceduralism. Undoubtedly, procedures are important, and egalitarian ideals helped in the struggles against authoritarian rule and for constitutional democracies; yet despite all the undeniable achievements, glaring social inequality and economic-political polarization remain sources of injustice. Thus, it is not only the formal procedures that matter but also the substantial content of social justice.

In exploring the possibilities of the development of a conception of justice, Demenchonok turns toward the recent resurgence of virtue ethics, which identifies the central question of morality as having to do with the knowledge concerning how to live a good life. Virtue ethics addresses the question of what shape my life might appropriately take, considering my relationships with others. He discusses the Aristotelian tradition with its teleological account of the good, of moral actions, and of the shared "virtuous" life, and the recent revival of virtue ethics by Alasdair MacIntyre, Paul Ricoeur, and Fred Dallmayr.[46]

Demenchonok draws attention to MacIntyre's work and his opinion that in liberal democracy the virtue of justice has been displaced.[47] MacIntyre raises the question of how, in our culturally diverse world, a rational dialogue between deeply incompatible and conflicting points of view is possible. MacIntyre explores the process of dialogue, starting with the assumption that every major moral culture or standpoint presupposes some conception of human nature. Such conceptions are inherently normative and universalistic, and they contain a commitment to truth as a universal good

that transcends any particular morality. When, in dialogue, we deny the truth of someone else's moral beliefs, we make or imply judgments about the inadequacy of their reasons for belief, and we presuppose a difference between them and us.[48] When we encounter others with different views, we implicitly present our judgments and way of life as deserving assent by these others, and thus, at least tacitly, "we invite those others to radical self-criticism." This invitation presupposes that truth is a "good that is already implicitly acknowledged." This recognition obligates us to "undertake the tasks of radical self-criticism to which [we] have invited others."[49] It commits us to an "ethics of enquiry" that has as its main goal the "achievement of truth through a dialectical development of critical objections to our initial shared beliefs."[50]

Demenchonok points out that MacIntyre stresses some principles of dialogue that are similar to those formulated by the theorists of discourse ethics. According to these principles, participants of dialogue have to be governed by "certain rules and exhibit certain virtues," including each person being able "to speak in turn and at appropriate length" and attention being directed to the "substance of the arguments and not to who utters them," and the interlocutors should be genuinely open to the views and evaluations of others, thus demonstrating the virtue of "justice in conversation."[51]

The limitations of proceduralism are shown also by Paul Ricoeur, who criticizes the procedural formalism of Rawls's theory of justice and favors a pluralism of instances of justice. Ricoeur outlines a novel ethical theory, bridging teleological and deontological traditions and integrating an Aristotelian approach to the good with a Kantian account of right action and producing an account of the good by way of the right.[52] He characterizes his contribution to moral philosophy in his study of the self in relation to ethical aims, the moral norm, and practical wisdom,[53] as developed in two thematic axes: "The first axis, which we can call the 'horizontal' axis, is that of the *dialogical* constitution of the self. . . . The second, 'vertical' axis is that of the hierarchical constitution of the *predicates* that qualify human actions in terms of morality."[54] In his philosophical theory, the just is situated at the intersection of these two axes. Ricoeur also states that "the self only constitutes its identity through a relational structure that places the dialogical dimension above the monological one."[55] The other presents himself, through his face and in his voice, in interpersonal relations as the

virtue of the immediate relationship of friendship. He stresses that ethical goodness (*eudaimonia*) cannot be private property, and thus a "good life" is never one lived in isolation but with others.[56]

Demenchonok further elaborates on the conceptions of virtue ethics and justice in dialogue with Fred Dallmayr. In arguing for a virtue ethics in a post-liberal world, Dallmayr indicates the limitations of liberal theories and the procedural "blindness" of justice, applied to individuals irrespective of their differences in color, creed, race, or gender.[57] The socio-economic inequality is the structural source of manifold injustices, and "slim procedural formalities serving as fig leaves to cover prevailing modes of domination."[58] Dallmayr suggests to develop alternative conceptions, correcting the "blind justice" by a "seeing-eye justice," sensitive to individual and cultural differentiation.[59] He offers a "bifocal" conception of justice, that combines both the idea of equal rights and differential contexts. He finds support for this conception in works of Charles Taylor and Jacques Derrida, as well as within traditions of thought in India, China, and the Middle East.[60] Virtue ethics in relation to praxis involves a post-liberal politics of virtue, which seeks to combine greater economic justice with social reciprocity.[61]

Demenchonok highlights the innovative character of Dallmayr's works in the field of cross-cultural theory or "comparative political theory" and of his intercultural perspective. Dallmayr views theories of justice within a broad civilizational and cross-cultural context. He argues that the possible movement toward a "global justice" requires "politics of recognition" to be large-scale and cross-cultural. As an alternative to "culture wars," he insists on constructive politics of dialogue and a mutual learning process among cultures. But he also notes the obstacles to dialogical relationships and learning on all sides, including the conceit of superiority in the West and the legacies of neocolonialism in non-Western cultures. Thus, the "politics of recognition" necessarily has to be a two-way street, a dialogue, involving a process of mutual learning. "Dialogue in international relations opens a promising path toward global justice and peace because it is predicated on equality and lateral ethical responsibilities and is oriented toward a global 'good life.'"[62]

In a broader sense, in Dallmayr's political philosophy, the realization of "global justice" is related to an "emerging global city or community" called "cosmopolis." The advancement of intercultural and international dialogue

is a means for the emergence of a cosmopolitan order. As Demenchonok writes, "Dallmayr's philosophical and ethical-political ideas culminate in his vision of a cosmopolitan future . . . Dallmayr embraces the fresh dimensions of a 'new cosmopolitanism.' At the same time, his conception of cosmopolis has some distinctive characteristics that are related to his interpretation of being-in-the-world, care, relationality, democratic politics as relational praxis, world maintenance, and spirituality."[63] These ideas are akin to Demenchonok's ethical-political views of social and global justice and of a dialogical "cosmopolitanism to come."[64]

STRIVING FOR THE RECOGNITION OF CULTURAL DIVERSITY AND FOR INTERCULTURAL DIALOGUE

Demenchonok's conception of dialogue as a paradigm of relationships permeating intersubjective, social, and intercultural relations turned out to be in demand in the struggle for the recognition of cultural diversity and the debates about what the relationships among different cultures are and should be.

Liberal multiculturalism has failed to provide a satisfactory answer to these issues. Demenchonok critically analyzes the politics and ideology of liberal multiculturalism, in which mere lip service is frequently given to the development of diverse cultures, while the dominating culture retains its control.[65] It implies an essentialist and deterministic view of cultural phenomena as conditioned by their ethnic, racial, or gender origins, viewed in terms of "representation." The cultural landscape is viewed as fragmented kaleidoscopic images or a mosaic of self-enclosed cultures, each valuable in itself. However, in this conception, the relationships between cultures are missing.

The multiculturalist view of culture was criticized by the postmodern deconstruction, but the latter was unable to provide a valid theoretical alternative. It denies any determinism, including "origins," as our own construction. Paradoxically, while multiculturalism is focused on "collective identities," deconstructionism stresses "internal differences." Neither of them has been able to ground the diversity of cultures and their relationships theoretically.

Philosophy needs to explain both the diversity of cultures and their relationships, primarily the causes of conflicts and the conditions for the possibility of co-existence and dialogue. The interaction of cultures in a conflicted and interrelated world is a reality, and it can range from the poles of intolerance to mutually beneficial collaborative relationships. Throughout human history, we can find many examples of ethnic conflicts and religious wars, but in multiethnic and multinational societies, people were often able to co-exist peacefully, and it was precisely their cultural diversity that was a source for the flourishing of their cultures. In a pluralistic and globally interrelated world, writes Demenchonok, "It is high time . . . for rethinking the issues of cultural diversity in today's world in order to find the theoretical guides and working strategies for the flowering of diverse cultures in dialogical relationships."[66]

Demenchonok provides strong arguments for his statement that cultural differences as such are not necessarily the source of violent conflicts. Rather, differences in cultures and religions and in cultural identities are frequently abused by political opportunists as an ideological weapon in their lust for power and domination under the banners of nationalism, racism, religious fundamentalism, and hegemonic "exceptionalism." He rebuts the concepts of "culture wars" and the "clash of civilizations," which ontologize conflicts, as ideological constructions justifying policies of domination and hegemonism. As a positive alternative, he contributes to the line of human-istic thought that asserts the diversity of cultures and the dialogical relations of their representatives as a path to the flourishing of cultures and peace: "the existing differences in languages and cultures are more and more perceived not as God's 'judgment' to prevent the completion of the Tower of Babel for the glorification of man . . . , but rather as a 'blessing' of cultural diversity which can prevent a depersonalizing homogenization of people, and which can also help to forestall their subjugation to totalitarian and imperialist projects." He adds that "cultural diversity contains a rich potential and opens new opportunities for the creative self-expression of individuals and for an interactive development of cultures and human liberation."[67]

Demenchonok contributes to dialogical thought as developed in the theories of transculture and interculturality. He articulates the dialogical dimensions of the theory of transculture, founded by Mikhail Epstein. "*Transculture* is a new sphere of cultural development," writes Epstein,

who continues: "Transculture overcomes the isolation of their symbolic systems and value determinations and broadens the field of 'supra-cultural' creativity."[68]

Demenchonok points out transculture's emphasis on the dialogical interaction of cultures: "Bakhtin's famous thesis that proposes that the life of cultures takes place on the boundaries is central to the concept of transculture, in which its deep meaning is articulated." He argues that "boundaries play a certain constitutive role in protecting the uniqueness of each culture and in resisting the homogenizing intrusion of globalization." On the other hand, "in contrast to the self-enclosed isolation of some cultures within their own boundaries, intercultural philosophy and transculture argue for a mutual openness and dialogic interaction of cultures, leading to their more intense and productive life."[69]

According to Epstein, we should move from the postmodern concept of "difference" (*différance*) to that of *interference*, of the "dispersion" of the symbolic values of one culture in the fields of other cultures.[70] Critical self-consciousness and the openness of cultures to interrelations can lead to their mutual "interference" and to building new transcultural communities. In contrast to the divisive ideologies, the theory of transculture is uniting and offers its dialectics of the universal and the particular. Unlike multiculturalism, which compartmentalizes cultures and identities into racial, ethnic, and other categories, transculture not only recognizes cultural diversity but calls to go beyond divisive borders and identity wars, "transcending" them toward an understanding of the fundamental unity of humanity. Humanity is viewed not as an aggregate of divided atomistic identities but as an all-embracing composite of interrelated communities. This interrelation has a dialogical potential.

This theory provides an original conception of critical universality. "Critical universality does not prescribe any pre-established value system or canon identified with any particular culture. Rather, it articulates a critical philosophical-methodological approach, at the heart of which is Bakhtinian outsideness and the critical distancing in relation to any existing culture, including one's own native culture."[71] In contrast to metaphysics, which was focused on the general as a quality common to many objects, "universal" refers to one object in as much as it possesses the qualities of many, and plurality is viewed as an aspect of universality (internal diversity or multidimensionality). Universality means diversity as a property or an

asset of a single individual (or culture) insofar as it can incorporate the diversity of others and embrace the value of universality. Transculturalism is a state of the virtual belonging of an individual to many cultures. At the personal level, transculture refers to the efforts of individuals to overcome their identification with specific cultures and open themselves to others' cultures and engage in a "transcultural dialogue." Epstein compares the formation of a transcultural identity to painting a self-portrait with the resources of different cultures.[72]

"Transcultural" persons, who, without abandoning their native cultures, grow from them toward the open space of a culturally diverse world, thus are bridging different cultures and serving as peacemakers and facilitators of dialogue among peoples with different cultural backgrounds. Demenchonok is an example of a person, rooted in the Russian cultural tradition and open to others' cultures, who represents cultural multidimensionality, and, in this sense, an interculturality and a cosmopolitan universality, promoting ideas of dialogue all the while. These qualities and his bona fide personality vouch for the authenticity of his philosophical reflections about intercultural dialogue.

THE INTERCULTURAL TRANSFORMATION OF PHILOSOPHY

Demenchonok contributes to dialogical thought as developed in intercultural philosophy. "Intercultural," as an adjective, is used to characterize culture, politics, pedagogy, philosophy, etc. The difficulty in applying the concept of interculturality to philosophy arises due to its universal aspirations. At the same time, studying interculturality in philosophy is important for a grounding of intercultural relations and dialogue more broadly.

He examines a broad range of conceptions of intercultural philosophy, including those of Ram Mall, Heinz Kimmerle, Franz Wimmer, Raimon Panikkar, and Raúl Fornet-Betancourt. He approaches this subject based on his in-depth studies of the emergence and evolution of Latin American philosophy, which became fertile soil for the philosophy of liberation, which subsequently led to the creation of an original current of intercultural philosophy. This is a concrete instance in the contemporary history of ideas:

of the emergence of an original, culturally embedded philosophical current that challenged the Eurocentric canon and presented an intercultural alternative to it.

The idea of the cultural embeddedness of philosophy went through a baptism of fire. As Demenchonok explains, a heated debate during the 1950s–1960s regarding the question of the existence or even the possibility of Latin American philosophy brought to the forefront the problem of the interrelationship between the culturally specific and the universal in philosophy. This controversy reflected the different concepts of philosophy. Some thinkers presuppose a view of philosophy as a universal discipline that is not adapted on the basis of experience. "For them, the notions *Latin American*, *African,* or *intercultural* seemed to be incompatible with philosophy as universal knowledge. Their opponents argued that philosophy, unlike other disciplines, is culturally embedded: it has to do with particular cultural and historical points of view and it bears their influence. Yet in some extreme versions the culturally specific was exaggerated as opposed to the universal."[73] The leading Latin American thinkers criticized such excesses of ethnocentrism and "abstract universalism." Instead, "they approached the issue dialectically, going beyond the opposition of universalism and particularism."[74]

Latin American philosophy served as an example for the emergence of Caribbean, African, and some other "Third World" philosophies as an attempt to overcome the Eurocentric view of history and of philosophy and to develop their own perspectives. Demenchonok shows their common dynamics that initially were focused on the search for their own voice or authenticity and, later, upon their maturity, became more open to dialogue with other philosophical currents.

According to Demenchonok, the term "intercultural philosophy" refers to both: "a philosophical reflection on the phenomenon of intercultural relations and a view of philosophy itself from an intercultural perspective."[75] He distinguishes two main types of intercultural philosophy: the "liberational intercultural" model of Raúl Fornet-Betancourt, and the "interreligious intercultural" model of Raimon Panikkar.

Demenchonok provides an in-depth analysis of the "liberational" model of intercultural philosophy, focusing on the interplay of cultural identity, diversity, and dialogical relationships. He is in close collaboration with Fornet-Betancourt and highlights the significance of his idea of

philosophical thinking as culturally embedded. For Demenchonok, the ideas of dialogue and the transformation of philosophy are closely interrelated. Of note is that Fornet-Betancourt's transformative project is comparable in its far-reaching aims to Apel's project of the transformation of philosophy but is different in being based on principles of interculturality.

The examination of philosophy's cultural contexts introduces a new perspective to our understanding of what philosophy is, of the history of philosophy, and of its present role in today's society. "A philosophy that accepts intercultural dialogue as a context of its reflection enters into a process of transformation that requires it to reconstruct its history, its methods and forms of articulation."[76] This includes the substantial changes in the theoretical framework for understanding philosophical questions in light of the fundamental role of culture in the development of philosophy. Intercultural philosophy is viewed as situated above the rationalism, scientism, and subjectivism of modernity, above the limitations of analytical philosophy, as an alternative to the nihilism of postmodern philosophers, and as "the call for a pluralistic, community-oriented, and culturally rooted style of philosophizing."[77]

The view of philosophical thinking as culturally embedded disproves the universalistic pretensions of European philosophy as a type of self-proclaimed universality, as well as the monopoly and monologic dicta of the canon.[78] Other philosophies are also culturally embedded, and in this regard, each philosophy is unique and can be open to dialogue with others. Therefore, philosophies in the culturally diverse world are not "imitative variations on the European theme of philosophy" but rather represent more or less original voices interrelated in the polyphony of the philosophical culture of humanity.

Demenchonok explores how Fornet-Betancourt and other theorists of intercultural philosophy apply this transformative approach in their interpretation of the history of philosophy and of role of philosophy. They make steps toward reviewing Eurocentric philosophical historiography, and, based on the reconstruction of the history of ideas in Africa, Asia, and Latin America, toward creating a new view of the history of philosophy. They apply these principles to the development of Latin American philosophy and its transformation. This task requires a radical self-criticism and the dissolution of the predominant logocentric and monocultural image of philosophy. It also requires the use of various sources of wisdom, including

popular wisdom, as well as indigenous and Afro-American traditions, with "their symbolic universes, their imaginaries, their memories and rituals."[79]

Intercultural dialogue is viewed in this philosophy as a means to transition from abstract universality to concrete and historical universalities, to reach a genuine universality arising from shared communication between the different cultural universes of humanity. This universality, called "concrete universality" by Fornet-Betancourt, is growing from grassroots, recognizing the particular, the Other, as the praxis of solidarity between cultures, uniting people in a common goal to make life possible for everybody.[80]

Demenchonok articulates the pivotal role of intercultural dialogue as viewed by the theorists of intercultural philosophy. It is used not only as a criterion for the critique of the negative consequences of hegemonic globalization but also as a "regulative idea" in creating an alternative to it. Each culture has the right to the necessary material base for its free development, and thus, intercultural dialogue becomes "an instrument of the cultures for their struggle to have their own worlds with their specific values and goals."[81] It breaks the image of the world's homogeneity as if it were determined by hegemonic globalization with its technical and structural contextuality. This image is challenged by intercultural dialogue as an alternative program for the communication of cultures. It is seen as a basis for a movement that will organize economically, politically, and socially an ecumenical union of nations and cultures, "in which everybody lives in harmony at peace with their neighbor and with the nature."[82]

According to Demenchonok, intercultural philosophy reminds people that history and the future are not predetermined and that they are the subjects forging their own possible future. "Which of these possible futures will become more or less generally accepted as preferable is an issue that must be decided by means of intercultural dialogue."[83]

DIALOGICAL DIALOGUE, SPIRITUAL PRACTICES, AND THE "ENCOUNTER IN THE DEPTHS"

Demenchonok also highlights the dialogical dimensions of the "interreligious intercultural" model of philosophy of Raimon Panikkar. He examines Panikkar's dialogical philosophy, called "imparative philosophy"

(from the Latin *imparare*—to learn), which "is open to dialogical dialogue with other philosophical visions, not only to dialectical confrontation and rational dialogue."[84] At the heart of this philosophy are the ideas of relationship (of a "radical relativity" or relatedness) and a "cosmotheandric" conception of the threefold unity of all reality, meaning that God, human beings, and nature are linked in a synergic relationship. He focuses on Panikkar's conception of "dialogical dialogue," which is a "dialogue among subjects aiming at being a dialogue about subjects" in contrast to "dialectical dialogue," which is about objects.[85] The starting point for dialogical dialogue is the intra-personal dialogue by which one consciously and critically appropriates one's own tradition. One also needs to be open to inter-personal dialogue with others and to have a desire to understand them in "the common search for truth."[86] It is not merely an abstract, theoretical dialogue but primarily the praxis of a deep-reaching "total human encounter" of persons, involving not only minds but also hearts. "This relationship of human beings emerges in the actual praxis of the dialogical dialogue."[87] This is important for an interreligious dialogue.

Demenchonok notes the similarity of Panikkar to other theorists of dialogical philosophy in stressing the moral underpinning of dialogue and that the will to dialogue is incompatible with the will to power and domination. Moreover, he reiterates Panikkar's statement that "to restore or install the dialogical dialogue in human relations among individuals, families, groups, societies, nations, and cultures may be one of the most urgent things to do in our times threatened by a fragmentation of interests that threatens all life on the planet."[88]

Demenchonok adheres to a nondualistic view of the human being and of the world as interdependent. Like Panikkar, he rejects any dichotomy of immanence and transcendence, which leaves one choice only between "materialism" and religious fundamentalism, and he is critical of both an agnostic immanentism lacking spirituality and a radical transcendentalism indifferent to social-ethical problems. He characterizes Panikkar as a "holistic" thinker, whose conception of holism opens a possibility of overcoming of the "transcendence-immanence" conundrum. Panikkar, inspired in part by the idea of the Indian *Advaita Vedanta* that we all belong to a cosmic unity, holds to the possibility to recover a proper balance of life, which requires an acknowledgement that our belongness to a cosmic

"rhythm of being" happens in a relational or "cosmotheandric" mode, connecting in the threefold unity the divine, the human, and nature.[89]

In current discussions about "postsecularity," Demenchonok pays especial attention to the spiritual underpinning of intercultural philosophy in both its liberational and interreligious versions. He also contributes to philosophical discussions regarding spirituality in his presentations at conferences and in his publications. His original contribution is based on analyzing and highlighting the relevant aspects of the Eastern Orthodox spirituality and its core—hesychasm (from the Greek ἡσυχία, *hesychia*: stillness, rest, quiet, silence), an ancient mystical tradition of silent prayer and spiritual practices aiming at union with God. Hesychasm has its roots in the monastic practices of the Desert Fathers of Coptic Egypt and Palestine, and it remains a living tradition.[90] He traces connections between hesychast spiritual practices and contemporary attempts to sketch a new philosophical anthropology (e.g., Michel Foucault's theory of the practices of the self) and its original form of "synergic anthropology" developed by Sergey Horujy.[91]

Demenchonok argues that spirituality and dialogue are intrinsically connected. Although the hesychast's personal inner practice is an individual occurrence, it is realized in dialogue with others, and it is linked with the spiritual tradition, which includes the organization and interpretation of the experience that provides direction and help in the movement toward a meta-empiric goal. "Spiritual tradition is inner-personal, transindividual, and a result of the efforts of many generations in forming this experience, in developing many psychical and hermeneutical procedures and methods."[92]

Although each spiritual tradition is unique, spiritual traditions are not isolated; they are the core of any religion and are dialogically related. In many spiritual traditions, such as classical yoga, Tibetan tantric Buddhism, Islamic Sufism, Roman Catholic spiritual exercises, and Eastern-Orthodox hesychasm, the mystic-ascetic practices "share some universal ontological, methodological, and anthropological elements."[93] Moreover, Demenchonok continues, "personal communication is helpful for enhancing dialogue between diverse spiritual traditions. It involves face-to-face communication of living persons who possess unique spiritual experience," the dialogical "encounter in the depths."[94]

LATINO PHILOSOPHY IN THE UNITED STATES IN DIALOGUE WITH LATIN AMERICAN PHILOSOPHY

Demenchonok sees, within the general tendency toward the recognition of cultural diversity and intercultural dialogue, a growing understanding of the cultural embeddedness of philosophies and of philosophical interculturality. This has become visible in emerging philosophies not only in Latin America and Africa but also in the West, including in the United States.[95] These emerging philosophies represent original responses to the search for self-consciousness and the identity of peoples—not only of the developing nations but also of racial and ethnic minorities within Western countries. They are challenging "the stereotypes of the dominant culture in which the minorities reside and striving for the development of their own thought in order to help their quest for cultural identity, recognition, and preservation of their civil and human rights."[96]

In the United States, a multiethnic and multiracial country that has been called a cultural "melting pot," not all ethnic communities want to "melt" into the homogeneous mass culture; instead, there is a strong countermovement toward cultural identity and the recognition of cultural diversity. This serves as fertile soil for the expression of self-consciousness and identities in ethnically-colored literature and art, as well as in culturally embedded forms of philosophizing. Demenchonok explores these processes using the outstanding examples of Latino and African American philosophies.

He analyses the emergence of Latino philosophy and some of the factors stimulating it, such as the increasingly prominent role of Latinos (mainly Mexicans, Cubans, and Puerto Ricans) in the United States. He writes that "intellectuals aspire to develop a Latino/a philosophy both in search for identity and as a resource to address concerns of their people."[97] Latino/a philosophers, many of whom Demenchonok is personally familiar with, are facing obstacles and are striving for recognition within the U.S. philosophical establishment against culturally biased stereotypes and their perception as "foreigners." He refers to the pioneering Jorge J. E. Gracia, who proposed an original conception of Latino philosophy as "the philosophy the Latino ethnos has developed in the circumstances in which the members of the ethnos have found themselves throughout history."[98] Latino philosophy is conceived "as ethnic and distinct from what is often

thought as 'scientific' philosophy."[99] Gracia is a reputable expert in analytical and other currents of contemporary philosophy, and what he means is not an "ethnophilosophy" but rather a culturally rooted philosophy in a contemporary setting. The Latinos have their own cultural traditions, and thus this conception of philosophy seems to be in tune with the intercultural view of philosophy as being culturally embedded.

Latino philosophers are in dialogue with Latin American philosophers with whom they have common cultural and intellectual traditions. Latino philosophers also facilitate intercultural dialogue with other groups on some important issues and engage "in constructive negotiation and productive dialogue."[100] Gracia addresses the problem of identity and proposes a new way of thinking about Latinos based on the familial-historical view of ethnic identities that allows for negotiation, accommodation, and change. This view also "opens the doors to dialogue and understanding, diminishing the possibility of conflict and strife among peoples from different cultures, races, ethne, and nations."[101]

Among the major themes of Latino philosophy and its dialogical orientation highlighted by Demenchonok is, for example, Linda Martin Alcoff's promotion of dialogue between Latino philosophers and their African American colleagues regarding the hot-button issues of race, ethnicity, and gender.[102] The late Maria Lugones also suggested engagement through "face to face" interracial and intercultural dialogues with all people, regardless of their cultural backgrounds.[103] Eduardo Mendieta fosters dialogue and collaboration between Latino and Latin American philosophers through joint publications in collected volumes. He has also noted greater receptivity to other traditions: "[W]e are seeing a growing interest in 'American' philosophy as well as 'African American' and 'Asian American' philosophy, as well as what has been 'intercultural' philosophy."[104] José Luis Gómez-Martínez applies the principles of intercultural philosophy to the analysis of intercultural relations and examines the problems that hinder dialogue, such as the hierarchical subordination of one culture to another.[105] Mario Sáenz writes that "intercultural philosophy grounds itself on relations of solidarity with the philosophical endeavors of other cultures."[106]

According to Demenchonok, contemporary "intercultural thought" is a broad notion and includes intercultural theology. For example, Orlando O. Espín develops intercultural theology in dialogue with intercultural

philosophy. He argues that dialogue in a Latino/a theology of religions must also take place with non-Christian native or African religions and characterizes intercultural philosophy as "particularly insightful and rich as a dialogue partner for Western Catholic theology."[107]

AFRICAN AND AFRICAN AMERICAN PHILOSOPHIES IN INTERCULTURAL DIALOGUE

Demenchonok promotes intercultural philosophical dialogue, but at the same time he points out manyfold obstacles hindering it. He refers to Enrique Dussel, one of the leading theorists of liberational philosophy, who said that intercultural dialogue, to be truly global, "should not be limited by the philosophers and philosophies of Western countries (industrialized global North), but should also include the philosophers and the philosophical thought of non-Western regions (developing global South)."[108] Among the obstacles for the cross-cultural philosophical dialogue, or polylogue, Dussel mentioned their asymmetrical relationships. For many Western philosophers, Eurocentrism underpins their belief in the universality of their philosophical views, thus underestimating other philosophical traditions. On the other hand, some philosophers from non-Western regions frequently limit themselves merely to commenting on the works of European philosophers, while others "may fall into the opposite trap of ethnocentric fundamentalism." Dussel insists that all of them need to engage in critical self-reflection to overcome Eurocentric or other ethnocentric limitations of their views and to be open to dialogue with the other as equals: "Only under these conditions—within an ethical framework of the relationships of symmetry, respect, and openness to truth—can a dialogue between the philosophy of the North and that of the South truly begin."[109]

In his studies of cultural diversity and dialogue, Demenchonok indicates that the formation of Latin American philosophy and the struggle for its recognition is a concrete manifestation of a more general phenomenon for emerging philosophies in Africa and Asia. This was part of their struggle for liberation from (neo)colonial dependence and for self-determination and independent political, economic, and cultural development. He writes that "Latin American philosophy . . . challenged the deterministic and

Eurocentric view of history and tried to sketch the project of the independent development of Latin America based on its own historical and cultural tradition and potential. By doing so, it contributed to the development of the liberational thought in Africa and Asia."[110] He mentioned that the new concepts and methodological approaches developed in Latin American philosophy "have a general theoretical value" and are relevant to emerging philosophies in other regions.

He also traces certain similarities in the formation of Latin American and African philosophies. The problem of the interrelationship between the culturally specific and the universal, debated in Latin America in the 1950s–1960s, was later at the center of discussions among the theorists of African philosophy about "ethnophilosophy" focused on traditional cultures and relations to Western philosophical currents. In his studies of African philosophy, Demenchonok articulates the actively debated questions about the interrelation between culture and philosophy, the cultural embeddedness of philosophy, and intercultural philosophical dialogue. He analyzes the views of the Kenyan Dismas A. Masolo, who argues that "all philosophy, not just African philosophy, is embedded in culture," and, at the same time, he addresses questions about the relevance of philosophy for cultures that are still largely based on traditional values.[111] Masolo's "comparison of the phenomenological francophone and analytical anglophone trends in African philosophy shows their mutually enriching role."[112]

Demenchonok pays special attention to the works of the Ghanian Kwasi Wiredu, who raised some fundamental questions about the relationship between academic philosophy and Africa's indigenous culture, the interrelation between cultural universals and particulars, and intercultural philosophical dialogue. According to Wiredu, the tasks of African philosophers should be "to try to liberate ourselves" from a colonial mentality, the restoration of traditional philosophical thought, and the creative assimilation of the achievements of Western and other philosophical currents in dialogue with them.[113] He asserts the cultural embeddedness of philosophy, as this will influence its concepts, but also warns against cultural ethnocentrism. The fundamental concepts of philosophy are the most fundamental categories of human thought, yet "the particular modes of thought that yield these concepts may reflect the specifics of the culture."[114] He also emphasizes the importance of

recognizing the universal dimension of all cultures as the common ground for intercultural relationships and inter-philosophical dialogue.[115]

Wiredu's works attracted the critical attention of scholars from various African countries, and his responses to these criticisms sparked an intercultural philosophical dialogue. Demenchonok concludes that "Wiredu represents a balanced tendency among those philosophers who are looking for a critical and creative approach to philosophical thought, whether in Africa or abroad, aiming to find what is valid in different philosophical traditions. He champions intra- and intercultural communication and philosophical dialogue."[116]

Demenchonok's analysis of emerging African American philosophy in the United States and its intercultural and dialogical dimensions is particularly insightful. African American intellectuals in developing their distinctive philosophy are looking for its possible cultural roots, including in the traditions of their African ancestors. According to Cornel West, African Americans are confronted by two interrelated challenges: self-image, or self-identity related to culture, and self-determination, related to the political struggle for a better life. He emphasizes the fundamental role of culture with regard to Afro-American self-understanding: *"Afro-American philosophy is the interpretation of Afro-American history, highlighting the cultural heritage and political struggles, which provides desirable norms that should regulate responses to particular challenges presently confronting Afro-Americans."*[117] They explore the traditions of thought associated with prominent Black thinkers and with the influence of such philosophers as Anna Julia Cooper, W. E. B. Du Bois, Frantz Fanon, Angela Davis, Alain Locke, Charles Mills, and Cornel West, among others.[118] They address the issues of culture, race, identity, modernity, colonization, oppression, and struggles for emancipation and analyze a broad range of topics, including African-American political thought and aesthetics, Black feminist thought, critical race theory, alienation and self-respect, civil rights and civil disobedience, and so on.

African American philosophers are engaged in dialogue with African philosophers in American universities, such as Kwame Anthony Appiah from Ghana, Segun Gbadegesin and Olúfémi Táíwò from Nigeria, Valentin Y. Mudimbe from the Democratic Republic of the Congo, and Tsenay Serequeberhan from Eritrea, among others. Their presence in the United States brings a new perspective to theorizing about identity, race, culture,

and intercultural relationships, which are at the center of African American philosophy.

Demenchonok explores African American philosophy within the broader context of diasporic "Africana philosophy" as a metaphilosophical umbrella notion for uniting intellectuals from the African diaspora in North America, Central and South America, and the Caribbean. As he states,

> In developing African-American philosophy, its theorists reconstruct the tradition of thought. They have taken a broad, intercultural perspective, turning their attention to African cultures, seeking their original roots to inform their philosophy. This resonates with the efforts of African and Afro-Caribbean intellectuals from different countries who are developing the broader Africana philosophy, which focuses on the African Diaspora.[119]

The ethno-racial self-identification of African-descended persons and the commonality of cultural roots, as well as similar concerns about social problems, serve as the common ground for dialogue among the representatives of Africana philosophy. According to Demenchonok, "The articulation of the Africana tradition of thought demonstrates important, previously ignored aspects of cultural diversity and inter-culturality. For some, Africana thought includes black thought, but not exclusively. Others regard Africana and black as creolized or mixed cultural categories."[120]

African, African American, and Afro-Caribbean philosophies in the relationships are viewed as the components of Africana philosophy. One of its representatives, Lewis R. Gordon, writes: "Africana philosophy is a species of Africana thought, which involves theoretical questions raised by critical engagements with ideas of Africana cultures and their hybrid, mixed, creolized forms worldwide."[121] This broadens the scope of this philosophy to the discourse emerging in Hispanophone, Francophone, and Lusophone diasporic African communities.[122] Gordon's work bridges the European existentialist tradition and Africana existential thought as a theme of "the various dialogical encounters between twentieth-century Africana theorists and European and Euro-American theorists."[123]

As Demenchonok points out, the adherents of Africana philosophy recognize the cultural embeddedness of philosophy and the need for dialogue. For example, Paget Henry views philosophy as a rationally oriented discourse, but this does not negate its cultural embeddedness. He notes a recent trend in the evolution of African American and Afro-Caribbean philosophies as they become more open to various European philosophies. He also argues for engaging in more systematic relationships

with indigenous Americans and Indo-Caribbean philosophies. "Hence," Henry concludes, "the urgent need for dialogue."[124] The importance of dialogue has been stressed by other authors as well.[125]

Demenchonok notes a typical characteristic in the dynamics of the development of emerging philosophies: in the initial phase, they are more focused on asserting their originality and articulating their distinction from other philosophies, but on reaching their maturity, they are more open to dialogical relationships with other philosophical currents on the path of interculturality. His analysis leads him to the conclusion about the multilevel dialogue or polylog of African American, Afro-Caribbean, and African philosophies within and among these philosophical currents. This can be considered "both as intercultural relations, given the originality of each tradition, and as intracultural relations of participants under the Africana 'umbrella.' Each of these philosophies is engaged with various currents of European philosophy, which can also be viewed as intercultural relations. . . . Thinking in more general terms of culturally embedded unities or 'families' of philosophies, they would represent interrelations among large cultural types or traditions of thought."[126] Furthermore, the possibility of the development of each of these philosophies as a part of the multidimensional network of interrelations "derives its potential from being ultimately embedded in the all-embracing philosophical culture of humanity."[127]

TOWARD DIALOGICAL RELATIONSHIPS IN SOCIETY AND A NEW COSMOPOLITANISM TO COME

Demenchonok's philosophical journey provides more evidence supporting the theses of the cultural embeddedness of philosophies and their plurality, interculturality, and dialogical relationships. The intercultural dialogical transformation of philosophy can benefit society and, more specifically, inter-philosophical global dialogue can provide intercultural dialogue with "its epistemological and ontological foundation." As he states, "a dialogue that is beginning to take place among the various world philosophies contributes theoretically and practically to fostering intercultural dialogue, which, in turn, may serve as a model for constructive political interactions,

thus promoting a more peaceful, just, collaborative, and harmonious world."[128]

The need for dialogue was justified first of all by philosophers, such as in Bakhtin's statement about a paradigmatic shift from the monological framework to dialogical philosophy as the main event in 20th-century thought. Demenchonok traced the development of this dialogical trend in philosophy, as it was manifested in discourse ethics and in intercultural philosophy.

Nevertheless, Demenchonok understands that this ideal is far from today's reality. He normatively asserts dialogical relationships, but at the same time, he is aware that research at the empirical level shows that the implementation of these relationships in practice leaves much to be desired, and it requires deep transformations of society and of people's hearts and minds.

The struggle for dialogue has a transformative meaning both in philosophy and in the social realm. Just as grass breaks through asphalt, so the ideas of freedom and dialogue are emerging and spreading, waking the social and global consciousness and demanding changes. Demenchonok has shown some of the aspects of this struggle for dialogue in theory and in practice and how dialogue has carved its path through the variety of obstacles heaped upon it by monological authoritarianism in its various versions in Europe and the Americas. Most importantly, he has shown that the fundamental human will for freedom has manifested itself in the awakening of people's self-consciousness in striving for national and social liberation—among developing nations and marginalized racial, ethnic, and cultural minorities in the West—which then stimulated the emergence of original philosophies in Latin America, Africa, and the United States.

He writes that "an obvious contrast to dialogue is monological thinking," and he goes further in exploring the conditions of the possibility of dialogue and the many-fold obstacles hindering dialogue that are rooted in the structural contradictions in history and the existential contradictions of the human condition.[129] He analyzes these obstacles as well as one possible way to overcome them: by dismantling the political-ideological walls dividing people who fall prey to dominators and exploiters. Their removal would pave the way to dialogical relationships and human liberation.

In his ethical-political works, Demenchonok defends freedom, human rights, peace, social justice, democracy, and the rule of law in international relations. He was among those who contributed to the spread of humanistic ideas and the raising of a global consciousness, which helped to bring a peaceful end to the Cold War. He believed that this was an historical opportunity for transformations toward a genuine democratization of relations within societies and among nations and for the implementation of an ideal of perpetual peace, once envisioned by Kant, through a lawful and peaceful federation of free nations under a commonly accepted international right and ultimately a condition of "cosmopolitan right."[130]

The post-Cold War decade of the 1990s was a time when the United Nations and human rights movements were activated, and there were broad discussions about the means for the amelioration of the world. Amid aspirations of lasting peace, it was "a time of a rebirth of the ideals of cosmopolitanism and striving toward their practical implementation," to which Demenchonok himself also contributed.[131] Philosophers and political scientists insisted on the need for substantial transformations of world politics, the democratization of international relations, and the possibility of a cosmopolitan democracy as an agenda for a new world order.[132]

Unfortunately, those opportunities were dashed by the neoconservative "revolution" and the turn in US foreign policy toward a global hegemony. This scenario was what Kant prophetically warned against—a "world state" as a world empire, the fusion of nations "by one power overgrowing the rest and passing into a universal monarchy," which becomes "a soulless despotism, after it has destroyed the seed of good, finally deteriorates into anarchy" and "the graveyard of freedom."[133]

The ambitions of the hegemon-centric world are pursued through "hard" and "soft" power and the imperial *divide et impera* strategy, resulting in military invasions and domination over nations as vassals. This policy prevents not only the independent development of nations but also their collaboration in solving social and global problems. Unfortunately, even the COVID-19 pandemic with its grave consequences was not taken as a wake-up call by politicians to abandon their hegemonic ambitions and, instead, to become responsible and focus on the serious problems faced by both their own countries and the whole world and to see their solutions as the common ground for international collaboration. Instead, contrary to the interests of humanity, the hegemonic neocolonial conquest ruins the world.

The US policy of global domination is perceived as a threat by nations that do not want to be dominated, thus provoking defensive reactions. This policy has destabilized the world and instigated a new Cold War with economic sanctions, an information war, and a nuclear arms race that threatens the future of humanity. The continuation of this course of action is most likely leading to World War III.

This shows the imperativeness of change. Demenchonok, along with like-minded philosophers, sees a positive alternative in the idea of cosmopolitanism, which, however, needs substantial rethinking. In their discussions, a "new cosmopolitanism" has emerged. But what is new in it?

In the 1990s, the predominant view was *moral* cosmopolitanism—which rightly asserts that every human being has a global stature as the ultimate unit of moral concern and is entitled to equal respect—but this concept was politically vulnerable in the face of the hegemonic "might makes right" attitude. Thus, the new cosmopolitanism, while preserving the moral ideal, has been developed as a *political* project. Another problem was that classical cosmopolitanism emphasized the identification of individuals with humanity as a whole but overlooked cultural diversity and individual identities. It was criticized for claiming to speak univocally for a notion of the universal, understood as the projection of an "abstract universality" from a single point of view. This critique was all the more pertinent due to the fact that a kind of "abstract universality," such as the unwarranted generalization of particular Western views, was used by neoconservatism and "liberal internationalism" as a justification for global hegemony and a hegemon-centric world order. These claims, however, were exposed as ethnocentric pseudo-universality and hegemonic universalization that had pretensions of being the "imperial" simulacrum of cosmopolitanism. The adherents of diversity insisted that the new cosmopolitanism should recognize plurality and protect the cultural diversity of nations and minority groups. Thus, new cosmopolitanism is open to the conceptions of "concrete universality" and "contextual universalism" and holds that the universal as such ought to be inclusive of the other, of those excluded: the subaltern, the stranger, and the marginalized.

At the same time, cultural diversity can be (and sometimes is) the pretext for conflicts. Thus, the idea of diversity needs to be coupled with the harmonizing idea of dialogical relationships. In this regard, the new

conception of cosmopolitanism needed the dialogical philosophy, as elaborated by Demenchonok and other philosophers.

Demenchonok, in line with Bakhtin's dialogical philosophy, views dialogue not merely as a conversation but as "dialogical relationships" and "an almost universal phenomenon." He explores these relationships and, furthermore, he sees in dialogical philosophy insights for elaborating a view of human beings and society based on the principles of dialogue and communication on all levels: individual, intersubjective, social, intercultural, and intercivilizational. The principles of dialogical philosophy can be considered as a kind of theoretical basis for a new society.[134] This has a cosmopolitan meaning and offers an alternative to a conflicted world of individualism, monological authoritarianism, and hegemonic globalization. The conception of dialogue naturally finds in the new cosmopolitanism an adequate political project for its implementation. At the same time, the new cosmopolitanism embraces this conception of dialogue, which makes it possible to harmoniously include cultural diversity coupled with dialogical relationships in a cosmopolitan project. Thus, there is a synergy of the ideas of dialogue and cosmopolitanism: a new, dialogical cosmopolitanism.

Demenchonok characterizes the new cosmopolitanism as being "rooted, reflexive, critical, democratic, dialogical, and transformative."[135] Chief among these is its state of being *dialogical*, which embraces all other characteristics. This presupposes that cosmopolitanism, in order to be dialogical, needs to be rooted or "embedded in a specific history, nation, or people" and "one can feel deeply committed to the local while at the same time adhering to global identities and universal values."[136] It also presupposes democratic relationships among the dialogue's participants and in asserting democratic principles and values within society and in international relations. The achievement of dialogical relationships within society requires a critical evaluation and removal of the socio-political obstacles that hinder these relationships, as well as the profound transformation of societies, international relations, and people's hearts and minds. He writes:

> The *dialogical* dimension of cosmopolitanism articulates the cultural diversity harmonized through dialogical relationships. It embraces cosmopolitanism's recognition of the Other and the normativity of dialogical relationships with the Other—engaging in dialogue among individuals, social groups, nations, cultures, and finally, in a 'dialogue of civilizations.'[137]

Traditionally, cosmopolitan thought strives for an ideal beyond a conflict-ridden state-centric system—a domination-free, cross-cultural, dialogical world order. In recent decades, however, cosmopolitanism has been challenged by attempts to establish a global hegemony. A hegemon-centric world order that claims to represent the future of humanity is what the cosmopolitan project opposes. In contrast to homogenizing hegemonic "integration," cosmopolitanism enhances cultural diversity and encourages dialogical relationships among peoples with different cultural backgrounds, leading toward unity in diversity. Demenchonok asserts that "the ideal alternative would be not *for* the dominating power to change hands, but to strive for a world free *from* any hegemonic domination." Thus, the opposition *hegemony* vs. *cosmopolitan ism* stands at the forefront of the struggle for the future of humanity.[138]

Demenchonok argues that "in the twenty-first century, cosmopolitanism is not merely an idea, but it also is emerging as a project and a viable alternative to the hegemon-centric design."[139] However, he realistically assesses the huge gap between the cosmopolitan ideal and the current reality of a conflicted world, and his research considers how to bridge this gap. The broadly discussed problems here are human rights, international law, and the sovereignty of nation states. Demenchonok unconditionally defends human rights and contributes to the philosophical justification of their universality. He analyzes the manyfold causes of the problem of human rights violations, which cannot be solved by the military force of "humanitarian interventionism." He shows the shortcomings of those who see the problem of human rights only in the sovereignty of states as shielding authoritarian regimes (which is only a part of the problem) and who use this as an argument for desovereignization and the loss of a state's political subjectivity. This obfuscates the extant socio-economic inequality, poverty, and underdevelopment. He also points out the prematurity of talk about the "disaggregation" of the state that plays into the hands of the super-power, which interprets sovereignty selectively, claiming its own exclusive privilege of "imperial sovereignty" and disregarding the sovereignty of other nations.

Demenchonok, along with like-minded philosophers, is rethinking the role of sovereignty in the era of militarized hegemony, stressing the importance of the UN principle of the sovereign equality of states both as a bulwark against military interventions and hegemonic predatoriness and as

a necessary condition for sustaining the essential legal order within society for the implementation of human rights. Instead of opposing human rights and sovereignty, philosophers such as Demenchonok rethink them and offer a "political conception" of human rights and an updated conception of sovereignty as an international legal entitlement to political autonomy with the status of a member of the international community. They argue that human rights and sovereign equality are two interrelated legal principles of the dualistic international system. Both of them are needed in order to make international relations more just.[140]

The cosmopolitan ideal goes beyond a conflicted state-centric international system. However, the new cosmopolitanism as a political project dealing with contemporary reality does not deny the existing international system but critically evaluates it and suggests ways it can be improved. In contrast to the hegemon's attempts to avoid the constraints of international law, to transform it into "hegemonic international law" or replace it with its own "rules-based international order," the new cosmopolitanism calls for international law and institutions to be strengthened, free from hegemonic control, and function as bulwarks against injustice. As Demenchonok explains,

> while hegemonic ideologues criticize existing international law and institutions, especially the United Nations, as inefficient and conclude that they should be ignored and replaced by the 'ethos' and voluntaristic unilateralism of the superpower, adherents of cosmopolitanism point out the weaknesses of the United Nations, but call for its proper reform to strengthen it and make it fully functioning, along with other international institutions and NGOs.[141]

This approach seeks the democratization of international relations, moving from the hegemon's monological dicta toward the dialogue or polylog of all nations within a multicentric world order. This is the necessary step of liberation from the hegemonic "capture" of international law and institutions toward the normalization of an international system in which a properly functioning and independent UN (or its equivalent as an independent and truly international peace-promoting world's political organization) would serve as the meta-institution of global discourse and the political representation of international law that would be able to successfully maintain peace and the enforcement of human rights as well as foster the collaboration of nations to solve global problems.

The cosmopolitan ideals are relevant: in their normative role, they can serve as criteria for the evaluation of the current socio-political processes

and to better see obstacles and problems on the way toward achieving appropriate goals. The transformation envisioned by the new cosmopolitanism is a process, and it should be viewed in perspective: "Resistance to hegemonic domination by developing viable alternatives to it is an immediate necessity. At the same time, as long-term tasks, we must not lose our vision of a post-hegemonic future and the normalization of international relationships free of domination; the project of a cosmopolitan world order must be viewed as a guiding ideal." Furthermore, this expected "new cosmopolitanism is not only an attractive *ideal* but an emerging viable *project* offered to counter hegemonic policy, which would lead to the normalization of the international system and to the subsequent development of conditions for a gradual transition to a cosmopolitan world order." And he stresses that "the battle for the democratization of international relations and the cosmopolitan future needs to start here and now."[142]

Demenchonok concurs with like-minded philosophers regarding the necessary transformation as well as with their realistic view of a "cosmopolitanism without illusions." Currently, we are living not in an age of cosmopolitanism but "in an age of cosmopolitization," anticipating its realization—a cosmopolitanism to come.[143]

At the beginning of this chapter, Demenchonok's statement about the dilemma facing humanity today regarding the urgent need for dialogical relationships and the difficulties with establishing them was quoted. His works show the depths of his efforts to understand this dilemma: the urgency of dialogue, the nature of the obstacles hindering it, and the conditions for removing them. He has the intellectual honesty and the courage to tell the truth. The urgency is because humanity faces global problems, which solution requires international peace and collaboration:

> There exists not only the immediate threat of living on the "powder keg" of the stocks of weapons of mass destruction, which can be detonated by regional wars and explode at any time, but also the "time bombs" of the escalating ecological crisis and of the deteriorating socio-economic conditions in the underdeveloped countries. The "end of history" of humanity can come "not as a bang but as a whimper": an entropy-like, agonizing process of degradation.[144]

This should serve as a wake-up call in the midst of the war- and hate-mongering poisoning people's minds and lives today. The realization of the reality of this threat should awaken humanity's global consciousness. It is

precisely Demenchonok's keen awareness of the dark dangers of our time that leads him to champion possible antidotes. Without trivializing the gravity of the threat, he has the courage to hope and to encourage others to make the only possible turn from selfish confrontations to dialogical relationships and diplomacy and to join the efforts of all nations for the solution of global problems and for the survival and wellbeing of humanity.

Demenchonok's works represent a coherent system outlining a project of a domination-free and dialogical society, as well as a cosmopolitan alternative to the existing "global disorder"—beyond both a conflict-ridden state-centric system and a hegemon-centric dystopia. He is thus contributing to the development of the project of the new cosmopolitanism. He stresses that an effective solution to social and global problems can be achieved only by peaceful means.

We know from Kant that it is our moral duty "to realize the condition of public right" and to work for perpetual peace, and that "there is also a well-founded hope of this."[145] In contrast to the paralyzing propaganda of fear and despair, Demenchonok provides justification for the hopeful possibility of the amelioration of our world. "It is a hope predicated on the progressive maturation and transformation of humanity."[146] He calls for solidarity and the liberating courage to hope: "This possibility gives us hope. Realization of this possibility depends on us, as peoples and individuals—the citizens of the world."[147]

NOTES

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II

PHILOSOPHERS STRIVING FOR THE RECOGNITION OF CULTURAL DIVERSITY AND DIALOGUE

[4](#)

[Striving for Intercultural Philosophy](#)

[The Contribution of Russian Philosophers](#)

[Marietta T. Stepanyants](#)

Our hero of the day, to whom we dedicate this collective work, Edward Demenchonok, was my colleague at the Institute of Philosophy of the Russian Academy of Sciences.[1] He worked as a Senior Research Fellow in the Department of Contemporary Western Philosophy. I worked in the Department of Oriental Philosophies, being one of its founders in 1960 and its Department Head from 1980–2012. Both of us were interested in intercultural philosophy, albeit from different perspectives. I studied interculturality through my research of philosophies of the East, particularly of India. Edward Demenchonok expanded his research interest to Western Europe and the Americas, discovering Latin American philosophy as an emerging original trend that was different from the Eurocentric canon. Both perspectives helped to overcome the traditional Western-centric view of philosophy and to see philosophies as culturally embedded and diverse and as having original characteristics while at the same time having in common the incessant search for a solution to the inexhaustible mystery of human existence.

The emergence of "intercultural philosophy" is usually attributed to the late 1980s and early 1990s. This judgment, however, is not entirely accurate: it all depends on how the essence and basic principles of intercultural philosophy are defined. One of the founders of this trend, Raúl Fornet-Bettencourt, considers it an "alternative to globalization"—"a work project that seeks to provoke a paradigm change in the doing of philosophy," in which the boundaries established by the West of monocultural structures of philosophy are removed. It cultivates "a philosophical attitude that starts from the recognition of the plurality of philosophies with their respective cultural matrices and their consequent ways of argumentation and grounding." Furthermore, "intercultural philosophy seeks to be, in short, a philosophy that is practiced from the standpoint of *mutual cultural assistance*." This implies the intercultural transformation of philosophy that articulates itself within the communication among different traditions: "It recognizes, then, that it is not monological, but polyphonic."[2]

According to Ram Adhar Mall, intercultural philosophy is not a special theory, discipline, or school: it offers an orientation within the practice of philosophizing aimed at promoting tolerant pluralism. It is a certain type of philosophical belief, approach, and deep understanding. Philosophies, just like cultures, are unique and therefore have no right to absolutize themselves. He adheres to a broad understanding of intercultural philosophy, not linking it exclusively with the modern era. Paraphrasing Martin Heidegger, Mall mentions the tautology of the concept of "intercultural philosophy," since "philosophy is by its nature intercultural."[3]

The statement that philosophy cannot be anything other than intercultural is too categorical. But, of course, the intercultural nature of philosophy is not an exclusive feature of only modern philosophizing. Let us recall the "Axial Age," which Karl Jaspers called the spiritual process between 800 and 200 BC when philosophers first emerged in various regions. In China—Confucius, Lao Tzu, Mo Tzu, Chuang Tzu, Le Tzu, and countless others. In India arose the Upanishads, Buddha and Mahavira; in Iran—Zarathustra; in Palestine—the prophets Elijah, Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Deutero-Isaiah; in Greece—Parmenides, Heraclitus, and Plato. The common thread for them was that a person is aware of being as a whole, of himself and his boundaries. In the unfolding spiritual struggle, each tried to convince the other by communicating his own ideas, justifications, and

experiences. A person is no longer closed in himself and is open to new limitless possibilities, is able to hear and understand what no one has asked about before.[4]

Philosophy acquired an intercultural character each time cultures "met," which could be due to various reasons. An example of this is Muslim philosophy: the influence of Judaism and Christianity on the formation of Islam; the creative perception of Greek ancient philosophy by falsafa; the presence of concepts of Zoroastrianism in the philosophy of Sufism, etc.

In contemporary intercultural discourse, Russian philosophy is rarely mentioned. This is quite surprising, given the geographic location of Russia and its history. In this chapter, I will briefly review the historical development of philosophy in Russia. Then I will analyze the role of cross-cultural comparative philosophical studies ahead of the emergence of intercultural philosophy. Finally, I will describe some of the aspects of intercultural philosophy in contemporary Russia.

THE FORMATION OF MULTINATIONAL RUSSIA AND ITS PHILOSOPHICAL CONSCIOUSNESS

The historical formation of the Russian people took place with the participation of many tribes living in the vast territory of Eastern Europe, from the southern steppes to the northern forests. The pagan model of the region was formed on the basis of a combination of South Slavic, Finno-Ugric, Baltic, Turkic, Norman, and Sarmatian components. Having gone through its centuries-long path of development, by the 10th century, the pagan model of the region had taken its final form. The decision on baptism made by Grand Prince Vladimir the Great in 988 was a choice in favor of the Orthodox Christianity coming from Byzantium and Greece, which shaped the cultural and historical development of Russia.

Among modern historians, there are those who are convinced that the calculation of the emergence of Russian philosophy should be conducted from the 10th–11th centuries, from the beginning of borrowing ideas from translated Greek literature. *Zhitiye Kirilla Filosofa* [The Life of Cyril the Philosopher] gives the first definition of philosophy in the Slavic language; *Poslaniye mitropolita Nikifora Vladimiru Monomakhu* [The Epistle of Metropolitan Nikifor to Vladimir Monomakh] became the first

epistemological treatise on the three parts of the soul and five types of sensory cognition; and *Póvest' vremennýkh let* [The Tale of Bygone Years, or The Russian Primary Chronicle] contains a complex set of aesthetic, natural, philosophical and historical ideas. In the ancient Russian state of the 9th–11th centuries, there was not only borrowing but also creative perception, comparable to intercultural philosophizing, thanks to which the terminology or notions of thinking were developed, and the features of Russian philosophy were formed: pan-ethnicism, historiosophism, anthropologism, anti-scholasticism, sophianism, and dispersion in the context of culture.

In the 13th century, Russia was partially conquered and for more than two hundred years remained under the rule of the Golden Horde. Once freed from the Tatar-Mongol yoke, Russia expanded toward the Kazan, Astrakhan, and Siberian Khanates and then moved eastward to the Pacific Ocean. As a result, it became a Eurasian power and came into contact with the great civilizations of the East.

During the reign of the first Russian tsar Ivan IV (proclaimed Grand Prince of Moscow in 1533 and the tsar of all Rus' from 1547 to 1584), raised to the metropolitan throne in 1542, Macarius created *Velikiye Chet'i-Minei* [The Great Menaion Reader], the official Russian Orthodox menologium in twelve volumes of handwritten books—a kind of Russian humanitarian encyclopedia. The 17th century in Russia was a transition from the medieval type of thinking to the modern European one.

In the 17th–18th centuries, there was a process of many cultures, ethnic groups, and traditions combining into a single state. New phenomena arose in the political and spiritual life of Russia: Eurasian geopolitical thinking, hesychasm that came from Athos, printing as the beginning of a new civilizational stage, and translations of the writings of Dionysius the Areopagite, known as "Diopters," by Philip Monotropa, thanks to which theological hermeneutics developed and a philosophical dialogue was established. Literature was translated from Polish, Latin, and German: *The Economy of Aristotle* by Sebastian Petritsi, *Problemat* by Andrzej Glyaber, *The Legend of Aristotle* (from Diogenes Laertius), etc.

Many historians believe that Russian philosophy arose under the influence of Peter I and his reforms. By his order, *Yunosti chestnoye zertsalo* [Honest Mirror of Youth]—a guide in the image of similar European guidelines—was prepared in 1717. It included the alphabet,

numbers, and moral instructions. The second part is actually a "mirror," that is, rules of conduct for "young adolescents" and girls of the nobility. Gottfried Leibniz, the founder of the Berlin Academy of Sciences, convinced Peter I of the need to establish an Academy of Sciences in Russia, which was created in 1724 (one year before Peter's unexpected death), and the Senate was prescribed a personal decree on the establishment of the Academy. In it, the German G. B. Bilfinger was appointed as an academician in the Department of Logic and Metaphysics.

Empress Catherine II (1762–1796) was attracted by the ideals of the Enlightenment. She corresponded with Voltaire, Diderot, and other thinkers of that time, who in turn had a high opinion of her, calling her "Semiramis of the North." The Empress has since earned the sobriquet "Great," representing a kind of "philosopher on the throne," combining a bright mind with effective government. The movement to the south toward the restoration of the ancient ties of Russia with Greece and Byzantium was called the "Orthodox Reconquista."

In the 19th–early 20th century, Russia made decisive steps from assimilating European ideas toward an active development of its own culture. In this process, two directions stand out: Westernism and Slavophilism. In contrast to dualism in German philosophy, Ivan Kireevsky, in his work *O neobkhodimosti i vozmozhnosti novykh nachal dlya filosofii* [On the Necessity and Possibility of New Principles for Philosophy], wrote about integral knowledge and all-unity. Aleksey Khomyakov spoke in favor of conciliarism as a free unity in the bosom of the Orthodox Church, the communal character of Russian life, the reconciliation of social classes, and the great mission of Russia. Yuri Samarin criticized Western individualism from the standpoint of religious personalism, the principle of which is a substantial connection with God.

A special role in the controversy between Slavophiles and Westernizers was played by Pyotr Chaadaev's *Philosophical Letters*. He brought his Christian philosophy beyond the boundaries of Orthodoxy, noting the "civilizational merit" of Catholicism, which forged the spiritual core of Western self-consciousness. Among Westerners, his views were very influential.

There was a great deal of interest in the philosophy of G. W. F. Hegel, Immanuel Kant, and Friedrich Schelling. In the second half of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century, several active philosophical and social

trends emerged: anarchism, populism, positivism, materialism, neo-Kantianism, and Marxism. The polyphony of thought prompted debates which, in turn, raised the general activity of philosophical thinking.

Intellectual development up to the revolution of 1917 testifies to the fact that Russian culture in general, and philosophy in particular, was influenced by Southern and Western civilizational factors. Intercultural interaction began when Russian culture became both a "recipient" and a "donor," whose ideas were in demand from representatives of foreign cultures. Conditions emerged for intercultural philosophizing, in which reception does not lead to assimilation, i.e., literal borrowing or fusion. On the contrary, the perception of foreign cultural ideas stimulates an approach that encourages self-criticism and the creative revision of one's own views and thus may lead to the discovery of alternative answers.

An example of this philosophizing is Nikolay Danilevsky (1822–1885). He was a Slavophile, but his views were built on a higher theoretical level. His organic theory became the basis for rejecting the existence of universal laws of historical development and constructing his concept of "cultural-historical types." It anticipated the culturological theories of Oswald Spengler and Arnold Toynbee. Danilevsky objected to the "mixing" of Europe with humanity and the universalistic claim that it expanded its limited national sphere to the sphere of the universal human. He adhered to the idea of the uniqueness of each cultural and historical type and opposed attempts to impose the achievements of Western (European) culture as universal. Thus, it can be assumed that Danilevsky, to a certain extent, anticipated the inter-cultural approach in philosophy.

Vladimir Solovyov (1853–1900) was the first original Russian philosopher on a pan-European scale. He continued his critique of Western positivist philosophy in his doctoral dissertation "Critique of Abstract Principles." He contrasted the abstract principles of rationalism with the "concept of integral knowledge" presented in the direction he founded, proclaimed by "Christian philosophy." While developing his own philosophical theory, Solovyov showed an interest in the spiritual heritage outside the Western world. He traveled to London to work at the British Museum "with the aim of studying Indian, Gnostic and medieval philosophy" as well as Kabbalah in Judaism. Later, he embarked on a voyage to Egypt. Throughout his life, Solovyov was busy developing the concept of all-unity, believing that it deals with the eternity and infinity of

the Cosmos as a single living organism. He relied on the views of Plato, Plotinus, Philo of Alexandria, Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite, Nicholas of Cusa, as well as outstanding religious mystics who gained their spiritual experience from a single Source (God). Among the followers of Solovyov were the brothers Sergei and Evgeny Trubetskoy (the first of whom developed the doctrine of the Logos; the second, the doctrine of the Absolute).

Aleksey Kozlov and Lev Lopatin were personalists, or panpsychists, who created the concept of the subjective perception of the space-time continuum and the substantiality of the person who knows the world. Ivan Ilyin called for repentance and "spiritual renewal." Semyon Frank, the author of "living knowledge," combined the theoretical foundations of European thought and "philosophy of life" addressed to man. Nikolai Lossky developed the doctrine of intuitionism in harmony with the ontological and epistemological aspects of being. Vladimir Ern adhered to the ideas of Christian Neoplatonism, denied ratio, praising the divine Logos.

Nikolai Berdyaev (1874–1948), the author of the original concept of the philosophy of freedom and the concept of a new Middle Ages, deserves special attention. In 1920, the Faculty of History and Philology of Moscow University elected Berdyaev as professor. But two years later, he was expelled from Russia. Berdyaev first lived in Berlin, where he met several German philosophers: Max Scheler, Hermann von Keyserling, and Oswald Spengler. The writings of Franz von Baader led him to the religious mysticism of Jacob Boehme. In 1924, Berdyaev moved to France. He published many books and actively participated in the European philosophical process, maintaining relations with such philosophers as Emmanuel Mounier, Gabriel Marcel, Carl Barth, and others. Berdyaev began his philosophical career as a Marxist, but then he increasingly inclined toward the philosophy of existentialism and personalism. From Marxism, he took the pathos of the revolution as well as criticism of the bourgeoisie. As a personalist, he believed in the uniqueness and strength of each personality. From Christianity, he took the idea that creative freedom is the sign of the image of the Creator in man. He also accepted the Kabbalistic teaching about the Heavenly Adam. Berdyaev saw the similarity of all religions in the idea of the overcoming of the world, and thus he introduced the concept of "new religious consciousness."

The basic concept of Berdyaev's philosophy is freedom (as the antithesis of necessity), in which the power of alienation is creatively overcome. His distinctive idea was that of "primary," "uncreated" freedom, over which even God has no control. He opposes "freedom from" (freedom in a negative sense) to "freedom for."[5] He believed that Christianity was the religion of freedom, since it was here that the possibility of overcoming external circumstances with the help of the actions of a free subject was laid.

Berdyaev's work is an example of what today is customarily referred to as intercultural philosophizing. He was greatly influenced by European philosophers, perceiving their ideas creatively, and therefore put forward his own original concepts in works on personalism, eschatological metaphysics, and the meaning of creativity. He is considered the author of the original concepts of the philosophy of freedom and the concept of a new Middle Ages. From 1942 to 1948, he was nominated for the Nobel Prize in Literature seven times. Berdyaev's works have been translated and continue to be translated into many languages and remain relevant.

ON THE INSTITUTE OF PHILOSOPHY OF THE ACADEMY OF SCIENCES: PHILOSOPHERS TESTED BY FIRE

Marxism, transformed into Marxism-Leninism and used as the official ideology of the USSR, had a fateful influence on Russian intellectual thought in the 20th century. The idea of revolution was cherished by the Russian intelligentsia of the 19th century, and therefore they welcomed its accomplishment.

Gustav Shpet (1879–1937) was a highly educated philosopher. In 1912–1913, he interned at the University of Göttingen with Edmund Husserl. In his work *Phenomenon and Meaning* (1914), he interpreted Husserl's phenomenological ideas. Considering philosophy to be the pinnacle of culture, in his essay "The Outline of the Development of Russian Philosophy," he developed the idea that the place and fate of philosophy in the national cultural and historical context is the best indicator of the spiritual state of culture and society. Convinced that after the revolution in Russia there were opportunities for the development of professional

scientific philosophy, Shpet organized the Institute of Scientific Philosophy (IPh) at Moscow State University. It had four sections: logic, the theory of knowledge, systematic philosophy, and the history of philosophy. In the section on the history of philosophy, specialists from all historical periods of the development of Western philosophy were represented. Nikolai D. Vinogradov was a prominent historian of English philosophy of the modern era, the author of research on Toland, Shaftesbury, Hutcheson, Mandeville, Hartley, and Hume. Alexander Kubitsky was a prominent historian of ancient philosophy. Ivan Popov is an outstanding specialist in patristics and the author of a monograph on Augustine. He also edited the *History of Medieval Philosophy* by Albert Stöckl.

Among the IPh professors were Ivan Ilyin (1883–1954), who prepared a book on the philosophy of religion titled *The Path to Evidence*; Abram Cheskis (1879–1935), who was the author of books on Feuerbach (1923) and Hobbes (1929) and articles on Priestley and Gassendi; and Semyon Frank (1877–1950), who created his own philosophical system—absolute realism—which was expressed in his books *The Subject of Knowledge* (1915), *The Soul of Man* (1917), etc. Frank lived as an emigrant in Germany, France, and England, where he wrote his books *The Spiritual Foundations of Society* (1930), *Incomprehensible* (1939), *Light in the Dark* (1949), and *Reality and Man* (1956).

Brief biographies of the above scholars of the Institute of Scientific Philosophy testify to the level of their intercultural philosophizing. All of them were greatly influenced by Western philosophy and, at the same time, were able to develop their views creatively, taking into account the peculiarities of Russian spiritual culture and the situation in Russia after the revolution. All of them pinned their hopes on the future of Russia and its cultural flourishing.

As a result of the political and ideological struggle in post-revolutionary Russia, the richest scientific heritage of Russian philosophy was not only unclaimed, its most prominent representatives were also subjected to political persecution, and the schools led by them were destroyed.

The team of scholars who laid the foundations for the future academic philosophical center of the entire country—the Institute of Philosophy of the Russian Academy of Sciences—existed for only two years. In 1923, it was reassigned and became part of the established Russian Association of Research Institutes for Social Sciences (RANION), headed by Abram

Deborin (1881–1963). Deborin and his school were distinguished by a significant philosophical culture and the ability to use it in philosophical debates. Under his editorship, publications of the classics of materialist philosophy and a collection of Hegel's works in fifteen volumes were published in the USSR. As the main work of the Institute, Deborin suggested preparing the *Philosophical Encyclopedia*. During the discussions to plan the encyclopedia, it was proposed to include a section on the philosophy of the East in the publication. However, in 1931, Deborin was removed from RANION. The project of the *Philosophical Encyclopedia* was canceled, and it was only published in 1960–1970.

In the USSR, the inertia of the pre-revolutionary pro-Western perception of the world's philosophical heritage remained in philosophy until the 1950s. There was a paradoxical combination of Eurocentrism with political internationalism. In the new post-war geopolitical situation, the political leadership acknowledged the need to establish dialogue and cooperation with newly emerged sovereign states. Hence, the decision was made to begin preparing a history of world philosophy.[6] However, the Institute of Philosophy, the main academic philosophical center of the country, lacked the necessary specialists.

In this brief history of the Institute of Philosophy, I will focus on oriental studies and the Department of Oriental Philosophies. After the canceling of Deborin's project of the *Philosophical Encyclopedia*, oriental studies remained at the Institute in the most truncated form. The first orientalist with a philosophical education who appeared at the Institute in 1948 was a Chinese by birth, Yang Hinshun (1904–1989). His PhD thesis was on "Philosophical Teaching of the Tao-Te-Ching." Nikolai Senin (1918–2001) came to the Institute in 1951 and defended his dissertation on the topic "Social, Political and Philosophical Views of Sun Yat-sen." In the same year came the expert in Iranian philosophy Sergei Grigoryan (1920–1974), who defended his dissertation on Bahaism. In 1956, the list of orientalists was supplemented by the Indologist Nikolai Anikeev (1925–2007), who defended his dissertation on the topic "Materialism and Atheism of the Samkhya System of the Early Middle Ages" in 1957. The specialist in Japanese philosophy was Yakov Radul-Zatulovsky (1903–1987), who defended his dissertation "The Teachings of Confucius in Modern Japanese Philosophy." In the 1930s, he took part in a campaign against the publication of books from the international series "Bibliotheca

Buddhica," that is, in fact, against the outstanding Russian scholar and academician Fyodor Shcherbatsky (1866–1942), whose works, including the two-volume book *Buddhist Logic* (Leningrad, 1930–1932), were recognized worldwide as classics. During the campaign, students of Shcherbatsky were persecuted.

The research group on the history of philosophy of the countries of the East was created at the Institute of Philosophy in 1956. One of its goals was a project to create a multivolume history of philosophy. In 1960, orientalists formed the Department of the Philosophy and Sociology of the East. The Department was replenished by hiring new, mostly young specialists from among those who had received an oriental education and were fluent in oriental languages. New employees combined their work with postgraduate studies. By the beginning of the 1970s, almost all of them had defended their PhD dissertations.

In the first decade and a half of the Department's existence, its scholars published a number of important works on the history of philosophy. The most significant of them were *Selected Works of Thinkers of the Countries of the Near and Middle East of the 9th-14th Centuries* and *Ancient Chinese Philosophy*, as well as chapters on Eastern philosophy in the multivolume *History of Philosophy* (1957–1965).[7] Young researchers had to overcome pressure from senior colleagues, most of whom were suspicious of their desire to conduct research work, free from the formal requirements of "ideological maturity and the class approach," in the history of philosophy. Only in 1980 did they manage to achieve a radical change in the staff and—most importantly—in the ideological direction of their scientific research.

In a relatively short period of time—from 1980 to 2000—the activity of philosophers/orientalists changed radically. This became possible because oriental studies, in particular source studies, religious studies, and philology, had been developing in Russia since pre-revolutionary times. The collection of oriental manuscripts in St. Petersburg was especially rich. The achievements of this period include, first of all, the works published in the academic series "History of Eastern Philosophy" (founded in 1993), initiated by the Institute of Philosophy and conceived for the publication of fundamental research. The multivolume series also includes research in various areas of Indian, Chinese, Japanese, Arab, and Persian philosophies. It is important that the series is constantly updated.

This fundamental research includes individual monographs and translations of classical texts with commentary. Extensive translation and commentary activities were the next steps in the development of philosophical oriental studies, which was the active involvement of the Institute of Philosophy in the preparation of encyclopedic publications. First of all, it was the *New Philosophical Encyclopedia*,[8] carried out at a high professional level, based on activating the potential of the scholarly community (which had previously been obstructed by the political, ideological, bureaucratic order). The extensive coverage of Eastern philosophies in the encyclopedia was recognized in its final assessment as one of the most significant differences from the 1960–1970 encyclopedia.

Participation in the preparation of the *New Philosophical Encyclopedia* and the effectiveness of the work carried out inspired the continuation of research in this area. Having mobilized practically everyone who was engaged in Indology in Russia, we managed to publish an *Indian Philosophy: An Encyclopedia*.[9] It is the most complete body of knowledge about Indian philosophy from antiquity to the present day in Russian literature and contains more than 500 articles written by leading Russian experts dedicated to categories, personalities, and selected monuments of Indian philosophical thought. It is difficult to overestimate the importance of the release of such a publication. Until now, there has not been a single encyclopedia on Indian philosophy in world literature.[10]

Such a publication was unprecedented and extremely important. The encyclopedia published by the Department was appreciated, first of all, in India itself as a unique publication. At the 10th National Competition, the encyclopedia was named as the winner and received the "Book of the Year 2009" prize. Two years later, another encyclopedia was published on the philosophy of Buddhism, which won first place in the Institute of Philosophy's "Book of the Year" competition for 2011–2012.[11]

It should be noted that in addition to the orientalist vector of research work, the Institute of Philosophy simultaneously developed the study of Latin American philosophy, which undoubtedly broadened the horizon of philosophy in Russia and contributed to its departure from both dogmatism and Western-centrism toward the search for the authenticity of Russian philosophical thought.

Edward Demenchonok, who was my colleague at the Institute of Philosophy, has the courage to tell the truth. In his memoirs about that time

of de-Stalinization, he accurately conveys the perception of the philosophical work common for our generation, despite the harsh conditions for philosophy, as a time of a "moveable feast." He is absolutely right: such a feast of philosophical creativity in our life will always remain with us, wherever it takes us; no matter how and where we live in the future, we will never lose it. In the years of stagnation and censorship that came after the short-lived "thaw," free thought and statement had a special weight; it was an event. At that time, philosophers "wrote how they lived. They followed their vocation and professional duty . . . they followed the motto of Horatio and Kant: 'Sapere Aude!'"[12] Meaning courage, courage to think for yourself! Academic research and publications that covered contemporary trends of thought in other countries and introduced fresh concepts and ideas into scholarly circulation objectively broadened philosophical horizons and transformed public consciousness.

Edward Demenchonok belongs to that small group of researchers who introduced Latin American philosophy into scientific circulation, which was a fresh trend in the philosophical atmosphere of Russia at that time. This was done in the volume titled *On the Specificity of Latin American Philosophy* and then in *Problems of Philosophy and Culture in Latin America*, prepared for the XVII World Philosophical Congress in Montreal.[13]

Under his editorship and with the author's participation, the volume titled *Catholic Philosophy Today* was published with an analysis of Latin American theology and philosophy of liberation and other trends in Catholic philosophy.[14]

In the journal *Voprosy Filosofii* (1986, no. 10), Edward Demenchonok published an article titled "The Latin American Philosophy of Liberation" (and then its translation in Spanish in the RAS journal *Ciencias Sociales*).[15] It was the first publication in Russia (and perhaps the first or one of the first in Europe) in which the Latin American philosophy of liberation was recognized and analyzed as a new philosophical trend.

The most significant work was the book titled *On the History of Philosophy of Latin America of the XX Century* with the participation of researchers from the Department—Edward Demenchonok, Aza Zykova, and Zoya Zaritovskaya—as well as a number of invited authors.[16] The book provided a historical panorama of the development of Latin American philosophy (Alberdi, Korn, Vaz Ferreira, Ramos, Vasconcelos, Gaos, Zea)

and its modern expression in the philosophy and theology of liberation. The objective of the book was a study of ideas related to the search by Latin American thinkers for "true" (authentic) philosophy, growing out of the historical and cultural development of the region. Another task was to study the relationship between the universal and the national-specific in philosophy. The recognition of Latin American philosophy was a fresh trend for the philosophical climate in Russia at that time. The topic itself was new; it was perceived as a challenge to the traditionally Eurocentric view of philosophy. It paved a way to the recognition both of Russian philosophy as well as of other culturally embedded expressions of philosophical thought. The transforming consequence of this turn toward culture was that the very concept of philosophy and the history of philosophy needed to be rethought. In this regard, Russian philosophers were in solidarity with like-minded philosophers abroad. A pluralistic understanding of philosophical culture, which struggled to gain recognition in Western countries, made its way through, overcoming the inertia of Eurocentrism, logocentrism, and instrumental rationality. This was a promising direction, in many respects consonant with postmodern, postcolonial, and intercultural philosophies.

Thanks to the initiative and efforts of Edward Demenchonok and his colleagues in the study of Latin American philosophy, in 1986 the Institute of Philosophy invited some prominent philosophers: first Francisco Miró-Quesada, and then Enrique Dussel, Raúl Fornet-Betancourt, and Horatio Cerruti-Guldberg. These contacts and discussions helped to strengthen the scholarly collaboration.

COMPARATIVE PHILOSOPHICAL STUDIES AS A PRELUDE TO INTERCULTURAL PHILOSOPHY

Important steps toward breaking philosophical Eurocentrism and recognizing non-Western philosophical traditions have been made by comparative studies in philosophy. That paved the way toward an intercultural approach to philosophy and the emergence of intercultural philosophy. Among those who tend to be serious and generally positive about the activation of intercultural polylogue in philosophy, the main stumbling block is the assessment of the connection between comparative

studies and intercultural philosophy. No one doubts that intercultural philosophy is genetically related to comparative studies. But what do they have in common, and what are the differences between them?

Comparative philosophers contributed to building "bridges" between cultures in general and between philosophical traditions. Some Europeans in the 19th century took this seriously enough. The comparative approach in philosophy became systematic only in the second half of the 20th century. Its important center became the University of Hawai'i (Honolulu), which since the 1940s has organized the series titled "East-West Philosophers' Conferences" (EWPC). Established in 1907, the University of Hawai'i was ranked third among American universities and colleges in the number of oriental courses taught by 1930. In the second half of the 1930s, on the initiative of the Head of the Department of Philosophy, Professor Charles Moore, a proposal was put forward to hold a conference of philosophers of the East and West with the aim of "identifying the possibility of the development of world philosophy through the synthesis of ideas and ideals of the East and West."[17]

The first EWPC took place in 1939, the next three—in 1949, 1959, and 1964, respectively, and then in the 1960s–1970s, a series of symposia took place. In 1960, the world-famous "East-West Center" was created, which became the "headquarters" of meetings and joint research for intellectuals from East and West. The journal *Philosophy East and West: A Quarterly of Comparative Philosophy* remains the most authoritative journal in comparative philosophical studies.

During this period, it was customary to focus on the features of Eastern traditions in comparison with the philosophy of the West. This is how the stereotypical dichotomy scheme appeared (Charles Moore and Wilmon Sheldon, etc.). It was asserted, for example, that in the East, philosophy was never separated from religion, while in the West their breeding took place; that Eastern spiritualism is opposed to Western naturalism; and that the Eastern type of reflection is inherent idealism, irrationalism, introversion, cosmocentrism, pessimism as opposed to Western materialism, rationalism, extroversion, anthropocentrism, optimism. At the same time, a "synthesizing" view of world philosophy was conceived as the elimination of this dichotomy by means of "connecting" to Western values that were at least to some extent consonant with those in the culture of the East; it was supposed to reject and cross out other traditions as outdated, obsolete.

In fairness, however, it should be said that such intentions were not shared by the most discerning minds. Back in 1951, in connection with the publication of the first issue of *Philosophy East and West: A Quarterly of Comparative Philosophy*, the project of the "substantial synthesis" of East and West cultures proposed by its first executive editor, Charles Moore, was criticized by John Dewey, Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan, and George Santayana. All three reacted negatively to it. Santayana was the most straightforward: "You speak of 'synthesis' between Eastern and Western philosophy: but this could only be reached by blurring or emptying both systems. . . . From a literary or humanistic point of view, I think that it is the *variety* and *incomparability* of systems, as of kinds of beauty, that make them interesting, not any compromise or fusion that could be made of them."[18] Radhakrishnan wrote: "What we want is neither conflict between East and West nor a mergence between two. Each will retain its integrated structure but acquire from the other whatever is of value. By such a cross-fertilization of the two developments we will develop a world perspective in philosophy, if not a world philosophy."[19] As for Dewey, he considered "the main condition for any productive development of intercultural relations . . . understanding and respect for differences." He rejected ideas of "synthesizing" some of the elements of Western cultures and Eastern cultures because they are not isolated but rather are all interwoven in a vast variety of ways in the historico-cultural process. Thus, "the basic prerequisite for any fruitful development of inter-cultural relations—of which philosophy is simply one constituent part—is an understanding and appreciation of the complexities, differences, and ramifying interrelationships both within any given country and among the countries, East and West, whether taken separately or together."[20]

In contrast to the founders of that comparative movement, the voices warning against purposeful cultural synthesis became stronger and prevailed. Today they have received powerful support from the overwhelming majority of those who are professionally engaged in comparative philosophy.

The many EWPCs since 1989 and the increasing number of publications on comparative philosophy show that the illusions about the global synthesis of cultures have vanished and that there is a growing understanding of the need for dialogue for the sake of preserving cultural diversity and, at the same time, the unity of mankind. Collaborative

relationships are necessary for the solution of social and global problems. As Hilary Putnam put it, "There is no such thing as one universal truth for all. We must preserve everything which constitutes the riches of people, their world. We must know how to listen to each other, not be contented with what we have already got, always searching, seeking the perfection of ourselves and of the society as a whole."[21]

The international influence of the Hawaiian conferences is evidenced by the emergence of regional centers of comparative philosophy in many countries of the world. A sign of the times is the noticeable increase in the number of researchers in comparative philosophy in Eastern countries, especially in India, China, Japan, and Korea. This means that the pursuit of comparative studies is no longer only a matter of so-called orientalism.

Nevertheless, the shortcomings of comparative studies raised questions and critiques. Criticism of comparative philosophy resulted in a proposal of its replacement with so-called "fusion philosophy," which was initiated by one of the leading comparativists—Mark Siderits, known for his works on Mahāyāna Buddhism. He claims that comparative philosophy has been superseded by what he terms "fusion philosophy." He argues that the mistakes and shortcomings of comparative philosophy can be overcome based on fusion philosophy, in which comparison is replaced by merging.[22] This merger is carried out through the use of elements of one tradition in order to solve difficult issues of another, seeing "problem-solving as central to philosophy."[23]

More than a decade later, Siderits developed his idea in an article titled "Comparison or Confluence Philosophy?"[24] In it, fusion philosophy is defined as a new style of philosophical thinking that, in search of solutions to problems, relies on resources of different philosophical traditions. A comprehensive vision of any philosophical problem is possible only when considering it from points of view of one's own tradition as well as all other traditions. This definition of fusion philosophy raises legitimate questions: How does it differ from intercultural philosophy, the need for which was announced in the 1970s and 1980s in Europe, mainly in Austria and Germany, long before Siderits? Why this substitution of the already accepted and successfully developing philosophical current? Siderits tries to give several explanations for this.

Firstly, for Siderits, the fusion method seeks to use elements of one tradition in order to solve difficult questions of the other. But, in contrast, I

can say that inter-cultural philosophy is not limited to striving to ensure that the interaction is not only simply two-sided and aimed at solving the difficulties of one of the regional philosophies. Its purpose is much broader and more significant. Its approach goes beyond the recognition of the plurality of culturally embedded philosophies and the assertions of mutually respectful relations between them and dialogue. Intercultural philosophy has an inherent potential for the discovery of new, previously unknown solutions to universally significant problems. For example, it aims to find answers to environmental challenges, to expand the boundaries of philosophy and science, to create new scenarios for establishing a more peaceful and just world order, etc. Secondly, Siderits advocates for overcoming comparative studies through fusion philosophy. The logic of his reasoning is as follows: philosophy is a "distillation of thinking" of representatives of that culture in which it originated. Comparativists, in trying to know the "key," apparently want "to make the Other less alien." But philosophical concepts make sense only within traditions in which they arose, and therefore it does not make sense to compare them with other traditions. Siderits argues that one can grasp its meaning only by fully entering into that tradition—by coming to think like a native of that culture. Thus, the only solution is a philosophical "emigration" into another tradition through fully entering into it.[25]

Arindam Chakrabarti and Ralph Weber, former editors of the journal *Philosophy East and West*, advocated for fusion philosophy, understood not as overcoming and the oblivion of comparative philosophy but as its next stage: such philosophizing goes beyond comparative methods and thus becomes truly cross-cultural in the sense that the "comparison of philosophies" is replaced by "a philosophical comparison."[26] They believe that comparative philosophy has significantly improved its concepts and distinguish three stages in the history of its development.

The first stage was to find equivalents to Western philosophical ideas in non-Western philosophies, which anticipated Western philosophical discoveries, that is, "finding various resemblances, overlaps, anticipations, namely, to draw attention to non-Western traditions in the first place. . . . The basic idea at this stage is universalism."[27] At the second stage of comparative philosophy, "the impetus was more to find contrasts and context-dependent culture-immanent peculiarities in non-Western philosophies, and to detect specific lacks compared to the Western tradition.

. . . The basic idea here is localism."[28] The current third stage "comprises some of the best comparative philosophy written today, that is, at the critical conjuncture between universalism and localism."[29]

Chakrabarti and Weber believe that this current stage might eventually lead to a fourth stage, which would take us beyond comparative philosophy: "It would amount to just doing philosophy as one thinks fit for getting to the truth about an issue or set of issues, by appropriating elements from all philosophical views and traditions one knows of but making no claim of 'correct exposition,' but just solving hitherto unsolved problems possibly raising issues never raised before anywhere." Their methodology suggests the "rethinking" of comparative philosophy based on various philosophical traditions (Asia, Europe, Africa, Arab world), academic fields (linguistics, political philosophy, epistemology, etc.) and themes (translation, perception, justice, power, etc.). In their opinion, such philosophy in a globalized world should "spontaneously straddle geographical areas and cultures . . . styles and subdisciplines of philosophy, as well as mix methods . . . whatever comes handy." The authors, however, are not sure about the possible outcome of such eclecticism, as they write that "the result would be either very flaky mishmash or first-rate original work," and that philosophers "have to live with more confusions than clear and distinct ideas, when they welcome fusion philosophy as their preferred genre."[30]

Fusion philosophy has provoked criticism. For example, Michael Levin, a comparativist from Australia, disapproves of Siderits's idea of a philosophical "emigration" into another tradition. A philosophical emigration leads to isolationist confinement. Levin argues that there is neither succession from comparative philosophy to fusion philosophy nor transition from one to another. In his words, "Fusionists are not bonding various views and positions together, but are instead mining those traditions on behalf of positions they already hold or are developing." He adds that the claim about "fusion philosophy superseding comparative philosophy is also confusion."[31]

The idea of thinking outside any boundaries may sound attractive, but to what extent can it be realized? A "philosophical emigration," like any emigration, means a "relocation" to the area of other boundaries. This is a transition from the familiar, most often genetic space to another "territory." But such a territory too has its boundaries. This means that fusion is not exempt from borders but only replaces one with another. Such an

emigration hinders intercultural interaction, in which representatives of different cultures operate, remaining true to the foundations and concepts of their own original philosophy, but, at the same time, having found the intersection segments and commonalities with other traditions, they are interested in looking for new, alternative solutions to global problems.

Due to the limitations of comparative studies, scholars are looking for possibilities to go beyond comparative philosophy. Unfortunately, the proposals of fusion philosophy show a radical impulse to toss aside comparative philosophy, which is counterproductive. In contrast, the search for a positive alternative to it should be oriented in a different direction.

Entering a new level of development of philosophy requires, first of all, the rejection of claims to the ultimate truth by any particular tradition and, instead, an openness to the richness of diverse traditions. The realization of such a project, so as not to be a utopia, takes time, great creative effort, and collegial collaboration. This process is like a chain of many links. These include: identifying the relevant problems that need to be solved; identifying the specifics of the approach to them and how they can be resolved within the context of various philosophical traditions; analyzing and comparing both specific and intersectional segments of these approaches; educational reform at all levels with the inclusion of intercultural orientation in teaching humanities disciplines; and the enhancement of all possible forms of dialogue and polylogue with the aim of finding alternative approaches to the solution of both philosophical issues and global problems. These approaches and tasks are akin to *intercultural philosophy*. Comparative studies progressively evolved and matured in their achievements in the direction toward the movement of intercultural philosophy.

RUSSIAN PHILOSOPHERS IN DIALOGUE WITH PHILOSOPHERS OF THE EAST AND WEST IN STRIVING FOR INTERCULTURAL PHILOSOPHY

Philosophical comparative studies have acquired international significance. Russia also became one of the loci of comparative philosophy with its own history. Comparative philosophy in Russia occasionally manifested itself even in the pre-revolutionary period. Especially indicative in this sense are

the works of the Buddhist Fyodor Shcherbatsky (1866–1942). Vladimir Shokhin, Professor of the Institute of Philosophy, devoted a special study to the East-West studies of this outstanding Russian orientalist.[32] Shcherbatsky's works are examined in strictly chronological order: from the first article "Logic in Ancient India" (1902) to the last commentaries on translations of Buddhist texts after the publication of *Buddhist Logic* (1930–1932). Among the main comparative discoveries of Shcherbatsky, there are systematic parallels between the Buddhist idealism of the Dignaga school and the criticism of Kant, as well as the analogy between the "philosophy of the stream" among the Buddhists and A. Bergson; however, some of Shcherbatsky's parallels have been criticized.

The accumulated research of philosophical oriental studies allowed Russian orientalist philosophers to become actively connected to the comparative vector of world academic comparative studies. The impetus for the deployment of comparative studies in Russia in the second half of the 20th century came from the close ties established in the late 1980s between the Institute of Philosophy in Moscow and the University of Hawai'i, in particular with the organizers of the EWPCs.

I was invited to participate at the Sixth EWPC (1989) as a representative of the Institute of Philosophy of the Russian Academy of Sciences (I was one of the founders of the Department of Oriental Philosophies in 1960 and its Head for 32 years from 1980–2012). The conference had a great impact on me due to its high standard of scholarship and the atmosphere of freedom and creativity in discussing the plurality of approaches to the main theme of the conference: "Culture and Modernity: The Authority of the Past." About a hundred and fifty scholars from more than thirty countries participated in the great forum, which lasted for two weeks. Among the participants were a "star constellation" of world-renowned philosophers: Alasdair MacIntyre, Hilary Putnam, Arthur Danto, Richard Bernstein, Richard Rorty, Debiprasad Chattopadhyaya, Henry Odera Oruka, Karl-Otto Apel, Svetozar Stojanovich, Agnes Heller, Bimal Krishna Matilal, and many others. I then collaborated with some of them for many years, in particular with Eliot Deutsch and his "right hand" at that moment, Roger Ames.

I was honored to become the Director of the next EWPC—the Seventh —on "Justice and Democracy: A Philosophical Exploration" (1995), and then, with Roger Ames, co-directed the Eighth EWPC held in 2000 on the

general theme "The Technology and Human Values on the Edge of the Third Millennium." My role in the next two conferences was as the Chair of the International Advisory Committee and a plenary speaker at the Ninth EWPC in 2005 on the theme "Educations and Their Purposes: A Philosophical Dialogue among Cultures," and as the presenter of the keynote address at the Tenth EWPC in 2011 on "Value and Values: Economics and Justice in an Age of Global Interdependence."

The first regional EWPC on comparative philosophy took place in Moscow in July 1990. Eliot Deutsch and Roger Ames brought several scholars from the USA, India, Mexico, and Great Britain to Moscow. The general theme of the conference was "Culture and Modernity: Feminist Issues." It was not only the first Russian conference on comparative philosophy but also the first one on feminism. The conference was quite successful: all the papers were published in Russian under the title *Feminism: East-West-Russia*, and selected papers were included in an issue of the journal *Philosophy East and West*.[33]

In November 1990, another international EWPC was held at the Institute of Philosophy in Moscow. The topic was "Concept of Man in the Traditional Cultures of the Orient."[34] Its foreign participants were five French scholars and two from the USA.

In Russia, the development of comparative philosophy was formalized by the establishment of a special academic series titled "Comparative Philosophy" by the Institute of Philosophy in order to maintain and further develop research in the field of philosophical comparative studies, as well as the organization of international conferences in Moscow on comparative philosophy.[35]

Thus, in fact, the foundation was laid for the establishment of the European branch of the EWPC. We started launching Moscow International Conferences on Comparative Philosophy. The first conference on the theme "Moral Philosophy in the Context of Cultural Diversity" was held in 2002.[36] The second conference on the theme "Knowledge and Belief in the Dialogue of Cultures" took place in 2006.[37]

The distinctive characteristic of Russian comparative studies in philosophy is their dialogical orientation. That was underpinned by the dialogical tradition in Russian philosophy. In tune with the Russian philosophical tradition, they promoted a view of culture as a whole, recognizing the diversity of these "wholes" as multiple national and

historical types of cultures, each having its own formative principle. These two aspects of culture—diversity and unity—were articulated, each in its own manner, in the works of Mikhail Bakhtin and Aleksei Losev.[38]

Bakhtin developed dialogical philosophy, characterizing dialogical relationships as "*an almost universal phenomenon, permeating all human speech and all relationships and manifestations of human life—in general, everything that has meaning and significance*."[39] Bakhtin's works contributed to the theoretical grounding of the ideas of cultural diversity and dialogue. As Edward Demenchonok notes, the meaning of "dialogue" has expanded to include intercultural relations: "the expression 'dialogue of cultures' is a metaphor, although one which is heuristically rich as a concept, describing the mutual influence of cultures. The actual dialogue takes place among individuals, as representatives of different cultures. . . . Intercultural dialogue refers to the relationship of living human beings with culture. Through culture, individuals are engaged in a search for answers to their existential questions and creativity."[40]

This understanding of dialogical relationships, including among cultures, serves as the ground for a critical evaluation of comparativism. Cultures can enter into mutually respectful and beneficial relationships complementing each other on the common ground of universal human values. For Bakhtin, "Such a dialogic encounter of two cultures does not result in merging or mixing. Each retains its own unity and *open* totality, but they are mutually enriched."[41] From this perspective, the shortcomings of the comparative approach to cultures become evident: of the stereotypical dichotomy of East-West (Moore, Barton, Sheldon), the idea of a global synthesis of cultures (Moore), or the replacement of comparative philosophy with fusion philosophy (Siderits).

Siderits's suggestion of a philosophical "emigration" into another tradition "through a complete entering into it, gaining the ability to think like a native of this culture"[42] implies abandoning one's own original cultural tradition and an isolation-ist closedness. The main deficiency of comparative philosophy is that it starts from a matrix or hard core of a fixed understanding of what philosophy is, and from there, cultural-philosophical models are compared in their similarities and differences. In contrast, Bakhtin's theory embraces both diverse and uniting aspects of cultures. This approach is employed and developed in intercultural philosophy.

Intercultural philosophy leaves the "definition" of philosophy open in order to deepen the very meaning of what philosophy is. Moreover, intercultural philosophy is not limited only to comparison, but rather its intention is the mutual enrichment of the perspectives. That is why intercultural philosophy is essentially transformative.

The groundbreaking contribution to intercultural philosophy was made by Latin-American philosophers (with whom Edward Demenchonok and some other Russian colleagues were in a scholarly dialogue). They criticized the Eurocentric views of philosophy as pseudo-universalistic. In exploring the relationship between the universal and the culturally specific in philosophy, they created the culturally embedded Latin American philosophy. I personally was very impressed by Enrique Dussel's plenary presentation at the XXII World Philosophical Congress in 2008 in Seoul on "A New Age in the History of Philosophy: World Dialogue between Philosophical Traditions." I shared my impressions with many Russian colleagues and quoted from the presentation in a number of my publications in Russian. Dussel criticized Eurocentric approaches and spoke about the need to recognize what are called "regional philosophies," meaning not only the main oriental traditions—Chinese, Indian, Arab-Muslim—but also Latin American and African ones. He stated that humanity in general and the philosophical community in particular is entering the era of "transmodernity," which is characterized by pluralism, nurtured from the sources of not only Western but also other philosophical traditions. This is not about the development of metaphilosophy but about mutual enrichment based on the preservation of the diversity and richness of traditions. It does not exclude, however, the possibility of developing certain common positions on the main global problems that concern all human beings and are vital for humanity as a whole. As he stated: "All of this implies entry into a new Age of inter-philosophical dialogue, respectful of differences and open to learning from the useful discoveries of other traditions. A new philosophical project must be developed that is capable of going beyond Eurocentric philosophical Modernity, by shaping a global Trans-modern pluriverse, drawing in part upon the 'discarded' resources of peripheral, subaltern, postcolonial philosophies."[43]

At the same XXII World Philosophical Congress, Raúl Fornet-Betancourt gave a presentation titled "Intercultural Philosophy from a Latin-American Point of View." In discussing the contribution of Latin

American philosophy to the development of intercultural philosophy in the world today, he highlighted its role in the transformation of both philosophy and society. He stated: "With the development of the Intercultural Philosophy, the Latin American Philosophy discovers its own cultural diversity. On the other hand, Latin American Philosophy offers to Intercultural Philosophy the experience that the historical contextualization of thinking is necessary. Liberation and interculturality should be considered as two complementary paradigms."[44]

Fornet-Betancourt elaborates on "the intercultural transformation of philosophy," which addresses profound changes in the theoretical framework for understanding philosophical questions in light of the fundamental role of culture in the development of philosophy.[45] He distinguishes intercultural philosophy from comparative philosophy, saying that the purpose of intercultural philosophy is "not to radicalize comparative philosophy" but "to reconfigure philosophy through the interchange and solidarity of the diverse configurations in the cultural traditions of human-kind."[46] The concept of culturally embedded philosophical thinking introduces a new perspective to our understanding of what philosophy is, of the history of philosophy, and of its present role in today's society. The intercultural transformation of philosophy has a twofold task: the theoretical reconfiguration of philosophy itself and its contribution to the understanding of the problems faced by humanity. Philosophy has to review its way of thinking critically and expose the "monocultural" limitations of its concepts. A philosophy based on the intercultural approach can open itself to new possibilities of reflection that do not reduce cultures but rather unite them. The social role of this transformed philosophy is to develop ideas and approaches that are helpful to confronting the challenges of our time. These challenges come mainly from the fundamental contradiction between the homogenizing tendency of hegemonic globalization and "the dialectics of the cultural resistance of the peoples that want to reaffirm their right to political, economic, and cultural self-determination."[47] It calls for a new, community-oriented, and culturally rooted style of philosophizing, for a new way of thinking and acting, so that people with different cultural identities can live together in solidarity.[48] Fornet-Betancourt has contributed to both the theory and practice of intercultural dialogue by organizing (since 1985) inter-philosophical cross-

cultural conferences, including fourteen biannual International Congresses of Intercultural Philosophy, and publishing their proceedings.

During the last decade, Russian philosophers have significantly contributed to the development of intercultural philosophy.[49] The first book in Russian was my book titled *Intercultural Philosophy: Origins, Methodology, Problems, Perspectives*.[50] It is an attempt to explain the concept of "intercultural philosophy," consider its origins in connection with the evolution of philosophical comparative studies, and identify the cultural preconditions for its development. The focus is on intercultural philosophy as a methodology of knowledge and perspective for creating a new cartography of rationality. Intercultural dialogue is viewed in the context of global problems, including the ecological vector of civilizational development, the disastrous gap between economics and ethics, the expansion of the boundaries of philosophy and science, and the need for the moral improvement of society and of the individual. It also discusses the future perspectives for intercultural philosophy.

Reflections on the present state of world philosophy have brought me to the conclusion that intercultural philosophy is not something fixed and clearly defined. There is reason to speak of two paths leading to the establishment of intercultural philosophy. The first, short path leads to a relatively easily attainable goal. It allows us to get rid of myopia, color blindness, and deafness when perceiving a different culture. This path leads to broadening horizons for those who are engaged in philosophical reflection: they are not limited anymore by "seeing" only one part of the world or "hearing" only those voices that come from the surrounding environment. To sum up, the short path is focused on the formation of an intercultural *approach* in philosophy.

There is another so-called long path, which is more difficult to achieve. It goes beyond an intercultural approach toward working with different cultures and thus creating what can be called an intercultural philosophy. It requires going beyond "epistemological modesty"; it necessitates learning which is inspired and enriched by the ideas and concepts of another culture.

A third path is also possible, though it will become available only after successfully passing down the two previous ones. This is the most creative way, and therefore especially difficult. It goes beyond recognizing a plurality of culturally rooted philosophies and establishing mutually respectful relationships between them; beyond conducting a dialogue that

enriches everyone who participates in it. "The third path is fraught with hopes and opportunities for discovering new, previously unknown solutions to universally significant problems."[51] In order for philosophy not to lose its purpose to grasp the spirit of the times in thought, it must cease to be "one-dimensional," get out of its arbitrarily chosen cultural isolation, and become truly intercultural.

Intercultural philosophy is actively discussed during the World Congresses of Philosophy, and special sessions are designated to it. I was the organizer and chair of some of those sessions in which Edward Demenchonok and other Russian philosophers, as well as philosophers from other countries, participated.

Another opportunity for intercultural philosophical dialogue is provided by the World Public Forum "Dialogue of Civilizations," that takes place every year in Rhodes, Greece, as well as in its Research Institute in Berlin. I have participated in several of these Forums. Edward Demenchonok has also been a participant, and he was the keynote speaker when the Dialogue of Civilizations Research Institute was launched in Berlin in 2016. That was a wonderful opportunity to meet philosophers, political scholars, and experts in other fields, as well as prominent political leaders from many countries, to discuss the acute problems of today's world.[52] One of its results was the publication of a volume titled *A World Beyond Global Disorder: The Courage to Hope*, edited by Fred Dallmayr and Edward Demenchonok.[53]

In 2012, the World Public Forum was the first to launch an initiative to introduce intercultural education as an integral part of education. The task of intercultural philosophy is to connect its theory, its humanistic ethical principles, and its values with praxis. The transformative role of intercultural philosophy means not only to awaken the consciousness of the need for positive change in social institutions and culture but also to help the formation of more humane and tolerant worldviews, of people's minds and hearts, *metanoia*. The recognition of cultural diversity and its relationship with dialogue should become a norm. This needs a practical implementation of the principles of intercultural dialogue. An important means for that is intercultural education.

As I have written before, "The purpose of intercultural education is not only to create a favorable climate for the coexistence of different cultures, but also to profit as much as possible from that diversity for the sake of both

individual and common perfection."[54] I pointed out some methods for introducing intercultural education. First, young people are to be prepared to listen to the position of the Other. To listen, of course, does not just mean to hear but rather to understand. Understanding is closely correlated with the difficulties of learning the language of the other culture. It is not so much the vocabulary but rather the meaning of words or concepts, especially those which constitute the backbone of a culture. Second, along with the nominal existence of human universals, each culture has its own set of universals that makes up its "rim"; every culture is a complex of socio-biological programs of human activity which consists of world-outlook universals. They represent the historically accumulated social experience, and in the system of those universals, the people of a specific culture are evaluating, perceiving, and exploring the world. Third, since tension or conflict between different cultures often arises from widespread stereotypes rooted in the erroneous view that a given culture is made up of static constants, it is necessary to challenge such stereotypes by educating students about the variety of cultures in the world, the value of their uniqueness and mutually enriching relationships. Fourth, at the same time, efforts should be made to develop the feelings of the wholeness of humanity, of universal human values, and the need for common collaborative approaches to the problems of the world, approaches on which the fate of humankind depends. Fifth, a dislike of the identity of the Other usually operates on a subconscious and purely emotional level, without any real understanding of the differences and their causes. Moreover, in a democratic environment, the problem of reconciling group identities with a common national identity arises. Finally, there is a need to teach children that the differences which exist between them (language, ethnicity, religion, social, gender, etc.) do not make them enemies of each other. This would also reduce the level of violence among students. The intercultural education of young people both in Russia and in other countries will be helpful for more friendly relations between children and for the development of intercultural dialogue. In sum, the education of the younger generation in dialogue between cultures is vital for every country and for a global society.

In Russia, the first implementation of this project has been started on the basis of the educational institutions of the "Russian Railways" company in cooperation with scholars from the UNESCO Chair "The Philosophy in the

Dialogue of Cultures" at the Russian Academy of Sciences. A curriculum has been developed that could serve as a model for global intercultural education. The program/syllabus, teachers' book, and textbook for the students of the 9–10th grades have been published and successfully put into practice (under the title "Schools of Dialogue").[55] It seemed appropriate to include in the course those civilizations which are the main actors of the contemporary global dialogue of cultures, including Russian, Chinese, Buddhist, and Muslim civilizations, which will play an important role in shaping the future of humanity. In geopolitical terms, they will be in competitive relations with the West.

The "Schools of Dialogue" is a pioneering project in advancing a goal that is not easy to reach, and it requires much time and collective effort. Such education should be aimed at creativity and at building an original solution to the problem of having different identities in a shared space so that the whole can be a combination of parts. It is intended to help people with different identities who are forced or wish to live together at the same time to think about issues, discuss them, and voluntarily come to inevitable compromises. This is the way to accomplish a smooth coexistence between the peoples of our planet. Intercultural education aims not only to create a favorable climate for the coexistence of different cultures but also to profit as much as possible from that diversity for the sake of both individual perfection and the humanistic transformation of society.

This review of the development of philosophy, including comparative and inter-cultural philosophy in Russia, shows that it has been hindered by many obstacles. But against this background, the achievements of Russian philosophers, who have shown their integrity, intellectual honesty, civic courage, and faithfulness to the truth and the noble ideals of humanity, are shining bright.

Today, the ideals of the recognition of cultural diversity and of dialogical relationships, including between people with different social-cultural backgrounds, which are promoted by intercultural philosophy, are under attack from ultra-nationalistic compartmentalism and the hegemonic policy of *divide et impera*. But it is precisely this dramatic situation that makes the intercultural philosophy of dialogue so pertinent in grounding a viable alternative to both divisive fragmentation and homogenizing hegemonic integration. The thinkers who were creating philosophy in harsh conditions and in the face of so many obstacles serve as examples, inspiring

us to make solidary efforts in developing intercultural philosophy in dialogue with like-minded colleagues.

NOTES

1. I express my deep gratitude to Edward Demenchonok for his help in preparing and editing the translation of my chapter from Russian to English.

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36. Marietta Stepanyants, ed., *Comparative Ethics in a Global Age* (Washington: The Council for Research in Values and Philosophy, 2007).

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39. Mikhail Bakhtin, *Problems of Dostoevsky's Poetics*, trans. and ed. Caryl Emerson (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1984), 40 (emphasis in original).

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41. Bakhtin, *Speech Genres and Other Late Essays*, 7.

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5

Intercultural Dialogue, Critical Thinking, and Global Political Facticity

Ricardo Salas Astrain

Currently, we are witnessing countless conflicts in different parts of the planet for the control of territories and the subordination of peoples, and at the same time the increase of the social struggles related to the resistances of peoples in an era of global capitalism and the loss of legitimacy of its neoliberal version.[1] It seems that the sociocultural phenomena of our time are expanding more and more and are assuming unprecedented proportions in the value and normative terrain in a form of nihilism. A vision of the various political conflicts in describing human beings appears almost naturalized: some are reduced to servitude and objectified while others instill hateful categories in which they consider themselves worthy and others worthless.[2]

Conflicts and human suffering of various magnitudes that affect humanity as a whole in geopolitical and geocultural terms are of concern to philosophers of many different countries. Intercultural philosophy provides a critical analysis of this situation and offers an alternative vision, aiming to

overcome it through intercultural dialogue, solidarity, and the collaboration of peoples of goodwill.

In this chapter, I analyze the path offered by intercultural dialogue, down which Edward Demenchonok has ventured. Intercultural dialogue in its ethical-political nature aims at mutual understanding, resolving differences, and possible collaboration. The critical analysis of the political situation is also provided by contemporary critical theory. It rightly denounces injustice, but it is limited because it does not respond to the subtle forms of domination operating in the asymmetric political context of Latin America, as evidenced by intercultural and decolonial studies. I argue that in a conflicted world, intercultural dialogue should not be confused with the ideology of trivial dialogism employed for easy agreement. For this reason, I consider the complexity of dialogue, which should not rush quickly to a hasty conciliation to annul the differences between discursive registers, nor ignore the actual difficulties existing in communication between human beings who have shaped their lifeworlds differently. Intercultural dialogue proposes a more patient modality, that of understanding others from their own discursive articulations, which implies an equality in relationships that allows us to understand the reasons of others. Sustaining the philosophical theses linked to contextual dialogues implies gradually accepting the historical possibility of a new vision of humanity, of fraternity and solidarity among all peoples and cultures.

AUSCULTATING THE ORIGINS OF AN INTERCULTURAL EMANCIPATORY THOUGHT

The path toward the recognition of Latin American philosophy was a thorny one as it challenged the predominance of Eurocentrism. Thus, it was particularly significant when a researcher from other latitudes appreciated it and studied it from an intercultural perspective. Edward Demenchonok was the first in Russia, and perhaps one of the first in Europe, to do so, and in the early 1980s, he published articles about the Latin American philosophy of liberation, seeing it as a new philosophical current.[3]

Demenchonok's research contributed to discussions on the problem of the interrelationship between the culturally specific and the universal in philosophy. He explored this interrelationship in the formation of Latin

American philosophy and its search for authenticity. Some of its theorists tried to define its authenticity in opposition to the Eurocentric tradition and its claim to universality. For some, the definition "Latin American" seemed to be incompatible with its application to philosophy as universal knowledge, while other authors exaggerated the culturally specific as opposed to the universal and wanted to start from scratch, thus disregarding the whole Western philosophical tradition. However, the leading Latin American thinkers criticized both the excess of nationalism as "tropicalism" and "abstract universalism." They understood the authenticity of philosophy as its ability to serve the self-consciousness and self-expression of society and to address its problems. They explained that the term "Latin American" means the originality of philosophy in thematic terms (national history and culture, liberation, and social development) and the intention to explore universal topics of philosophy from a Latin American perspective.[4]

Demenchonok became prominent in the 1980s with his pioneering research on the originality of emerging Latin American philosophy of liberation and with the linking of different traditions of emancipatory thought. This allowed him, among the other achievements of his thought, to contextualize and highlight the merits of a critical Latin American philosophy, as well as to assert its need to be wary of essentialist positions of "developmentalism," and to open itself up to international debates.[5] This is necessary in order to insert knowledge and practices into genuine projects of emancipation rooted in their respective contexts.[6]

Demenchonok's thought seems to me to have followed, since its origins, the paths defined by border thinking and what the intercultural challenge assumes, and since the early 1970s, his interest in dialogue between cultural traditions has stood out. In the *Dictionary of Intellectual Autobiographies: Alternative Thought Network* we found an explanation of the origins of his academic activity in his native country. He remembers his beginnings in the philosophical networks from where he looked with great interest at the birth of emancipatory and contextualized philosophies in Latin America:

> In 1980, with colleagues, I formed a research group on Latin American philosophy. Two main lines of the Latin American philosophy of liberation particularly interested us: the first, the challenge to the Eurocentric philosophical model with its presumption of universality, and thus an opening to a vision of philosophizing as pluralistic and rooted in cultures while at the same time acquiring world significance; the second, its ethical-political commitment to liberation and social transformation.[7]

Throughout his philosophical writings, what undoubtedly stands out as a running thread is the theme of *dialogue*, which also largely colors current Latin American and intercultural philosophy, especially in reference to the dialogical potentialities of human beings and the necessary theoretical-practical dialogical exchanges among cultures and civilizations in order to imagine a future of peace and coexistence. Inter-cultural dialogue certainly appears as a cosmopolitan response in aiming to overcome the existing conflicts, asymmetries of power, and social-economic polarization within societies and among nations.

All this is examined in the various themes and conceptions covered in Demenchonok's books, articles, and edited volumes. In his works that we have known and read over the years, his great concern for reflection, in this international and universalistic key, is the ethical and political complexity of the challenges posed by economic and militarized hegemonic globalization, which is consolidated by the advances of today's sophisticated technology. This cosmopolitan perspective is correlated with his interest in international relations that was expressed in his early works.

Demenchonok noticed a certain dynamic in the evolution of Latin American, African, and other emerging philosophies: in their initial stage, they focus mostly on their specificity and "otherness" in contrast to the predominant Western tradition, but as they mature, they evolve toward a dialogical openness toward other philosophical currents.[8]

He pointed out the importance of the dialogue between multiple philosophical traditions, concluding as follows:

> In the last decade, philosophy has seen a transition from confrontation to dialogue. Possibilities for the integration of new content between different philosophical schools are being sought, within the general framework of the integral self-consciousness of our time. Latin American philosophy, in dialogue and interaction with other philosophical currents, makes its contribution to the international collective effort of contemporary humanity to understand and find solutions to problems of our time.[9]

The dialogical character of the Latin American philosophy contributes to the "problematization" of current Western postmodern discourse, and its theorists argue in favor of the concept of philosophy as "rational-theoretical knowledge, critical and renovative," which is dedicated to the contemporary elaboration of philosophical and social-cultural problematics.

Demenchonok points out that the evolution of the Latin American philosophy of liberation led to the emergence of intercultural philosophy,

which was expressed both in theory and in practice in many publications and conferences. The inter-cultural view of philosophy as culturally embedded and dialogical opens a new perspective in rethinking the history of philosophy, its methods, and its forms of articulation. It also sheds new light on the culturally specific and the universal. As he writes, "In contrast to globalization which promises 'one world' imposed by the high price of the reduction and equalization of the different, interculturality implies a new understanding of universality as a dialogue of cultures."[10] It is seen as a basis for a transformative movement for economically, politically, and socially organizing "an ecumenical union of nations and cultures" that will universalize tolerance and peaceful coexistence.[11] He refers to Raúl Fornet-Betancourt, who calls it a "concrete universality" as the praxis of solidarity between cultures, which is growing from the grassroots, recognizing the particular, the Other, and uniting people(s) in a common goal to make life possible for everybody.[12] This universality presupposes the liberation and realization of all cultural universes. Demenchonok is also critical of false universalistic pretensions and pseudo-universalistic ethnocentrism. To hegemonic globalization and "imperial cosmopolitanism," he opposes the pluralistic "new cosmopolitanism" with its distinctive characteristics, such as being "rooted, reflexive, critical, democratic, dialogical, and transformative."[13]

These incipient works on Latin American philosophy were the prelude for intellectual work focused on Latin American emancipatory thought in dialogue with philosophies and thoughts from other latitudes and continents that were configured around current intercultural/decolonial thinking. The Latin American philosophers who have known and appreciated Demenchonok's interests in emancipatory philosophies and critical thought since the 1980s have, thanks to his work, a set of theses and categories for advancing emancipatory and intercultural thought. I remember some milestones in our collaboration, such as our first epistolary exchanges that began with the project of generating a work of Latin American critical thought and the eventuality of participating in the XIX World Congress of Philosophy in 1993 in Moscow. Through international meetings and published books and articles, we have shared our common interests in areas where our work and research topics focus on the philosophy of culture, political philosophy, and ethics. In 2017, Edward Demenchonok and I shared the panel at the XII International Congress for Intercultural

Philosophy in Barcelona on the theme "Formation, University, and Spirituality." Recently we both participated in the online conference organized by Jovino Pizzi, who motivated us to have a virtual dialogue on important philosophical themes.[14]

In the collective work titled *Pensamiento Crítico Latinoamericano* [Latin American critical thought] different categories, topics, and perspectives of Latin American thought were summarized, and Demenchonok wrote the chapter titled "Philosophy of liberation/Universal philosophy," in Volume II. In one of the sections of his contribution, he wrote about the relationships between the different philosophical traditions:

> The critical analysis of the Latin American and European philosophical heritage, from the point of view of its relation to liberation, was linked to its distinctive approach toward its different components, highlighting the humanistic tradition. This philosophy is based on the liberating tradition of human thought, in dialogue with the philosophical currents of Europe, America, Asia, and Africa. The philosophy of liberation, due to the importance of the fundamental problem addressed by it, is no longer conceived as merely regional, but gains a universal dimension.[15]

NORTH-SOUTH PHILOSOPHICAL DIALOGUE: ETHICS OF DISCOURSE AND CONTEXTUALIZED LATIN AMERICAN ETHICS

Since the 1980s, Latin American philosophers of liberation have become engaged in a fruitful dialogue with some of the European representatives of critical theory and discourse ethics. The North-South philosophical dialogues allowed us to carefully balance the positions of German critical theory with Latin American philosophy of liberation. The encounters between these two critical traditions seem to be key to understanding the framework of this philosophical discussion about intercultural dialogue and its relations with intercultural political struggles that are at the base of what currently occupies intercultural/decolonial ethics and politics. Therefore, the synergies of this work by Demenchonok find a fertile intellectual field that requires a reference to what happened intellectually in the last decades of the twentieth century.

In those years, there was a serious ethical concern on both sides of the Atlantic that was provoked by the negative consequences of hegemonic globalization and laid the foundations for a discussion on the universality

and contextuality of ethical and political processes. It is necessary to keep this as the background to Demenchonok's ideas. As a result of these debates, the positions of Latin American philosophers were moving toward the ethical-political conditions that made it possible to defend the social rights of individuals and peoples devastated by a culture of atomistic individualism, by the hegemony of the neoliberal market and the overwhelming role of many multinational companies, and by the subordination of the policies of Latin American governments to the so-called "consensus" of Washington.[16]

While European philosophers debated the crisis of the subject and poststructuralism and the crisis of the welfare state within the nascent European Union—which in the tradition of the Frankfurt School stood out for the "discourse ethics" that separated grounding issues and application issues as proposed by Karl-Otto Apel— the Latin Americanist tradition devoted itself to meticulous work to consolidate an ethical-political critical thought that continued to accompany the liberation struggles of peoples. In "Our America" (Jose Marti's expression), the question of the ethics of emancipation processes led to the consolidation of different positions: for some, an "ethics of liberation" was necessary, while for others, a contextualized ethics was required that sought an update to values and principles in the face of liberation processes. There were also those for whom it was not only an ethics but a politics that needed to take charge of the complex socio-political processes of emancipation, which were stopped by a wave of coups d'état that hit the Latin American region and generated an exodus of intellectuals, researchers, and students in all of America and between America and Europe.

Each of these continental traditions continues certain topics and debates and is transformed independently: there are points of convergence, although there are authors who have continued to ignore the weight of other perspectives. It has always seemed relevant to me since my time as a doctoral candidate at University of Lovaina that there were many networks, university centers, and transatlantic meetings that were elaborating on the most relevant theoretical-practical intersections that arose from the ethical-political dialogue between thinkers from the North and from the South. Almost three decades ago, in a philosophical context marked by this critical thinking around ethics, politics, and situated knowledge, the Philosophy Seminar—Latin America (SéPhAl) emerged, a space managed by the Ibero-

American students themselves, with the support of professors Jean Ladriére and André Berten and coordination of prominent thinkers such as José María Aguirre, Sirio López, Eduardo Devés, Víctor Méndez, Luiz Bernardo Araujo, Pablo Salvat and Pablo da Silveira.[17]

In those times of exiles, exoduses, and doctoral research, fertile soil emerged in which sprouted many productive networks of Latin American intellectuals, and it was there that I learned about the relevant work that Raúl Fornet-Betancourt was carrying out in pursuit of intercultural dialogue. He was one of the main architects of the important international seminars. It is worth mentioning the participation of Karl-Otto Apel in particular and his willingness to generate spaces for discussion with Latin American philosophers from different universities and theoretical perspectives. Several of the subsequent discussions[18] took into account the intersection of the ideas presented there, indicating, within the vast problems that were identified, that it was necessary to continue investigating issues such as conflict, social struggles, and intercultural dialogue. Likewise, it was suggested that it was crucial to investigate the role played by the possible forms of mediation, specifically the problem linked to the postulate of symmetry.

It is against this panoramic background that the purpose of Demenchonok's works in pursuit of a dialogic interculturality is better understood. They are linked, in some way, to the set of initiatives for establishing the North-South dialogues and other forms of interaction aimed at the global philosophical dialogue, such as the UNESCO initiative that promotes celebrating World Philosophy Day each year among others in favor of the defense of philosophy.[19]

This disposition toward intercultural dialogue is seen both in Prof. Demenchonok's academic publications and in his praxis at universities in various countries, where his thought has expressed its openness to reciprocity between languages, thinkers, and cultures, thus sharing a certain anthropological and ethical-political ideal where the rootedness into contexts and the search for universalization are envisioned in new ideals of pluricultural and plurilingual coexistence that challenge monolingual cultural practices.

In sum, rather than evaluating Demenchonok's work in all the aspects that I have referred to so far, I am more interested in reflecting in this chapter on some theses about the relations of reciprocal understanding

between peoples and, above all, the possibilities of the fraternal and peaceful coexistence of all cultures and peoples in the face of some serious problems related to the lack of justice and recognition. This should lead to a discussion about what is called intercultural dialogue. It is then a matter of prospectively considering what is happening and could happen for peoples, persons, and living beings in times of the hegemony of capitalism and the discrediting of the neoliberal interpretation in different contexts of discussion.[20]

When glimpsing the main problems and perspectives of intercultural dialogue, in the midst of acute and incessant confrontations of empires and nations that increasingly confront each other in a geopolitical world defined by the power of multinationals and politico-military enclaves, the need arises to rethink the struggles of peoples. It is a complex world where the United States has lost the supremacy that it enjoyed in the second half of the twentieth century, a new multipolar scenario arises that bases its political-economic projects not on the crude facticity of geopolitical struggles between old and new imperial powers, but rather on ideals of the hopeful utopia of collaborative human relations.[21] In this socio-political language more linked to the social struggles that are unleashed today against the dominant powers of the market and the neoliberal politics with its distortions of democracy, Latin American peoples are not passive and do not lose their political activity and leading role; they share convictions and resistance struggles on the part of social, ethnic, and popular movements.

Sometimes, it seems that some progressive positions forget to emphasize that the struggles of peoples are always integral (economic, political, and cultural) and that a biased look can lead to mistaking the fronts of intellectual work in that area of domination, friction, and creativity.[22] In this sense, one can think of the different emphases, but it is incorrect to treat them as two dissimilar prisms in viewing the conflicts inherent in cultural and political diversity and the possibilities of carrying out the emancipation of peoples. To put it in a simple and crude way, the processes of resistance, decolonization, and emancipation necessarily force us to enter areas of friction.

My work in local communities and in other inter-ethnic contexts has led me to see the inherent possibilities of peaceful universal dialogue more realistically, since dialogue can be very easily reduced to a technique of manipulating one's interlocutors and therefore to distrusting the capacity for

universalization and the dialogical potentiality without observing all the difficulties and limits of its instrumentalization. For this reason, I would like to advance in this text in a political vision of dialogue: I will argue that a critical philosophy of an intercultural/decolonial type needs to assume the problems of powers and violence that threaten a postulate of symmetry in pursuit of a reciprocally emancipatory action. If this is the case, then this dialogue presupposes explicit conditions of a different kind, where the areas of contact are almost always controversial spaces for disputes over justifications of power and where none of the interlocutors ever has the ability to define the definitive position.

The detection of the fundamental problems of our time and the possible ways to solve them are at the center of Demenchonok's many works and presentations and are reiterated in his latest reflections and insights, which can be observed to have matured and been refined, especially in his publications in English in the last decade. In these publications, there are most of the resonances and observations that articulate the problems faced by the Latin American philosophical literature of that time, whose main question referred to the way in which these emancipatory ethics assumed the intrinsic ethicality of the lifeworlds and from which emerged a hermeneutics of (ethical-political) praxis within contexts of greater universalization.

In this sense, together with other colleagues, I proposed some theses originating from reconstructive ethics that presupposed the conjunction between hermeneutics and pragmatics in the manner of the proposal of the French philosopher Jean-Marc Ferry, and I consider it as a *vía regia* for understanding plural moral discourses that arise both in narrative registers inherent to cultures and in rational registers that justify and reconstruct possible universal norms.[23] This already presupposed that the idea of translation could not be defined by the definition of the norms in a neutral and autonomous space but required as a preliminary step the interpretation of the meaning of the basic conditions of that encounter that is found in the lifeworlds. To advance on this path, there was no less important consideration of the resistance struggles that made it possible to affirm one's own identity in dispute in monocultural, colonial, and neocolonial spaces.

These theoretical-practical debates analyzed in Demenchonok's texts are part of the discussion about an ethics of discourse in asymmetric

contexts and the beginning of the question about the meaning of a genuine intercultural ethic, appropriate to the dynamism and emancipatory projects that are shown in all Latin American asymmetric contexts. In any case, those formative years were decisive from a theoretical point of view to thinking about an extension of this reconstructive ethic. One of the points that took on an unusual relevance and made a relevant contribution to this amicable debate is related to the mediating role of translation. In this sense, I fully agree with the path indicated by Raimon Panikkar and Fornet-Betancourt when pointing out that this problem powerfully clarified what can be understood by a rationality in context, by a dialogue of knowledges, and, above all, by the sense of the translation in a dialogue between translators. The relevance of a discursive ethics contributed to outlining the issue of intercultural dialogue; in other words, it contributed to the consolidation of North-South philosophical dialogues; it also allowed us to carefully balance the positions of German critical philosophy in its Apelian and Habermasian versions.

Many theoretical-practical issues have been revised and debated since then: the reduction of this historical ethic to an ideal community of communication, the links between the normative primacy of morality over ethicality, and the normative primacy of transcendental reflection. In a very special way, the relationships between an ethic of conviction and an ethic of responsibility, and the conflicting structures of moral life, have been boldly articulated. In general, this intellectual exchange contributed positively to weighing the progress and strengths of ethics based on ethicality that responds to the discursiveness of the lifeworlds in which the lives of concrete persons and communities are experienced. Likewise, this reflection helped to reposition the necessary universalist openness that is required to understand the conflictive Latin American sociocultural reality in an increasingly interdependent world economy.

The issues addressed by Demenchonok are present within the critical thought of the last decades in which the contributions of a critical theory by European philosophers can be detected. At the end of the twentieth century and at the beginning of the twenty-first, for example, a debate between European ethics of discourse and contextualized Latin American ethics was consolidated, which brought together authors from different continents and nationalities facing the common theoretical and practical challenges regarding a universal ethics. All this was carried out in the North-South

philosophical encounters and was conceptualized in the proposals of several colleagues, and that decisively marks what I synthesize in my book.[24]

The book raises the theoretical question of universalism and contextualism and outlines the philosophical framework of intercultural dialogue and its implications for an intercultural ethics. The latest generation of representatives of critical theory claims that it is relevant to current Latin American discussions, but this is certainly not shared by many of us. In several of my works, I have pointed out that the Haberma-sian theory of communicative action discusses the political-legal scenario of a liberal universalist type, which seems to provide the legitimacy of democratic states from a conception of universal democracy, in which there is "a global public reason" through which these political structures seem to conform to the theoretical foundations of the universality of a rule of law. In this sense, I have rethought Axel Honneth's theory of recognition and Rainer Forst's theory of justification, seeking to deepen a political theory based on the argumentative principle of justification in order to expand the proposal of a democratic state that can only be legitimized from a universal theory of discourse that ensures the full validity of rational communication but that also admits several major objections, as I have already pointed out in various works.

The serious political problems analyzed in Demenchonok's political and ethical philosophy arise not from an abstract diagnosis of the relations between the dominant powers, but rather from the ethical-political vision that underlies his philosophical work, which refers to a set of appraisals about the meaning of human relationships in times when humanity has been questioned and there is a need to rethink and regain the ideals of a pacifist humanism.

My colleagues and I think that the ethical-political proposals put forward by Demenchonok's emancipatory thought are interesting. They clearly show that we are facing a conflictive geopolitical situation. In the mainstream ideology, many believe that the continuation of the power of capital, military technology, and competition for goods between empires is the path toward stability and prosperity. This path pretends to propose an attractive vision of the future. But this path cannot lead to a future in which all human beings would have the new contextual forms of justice, expanded recognitions, and solidarity—an alternative route is needed. Even if it seems that this common route for all peoples is almost impossible to build,

especially if we abide by the logic of the ruling power, the cardinal questions that Demenchonok's work has raised nevertheless remain pertinent. Could it be that, after an adventure of a few recent centuries of awareness of growing humanization on the planet, we would finally have to surrender to the evidence that we cannot all peacefully coexist? Could it be that human beings from different latitudes, languages, imaginations, and religions cannot live together? Could it be that instead of viewing humans as peaceful beings oriented toward solidarity, we have to recede to the idea that we are belligerent beings, born for competition and war that stipulate that the fittest survive and win? I concur with Demenchonok that we must, even counterfactually, resist the temptation to surrender our humanistic ideals and continue striving for the realization of the vision of a world where justice and solidarity are the basis of hope for humanity. He relates this vision to the end of hegemonic unipolarity and an eventual transition from an international to a cosmopolitan world order of justice and peace.

Demenchonok rejects the historicist and techno-economic determinism and argues for a non-deterministic view of history as open and of social development as containing various trends and possibilities, which realization ultimately depends on peoples. He provides not only an analytical picture of controversies of the current global disorder but also the vision of possibilities of transformation and better alternatives, which "must generate hopeful dispositions which, in turn, translate into practical conduct designed to promote peace and justice and thus to honor the 'better angels' of humanity." Such conduct demands "the cultivation of a courage which, without turning away from present calamities, marshals as remedies the resources of civic virtue and public responsibility crucially demanded in our time," the courage "to think, hope, and act in order to make our world a better place to live."[25]

POLITICAL-CULTURAL PROBLEMS AND ASYMMETRIC POLITICAL AND GLOBAL CONTEXTS

In his publications, Demenchonok outlines the broad context of contemporary politics in a time of hegemonic globalization, focusing on the global problems of nuclear proliferation, the underdevelopment of ex-colonies, the ecological crisis, and climate change. His analysis of the

problem of war and peace reminds us of the horrors of the Second World War with the Holocaust and the atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, as well as the ongoing geopolitical confrontation and arms race threatening humanity with a nuclear holocaust.[26]

He refers to Theodor Adorno's call for philosophy to reflect on its own complicity in such events[27] and, as a positive alternative, he calls for dialogue, arguing for dialogical relations on intersubjective, social, and intercultural levels. "*Intercultural dialogue* is a condition and an indispensable means for progression toward a more peaceful and harmonious world," he asserts.[28] At the same time, with his contextual approach he realistically analyzes the variety of obstacles that hinder dialogue. Many of them are rooted in a structural contradiction in history, including the legacy of colonialism and neocolonialism and the existing asymmetry between industrially developed and underdeveloped regions, which is exacerbated by polarizing hegemonic globalization. Some of the obstacles stem from the existential contradiction of the human condition. He convincingly argues that the path toward the removal of these obstacles is the regaining and mobilization of the intellectual and spiritual resources of humanity for the ennobling transformation of society and of people's hearts and minds.[29]

Indeed, today's concern is not just about the World Wars and the nuclear holocaust, but also about the anti-humanist pandemic of horror that is evident in almost every area of human life: the increase of authoritarianism and political corruption, the flourishing of the mafias in the co-optation of political systems, and the disregard for human lives, such as famines and the lack of basic services in large areas of the world, the lack of solidarity with migrants and refugees, the drama of millions of women trapped in the white slave trade, the trafficking of persons and children, etc.[30] This lengthy exposition of human pain, trapped in the different forms caused by wars, hatred, and violence that continue to be practiced to this day and which unfortunately occupy a footnote in international negotiations, is shocking.

In the argumentation that we propose and on which the different intercultural/decolonial approaches are based, there are several convergences with current critical theory today, especially in relation to the question of critically understanding power and domination on the world stage. However, what appears as a difficulty and at the same time a possibility is the idea of a universalizable intercultural dialogue that would

contribute to overcoming the new ethical-political and legal problems of capitalist globalization and, above all, of its neoliberal interpretation, since it presupposes the intersection of the contexts in which the experiences of domination and injustice between persons and between peoples are situated.

But let us return to the problem of the universality of the ethical approach. In the last decade, the problem has moved to the so-called symmetrization postulate, which is a discursive path that includes an experience of shared mutuality that opens up to a new semantic productivity that ensures pathways with limited capacity for understanding. In turn, as Marc Maesschalck considers, in such a model, communicational asymmetries may eventually be overcome. I consider that such a reading and those of other colleagues not only interpret the proposition of rooted (contextual) ethics but also that it is theoretically correct with respect to those issues that concern us, because it helps to understand the limitations and assumptions of the translation activity in the field of difficult cultural and political frictions between peoples and communities. However, some misunderstandings could arise with regard to the fact that this notion of "open dialogue"—being considered as the solid base of a genuine and domination-free encounter between peoples and cultures—still does not take due account of the impositions and ideologies linked to hegemonic and colonial powers. In this sense, intercultural ethics does not seem to clearly assume the "cunning of reason" and even less the hegemony of the power of the dominant colonial and neocolonial societies.

I consider that the symmetrization postulate, although it is an assumption, will always remain an unattainable telos and, therefore, refer to something that must always be considered as something open and in dispute. For this reason, it is an indefinite process, where none of the positions leaves this border terrain unscathed, which is nothing more than an attempt to advance in the pitfalls of understanding otherness. This perspective leads us to think of the encounter-disencounter as part of the necessary work of intercultural translation, which would imply contemporaneously maintaining epistemic disobedience and the leading role of the critical intellectual who assumes the struggles in that intercultural/decolonial horizon. We agree with Maesschalck when he points out:

> The fundamental risk of the symmetrization postulate for the intellectual actor in a decolonial ethic lies in the obliteration of the relations between subjectivation and power. Now, it is these

relationships that must be reviewed today to develop a new understanding of the specific conditions of the processes of collective emancipation in a potential decolonial space. In fact, only the reflexive discontinuity, engendered by the overdetermination of social contradictions in the community of subjectivation between victims and committed intellectuals, truly transforms power, that is, the conditions of the facticity of the social order itself.[31]

Against the background of my previously stated position on intercultural ethics and within the framework of this background of ethics in dialogue, I made some observations on the meaning of the translation process in an intercultural key[32] in which I point out that it is necessary to understand them in the midst of this debate against its backdrop of universalist discursive ethics. It seems to me that this ethics has great relevance for an understanding of normative ethics by proposing a theoretical approach that associates the link between science and ethics in relation to the derivation of norms and, in turn, explicitly raises the problems generated by instrumental rationality. It also becomes important when considering its axiology, since the value crisis of the specific problems posed by the supposedly universal technoscientific modernity refers to processes of destructuring and structuring of new values conveyed by cultures.

However, it is worth remembering that the link between this discursive ethics and the Latin American contexts was already problematic at that time since it assumed the excessive predominance of a logocentric vision, which has characterized European rationalist thinking. My inquiry concluded that discourse ethics, by making the link between ethics and language in a universalist key explicit, provided a relevant key, but it was still not enough to account for the productive role of meaning that comes from contexts that need to be fully recognized and that promote decolonization struggles, thereby requiring a pragmatic understanding. For this reason, Raúl Fornet-Betancourt in his preface to my book referred to the fact that intercultural dialogue is basically a "dialogue of ethicalities."[33]

Such topical theoretical questions are also debated by current critical theorists, and we can mention here the recent works of Axel Honneth, Nancy Fraser, Rainer Forst, and Emmanuel Renault, who are important referents of the current generation of European critical theory, whose ideas seem to me to be suggestive for rethinking the different forms of contempt and the massive contemporary experiences of injustice. However, their theories do not respond explicitly to the same problems and the subtle

forms of domination operating in the asymmetric political contextualities of Latin America, as shown by intercultural and decolonial studies.

But neither Honneth's proposal on the renewal of the recognition paradigm, nor the post-socialist vision developed by Fraser, which has allowed a fruitful dialogue on distribution and recognition, nor Renault's phenomenology of negative experiences, nor Forst's theory of the justification of global justice, all being theoretical endeavors, nevertheless view the world stage considering the hegemony and leadership of Western societies and the dominant global powers. There are no considerations regarding the political capacities of countries and communities outside the First World.

In relation to the First World, Forst recently put forward a cognitivist thesis of power that poses a complex theoretical categorial relationship between power, authority, communication, and justification. He states succintly: "Power always develops in a communicative space, but this does not mean that it is well-founded. It is always discursive in nature, and the struggle for power is the struggle for the possibility of structuring or dominating this assumption of justification of others. Its modus operandi is cognitive in nature, but not necessarily reflective in nature."[34] The central element of this theoretical proposal is that there will always be justifications for power, some better than others, and that said space of reasons is, in fact, a social space. I therefore propose to link this Forstian thesis on the reasons of justification with the issues of the critique of colonial power and the empire of governmental political power and with the meaning of violence in what I call inter-ethnic and popular territories.

This gives us a broader idea of the theoretical breadth assumed by conflicts and of the role of dialogue rethought in the political arena. Let us remember one of the important pitfalls of this philosophical discussion, since it requires another modality, much more patient, to understand others not only from the discursive articulations themselves but from the practices in pursuit of the self-affirmation of an identity politics.[35] This would lead toward the somewhat functional field of applied ethics and toward a greater politicization of political philosophy. For this reason, it is a political proposal questioning the liberal capitalist order (which German critical theory has maintained as a social paradigm), in which critical thinking assumes these vacillations and ambiguities to elaborate a project beyond the meaning of European liberal democracy. This implies holding that in the

exercise of this thinking, in order to reach the reasons of others, mediations linked to the way of understanding political action will always be considered.

The characteristic of political philosophy is, therefore, to assume that social subjects and movements conquer spaces of power from their volitional vicissitudes and not always from rational considerations. So, it is worth insisting that a true ethical-political dialogue is always intercultural/decolonial since it does not exclude the struggles of self-assertion, nor the struggles of resistance, but rather collaborates in the difficult art of understanding one's own discursive processes that they can never do in a clear way without the support and opacity of others. However, dialogue in politics always takes place in a much more opaque way, since it is not only a question of rational justifications, as exposed by Forst's line of argument. This has repercussions for the analysis of the moral and political ideal of coexisting with others and for a politics of recognition, since it does not always amount to full respect for different ways of living and even less to the assurance of a moral and political life characteristic of a pluralist democracy. All moral reflection demands, then, this "re-cognition" of the discursive rules if an understanding with other systems of morality is sought.

In the so-called politics of recognition, this new theoretical effort is more complex than the previous fixed paradigms, since it requires considering the rich dynamics of all the discursive and practical processes that forge reciprocal acknowledgments and the inevitable disagreements in order to evaluate the effective possibilities of understanding the actions of the persons in these complex and multicultural societies. It is not a question of maintaining a position of undifferentiation toward systems of morality, nor of the conflicting dispositions of action, but rather of demonstrating the possibilities of eventual translation and not of full translation that would force total symmetry.[36]

If we follow this interpretive line, then, what is at stake is the idea of a concrete intercultural dialogue that is at the same time between the universal and the contextual, without wanting to rush the discussion to any extreme. This vision allows us to better assume the historical difficulties of human coexistence, loaded with asymmetries and discrimination. The political construction of a space of reasons and not impositions very clearly shows the limited spaces of the hegemonically controlled UN for listening

to the voices of all countries on equal terms, regardless of the size of their nuclear arsenals or supply of increasingly sophisticated weapons.

In short, as intercultural dialogue implies the acceptance of the category of "the reasons of the others," it supposes accepting that human reflexivity is not something external to the productive processes of the contexts, but that it becomes operative internally through the articulation of discursive forms, which requires accepting basic agreements on rules and procedures. This nexus between contextual reflexivity and normative mediation processes cannot be located purely according to the specific uses of each culture, since this would not ensure the understanding of one with the other, especially among those who do not share the same lifeworlds.

In this understanding, if the cognitivist thesis is plausible in the Frankfurt School's framework of a critical theory of politics, it seems to me that it has several difficulties in visualizing a social space disintegrated by long-standing historical conflicts. Therefore, if the categories of Fraser and Forst can be taken to what happens in inter-ethnic territories, convergent analogies can be found, but it is necessary to ask if the social space can be identified with the political construction of power by the nation-state project. If we consider the reactions, justified from the state apparatus as measures of control and expressions underlying the very causes of indigenous mobilizations and socio-political resistance, it is clearly observed that said justification is rooted in violence configured by multiple experiences of domination and daily resistance to the neocolonial system. The social space that is being built is not defined solely on the basis of reasons but is gestated in the very confrontation of an order of justification of political subjects. The justifying reasons for the state apparently do not belong to a specific subject, since it is assumed in this modern political category that the state means a socio-legal order that represents all subjects. Where it is observed more closely, this difficulty lies in the extreme police and military violence and the ideological talk about the social uses of legitimate violence by the government, which administers the public means to aggressively contain indigenous protests, actually obfuscating the form and substance of modern social relations and in many cases manipulating social understanding in the whole of modern society. But the notion of violence that Forst proposes incorporates this difficulty:

> Finally, we find pure violence where a relation of justification, also asymmetric, that displays intelligible force is replaced by physical action. So power is contracting, but this does not

mean that freedom emerges; rather, it disappears, since freedom belongs to power insofar as it affects cognitively animated subjects.[37]

These aspects pointed out by Forst are not only related to justification practices (as the paragraph cited above proposes) but to a broad internalized socio-political and cultural conception of violence, which involves a way of accepting it, rejecting it, and/or simply tolerating a partial coexistence with its causes and consequences. In this regard, following this German philosopher, we cannot connect violence with dominating power in any way but only highlight the difficulty in stating that these justification processes, understood in a purely cognitive sense, can account for the opposition in the field of justifications as a space of reasons. This is where my disagreement with this theoretical model would be located due to not considering that power cannot be understood solely from the space of justifications.

In short, if Forst's proposal can offer a dispassionate and critical reflection on the complex multidimensionality of power, then where extreme violence as the non-rational is located, which, as Forst indicates, encompasses the non-justificational set of sociocultural life, it simultaneously obfuscates the presence of violence in the social space, and it fails to assume the brutal realism of racial conflicts as a massive historical and sociocultural phenomenon established in the depths of inter-ethnic territories and which are not visible to modern dominating societies.

TOWARD NEW POLITICAL PERSPECTIVES

These features of the way in which power constitutes the new axes of global geopolitics and which are clearly expressed in inter-ethnic territories are generating breaks, fissures, and forms of alienation everywhere that are leading several philosophers to think about the potential that the conceptual metaphor of *translation* may have for resolving belligerent tensions. In this work, I have pointed out certain basic topics on the theme of translation in which the issue of resistance struggles stands out and which operates on the symmetry postulate, as proposed by Maesschalck. The adoption of this metaphor of translation played an important role in the concept of intercultural dialogue that I adopted in the midst of these controversies regarding power. Now, our conception of dialogue is not limited to conceiving it as dialogue that rushes to a hasty conciliation and ignores

differences between discursive registers (that is, maintaining that the same universal rules exist for all discourses), nor to dialogue that closes itself to recognizing the effective difficulties existing in communication between human beings who have shaped their lifeworlds differently (that is, maintaining that the rules of discursive registers are all different). The philosophical position that was assumed, according to the conceptual apparatus of this debate, is mediated between an abstract universalism and a particularism that would lead to the incommensurability of cultures.

This analysis of the discussions and controversies that current intercultural critical thinking opens, following the proposals of Fornet-Betancourt, leads us to think that the main political contexts of peripheral societies compel us to initiate a specific discussion on asymmetrically distributed power, which somehow implies advancing on a search for another controversial symmetry, which is inherent to a dialogistic thesis. In order to advance in a vision of power that is not reduced to a universalist cognitivist perspective, it is necessary to take into account the prudential ideas of recognition and justice in a permanent search for universalization. Thinking contextually obliges us to propose levels and scales where it is not necessary to renounce universalism or assume comfortable relativism. And the essence of intercultural dialogue in critical philosophical thinking is precisely here—namely, that it fosters the protagonistic role of human subjects and communities. Likewise, it should be reiterated that the experiences of social suffering themselves entail this dialectic between what has been suffered and what can be repaired.

There are some common problems and debates between the followers of the Frankfurt School project and the thinkers of the emancipatory and decolonizing perspectives that are born in the Global South, but the discussion about the universality of the critique of the asymmetric contexts of power still remains open. Critical perspectives agree on the consolidation of a committed philosophical rictus that opens up to the globalized economic and political complexity of all places on the planet, which obliges us—ultimately—to abandon provincialism and seek an exercise in solidarity networks and internationalism, which allow the articulation of the various struggles and resistances of social movements, and that impels militant intellectuals to redefine the search for convergences inspired by the respective socio-historical and cultural contexts. It is then about questioning an unjust global economic and political order that does not take into

account either human beings or non-human beings, still less the survival of the planet. This awareness of nihilism related to global capitalism and the military technologies of global powers pushes us to outline new political idealities that lead to proposing a contextual politics understood as that disputed social space where social subjects and movements are conquering new spaces of power, starting from its volitional vicissitudes that are not always rational and that have to do with the thick nebula of the collective actions of peoples and communities.

At this point, it is necessary to overcome the somewhat naive perspective of the ethical-political dialogue understood as the difficult art of understanding asymmetric discursive processes, which can never be generated in a clear way without the support of others. In this sense, an exhaustive review of the ideas of the permanent conflict of the political and the sense of deliberation is required, which requires the participation of the antagonists as part of an exercise of reciprocal recognition. Now, peoples and movements know, from hard experiences they have lived and suffered in setbacks and victories, that political dialogue is always opaque, since it obliges adversaries and enemies to engage with each other, which usually leads them to assume spurious interests, excessive expectations, and ambiguous ambitions regarding the subjects and communities themselves. For this reason, it is difficult to undertake the project of a universal political dialogue at this moment, and, instead, we must advance in hidden spaces where it is necessary to maintain the fragile ideal of intercontextual dialogues, always defined by the historical strength of their own movements.

The main thesis of the critical political philosophy proposed here is that there is no transparent or rational political space as one might imagine it from an exercise of naive utopianism like the one proposed by Marxism. The old metaphor of the power of the prince, who does not always have it with him and whose main concern is therefore that he is taught in the exercise of power, is that it is always necessary to be prepared for when it is lost. That is why global power is associated with *hubris*. To put it in Weberian language, this implies the game of conviction and responsibility.[38] To protect this new and complex pluralistic and irenic democratic space under construction, virtues that are not always well reputed by political professions must be exercised, such as modesty, tolerance, and openness to other ways of seeing, valuing, and believing. Now, the global powers in

turn are required to understand the iron logic of the social, economic, and political structures that are not willing to advance dynamically with the processes of humanity. Thus, to advance in the difficult plural dialogues in pursuit of multiple visions, it is necessary to assume at every event that we do not always have the whole truth of what the intercultural encounter and disagreement means. As such, in order to advance this discussion, I have outlined a type of political philosophy defined by the non-hegemonic justification of rights in the key of a polymorphic reason.

NOTES

1. I would like to thank the Project Basal ANID/BASAL FB210018. Among recent publications, see Ricardo Salas (comp.), *Luchas Sociales, Justicia Contextual y Dignidad de los Pueblos* (Santiago de Chile: Ariadna Ediciones, 2020).

2. Franz Hinkelammert, *El Nihilismo al Desnudo* (Santiago de Chile: LOM, 2001); Raúl Fornet-Betancourt, ed., *Resistencia y Solidaridad. Globalización Capitalista y Liberación* (Madrid: Trotta, 2003); Alfredo Gómez-Müller, *Nihilismo y Capitalismo* (Bogotá: Ediciones desde Abajo, 2016).

3. Edward Demenchonok, *"Latinoamerikanskaia filosofiia osvobozhdeniia"* [The Latin American philosophy of liberation], *Voprosy Filosofii* no. 10, 1986; Edward Demenchonok, "La 'filosofía de la liberación' latinoamericana," *Ciencias Sociales* (Moscow: Russian Academy of Sciences), v. 1, no. 71 (1988): 123-140; Edward Demenchonok. ed., *K voprosu o spetsifike latinoamerikanskoy filosofii* [On the Specificity of Latin American Philosophy] (Moscow: Institute of Philosophy of RAS, 1980).

4. Eduardo Demenchónok, *Filosofía Latinoamericana: Problemas y Tendencias* (Bogotá: Editorial El Búho, 1990), 23–27, 32–33.

5. Edward Demenchónok, "Filosofía de la liberación/Filosofía universal," en *Pensamiento Crítico Latinoamericano*, tomo II, ed. Ricardo Salas (Santiago de Chile: Ediciones UCSH, 2005), 391, 397.

6. Silvia Álvarez y Eduardo Devés, eds., *Problemáticas Internacionales y Mundiales desde el Pensamiento Latinoamericano: Teorías, Escuelas, Conceptos, Doctrinas, Figuras* (Santiago de Chile: Ariadna Ediciones, 2020).

7. Edward Vasilevich Demenchónok, en *Diccionario de Autobiografías Intelectuales: Red del Pensamiento Alternativo*, ed. Hugo Biagini (Buenos Aires, Argentina: Universidad Nacional de Lanús, 2020), 144–145.

8. Demenchónok, *Filosofía Latinoamericana: Problemas y Tendencias*, 61.

9. Demenchónok, "Filosofía de la liberación/Filosofía universal," 397.

10. Edward Demenchonok, "Globalization, Postcoloniality, and Interculturality," *The American Philosophical Association Newsletters*, volume 01, number 2 (Spring 2002): 87.

11. Ibid., 87.

12. Raúl Fornet-Betancourt, *Transformación Intercultural de la Filosofía* (Bilbao, Desclée de Brouwer, 2001), 65, 166, 382.

13. Edward Demenchonok, "World in Transition: From a Hegemonic Disorder toward a Cosmopolitan Order," in *A World Beyond Global Disorder: The Courage to Hope*, eds. Fred Dallmayr and Edward Demenchonok (Newcastle upon Tyne, UK: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2017), 255–259.

14. This activity was carried out on Zoom on May 20, 2021, organized by the Laboratory of Social Pathologies of the Federal University of Pelotas, Brasil, and coordinated by Dr. Jovino Pizzi.

15. Demenchónok, "Filosofía de la liberación/Filosofía universal," 391.

16. See the works of A. L. Guerrero from CEIL-UNAM on multinational companies and inter-ethnic territories, see the special issue of the journal *Nuestra América* 2019.

17. See the book Isabel Yépez del Castillo (comp.), *La UCL et l'Amérique Latine et l'UCL: quelle coopération universitaire dans un monde globalisé?* (Louvain-la-Neuve, Belgique: Presses Universitaires de Louvain, 2004), 249ss.

18. See Ricardo Salas, *Ética intercultural* [Intercultural Ethics] (Santiago de Chile: UCSH, 2003; 2006), and translation in Portugues by Jovino Pizzi, published by Abya Yala, and published by Nova Harmonia, 2010.

19. On the main UNESCO initiatives regarding philosophy, see https://fr.unesco.org/themes/transformations-sociales/most/philosophie (retrieved May 16, 2021).

20. See Edward Demenchónok, "Discussions on Cultural Diversity and Interculturalism in the United States and Canadá," *Concordia: International Journal of Philosophy*, 68 (2015), 71–110.

21. See the well-known texts of Chomsky and Wallerstein in this regard.

22. It is interesting to observe the elaboration of a geopolitical lexicon that today permeates an important part of the discussions of current social and political movements. Arnaud Blind y Gustavo Marín, eds., *Diccionario del poder mundial* (Santiago de Chile: Monde Diplomatique-FNGM—Editorial Aún creemos en los sueños, 2013).

23. I refer in particular to two books: Jean-Marc Ferry, *Éthique reconstructive* (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1996); Jean-Marc Ferry, *Valeurs et normes: la question de l'éthique* (Bruxelles: Éditions ULB, 2002).

24. Ricardo Salas, *Ética intercultural* [Intercultural Ethics] (Santiago de Chile: UCSH, 2003; 2006).

25. Edward Demenchonok, "Preface," in *A World Beyond Global Disorder: The Courage to Hope*, eds. Fred Dallmayr and Edward Demenchonok (Newcastle upon Tyne, UK: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2017), xiv.

26. Edward Demenchonok, "Introduction: From Power Politics to the Ethics of Peace," in *Philosophy After Hiroshima*, ed. Edward Demenchonok (Newcastle upon Tyne, UK: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2010), 12–19.

27. Theodor Adorno, *Can One Live After Auschwitz? A Philosophical Reader* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2003).

28. Edward Demenchonok, "Foreword," in *Intercultural Dialogue: In Search of Harmony in Diversity*, ed. Edward Demenchonok, 2nd ed. (Newcastle upon Tyne, UK: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2016), xiii.

29. Edward Demenchonok, "World in Transition: From a Hegemonic Disorder toward a Cosmopolitan Order," in *A World Beyond Global Disorder: The Courage to Hope*, eds. Fred Dallmayr and Edward Demenchonok (Newcastle upon Tyne, UK: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2017), 255–262.

30. The long set of social and political problems currently unfolding in this process of dehumanization is analyzed in the Encyclical of Pope Francis *Fratelli Tutti*, see chap. 1.

31. Marc Maesschalck, "La interculturalidad frente a la opción decolonial: subjetivación y desobediencia," *Utopía y Praxis Latinoamericana* vol. 26, no. 93 (2021): 294.

32. Ricardo Salas, "Justicia universal, contextos asimétricos de poder y pensamiento crítico latinoamericano," *Utopía y Praxis Latinoamericana*, 24 (2019), 16–27. See also Ricardo Salas, "Contexto, Justicia y Universalidad en la Filosofía Política Actual: Algunas Críticas y Aportes a la Teoría de la Justicia de Habermas," en *Estudios Políticos* de la U. de Antioquia. 55 (2019), 163–181.

33. Raúl Fornet-Betancourt, "Prólogo," en Ricardo Salas, *Ética intercultural* (Santiago de Chile, Ediciones UCSH, 2006), 9.

34. Rainer Forst, *Justificación y Crítica: Perspectivas de una teoría crítica de la política* [Justification and Criticism: Perspectives of a Critical Theory of Politics] (Madrid: Katz Editores, 2014), 44.

35. Emmanuel Renault, *L'éxpérience de l'injustice. Essai sur la théorie de la reconnaissance* (Paris: La Découverte Poche, 2017).

36. Cristián Valdés. "Consideraciones críticas en torno a interculturalidad y decolonialidad," *Utopía y Praxis Latinoamericana* 88 (2020): 29.

37. Forst, *Justificación y Crítica*, 25.

38. See Pablo Salvat, *Max Weber. Poder y Racionalidad* [Max Weber: Power and Rationality] (Santiago de Chile: RIL, 2014).

6

Understanding the Authentic and Universal in Latin American Philosophy

Edward Demenchonok's Intercultural Approach

Pablo Guadarrama González

The valuable work that Edward Demenchonok has done for philosophy in Latin America has the merit, first of all, of showing the originality and contributions of numerous Latin American thinkers to contemporary philosophy since the early twentieth century. His research has contributed to a better intercultural understanding of philosophy, particularly of the philosophy of liberation, intercultural philosophy, and decolonial theories. It has emphasized the originality of distinctly Latin American philosophy and, at the same time, its connection with a universal trajectory of philosophical knowledge. His research has highlighted authentic ideas that better correspond to the specific historical circumstances of the Latin American nations, in which they were oriented to the development of the identities of their peoples and to a consequent social and political praxis. It has articulated those philosophical ideas in Latin America that express an

axiological commitment to humanistic, emancipatory, and counter-hegemonic perspectives and that are critical of any form of alienation. His research has also demonstrated the important role of the most authentic expressions of Latin American philosophy in facing the challenges of hegemonic neocolonial globalization.

Edward Demenchonok's holistic, intercultural, and dialogical perspective has allowed him to develop approaches for a better understanding of culturally embedded philosophies not only in Latin America but also in other regions of the world, while at the same time being essential components of the universal philosophical culture. This also has enabled him to develop the richness of his own philosophical thought. He is doing philosophy *from* diversity, not on diversity. He considers the intercultural transformation of philosophy also as an important step toward a *metanoia,* a change in the way of thinking and acting, so that people with different cultural or religious backgrounds can live together in solidarity. His reconstruction of dialogical philosophy is significant in its relation to the current intercultural dialogue, including the polylogue between Latino, Afro-American, and Afro-Caribbean philosophies in the intellectual environment of the United States. A debt of gratitude is owed to Demenchonok for his international work in justifying the values of the most authentic expressions of Latin American philosophy and its contributions to universal philosophical culture, as well as for fostering intercultural philosophical dialogue.

Although philosophy has no borders, this does not mean that it exists totally disjointed from the spatial and temporal circumstantiality in which its various manifestations are engendered. The greater universal validity of theoretical productions of philosophy, like other expressions of culture, is achieved to the same extent that they correspond in the best way to the epistemic and axiological demands of their time and ambit.

The best proof that the philosophical ideas emanating in a historical moment of a people are authentic is when they motivate diverse reactions, whether promotional or critical, and stimulate similar reflections among the cultivators of these ideas in other contexts. Added to this is a greater significance when they are valued in a culture and language other than the one in which they originated. This means that the new adherent does not make a simple mimetic reproduction of alien ideas but assimilates them through the filter of his/her own language and through cultural parameters

that lead him/her to consider them valid or necessary for the new people who must know and creatively appropriate them.

This has happened, from ancient times to the present day, in the process of transculturation in art, technology, politics, religion, etc., and something similar has happened with philosophy. For this reason, sometimes it is difficult to determine with absolute certainty the originality of an idea, because when moving from one people to another, from one thinker to another, most of the time it becomes richer in such a way that it is hard to testify to the conditions in which it originated.

It is much easier when an author clearly indicates the primary source of his/her ideas, which makes it possible to better assess the extent to which they were limited to a mimetic reproduction or whether they contributed new enriching elements to the subject of discussion.

Such is the merit of Edward Demenchonok in his assessment of the development of philosophy in Latin America, which began in the late 1970s at the Institute of Philosophy of the Academy of Sciences of the then Soviet Union. Although there were some institutions and specialists in research of certain aspects of the economic, political, and cultural life of the Latin American peoples, there was not an established tradition of investigating Latin American philosophical thought, with some honorable exceptions.[1]

The interest of the young Russian philosopher, who initially ventured into the work of Alejo Carpentier, in the literature and culture of Latin America made it easier for him to carve out his own path of understanding the theoretical richness of Latin American philosophical thought.

THE OPENNESS TOWARDS AN INTERCULTURAL UNDERSTANDING OF PHILOSOPHY

In his memoirs, Edward Demenchonok wrote that in the years of censorship, free thought and the public expression of philosophical ideas carried a special weight; it was enlightening for the public, who were thirsty for knowledge. At that time, philosophers "wrote how they lived. They followed their vocation and professional duty . . . and the motto of Horatio and Kant: '*Sapere Aude*!'"[2] Philosophical research and scholarly publications that covered contemporary currents of thought in other countries and introduced new concepts and ideas into academic circulation

objectively broadened philosophical horizons and transformed the public consciousness.

Edward Demenchonok, with a small group of researchers from the Institute of Philosophy, introduced Latin American philosophy, which was a new trend in the Russian philosophical atmosphere at that time, into the scientific environment. What can be greatly appreciated in his assessment of Latin American philosophy is his early understanding of its originality and his justification of its necessary recognition as a new current of contemporary philosophy. As he writes, "With colleagues from the same institute and other Latin Americanists, we formed a research group and published works that ponder on the originality and contribution of Latin American philosophy to contemporary philosophy."[3]

This was done in the volume *Towards the question of the specificity of Latin American philosophy* (1980) and later in the volume *Problems of philosophy and culture in Latin America* (1983) with the participation of Demenchonok. Under his editorial direction, the collective volume *Catholic Philosophy Today*, which includes an analysis of Latin American liberation theology and philosophy, was published in 1985.

Demenchonok published an article titled "The Latin American philosophy of liberation" in the central philosophical journal *Voprosy Filosofii* (1986, no. 10) (and later its translation into Spanish in the journal *Social Sciences* of the Russian Academy of Sciences). It was the first publication in Russia (and perhaps the first or one of the first in Europe) in which the Latin American philosophy of liberation was recognized and seen as a new philosophical current.

Later, the volume *On the History of Philosophy in 20th Century Latin America* with contributions from Edward Demenchonok and his colleagues from the Institute of Philosophy, was published by the prestigious publishing house of the Russian Academy of Sciences "Nauka" [Science] in 1988.[4] The book offers a historical overview of the development of Latin American philosophy and its contemporary expression in liberation philosophy and theology. The objective of the book was to study ideas related to the search by Latin American thinkers for a "true" (authentic) philosophy arising from the historical and cultural development of the region. Another task was to study the relationship between the universal and the specific (cultural or national) in philosophy.

The recognition of Latin American philosophy was a new trend in the philosophical climate of that time. It was a challenge both to the traditionally Eurocentric view of philosophy and to the dogmatized vision of philosophy by official ideology with predominantly dichotomous criteria (imposed by a biased interpretation of Marxism), according to which the history of philosophy in a Manichean way was simplified to a polarized struggle between materialism and idealism, dialectics and metaphysics, bourgeois and proletarians, etc. In opposition to that, there were many true philosophers who creatively cultivated philosophical knowledge.

The study of Latin American philosophy paved the way for the recognition of culturally embedded expressions of philosophical thought. The transformative consequence of this turn towards culture was the need to rethink the very concept of philosophy and the history of philosophy. In this regard, Russian philosophers sympathized with like-minded philosophers abroad. A pluralistic understanding of philosophical culture was a departure from both dogmatism and Western-centrism. The struggle for the recognition of culturally embedded philosophy broke through, overcoming the inertia of Eurocentrism, logocentrism, and instrumental rationality. This was a promising move that in many respects was in keeping with postmodern, postcolonial, and intercultural philosophies.

Demenchonok undertook a systematic study of the broad panorama of the thoughts of major Latin American philosophers of the anti-positivist generation of the early twentieth century—such as Juan Bautista Alberdi, José Vasconcelos, Carlos Vaz Ferreira, and Alejandro Korn, among others —and continued with the assessment of those who, from the 1940s, promoted the authentic philosophical heritage of Latin American nations, such as Leopoldo Zea and Francisco Miró Quesada, before culminating with an analysis of the contributions of Arturo Andrés Roig, Enrique Dussel, Raúl Fornet-Betancourt, Horacio Cerutti, and Germán Marquínez Argote, among others. This study resulted in the publication of his book *Latin American Philosophy: Problems and Trends*.[5] Its study—of the philosophy of liberation, intercultural philosophy, decolonial theories, etc. —has not only brought him highly recognized appreciation for his contributions but also allowed him to enrich and better conceptualize his own philosophical views of the world in various respects.

Although Demenchonok's interest in Latin American philosophy's specificity was evidently marked from his first works,[6] this does not imply

that he hyperbolized its particularities, dissociating it from the universal trajectory of philosophical knowledge. On the contrary, he emphasized its adequate articulation of the universality of philosophical knowledge, especially the valuable contributions of Latin American philosophy.

It should be noted that Demenchonok did not dedicate his analysis to all the philosophical ideas that have been produced "in" Latin America, but focused on that tradition that is termed "Latin American philosophy," that is, to that current of thought that, particularly since the 1940s, has focused on the ideas that emerged in this area but are essentially oriented to the analysis of the problems of this region, its culture, its identity, its emancipatory struggles, and its own expressions, etc. Such specificity is stated in the following way:

> Latin American philosophy from its beginning was motivated by the search of the peoples of Latin America for their historical-cultural identity and pathways to progress. In all stages of its evolution, from the "founders" to the "philosophy of liberation," this philosophy has always procured the importance of the philosophical problems of being, man, culture, morality, and freedom.[7]

Such a differentiating attitude in terms of its topic of analysis shows its axiological commitment to those ideas of certain authors that are characterized by clearly humanist, counter-hegemonic, and anti-alienation positions. This does not mean that Demenchonok ignores those ideas that emerged from other philosophical and ideological perspectives, since he recognizes not only that they exist but that, on certain occasions, they are predominant in some countries and academic institutions, as is the case with analytical philosophy, phenomenology, etc. But his main interest is in highlighting the position of thinkers who assume more authentic attitudes by corresponding better with the specific national and Latin American cultural demands.

In this sense, he adequately distinguishes that in the publications of Latin American authors, the phenomenon of globalization is presented from different perspectives according to various philosophical and sociological currents. These publications include technocratic versions of developmentalist theories. To them are opposed humanistic reflections on the consequences of globalization, including in Latin America: "Latin American philosophy belongs to the line of humanistic and critical thought."[8]

Demenchonok thus highlights the marked ideological commitment of those who are inscribed in this humanistic and critical current, which—while it is not predominant, especially in recent times of neoliberal triumphalism—corresponds to the best of the tradition of Latin American thought. In his opinion:

> Latin American philosophy creatively assimilates progressive ideas and innovations from existentialist-anthropological, phenomenological, hermeneutical philosophy and from socio-political and economic theories, including that of Marxism. In this way, it constitutes an integral part of progressive thought in the contemporary world. In this sense, Latin American philosophy represents one of the most important efforts in the global search for solutions to the cardinal problems of contemporary humanity, whose significant part is made up of the peoples of the Third World, including those of Latin America.[9]

It is worth highlighting the fact that Demenchonok recognizes the clear commitment of the orientation towards political and social praxis on the part of the tradition of philosophy that is cultivated in these countries. To a large extent, this distinctive feature does not derive directly from the undoubted influences of phenomenology, existentialism, and hermeneutics but has to do, in particular, with the controversial influence of Marxism in some of its representatives, such as Leopoldo Zea[10] and Enrique Dussel[11], among others, and which has been present to different degrees in the three main currents gestated in Latin American thought in recent decades: liberation theology, liberation philosophy, and dependency theory.

At the same time, in my opinion, "Since philosophy is constituted as a specific intellectual activity, the humanistic component has been present as a consubstantial element of all cosmovision reflections."[12] This does not mean that each and every one of its representatives has developed that tendency because, in truth, some have been characterized by the opposite by assuming alienating criteria. However, in my opinion, "Philosophy has been built in its universal history as a permanent process of partial contribution by its cultivators of de-alienating instruments that contribute to the consolidation of man's place in the world. When they have detected the different alienating dangers that arise in human life in different circumstances, they have provided, in most cases, the ways to overcome them."[13]

There is no doubt that in the universal history of philosophy, from ancient times to the present day, there has been conflict between different forms of humanism and, in turn, alienating positions that have tried to limit

them. But in the long run, the former have progressively prevailed. In this process, the philosophical ideas developed in these lands have contributed significantly to this humanistic tendency.

The acuity of Demenchonok's epistemological and methodological perspective, which was broadened and deepened when studying some of the thinkers of this continent, allowed him to reach increasingly elaborated insights about the richness of Latin American thought and to arrive at the conclusion that "A characteristic feature of the works of Latin American philosophers consists of the attempt to overcome the one-sidedness of previous anthropological conceptions and to elaborate an integral vision of man as a corporeal and spiritual as well as individual and social being, as an object of oppression and, at the same time, a subject of his own liberation."[14]

This means that he has been able to reveal the humanistic and emancipatory trend that has been the prevailing current in the historical trajectory of Latin American philosophical endeavor. This, contemporaneously, has enabled him to develop the richness of his own philosophical thought.

PHILOSOPHY FACING THE CHALLENGES OF HEGEMONIC GLOBALIZATION

As is well known, some Western academic and political circles have tried, and still are trying, to ignore or minimize the richness of Russian culture. It should not be surprising then that Leopoldo Zea has reflected on similar situations between Russia and Spain as victims of such forms of discrimination. Consequently, he points out: "For the peoples who considered themselves the axis of Western culture, Russia and Spain were alien to that world. For them, the East began on the borders of Russia, just as Africa began in the Pyrenees. Russia and Spain were seen as peoples alien to what could be called the European or Western community."[15]

The life experience of Edward Demenchonok—born during the Second World War in Russia when it was invaded by the Nazis and when, in a heroic struggle, the Russian people confronted those hordes and won by sacrificing twenty-seven million lives—helps to better understand his philosophy, which has been deeply motivated by his personal experience of

the horrors of war. This leads to a better understanding of his life and thought, especially his opposition to war and violence and his keen sensitivity to and interest in philosophical questions. His philosophy has been driven not simply by rationality but also by the heart and his existential sensitivity that lend especial value to his words and a convincing strength to his thought.

Therefore, it follows that the Russian philosopher felt in his own flesh an underestimation similar to that suffered by those involved in Latin American philosophical life, including in some academic fields of this region.[16] When he got to know Latin American in greater depth, he realized the enormous historical injustice committed in this regard, and thus he decided to contribute to its just appreciation, which he has since done so admirably.

Demenchonok's life experiences have allowed him a better understanding of the value of philosophical ideas and, in a general sense, of the unique cultural achievements of peoples who have been marginalized by the Eurocentric perspective, as is the case of Latin Americans. In his publications, he confirms the validity of the works of Latin American authors, including their ethical-political critiques of hegemonic globalization. He also highlights the distinctive ethical approach to the processes of globalization as developed in the concepts of the *ethics of liberation* by Enrique Dussel and the *emerging morality* of Arturo Roig.[17] To this significant element, he adds that:

> Latin American philosophers take a critical stance both towards a euphoria about techno-economic progress "without limits," and towards a postmodern nihilism. From this perspective, the collapse of ideological "narratives" (of "progress" or of the "classless society") is not the end of history, but one more reason to free oneself from dogmas and open oneself towards a better understanding of the dynamic processes in today's world.[18]

In his opinion, "With globalization, the problem of the interrelation between the universal and the particular or local stands out. Universalism and particularism are among the main themes of contemporary philosophy."[19] In relation to this current problem, he considers that:

> Latin American philosophy makes a significant contribution to the understanding of globalization processes. National thinkers do not want to be imitators of the imported way of thinking; they are looking for their own path. . . . From the end of the sixties, the Latin American philosophy of liberation developed. This represents an alternative to the technocratic ideology of developmentalism. Faced with a one-dimensional technodeterminist concept of the world, the philosophy of liberation affirms a multifaceted vision based on

human values and culture. To "cultural dependence," it opposes the emancipation of consciousness and creativity. Cultural identity is linked to liberation.[20]

In this regard, his articulation of aspects that have characterized the best expressions of Latin American philosophy is very accurate, especially about its reaction, visible since the beginning of the twentieth century, against the previous predominance of positivism. The leading representatives of philosophy in these countries criticized the scientism and overvaluation of rationality that was typical of positivism, which was unable to understand human multidimensionality or to adequately grasp the volitional, emotional, axiological, ethical, aesthetic, symbolic, erotic, and other aspects that make up the controversial human condition and which Latin American philosophical thought viewed as its task to regain.[21]

THE INTERCULTURAL TRANSFORMATION OF PHILOSOPHY AND SOCIETY

In addition to their concern about serious social and global problems, Demenchonok and leading Latin American philosophers have in common the search for their possible solutions and alternatives. Such a constructive and viable alternative is offered by intercultural philosophy as a new paradigm of philosophical and social transformation. A great achievement of the Latin American philosophy of liberation was the creation of intercultural philosophy as a theoretical and practical movement, which is manifested in numerous publications and international conferences on intercultural philosophical dialogue.

Demenchonok's studies on Latin American philosophy, and in particular its expressions in the philosophy of liberation and intercultural philosophy, have been characterized by a fair weighing of its merits. He has not fallen into hyperbolic overestimations about its contributions and significance in the international philosophical field but has not minimized its theoretical scope either.

In relation to the first, after considering it as "the most decisive expression of the humanistic and democratic potential of the tradition of Latin American philosophy,"[22] he conceived it in its self-correcting dynamics but also, at the same time, in its leading role as a precursor to other currents of thought that would succeed it:

In this way, the philosophy of liberation showed its self-critical capacity by correcting obsolete ideas and opening up to new approaches and the conceptualization of the profound changes that we see today. I observed, then, that "Latin American ideas were opposed to colonial discourse long before the concepts of postcoloniality and postmodernity in Europe and the United States, tracing a path for national philosophies in the countries of Africa and Asia. In the works of Latin American authors, ideas of postcoloniality are raised to a new theoretical level and their philosophical basis is developed."[23]

At the same time, it should be borne in mind that antecedents of the criticism of colonial discourse were manifested in numerous Latin American thinkers such as Simón Rodríguez, Juan Bautista Alberdi, José Martí, José Enrique Rodó, etc., in the same way that the term "philosophy of liberation" can be found in the works of José Vasconcelos, who at a conference at the University of Havana in 1925 suggested that Indoamérica needed a philosophy of liberation, and in the works of Antonio Labriola, who previously considered Marxism to be a philosophy of liberating praxis.

In relation to the second, Demenchonok's valuation of the field's scope made him suggest that "Latin American philosophers contribute originally to intercultural philosophy. In it, Mikhail Bakhtin's ideas about dialogue are deepened as the dialogical vocation of the human being, that is, the relationships of reciprocal and equal understanding with others and their cultures. With his Intercultural Transformation of Philosophy project, Fornet-Betancourt creatively captures the dialogical spirit of philosophical thought and proposes to recognize its cultural roots."[24]

In both cases, Demenchonok emphasizes the humanist as well as emancipatory and counter-hegemonic contributions of liberational and intercultural expressions of Latin American philosophy. In such a way, his marked intention is to promote the knowledge of these currents and authors of Latin American philosophical thought without pretensions of superiority, nor conditions of inferiority with respect to other contemporary currents. He only aspires that their significant contributions to the universal philosophical culture are fully recognized.

In his publications on the theory and practice of intercultural philosophy, Demenchonok reports on the numerous conferences on intercultural dialogue, at some of which he participated. These include the International Seminars of the North-South Dialogue Program, a series coordinated by Raúl Fornet-Betancourt since the first seminar in 1989 in Freiburg (Germany), on the ethics of discourse and the philosophy of liberation, represented by Karl-Otto Apel and Enrique Dussel, respectively.

These have continued every two years in various regions of the world on the great questions of humanity until the XIX seminar in Aachen in 2019, which marked the thirtieth anniversary of the founding of this project. Since 1995, every two years, the International Congresses of Intercultural Philosophy, also organized by Fornet-Betancourt, have taken place in various parts of the world, such as Mexico City, Bangalore, Seoul, and Barcelona, before the XIII Congress in Medellín in 2019, with their papers subsequently published. Demenchonok was a participant at several of these congresses.

In his works, Demenchonok explores various aspects of intercultural philosophy, especially a vision of philosophy as culturally embedded and contextual. He is doing philosophy *from* diversity, not on diversity. He elaborates on the project of the intercultural transformation of philosophy initiated by Fornet-Betancourt.[25] Such a transformation is a step from monoculturality to interculturality both in philosophy and in one's disposition in life.[26]

It is an important step toward a *metanoia*, a qualitative change in the way of thinking and acting, so that people of different cultural or religious backgrounds can live together in solidarity. Demenchonok supports the idea of culturally embedded philosophy and analyzes its various manifestations, including in philosophical thought not only in Latin America but also in Russia, the United States, and Canada. He addresses the problem of the interrelation between the culturally specific and the universal in philosophy in its intercultural turn.

An original contribution of Demenchonok is his reconstruction of dialogical philosophy, especially that of Mikhaíl Bakhtin, and its development in its relationship with the theory and practice of the current intercultural dialogue. It underlines the Bakhtinian idea of the universal character of dialogical relationships, which are "permeating all human speech and all relationships and manifestations of human life—in general, everything that has meaning and significance."[27]

Dialogical relationships form the very basis of all human activities. Dialogue is the main category for describing intersubjective relationships. Bakhtin's ideas of dialogue were traditionally interpreted in terms of communication theory, but Demenchonok argues for a deeper understanding of dialogue as a metaphysics of the human Being as "co-Being," as the dialogical relationships between I and the Other, which

constitute the structure of Being as an "event of Being." This ontological structure determines the forms of existence and the cultural meaning as such. True understanding requires two or more consciousnesses to participate and is the dialogical process: understanding can never be achieved only from the point of view of the "I" because it needs the external perspective of the Other. Dialogue must respect differences, and interactions with others must be conducted in an ethical manner. Dialogue is at the heart of Bakhtin's philosophy of language. Dialogical relations also include intercultural relations as a "dialogue of cultures."[28] The dialogical relationships of cultures can create a deeper understanding.

According to Demenchonok, dialogical philosophy contributes to elaborating "a vision of the human being and society based on the principles of dialogue and communication on all levels: individual, intersubjective, social, and cultural."[29] This philosophy can serve as a theoretical basis for a humanistic alternative to a conflicted world of individualism, monological authoritarianism, and hegemonic globalization.

As Demenchonok writes, "The concept of intercultural dialogue is also considered as a 'regulative idea' in creating an alternative to current globalization."[30] This provides a key to understanding contemporary world crises in terms of the Bakhtinian contrast between monological thinking in the one-dimensional world of authoritarian and hegemonic domination versus dialogical or polylogical thinking in the pluralistic or "pluriversal" world of free people and diverse cultures, the "recognition of others as equals, personal moral responsibility and shared co-existence, and openness to the cultural-historical creativity of individuals."[31]

INTERCULTURAL ASPECTS IN LATINO, AFRO-AMERICAN, AND AFRO-CARIBBEAN PHILOSOPHIES

The holistic, pluricultural, and dialogical perspective of Demenchonok's philosophical views has allowed him to develop the intercultural approach for a better understanding of culturally embedded philosophies not only in Latin America but also in other regions of the world, while at the same time being essential components of the universal philosophical culture. This approach has validated him in a more enriching way during his stays in Latin America and the United States.

One of Demenchonok's interesting contributions is his application of the theoretical-methodological principles of intercultural philosophy toward an analysis of interculturality in Latino and Afro-American philosophical thought in the United States.[32] It traces the interrelationships between Latin American philosophy and emerging Latino philosophy in the US. Latinos (mainly Mexicans, Cubans, and Puerto Ricans) represent the largest minority group with about 50.5 million members (16.3 percent of the total population) and are demanding a more prominent role in American society. Its intellectuals aspire to develop a distinctive Latino philosophy, both in search of their own identity and as a resource to address the socio-cultural problems and rights of their people. Among its philosophical pioneers are Jorge J. E. Gracia, Linda Martín Alcoff, Ofelia Schutte, Walter Mignolo, Maria Lugones, and Mario Saenz. They have been joined by a younger generation of philosophers such as Eduardo Mendieta, Nelson Maldonado-Torres, and Carlos Sánchez, among others.

According to Jorge Gracia, "Latino philosophy is the philosophy the Latino ethnos has developed in the circumstances in which the members of this ethnos have found themselves throughout history."[33] This point of view highlights the unity of Latino philosophy, which in a broader sense encompasses the works of Latino philosophers in the United States and Latin America. He emphasizes that the inspiration of the majority of Latino philosophers in the United States have their roots in Latin American philosophy. He shows the historiographic, educational, and conceptual significance of Latino philosophy for philosophical thought in the United States. He also suggests various measures to improve the position of Latino philosophy in the US. For example, Eduardo Mendieta has illuminated several dimensions of the question of a Latino philosophy: Who are Latinos in the United States, or what does "Latino philosophy" mean and what is its relationship to Latin American and Spanish-speaking cultures? What is the relationship between Latino philosophy and African American philosophy?[34] It must further be pointed out that Latino philosophers collaborate with Latin American philosophers in the critical analysis of homogenizing globalization from a postcolonial and intercultural perspective.

In addition, Demenchonok explores the issues of identity and cultural diversity and intercultural relations in Afro-American philosophy. He refers to Cornel West, who writes that "Afro-American philosophy is the interpretation of Afro-American history, highlighting the cultural heritage

and political struggles, which provides desirable norms that should regulate responses to particular challenges presently confronting Afro-Americans."[35] West indicates two interrelated challenges: one is that of self-image or the problem of self-identity related to culture; the other is that of self-determination, related to the political struggle for a better life. Among the philosophers of African descent living in the United States are Kwame Anthony Appiah, Kwasi Wiredu, and Dismas A. Masolo. In developing African American philosophy, its theorists reconstruct the tradition of thought and adopt an intercultural perspective. They seek their original roots in the cultures of Africa and are in dialogue with African and Afro-Caribbean philosophers and those of the African diaspora.

Demenchonok offers a detailed analysis of the works of Kwasi Wiredu, whose ideas are close to those of intercultural philosophy. In his books on African philosophy, Wiredu raises some fundamental questions about the interrelation between culture and philosophy and intercultural philosophical dialogue. He highlights the importance of "cultural traditions of thought" and the crucial role of language in their formation.[36] This contributes to a better understanding of the cultural roots of philosophy, as well as the illuminating role of philosophical reasoning regarding cultural diversity and intercultural relations. Wiredu considers the strategy for the development of African philosophy to be twofold: the restoration of traditional philosophical thought and the creative assimilation of the achievements of Western philosophical currents and others in dialogue with them. He explores the "interplay of conceptual universals with semantic particularities in intercultural discourse" and champions intra- and intercultural communication and philosophical dialogue.[37] In his theory, he tries to navigate a fine line between the particular and the universal and to find a proper balance between them. He suggests a dialogical and respectful approach to these issues through rational discourse.[38]

Demenchonok also analyzes the relationship between Afro-American and Caribbean philosophers. Among the philosophers related to the African diaspora in the Caribbean and working in the universities of the United States are Lewis R. Gordon, Henry Paget, Charles W. Mills, and John Evans. They elaborate the concept of "Africana philosophy" as a metaphilosophical and inclusive umbrella concept. From this point of view, African, Afro-American, and Afro-Caribbean philosophies are interpreted as components of such diasporic Africana philosophy.

Lewis Gordon writes that Africana philosophy "involves theoretical questions raised by critical engagements with ideas from Africana cultures and their hybrid, mixed, and creolized forms worldwide."[39] This extends the concept of Afro-American philosophy beyond the United States, that is, "the modern philosophical discourse that emerges from the African diasporic community, including its Francophone, Spanish-speaking and Lusophone forms."[40] It addresses the issues of culture, race, identity, modernity, colonization, oppression, and struggles for emancipation. African American philosophers who dialogue with intellectuals of African descent from the Caribbean and Central and South America thus contribute to the development of the meta-concept of "Africana philosophy," which connects African philosophical thought with that of the African diaspora in the Americas. These areas are that of the dialogue and collaboration of philosophers with different cultural backgrounds. Philosophers in the Americas show the importance of cultural diversity and inter-culturality and contribute to the theory and practice of dialogue between peoples for mutual understanding and collaboration in solving social and global problems.

In conclusion, although there is no shortage of prestigious Latin American authors who have substantiated the contributions of the philosophers of "Our America" (José Martí's expression) to universal philosophical culture,[41] of course it is of greater significance when a researcher from other latitudes appreciates them and presents them comprehensively with an in-depth understanding and from an intercultural perspective.

This is the case of Demenchonok, who has made the intellectual production of Latin American thinkers and their significance known not only in Russia[42] but also in other countries through his publications and participation in numerous international conferences.[43] This is contributing to intercultural philosophical dialogue in practice.

Through consecutive approximations, Demenchonok has successfully unraveled the complicated skein that makes up the wealth of the most authentic representatives of Latin American philosophical life in recent times. Although his main object of research was not the early historical stages of this thought, his deep reflections on its contemporary stage of maturity have been fruitful as well. Such an outcome is related to his dialectical methodological approach, according to which a problem should

not be studied either in its genesis or in its expiration stage but at the moments of its maximum development when most of its definitions unfold.

The Latin American intelligentsia that has dedicated itself to cultivating philosophical knowledge has much to thank Demenchonok for his tireless work in vindicating its values for many years in many international academic spheres. As José Martí has pointed out, "unfortunate is he who does not know how to be grateful!"[44] Therefore, those of us who have devoted our intellectual lives to the appreciation of Latin American philosophy have the duty to pay homage to our dear fellow traveler who has been able, from distant vantage points and with conceptual precision, to envision its extraordinary richness and its contributions to universal philosophical culture.

NOTES

1. Mijail A. Dynnik et al., *Historia de la filosofía: de la antigüedad a comienzos del siglo* XIX [History of philosophy: from antiquity to the beginning of the 19th century] (Institute of Philosophy of the Russian Academy of Sciences), (México, D.F.: Grijalbo, 1962).

2. Edward Demenchonok, "Filosofskii prazdnik, kotoryi vsegda s toboi" [A philosophical feast which always remains with us], Institute of Philosophy RAS, 2020. Available at: https://iphras.ru/memdemen.htm

3. Edward.Demenchónok, "La filosofía latinoamericana de la liberación y su recepción en Rusia" [The Latin American philosophy of liberation and its reception in Russia], *Cuadernos Americanos: Nueva Época*, Vol. 2, No. 160 (2017): 92.

4. Edward Demenchonok et al., *Iz istorii filosofii Latinskoy Ameriki XX veka* [On the History of Philosophy of Latin America of the XX Century] (Moscow: Nauka, 1988).

5. Edward Demenchónok, *Filosofía latinoamericana: Problemas y tendencias* [Latin American Philosophy: Problems and Trends] (Bogotá: El Búho, 1990).

6. See: Edward Demenchonok. ed., *K voprosu o spetsifike latinoamerikanskoy filosofii* [On the Specificity of Latin American Philosophy] (Moscow: Institute of Philosophy of RAS, 1980).

7. Edward.Demenchónok, "Fundamentación de la ética en la filosofía latinoamericana" [Founding of ethics in Latin American philosophy], Paper presented at the session *Philosophy in Latin America* at the Twentieth World Congress of Philosophy, in Boston, Massachusetts, August 10–15, 1998. *The Paideia Archive*. Available at: https://www.bu.edu/wcp/Papers/Lati/LatiDeme.htm.

8. Edward Demenchónok, "La globalización y su planeamiento en la filosofía latino-americana," *CUYO, Anuario de Filosofía Argentina y Americana*, No. 16 (Año 1999), 40.

9. Edward Demenchónok, *Filosofía latinoamericana: Problemas y tendencias* (Bogtoá: El Búho, 1990), 291.

10. See: Mirta Casaña Díaz, "La recepción del marxismo en la obra de Leopoldo Zea," [The reception of Marxism in the work of Leopoldo Zea], *Islas*, journal of the Central University "Marta Abreu" of Las Villas, Santa Clara, 96 (1990): 37–64.

11. See: "(. . .) Dussel's relationship with Marxism is problematic and complex, because it evolved from rejection and denial to transformative affirmation or assimilation." Raúl Fornet-Betancourt, *Transformación del marxismo: Historia del marxismo en América Latina*

[Transformation of Marxism: History of Marxism in Latin America] (México: Plaza y Janés, 2001), 325.

12. Pablo Guadarrama, *Pensamiento Filosófico Latinoamericano: Humanismo, método e historia* [Latin American Philosophical Thought: Humanism, method and history], t. I (Bogotá: Università degli Studi di Salerno-Universidad Católica de Colombia-Planeta, 2012), 21. https://www.ensayistas.org/filosofos/cuba/guadarrama/textos/Pensamiento%20I.pdf.

13. Ibid., 26.

14. Demenchónok, *Filosofía latinoamericana*, 293.

15. Leopoldo Zea, *América en la historia* [America in the history] (México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1957), 74.

16. As Demenchonok writes, "When asked why there is such intense interest in Russia regarding Latin America, it must be answered that, deep down, both geocultural areas—large and diverse—have common historical-cultural aspects. In 1984, the Lomonosov University awarded a doctorate honoris causa to the Mexican philosopher Leopoldo Zea. That same year, his book *Philosophy of American History* was published in Russian. Both Zea, in the speech he gave upon receiving the award, and fellow Russian philosophers, historians, and specialists in literature interested in Latin America noted historical-cultural analogies between Russia and Spain and between Russia and Latin America." Edward Demenchónok, "La filosofía latinoamericana de la liberación y su recepción en Rusia" [The Latin American philosophy of liberation and its reception in Russia], *Cuadernos Americanos, Nueva Época*, Vol. 2, No. 160 (2017): 92.

17. Edward Demenchónok, "El Disurso Ético en la Filosofía Latinoamericana" [The ethical discourse in Latin American philosophy], *SECOLAS Annals, Journal of the Southeastern Council on Latin American Studies* (*Latin America Encounters the 21st Century*), volume XXXII (November 2000): 75–92; Edward Demenchónok, "La filosofía ética de Enrique Dussel" [The ethical philosophy of Enrique Dussel] in *Filosofía y desarrollo social* (Bogotá, Universidad INCCA de Colombia, 1988); Edward Demenchónok, "Arturo Andrés Roig y la ética emergente" [Arturo Andrés Roig and emerging ethics], in *El pensamiento alternativo en la Argentina contemporánea*, tomo III: Derechos humanos, resistencia, emancipación (1960–2015) [Alternative Thought in Contemporary Argentina, Volume III: Human Rights, Resistance, Emancipation (1960–2015)], eds. Hugo Biagini y Gerardo Oviedo (Argentina: Editorial Biblos, 2015); Edward Demenchonok, "Globalization, Postcoloniality, and Interculturality," *The American Philosophical Association Newsletters*, Vol. 01, No. 2 (Spring 2002): 83–89. https://cdn.ymaws.com/www.apaonline.org/resource/collection/60044C96-F3E0-4049-BC5A-271C673FA1E5/v01n2Hispanic.pdf.

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19. Ibid., 42–43.

20. Ibid., 44.

21. See: "El pensamiento latinoamericano del siglo XX ante la condición humana," [Latin American thought of the twentieth century in the face of the human condition]. Available at: www.ensayistas.org/critica/generales/C-H/.

22. See: "El pensamiento latinoamericano del siglo XX ante la condición humana," [Latin American thought of the twentieth century in the face of the human condition] 289. www.ensayistas.org/critica/generales/C-H/.

23. Edward Demenchónok, "La filosofía latinoamericana de la liberación y su recepción en Rusia," *Cuadernos Americanos. Nueva Época*, Vol. 2, No. 160 (2017), 95.

24. Idem.

25. Raúl Fornet-Betancourt, *Transformación intercultural de la filosofía* [Intercultural transformation of philosophy] (Bilbao: Desclée de Brouwer, 2001).

26. Raúl Fornet-Betancourt, "Toward a Philosophy of Intercultural Dialogue in a Conflicted World," in *Intercultural Dialogue: In Search of Harmony in Diversity*, ed. Edward Demenchonok, 2nd ed., 43–56 (Newcastle upon Tyne, UK: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2016).

27. Mikhail Bakhtin, *Problems of Dostoevsky's Poetics*, translated and edited by C. Emerson (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1984), 40.

28. Edward Demenchonok, "Bakhtin's Dialogism and Current Discussions on the Double-Voiced Word and Transculture," in *Intercultural Dialogue: In Search of Harmony in Diversity*, ed. Edward Demenchonok, 2nd ed., 81–138 (Newcastle upon Tyne, UK: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2016).

29. Demenchonok, "Bakhtin's Dialogism and Current Discussions on the Double-Voiced Word and Transculture," 82–83.

30. Edward Demenchonok, "Intercultural Philosophy," in *The Proceedings of the Twenty-First World Congress of Philosophy* Volume 7 (2007), 27. Accessible at: https://doi.org/10.5840/wcp2120077143.

31. Edward Demenchonok, "Preface," in *A World Beyond Global Disorder: The Courage to Hope*, eds. Fred Dallmayr and Edward Demenchonok (Newcastle upon Tyne, UK: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2017), xiii.

32. Edward Demenchonok, "Zur Debatte über kulturelle Diversität und Interkulturalität in den USA und Kanada," [Discussions on Cultural Diversity and Interculturalism in the United States and Canada] in *Zur Geschichte und Entwicklung der Interkulturellen Philosophie*, Hrsg. Raúl Fornet-Betancourt, 187-229 (Aachen, Germany: Wissenshaftsverlag Mainz, 2015).

33. Jorge J.E. Gracia, *Latinos in America: Philosophy and Social Identity* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2008), 141.

34. Eduardo Mendieta, "La filosofía de los 'latinos' en Estados Unidos," en *El pensamiento filosófico latinoamericano, del Caribe y latino (1300-2000)*, eds. Enrique Dussel, Eduardo Mendieta y Carmen Bohórquez, 518–522 (Mexico: Siglo XXI, 2009).

35. Cornel West, "Philosophy and the Afro-American Experience," in *A Companion to African American Philosophy*, eds. T. Lott & J. P. Pittman (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2006), 11.

36. Kwasi Wiredu, *Philosophy and an African Culture* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1980), 24.

37. Kwasi Wiredu, *Cultural Universals and Particulars: An African Perspective* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1996), 7.

38. See: Kwasi Wiredu, "Introduction: African Philosophy in Our Time," in *A Companion to African Philosophy*, ed. K. Wiredu, 1–27 (Malden MA: Blackwell, 2004).

39. Lewis R. Gordon, *An Introduction to Africana Philosophy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 1.

40. Ibid., 69.

41. See: José Luis Abellán, *El exilio filosófico en América. Los transterrados del 39* (México: F.C.E., 1998); Carlos Beorlegui, *Historia del pensamiento filosófico latinoamericano: Una búsqueda incesante de la identidad* (Bilbao: Universidad de Deusto, 2004); Giuseppe Cacciatore, *El búho y el cóndor* (Bogotá, Editorial Planeta-Universidad de Salerno-Universidad Católica de Colombia, 2011); Pio Colonnello, "La filosofia latinaoamericana," en *Filosofía del mondo*, ed. Vorgilio Melchiorre (Milano: Bompiani, 2014); Adalbert Dessau et al., *Politische-ideologishe Stromungen in Latinamerika* (Berlin, Akademie Verlag, 1987); Roger-Pol Droit, *Philosophie et democratie dans le monde. Une enquete de L'UNESCO* (París: Ediciones UNESCO, 1995); José Gaos, *En torno a la filosofía mexicana* (México, Alianza Editorial Mexicana, 1980); Juan David García Bacca, *Antología del pensamiento filosófico venezolano, Vol. I: Siglos XVII–XVIII* (Caracas, Ministerio de Educación, Dirección de Cultura y Bellas Artes, 1954); Birgitte Gerstenberg, *Philosophisches Denken im präkolumbischen Mexiko und die Philosophie der Kolonialzeit in Lateinamerika* (Berlin, 1988); Alain Guy, *La philosophie in Amérique Latin* (París: Presse Universitaires de France, 1997); Sheldon B. Liss, *Marxist Thought in Latin America* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1984); Ralf

Moritz, Hiltrud Rüstau y Gerd-Rüdiger Hoffmann, *Wie und warum enstand Philosophie in verschiedene Regionen der Erde* (Dietz Verlag, 1988); José Luis Gómez-Martínez, *Pensamiento de la liberación, Proyección de Ortega en Iberoamérica* (Madrid: EGE Ediciones, 1995); Jorge Gracia, ed., *Directory of Latin American Philosophers—Repertorio de filósofos latinoamericanos* (Amherst, New York: State University of Buffalo, 1988); Germán Marquínez Argote y otros, *La filosofía en América Latina* (Bogotá: Editorial El Búho, 1993); Walter Redmond, *La lógica mexicana en el siglo de oro* (México: Instituto de Investigaciones Filosóficas, 1985); Antonio Scocozza, *Filosofía, política y derecho en Andrés Bello* (Caracas: La Casa de Bello, 1989); Oleg Ternevoi, *La filosofía en Cuba. 1790-1878* (La Habana: Editorial Ciencias Sociales, 1981); Nikolaus Werz, *Pensamiento sociopolítico moderno en América Latina* (Venezuela: Editorial Nueva Sociedad, 1995).

42. See Edward Demenchonok et al., *Iz istorii filosofii Latinskoy Ameriki XX veka* [On the History of Philosophy of Latin America of the XX Century] (Moscú: Nauka, 1988).

43. As Demenchonok writes, "Fornet-Betancourt coordinates the North-South Philosophical Dialogue Program, which had the active participation of Dussel, Karl-Otto Apel and other philosophers from various countries. On his initiative, since 1995 the International Congress of Intercultural Philosophy has been held annually. I had the opportunity to participate in some of them in Mexico, Bangalore and Santo Domingo. The publication of the volumes with the conference papers documents this liberating-intercultural orientation. I have also participated with Latin American philosophers in the round tables of different editions of the World Philosophy Congress (FISP), in Boston (1998), Istanbul (2003), Seoul (2008) and Athens (2013)." Edward Demenchónok, "La filosofía latinoamericana de la liberación y su recepción en Rusia," [The Latin American philosophy of liberation and its reception in Russia] *Cuadernos Americanos: Nueva Época*, Vol. 2, No. 160 (2017): 96.

44. José Martí. "Carta a Valerio Pujol," *El Progreso*, Guatemala, 27 de noviembre de 1877, en *Epistolario*, (La Habana: *Obras completas*, Ciencias Sociales, 1975), t. 1, p. 96.

7

Abya Yala as a Philosophical Place

Andean Philosophy and the Pending Task of the Decolonization of Philosophy

Josef Estermann

Although there are many common interests and themes between decolonial studies and Intercultural Philosophy, they have not met or even fertilized each other in a satisfactory way until today. Indigenous philosophies, especially Andean Philosophy, could be a point of encounter and a fruitful inter-epistemic dialogue. The present work raises the main fields of debate and opens clues for a true Intercultural Philosophy in a decolonial key.

Intercultural Philosophy has revealed, among many other aspects and phenomena, the asymmetries existing between different systems of knowledge ("epistemologies") and the process of colonization not only of souls but also of the wisdom of indigenous peoples, throughout the history of humanity. Apart from these two approaches, a profound depatriarchalization of the dominant philosophy, which remains eminently androcentric, is also urgent. This "intersectionality" of marginalization and asymmetries makes urgent, when approaching indigenous philosophies, a decolonial rereading of Intercultural Philosophy that must include a gender approach (sensitivity to androcentrism and subterranean patriarchalism). All

three approaches have to do with the question of "power," not always in a political, economic, and military sense, but also in the sense of the symbolic imposition of a supposed "universality" and the subsequent culturicide and epistemicide of "colonized" religious, cultural, and sapiential universes. In the case of "indigenous philosophies," one can rightfully speak of "philosophicides," that is, of the eradication or extirpation of autochthonous wisdom in the name of the only philosophical and theological truth of the West.

COLONIAL PHILOSOPHY AND THE COLONIALITY OF PHILOSOPHY

My notes[1] are based on the experiences and evolution of philosophical thought in *Abya Yala*, the indigenous name for "America,"[2] especially in the Andean context. Of course, the same reflections could be made—*mutatis mutandi*—for Africa, Asia, and Oceania, and even for some parts of Europe. Until now, there are voices that claim the monopoly of "philosophicity" for the European continent, with the consequence that philosophies made and developed in other contexts would only be variants of that single "universal" European philosophy. Intercultural Philosophy has deconstructed such an attitude as an expression of a Eurocentrism or Western-centrism,[3] as philosophy must recognize the plurality of places of origin, definitions, and methodologies. However, this exercise of "decentering" and culturally pluralizing philosophy may be limited to the postmodern attempt to abolish the "meta-narrative" of philosophy as a universal discourse, without raising the question of "power." For the critical tradition of Intercultural Philosophy, it has always been important to pluralize the ways of doing philosophy, on the one hand, and to maintain, on the other hand, the pretension of universality and the possibility of inter-philosophical and inter-epistemic dialogues and politics.

European philosophy expanded to different cultural contexts through colonialism, especially from Modernity onwards. But already in more remote times—the so-called European Antiquity and Middle Ages—the "universalization" of that provincial philosophy of the Asian Far West (Ionia)[4], which has been a philosophy in a colonial context, followed the paths of the different waves of colonization, whether by the *Magna Graecia*

or by the Roman Empire. There have not been discursive arguments that contributed to the "superiority" and "universality" of Hellenic and Roman thought, but constellations of power. The "Constantinian turn" (313) not only turned the Judeo-Jesusian movement into a "religion" as the ideological underpinning of the Empire but also "baptized" Hellenic philosophy (especially in the form of Neoplatonism) as supposedly universal knowledge. Throughout the history of Western philosophy, these political and colonial "maneuvers" can be seen again and again. Minority positions (such as eclecticism) have been marginalized, "baptized" or incorporated into the dominant system, as was the case with Arabic philosophy in medieval Scholasticism. The other "knowledges" (called "esoteric," "heterodox") were simply forgotten or kept in forced clandestinity.

Other kingdoms and political and military powers did nothing else, be they the Muslim caliphates, the Middle Kingdom (China) or the empire of Genghis Khan. With the beginning of "modern" colonization by the European powers from the 16th century onwards, however, there was for the first time the possibility of a "single culture" and the global imposition of the civilizing monopoly of the West over all divergent cultural, epistemic, political, and social forms. There is also talk of the "second wave" of globalization. For *Abya Yala*, colonization by the European powers meant not only true genocide, but also culturicide, epistemicide and philosophicide.[5]

The asymmetries existing until now between the so-called "global North" and the "global South"—so as not to speak of "first world" and "third world"—have their origin and main motivation in colonization and the subsequent "coloniality" of "colonized" cultures, religions, and philosophies. Military and political colonization cannot be understood without considering also the "symbolic colonization" that goes far beyond the scheme of center and periphery or the "curse" of natural resources. It is a "genocide" at a deeper level: a way of being ("indigenous"), a religiosity, a cosmo-spirituality[6] are extinguished and replaced by the "unique" model of the West.

This act of violence, called by Fernando Mires the "colonization of souls"[7] occurs, as we know, at all levels and permeates or even penetrates the most intimate of cultures and symbolic systems (religions, spirituality, wisdom, rituality, etc.) with the consequence that its own forms are always

considered "inferior" and must pass into the background of clandestinity. This whole process of denial, penetration, incorporation and clandestinization is widely known and documented. In the religious sphere, the Campaigns for the Extirpation of Idolatry in the 17th century have been the most representative example of the attempts to abolish their own religious manifestations. In the economic sphere, the imposition of capitalist parameters (in the form of mercantilism) sought to put an end to an economy based on solidarity and communality. In education, an elitist and patriarchal school system was imposed on the different "indigenous" ways of learning and teaching through experience and oral tradition. And in the political sphere, the indigenous system was co-opted by the interests of the colonial lords and later by the Creole elite, excluding 95 percent of the population in the colonies from political participation, but doing so under the name of "democracy." In each of these fields—and in many others—one can clearly see the trappings of coloniality that have not changed substantially but only gradually up to the present day.

In this contribution, I would like to emphasize an aspect of this coloniality[8] that has to do directly with philosophy and the fate it has had over the last five hundred years. The great majority of textbooks in the schools and universities of the Latin American continent continue to affirm the colonial *dictum* that there was no "philosophy" before the arrival of the European conquerors. Even "progressive" philosophers (especially men) who claim to elaborate a genuine "Latin American" philosophy cannot see any traces of a pre-colonial philosophy. According to this Eurocentric perception, philosophy (i.e., European philosophy) begins with the publication of the *Recognitio Summularum* (1554) by Fray Alonso de la Vera Cruz[9] in Mexico. At the time of the meeting of the two worlds, the continent of *Abya Yala* was considered a "no man's land" or "virgin territory" with respect to philosophy and many other forms of knowledge. This means, logically, that there was and will be no philosophy except the one imported from Europe, made by Europeanizing people, and perhaps adapted to the circumstances of the context. Not only philosophy in colonial times but also philosophy "in" Latin America beyond the colonial period, repeats in broad strokes the currents dominating in Europe and later in the United States. And this is what can be called the "colonial condition" or the "anatopism"[10] of Latin American philosophy.

From colonial philosophy to the coloniality of philosophy, the gap is very narrow. While colonial philosophy, i.e., the dominant philosophy in colonial times has been broadly what Hegel called the "echo of the Old World and the expression of a foreign vitality,"[11] coloniality remains a fundamental feature of the dominant academic philosophical endeavor even far beyond the Colony. Despite the many attempts to "Latin Americanize" philosophy in *Abya Yala*, from Alberdi's call in 1842[12] to build a genuinely Latin American philosophy to the Latin American Philosophy of Liberation in its diversity, the definition of what "philosophy" is, and is not, changed substantially. Very few authors (men and women) have dedicated themselves to the question of the decolonization of the dominant (academic) philosophy and the struggle for the recognition of "indigenous" philosophies. Intercultural Philosophy is raising this question with increasing impetus, including in its analysis elements of the decolonial theory.

THE EMERGENCE OF "INDIGENOUS PHILOSOPHIES"

In a dominant Eurocentric perception, there can be no "indigenous philosophies," because this assumes that philosophy is universal, albeit with particular and contextual origins. "Adjective" philosophies, in this perspective, only express the aspect of enculturation and contextualization of a single universally valid philosophy, called *philosophia perennis*. The identification of this Platonic idea of philosophy with the peculiar philosophy that emerged, evolved, and diversified in the West (basically in Europe and the USA) and its exportation to the spheres dominated by Western powers, constitutes the main act of a Euro- or Western-centrism and the perpetuation of the colonial spirit in the field of philosophy. The following syllogism defended by Hegel and Heidegger and countless defenders of the superiority of Western philosophy, is very simple: philosophy is the product of the West ("Greek" in essence, Heidegger would say)[13]; an "indigenous philosophy" has no roots in Western civilization; *ergo*: "indigenous philosophy" is not true philosophy, but thought, myth, cosmovision, religiosity, etc. Of course, this syllogism varies according to the context and the author, but the verdict remains the same: "philosophy" is an exclusive product of the West.[14]

Since the publication of my *Andean Philosophy* in 1998[15], there have been constant attempts to undermine this type of "indigenous philosophy," either in the name of the Eurocentric perspective, or in an indigenist perspective. While the representatives of the first group argue based on a rather Eurocentric definition of philosophy, those of the second group fear that indigenous knowledge could suffer a sort of "neocolonialization" when subjected to the parameters of philosophical rigidity. Among both groups there are representatives of a genuine Latin American philosophy and of indigenous groups that resist a supposed "intercultural" exploitation of their wisdom and *epistemes*. But, of course, there are also representatives of a Europeanizing and "anatopic" academicity, and this group constitutes the hard core of resisting the admission of "indigenous philosophies." Throughout the last 23 years I tried with patience and a certain stubbornness to disprove all the arguments that came to me against the possibility of an "Andean Philosophy" as a true philosophy and at the same time as "indigenous"[16]; the arguments of its intellectual spokesmen are still the ones that touch me the most, the ones that have the most weight when speaking of the "coloniality" of philosophy.

Perhaps it should be said at the outset that "Andean Philosophy"—like León Portilla's *Nahuatl* Philosophy of or Lenkersdorf's *Tojolabal* Philosophy[17]—is not an "indigenous philosophy" in a strict sense but a philosophy elaborated based on an indigenous cosmo-spirituality. If so, the question arises whether, before having systematized and compiled this millenary wisdom in a compendium of a philosophical type, there already existed something that can be called "philosophy" or if it is rather a sort of "cosmovision," "spirituality" or practical wisdom, an indigenous knowledge without philosophical pretensions? How do you characterize the "philosophicity" of this wisdom? Or expressed in even more puzzling words: To put such indigenous wisdom into the framework of philosophical rigidity, is it not a reedition of the colonial enterprise, under the progressive cloak of interculturality and Andeanphilia? As one of the most lucid critics of Andean Philosophy formulates: If millenary indigenous knowledge is converted into "philosophy," why should this fact constitute a sort of "justice" and the reestablishment of a harmony and symmetry, destroyed by colonial outrages?[18]

For the question of the "coloniality" or "decoloniality" of philosophy, in general, and of Intercultural Philosophy, in particular, this type of

interpellations is of utmost importance. In my case, the question is even more dramatic, because as a European by origin and an Andean by choice, I cannot and do not want to be a spokesman for indigenous knowledge or for an Andean Philosophy, but, at most, one of its midwives and interpreters. The criticism of my "Andean Philosophy" has helped me to become aware of the great danger of falling back into a colonial or neocolonial attitude in the name of decolonization. What sounds paradoxical is in fact a danger that exists for many thinkers of the liberating and intercultural current.[19]

Furthermore, it may result in a new paternalism, if one would conclude that "Andean Philosophy" were the most faithful interpretation of the indigenous soul, its wisdom and development in the world. It is as if a man were to declare himself a "feminist" and at the same time claim to have the clearest idea of what feminism and "women's liberation" are. In these cases, it is necessary to apply a hermeneutics of suspicion. And it is also necessary in the case in which a white European man declares himself "Andean" and even pretends to express in the most appropriate way what "Andean" is. I do not believe that this is my case, but it makes manifest the great danger of repeating colonial attitudes I confront when pretending to contribute to a genuine decolonization and the restoration of symmetrical relations.

In the end, only the Andean people can say whether an Andean Philosophy represents their way of being, feeling, thinking, and acting. Only a colonized person or people has the right to manifest themselves on the question of which elements, attitudes, mental schemes, preconceptions, and knowledge of their concrete world are "colonial" or "neocolonial." There will be very few indigenous Andean women who assert that the *pollera* is a "colonial" or "neocolonial" garment to be "decolonized"; the same is true of many elements that come from the Spanish-type Catholic religion. However, there is one factor that complicates matters enormously: just as the outsider is not immune to a colonial attitude, neither is the indigenous person. The subtlety of the "colonial" and "neocolonial" lies precisely in the appropriation of an alien axiology by the colonized person, as reflected in the famous Stockholm Syndrome in the psychological. The Bolivian sociologist René Zavaleta[20] called this syndrome the "tendency that we take charge of our own oppression": we assume colonial attitudes as if they were our own, as if they belonged to our indigenous symbolic universe.

This leads me to the conviction that every true "decolonization" must take place in a critical intercultural framework and cannot be carried out unilaterally, either by the supposedly "colonized" (person or people) or by the supposedly "colonizer" (person or civilization). Therein lies my initial intuition that the elaboration of an Andean Philosophy can only be possible within the framework of an intercultural dialogue. It is the result of a diatopical hermeneutics[21] and not of a Western or indigenous monologue. Of course, this is still no guarantee of being able to escape the dangers of colonial and neocolonial attitudes, but at least it is the attempt to discuss in the form of an exchange what one feels as "colonial," imposed from outside, "anatopic," and what one does not consider in this way, although to "decolonial" eyes it may appear as such. The emergence of indigenous philosophies in *Abya Yala*—Andean, Mayan, Nahuatl, Amazonian, etc.—is, above all, a sign of a growing self-esteem and not of a decolonial mentality. However, it serves as a sounding board to have better criteria to evaluate the dominant philosophical currents, with respect to their "coloniality" and "neocoloniality."

THE DECOLONIZATION AS A PENDING TASK OF INTERCULTURAL PHILOSOPHY

Intercultural Philosophy has the pretension, since its beginnings in the 1980s, to "pluralize" the dominant philosophy according to its cultural presuppositions (in a broad sense) and to carry out, at the same time, a critique of any attempt to monopolize philosophy for a certain culture, civilization, ethnicity, paradigm of knowledge, etc. In the last 30 years, this task has been approached from different contexts and with much effort, and today we are presented with an impressive panorama of positions, proposals, and critiques. The Intercultural Philosophy of Latin American nature—in comparison with that of European, North American, Asian, or African nature—related its purpose from the beginning with the tradition of a "liberating philosophy," with a critical attitude in a very diverse sense.[22]

Social inequalities, the socioeconomic marginalization of certain sectors, androcentrism and *machismo* still in force, the asymmetry between ruling "cultures" (such as "Latinity") and indigenous and Afro-descendant peoples, and the still persistent poverty, have been and continue to be

recurrent themes of Latin American Intercultural Philosophy. Specifically, it distanced itself from a postmodern philosophy of the culturalist and indifferentist type, without denying the fundamental critique of postmodernity to a "totalitarian" modernity. But, above all, it distanced itself from a "culturalist" Intercultural Philosophy of a European nature that seeks to reduce the issues of inequalities and asymmetries to a mere imbalance of symbolic cultural universes.

In contrast to "classical" Liberation Philosophy, critical Intercultural (Latin American) Philosophy emphasizes the role of indigenous, Afro-descendant, feminist, ecological, etc. philosophies, much like the diversification of "classical" Liberation Theology by the second and third generation.[23] Socio-political and economic oppression continues to be a determining factor of inequalities and injustices on the continent, but factors such as cultural hegemony, *machismo* and androcentrism, the contempt for the indigenous and Afro-descendent, the environmental degradation and heteronormativity, are issues that critical Intercultural Philosophy puts at the center of the debates. It is here that this aspect meets the concerns and purposes of decolonial critique, which at the beginning did not emerge from the heart of philosophy, but from the social sciences. Decolonial theories—as distinguished from European, North American, and Asian postcolonial theories[24]—contribute three fundamental approaches to a more "intersectional" evolution of Intercultural Philosophy: interpreting existing inequalities and injustices in terms of "coloniality" and "neocoloniality"; emphasizing different epistemologies and the production of knowledge; analyzing the philosophical enterprise as part of the perpetuation or questioning of its own "coloniality." I do not believe that decolonial theories and critique can replace the genuine intuition of critical Intercultural Philosophy, but that they can complement it in fundamental aspects and play the role of a critical-creative echo.[25] So far, there has been little direct contact between these two perspectives of analysis, although there are many sporadic points of contact.[26]

Just as decolonial theories should include "cultural" aspects in their analysis, critical Intercultural Philosophy should incorporate the decolonial approach in its analysis and critique as essential. Perhaps indigenous philosophies are the key point that could serve as a hinge between intercultural and decolonial purposes because they express both the "colonial" element of a dominant academic philosophy and the

perspectivity or respectivity of philosophy in a cultural-civilizational sense. Indigenous philosophies challenge both decolonial theories and Intercultural Philosophy, with respect to the production of "other" knowledges and epistemologies, different logics, and models of "decoloniality" that do not always agree with the dominant decolonial theories. In indigenous philosophies there are concentrated, as in a concave lens, the recurrent questions of both decolonial theories and critical Intercultural Philosophy:

a. What type of epistemology is adopted in developing the basic lines of cosmospirituality or indigenous philosophy?
b. Which are the "ideological" bases of applying a diatopical hermeneutics between the powerful Western philosophical tradition and the millenarian indigenous experience?
c. How to deal with the existing asymmetries at the level of philosophical discursivity?
d. How to refrain from cultural essentialisms and ideal types of "identities" and to assume the genuine hybridity of cultures, societies, and philosophies?

Ad a. With respect to epistemologies, the first step towards the decolonization of philosophy is the awareness of the plurality of knowledge, of which the privileged access of the West—empirical experience and discursive rationality—is only one of many possible accesses to reality in its complexity. Boaventura de Sousa Santos speaks of "epistemologies of the South,"[27] that is, of knowledge that, under the "coloniality" of monopolized knowledge, has managed to survive and can contribute to find solutions in an increasingly complex and unequal world. There are indigenous, Afro-descendent, feminist, queer, ecosophical, spiritual, religious epistemologies, etc. and each of them contains elements to decolonize the dominant Western epistemology. For Intercultural Philosophy, there is a need for an inter-epistemic dialogue or polylogue in which the question of asymmetries and power will be fundamental. The pandemic of COVID-19 has once again demonstrated the monopoly of Western-type technoscience in explaining, confronting, and overcoming the crisis.[28] "Other" knowledge is not considered with the argument of the "truth" and efficiency of this technoscience.

Ad b. Diatopical (or polytopical) hermeneutics presupposes a basis of understanding that is not part of what is "negotiated." The theories of communicative action and discursive reason assume an "ideal" situation of symmetry and mutual understanding. The current global situation, however, is extremely unequal and the "common" basis of the interlocutors in this dialogue is often a Western rationality and epistemology if representatives of other "knowledges" and of an "other" rationality must adapt to the dominant mode before entering the dialogue. This is an element of "coloniality" in the very figure of diatopical hermeneutics that cannot be resolved by resorting to a supposed "arbiter" in inter-epistemic dialogue. If this "dialogue" is really an expression of logocentric discursivity, it contains an element of epistemic violence, as it attempts to impose the hegemony of Western *logos* over a plurality of non-rationalist and non-logocentric rationalities. The millenarian indigenous experience, for example, is not based on logocentrism or on the discursivity of the dominant Western rationality, so that a diatopical hermeneutics based on this rationality is suspected of exercising a "colonial" power and of fostering even more the existing asymmetry.[29]

Ad c. These asymmetries, which have to do with historical processes of colonization and neocolonialism, are the epistemological and axiological expression of what is happening at the economic, political, and military levels. The Conquest of *Abya Yala* by the Spanish crown was not simply an occupation of territory and the appropriation of so-called "natural" resources, but a genocide, culturicide, epistemicide and even philosophicide. An attempt was made to eradicate any trace of symbolic universes different from that of the West, and since this could not be achieved, they were hidden, ignored, humiliated, demeaned and disqualified in such a way that their "otherness" was considered "barbarity" and "idolatry." The resulting asymmetries were immediately manifested in the political *(cacicazgo)*, economic *(encomienda)*, religious (idolatry), linguistic (hispanization) and cultural spheres, but also in the epistemic (dominance of European science) and philosophical (denial of a pre-colonial philosophy). Regarding the latter, it was thought that there was no asymmetry, but simply that the monopoly of Western philosophy reigned due to the absence of a counterpart. Denying completely the existence of an autochthonous philosophical knowledge, it was not even necessary to establish an asymmetrical structure between a dominant European

philosophy and a subaltern indigenous one (as was the case, for example, in India). Since this simply did not exist, as was assumed that it was not necessary to define the relationship of the European philosophy of the actual period with it. Philosophicide has "solved" the question of colonial and neocolonial asymmetries in a radical way: denying that there was and can be "indigenous philosophy." It is the consequence of a racist and Eurocentric definitional violence: "all philosophy has Greek roots; the indigenous knowledge of *Abya Yala* has no European roots; *ergo*: *Abya Yala* has no philosophy of its own."

Ad d. A recurrent problem of interculturality and of diatopical hermeneutics is its abstraction of hybrid cultural and civilizational identities. Cultures are human expressions because of multiple crossings and historical processes, and not immobile essences or eternal platonic ideas. Hybridity is part of cultural "identity" and not a sign of its decline. Intercultural Philosophy takes up this challenge, but at the same time insists on paradigmatic "differences" that open the panorama to "otherness" and a dialogue between "diverse" subjects. Perhaps one could compare "cultures" with linguistic games that contain certain common elements and their own rules of operation, but which cannot be reduced to a "hard" core of immutable and "essential" elements. On another occasion,[30] I have compared these two conceptions of culture with the peach and the onion: the "peach" model presupposes a hard core that gives "identity" to a certain culture, while the "onion" model contains no such core but asserts that the supposed "identity" is composed of each of the parts. To speak of "the" Western, Andean, Muslim, Hindu, or whatever culture is nothing more than an "ideal" abstraction that may be methodologically useful but does not reflect the complexity of the hybridization between cultures and civilizations throughout history. If such an abstraction is petrified into authoritative "definitions," we commit once again a form of epistemic violence that is just a camouflaged form of "colonialism."

ANDEAN PHILOSOPHY AS PHILOSOPHICAL ALTERITY

Andean Philosophy departs—just as the Vedic tradition of India[31]—from the concept of the "non-dualism" of reality which is not the same as a metaphysical monism. Reality—the whole of what exists and is imagined—

is not conceived as divided in incomparable or even contradictory aspects and spheres: the divine and the human, the true and false, the heavenly and the earthly, the religious and the profane, the masculine and the feminine, the living and the inert, the eternal and the temporal.

In contrast, the dominant Western philosophy—from Platonic philosophy until the phenomenology and the analytical philosophy of the 20th century—is strongly marked by this type of (theological, metaphysical, epistemological, ethical, logical) dualism which is expressed in a more explicit way and with major impact in the principle of exclusive logics (non-contradiction, identity, exclusion of the third (possibility)): Either the one or the other, but there is no third possibility *(tertium non datur)*. Either God or man; either spirit or matter; either culture or nature; either male or female.[32]

Andean Philosophy thinks in polar dualities and not in dualisms, and the founding principles are the principle of relationality, of complementarity, of correspondence and of reciprocity.[33] Divisions between subject and object, between the religious and the profane, between the divine and the human, between the living and the inert, these typical Hellenistic (and to a minor extent also Semitic) diastasis are not valid within the Andean cosmovision. It seems to me that the urge to separate and purify analytically the different aspects of reality is a typical male characteristic. I (as a man) practice it as well in this very work. And it is not bad, but when this androcentric model of conceiving and managing the world is converted to the only possible approach, to the universally valid paradigm, to the unique true road to salvation, it makes one neurotic and devastating.

The famous Roman adage "*divide et impera*" (divide and govern) is maybe the clearest and politically most consequent expression of the androcentric urge to conceive (the same words of "conceive" and "conception" already reveal a conquering masculinity)[34] reality, the world and history, and even the divine, and convert them to "concept." The masculine analytical spirit (*analysis* literally means "to unmake," "to cut in pieces") is anatomical (*tomein*: "to cut"), dissectional, mechanical, instrumental, destructive. To analyze life (a plant, an animal, a human being), we must cut it in pieces—dissect it—and separate the parts that are organically inseparable, with the consequence of destroying the same life. Every synthesis based on the result of a real analysis will prove to be artificial and robotic.[35]

Andean Philosophy tries to represent the essential complementarity of all that exists in the form of integrality (holism). The complements can only be analytically separated of the whole at the cost of their integrality; this holistic principle, in the last resort, coincides with the principle of life. There is no life in an isolated form, but only in and by a network of complementary relations. One might characterize Andean thinking as "ginosophic,"[36] under the condition that we identify the ability to synthesize, to establish relations and bindings, to mediate and to unite as something typical feminine. I am not referring to "pachamamism"[37] or to a form of Andean matriarchy, but to the same founding structure of Andean thinking, probably unnoted by the same protagonists (Andean people). The transversal and paradigmatic principles of relationality, complementarity, correspondence, reciprocity, integrality and cyclicity seem to adapt better to a feminine than a masculine way of living and way of "being in the world" (Kusch).[38]

Andean Philosophy postulates that sexual complementarity is not only a fundamental feature of the human species, but that it extends far beyond humanity, and that it even goes farther than animal and plant life, onto the entire cosmos and until the divine. On another occasion, I have called this transcendental feature of the Andean cosmovision "cosmic sexuity"[39] that exceeds both biological sexuality (sex) and social gender. Cosmic sexuity implies that all phenomena obey the principle of complementarity between the feminine and the masculine that certainly has to do with sexuality and the question of gender but that transcends these aspects in a lot of ways. The "sexuated" complementarity of the sun and the moon, for instance, retakes aspects of the human experience and of the construction of gender (day and night; bright light and dimmed light), but it transcends them at the same time. Life reproduces itself only because of this "sexuated" complementarity and it would destroy itself if one of the complements would disappear.

For theology, "Andean ginosophism" poses a series of very profound questions, both on the level of "theology" in a strict sense (concept and image of the divine) as well as on the level of Christology, soteriology, pneumatology, and ethics. I won't discuss the consequences for the ecclesiastic institutionality, the offices and charismas, the pastoral care, and the theological education. I will not consider these aspects at length on this

occasion, because there are others who can do this with more competence, and in addition it is a vast area still uncultivated.

For the dominant Western philosophy and its androcentrism, the Andean paradigm is a severe questioning and an invitation to repose and deconstruct its own ideological fundaments. I will only mention some areas that according to me in a more than evident way have to do with androcentric rationality, not to mention the fact that men are still the protagonists of this philosophy and that one normally forgets the few female philosophers in the history of Western philosophy.[40]

- In the first place, starting from a hermeneutics of gender and from a diatopical hermeneutics (in dialogue with Andean "ginosophism"), one will have to deconstruct the multiple dualisms of Western philosophy that not only have contributed to the plundering of the environment, to the mechanization and instrumentalization of life, to the subjection and extinction of the other *(alius et alia)*, to the quantification and rationalization of the unquantifiable and the irrational, to the monetarization of values, but also to a strongly dualistic Christian theology, in spite of the *theologumena* of the incarnation and creation which are clearly non-dualistic.[41]
- In the second place, one will have to submit oneself to an intercultural and gender criticism of the predominant Western rationality that certainly has highly contributed to scientific and technological progress, but at the cost of integrality and organicity of life in its various manifestations. One will have to question seriously the intercultural validity of the principle of the "exclusion of the third" *(principium tertii non datur)*, as an axiom that contributed very much to the exclusion of the other and that reflects a combating and imperialistic rationality. One must denounce Western analytical rationality as monocultural and ethnocentric, and one must complement it with a synthetic and inclusive rationality of non-Western traditions.
- In the third place, also the acceptance in the West of the androcentric concept of linearity, progressivity and irreversibility of time needs to be questioned and be complemented with a more "ginosophic" approach of periodicity, cyclicity and wave characteristic of time.[42]

The fragmentation of time dominant in Western culture as well as its monetarization (time is money) not only have contributed to the dominant division of work between women and men, the separation of public and private spheres, but also to forgetting the quality of time and the historic density of some decisive moments *(kairoi)*. Meanwhile the West favors a "corpuscular" (or quantum) and atomic posture of time and history that obey masculine attitudes; the Andes emphasizes much more a "wave" and molecular vision of time and history, which much more obey feminine attitudes.

- In the fourth place, one will have to deconstruct ethical presumptions of dominant Western philosophy as strongly andro- and anthropocentric. The very concept of ethical "virtues" refers etymologically and genetically to the male virility (*vir* is the man), with the consequence that the "muliertues" (from *mulier* [woman], not to use the contradictory term "female virtues") like solidarity, compassion, sensibility, care and practical corresponsibility haven't had considerable impact on Western ethics.[43]

From Aristotle to Heidegger, the dominant ethics of the West have been ethics of the male soldier [*vir*] (strength, prudence, bravery, perseverance) and of the anthropological conquering subject *(conquiro ergo sum)*, that have as objective to subject the "other" (women, nature, indigenous peoples, homosexuals etc.) to their ethical criterion of male and autocratic patriarchal responsibility. An ethical justification of the so-called "preventive war" in Iraq was only possible because of androcentric presumptions. Andean Philosophy offers a cosmocentric ethics that includes a lot of elements of feminine spirituality, as care for the cosmic order *(arariva)*, the joint responsibility (corresponsibility), preservation of life, compassion, and reciprocity as base for solidarity.

ANDEAN CRITICISM OF WESTERN ETHNOCENTRISM

The second moment of self-revelation of the philosophical condition of the West is the fact that the aspects of cultural- and ethnocentrism are still strongly present, even in the last postmodern expressions of the West. The philosophical tradition of the West has demonstrated an admirable capacity

of criticism and auto-criticism, by means of distinct paradigmatic "shifts" that have occurred in the course of its evolution.[44] Either the shift of a naïve position to an epistemological critical attitude in the beginning of the modern age (the so-called "Copernican shift"), or the "becoming aware" of the material base (economic, social, political) of certain philosophical ideas by the Marxist tradition, or the questioning of Reason as unquestionable base of reflection by distinct irrational postures of the 19th century (existentialism, Nietzsche, Freud, Romanticism), or the postmodern deconstruction of the "great narratives" *(meta-récits)* of modern philosophy: this effort is impressing because of an each time more critical and sincere attitude by Western philosophy with respect to its own philosophical condition.

However, the West has shown to be practically immune and resistant to two types of systematic criticisms with a paradigmatic reach: The intercultural criticism of monoculturality[45] or ethnocentrism on one side, and the gender criticism of the androcentrism of the dominant Western philosophical tradition on the other side. Both vectors aim at a radical deconstruction of this tradition, with the consequence that this not only means awareness of its culturally contextual character but also of its strongly androcentric and patriarchal character.

In both cases, dominant occidental philosophy (the "Academy") would have to abandon its universal and androgenic claim (neutrality with respect to gender): It would convert itself—and in fact it does, but only without being aware of it—in a contextual philosophy (just like all philosophies) with cultural and gender presumptions. "Universality" in the sense of a "supra-culturality" and of a "meta-sexuity" (neutrality of gender) would not be a characteristic of a sole philosophical tradition, but the synthetic result of an intercultural dialogue—or better: "polilogue"—in which the occidental tradition would be a strong and powerful partner in the dialogue, but not the only one nor the one with universal validity.[46]

For the defenders of the *a priori* universality and supra-culturality of philosophy made in the West, this step from monologue to polilogue[47], considered by the West as a retreat and tremendous humiliation, has a high cost (there are even feminine defenders that sometimes are more conservative than their masculine colleagues). Today, this supposed "universality" traduces itself in terms of globalizing processes, through the mediation of the neoliberal economy, of cultural and mediatic (of the mass

media) imperialism. The pandemic blindness of the Academy towards philosophical "alterity"—as demonstrates the categorical refusal of the Andean Philosophy—does not permit that the Western philosophical tradition reveals itself (in the sense of a *Selbstaufklärung*) as contextual, provincial, patriarchal, monocultural and ethnocentric. There doesn't exist any intercultural philosophical reason to call, on the one hand, Andean thinking "ethno-philosophy," but, on the other hand, refuse to apply this term to the Hellenic-Roman cosmovision of the West. Personally, I do not denominate either the one or the other with this label but sustain that both are (culturally) contextual philosophies.

The Andean alterity reveals the "ethnocentric" face of Western philosophy[48] in a diatopical hermeneutics, through an open and symmetric intercultural dialogue. In other words: It puts it in its (contextual) place, as "Western" philosophy (and not as philosophy as such). It is difficult and may be unnecessary to separate Andean criticism of Western androcentrism and ethnocentrism, but methodologically one deals with two distinct, however complementary, themes. Here I would like to signal some complementary themes to those presented in the anterior chapter:

- An intercultural criticism of the dominant Western philosophical tradition by Andean Philosophy (as philosophical alterity) in the first place would reveal the clandestine heterodox tradition of the very same Western philosophy just as I have pointed out before. Even in this tradition, there are *logoi spermatikoi* of concepts that are of major importance in Andean Philosophy: Haeckel's hylozoism or panpsiquism, Pythagoras' cosmic symbolism, Nagel's organicism, van Helmond's homeopathic principles, Krause's and Bulgakow's panentheism, Leibniz' cosmic relationality, Nicolas of Cues' *coincidentia oppositorum* or John Scot Erigena's *apokatastasis* are only some examples of the heterodox richness of the West.[49]
- In the second place, Andean Philosophy questions the universality of the logo-centric rationality of Western philosophy that is ruled by the principles of the binary and formal logics of non-contradiction, identity, and the exclusion of the third. This excluding rationality contrasts with the inclusive rationality of the Andes (but also with oriental Asian and other non-Western philosophies) that interpret opposites in the sense of complementary polarities and not as mutually

exclusive contradictory positions. The universalization of these principles of formal Western logics leads to a logicism and to a suppression of other forms of expression such as emotions, intuition, the symbol, and the analogy (that—as said earlier—are expressions more feminine than the masculine "sword of reason").

- In the third place, Andean Philosophy questions the "classificatory mania" of the West, the urge to put all phenomena and realities in conceptual drawers. The very same "concept" is a powerful invention of (platonic) Socrates to obtain intellectual dominance of the chaotic diversity of what is presented to us. The "classificatory mania" necessarily reduces the richness of life to several concepts and leads to a forced domestication or even annihilation of what cannot be classified with preconceived parameters.[50] This is even the case in a lot of important themes of Andean Philosophy that don't fit in the conceptual mold of the West, and therefore lack the self-defined philosophical quality.

- In the fourth place, Andean Philosophy questions the Western dichotomies between the human and the extra-human world, between life and the inert reality, between the sacred and the profane, and even between the divine and the mundane. Such a dichotomization of reality leads to a dualistic separation and to a system of double truth and of an ethics of sectorial validity. It is certain that the demythologization (Bultmann's *Entmythologisierung*) of the world by Western philosophy and theology has contributed greatly to scientific and technological progress, but this in turn has changed itself into its own destruction and almost into a new god. Andean Philosophy starts from the conviction that each dichotomy and separation of spaces, ambiences and spheres leads to a grave deterioration of cosmic integrality. The separation of nature (as material and mechanical *res extensa*) of the human world (as spiritual and spontaneous *res cogitans*) implies—as we can observe nowadays—a suicidal plundering of nature. And the radical dichotomy between the divine and the mundane implies a divinization of the mundane in the sense of an idolatrization of aspects as for example progress, pleasure, or money.

- In the fifth place, Andean Philosophy criticizes the reductionist epistemology of the West that pretends to find the truth only through the human sources of reason and sensation. This reductionism leads to

a scientistic concept of the truth and excludes alternative sources of knowledge which are faith, intuition, sentiments, the ritual, celebration, and artistic representation. Andean Philosophy, on the other hand, insists in an integral epistemology that transcends humanity as cognitive subject. Knowledge *(episteme)* is a quality of all entities, human or not human, animated, or "inert," and that one obtains in a lot of different ways such as the ritual, the celebration, trance, symbolic representation, and mystic union. These criteria question the one-dimensionality of Western wisdom, as it is expressed for instance in techno-morph medicine, in the mono-causal explication of events (i.e., the actual pandemic), in the rationality and linguisticity (according to linguistic parameters) of the subconscious or in the irreversible progressiveness of time.

- In the sixth place, Andean Philosophy questions the institutionality and academicism of Western philosophy which has become an intellectual exercise of texts about texts (a "ruminative" philosophy), of intertextual hermeneutics that is no longer in touch with the ground of reality. The academic claim of the West, that one cannot express oneself about what happens and what is hidden without referring to the complete history of the ideas, that is to say: inflating the critical apparatus in such a way that it overwhelms the originality, this feature cannot be universalized. Philosophical work is not ruled by criteria of intertextual graphicacy (written sources) and referentiality (reference to other authors), as examples of the very same Western tradition demonstrate as well (Socrates for instance). Andean Philosophy is above all a living, existential philosophy at first hand, without recurring to texts and authors, in direct contact with the multifaceted reality lived and thought by women and men of the Andes. This criticism casts doubt on the Western academic standards imposed on institutes of higher learning in the whole world.

- And in the seventh place, Andean Philosophy reveals the intercultural and multiethnic character of the Western philosophical tradition. That what seems to be a monolithic and homogeneous block—"the" Western Philosophy with capitals—is the result of a historical struggle between currents with culturally distinct features (Semitic, Arabic, Egyptian, Celtic, Germanic etc.), a history of forgetting (but not in a Heideggerian sense) and of suppression, a history of the victors with

their victorious ideas. Because of its marginal and marginalized condition, Andean Philosophy assumes the option of the niches of Reason, of the ideas considered "unthinkable" and of the inclusion of what doesn't seem to have academic "dignity."

LEARNING FROM ANDEAN PHILOSOPHY

At this point the question arises as to what Intercultural Philosophy could learn from a non-Western knowledge, from an indigenous philosophy such as the Andean one. In a true philosophical encounter, the other is not only revealed as genuine "otherness," but also reveals the one as "colonial," "violent," "presumptuous," "arrogant," and "conqueror," or in the case of symmetrical relations, as "empathetic," "supportive," "sensitive," "epistemically just," etc. Refraining from judging the "other" philosophy by the parameters of one's own is the beginning of a true dialogue. In one of my first articles[51] I developed a kind of "philosophy of listening," that is, a philosophy that does not begin to speak or write or "ruminate" (as Nietzsche noted) or digest, but simply opens itself to contact with another kind of rationality, wisdom, and logic, beyond the defining framework of the West. This is the point where one feels totally unprotected, because whatever one may have learned in the Academy suddenly does not serve as a support or orientation. Wanting to understand Andean Philosophy within the framework of the binary-exclusionary Western logic means to be left with a deep feeling of frustration that can lead to two opposite attitudes. Either one surrenders to philosophical "otherness" as an act of humility and learned ignorance *(docta ignorantia)*, or one reaffirms the premeditated position that one is facing a phenomenon that cannot be qualified as "philosophy." This second attitude is the norm and has been since Columbus set foot on land in *Hispaniola*; the first is the beginning of an unprecedented dialogue whose outcome is still unknown.

The philosophical "exodus"—coming out of the Eurocentric or Western-centric closet—is an attitude that contradicts one of the cultural axioms of the West: ultimately, we will always return to our home (philosophy as "nostalgia"). Or put a bit more philosophically: the principle of connaturalness asserts that subject and epistemological object share the same "nature," what Levinas called the "sameness" of the modern Western

subject.[52] The supposed "otherness" is simply a variation of the self. The colonizer sees in the colonized a variant of his own culture; the Andean religion is an "anonymous" Christianity, the *hanaq/alax pacha*[53] of the Andes is nothing different than the Semitic heaven.

The West (especially the Hellenic tradition and the modern era) has a problem with transcendence and otherness: Odysseus always returns home. In contrast, Moses departs with his people and no longer returns to Egypt; the exodus is a departure without return. He is the Semitic figure who did not know how to impose himself in the history of the West. Columbus thought to find India, the known, the familiar. When we travel, we try with much effort to order the impressions of the "strange" within the parameters of the "known." And what does not fit, we simply suppress and erase from our experience. We find it very difficult and even humiliating to simply say that we "do not understand," that we must keep quiet, expose ourselves, be guided by the otherness, "listen" without response or presuppositions: An act of philosophical humility in face of philosophical otherness.

A philosophy such as the Andean one disconcerts us, challenges us, questions us, shakes us in our academic foundations, because what we have learned is of no use to us if we do not unlearn it. If we are impregnated with a substantialist metaphysics and an excluding binary logic, it is difficult for us to understand Andean pachasophy[54] and its trivalent logic. If we have swum in the waters of "progress" and "development," we are puzzled by the figure of an Andean *pachakuti*[55], of the cyclicity of time and of temporal qualities beyond the totally sterile chronometer. And if the diastasis of subject and object seems to us an irrefutable axiom, we are confused by the possibility of an epistemology based on ceremony and ritual. If we start from ourselves as a personal "identity" (me) and the human being as the "crown" of the world, we feel humiliated before the position of a collective identity (we), of the human being as a *chakana* (bridge)[56] and of a cosmo-spirituality as the preferred access to the world and its mysteries. Each of these examples shows us the great difficulty of establishing an intercultural dialogue and developing a diatopical hermeneutics between the Western Academy and Andean indigenous knowledge, to give just one example. The "coloniality" of our gaze, of our thinking, of our feeling is so deep that it cannot be explained simply by historical references. Beyond the "colonization" of *Abya Yala* by Europe and the neocolonization by the West or the global North, the dominant modern Western philosophy contains this

desire that Dussel called the principle of *conquiro ergo sum* ("I conquer, therefore I am").

Together with a strong androcentrism, the dominant Western philosophical attitude is one of "objectifying," "analyzing," and "incorporating" otherness, that is: an attitude of epistemic violence. The deterioration of what is called Nature or Environment, the growing inequalities between rich and poor, climate change and its consequences, femicides, human trafficking and smuggling, the new slavery and an increasingly savage capitalism are examples of this predatory and "self-absorbed" attitude. The Andean Philosophy shows that there can be "another" philosophy, perhaps more gynophilic, biophilic, integral and integrative, relational, and relationing, spiritual and cosmocentric than that kind of philosophy still dominant in the XXI century.

NOTES

1. This is more of an essay than a research paper. Therefore, I reduce the bibliographical references to a minimum.

2. I prefer the native term *Abya Yala* (which means in the language of the Kuna people of Panama "the land where we live") to "America" which is due to the eagerness of the Italian conqueror Amerigo Vespucci to eternalize himself. Normally, authors make a distinction between "Iberic America" or "Latin America" on the one hand, that is: the culture and society under Spanish and Portuguese influence, and "Amerindia" or "Abya Yala" on the other hand, that is: the original native culture and society, the so-called "*América Profunda*" (Kusch) or "Deep America."

3. The difference between Eurocentrism and Western-centrism lies in the fact that European philosophy and culture was exported through colonialism and neocolonialism to other parts of the world, so that a "Western civilization" has been established which includes, apart from most parts of Europe, the USA, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and enclaves within non-Western societies. Strictly speaking, "Eurocentric" tendencies are in reality "Western-centric."

4. In Eurocentric diction, the region is called "Asia Minor."

5. "Epistemicide" is a concept coined by Boaventura de Sousa Santos and refers to the destruction of peoples' own knowledge caused by European colonialism, which in turn generated cultural imperialism and the consequent loss of cognitive experiences. Boaventura de Sousa Santos, *Decolonizing knowledge, reinventing power* (Montevideo: Ediciones Trilce, 2010). See also: M. Correa and D. Saldarriaga, "The Latin American indigenous epistemicide. Some reflections from decolonial critical thinking," *CES Derecho*, 5 (2) (2014): 154–164. "Culturicide" became famous as an analytical concept through the publication of Francisco "Tete" Romero. Francisco Romero, F. *Culturicidio. Historia de la educación argentina (1966–2004)* (Buenos Aires: ConTesta/rgc Ediciones, 2005). The "philosophicide" is a concept coined by me.

6. I prefer the term "cosmo-spirituality" to the commonly known notion of "cosmovision" because the latter contains a strong Eurocentric bias, giving preference to the sense of sight and "theory" (*theorein*: "to see") to the detriment of other senses and intuitions. Although "spirituality"

also carries a strong Western charge, it emphasizes the ritual and practical aspects of the indigenous philosophies of *Abya Yala*.

7. Fernando Mires, *La Colonización de las Almas. Misión y Conquista en Hispanoamérica* (San José: DEI; Buenos Aires: Libros de la Araucaria, 1985; 2007). This work is not available in English.

8. Regarding the concept of "coloniality" see: Josef Estermann, "Colonialidad, descolonización e interculturalidad: Apuntes desde la Filosofía Intercultural," in *Interculturalidad crítica y descolonización: Fundamentos para el debate* ed. Instituto Internacional de Integración del Convenio Andrés Bello (La Paz: Instituto Internacional de Integración del Convenio Andrés Bello, 2009), 51–70. Online: https://journals.openedition.org/polis/10164#tocto1n2.

9. "In 1553 the University of Mexico was opened and Alonso de la Vera Cruz, known as the first philosopher of America, was born" (https://www.abc.com.py/articulos/desarrollo-filosofico-latinoamericano-795289.html). The *Recognitio Summularum* had that name because it was a revision of the compendiums or *Summae* of logic. It was formal logic with introductory elements, but it also treated in the sense of a complete course of logic as was common in Spain at the time. About Alonso de la Vera Cruz, see: M. Beuchot, "Perfil del pensamiento filosófico de fray Alonso de la Vera Cruz," *Nova tellus* 29 (2) (Mexico) (2011): 201–214.

10. Víctor Andrés Belaúnde (1889-1966) coined in his *Meditaciones Peruanas* (1917) the term "anatopism" *(anatopismo)* to highlight the decontextualized character of Latin American thought that simply "transplants" Western philosophy to the American soil (*topos*), without considering Latin America's own reality and specific context. See Josef Estermann, "Anatopismo como alienación cultural: Culturas dominantes y dominadas en el ámbito andino de América Latina," in *Culturas y Poder: Interacción y Asimetría entre las Culturas en el Contexto de la Globalización*, ed. Raúl Fornet-Betancourt (Bilbao: Editorial Desclée de Brouwer, 2003), 177–202.

11. "What has taken place in America so far is the mere echo of the Old World and the expression of alien vitality." G. W. F. Hegel, "Vorlesungen über die Philosophie der Geschichte," in *Werke in zwanzig Bänden*, Volume 12 (Francfort/M., 114; 1999 [1837; 1970]). English Edition: G. W. F. Hegel, *Lectures on the philosophy of world history. Introduction, reason in history* (translated from the German edition of Johannes Hoffmeister from Hegel papers assembled by H. B. Nisbet) (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 1975), VPG 114, N. 170f.

12. Juan Bautista Alberdi (1810-1884) raised in his *Ideas para presidir a la confección del curso de filosofía contemporánea* (1842) [Ideas for chairing the preparation of the contemporary philosophy course] the urgency of a "Latin American philosophy" and not simply of a philosophy in Latin America.

13. "There is no other philosophy than the occidental one. 'Philosophy' is so originally Occidental in its essence that it carries the ground of the history of Occident." Martin Heidegger, *Heraclitus—The Inception of Occidental Thinking and Logic: Heraclitus' doctrine of the Logos* (Bloomsbury Publishing, 3, volume 55 of the *Gesamtausgabe* 2018 [1943]). "The often-heard phrase of 'occidental-European philosophy' is in truth a tautology. Why? Because 'philosophy' is Greek in its essence (. . .) The sentence: philosophy is Greek in its essence, says nothing else than: the Occident and Europe, and only they, are originally 'philosophical' in their innermost course of history." Martin Heidegger, *What is philosophy*, transl. William Kluback and Jean T. Wilde, (New Haven: College and University Press, Twayne Publishers, 1958 [1956]), 13; volume 1 of *Kleine Schriften*.

14. More difficult is the question whether in the case of India and China, the same criterion can be applied, or whether perhaps there can be multiple origins of philosophy. The European-Asian strand of Intercultural Philosophy (Wimmer, Mall) argue for a plurality of the origin of philosophy, namely: for three origins of philosophy, i.e., Europe, India, and China. R. A. Mall and H. Hüllsmann, *Die drei Geburtsorte der Philosophie: China, Indien, Europa* (Bonn: Bouvier, 1989). Also, for these two authors, *Abya Yala* is a no-man's land in the philosophical sense, reflecting an intercultural (non-Eurocentric) but elitist and academic conception of "philosophy."

15. Josef Estermann, *Filosofía Andina: Estudio Intercultural de la Sabiduría Autóctona* (Quito: Abya-Yala, 1998). In 2006 a new extended edition was published: Josef Estermann, *Filosofía Andina. Sabiduría indígena para un mundo nuevo* (La Paz: ISEAT, 2006, reedition 2016), and in 2018 a Peruvian edition (based on the extended version: Josef Estermann, *Filosofía Andina: Estudio intercultural de la sabiduría autóctona andina* (Lima: Paulinas; Cusco: Seminario San Antonio Abad, 2018). The work is not published in English.

16. The argument that there cannot be "indigenous philosophies" and, therefore, Andean Philosophy, because it would not meet the requirements of textuality, individual authorship, binary discursivity, academic institutionality, etc., seems to me much more "colonial" and Eurocentric than that of indigenous intellectuals in the sense that the label "philosophy" was a non-indigenous characteristic imposed by a Western academic canon. This last argument does not seem convincing to me, because the introduction of elements foreign to one's own cosmo-spirituality is not a kind of "colonization," given that every culture and civilization is hybrid and impregnated by exogenous concepts.

17. Miguel León-Portilla, *La filosofía náhuatl estudiada en sus fuentes* (México: Ediciones especiales del Instituto Indigenista Interamericano, UNAM 1956, 2006). English edition: Miguel León-Portilla, *Aztec Thought & Culture: A Study of the Ancient Nahuatl Mind*, transl. Jack Emory Davis, Civilization of the American Indian Series, volume 67 (Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1990); C. Lenkersdorf, *Filosofar en clave tojolabal* (Mexico: Miguel Ángel Porrúa, 2002).

18. Among the critics in this sense, we can mention the quechuist and philosopher Mejía Huamán. See Mario Mejía Huamán, *Hacia una filosofía andina: Doce ensayos sobre el componente andino de nuestro pensamiento* (Lima: [publisher not identified] 2005). About a study on the controversy between Mejía Huamán and me see: V. Roccon, *Filosofia andina: Josef Estermann e Mario Mejía Huamán: Due approcci interculturali a confronto* (Trieste, 2012). The other non-indigenous critic argues from a Eurocentric position: D. Sobrevilla, La filosofía andina del P. Josef Estermann. *Solar* 4/4 (Lima) (2008): 231–247. (Sobrevilla wrongly lists me as a priest and adds the photo of another person with the same name, the former mayor of Zurich). One of the most recent publications affirming the existence of a pre-Hispanic Andean philosophy is: A. Palacios Liberato, *Filosofía andina prehispánica. Organización de textos y crítica* (Lima: Own editorial, 2021). See also J. Pacheco Farfán, *La Filosofía Inka y su proyección al futuro* (Cusco: Universidad San Antonio Abad, 1994). A quite distinct criticism of my position is: E. Hernández Soto, *La vieja y la nueva filosofía andina: Una crítica a Josef Estermann*. Not published manuscript (2021).

19. See in this regard the very concise work of Pablo Mella, "La interculturalidad en el giro descolonial," *Utopía y Praxis Latinoamericana* 26/93 (2021): 242–254.

20. See R. Zavaleta Mercado, *La autodeterminación de las masas* (Mexico City: Siglo XXI Editores; Buenos Aires: CLACSO, 2015).

21. Cf. in regard to this challenge the concept proposed by Raimón Panikkar: Josef Estermann, "Hermenéutica diatópica y Filosofía Andina: Esbozo de una metodología del Filosofar Intercultural," *Concordia. Revista Internacional de Filosofía* 77 (2020): 81–100.

22. See in this regard Josef Estermann, "Colonialidad, descolonización e interculturalidad: Apuntes desde la Filosofía Intercultural," in *Interculturalidad crítica y descolonización: Fundamentos para el debate* (La Paz: Instituto Internacional de Integración del Convenio Andrés Bello, 2009), 51–70; idem "Transformando interculturalmente la filosofía: Veinte años de recorrido por los Congresos Internacionales de Filosofía Intercultural," *Concordia. Revista Internacional de Filosofía* 69 (2016): 79–95.

23. See in this regard: Josef Estermann, "Hacia la transformación intercultural de la Teología de la Liberación: Aportes desde el contexto andino," in *Teologías de la Liberación e Interculturalidad*, org. Primer Encuentro Latinoamericano de Teologías de la Liberación e Interculturalidad (San José CR: Scbila), 85–105.

24. Postcolonial theory emerged from the Subaltern Studies Group around Palestinian literary scholar Edward Said ("Orientalism") and Indian historians Ranajit Guha and Dipesh Chakrabarty, and Indian literary critic Gayatri Spivak.

25. Raúl Fornet-Betancourt, one of the initiators of intercultural thought in philosophy, considers the anti-imperialist movement in Latin America as a precursor of decolonial thought, but without falling into the postmodern mirages of this in different authors: Raúl Fornet-Betancourt, "¿El movimiento antiimperialista en América Latina: Precursor del pensamiento decolonial y/o postcolonial?", in *Elementos para una crítica intercultural de la ciencia hegemónica* (Aachen: Wissenschaftsverlag Mainz, 2017), 77–119.

26. In Latin America, decolonial thinking was developed, above all, by the Modernity/Coloniality Group *(Grupo Modernidad/Decolonidad)* of (mostly) social scientists, the main voice of the so-called "decolonial turn." Apart from the recently deceased Aníbal Quijano, this group includes Walter Mignolo, Arturo Escobar, Santiago Castro Gómez, Ramón Grosfoguel, Agustín Lao Montes, Edgardo Lánder, Nelson Maldonado, Catherine Walsh and, as the only philosopher, Enrique Dussel. For an overview of this history and the various positions see: E. Restrepo and A. Rojas, *Inflexión decolonial: Fuentes, conceptos y cuestionamientos* (Popayán: Editorial de la Universidad del Cauca, 2010).

27. Boaventura de Sousa Santos, *Epistemologies of the South: Justice Against Epistemicide (*London: Taylor & Francis Ltd. 2009; 2014). See in this regard: Á. Infante, "El porqué de una 'epistemología del sur' como alternativa ante el conocimiento europeo," *Fermentum* Mérida—Venezuela 23/68 (2013): 401–411.

28. In this regard, see my contribution: Josef Estermann, "La pandemia del coronavirus como *pachakuti*: Una perspectiva desde la cosmo-espiritualidad y filosofía andina," *Poliedro—Revista de la Universidad de San Isidro* (Buenos Aires) 2/5 (2021): 18–30.

29. In the recent tradition of *Abya Yala*, we speak of "senti-pensar" (feeling-thinking) or "corazonar" (thinking with the heart) instead of a monological "thinking" and "reasoning." See. J. J. Capera, ed., *Discusiones, problemáticas y sentipensar latinoamericano: Pensamiento Crítico Latinoamericano*. Volume 1; *Estudios Descoloniales y Epistemologías del Sur Global*. Volume 2; *Experiencias, resistencias y praxis comunitarias*. Volume 3 (Buenos Aires: Arkho Ediciones, 2018; 2019). The plurality of "rationalities" (in a broad sense) is part of the presuppositions of inter-epistemic dialogues and diatopic hermeneutics, and not only of the topics to be "debated."

30. Josef Estermann, *Cruz & Coca: Hacia la descolonización de la Religión y la Teología* (Quito: Abya Yala, 2014). specially 39ff. Although the context is theological ("inculturation"), the metaphors can be applied to the dialectic between "essence" and "accidents" of cultures. The "peach" model argues for an essentialist conception, the "onion" model for a transformative and intercultural conception of "culture."

31. See: Raimon Panikkar, *La experiencia filosófica de la India* [Philosophical experience of India] (Madrid: Trotta, 1997).

32. In spite of the fact that the principle of non-contradiction (if A is true, –A cannot be true at the same time) which is logically equivalent to the principle of identity (A is A; A is not –A) and, of the excluded third (either A or –A is true) affirms a formal relation between propositions, in the Western tradition it is at the same time applied on a material and ontological (theological, cosmologic, psychological) level.

33. For more extensive explications, see: Josef Estermann, *Filosofía Andina: Sabiduría indígena para un mundo nuevo* [Andean Philosophy: Indigenous wisdom for a new world] (La Paz: ISEAT, 2006), 123–148. The principle of relationality is fundamental because the principles of complementarity, correspondence, and reciprocity are derived from it.

34. Although the semiotic group of the Latin root *concipio* (en. conceive, sp. *concebir*; fr. *concevoir*; it. *concepire*; por. *conceber*; ger. *konzipieren*) has been adapted (at least in English and Spanish) to the feminine field of sexuality and of theology (the Immaculate Conception), it has

conserved a significantly active, possessive, aggressive, that means, typically masculine meaning and use (in the sense of "grasp," "incorporate entirely").

35. The modern (and postmodern) tendency to replace organic processes and organisms by mechanic processes and robots reveal the male urge to substitute his deficiency to create life by the "conceptual creation" of an artificial world and in this way to dominate it as he likes.

36. This neologism (*gyné* and *sophía*) tries to avoid centrism ("ginocentrism") and logicism ("ginologism") and pretends to emphasize the prevalence of a "feminine" rationality (and wisdom).

37. The so-called "pachamamism" (of *pachamama*: "Mother Earth") exalts the feminine element (of fertility and regeneration) at the cost of its masculine complement (of fertilization and cultivation), which results in something that is incompatible with the principle of sexual complementarity that is so important in the Andes.

38. As is known, Rodolfo Kusch makes a distinction (which is possible only in Spanish) between the modes of "*ser*" (to be, as a personal characteristic that doesn't change ["I am tall"]) and of "*estar*" (to be, as a state that can change in time ["I am in the house"]) and identifies the last one with the cosmovision of the original peoples of *Abya Yala* ("Profound America"). See: Rodolfo Kusch, *Indigenous and Popular Thinking in America*, trans. María Lugones and Joshua M. Price, with an Introduction by Walter D. Mignolo (Duke University Press, Durham NC and London, 2010). Spanish original: Rodolfo Kusch, *El pensamiento indígena y popular en América Latina* (Buenos Aires: Hachette, 1970); Rodolfo Kusch, *América Profunda* [Profound America] (Buenos Aires: Hachette, 1962).

39. Josef Estermann, *Filosofía Andina: Sabiduría indígena para un mundo nuevo* [Andean Philosophy: Indigenous wisdom for a new world] (La Paz: ISEAT. 2006), 223ff. We are facing a terminological problem: In the West, the concept of 'sexuality' is limited to living beings, and, in a strict sense, to human beings. Therefore, it has a biological (and anthropological) acceptance in the sense of vital reproduction. For Andean philosophy 'sexuality' has a much wider significance (as in Tantric and Taoist traditions of East and Southeast Asia); it is a cosmic and transcendent feature in a biological ambiance. When speaking of "sexuity," I pretend to underline this cosmic and pachasophical feature of the polar condition of the elements of the three *pacha*, and not the reproductive, erotic, and genital dimensions in a stricter sense.

40. Feminist (Western) philosophy is step by step correcting the idea that women don't play a role of importance in the development of Western philosophy. Nevertheless, this rereading of the official histories of the West still does not include the diatopical perspective of gender and, therefore, still doesn't realize a deconstruction of current androcentrism.

41. In a lot of theologies, there has not been imposed the Semitic (Judaic-Christian) paradigm of the "communion" between the divine and the human (as is expressed in the "creation" and "incarnation"), but the Hellenic (Platonic) paradigm of a radical and absolute *dieresis* (gap) between the super-mundane and the mundane. Up to the theologies of the twentieth century, these dualisms determine the political, ecclesiastical, soteriological, and ethical debates, questioned with rising zest by contextual theologies of non-Western regions in the last fifty years.

42. There are works that intend to reflect on the complementarity of Western and Andean paradigms by means of the physical principle of complementarity (Heisenberg), identifying the West with the quantic theory of light being composed of particles (photons) and the Andes with the wave theory of light. See: J. Medina, *Diálogo de sordos—Occidente e Indianidad: Una aproximación conceptual a la educación intercultural y bilingüe en Bolivia* [Dialogue of the deaf - the West and Indianity: A conceptual approximation of intercultural and bilingual education in Bolivia] (La Paz: CEBIAE, 2000), 183–206.

43. For Andean Philosophy, the human being is the "caretaker" *(arariwa)* of nature, and not its exploiter or even its enemy. The central pachasophical function of the human being consists in maintaining the cosmic order and safeguarding the equilibrium between all spheres and complements (by means of the ritual).

44. To mention only the most important "shifts": the "anthropological shift" of the Renaissance, the "Copernican shift" of Kant, the "voluntarian shift" of Nietzsche and Schopenhauer, the "economical shift" of Marx, the "psychoanalytical shift" of Freud and Lacan, the "linguistic shift" of structuralism and the "deconstructivist shift" of postmodernism.

45. The systematic "suppression" by the (mono-)culturality of Western philosophy is being "rationalized" (to use psychoanalytic terminology) in terms of "universality," "supra-culturality," and even "absoluteness" of this philosophical tradition, equating "Occidental philosophy" with "PHILOSOPHY" as such and with capitals.

46. Intercultural Philosophy does not deny the universal pretension of philosophy, but only interprets "universality" as the "heuristic ideal" of a large process of intercultural dialogue between different contextual traditions, and not as an *a priori* of a certain tradition: a *petitio principii* as a violent act of self-definition. Instead of arriving at a universal "supra-cultural" philosophy, this intercultural dialogue aims at a "multiversal" philosophy (instead of a universal one).

47. It is certain that the concepts of 'monologue,' 'dialogue,' and 'polilogue' still have a strong reference to the logo-centric paradigm of the West; it might be better to speak of multilateral "interchange."

48. It is not just casual that I use terms that come from the philosophy of Emmanuel Levinas: the alterity and its recognition as such make it possible to "reveal" my own face, by the "glory" of the other, and not by the neurotic sameness of the self-definition of Western philosophy as "Philosophy" as such.

49. What is lacking is writing the "heretic history" of Western philosophy. What in the Middle Ages effectively was purified as "heretic" (remember the condemnations of 1277 by the bishop of Paris), in the Modern Age simply was left in oblivion and insignificance.

50. The most eloquent and radical expression of this pan-logic attitude is Hegel's conviction that "all real is intelligible and all the intelligible is real," a logo-centric totality that doesn't leave space for non-rational modes to approach reality, what reveals itself in the political and military field as violent and conquering.

51. Josef Estermann, *Hacia una filosofía del escuchar: Perspectivas de desarrollo para el pensamiento intercultural desde la tradición europea* (Aachen, *Concordia Reihe Monographien* vol. 19, 1996), 119–149.

52. From Plato to Heidegger, Western philosophy reaffirms this axiom—which entails a metaphysical determinism—in different positions and variants: we can only know something, because this something has the same "nature" as we have; so if the world is intelligible, it has to be, deep down, *logos*-morphic (sharing men's logical nature), Levinas has raised this issue of "selfhood" from the Semitic side and calls this connaturality "totality." Basically, the West has a recurrent problem with "otherness" and, therefore, with "transcendence." Hegel incorporates *(aufheben)* all kinds of "otherness" into "identity," they are what the dominant Western philosophy labels as "ideology." On the link between the metaphysical axiom of "connaturality" and epistemic determinism (absolute evidentialism), see: A. Vos, *Kennis en Noodzakelijkheid: Een kritische analyse van het absolute evidentialisme in wijsbegeerte en theologie* (Kampen: A. Kok, 1981).

53. Literally "the space above" (in Quechua and Aymara), that is, the space of meteorological and astronomical phenomena and of the tutelary spirits of the hills. The idea of a "sky" in the sense of an otherworld (hereafter) is totally alien to Andean cosmo-spirituality.

54. Thus, a Quechumara-Greek term to indicate at the same time incomparable otherness and commensurability. About *pacha* as a homeomorphic equivalent for the western "being," see: Josef Estermann, "Hermenéutica diatópica y Filosofía Andina: Esbozo de una metodología del Filosofar Intercultural," *Concordia* 77 (2020), 81–100; specially 94ff.

55. See in this regard "¿Progreso o *Pachakuti*?: Concepciones occidentales y andinas del tiempo," *Fe y Pueblo. Segunda época* 5 (2004):15-39; regarding the pandemic of the corona virus: Josef Estermann, "La pandemia del coronavirus como pachakuti. Una perspectiva desde la cosmo-

espiritualidad y filosofía andina," *Poliedro—Revista de la Universidad de San Isidro* (Buenos Aires) 2/5 (2021), 18–30.

56. See Josef Estermann, "La subjetividad como lugar cósmico de enlace (*chakana*): Reflexiones filosóficas acerca del sujeto en el contexto andino," *Itinerarios* (Journal of the Institute of Iberic and Latin American Studies of the University of Warsaw) 4 (2001): 21–43.

III

HUMANS AND IDENTITY IN A CULTURALLY DIVERSE WORLD

8

[Philosophical Reflections on Humans, Identity, and Intercultural Dialogue](#)

Vladislav A. Lektorsky

I knew Edward Demenchonok as my colleague at the Institute of Philosophy of the Russian Academy of Sciences, where he worked as a Senior Research Fellow in 1970–1995 in the Department of Contemporary Western Philosophy, next-door, while I was the Head of the Department of the Theory of Knowledge. Both departments have had friendly relationships between like-minded colleagues, who were devoted to philosophy and for whom philosophy was a way of life. We used to get together after the scholarly meetings or in celebration of our colleagues' birthdays with a traditional Russian tea and cake, accompanied by some intellectual discussions like improvised symposia.

At the Institute of Philosophy, Edward Demenchonok defended his dissertation (his advisor was Erikh Yu. Soloviev). Any dialogue needs an openness to the "other." As a researcher, he studied the currents of contemporary philosophy in Western Europe and the Americas, published a book on technocratism and culture in the United States, and was the first in Russia to publish about Latin American philosophy and the theology of

liberation. He also contributed to a number of collected volumes on the themes of philosophical anthropology, political philosophy, the philosophy of culture, and ethics. Edward Demenchonok was one of those like-minded colleagues tested by fire, a person of integrity and a true philosopher. He and I have continued our dialogue and philosophical collaboration, including at the meetings at the World Congresses of Philosophy.[1]

I would like to share some personal recollections about my colleagues in the Institute of Philosophy and some philosophical reflections about the social-political conditions in which they had to endure political and professional struggles for their ideas and values. That particular time period was challenging for philosophers, who were under pressure from ideological watchdogs. The noble form of culture, known in the history of thought as philosophy, was incompatible with the ideological dogma at that time. Like-minded colleagues, true philosophers, acted in solidarity in defending the status of philosophy as a special form of intellectual-spiritual culture with its rich heritage of thousands of years of history, categorical apparatus, internal logic of development, and, most importantly, the defense of the right to free thought about all cognitive and behavioral actions, social and spiritual phenomena, and the inexhaustible mystery of human existence.

In hindsight, looking back at that period, it is important to keep it in our memory and pay tribute to our colleagues, who, despite everything, were able to preserve their moral integrity, intellectual honesty, and civic courage to think and to speak out. They remain examples of true philosophers tested by fire. I am not only referring to the outstanding thinkers, frontrunners, and iconic figures, whose names are now in encyclopedias and books about the Russian philosophy of the second half of the twentieth century. These qualities are equally pertinent to those many colleagues at all levels who were on the side of philosophy opposing ideological dogmas, supporting intellectual leaders, and belonging to that milieu as the orchestra members behind the soloists together creating the living music of thought. Their efforts not only preserved the tradition of Russian philosophical thought but also made creative contributions and laid the ground for the subsequent rebirth of the phoenix of Russian philosophy. Traditions were laid at that time which are relevant today and which are very promising and can fruitfully interact with world philosophy.

Despite the ideological pressure, there was creative work by many brilliant philosophical thinkers whose ideas were innovative at that time. I was fortunate to know and to work with those thinkers personally in the Institute of Philosophy, and I would like to share some philosophical reflections based on my firsthand knowledge and experience of collaborating with them. I would also like, at least briefly, to outline their ideas, which were groundbreaking at that time and remain pertinent today.

In my contribution to the celebratory volume for Edward Demenchonok, I would first like to briefly describe the contributions of my fellow colleagues in the Institute of Philosophy to the revival of philosophical thought in Russia during the second half of the twentieth century. Then I will share some philosophical reflections concerning the problem of the human being facing new challenges in today's world. Finally, I will discuss some of the problems of culture and how intercultural dialogue is possible.

THE PHOENIX OF PHILOSOPHY: A REVIVAL OF PHILOSOPHY IN RUSSIA IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

In the late 1950s, Russian philosophy reached a turning point that proved to be an important part of the complex process of the de-Stalinization of Soviet society. It was the beginning of a new stage in the development of Russian philosophy, the essence of which can be summarized as follows: philosophy returned to the issues it was normally studying and resumed its creative work. It was, in short, a revival of philosophical thinking.[2]

During that period, outstanding minds and bright personalities associated with Russian and other cultures in the world, and who had both humanitarian and scientific knowledge, were working on developing our philosophy. There emerged a number of original thinkers who opposed the official dogma. They managed to come up with new ideas and major breakthroughs in research in a number of philosophical disciplines, including epistemology and the philosophy of science, ethics and anthropology, logic, and the history of philosophy. They inspired like-minded followers, creating philosophical schools and becoming a growing

movement for regaining true philosophy. It was a revival of philosophical thinking.

Initially, the non-dogmatic philosophical thought was largely focused on the philosophical analysis of knowledge and science, which was more distant from ideology and thus safer. In that time period, the problems of logic and the methodology of science were studied intensively by Evald Ilyenkov and Alexander Zinoviev, among others. They were critical toward the prevailing social situation but believed that positive changes could be brought through the development of scientific knowledge. It is precisely the reliance on scientific knowledge, on theoretical thinking and on philosophy as the reflexive and methodological basis of this thinking that can be the only possible way to change social reality. After all, the peculiarity of philosophy is that it not only approves certain moods or justifies an already established emotional reaction but also tries to understand, rationally comprehend what is, and perceive how this existing social reality can be changed. Philosophy is a criticism of what exists on the basis of its comprehension and understanding. Such a critical-reflexive position means that the study of thinking, the development of a theory of scientific knowledge is the life mission of philosophy, a peculiar way of social criticism and humanization of reality.

The study of dialectics acquired a new character. It was no longer understood as merely an ontological scheme but as the logic of the development of theoretical thought, as a method of the analysis and resolution of contradictions of thinking in the traditions of Hegel and Marx. Scientific theories came to be seen as multilayered open systems that comprised a number of relatively independent subsystems, the relations between which could not be properly described in terms of linear dependence (Vyacheslav Stepin). That understanding was ahead of the standard hypothetico-deductive model of scientific theory dominant in the Western philosophy of science at the time. A manyfold study of the problems of the philosophy of natural sciences progressed: the problem of causality in contemporary science, the principles of correspondence, complementarity, observability, reduction, the problem of global evolutionism, etc.

In the 1970s-1980s, many members of the philosophical movement (such as Merab Mamardashvili, Vladimir Bibler, and Genrikh Batishchev) became disappointed with its naïve scientism and shifted their interests

toward anthropological and value theory issues, ethics, the philosophy of culture, and the history of philosophy. They began to put forward anthropology as an independent field of inquiry, not as a derivative of epistemology and methodology. They developed some central anthropological conceptions, particularly a phenomenon of individual consciousness. Some philosophical anthropologists exposed phenomenological and existentialist ideas of Western and Russian philosophy and, in some cases, attempted to reinterpret Marxism along existentialist and anthropological lines.

They studied questions of the ontology of the human person, interpersonal relationships, and how they are governed by ethics and morality. An original conception emerged of the human being, understood as an autonomous being and endowed with a creative nature and the ability to become self-transcendent. The actualization of this ability is possible only through an individual's practical agency in the world and his/her participation in communal and social life. This conception motivated studies that examined such questions as an individual's relations to others (Batishchev) and individual's place in the structure of Being (Sergei Rubinstein).

The pioneering role was played by Evald Ilyenkov. He concentrated on the issues of personality, imagination, ideas, freedom of will, and social alienation. He developed an original interpretation of the ideal as residing in the forms of human activity, initially in the forms of collective activity, i.e., as a kind of objective reality contrasted with and related to the individual psyche.[3] This new interpretation went against the philosophical tradition that habitually linked the ideal to individual consciousness. Ilyenkov's concept resembled (somewhat) Karl Popper's idea of the "World 3" that came later, with the important difference that, according to Ilyenkov, the ideal can only exist in the framework of human collective activity and disappears when this activity stops. This concept strongly influenced both philosophy and human sciences, particularly psychology, and, more specifically, the followers of Lev Vygotsky's cultural-historical school: Alexey Leontiev and Vasily Davydov. Georgy Shchedrovitsky developed a "general theory of activity."

The activity approach was intensively elaborated in two ways. Firstly, it is a way of understanding human beings, their creative nature and ability to transcend any given situation. Secondly, it is an important methodological

principle of human sciences that made it possible to overcome the seemingly impenetrable barrier between the external and the internal subjective realities.[4] Philosophers, psychologists, systems technologists, and other specialists employed the activity approach in both the theoretical advancement of their discipline and practical problem-solving. This movement has continued successfully until the present day.

While the majority of philosophers involved in the new movement initially saw the principle of activity as the key to understanding the human being, some would later accentuate communication as the core feature of human existence, emphasizing that communication was not reduced to activity. This approach was elaborated by Genrikh Batishchev.[5]

Existential feelings and states such as faith, hope, and love came under scrutiny (Vladimir Shinkaruk). The interrelation of philosophy and natural science was the context of Ivan Frolov's analysis of the meaning of life and death. Mamardashvili proposed an anthropological theory that centered on the phenomenon of individual consciousness. He drew upon some ideas of phenomenology and existentialism in an attempt to link them to the idea of objectified ideal patterns and Marx's concept of transmitted forms of activity (Mamardashvili, Solovyov, and Shvyrev).[6] Rubinstein developed an original ontological anthropology that saw consciousness not as the opposite of being but as an integral feature of human existence and hence part of the being, which it augmented and restricted by its very presence. Bibler devised an original philosophy of culture as a means of understanding both cognition and the human being. That context of revived interest in the problems of the human being emphasized questions of morality, which acquired a prominent place in Russian intellectual and philosophical discourses. They also proved conducive to serious theoretical work in the field of ethics (e.g., by Oleg Drobnitsky and Abdusalam Guseynov). Alexander Zinoviev developed an original "logical sociology," which was a philosophical-scientific framework for the analysis of sociological and anthropological problems.[7]

Those years witnessed the new discovery of Mikhail Bakhtin, Alexey Losev, and Lev Vygotsky. Some of their previously unpublished writings became available and ideas were discussed. Bakhtin continued his creative work, coming up with a number of new ideas. Those concerning the interrelation of the Self and the Other in the process of dialogue, the complex dialectic of the "consciousness for the Self" and "the

consciousness for the Other," the dialogical and polyphonic structure of consciousness and culture, the methodology of humanities, and a new philosophical anthropology with the substantiation of the uniqueness and importance of personality—all these ideas were far ahead of his time. The publication of Losev's eight-volume *History of Ancient Aesthetics* (1963–1994) was an important philosophical event. Another salient event that transcended professional boundaries and had a wide cultural effect was the publication of the five-volume *Encyclopedia of Philosophy* in the 1960s and 1970s. This new philosophical movement established close links with a number of leading scholars of literature, linguistics, and history (Sergey Averintsev, Vyacheslav Ivanov, Yuri Lotman, Aron Gurevich, and others). The ideas proposed by Russian philosophers in those years did not die with their time, but many of them remain truly topical and quite capable of counteracting with the approaches proposed by the world philosophy nowadays.

The leading journal *Voprosy filosofii* [Questions of Philosophy] played an exceptional role in the philosophical life of that time. In the 1960s and 1970s, when Ivan Frolov was its Editor-in-Chief and Merab Mamardashvili was his deputy, the journal became a platform for discussions not only for philosophers but also for many intellectuals regarding controversial issues of the time, including those related to ecology, culture, education, and history.

I have also been the Editor-in-Chief of *Voprosy filosofii* since 1988 till 2009. Our journal actively participated in intercultural philosophical dialogue. Its editorial board has included such well-known philosophers as Jürgen Habermas and Paul Ricoeur. Many foreign colleagues published their articles in the journal. Thanks to the journal, my contacts with foreign philosophers have expanded significantly. In 1988, at the World Congress of Philosophy in Brighton (England), I was elected a member of the Board of Directors of the International Federation of Philosophical Societies (FISP), and from 1993 to 1998 I was the vice-president of this federation. While working in the federation, I met such famous people as the Italian philosopher Evandro Agazzi, the philosopher from Turkey Ioanna Kuchuradi (the former president of FISP), and the Swiss philosopher Guido Küng. In 2000, Vyacheslav Stepin and I were elected members of the International Institute of Philosophy, headquartered in Paris. I established close contacts with the famous American-Finnish philosopher and logician

Jaakko Hintikka and philosophers from England, Sweden, and Spain. In 1995, I worked for some time at the Center for the Philosophy of Science of the University of Pittsburgh (USA), where I established contacts with a number of interesting philosophers, especially Adolf Grünbaum and Nicholas Rescher. Since 1989, I have been a member of the International Society for the Research of Activities in the Context of Culture, which includes philosophers, psychologists, sociologists, and educators. The publication of the 22 volumes of *Russian Philosophy in the Second Half of the Twentieth Century* was a significant event in the reconstruction of the history of philosophy.[8]

Today, we are facing a complex set of problems, primary among which are the information civilization, the ecological crisis, a new view of the human being, the problem of "I" and personality, the possibility of rational thinking, and ways of rational understanding of the world. There are also some other themes of inquiry: the problem of faith and knowledge takes on different forms; the issue of trust—to what extent and in what way can one trust another; the problem of cognition as a collective process. There is the problem of the unity of consciousness: does it not disappear, and, with it, the person? Each of these and other emerging problems pose new challenges to philosophy.

The running thread in the renaissance of philosophy in Russia was the problem of the human being in a world of culture. It developed in various dimensions and from different perspectives, and it remains relevant for contemporary discussions regarding the self, personal identity, cultural diversity, and intercultural dialogue. In what follows, I will elaborate on the problem of the human being facing new challenges in today's world, the related problems of self and personal identity, and conditions for intercultural dialogue.

TOWARD AN UNDERSTANDING OF THE HUMAN: PHILOSOPHICAL REFLECTIONS REGARDING "I"

The philosophical anthropology developed in Russia during the late twentieth century obtained a new impetus and developed further in the twenty-first century. The problem of the human being is becoming central to many disciplines, from philosophy and psychology to sociology and

genetics. At the same time, a discussion of this problem is possible only if the efforts of different scientific disciplines are integrated. The academician Ivan Frolov was perspicacious when, more than two decades ago, he realized that the problem of the human being is acquiring a new and, moreover, exceptional—both theoretical and practical, and in some respects dramatic—significance and that its solution is possible only by combining the efforts of different scientific disciplines.[9]

The Emergence of Post-non-classical Approaches to an Understanding of "I"

European philosophy and all the sciences about the human, starting with René Descartes, proceeded from the position (which seemed indisputable) that a subject can have the most reliable knowledge only about his/her own consciousness and that knowledge about the external world and other persons is quite problematic, if not impossible. From the point of view of postmodernists, the problem of the relationship between a subject and the world should be formulated in exactly the opposite way: if there exists a world of real objects and events, a world of other people, then how is "I" possible in this world, or is it possible at all? There was consequently a reversal in the initial thesis on which not only European philosophy but also the entirety of European culture were based. This, of course, is a significant fact that makes one think about the fate of this culture.

"I" is the wholeness of an individual's life that is given directly to them. "I" perceives themselves as the center of consciousness, as the self to whom the thoughts, desires, and experiences of the individual subject belong. At the same time, "I" is the unity of the individual biography; it is what guarantees individual self-identity. Finally, the "I" is what controls the subject's body; it is the authority that ensures the free adoption of individual decisions and is responsible for their implementation and consequences.

Historically, different ways of formulating and solving the problem of "I," or the "self," have been associated with different stages of cultural development and, at the same time, express different understandings of an individual and of the possibilities of cognition and self-knowledge, as well as different interpretations of philosophy itself.

"I" as the problem of the individual's self-perception, as the problem of the "internal" access to the self, was at the center of philosophy in

modernity. During this period, the understanding of philosophy as a way toward the self-determination of a free personality, one which relies only on itself, on its own strengths of feeling and reason to find the ultimate foundations of life, has been sharpened. This understanding, expressed by Descartes in the famous tenet *"Cogito ergo sum,"* can be considered classical.

At the same time, the Cartesian understanding of subjective experience as absolutely certain and self-reliant gave rise to a number of difficult problems that philosophers have tried to solve. The most radical and, in some respects, paradoxical solution was given by representatives of philosophical empiricism (David Hume and Ernst Mach). Another response was given by the philosophical transcendentalists (Immanuel Kant). A somewhat different solution to the problem of "I" was proposed by Edmund Husserl within the framework of his transcendental phenomenology, which can be considered as the doctrine of the transcendental "I" or "egology."

The *non-classical* understanding of "I," which was developed in the philosophy of the twentieth century, refuses the understanding of the self-formulated by Descartes. However, this does not mean abandoning the problem itself. "I" is understood as an expression of fundamental dependencies associated, firstly, with the inclusion of a person in the world of objects and situations through his body and, secondly, with the relationship of a person with other people, including through communication. At the same time, the non-classical understanding opens up new dimensions of the problem, which should be singled out.

1. *The corporeal incarnation of "I."* Jean Piaget, Edmund Husserl, and Jean-Paul Sartre are right in stating that the subject's perception of his/her body and actions differs from the perception of objects and situations external to him/her and cannot be understood by analogy with the latter. These philosophers are incorrect about something else, however: in their interpretation of self-perception as an initial experience and the perception of external objects and situations as a derivative experience.
2. *"I" as a product of communicative interactions with other people.* In the non-classical approach, "I" is not something initially and primarily given. It arises under certain conditions, or rather, it is created in the

interaction of the individual with other people and does not exist outside these relations.

This understanding of "I" in the non-classical approach is interpreted in different ways in different concepts. For example, Sartre emphasizes that the "I" is not only alien to the nature of individual consciousness (which merges with its body in its subjective givenness) but, in a certain sense, distorts its characteristics. Knowledge about "I" does not give true knowledge about a person. "I" as an act of self-reflection and as its object arises from the relationship of the individual with others. This process goes through several stages. At first, a person feels themselves an object of another (for example, when the other is looking at them) but does not fully know themselves in this regard. It is only as a result of speech communication that a full-fledged "I" emerges. Since the "I," as it were, blocks the real life of the subject from themselves (being, according to Sartre, an example of "false consciousness"), the subject tries to get rid of "I." But the subject cannot do this because life in the company of other people forces the consciousness to take on the image of "I." The only thing that the consciousness can do is to constantly change its "I," changing its image of the self (one is inseparable from the other). This constant change is, according to Sartre, an important indicator of the authenticity of life.

A different understanding of "I" is given by the Russian philosopher Mikhail Bakhtin. He emphasizes the difference between self-perception ("I" for oneself) and the perception of an individual by another ("I" for another). At the same time, the "I" can become a full-fledged self only by referring to oneself from the point of view of another person: "our real exterior can be seen and understood only by other people, because they are located outside us in space and because they are *others*."[10] After all, the other sees in a given individual what the latter, in principle, cannot: their face and body in its wholeness and the latter's relation to the objects and people around them. The other, with his/her "excess of vision," complements the given individual by helping him/her better see (and understand) him/herself. By assimilating the point of view of another, a person does not "distort" their consciousness (as Sartre believes) but, on the contrary, gets an opportunity for its development. "I" needs another person for self-realization. All aspects of the life of one's consciousness, including emotional experiences,

thoughts, and the image of oneself, presuppose an attitude towards oneself, as it were, from the outside, that is, from the point of view of the other.

A very interesting and promising concept of "I" has been developed by the British philosopher and psychologist Rom Harré, who tried to rethink a number of ideas of the outstanding Russian psychologist Lev Vygotsky and the late Ludwig Wittgenstein. According to Harré, the self is discursive and is the product of a certain kind of communication. Harré argues that the unified self (or "I") emerges through everyday discourse:

> The fundamental human reality is a conversation, effectively without beginning or end, to which, from time to time, individuals may make contributions. All that is personal in our mental and emotional lives is individually appropriated from the conversation going on around us and perhaps idiosyncratically transformed. The structure of our thinking and our feeling will reflect, in various ways, the form and content of that conversation. The main thesis of this work is that mind is no sort of entity, but a system of beliefs structured by a cluster of grammatical models.[11]

"I" is not a subjectively experienced givenness of consciousness, therefore it cannot be found in a simple description of the latter. "I" is a concept, one might even say a certain theory. It is not invented by an individual person but is assimilated by each individual in the process of his/her communications with representatives of a certain culture. Since cultures differ from each other in space and history, "I" can also have differences. Consciousness, autobiography, and agency are the three unities that make up our personal being. In our culture, "I" has three functions: a) it expresses the formal unity of consciousness, playing the role of its center; b) it characterizes the unity and continuity of individual life, biography; and c) it embodies the agent of actions carried out on the basis of freely accepted decisions. Each of these functions (including the possibility of free choice) can be performed only as a result of the individual assimilation of certain "collective ideas" about consciousness and cognition, about the individual, his/her capabilities, rights and obligations, and the values of life. In this regard, Harré considers it necessary to distinguish between the two selves. One of them refers to the individual as existing in space and time and as they are included in a particular culture. This "I" expresses the responsibility of a person for their actions and presupposes the presence of memory and unity of biography, as a result of which this "I" is responsible not only for what a person has just done but also for what he/she has done in the past. This kind of "I" is inherent in all cultures, since no social life is

possible without it. But there is another "I" that is inherent in the individual but cannot be localized in space and time. This "I" expresses the presence of a certain "inner world," which is the subject of a reflexive attitude on the part of the second "I." The "inner world" of consciousness does not exist initially (as the classical philosophers believed) but is constructed as a result of the development of the external communications of a person with other people (Harré uses several of Vygotsky's ideas here). However, it does not express the original nature of consciousness at all, as the transcendentalist philosophers thought, and it is not a thing-in-itself, as Kant believed. It is simply a social construct inherent in a particular type of culture. In the case of the so-called "altered states of consciousness," the "I" may temporarily disappear. In short, the modern "I" is a fragile formation, possible only in certain cultural and historical conditions.

Today, we can talk about the emergence of *post-non-classical* approaches to the understanding of the self, which are currently questioning some of the theses of the non-classical understanding. The post-non-classical approach to the self is centered around two points.

First, the *bodily embodiment* of "I." Attention is drawn to the fact that at least one of the functions of the "I," namely the one that ensures the unity of biography, can be embodied not only in individual memory but also in texts that testify to individual life. In this case, we can say that the "I" exists not only in the body's shell but also in the form of various texts or files (the file "I"). This, however, is not a full-fledged existence of the "I." Nevertheless, a contemporary individual has to communicate with another "I" more and more often through his/her incarnations in files (in particular, in the case of telecommunications). Since one and the same file related to "I" can be located in different places simultaneously, we can say that the file "I," despite being unique and individual, can exist in many copies at the same time.

If "I" is nothing more than a certain system of discourses, then can this system be realized in a different body shell, just as one and the same program can be realized by different computers? This issue is the subject of discussions today among philosophers and specialists in artificial intelligence.

Second, *the disappearance of "I" as a result of communicative interactions*. A number of researchers accept the idea of Bakhtin and Harré that the "I" is the result of communicative relations with others and, at the

same time, draw from this the conclusion that the "I" itself has disappeared in contemporary cultural and social conditions. These theorists (mostly adherents of postmodern attitudes) try to substantiate this conclusion by analyzing two factors. One, the different streams of communication into which a contemporary person is drawn are so numerous and heterogeneous (and sometimes incommensurable) that individual consciousness is not able to integrate them in the form of a unity of "I." The other factor is that all traditions with the hierarchy of values embodied in them, without exception, have lost their authority today and cannot be considered incontestable. Therefore, the "I" as an agent of action, which presupposes the presence of "collective norms" about the rights and obligations of individuals and responsibility for their actions, loses its meaning. These theorists believe that the "I" cannot be regarded as the author of its actions, for it reacts mainly in accordance with the communication systems in which it was accidentally involved. "I" is not the author of its own texts, for the latter are in reality nothing more than collages glued together from other texts. From the point of view of the theorists of postmodernism (e.g., Kenneth Gergen), "I" once existed and expressed the characteristics of individual life in a particular culture. But now, from their point of view, having become fragmented, the "I" disappears.

In the postmodern interpretation of "I," a number of problems of modern culture are revealed. Overall, however, this interpretation is hardly acceptable. The inclusion of the "I" in different streams of communications does not engender its dissolution in them at all. The development of culture does not lead to the erasing of the role of individuality, of authorship, but leads to the growth of individualization, to an increase in the role of creativity. Of course, we can talk about a change in types of personality, about a change in the nature of "I," and, possibly, about a change in forms of self-identification. But by no means can we talk about the disappearance of the "I." If the postmodernists were right, culture and man would have no future.

Much more interesting and promising is the program of the communicative interpretation of "I" in line with the ideas of Bakhtin and Harré. This program involves the comprehension of contemporary materials in psychology, cultural studies, and linguistics. The role of the philosopher in its implementation consists of identifying and analyzing the various semantic structures included in such a complex formation as "I" and in

studying the relationships between these structures—not only those that exist today but also those that are possible in other situations. Such an analysis can shed light on possible directions for changing culture and people.

THE HUMAN BEING FACED WITH NEW CHALLENGES

Talk about the "death of man" has been going on for a long time. Michel Foucault, who was then a structuralist, was one of the first to speak about it. This theory was taken up by the neo-Marxist Louis Althusser, who formulated the idea of "theoretical antihumanism." Then the postmodernists started frequently talking about it and in different versions ("death of the author," "disappearance of the subject," etc.). Today, in some philosophical circles, the thesis of the "death of man" is even considered trivially obvious. Sometimes, "the death of man" is interpreted as a logical consequence of Nietzsche's declaration of the "death of God."

Of course, one should not agree with the postmodernists when they claim that a person, as we presently know him/her, is irrevocably perishing and will not continue to retain those qualities that we are used to associating with their human essence. Nevertheless, we have to admit that the question of the future of the human being and the human race (in the thermonuclear age) is in fact very real and is much more acute today than ever before. Therefore, the discussion about the possible "death of man" is still relevant.

Until recently, it seemed self-evident that if earthly civilization is preserved, then humans will also be preserved because it is people who are its carriers. Today, some theorists talk about the "posthuman" future (Francis Fukuyama) because those who will live in a new civilization may not be like those whom we have called "humans" until now. The question of the individual today is really the most important and acute issue, starting with questions about what a human being is, what his/her nature is (as is now clear, we still do not know this very well), what line separates him/her from the "non-human," and whether it is necessary to protect and save a person, and if it is, then whether it is possible, and if it is, then what should be done to achieve this.

A human being, as we know, is a natural-artificial creature. Humans created an artificial civilization (tools, language, culture, social institutions)

and thus themselves as both creators and product of this civilization.

Indeed, the entire history of humankind is the history of the transformation of what is given naturally. However, the transformation and "conquest" of nature, which has been successfully carried out with the help of science and technology for several centuries, has led to a contemporary ecological crisis that calls the future of humankind into question because the changes made in the human's external habitat are incompatible with the human's biological nature, with his/her corporeality, and a human being, having become an artificial being, has not ceased to be a natural being at the same time.

Recently, other problems have also appeared—the results of the latest stage in the development of science and technology, the emergence of new information technologies (television, computers, communication via the Internet), and the entry of the most developed countries into the so-called "information society." The high speed of knowledge renewal, characteristic of the information society, entails rapid changes in social structures and institutions that embody this knowledge and its types and methods of communication. Many social processes become something ephemeral, existing for a relatively short time. The integration of the past and the future into a single chain of events, forming an individual biography and underlying the personality, the "I," turns out to be difficult in some cases. But it is not only that. Any rational action involves not only taking into account its possible consequences but also correlating the chosen means with the norms of behavior that exist in society—with collective ideas about what is permitted and what is not allowed—as well as with the ideas of the acting subject about himself/herself, about his/her biography, about commitments made in the past, about belonging to a particular collective community, that is, with what is called individual identity.

Meanwhile, the contemporary Western world is experiencing a crisis of individual identity. There is also the beginning of a crisis of several collective identities. This is due to the destruction of many customary norms, the ephemerality of social processes, the difficulty of integrating the past and the future, different communication flows, and different systems of social interactions at the individual level. More and more individuals are characterized by polyidentity or "blurred identity," whose consciousness is fragmented and who cannot answer the question of who they are ("Who am I?"). This is no longer a person in the usual sense of the word, since the

most important condition for normal human life (from the point of view of the norm that has been indisputable until now) is the existence of the unity of consciousness, both synchronous and diachronous. According to Kant, the unity of individual consciousness is an a priori condition for its possibility. But it is precisely this unity that is called into question today, according to the results of a number of sociological and psychological studies. Since "I" is impossible without the unity of consciousness, it can be concluded that "I," in the strict sense of the word, is disappearing.

Kenneth Gergen, the famous American specialist in the field of social psychology, has tried to prove that the "I" is fragmented and then disappears from the contemporary person. According to him, due to profound cultural changes, "the firm sense of self, close relationships, and community were being replaced by the multiplicitous, the contingent, and the partial" and by "a world of mercurial shifts in meaning and allegiance." The saturation process in society, coupled with shifts "toward insularity, breathless bewilderment, techno-being, and organization/disorganization," has resulted in the "saturated self," that is, in a loss in the sense of a coherent center of being, of what was traditionally taken to be the "true self."[12]

But it is clear that an individual who has no "I" and whose life is divided into a series of unrelated episodes cannot be held responsible for their actions and thus cannot be considered a person in the hitherto accepted sense of the word. It turns out that, apparently, the person seems to disappear . . .

A person included in the modern system of mass communications has turned out to be very susceptible to all kinds of propaganda influences. These are used in contemporary public relations and so-called political technologies. The main goal of public relations professionals is not to develop a person's rational abilities but, on the contrary, to deaden their critical thinking. The old ideal of European culture—an autonomous individual who may freely and without any external pressure make decisions based on his/her own reflections—seems less achievable today than it was 100 years ago. Contemporary information technologies provide new opportunities for manipulating consciousness, for suppressing human freedom.

These technologies create yet another threat to the existence of the ordinary "I" and thus to the person who he/she has been up to now. Internet

users can communicate with each other, creating a special virtual "I" that can be very different from their real self. In cyberspace, the line between the real and the unreal (the imaginary) is blurring. Several years ago, the *American Directory of Mental Illness* (which is updated annually) introduced a new illness: Internet addiction. However, some theorists believe that life in cyberspace will just be a way of life for future representatives of earthly civilization and that this will no longer be considered a pathology but the new norm. If these theorists are right, then it seems likely a "posthuman" civilization will emerge in the future.

Here is another contemporary challenge to our understanding of man. These are attempts to change the very corporeality of humans by influencing their genetic system, to create a more "perfect" person, highly adapted to the performance of certain specific functions. The problem that arises in this regard is connected not so much with the possibility or impossibility of such experiments (as Nikolay Berdyaev wrote, the peculiarity of utopia is not that it does not exist, but that it can be realized), but rather with the fact that such kinds of interference can lead to irreversible consequences, similar to the results of humans' impact on nature: a person can cease to be a person. Meanwhile, our entire culture, our morality, our ideas about democracy are based on that human corporeality, with its inherent capabilities, with that distribution of abilities between individuals that, until now, was considered inherent in the very understanding of the humanness.

Finally, contemporary neuropsychiatric research leads specialists to the conclusion that the usual ideas for us about the unity of consciousness and the unity of "I" are nothing more than an illusion. According to some of these researchers, the human psyche has several centers (if you like, several "I"), and only the traditions of our culture force us to disregard this reality. But this means that a new type of being, or rather, a non-human, a posthuman being, will emerge, and therefore the step beyond the human dimension of civilization will be realized. In light of all these factors, the postmodernist thesis about the "end of man" no longer seems strange.

A number of consequences can be drawn from this thesis. In particular, that today there is no need to try to preserve one's identity. As a practical line of behavior, something else is recommended: the cultivation of a cynically playful attitude to life, the constant change of roles and social

masks, the "augur's smile." According to post-modernists, a person dissolves in his/her relationships with others, dissolves in others.

But is it necessary to agree with the postmodernist thesis about the presumed "end of man"? I think not. But what, in this case, can be opposed to this thesis, and, most importantly, how can we understand the realities that I discussed before if we assume that a person can and should preserve those qualities that constitute him as a person: self-identity, unity of consciousness, the presence of "I," habitual corporeality, etc.?

It seems to me that postmodernists address some real and acute problems. But they interpret them one-sidedly, without taking into account their other dimensions, being, in a number of respects, superficial and even naïve. I will not formulate my objections to them on all these issues in detail in this text; I will only mention the most important points.

First of all, I would like to draw attention to the fact that the contemporary stage of civilization's development, which is called the information society, and which is accompanied by the process of globalization, is characterized by rapid processes, the frequent occurrence of abnormal, extraordinary situations, and increases in the degree of risk. Finding a way out of these situations, in which an individual often finds themselves, requires him/her to make his/her own and at the same time creative, non-standard solutions. This means that contemporary civilization greatly increases its demands on individuals, who can no longer hide behind the anonymous decision of a faceless collective but must act responsibly at their own peril and risk. The consequences of this are an increase in the role of the individual in social life, an increase in individualization, and an increase in personal responsibility.

Free action of the individual—responsibility is impossible without freedom—is the basis of collective activity that generates social institutions and culture. And it is freedom and responsibility that are the knots that tie the unity of consciousness and the "I" itself. After all, it is "I" that is the authority for making free decisions. Only in the presence of the unity of consciousness is responsibility for actions possible, which is inconceivable if consciousness disintegrates into fragments that are not connected with each other, if the past is not connected with the present and future. "I," like the entire sphere of subjective reality, including human freedom, really is a socio-cultural structure. The "I," however, does not become something unreal from this. That is because both social institutions and cultures are

objective reality, albeit of a different kind than natural reality. Subjectivity is also reality, albeit specific.

Of course, in contemporary civilization, the individual is faced with many problems that did not exist until recently. Indeed, a person's identity is often challenged today, and it is going through a crisis. It is also true that a crisis of many collective identities has arisen. Today, a person is involved in many information streams and has to play many different social roles. Individual identity is beginning to be a more complex entity than it was before, something like unity in diversity, and sometimes something like polyidentity. But this means that the task of integrating various kinds of activities into the unity of the "I" can be more difficult in some cases, but this is a task that the individual must somehow accomplish. Sometimes he/she does not accomplish it, but if such cases become widespread, then not only the "I" but also the very fabric of sociality itself disintegrates. To think that culture and society can survive the death of a person as an individual "I" is absurd. Meanwhile, there is no reason to think that humanity is willing to commit suicide. Therefore, the task of saving a person, helping a person to preserve his/her personality and corporeality, and with it the salvation of culture, is quite practical.

One of the important means for solving this problem is the preservation of traditional cultural values, which should balance instrumental rationality and the unrestrained projective-constructive tendency of contemporary civilization. This is one of the tasks of contemporary philosophy. Historically, philosophy has always offered self-critiques of culture as an important means of its transformation. Philosophy continues to have this role. But today, it is equally important to protect and support the traditional values of freedom, rationality, personality, and individual corporeality. Without such support, without their conscious cultivation by different cultural means (including the education system, various social institutions, a system of restrictions on experimenting with human corporeality, etc.), these values are unlikely to be preserved, which means that human existence will also be threatened. Work in this direction, involving the study of real social, cultural, and mental processes and the correlation of contemporary cultural shifts with the traditions of European culture, is one of the most important problems that humanity faces today.

The idea of "I" spread by postmodernists turns out to be superficial in a number of respects. In fact, as can be shown, the "I," being one, is at the

same time multilayered. A number of psychologists and philosophers distinguish the "reflective" "I" from the "reflected" "I." For example, Bakhtin talked about "I-for-myself" and "I-for-the-other,"[13] while Sartre wrote about "being-for-oneself" as the center of consciousness and "I" as a social construct. Even if the "social I" goes through a crisis and loses its identity, this does not necessarily mean that the reflective "I" also loses its identity. This usually does not happen. Moreover, it is the "reflective self" ("personal I," as Harré calls it) that finds a way out of the identity crisis of the "social I" and builds a new "I" with the help of existing cultural and social resources in the process of interaction with other people. So, the complete disappearance of the "I," of the subject, which postmodernists claim to occur, usually does not happen. The cynically ironic position taken by some postmodernists cannot become a line of behavior either as a general model or as a way of life for an individual. In critical situations, when life and death depend on the choice made (and such situations are becoming more and more frequent in contemporary society), a reckless style of behavior turns out to be impossible. It is true that the "own I," "the true I," which governs different social roles, reflects on the "social I" and can change it, is also nothing more than a socio-cultural phenomenon. But this is a phenomenon of the kind without which contemporary sociality is impossible. Yet, this does not mean that this "I" is invulnerable. It can be destroyed, like everything in a person, for a human being is a fragile creature. But the destruction of this "personal I," like the disintegration of the "social I," would mean the death of contemporary society.

As for life in virtual reality as a new, "posthuman" way of life, it should be kept in mind that those realities in which a person lives (and there are indeed several of them) are unequal and cannot displace each other. There is an original and basic reality of the lifeworld: the everyday environment (including the world of physical objects, other people, events, etc.) and everyday interpersonal contacts. There are special cases and derivatives from this basic reality, however: in particular, the ideal reality (the one that Karl Popper calls the "world 3"),[14] subjective reality, and virtual reality. Normal human life is possible only with certain relationships between these realities, provided that they interact harmoniously. Therefore, it must be assumed that "escaping into the virtual world," replacing the real "I" with a virtual one, will not happen if a person is concerned about preserving his/her sociality and culture. But there are undoubtedly problems here, and

they need to be studied and thought about in order to find ways to resolve them.

I conclude by expressing the hope that the person will not disappear. A person changes and inevitably has to change. Today, we are faced with new, extremely acute problems, with new challenges to our very existence. These problems need to be studied (and this is possible today only with the interaction of different approaches), and they need to be solved. We need to talk about them, we need to draw public attention to them. For this is not just a topic of academic research, but a question of the fate of our culture.

HOW INTERCULTURAL DIALOGUE IS POSSIBLE

Each culture is somehow related to others. In the past, there were cultures that seemed completely isolated from everyone else (you can hardly find anything like that today). But in any case, each culture correlates itself with others at least through opposition ("we" and "they"). Mikhail Bakhtin, in the context of his dialogical understanding of man, consciousness, and culture, formulated the thesis that culture exists "on the border." This thesis is sometimes interpreted as a statement that each culture always and necessarily interacts with others. I think that Bakhtin's statement should be understood in a slightly different sense. It means that each culture always, in one way or another, correlates itself with others. Of course, in history, cultures have usually interacted with others. But there were times when at least some of them tried to isolate themselves from such interactions.

In world colonial empires, their unity was created artificially and violently and by suppressing different cultures in the name of one—the dominant one. No empire, however, was able to achieve cultural unification, while within the framework of some of them there was some fruitful cultural interaction (for example, the interaction of Greek and Roman cultures in the Roman Empire). However, the imperial way of creating cultural unity turned out to be historically doomed, since it was aimed not at cultural diversity but at cultural homogenization. Today, the problem of the relationship between different cultures appears in a new context. This is the phenomenon of globalization. It presupposes the spread of a market economy throughout the world, the emergence and development of transnational corporations, and the existence of global

political organizations. New information and communication technologies (the Internet, television, mobile telephony, etc.) play a particularly important role in this process.

Globalization not only creates new economic and political ties between different regions of the world but also generates a kind of "global culture," the most obvious form of which is so-called "mass culture." More recently, it seemed that a new global culture would replace modern cultural diversity. Today, it is clear that this has not happened and cannot happen. It is impossible for a person who is autonomous in his/her decisions and responsible for his/her actions to be without individual self-identification. But the latter does not exist without group and cultural identification. Global identification is not enough in this case.

The idea of cosmopolitanism may seem attractive to some. But this does not exclude the importance of cultural identification. The very idea of cosmopolitanism is changing. As Edward Demenchonok shows, in response to the challenges of homogenizing globalization, traditional cosmopolitanism has evolved significantly and has been replaced by a "new cosmopolitanism," which recognizes cultural diversity and is characterized as being rooted, reflexive, critical, democratic, dialogic, and transformative.[15]

In addition, one's involvement in global culture can be different: in this respect, it is sufficient to compare a clerk of a transnational corporation and an African peasant. Despite globalization being in opposition to it and, perhaps, its result, cultural diversity in the world is not decreasing but increasing. The new term "glocalization" (a combination of globalization and localization) has appeared. The idea of multiculturalism has become popular. But in this regard, a number of problems arise.

How can different cultures that are based on different ways of understanding the world and man and different systems of values and norms interact with each other? Cultural relationships can be understood and practiced in many different ways, first of all, through tolerance. There are at least two ways to interpret this concept.

The first is tolerance as indifference to the existence of different values, ways of understanding the world, and cultural practices, since these differences are considered insignificant in the face of the main problems that civilization is dealing with. In accordance with this understanding of tolerance, true ideas about the world and the rules of social life can be

rationally substantiated and therefore should be accepted as something undeniable for every reasonable person. But people also have certain ideas, the truth of which cannot be unconditionally recognized. These are, first of all, values and ideas about the world that are specific to a particular culture. They are accepted on non-rational grounds and play an important role in self-identification. As for true statements, rationally grounded moral and legal norms, one cannot be tolerant of those who do not accept them or violate them. But even in this case, it should be kept in mind that the truth cannot be imposed by means of physical or propaganda influence. A person should agree with a true statement or with a rational norm of behavior only as a result of independent reasoning. Therefore, it is necessary to suppress actions that violate the reasonable norms of the community and, at the same time, to tolerate, within certain limits, unreasonable views. It is desirable to create conditions for those who share unreasonable views in which they would abandon such views and accept what is undoubtedly reasonable and justified. According to this understanding of tolerance, differences in cultural values will gradually decrease as civilization develops—which will be the result of the interaction of different cultures, the need to solve common practical problems.

But tolerance can be understood in another way: as respect for another culture, even if it cannot be understood and with which it is impossible to interact. In accordance with this understanding of tolerance, specific values and ideas about the world of a particular culture are not insignificant for human activity and the development of society but determine the ways and means of this activity and this development. The pluralism of cultural values and ideas about the world cannot be avoided, since they are rooted in human nature and are associated with the need for self-identification. According to this understanding, cultures are incommensurable. There is no privileged system of views and values. The only exception is the idea that all human beings, regardless of race, gender, or nationality, have the same rights to physical life and cultural development. Different cultures do not have contact with each other, as they exist in different worlds.

So, one understanding of tolerance comes from indifference to other cultures, the other from the inability to understand them. But these two different understandings have something in common. Both of them presuppose the preservation of existing cultural differences and do not allow their change and development. The popular idea of multiculturalism

is often equated with tolerance. Since it has now become clear that tolerance and multiculturalism understood in this way do not work in practice and, moreover, can lead to unpleasant social consequences, they are criticized. In the politics of liberal multiculturalism, as noted by Edward Demenchonok, "merely lip service is frequently given to the development of diverse cultures: the other's 'right to exist' is acknowledged, while considering one's own culture or truth superior or absolute, and the dominating culture retains its control."[16] However, the cultural diversity can be understood in different ways. If the idea of multiculturalism emphasizes the open nature of culture and assumes intercultural interaction and interpenetration, then this idea is understood not as identical to simple tolerance but as the idea of *intercultural dialogue*. And it is dialogue that takes you beyond the framework of simple tolerance.

The recognition of cultural diversity and dialogical relationships among cultures is justified by intercultural philosophy. Edward Demenchonok highlights the role of an inter-philosophical global dialogue, which can serve as "the epistemological and ontological foundation" for intercultural dialogue.[17]

Conditions for the Possibility of Intercultural Dialogue

The peculiarity of dialogue is that, as a result of it, different cultures can develop, i.e., change in certain respects. Dialogue presupposes considering the point of view of the other participant. This does not mean the uncritical acceptance of someone else's position. It only means that it is not necessary to see something hostile in another culture, in another system of values, but rather something that can help with solving common problems. In such a dialogue, not only individuals but also cultures can develop their own identity. I want to make two clarifications in this regard.

First, cultures as a whole cannot enter into dialogue. A "dialogue of cultures" is a metaphor. Only individuals, groups, communities, social institutions, etc. can be participants in such a dialogue. This is substantiated by Edward Demenchonok in his analysis of Bakhtin's dialogism and its personalist basis.[18]

Second, dialogue, as a rule, is not about value systems, fundamental ideas about the world, or religious dogmas. All this constitutes cultural identity and underlies the identity of individuals belonging to different

cultures. Therefore, if a culture does not destroy itself (and this sometimes happens), its basic values are not discussed in this process. For example, it is impossible to conduct a dialogue about religious views that may be associated with cultural self-identity. If a religion allows the possibility for its tenets to be discussed from an external position (atheistic positions or positions of another religion), it loses its right to further existence.

Dialogue between different cultures is possible and can be fruitful in the context of solving certain practical problems and in connection with the understanding of these problems and the proposed ways to solve them from the point of view of different values and worldviews. Each culture has its own perspective when viewing a particular problem. A comparison of these perspectives is possible and practically fruitful. At the same time, ways of solving certain common problems proposed within the framework of different cultural perspectives may not only be different in and of themselves, they may also be different from each other in terms of their efficacy in a certain situation. Moreover, this efficacy can be assessed in different ways in connection with changes to the situation.

There are three possible outcomes from intercultural dialogue.

A. A synthesis of different cultures or some features of different cultures.
B. The development (i.e., a change in some respects) of one or both of the participants in the dialogue.
C. The refusal of one of the participants to continue the dialogue, and the emergence and/or development of hostility toward another culture.

There is an important condition for engaging in intercultural dialogue—a commonality between the participants in their understanding of existing problems (although different participants can see different aspects of these problems)—as well as certain economic and political conditions that enable all participants to influence the process and the result of the dialogue. Thus, the participants must have equal rights. Otherwise, all talk about multiculturalism would look like hypocrisy: it would then be a way to maintain the status quo, which would be very unfavorable for the development of certain cultures. Fruitful intercultural dialogue is possible only within the framework of universal political and legal institutions, in particular, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR), the system

of international law, etc. These are important constituents of the unity of the contemporary world.

But in this regard, certain problems arise. The fact is that some provisions of the UDHR contradict others; such contradictions may be between individual and collective rights (for example, the individual's right to free movement and the right of culture to self-preservation, etc.). International law is also still insufficiently developed, and therefore, in some cases, it cannot regulate relations between countries and cultures. In addition, there is the problem of interpreting the provisions of the UDHR and the clauses of international law. In some cases, these interpretations are carried out only in accordance with the interests of particular countries. Such cases undermine the role of the UDHR and international law in creating global unity and create obstacles to intercultural interaction.

Different cultures are participants in intercultural dialogue. But these cultures can exist at different levels. There are national cultures, of course. But there are also ethnic, regional, and local cultures. Some social groups can be considered as carriers of their own subcultures. Individual identity is built on the basis of belonging to several collective identities. Each culture deserves respect and can be a participant in dialogue. But in this regard, two circumstances must be kept in mind. First, the role of cultures of different types and levels in the formation of individual identity is different. In addition, this role can change in specific situations. An individual can simultaneously belong to various cultural identities, not only of different levels but also of the same level (thus having a polyidentity). Second (and this is especially important), the meaning of the dialogue is not to cultivate and preserve differences and existing cultural identities, but to create conditions for their mutual change, as a result of which differences do not disappear but change (some merge into a unity, while new differences appear in the place of old ones).

Important changes are taking place in intercultural dialogue today. It is not only that the cultures participating in the dialogue are changing. The individual's relation to culture is also changing. It is true that the individual builds his/her individual identity on the basis of collective ones. But today (in contrast to what took place in the recent past), the problem of an individual changing to belong to a particular cultural identity has become much easier. Society is becoming more and more individualized. While

cultures were mainly of national and ethnic character in the past, today they are much more diverse. New forms of cultures are emerging.

The Emerging "Global Culture" as a Challenge to Existing Cultures and to Ideas about a Human Being

It would be a mistake to believe that all currently existing cultures participate or can participate in intercultural dialogue. In fact, some of them were thrown to the margins of civilizational development by the very process of globalization, while others cannot find their place in this process. In these cases, it is not intercultural dialogue that takes place but rather the development of hostility of one culture toward another (or others). Therefore, the facts of cultural isolationism, fundamentalism, and nationalism can also be understood as by-products of globalization.

Today, a new situation is arising in intercultural relations. It is associated with the current stage of globalization, which is often called the transition to the "knowledge society." The latter is characterized by the special role of science and technologies (information and communication, as well as biological, nano, and cognitive technologies) in modern social, cultural, and personal life. Scientific knowledge and technologists are universal. Their spread within the framework of globalization cannot but lead to worldwide homogenization. However, it should be kept in mind that universal technologies are used to solve local problems. The information networks that have covered the globe presuppose the inclusion of various local network communities within them. Therefore, the very fact of the development of the "knowledge society" does not imply the need to suppress or displace existing cultures with their differences.

However, in reality, the situation turns out to be even more complicated. The problem is that the emerging global culture is not simply built on top of existing cultures without interacting with them. In certain respects, global culture poses challenges to the cultures that exist today, including Western culture (incidentally, until recently, globalization was perceived by many as Westernization). These challenges are against existing fundamental ideas about a human being, about his/her capabilities and limitations, his/her freedom and dignity.

In connection with the development of informational, biological, and nanotechnologies, it becomes possible to seriously modify the bodily

qualities of a person, to influence his/her brain and psyche. On the one hand, this opens up new opportunities. On the other hand, it cannot but influence culture, since, in all existing cultures, the image of a person presupposes those of his/her bodily and mental characteristics that have developed historically. The growing involvement of a person in the global information and communication network is not only an opportunity to establish contacts with other people and cultures but also a growing source of addictions. The possibilities for manipulating consciousness, for controlling a person, and for producing disinformation on a large scale are expanding.

The communities that emerge within the framework of global information networks differ in a number of respects from those that exist on the basis of traditional cultures. An online community can emerge instantly and disintegrate just as quickly. It is not tied to any territory and does not rely on a stable tradition. The relations between such communities are not hierarchical, and their totality cannot be represented as a systemic whole. Inclusion in such communities and attachment to an existing culture based on historical traditions and assuming spatial localization can and often does produce conflict.

CONCLUSION

In general, the homogeneity to which today's form of globalization is leading is a road to a dead end, because, as is well known, development and evolution are possible only under the condition of diversity, since different forms can find different resources at one or another stage of further development, and what seems to be the most promising today may not turn out to be so tomorrow.

What can counteract this process, or rather, the form of globalization that it has acquired (because globalization could be carried out in different forms as well)? We will only be able to counteract the dehumanization of the human being and culture if we are able to preserve traditional human values and, at the same time, adapt them to contemporary realities, including the challenges created by the development of science and technology. Traditional values exist and are transmitted from generation to generation within the framework of existing national cultures. These

cultures are different from each other. The understanding of the world and the persons in them is not the same. But all of them have some common ideas, which are now called into question by global challenges. The diversity of traditional cultures is not a disadvantage but a condition for the survival and further development of mankind.

I do not think that global culture can replace traditional cultures. Rather, existing cultures are forced to respond to the challenges of the "knowledge society" and adapt to these challenges through self-change. It may be that different cultures will have different resources for such adaptations (for example, some traditional ways of organizing work in China and Japan have turned out to be well correlated with contemporary forms of networked enterprises). And this can lead to new changes in the relationship of cultures within the global whole. Those cultures (and states associated with them) that cannot find the resources to adapt to the current situation and for self-development will be in the most tragic position. They could lose their identity—both their cultural identity and that of their state. I think that the non-pragmatic values cultivated in Russian culture can play a positive role in the search for a way out of the impasse of "cognitive capitalism."

So, the protection of the human being today means the protection and development of traditional culture, and the latter presupposes the protection of national identity, which means national interests, including the protection of a country's geopolitical and economic interests, the development of its economy, health care, its search for its place in the international division of labor, its cooperation with various kinds of international economic and political organizations, its strengthening of its defense capabilities, sovereignty, and much more. In order to preserve its national identity, a country must develop, which means it must adapt to the existing world and political realities; more accurately, it must not just adapt but give its own response to global challenges and therefore change, develop itself. This means that the protection of national interests is impossible without the development of education, science, and art. But, in turn, all this is impossible without the preservation and development of culture, for it is culture that underlies the national-state identity and the protection of human rights and interests.

NOTES

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10. Mikhail Bakhtin, *Speech Genres and Other Late Essays*, transl. Vern W. McGee, eds. Caryl Emerson and Michael Holquist (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1986), 7.

11. Rom Harré, *Personal Being: A Theory for Individual Psychology* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1984), 20.

12. Kenneth Gergen, *The Saturated Self: Dilemmas of Identity in Contemporary Life*, 2nd ed. (New York: Basic Books, 2000 [1991]), xiv, xxii.

13. Mikhail Bakhtin, *Toward a Philosophy of the Act*, transl. Vadim Liapunov, eds. Michael Holquist and Vadim Liapunov (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1993), 54.

14. Karl Popper distinguishes at least three worlds or subworlds of the universe in which we live: world 1 is the world of physical bodies and processes, world 2 is the mental or psychological world, and world 3 is the world of abstract products of human thought and knowledge. As he writes, "By world 3 I mean the world of the products of the human mind, such as languages; tales and stories and religious myths; scientific conjectures or theories, and mathematical constructions; songs and symphonies; paintings and sculptures." Karl Popper, The Tanner Lectures on Human Values, delivered at The University of Michigan, April 7, 1978, p. 144. Available at: https://tannerlectures.utah.edu/_documents/a-to-z/p/popper80.pdf. See also Karl Popper, *Objective Knowledge: An Evolutionary Approach* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972, 1979).

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16. Edward Demenchonok, "Bakhtin's Dialogism and Current Discussions on the Double-Voiced Word and Transculture," in *Intercultural Dialogue: In Search of Harmony in Diversity*, ed. Edward Demenchonok, 2nd ed. (Newcastle upon Tyne, UK: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2016), 123.

17. Edward Demenchonok, "Foreword," in *Intercultural Dialogue: In Search of Harmony in Diversity*, xiv.

18. As Demenchonk points out, "the expression 'dialogue of cultures' is a metaphor, although one which is heuristically rich as a concept, describing the mutual influence of cultures. The actual dialogue takes place among individuals, as representatives of different cultures. In contrast to the view of cultural relations as an 'objective process' (similar to deterministic historicism) of interaction between 'objective' cultures, intercultural dialogue refers to the relationship of living human beings with culture. Through culture, individuals are engaged in a search for answers to their existential questions and creativity." Edward Demenchonok, "Bakhtin's Dialogism and Current Discussions on the Double-Voiced Word and Transculture," in *Intercultural Dialogue: In Search of Harmony in Diversity*, ed. Edward Demenchonok, 2nd ed. (Newcastle upon Tyne, UK: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2016), 96–97.

9

Sartre and Heidegger

The Controversy on Humanism and the Question of the Human

Marina F. Bykova

The history of philosophy presents us with numerous controversies on specific philosophical topics and issues. One of such controversies is a debate between the two key figures in twentieth century Western philosophy, the French thinker Jean-Paul Sartre, and his German counterpart Martin Heidegger. This famous theoretical confrontation is on the essence of humanism and the conception of the human being that lies at its core. Given the seminal influence that the ideas of both thinkers have exerted on the development of contemporary intellectual tradition, in both Europe and elsewhere, and far beyond philosophy, it is of great importance to examine the issues that sparked this debate and consider the ideas it produced.

In 1946, Sartre published a short essay titled "Existentialism Is a Humanism" [L'existentialisme est un humanism] (hereafter *EH*), based on a public lecture he gave in Paris on October 28 the previous year. With this work, Sartre attempted to clarify central tenets of existentialism that grew in popularity while also causing division among its supporters and critics. Here he claims that

[T]here are two kinds of existentialists. There are, on the one hand, the Christians, amongst whom I shall name Jaspers and Gabriel Marcel, both professed Catholics; and on the other the existential atheists, amongst whom we must place Heidegger as well as the French existentialists and myself. What they have in common is simply the fact that they believe that *existence* comes before *essence*—or, if you will, that we must begin from the subjective.[1]

Heidegger's reaction followed soon after. Prompted by a series of questions posed to him in a private letter exchange by then young French philosopher and Germanist Jean Beaufret about the development of French existentialism, Heidegger took the chance to express his views in a written response composed in December 1946. He later reworked his text for publication in 1947 under the title *Letter on Humanism* (hereafter *LH*). Published almost twenty years after *Being and Time* which was originally intended to be the first part of the much larger and ambitious—yet never fully realized—project of exploring the meaning of Being, the *LH* was conceived as an enhanced and refined explication of Heidegger's main quest. While his key goals remain the same, some of his thinking has developed and become clearer. At the same time, various interpretations and misinterpretations of *Being and Time* that flooded the scene likely prompted clarification. One of such misinterpretations might be that of Sartre, whose views drew noticeable attention of philosophical circles during that time. Apparently, Heidegger had no problem with the French thinker defining him as an atheist,[2] but he showed a great dissatisfaction with the misconception of his position he detected in Sartre's essay. To this extent, while *LH* is largely a critical response to Sartre's *EH*, Heidegger uses this occasion to further elucidate his philosophical project and reveal the essential differences between Sartre's and his own approaches. In a reaction to Sartre's *EH*, Heidegger focuses his criticism on two key ideas: Sartre's alliance with humanism, and his conception of existentialism expressed by the famous "existence precedes essence" motto. To some, these objections may appear trivial, yet, in fact, they are intimately related to Heidegger's project of phenomenological ontology and especially his existentialist turn in phenomenology. In order to fully comprehend Heidegger's objections to the humanist position defended by Sartre, it is instructive to examine them by keeping in sight the significant differences between the two philosophical projects and their executions. Thus, specifying what exactly separates the viewpoints of the two thinkers becomes crucial.

At first glance, there is a marked similarity between Heidegger's and Sartre's approaches: both inquire into the nature of Being through sophisticated phenomenological ontologies, and both call attention to "existence" and the ability of human individuals to distinguish themselves in a world of conformity and generalized exchange. This apparent similarity not only reveals common theoretical roots, but also attests to the influence that one thinker had on another. Whereas at the early stages of his career, Sartre—like Heidegger himself before—showed a true admiration for Husserl and his phenomenological method, later he realized that Heidegger's modification of Husserl's view proved to be philosophically more significant. In this sense, the immediate source from which Sartre's existentialism draws its inspiration is Heidegger and the core question of his phenomenological ontology "What is it *to be*?" In fact, Sartre's publications produced in the 1930s-1940s can be viewed as an existentialist illustration of Heidegger's Being of *Dasein*, depicted in the French thinker's writings as a "human reality"—the term he adopts from Henry Corbin, who in his French translation of Heidegger renders *Dasein* as *réalité-humaine*.[3] In his 1939 book, *Sketch for a Theory of the Emotions*, Sartre actually describes tasks central to his own philosophical project in a pure Heideggerian manner: "a truly positive study of man in [his] situation would have first to have elucidated the notions of man, of the world, of being-in-the-world, and of situation."[4] It is worth noticing that the mentioned resemblance is not merely terminological or stylistic. There is a deeper affinity between the two thinkers: both Sartre and Heidegger are concerned with what is traditionally called "existence" and for this reason, they are both considered existentialists. Still, their "existentialism" is where they essentially diverge from one another, and as soon as one becomes acquainted with the details of Sartre and Heidegger's philosophical undertakings, the substantial differences between the two approaches become evident.

Sartre's project of a humanist existentialism is concerned predominantly with the unified experience of a human consciousness limited primarily by its factual situation (arising from the facticity of human existence) and the obstacles it encounters thereby. Sartre aims at securing a fundamental freedom of this consciousness to choose its own existence, to make itself and its own values in a world devoid of any objective frame of reference. Despite some important correlations, Heidegger's philosophy remains fundamentally incompatible with Sartre's program. For Heidegger, every

humanism is a metaphysical endeavor, or at least rooted in metaphysics in one or another way, and Heidegger's explicit priority is to deconstruct and eventually abolish the history of metaphysics in its entirety in order to give way to a more primordial (original) understanding of Being. Heidegger's *Dasein*, the key notion of his phenomenological ontology and existential phenomenology, is not to be construed as Sartre's "consciousness" or "human reality" wherein an individual freely chooses its future from a finite set of possibilities. *Dasein* in the most radical sense *is*—it is essentially *worldly*. Placing itself into the opening of Being, it continually engages with other entities and the world itself, where an individual inheres in being and shepherds the event of Being into language. Insofar as *Dasein* (authentically) chooses, it chooses only itself, its already determined own most possibility.

In what follows, I attempt to examine the fundamental structures of Sartre and Heidegger's extremely powerful theoretical edifices in order to reveal the differences between them. This essay does not purport to discuss the two philosophical theories in their entirety or comment on any of their theoretical parts. Instead, I will focus on both thinkers' attitudes toward humanism and their different responses to the question of the essence of the human being. My goal is to elucidate the meanings that the two philosophers assign to humanism as a view attaching a prime importance to the human rather than to deistical or any other supernatural things and understand the consequences of their positions for the question of the human being. Central to philosophical discourse, this is a question of what defines the human being, and it is increasingly important at both the theoretical and practical level. Addressing this topic, Heidegger refers to the crucial concept of *Mineness* (*Jemeinigkeit*), while Sartre evokes the notion of absolute subjectivity in an otherwise objective world. For both, however, this is the question of the freedom and contingency of human existence as comprehended on the plane of authenticity.

In the first section of this essay, I will examine Sartre's conception of humanism as it is presented in his *EH*. Since humanism is discussed here in connection with existentialism, I will also comment on how Sartre understands its central tenets. In section two, I focus on Heidegger's response to Sartre in the *LH* and the German thinker's critical view of humanism as a system of thought. For many this criticism amounts to an antithetical perspective of humanism, if not its rejection altogether.

However, I would argue that what Heidegger presents in his *LH* is not "anti-humanism," as it is often understood.[5] It rather marks a fundamental shift in approach to the question of human, which is now viewed from the anti-metaphysical perspective. Thus, the project of deconstruction of the previous philosophical tradition that treated human simply as an ego and approached human existence in purely subjectivistic terms comes to the fore. Heidegger's ontological deconstruction amounts to a new conception of human that puts emphasis on the worldliness and temporality of the human being. Thus, the question of Being becomes the main concern. In response to Sartre's largely dualistic theory of human reality formulated in terms of existence that precedes essence, Heidegger presents a unitary view of human existence that encompasses all worldly activity revealed only in the context of being-in-the-world through *Dasein's* actual involvement with Being.

SARTRE'S EXISTENTIAL HUMANISM

In *EH*, Sartre responds to several charges made to existentialism, in attempt to explain and defend existentialism as a philosophical theory and specific (humanistic) attitude. At the core of Sartre's exposition of the tenets of existentialism is freedom, its relation to consciousness, and its direct association with responsibility, which is proportionate to freedom itself, an explanation that elaborates on how humans define themselves and shape their own nature through their freely chosen actions. Thrown into existence without a preconceived idea of who they are or what they are good for, humans are "*condemned* to be free,"[6] determining themselves and creating their own values through the choices they make. Sartre summarizes these ideas in the formula "existence precedes essence,"[7] which is the basic principle of existentialism and the most fundamental claim of his humanism. The manner in which this claim is stated and explained leaves no doubt about Sartre's understanding of what it means to be a human. There is no predetermined nature in humans that they can use to justify their decisions, and no maker responsible for who they are and from whom to derive their conception of the good. They are free individuals who are condemned to choose throughout their lives and give sense to those lives by

the things they do. The following passage illustrates this important point, and Sartre's own expectations:

> If existence is prior to essence, man is responsible for what he is. Thus, the first effect of existentialism is that it puts *every human being in possession of himself* as he is and places the entire responsibility for existence squarely upon his own shoulders.[8]

Humans are not born in this world with a predetermined or assigned purpose but rather "thrown" into existence and must find meaning for themselves. That is, human essence is not intrinsic and present upon birth but rather is up to each of us to determine. In existing, man is his own purpose, and thus "man is nothing else but that which he makes of himself."[9] This idea lies at the core of Sartre's understanding of human nature as the original project.

Sartre's account of what it means to be a human represents a significant departure from much of the thought of his time in that it suggested there was no higher order or reason for existing beyond what humans were able to contrive for themselves. Indeed, it runs counter to much of the theistic and deterministic thought that was quite prevalent in the philosophical sphere of the twentieth century. Sartre rejects a universal human nature as a sort of "blueprint" to be predetermined, "defined by any concept," or posited in the mind of God prior to existence. For him "man first of all exists, encounters himself, surges up in the world—and defines himself afterwards."[10]

However, it would be a mistake to see Sartre's view of humanity as purely arbitrary and individualistic. While he insists that there is no universal human nature, nevertheless he recognizes what he calls "human universality of *condition*."[11] He explains: "man's historical situations are variable" but "what never vary are the necessities of being in the world, of having to labour and to die there."[12] Despite human beings determining their own existence individually, they cannot ignore these conditions that affect everyone and thus are necessarily universal. This is why "every purpose, however individual it may be, is of universal value."[13] But this "universality of condition" has an even bigger consequence for existentialism as a specific attitude toward human existence. Sartre communicates this as an intersubjective vision of freedom which is directly associated with responsibility not only for oneself but for mankind. As Sartre puts it:

> [T]here is a human universality, but it is not something given; it is being perpetually made. I make this universality in choosing myself; I also make it by understanding the purpose of any other man, of whatever epoch. This absoluteness of the act of choice does not alter the relativity of each epoch.[14]

Choosing themselves, the human beings—each individually—not only choose their own (mode of) existence but choose to shape them according to their own wills, fashioning in this way their own unique essences. Thus, there is no escape from being free and choosing oneself.

Human freedom precedes essence in the human being and makes it possible; one's essence is suspended in one's freedom. What we call freedom is impossible to distinguish from the *being* of "human reality."[15]

Human beings are thus inherently free to pursue whatever existence and meaning of life that may be open to them, and this is a necessary consequence not only of the lack of human nature but also of a human's ability to transcend into nothingness. Conceived as the annihilation of Being, nothingness is introduced through the analysis of the duality of being-in-itself and being-for-itself. While being-in-itself is something that can only be approximated, i.e., a sort of being that can only be imagined as itself if it is imagined without a witnessing consciousness, being-for-itself is the being of consciousness.

The foundational thesis of Sartre's phenomenological ontology of consciousness formulated in *Being and Nothingness* is that there exists an omnipresent translucency within consciousness. That is, a self-consciousness is inextricably tied to all intentional, or directed, consciousness. It is from this Cartesian translucency that the mediating function of consciousness becomes evident, consequently solidifying the being of consciousness as one of negation and non-being. From this negative being arrives the nothingness of consciousness, which, as Sartre demonstrates, ultimately allows consciousness to deny any adherence with the law of identity (identity with itself), for it simply lacks any and all determination. The reason for that, according to Sartre, lies in the intentionality of consciousness. Being intentional, consciousness exhausts itself in reaching toward an object. In this sense, consciousness is always in relation to the object which exists outside of consciousness. Thus, consciousness is nothing in itself; it lacks any content because neither the object of consciousness nor a representation of this object is *inside of* consciousness. In other words, what consciousness is (its essence) is

defined by its object; take away the object of consciousness, and there is nothing left *in* consciousness. Sartre hence concludes that in discovering the distinct forms contained within the unity of consciousness, one has reached the necessary *mode* of consciousness: a being that denies identity with itself through internal negation and utter lack of determination, while simultaneously collapsing the distinction between the objects of its awareness and itself. Put simply, consciousness is a being which is not what it is, and is what it is not. This is not something fixed, unchangeable or the same. Based on this conclusion Sartre distinguishes between two modes of being: the inert, passive, non-conscious state of things as *being-in-itself* which is opposed to the uniquely human conscious state of *being-for-itself*. So, the question then becomes, what it is about being that might generate nothingness? Can some being be found which carries within itself the seeds of its own annihilation or self-negation?

Sartre's answer is that human beings alone have this "power"; it is the power they have of changing their relationship to the inert and static kind of being. We can refuse to accept things as they are, we can reject the idea of things not having value, we can overcome the apparent "sameness" of the world. In this fashion, we create a buffer of nothingness between ourselves and the world. The for-itself is a nothingness which distinguishes a human being from all other beings; it is a means of detaching human beings from the causal chain of natural events. This power is what Sartre calls freedom. Because being is rooted in nothingness, a human being has the task of defining and re-defining itself constantly by choosing the references by which it projects itself. This is the reason for Sartre to refute determinism and insist on our "absolute" freedom. Yet the absoluteness in question is not limitlessness or one's ability to do what one pleases. Instead, Sartre discusses it in terms of the "facticity of freedom," which is the understanding that human freedom is not a choice but rather an inherent reality. We are free whether or not we want to be.

At this point, it should be clear that Sartre does not have any problems with connecting the concepts of human reality, being-for-itself, and even freedom to the notion of consciousness. This, however, signals Sartre's crucial break from Heidegger and his analytic of *Dasein*. As mentioned above, Sartre inherited some terminology from Henry Corbin's new French translation of Heidegger produced in the 1930s. What is more, his own understanding of Heidegger was largely influenced by Alexander Kojève,

one of the central figures in the French philosophical and intellectual circles at that time. In his lectures and published works, Kojève put forward a largely Hegelian and anthropological interpretation of Heidegger which clearly echoes in Sartre's own works.[16] Indeed, it was Hegel who, in his *Phenomenology of Spirit*, distinguished between the being of objects (being-in-itself), and the being of human, conceptualized as a conscious creature discussed in terms of subjective spirit (*Geist*). Not only did this provide part of the bases for Sartre's later distinction between the two modes of being, but the Hegelian philosophy of consciousness served as a foundation for his discussion of human reality, freedom, and for his existentialist version of humanism in general.[17] Thus, Sartre straightaway misses Heidegger's fundamental motive to overcome the German tradition of philosophy of consciousness anchored in the metaphysical split of subject and object. This deficiency becomes even more visible in Sartre's conception of humanism, which later becomes an object of Heidegger's attack in his *LH*.

Interestingly, until 1945, Sartre used the term "humanism" only in negative connotations, and this is despite persistently dealing in his philosophy with the human and "human situation."[18] It is worth recalling that the main character of his celebrated novel *Nausea* invokes different forms of humanism, reacting to all of them with a plain disapproval and even cynicism:

> The radical humanist is a special friend of the civil servant. The so called 'Left wing' humanist's chief concern is to preserve human values: he belongs to no party because he doesn't want to betray humanity as a whole. . . . He also loves cats, dogs, all higher animals. The Communist writer has been loving men ever since the second Five-Year Plan, he punishes because he loves. . . . The Catholic humanist, the late-comer, the Benjamin, speaks of men with a wonderstruck air. What a beautiful fairy tale, he says, is the humblest life, that of a London docker, of a girl in a shoe factory! He has chosen the humanism of the angels. . . . Those are principal types. But there are others, a swarm of others: the humanist philosopher who bends over his brothers like an elder brother who is conscious of his responsibilities; the humanist who loves men as they are, the one who loves them as they ought to be, the one who wants to save them with their consent, and the one who wants to save them in spite of themselves, the one who wants to create myths, and the one who is satisfied with old myths, the one who loves man for his death, the one who loves man for his life, the happy humanist who always knows what to say to make people laugh, the gloomy humanist whom you usually meet at wakes. They all hate one another: as individuals, of course, not as men.[19]

This largely critical and mistrustful view of humanism undergoes a drastic change in Sartre's *EH*, where he speaks of existentialism as not contemplative but rather an active attitude toward human (subjective)

existence in the otherwise objective world, associating it with humanism, both in the practical and the philosophical sense of the term. In his discussion, humanism is the necessary consequence of a "human situation." A human has existential freedom and, for Sartre, that is the first principle of existentialism. Freedom, Sartre argues, is inseparable from human reality. This inherent freedom, in conjunction with the facticity of human existence, establishes humans as individuals with agency. However, one's freedom is necessarily restricted. The most significant limit on human freedom is revealed to be other humans and contenting with the will of others. One must consider the agency of others and their ability to impede or otherwise prevent any goals an individual might pursue. Yet the others may also significantly contribute to the realization of one's aims. Others are indispensable to our existence and to the knowledge of self; thus the discovery of my self discloses to me at the same time the other person. So there exists a dynamism that shapes the human essence and which every human being contributes to. Thus, in exercising one's freedom every human also realizes "a type of humanity."[20] For in the existential choosing of being human, each individual is not only engaged with others but promotes mutual interests, goals, and moral priorities. In this sense, Sartre argues, existentialism is a form of humanism.[21]

However, he is careful to define a specific kind of humanism associated with existentialism. Sartre argues in *EH* that existential humanism is not an anthropocentric view of the universe which takes man as an absolute end and considers human nature as fixed, given, and static. The version of humanism he advances rather insists that humans must make themselves what they are by their own acts. Thus, it considers man as being "all the time outside himself,"[22] surpassing himself,[23] and transcending his present being and the form of existence associated with it. For Sartre, this fundamentally human form of transcendence is constitutive for subjectivity, which he equates with realizing oneself as truly human. He explains that existentialism is humanism, because it reminds man that he is to make himself, and "there is no legislator but himself."[24] Sartre formulates his existential humanism as a moral theory, where freedom and responsibility become the most fundamental normative principles governing the process of human being's self-legislation and self-realization. He emphasizes the moral responsibility of agents individually and collectively, attempting to set the ontological foundations for their aspirations.[25] Humans'

abandonment in the world in the face of their unknown existence and in their individual search for meaning and purpose forces one to look to oneself for what one will pursue and seek for oneself beyond the present. Yet tasked with making choices for oneself, one is responsible for others, and nobody can release one from this existential freedom and responsibility. Although the human being is "condemned to be free" and forced to reconcile with the immensity of the consequences of his/her actions, Sartre is quick to point out that humans are also not hampered by any artificial moral codes or directives from above, be that God or a universal moral order. Freedom comes not only with anguish but with its advantages as well, especially if individuals are capable of accepting the reality that confronts them. For Sartre, this is known as authenticity, which calls for one's ability to embrace the freedom and the power to fashion oneself in accordance with what one is capable of.

HEIDEGGER'S OBJECTIONS TO HUMANISM

In *Letter on Humanism*, Heidegger addresses numerous philosophical issues, responding among others to such questions as how we can restore meaning to the word humanism and what is the relation of ontology to ethics.[26] *LH* also noticeably revokes ideas formulated in *Being and Time* published twenty years earlier. While Heidegger's project remains the same, some of his thinking had developed and become clearer. It is worth recalling that *Being and Time* was meant to be the first part of a much larger project of exploring the meaning of Being, and also that various interpretations or misinterpretations of *Being and Time* themselves likely prompted clarification. Yet the direction in which Heidegger steers us in *LH* is somehow different. His own gaze here is split, doubled. On the one hand, he shows us something very familiar—a human being found in the texts of Plato and Aristotle all the way through to those of Sartre. On the other hand, we are shown a Being altogether unfamiliar. So unfamiliar, in fact, as to be completely unrecognizable and yet to be thought. The first image is the one given to us by the tradition of Western metaphysics. Through a myriad of historical configurations, it represents to us an essence of man or humanity, one that is to be "actualized" by existing individuals and conserved through reflection and meditation. The second image is darker

and not as apparent, much more alien. It does not represent anything to us at all; rather it promises a new way of thinking about how beings relate to their essence, their innermost Being—not as an ideal form, something social, or anything *already determined*, but as occurring *in* thought and *as* thought itself by virtue of a clearing of Being in which man stands.[27] It should be clear that Heidegger is pushing us—or perhaps it is better to say that we are being pushed by another accord—in the direction of the second non-representational thinking, the other thinking. Exactly the relation of this thinking to Being underpins Heidegger's version of existentialism which is associated with his *deconstruction* of humanism.[28]

The guiding question at this point is what does it mean *to be,* and more specifically *to be* in the world, *as worldly*. What is that Being that belongs to humans and sets them apart from other creatures? The answer that the Western philosophical tradition provides to this question is well known and widely accepted: man is a rational animal, and through his reason, he comes to define the world against which he stands. As a knowing, willing subject, the human is set apart from a world of objects. In order to know this objective world, the human must first grasp the things found in the world in thought. In this way, thinking becomes a matter of technics, a matter of learning how to manipulate the objects the human encounters. Philosophy also delves into the question of the source of this ability of the human being to think and act on the world, to produce causes and elicit effects. This constitutes the search for the essence of the human agent. In Roman culture, the essence of the human is traditionally associated with the metaphysical ideal manifested through Greek *paideia* understood as training a strong mind and good character. For Christian theology, the essence of the human being lies in this being's relation to God. The human being stands in contradistinction to God as a "child of God," thus human's essence lies in another world more ideal than this one. Marx finds the essence of the human being in society—the human is a social creature engaged with others in varying forms of activity, the most important of which is the process of production, and humans' second nature is directly associated with their social (more accurately: socio-economic) relations. Sartre locates human's essence in human freedom. For him, the human being *is* insofar as one freely shapes oneself and one's own essence.

Unsatisfied with the answers provided by any of these philosophies, Heidegger points out that despite their differences, they are essentially the

same at their very core. He writes in *LH*:

> However different these forms of humanism may be in purpose and in principle, in the mode and means of their respective realizations, and in the form of their teaching, they nonetheless all agree in this, that the *humanitas* of *homo humanus* is determined with regard to an already established interpretation of nature, history, world, and the ground of the world, that is, of beings as a whole.[29]

Like the first (Roman) humanism (*humanitas*), the humanism of Marx, Christianity, and Sartre, are all metaphysical. The weakness of these metaphysical conceptions of the human being becomes clear: by setting themselves apart from the world, by distinguishing thought and action, individual beings split the world into a subject-object relation, which in turn forces them to ground their Being in something predetermined and present-at-hand. Every humanism is thus grounded in a metaphysics or itself grounds one. Heidegger clearly states: "Every determination of the essence of man that already presupposes an interpretation of beings without asking about the truth of Being, whether knowingly or not, is metaphysical."[30] The true essence of the human beings, what they are in their own individual most being, is thus forgotten and instead identified as an already determined "highest cause." Everything that would be unfamiliar is eclipsed by the familiar. Human beings find themselves behind every door, under every stone, around every corner. Their image, an image totally recognizable, is stamped into every discovery, in turn facilitating their quick assimilation and manipulation of the matter at hand. When the essence of the human being is presupposed as already given (as an ideal form, as a "child of God," as something social, or as the acts of an existing individual, etc.), the difference between beings and their Being is occluded. In every humanism, Being is taken as something already illumined, as something already present and accounted for, even if through the emptiest generalizations. Thus any opening to the authentically new is sacrificed in the name of a Being that is "all too human," a Being in which the more things change, the more things remain the same. Here the human being never becomes anything other than what this human subject always-already is, i.e., a most ethical, logical and rational creature.

At this point Heidegger pushes us into new and unfamiliar territory. While the humanisms of yore give us nothing but what is familiar—the image of the human as a rational animal—while the freedoms they supposedly offer are inauthentic, Heidegger proposes a way of opening our

thought to the unfamiliar, to what is radically other. Indeed, this change in the way we relate to Being is necessarily accompanied by a change in thinking, a change in language, and a change in essence. As Heidegger puts it:

> Metaphysics closes itself to the simple essential fact that man essentially occurs only in his essence, where he is claimed by Being. Only from that claim "has" he found that wherein his essence dwells... Such standing in the clearing of Being I call the ek-sistence of man. This way of Being is proper only to man. Ek-sistence so understood is not only the ground of the possibility of reason, *ratio*, but is also that in which the essence of man preserves the source that determines him.[31]

One begins to realize that the essence of the human is not the all-familiar quality that we know from the previous tradition. Human's essence is not to be found in the relation to God, in society, in the traditionally understood existence, or anywhere in the well-known interconnections of beings. Rather human's essence is in *ek-sistence* where the human subject is thrown into and stands in the clearing of Being and also in the way the human preserves that clearing in which Being gives or offers itself. Such existence is ecstatic—a moment of resolute *Dasein*, i.e., the dynamics of being there, in which Being enjoys an "authentic moment of vision." This is the essence of the existential (*existentiale*) in Heidegger.

Unlike Sartre and many other thinkers before him, Heidegger is not concerned here with the opposition between essence and existence. Metaphysics thinks of essence as a set of possibilities actualized in and through existence, a set of possibilities that is always *present* in some form. Heidegger's explicit goal is the destructuring (or rigorous deconstruction) of metaphysics, so this distinction obviously will not hold. By writing the German word *Existenz* (existence) as *Ek-sistenz*, Heidegger stresses human's "standing out" into the "truth of Being." The *Ek-sisting* human is thrown out of a past and into a future by way of the present. The *ek-sistence* of the human is therefore not determined by the actions of a subject but instead by the Being itself insofar as the human is "there" in the space opened for him by Being. As ek-sisting, the human subject sustains its Being-there in that it takes the "there," the clearing of Being, into "care." The reason for Heidegger to reject humanism and humanistic tradition, which he argues is stamped in metaphysics, is that humanism underestimates the human's unique position in the "lighting of Being" (*Lichtung des Seines*),[32] remains occupied with beings, and is oblivious to

Being and the existence or actualization of certain essential possibilities. By contrast, for Heidegger, the human being *is* insofar as he ek-sists in the clearing of Being—*Dasein*—and, ecologically speaking, conserves that clearing. Thus, the German thinker emphasizes Being as what is *nearest* to the human being, a nearness that metaphysics overlooks.

The outline of what is required by the other thinking is thus uncovered: a thinking that is neither theoretical nor practical but more original (primordial) than either of these distinctions. This way of thinking is nothing more than a recollection of being: it issues no result, no effect. It simply lets Being *be*. Thinking becomes a way of dwelling in the truth of Being, or as Heidegger poetically puts it: "Thinking builds upon the house of Being, the house in which the jointure of Being fatefully enjoins the essence of man to dwell in the truth of Being."[33]

Thinking is how Being relates to its own essence, expressed in language, such that language is the house of Being. Thinking shepherds Being into language; not the technical, logical language which we know all too well, but a poetic language. This thinking is a deed, but a deed that "surpasses all praxis" in order to bring to language the saying of Being. The distinction between subjects and their objects, and likewise, beings and their Being, gives way to a more original (primordial) understanding of Being in which thinking is not solely a matter of grasping things in thought and determining their value but is rather an adventure into unthought and the unthoughtful. What emerges is a new relation to Being whereby thinking maintains its nearness to Being in the clearing opened to it, bringing to light the advent of Being through a transformation of language. By letting Being be, thinking makes room for the arrival of Being. Thus, contrary to all metaphysical existentialism that Heidegger criticizes for its "disregard for Being," Heidegger's version of existentialism involves the "quiet power"[34] of Being's own possibility, which he expresses through his conception of *ek-sistence*.

THE QUESTION OF THE HUMAN AND ITS ONTOLOGICAL DECONSTRUCTION

Above I have presented Sartre's project of existentialism which he introduces as a form of humanism and Heidegger's opposition to humanism

and the humanitarian tradition in general. It should be clear that Heidegger's opposition does not entail any kind of "anti-humanism" in a traditional sense; he does not reject humanity and human values. Heidegger's main concern is the metaphysical foundation of humanism and a refutation of metaphysics was a crucial part of his original project of Being depicted in *Being and Time*. The second volume of this 1927 *magnum opus* was intended as a destructuring (*Destruktion*) and conceptual deconstruction of philosophical, metaphysical tradition that ignored Being or kept the experience of Being hidden within the purely metaphysical attitude.[35] This second volume was never written. Heidegger does not abandon the project of *Destruktion* of Western philosophy, however, and the *LH* is powerful evidence for this. While the immediate impulse for Heidegger's reflection on existentialism and humanism may have come from Sartre's declaration "that *existence* comes before *essence*—or . . . that we must begin from the subjective,"[36] his deeper motivation for such a critical examination of both is found in his attempt of critical deconstruction of the previous tradition. In the *LH*, Heidegger strongly criticizes the tradition of subjectivity, which celebrates the "I think" as the bearer of freedom and autonomy. He insists that authentic eksistence is and remains beyond the limits of Cartesian subjectivism. Interestingly, Sartre himself sees his own project in *Being and Nothingness* (1943) as overcoming metaphysical tradition(s) as well. In fact, his conception of consciousness (and knowledge) is a result of his important break with Descartes leading to Sartre's rejection of the primacy of knowledge central to any metaphysical discourse. Yet whether this allows him to fully escape Cartesian subjectivism remains contested. Despite similar aims, the philosophical approaches that Sartre and Heidegger advance vary substantially.

This naturally brings up the question of the human. Indeed, what conceptions of the human being emerge from Sartre's and Heidegger's versions of existentialism and their stances on humanism? In order to address this issue, we need to go beyond simply focusing on *EH* and *LH* and consider other philosophical works produced by Sartre and Heidegger.

In the conclusion of *Being and Nothingness*, Sartre remarks:

> Man makes himself man in order to be God, and selfness considered from this point of view can appear to be an egoism; but precisely because there is no common measure between human reality and the self-cause which it wants to be, one could just as well say that man loses himself in order that the self-cause may exist. We will consider then that all human

existence is a passion, the famous *self-interest* being only one way freely chosen among others to realize this passion.[37]

It seems that Sartre's entire project of phenomenological ontology culminates in these final pages. "The human being," or the "human reality" by which Sartre's inquiry proceeds, is in this formulation intended to (following Heidegger) break with the history of metaphysics. The being of an existent must be thought on the basis of appearance alone. After Kant, it is impossible to speak of a thing-in-itself or a noumenal reality which would drain the existent of its being and reduce its appearance to a pure negative. Rather than abiding by the distinction between being and appearing that marks the history of philosophy, the being of appearing is therefore what is at stake. Inquiry into the being of this appearing must proceed through that experience which is most familiar or nearest. For Sartre, consciousness is that unity of experience which takes its own being into question insofar as this being implies a being other than itself. This is what follows from the famous "existence precedes essence": if the being of consciousness implies a being other than itself, the being of consciousness cannot reside simply in a fixed, eternal essence. Quite to the contrary—the essence of consciousness is nothingness, it is the nihilating for-itself. However, if consciousness is essentially nothingness, it is a factical nothingness. Consciousness is burdened with a past determined by its position as a thrown entity in a world that presents it with a finite set of possibilities. Consciousness, i.e., a human being capable of reflective awareness, is "condemned to be free" insofar as it must rely solely on itself to choose the possibility that will secure its ability to continue to freely create itself. Thus, the line from the above excerpt: "Man makes himself man in order to be God." In order to exercise human essential freedom, one must engage oneself in the world, must choose existence, not only to be free but also in order to safeguard what is proper to one, the conditions in which one may continue to choose an (authentic) experience or "human reality." The human being must choose in order to keep choosing: one is always outside of oneself, ahead of oneself, never coinciding with oneself.

This idea echoes Alexander Kojéve's claim that human existence is a passion or desire for an unattainable object. His obvious impact on Sartre's thought should not be surprising, given Kojéve's transformative influence on twentieth century French philosophy and the French intellectual scene in general.[38] Yet contrary to Kojéve, who rather leaned toward Hegelian

resolution of the issue of desire,[39] Sartre picks another path. In order to make us aware of our desire to desire, Sartre sets forth the program of existential psychoanalysis: "Existential psychoanalysis is going to reveal to man the real goal of his pursuit, which is being as a synthetic fusion of the in-itself with the for-itself; existential psychoanalysis is going to acquaint man with his passion."[40] It is certainly an overwhelming goal, if not wholly unattainable, especially given the redoubled structure of desire, of human's "will to continue willing," and "[losing] himself in order that the self-cause may exist."[41] One wonders if analysis in Sartre's eyes is ever terminable, or if the symptomatic anguish of an individual condemned to freedom, this "abyss" (to use a perhaps more fitting term from Schelling) does not leave this individual eternally looking for ways to avoid acting.

As a point of contrast, Heidegger's project overtly lacks any immediately discernable characteristics of "human reality" or concern with a life-world that is recognizably human. *Dasein* is deployed in his text specifically to immobilize traditional anthropological notions like "human individual" and "human reality" which for him remain still too metaphysical, steeped in a tradition that seeks to think Being in terms of beings. Heidegger defines *Dasein* not as a substance that presents a fixed human reality, but as an "ek-static unity," which is not closed into itself but rather open, transformative, and directed toward the future.

In *Being and Nothingness*, Sartre equates *Dasein* with consciousness, which here he directly links to human reality.[42] However, for Heidegger, things are not so clearly delimited. Heidegger's project fundamentally differs from that of Sartre. For Heidegger it becomes a matter of thinking the truth of Being, and thinking it not in terms of presence and even not as merely being in flux, but as a fluctuating, dynamic relation of concealment and unconcealment. What emerges in Heidegger's thought is a theory of the event, of how the gift "gives," opens, occurs—what he calls *Ereignis*, the event of appropriation or "sending-forth" that destines being and opens the world to *Dasein* that, as Fred Dallmayr puts it, is "moved by 'care' (*Sorge*) in an ongoing search for meaning and truth."[43]

For Heidegger, "to be a human being means to be on the earth as a mortal. It means to dwell."[44] Heidegger uses the term "dwelling" in a special connotation. "Dwelling" is not just a spatial characteristic, and it does not indicate a simple spatial relationship of residing in. This is rather an ecstatic mode of being, the dynamics of establishing a certain

relationship with existence. This is a manner of transcending itself, being always outside itself, what Heidegger later describes as the "ecstatic temporality of taking care."

As we saw above, Heidegger declares that the human being always finds himself thrown and caught up in the movement of Being itself, and that he is the shepherd of Being. This, however, does not mean that a human being creates beings or makes beings like God. Similarly, the human is by no means the lord of Being. To be the shepherd of Being makes it possible for human beings to appear in the light of Being, to place themselves in its opening. Yet Being is larger than any individual human being and *Dasein* itself and is not subject to their whims.[45] This is one of the key differences between Heidegger and Sartre. As Heidegger explains in *Zollikon Seminars*: "Sartre's primary error consists in the fact that he sees being as something posited [*Gesetztes*] by the human being's subjective projection."[46]

Another important difference between Heidegger's and Sartre's conceptions of the human being follows from the one mentioned above. Heidegger's description of the human being as *ek-sisting* and as thrown in to the world, in fact, opposes understanding the human being as a subjectivity or as a Cartesian ego (consciousness).[47] For Heidegger, the human being is not a "thinking thing" and cannot be defined as subjectivity or consciousness. The human being is always worldly and temporally, always being-in-the-world and being-in-time. He *is* only through his involvement with the world; his ek-sistence is nothing else but a free participation in the world affairs. Unlike for Sartre, here there is no question or problem of "absolute freedom"; the human being is free to choose, but free insofar as one chooses oneself, one's own most possibility. While Being is supreme for Heidegger, the human being cannot be independent of it. The human essence is not the nihilating "for-itself" and surpassing its contingency as the consequence of being "condemned to be free." The human inheres in Being, dwells in Being. Being changes, being "propriates" or opens the space in which the human being resides; however, a human does not change Being or its essence. Being-towards-death is thus the authentic structure of individuation for the human being and his very dynamics (*Dasein*). A human being only ever "finds" or completely projects oneself, fully realizes oneself in death. Thus, authentic being is being toward one's own most (im)possibility.

CONCLUSION

In the beginning of this essay, I mentioned some points where the philosophical goals of both Heidegger and Sartre seem to converge. This is manifested most clearly during the productive periods in the development of each thinker's philosophical theories associated with existentialism, or putting it in a more precise philosophical language, existential phenomenology as the philosophical standpoint that both represented. However, while both thinkers are conventionally called existentialists for being engaged in examination of "existence," the way they interpret existence and the role this concept plays in their philosophical quests differ substantially. It is worth recalling that Heidegger's overarching project is the project of Being, which he understands as the task to comprehend the *pre-ontological* (primordial or implicit) meaning of the Being of *Dasein*, which he defines as "Being-in-the world" conceived as active referential relations among the totality of things. In contrast, the purpose of Sartre's existential phenomenology is to understand *human* existence, rather than the being of the world of things (the world as such). His main task is to develop an ontological account of what it is to be human, and not what it is to be in general. These important points of divergence explain the differences in Heidegger's and Sartre's treatments of "existence." Heidegger's point of departure—*Dasein* in its dynamic being—may seem to suggest that he begins with existence, yet his true focus is on the inquiry into the truth of Being. In contrast, for Sartre, existence is not only a starting point but also the end result of his investigation of what it is to be a human and stands as the solution to the challenge that the groundlessness of the self presents. To this extent, Sartre's famous assertion "existence precedes essence" is actually the rejection of Heidegger's standpoint, and this is what the German thinker recognizes and objects to in terms of his critique of existential humanism. According to Heidegger, Sartre neglects the proper goal that Heidegger's project pursues and places it within an inappropriate context. As for Sartre's own theory of existence, it is merely a return to metaphysics that Heidegger strived to overcome.

I would like to conclude this discussion by recalling Jacques Derrida's reaction to the Sartre-Heidegger controversy. The pioneer of the contemporary deconstruction project himself, he finds the results of Heidegger's *Dekonstruktion* somehow questionable. He asks if this way in

which *Dasein* "dwells" is not itself a last bulwark in the institution of metaphysics. In the opening pages of his essay "The Ends of Man," Derrida immediately criticizes Sartre's explicit project of a humanist existentialism:

> Certainly the notion of "human-reality" translated the project of thinking the meaning of man, the humanity of man, on a new basis, if you will. If the neutral and undetermined notion of "human reality" was substituted for the notion of man, with all its metaphysical heritage and the substantialist motif or temptation inscribed in it, it was also in order to suspend all the presuppositions which had always constituted the concept of the unity of man. . . . And yet, despite this alleged neutralization of metaphysical presuppositions, it must be recognized that the unity of man is never examined in and of itself. Not only is existentialism a humanism, but the ground and horizon of what Sartre then called his "phenomenological ontology" remains the unity of human-reality.[48]

The instances in which Sartre describes the structures of reality are instances in which he does so on the basis of a reality as it is for human consciousness as a unified entity. Sartre's phenomenological ontology thus remains an anthropology. While Heidegger's project explicitly rejects any form of humanism and strives to resist being construed as an anthropology, it nonetheless guards against the extinction of human by its emphasis on the proper of human, on dwelling authentically and safeguarding the proper of human. Insistence on the phenomenological metaphor is also symptomatic:

> The prevalence granted to the phenomenological metaphor, to all the varieties of *phainesthai*, of shining lighting, clearing, *Lichtung*, etc., opens onto the space of presence and the presence of space, understood within the opposition of the near and the far—just as the acknowledged privilege not only of language, but of spoken language (voice, listening, etc.) is in consonance with the motive of presence as self-presence.[49]

Derrida sees in this a particular conservatism, an attempt to shore up the last remaining piece of human, the way in which human remains self-present, from destruction. Such a destruction, Derrida writes, can only come from "the outside," from beyond the horizon visible from the safe shores of metaphysics. In program-matic fashion, Derrida ends the essay in aporia, simply hinting that if metaphysics is finally to be overcome, we would do well to look to the "active forgetting" of Nietzsche's *Übermensch*.[50] Whether this opens up new possibilities for Heidegger's deconstruction project is to be seen. But what seems to emerge is that the question of the human persists, despite ongoing discussions of the fate of subject and a variety of its poststructuralist models. In light of contemporary debates about the value of humanism, addressing this question becomes an urgent matter, and it would certainly require a fresh look and new approach that

should go beyond Derrida's and other poststructuralists' deconstruction models.[51]

NOTES

1. Jean-Paul Sartre, *Existentialism and Humanism* (London: Methuen, 2007), 27.

2. Tom Rockmore, *Heidegger and French Philosophy: Humanism, Anti-humanism and Being* (London: Routledge, 1995), 98.

3. Ibid., 73.

4. Jean-Paul Sartre, *Sketch for a Theory of the Emotions* (London, Routledge, 2002), 13.

5. See, for example, Leena Kakkori and Rauno Huttunen, "The Sartre-Heidegger Controversy on Humanism and the Concept of Man in Education," *Educational Philosophy and Theory*, 44(2) (2012), 357ff.

6. Sartre, *Existentialism and Humanism*, 38; italics mine.

7. Ibid., 27.

8. Ibid., 28; italics mine.

9. Ibid., 30.

10. Ibid.

11. Ibid., 54.

12. Ibid.

13. Ibid., 54–55.

14. Ibid., 55.

15. Jean-Paul Sartre, *Being and Nothingness—A Phenomenological Essay on Ontology* (New York: Washington Square Press, 1956), 25.

16. For details about Kojève's reading of Heidegger and the twentieth-century German philosophical tradition in general, see: Jeff Love, *The Black Circle: A Life of Alexandre Kojève* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2018), 193–256.

17. See Sartre, *Sketch for a Theory of the Emotions*, 10; Sartre, *Being and Nothingness*, 124.

18. Even in *Being and Nothingness* published in 1943, we do not find any positive conception of humanism.

19. Jean-Paul Sartre, *Nausea* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 2000), 168–169.

20. Sartre, *Existentialism and Humanism*, 55.

21. Nigel Tubbs, "Existentialism and Humanism: Humanity – Know Thyself!," *Studies in Philosophy and Education* 32, (2013), 482.

22. Sartre, *Existentialism and Humanism*, 66–67.

23. Ibid., 67.

24. Ibid.

25. Thomas Flynn, "Jean-Paul Sartre," in *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*. 4. Ethics and 5. Politics. https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/sartre/#Pol.

26. Tubbs, "Existentialism and Humanism," 483.

27. As Hubert Dreyfus explains, "things show up in the light of our understanding of being." Hubert Dreyfus, *Being-in-the-World* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1995), 163.

28. By employing the term "deconstruction," I am not suggesting any similarity between Heidegger's project and the one developed a couple decades later by Jacques Derrida (his famous project on deconstruction). In this essay, I use the term "deconstruction" in a very specific connotation, similar to the meaning of the word "dismantling." Yet I prefer to stick with "deconstruction," because in addition to a negative program, it simultaneously suggests a positive,

more constructive approach, which I believe presents Heidegger's position more accurately than "dismantling."

29. Martin Heidegger, *Letter on Humanism*, in D. F. Krell, ed., Martin Heidegger, *Basic Writings* (New York: Harper & Row, 1977), 201–202.

30. Ibid., 202.

31. Ibid., 204.

32. Heidegger carefully distinguishes his understanding of ek-sistence from existence of man as *imago dei* or *homo faber*, warning that the lighting of Being should not be equated with traditional notions of divine or human light.

33. Heidegger, *Letter on Humanism*, 236.

34. Ibid., 196.

35. Katja Diefenbach, Sara R. Farris, Gal Kirn, and Peter D. Thomas, eds., *Encountering Althusser: Politics and Materialism in Contemporary Radical Thought* (New York: Bloomsbury, 2013), 11-13.

36. Sartre, *Existentialism and Humanism*, 27.

37. Sartre, *Being and Nothingness*, 796.

38. See Love, *The Black Circle: A Life of Alexandre Kojève*, 1–16.

39. Alison Stone, "Hegel and the Twentieth-Century French Philosophy," in Dean Moyar, ed., *The Oxford Handbook of Hegel* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2017), especially pp. 697–705.

40. Sartre, *Being and Nothingness*, 797.

41. Ibid., 544.

42. Ibid., 24.

43. Fred Dallmayr, *Against Apocalypse: Recovering Humanity's Wholeness* (Lexington Books, 2017), 83.

44. Martin Heidegger, *Poetry, Language, Thought*, trans. Albert Hofstadter (New York: Harper Perennial, 1977), 325.

45. In *LH*, Heidegger writes: "Of course the essential worth of man does not consist in his being the substance of beings, as the 'Subject' among them, so that as the tyrant of Being he may deign to release the beingness of beings into an all too loudly bruited 'objectivity.' Man is rather 'thrown' from Being itself into the truth of Being, so that ek-sisting in this fashion he might guard the truth of Being, in order that beings might appear in the light of Being as the beings they are." Heidegger, *Letter on Humanism*, 210.

46. Martin Heidegger, *Zollikon Seminars: Protocols—Conversations—Letters* (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 2001), 221.

47. See Martin Heidegger, "Plato's Doctrine of Truth," in *Pathmarks* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1999), 181–182.

48. Jacques Derrida, "The Ends of Man," in *Margins of Philosophy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982), 115.

49. Ibid., 132.

50. Ibid., 136.

51. I would like to express my gratitude to Vladimir Marchenkov for his careful reading of my essay and his helpful comments and suggestions.

10

The Voice of Religion in Intercultural Dialogue

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In my contribution to this volume in honor of Edward Demenchonok, I take the opportunity to look back at philosophy and religious studies since the 1970s with the benefit of half a century's hindsight.[1] In the last quarter of the twentieth century, many professional philosophers, sociologists and theologians drew attention to what was termed "desecularization" of cultural life and politics in various parts of the world.[2] It was a time of resurgence for religions, a process that took quite different forms: the strengthening of the role of the Catholic Church in Latin America and Europe and the emergence of liberation theologies, the rise of conservative movements in the United States, the revival and radicalization of Islam (the Iranian revolution of 1979), as well as the spread of non-traditional forms of religiosity. Simultaneously, questions about the "political mission" of the Church and the perspectives of interreligious dialogue in a culturally diverse, globalizing world came to the forefront.

Edward Demenchonok, at that time a Senior Researcher Fellow at the Institute of Philosophy of the Russian Academy of Sciences, made a significant contribution to the development of these themes with his research on post-industrial society, Latin American philosophy, and religious modernism. After defending his dissertation in 1977 (his advisor

was Erikh Yu. Soloviev), he worked for two decades in one of the leading scholarly departments of the Institute of Philosophy—the Department of Contemporary Western Philosophy (hereafter referred to as the Department). I will describe it in more detail in the first part of my chapter. Then I will review the critique of Richard Rorty's private-public dichotomy in religion and will highlight the importance of dialogue at all levels—intersubjective, social, and intercultural.

PIONEERING INTERCULTURAL PHILOSOPHICAL DIALOGUE

Dialogue starts with openness to the "other," with genuine willingness to listen and recognize your interlocutor as equal. That was the principle and professional view of the team of researchers in the Department, for whom philosophy was inquiry and a way of life. They were fluent in foreign languages and carried out research into philosophical trends in Germany, France, Spain, Great Britain, the USA, and other countries. They translated into Russian the works of prominent Western thinkers and responded from their own perspectives to topics addressed by philosophers abroad, providing in their articles and books their own, original analyses of the themes discussed and thus participating in a virtual dialogue with the philosophical community.

The works of Edward Demenchonok and his colleagues were a reliable source of information about the state of affairs in Western philosophy and theology, as well as the latest scholarly discoveries and discussions, and they were in great demand by a reasoning public, thirsty for knowledge. In his essay in the "Memorial and historical section" of the Institute of Philosophy website, Demenchonok recalls:

> In the ideocracy, the word of the powers that be was the final word. But in opposition to this, alternative thought and free speech had a special weight and influence, and they were an event. Fresh publications were snapped up, and the public, thirsty for knowledge, crowded in to hear lectures of philosophers with no less enthusiasm than into the uninhibited shows of rock stars. . . . This ardent interest, perhaps, is difficult to even imagine for today's reader of the Internet era, when pluralism seems to be a given and when, in mass culture, the trivial use of words devalues them.[3]

The Department carried out research projects on the various philosophical currents in Europe and the Americas and on the broad range of themes—anthropological, ethical, and socio-political—discussed in them. The results were published in numerous monographs and collected volumes.[4]

On the initiative of Boris Grigorian, the Department Head at that time, researchers from the Department, including Demenchonok, in collaboration with prominent philosophers from other departments and academic institutions, published the collected volume titled *Problems of Peace and of Social Progress in Contemporary Philosophy*.[5] It presented a broad spectrum of ideas of the philosophy of history, peace, and social progress from various philosophical and religious traditions of Europe, Asia, Africa, and the Americas. Within this context, it addressed the danger of the Cold War and the nuclear arms race and provided a philosophical justification of the necessary and possible alternative, based on the principles of peaceful coexistence and collaboration among nations, disarmament and equal security, equality in international relations, and mutually beneficial economic and cultural cooperation. It appealed to the global consciousness, ethical co-responsibility, and the solidarity of all people in aspiring for world peace and the better future of humanity.

Another of the hallmarks of the Department was a collected volume, to which Demenchonok contributed, that provided a comprehensive picture of contemporary conceptions of man, relating to topics including existentialism, personalism, psychoanalysis, phenomenology, philosophical anthropology, and pragmatism.[6] It provided an analysis of the religious concepts of the human being in philosophical and religious anthropology, neo-Thomism, and Protestant philosophy.

Demenchonok's publications on the Latin American philosophy of liberation were the first in Russia (and one of the first in Europe) in which this philosophy was recognized and analyzed as a new philosophical current.[7]

In addition, Edward Demenchonok, Asa Zykova, and Zoia Zaritowscaya, together with other colleagues, formed a creative research group at the Department for studies on Latin American philosophy, which culminated with the collected volume titled *On the History of Philosophy of Latin America in the 20th Century*.[8] Its objective was to study philosophical ideas and original concepts associated with the search by Latin American

thinkers for an "authentic" philosophy and theology, growing out of historical, ethnocultural, and social contexts. Another task was to explore the relationship between the universal and the culturally specific in philosophy as well as intercultural dialogue based on the study of philosophy in (for example) Latin America. This pioneering research was significant in responding to the turn of philosophy toward culture and to the emerging movement for the recognition of cultural diversity. As Demenchonok wrote:

> The transformative consequence of this turn . . . was the need to rethink the very concept of philosophy and the history of philosophy. Philosophy was understood as culturally embedded and contextualized. . . . A pluralistic understanding of philosophical culture, which struggled to gain recognition also in Western countries, made its way through, overcoming the inertia of Eurocentrism, logocentrism and instrumental rationality. It was a heuristically fruitful approach, in many respects in tune with postmodern, postcolonial and intercultural philosophies.[9]

In conjunction with liberational philosophy, Demenchonok also studied liberation theology, and he organized and edited a volume about contemporary Catholic philosophy.[10] The volume presents some of the aspects of Catholic philosophy after the Second Vatican Council (1962–65) and its course of *aggiornamento* (renewal). It explores the reorientation of neo-Thomism's ontology and epistemology toward man and actual problems of human existence; in entering into a dialogue with the contemporary world, theorists of this current assimilate the categories and methods of phenomenology, existential hermeneutics, philosophical anthropology, and personalism. They accept the existential interpretation of the connection between the divine being and the created world, undertaken by Jacques Maritain with his "integral humanism," which considers the human being as having both material and spiritual dimensions and as striving for a common good. Theorists of transcendental neo-Thomism, such as Emerich Coreth, Johannes B. Lotz, Gerhard Müller, and Karl Rahner, are focused on the question of the creative activity of a person who shapes a cultural-historical world. They draw on the vision of human existence in the existential hermeneutics of Martin Heidegger and Hans-Georg Gadamer, in the philosophical anthropology of Arnold Gehlen, Max Scheler, and Helmuth Plesner, and in the personalism of Paul Ricoeur. Neo-Thomism combines a providential-eschatological vision of social-historical development with an analysis of contemporary problems. The dialogue

between the Church (the city of God) and society (the city on Earth) is understood as a means of introducing the highest religious and moral values into the culture of our time. Special attention is paid to the publications in *Zeitschrift fürTheologie und Philosophie*. In this volume, the views of contemporary Catholic theologians on philosophy, particularly Martin Heidegger, Karl Jaspers, and Emmanuel Levinas, as well as the socio-philosophical views of John Paul II are also analyzed.

Within this volume on Catholic philosophy, Demenchonok focused on liberation theology in his chapter titled "The issue of cultural-historical creativity in the Latin American Theology of Liberation."[11] In this chapter, liberation theology is analyzed as a remarkable phenomenon, an important event in Catholic theological and philosophical thought after the Second Vatican Council. It examines how the theorists of liberation theology adopt philosophical terms and how they reinterpret theological categories. It shows the influence of liberation philosophy on the philosophy of religion, understood as the philosophical reflection regarding religion and the relation of the human being with the sacred and with God.

Methodologically, Demenchonok holds that liberation theology is a complex phenomenon, and for its correct understanding, it is necessary to approach it within the historical-cultural and political context of Latin America of the second half of the twentieth century.[12] The rise of social conscience in the Church coincided with the emergence of secular theories of dependency, denouncing the structural causes of poverty. Demenchonok highlights the originality of liberation theology and its transformative character. He refers to its founder, Gustavo Gutiérrez, who stressed the social function of theology as a critical reflection on praxis and a vital resource of human emancipation.[13]

Furthermore, Demenchonok shows the kinship of liberation theology and liberational philosophy. Both were developed by Enrique Dussel, Hugo Assmann, and Juan Carlos Scannone, among others. They have in common the theme of liberation, ethical underpinnings, "conscientization," the assertion of the active role of people as the actors of social-historical changes, and the praxis of emancipatory struggle. In the analysis of works of Dussel, who added an anthropological meaning to the theological categories, attention is paid to his reinterpretation of Levinas's conception of "the other" as opposed to the dominating "totality" and symbolizing the alterity of the "poor" or the peripheric nations of Latin America, Africa, and

Asia.[14] Dussel gives ethical priority to the *face* of the victimized "other." The *face-to-face* relation hermeneutically traces ethics back to the birth of intersubjective meaning. It is an openness to the dialogical relations between different persons, with justice and love.[15]

The publications of the philosophers of the Department, Demenchonok included, were important not only for the philosophical community but also for the reasoning public in general as a source of information, a window opening onto intellectual life and social processes in other countries. It was helpful for people's self-reflection and for the awaking of social consciousness. The information about the increasing role of religion in the world, as manifested in Western Europe and the Americas, was relevant to Russia as well. After the democratic changes in the country in the early 1990s, Orthodox Christianity and other religions started regaining their ground and flourishing as an important source of help to those seeking spirituality and identity and aiming for more harmonious relationships in the ethnically-culturally diverse and multi-religious country.

The ideas of openness to the "other" and of intercultural philosophical dialogue, promoted by the researchers of the Department, paved the way to personal contacts and dialogue with philosophers from other countries. In this regard, Demenchonok contributed to this communicational bridge-building significantly, also collaborating with the journal *Concordia: The International Journal of Philosophy*, edited by Raúl Fornet-Betancourt, as an author and as the coordinator in Russia. He served as a liaison between Russian and Latin American philosophers. As Demenchonok recalls, in 1986 the Institute of Philosophy was visited by the prominent Peruvian philosopher Francisco Miró-Quesada, and then by a number of other Latin American philosophers, such as Enrique Dussel, Raúl Fornet-Betancourt and Horacio Cerruti-Guldberg.[16] This helped foster international philosophical dialogue and a better understanding of Latin American philosophy in Russia and of Russian philosophy in the world.

The legacy of our colleagues in the Department, as well as of the other researchers at the Institute of Philosophy, remains valid in our current situation, when philosophy is facing problems both old and new, such as pandemics, climate change, underdevelopment, the risks of a new Cold War etc. Their courage to hope serves as a model for the new generation and as a source of inspiration in our philosophical journey through the complexities and turbulent waters of today's world.

Presently, the Department is continuing its research work on contemporary philosophical trends and is in actual and virtual dialogue with many of their representatives. We appreciate the legacy and the general theoretical and methodological foundations for studying the panorama of contemporary philosophy left by our colleagues during the last quarter of the twentieth century. Our research team is currently focused on the philosophical themes of life and its preservation, democracy and cultural diversity, communication and dialogue, and the variety of philosophical and religious worldviews in the era of globally interrelated humanity. It should not be forgotten that in the Institute of Philosophy there are also Departments of Oriental Philosophies, of the Philosophy of the Islamic World, of the History of Russian Philosophy, of Ancient Greek and Medieval Philosophy, of Philosophy of Culture, of Philosophy of Religion, as well as Departments related to other areas of philosophy. All of them contribute to intercultural philosophical dialogue and to a better understanding of the comprehensive panorama of vibrant philosophical thought in our world.

In normatively asserting the vital importance of dialogue, it is necessary at the same time to consider the obstacles heaped on it by political and ideological aberrations that hinder dialogical relationships. Unfortunately, even in the field of philosophy, there are some conceptions that underestimate the role of religion. This can be seen in the conception of Richard Rorty, who views religion as a "conversation-stopper," thus implying a false dilemma between dialogue and religion. In what follows, I will analyze Rorty's views on religion, drawing arguments not only from the Western critics of Rorty, but also from the works of Demenchonok, who provides valuable insights for the critique of this conception.

QUESTIONING RICHARD RORTY'S PARTITION BETWEEN THE PUBLIC AND THE PRIVATE IN RELIGION

The formation of Rorty's views on religion was influenced by his parents, James Rorty and Winfred Rauschenbusch, who were both intellectuals, writers, and activists and who numbered among the lesser-known participants in a network called the New York Intellectuals, represented by

such iconic figures as Daniel Bell, Leonell Trilling, and Irving Kristol from the Old Left.[17] Like Bell, Rorty makes a "distinction between the *public* and the *private*" not only "on liberal philosophical principles" but also for prudential reasons.[18]

Rorty's pragmatism was in tune with the view, fashionable in the 1980s, that religion is a factor hindering cultural growth, social communication, and progress, an idea that still has support not only in the scientific community but also in some quarters of the philosophical community. Religious beliefs are declared epistemologically unreliable, unable to withstand the test of experience, and flawed in comparison with the "universal" and generally accessible provisions of secular reason. Therefore, for adherents of this view, the rational public sphere must be "cleansed" of religion.

Rorty opposes private faith to public knowledge, the spiritual improvement of the individual to social cooperation. He writes with regard to religion that "contemporary secularists like myself are content to say that it is politically dangerous. On our view, religion is unobjectionable as long as it is privatized—as long as ecclesiastical institutions do not attempt to rally the faithful behind political proposals and as long as believers and unbelievers agree to follow a policy of live and let live."[19]

The problem, as Rorty sees it, is that references to "deep religious beliefs" in public debates are too often used as a decisive argument to end the dialogue. For him, if you say, "this is what my faith demands," further discussion becomes extremely difficult, if not impossible. Religion thus acts as a "conversation-stopper."[20] In the era of "secularized polytheism,"[21] Rorty argues, religion, pushed out of the public and political space into the private sphere of spirituality, becomes an "individual preference,"[22] that is, something optional. Rorty seems to think that this trend is irreversible. He places religious belief on a par with "idiosyncratic affairs" such as stamp collecting, planting flowers, caring for pets, and playing golf. According to him, such individualized religion, in contrast to *institutionalized* ones, does not pose any social danger. Thus, to protect liberal democracy, it is sufficient to take care of the *privatization* of religious faith.

In general, Rorty's argumentation fits into the mainstream of the ideas of classical pragmatist William James, who defines religion as "the feelings, acts, and experiences of individual men in their solitude, so far as they apprehend themselves to stand in relation to whatever they may consider

divine," with the growth of ecclesiastical organizations becoming of secondary importance.[23] This view of religion, however, provoked criticism. Nicholas Lash, for example, challenged James's "real inward" versus "outward" dualism, or the sharp separation of the personal and the institutional. In contrast to post-Cartesian tendencies to identify the religious experience of individual communicable states of minds or feelings, Lash stressed the cultivation of the wholeness of the nature of human character with its mystical, intellectual, and institutional dimensions.[24]

Rorty's private-public split cuts across the division of a liberal society.[25] His opposition of private and public spheres, including in politics and religion, without considering their complex interrelations, raised questions and provoked different interpretations and critiques.[26] It was criticized, for example, for entailing the exclusion of minority views from the public sphere. Lior Erez writes, "The religious citizen's view is not necessarily incompatible with the purposes of the liberal public sphere, at least not in the minimal sense in which Rorty interprets liberalism."[27]

Rorty remains an epistemological anarchist, an ironic critic of classical ideas about God and truth as a correspondence to objective reality, not caring at all how such a strategy is pragmatic or politically relevant. As a public philosopher, Rorty is precisely not pragmatic enough. He does not seem to notice that in the post-secular context, this kind of laicism is questionable, just as a rigid dichotomy between the political (understood as "external") and the religious (understood as "internal"), between public and private matters, is questionable. Actually, it is almost impossible to separate the social and individual aspects of human existence in many cases. Our individual "I"—our way of thinking, language, habits—is initially constituted publicly, that is, in an essential way, socially. And religion is no exception.

The underestimation of the role of the "collective factor" in religious life (with the emphasis on the "idiosyncratic" component of faith) does not fit well with "epistemological behaviorism" and Rorty's ethnocentrism—the reduction of truth to agreement, objectivity to "solidarity." He overlooks the fact that the foundation of personal religiosity is precisely the *general* truths recorded in texts or oral tradition and internalized by believers—doctrinal principles preserved and developed by the efforts of *ecclesia*. It is important for a religious person that his/her individual ideas and

experiences (the "content" of faith) are also intersubjective and shared by fellow believers. For Christians, the Church is equated with "the body of Christ." As a counter-argument to Rorty, Gregory Reece writes: "Very few religious people say 'I believe it just because I believe it.' Almost always they appeal to some standard of justification acceptable to a religious community."[28] The privatization of religion, strictly speaking, is impossible just for the same reasons as the privatization of language (Ludwig Wittgenstein) or morality (Christine Korsgaard).

As noted by John Caputo, religion became the "inner feeling" of a person and a separate "sphere of activity" only in modern times: "In the Middle Ages . . . Christianity, Islam, and Judaism were all over the place, covering everything, seeping into every crevice, constituting the very air everyone breathed. . . . 'Religion' in the modern sense, as some *separate* sphere, apart from the 'secular' order, did not exist."[29]

The post-secular situation at the beginning of the twenty-first century, emphasizes Demenchonok, reveals the inadequacy of "the classical modern theory of secularization," which diminishes the significance of religion and "implies the elimination of religious and cultural differences and the homogenization of societies in the process of modernization." The recent resurgence of religiosity throughout the world "casts doubt on this view of modernization as the correlative with secularization."[30]

Many authors question Rorty's attempt to draw sharp distinctions between the public and private in religion.[31] His critics point out that his laicism—expressed in the opposition of private religiosity and civic activism—is contrary to the principles of liberal democracy. Liberalism positions itself as a social order in which no person should be politically disadvantaged. But in the case of religions pushed to the periphery of the public space, this principle is obviously violated: in order to participate in social and political life, believers have to split their identity into religious and civic (the first prevails in private life, the second in public); hence, they find themselves in less favorable conditions than the carriers of secular worldviews. To require of religious people "that they not base their decisions and discussions concerning political issues on their religion is to infringe, inequitably, on the free exercise of their religion."[32]

According to Rorty, believers, if they want to be heard and understood, must learn to translate their beliefs and political concerns from religious into a publicly available (presumably neutral and free-for-all) secular

language. However, as Michael Perry noted, religious discourse "is not necessarily more monologic (or otherwise problematic) than resolutely secular discourse."[33] Some issues of a political, legal, or ethical nature (e.g., euthanasia, same-sex marriage, the status of a human embryo, etc.) are so problematic and divisive that any arguments presented in a dispute, regardless of whether they are religious or not, inevitably turn out to divide the interlocutors rather than unite them. The problem is much deeper than just finding a "neutral" language to discuss these issues.

What makes Rorty think that the "translation" of beliefs to secular language would benefit communication? Secular language, for all its functional convenience and inclusiveness, does not necessarily best suit the way of thinking of a religious person. To use it as a tool in political dialogue (as Rorty suggests) means for the believer to be *hypocritical*, to mislead the interlocutor. It is difficult to count on the success of a deliberative democratic process if it is assumed in advance that some of the participants in the discussion will (be forced to) speak a language other than their own, a foreign language, not because they are used to it or want to, but because it is convenient for others—for those with whom they would enter into a discussion.[34]

Regarding Rorty's approach to communication and the "assimilating model" of understanding, Demenchonok and Peterson critically point out that in this approach "an interpretation is either assimilation of the others to one's own standards of rationality or a conversion and subjection to the rationality of an alien worldview."[35] Both assimilation and conversion are attempts to impose one's own standards over the interlocutor, tantamount to a deceptive strategic action, which is incompatible with dialogue between equals. The "assimilation model" of understanding, defended by Rorty and Alasdair MacIntyre, was criticized by Jürgen Habermas, who stressed that "understanding can only succeed under symmetrical conditions of *mutual* perspective taking."[36]

The openness of a public discussion presupposes a willingness to listen to the opponent and the recognition of the equal rights of the discussants.[37] Of course, this right extends to all members of the community who participate in a collective "game of giving and asking for reasons": everyone's opinion deserves attention and critical consideration. Demenchonok refers to this approach as "egalitarian universalism": "The constitutional state is supposed to ensure that different communities of

belief can coexist peacefully on the basis of equal rights and mutual tolerance. These matters should be approached from the perspective of egalitarian universalism. Mutual recognition requires that religious and secular citizens be willing to listen and to learn from each other in public debates."[38]

Rorty positions himself as a pragmatist and an *anti-essentialist*.[39] At the same time, he argues that religion *per se* is dangerous to democracy. This position is challenged by Jeffrey Stout, who notes that such sweeping remarks are "no more useful than saying that sports, politics, or art is, on the whole, a good or bad thing. . . . All of them provide ample opportunities for the expression of good and bad motives." The conversational utility of employing religious premises in political arguments depends on the situation. In contrast to an exclusivist secular utopia, Stout suggests forming an inclusive "coalition between religious groups and secular intellectuals . . . to save American democracy from plutocrats and theocrats at home and abroad."[40]

In any case, "religiously based" moral convictions, although they are implicit and not always revealed outwardly, play a significant role in modern politics. By neglecting such an important resource for the institution of meaning as religious organizations and traditions, the liberal state is robbing itself intellectually, linguistically, and politically.[41] The polyphonic complexity of public life should not be artificially reduced to one variety or another of secular discourse which does not reflect the entire palette of approaches and ideas that are relevant or potentially useful to society. In Habermas's words, "Particularly with regard to vulnerable social relations, religious traditions possess the power to convincingly articulate moral sensitivities and solidaristic intuitions."[42]

THE VOICE OF RELIGION IN INTERCULTURAL DIALOGUE

Demenchonok challenges Rorty's negative view of religion in a public space and his suggestion to "cleanse" the rational public sphere of religion. In the same vein he criticizes Daniel Bell's thesis of the withering of religion, and his functionally-pragmatic view of religion.[43] In contrast to Bell's lamentation about the weakening role of religion as an integrating

force in society, Demenchonok demonstrates the significant presence of religion in the public space and explores the real manifestations of its role in society in concrete social-political circumstances. He examines the complexity of the relations of religion to power and how religion can both play a role in politics and, conversely, be played by politics. He shows the transformative potential of religious traditions and doctrines in his analysis of the theory and praxis of a theology of liberation. Most importantly, Demenchonok highlights the *spirituality* in religion and states that "spiritual tradition is the core of any religion."[44] In his recent publications, he gives prominence to spirituality in Western and Eastern Orthodox Christianity.[45]

Contrary to Rorty's claim that religion is far from politics and does not match reality, Demenchonok demonstrated that, for example, liberation theology in Latin America and other regions was active and engaged in the reformist social movements. In his words, "The new theology turns its attention to a 'historical reality' of Latin America and undertakes its task to hermeneutically understand its meaning and subsequently to change it."[46]

Demenchonok shows how liberation theologians "seek to link issues of faith with activities to transform society, . . . declaring the priority of 'orthopraxy' over 'orthodoxy.'"[47] Seemingly very abstract discussions about Christian love, sin and redemption, forgiveness and salvation bear the imprint of the political engagement of Latin American theologians. In the concept of "Christian love," Gutiérrez stresses that "love of God is unavoidably expressed *through* love of one's neighbor." He refers the term "neighbor" not only to man viewed individually, but also to man in social relationships, to the dominated people, the marginalized race, and the masses. Love, Gutiérrez says, is universal, and it is first and foremost directed towards the goal of emancipation: "Universal love comes down from the level of abstractions and becomes concrete and effective by becoming incarnate in the struggle for the liberation of the oppressed."[48]

But love is hindered by sin, which is "the breach of friendship with God and with other man" and the choice to refuse to love, to reject communion and brotherhood, to reject the very meaning of human existence.[49] The very concept of sin, notes Demenchonok, is interpreted in new theology "not anthropologically, but as a 'social, historical fact,' acquiring a certain socio-political meaning."[50] Gutiérrez views sin not only as individual (selfishness as the negation of love), to be removed through spiritual effort and redemption, but also mainly as a social phenomenon rooted in oppressive,

"sinful" conditions maintained within social structures by dominating elites: "Sin appears, . . . as the fundamental alienation, the root of the situation of injustice and exploitation."[51] The deliverance of people from structural sin "demands a radical liberation, which in turn necessarily implies a political liberation" and active participation in an overall striving for human freedoms and rights.[52]

The view of reason and faith as being sharply opposed is counterproductive. This dichotomy is also dogmatically absolutized by some religious theorists who view religious and secular approaches to human rights as mutually exclusive. In this regard, Demenchonok's analysis of the religious and philosophical grounding of the concept of human rights is illuminating. He notes that in the West, the idea of human rights has been traditionally rooted in Christian theology but has since grown beyond its theological origin. The great world religions express the ideas of human dignity, respect for the other, and the equality of persons, which resonate with the idea of human rights. However, he criticizes the attempts of Nicholas Wolterstorff, Michael Perry, and similar theorists to justify human rights exclusively on religious grounds, dismissing any secular philosophical justification as invalid.[53] Demenchonok points out that this exclusivist slant would create problems for the project of globalizing human rights because, in a culturally and religiously diverse world, people with different views about religion as well as persons with non-religious worldviews would have difficulties in accepting the legitimacy of human rights based on some religious grounding that they do not accept to begin with. He defends the validity of Kantian and contemporary philosophical justifications of the universality of human rights. At the same time, he argues that in the atmosphere of postmodern skepticism, "many theorists minimize the scope of their justification of the idea of human rights by avoiding any contentious philosophical or religious premises" and that "in a pluralistic world, a wider framework is needed to ground the idea of human rights."[54]

Demenchonok's well-balanced approach is helpful for better understanding the complexity of the issues regarding the role of religion in the public space of post-secular society (while avoiding the fallacy of extremes) and how individuals, whether religious or not, may best regard their role in the political system. The recognition of the rights of religious people to participate without discrimination in the political processes of

democratic society still does not mean accepting the role of religion in the public domain unconditionally. For example, Habermas argues that religion should meet certain conditions in order to partake in opinion- and will-formation in the public sphere, and he outlines cognitive presuppositions for the "public use of reason" by religious and non-religious citizens.[55]

With the increasing influence of communities of faith in public life, the twofold problem of the politicization of religion and the religionization of politics has become an acute issue.[56] In these cases, religious claims may often be a mask for other motives such as political and economic interests. When leaders of religious organizations use them to pursue their own political and economic interests, such organizations degenerate into soulless bodies and merely social-political clubs. This insincere use of religion and the widely held perception that religion is partisan have contributed to the turning away from religious affiliation.[57] The flip side of this phenomenon is the religionization of politics, the use of religion for political manipulation, when a politician can exploit religious faith and cynically appeal to religious sentiment in order to seek re-election.[58]

Rorty's private-public dichotomy was criticized by Nancy Fraser in her article "Solidarity or Singularity? Richard Rorty Between Romanticism and Technocracy." This dichotomy, Fraser argues, can be seen as the contrast between the polylogic and monologic conceptions of discourse. The polylogic conception is related to Rorty's pragmatic impulse and to his notion of practice and politics. But "the monologic view is the Romantic-individualist view," in which discourse is the prerogative of the poet and the ironic theorist, she notes. "It is a discourse that consists in a solitary voice crying out into the night against an utterly undifferentiated background," where there is no room for a different voice and a reply or for interaction. "The monologic conception . . . is individualistic, elitist, and antisocial," writes Fraser, and she traces its impact on Rorty's theorizing: "thus, both culture and theory get depoliticized."[59]

Fraser notes that in Rorty's dichotomous picture, it is "paradoxical that what was supposed to be a political 'polylogue' comes increasingly to resemble a monologue." Here, a political discourse privileges some voices but mutes others, thus in reality becoming monological. Fraser indicates the political implications of this monologism: "Political discourse in fact is restricted by Rorty to those who speak the language of bourgeois liberalism," thereby setting a monopoly on conversations about community

needs and social problems, but "whoever eschews the liberal idiom must be talking about something else—about, say, individual salvation." Thus, in Rorty's framework, there is no place for *collective* subjects that contest dominant discourses, for *nonliberal* interpretations of social needs, for genuinely radical political discourse, or "for idioms invented to overcome the enforced silencing or muting of disadvantaged social groups."[60]

The monologic nature of this theorizing as the antithesis to dialogic discourse is analyzed in detail in Demenchonok's works. He refers to Mikhail Bakhtin, who articulated the turn from the monologic paradigm to the *dialogic* paradigm as the main event in twentieth-century philosophy and held that the notion of truth itself is not limited to only one consciousness, but that truth emerges at the point of contact among various consciousnesses: "On the basis of the philosophical monologism any substantial interaction of consciousnesses is impossible, and therefore any substantial dialogue is impossible."[61] Bakhtin developed his dialogical philosophy for what Demenchonok characterizes as "the pluralistic dialogic world of creative thinking, recognition of the others as equals, personal moral responsibility and shared coexistence, and an openness toward the cultural-historical creativity of individuals."[62]

Demenchonok traces the further development of dialogical philosophy in discourse ethics, which highlights the moral underpinning of dialogue, formulated its normative principles, such as truth, rightness, truthfulness, and sincerity, and stresses that dialogue participants must treat one another as equals. The dialogic interaction, aimed at common understanding and cooperation, is opposed to secretively deceptive strategic actions or violence. He highlights the contribution of intercultural philosophy to dialogue and its orientation toward the transformation of philosophy and society, arguing that "the enhancement of dialogical relationships is both a condition and an indispensable means for progression toward a more humane, peaceful and just world order."[63]

According to Demenchonok, the ideas of dialogue, developed in intercultural philosophy, are becoming adopted in intercultural theology.[64] Its representatives argue for the cultural embeddedness of theological forms and dialogue between Christianity and the main non-Christian religions, as well as with Latina theologians in the United States and Latin American feminist theologians.[65] In developing these ideas, Demenchonok writes: "Dialogic philosophy contributes to elaborating a view of human beings

and society based on the principles of dialogue and communication on all their levels: individual, intersubjective, social, and intercultural. . . . The principles of dialogic philosophy can be considered as a kind of theoretical basis for a new, dialogical civilization."[66]

The neo-laicist view of secular and religious spheres, of reason and faith as sharply opposed, is counterproductive. Both faith and reason can give rise to dangerous and destructive types of extremism, fanaticism, or idolatry. Without denying the reality of cultural tensions, we nevertheless should not accept "culture wars" as something inevitable. Asymmetry of power, the political and ideological polarization of society, the marginalization of minorities, and ethnic-religious discrimination—all this antagonizes society and serves as fertile soil for fundamentalism and extremism. The remedy for this is the consistent implementation of the rule of law and of the democratic principles of treating citizens as free and equal. The positive alternative to divisiveness is the relationships of dialogue at all levels—intersubjective, social, and intercultural. Philosophers in Russia and other countries in the world, in theory and in practice, are contributing to fostering this dialogue.

As Demenchonok states, "much inspiration for resisting disorder and for positive transformations can be derived from the great world religions and also from prominent philosophical and wisdom traditions around the world."[67] The invocation of both basic religious and philosophical resources is needed for achieving a more humane world. It is important to generate "hopeful dispositions which, in turn, translate into practical conduct designed to promote peace and justice and thus to honor the 'better angels' of humanity." With his works, Demenchonok contributes to the encouragement of these hopeful dispositions: "Despite all the challenges posed by our current global disorder, we persist in believing that global dialogue in the world through international forums and publications will help people to develop a global consciousness, and strengthen the courage to think, hope, and act in order to make our world a better place to live."[68] The courage to hope helps all of us, as peoples and individuals, in striving for this ideal.[69]

NOTES

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48. Gutiérrez, *A Theology of Liberation*, 276.

49. Ibid., 175.

50. Demenchonok, "Chelovek i ego mir v 'teologii osvobozhdeniya'" [Human being and his world in a 'liberation theology'], 96.

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68. Edward Demenchonok, "Preface," in *A World Beyond Global Disorder: The Courage to Hope*, eds. Fred Dallmayr and Edward Demenchonok (Newcastle upon Tyne, UK: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2017), xiv.

69. Translated by E. Demenchonok and A. Wright.

IV

RATIONALITY, FREEDOM, AND RESPONSIBILITY

11

Rationality, Harmony, and Responsibility

Grigorii L. Tulchinskii

Ideas of dialogue and harmony, and harmony through dialogical relationships, are key to identifying opportunities and building a basis for cooperation between representatives of different cultures in solving both social problems that are directly related to them and more general problems that affect all people living on our planet. And, indeed, there are more and more such problems: from nuclear proliferation to climate change, from the elimination of poverty to the struggle against pandemics and the prevention and resolution of multi-level conflicts.

Themes of intercultural dialogue, intercultural harmony, and cultural identity in the globalized world are at the forefront of contemporary discussions and are actively being explored in our time. Edward Demenchonok has made a substantial contribution to this development—not only through his own research but also through his activity in uniting the efforts of researchers from other countries in intercultural philosophical dialogue.[1] This activity is a continuation of a quarter-century (1970–1995) of his work at the Institute of Philosophy of the Russian Academy of Sciences, where he fruitfully studied and published on contemporary trends and issues in world philosophy, devoting special attention to such a culturally diverse and complex region as Latin America.

It is remarkable that Edward Demenchonok, in his interpretation of dialogue as dialogical relations, highlights its personological basis (in intra-personal and inter-subjective as well as intercultural dialogue) and its moral underpinning in light of Bakhtin's dialogism and *filosofii postupka* (philosophy of act).[2] The term "*postupok*" is an original culturally embedded Russian notion and philosopheme that has no complete equivalent in European languages, and its translation cannot convey the richness of this original Russian term. It has a much broader meaning than "act," "action," "deed," or "*Wirkung*," which basically mean an immediate practical (physical) action and its social significance, while *postupok* implies motivation from the inside of the person and responsibility for the action in its relation to the person's worldview. For the Russian spiritual experience, *postupok* is a responsible, conscious, rationally motivated, and thus free act. According to Mikhail Bakhtin, *postupok* is a manifestation of "participative thinking" and of primordial man's "non-alibi in Being" as the condition and prerequisite of freedom. *Postupok* is a heuristically rich philosopheme, the philosophical elaboration of which opens new horizons for the understanding of conscious and responsible being in our challenging world.

It should be noted that the search for harmony, the cohesion of society and integrity with the wholeness of the world, is common for the peoples of Russia, Latin America, and other nations, and it is expressed in their philosophical traditions. This is traditionally a very Russian theme: from communality to "*sobornost*" (communal spirit, conciliarity) and to the philosophies of organicism and cosmism. As Edward Demenchonok writes, "The main motifs and topics of Russian philosophy are bound together by a striving for wholeness as a desirable state of humankind, both as a social body and individually. It is expressed in the concept of *sobornost'* (spiritual community of jointly living people), meaning a free spiritual unity of people both in religious life and in the secular community, and the relations of brotherhood and love." This concept was developed by Alexey Khomyakov, Nikolai Berdyaev, Pavel Florensky, Sergei Bulgakov, and Nikolai Lossky. Moreover, "Vladimir Solovyov developed the ideas of 'positive wholeness' (*vse-edinstvo*, or unity-of-all), and 'Godmanhood,' and he philosophically grounded universal moral principles in his concept of the 'justification of the Good.'"[3]

As the children's adage goes, "whoever hurts, he speaks about that." For Russia, which suffered the violence of civil war and foreign invasions, such as during World War Two in which 27 million perished, peace and harmony have an especial, existential meaning, and the themes of accord and harmony and dialogue both within a huge country and with other countries have been traditional throughout history, just as they are today. These ideas have become increasingly pertinent for the whole world, which is facing global problems that threaten the future of humanity and which can be mitigated only through the joint efforts of collaborative nations. In this regard, Leo Semashko initiated and has worked for several years within the framework of the large-scale international organization called the Global Harmony Association—over the last ten years, this team has published eight books in Russia and abroad.[4] An exceptionally broad survey of approaches, concepts, and ideas (including not only European authors) about the wholeness of the polycultural world was proposed by Eugene Zelenev.[5]

All authors engaged in the development of the theme of harmony and dialogue, despite all their originality, are united by the desire to better understand the complex relationships of cultures and to highlight a common basis for the dialogue of people. Building such a dialogue and understanding the path toward harmony in relationships touch on the topic of rationality one way or another. Usually, the contribution of rationalism and its main brainchild—science—to the development of civilization is associated with scientific and technological development. Indeed, the face of contemporary civilization—production, service, communications, living conditions, health care, etc.—is determined, first of all, by the means provided by science and technology. Equally important, though perhaps less obvious, is the influence of the idea of rationality and science on moral culture and even political culture. In this essay, an attempt is made to identify the main aspects of this influence and to briefly outline their content and prospects.

RATIONALITY AS MERELY AN EFFECTIVE "TECHNICALITY"?

Usually, rationality is understood as normativity, as adherence to a certain system of rules and patterns that allow one to achieve some significant goals. The general characteristic of rationality so understood is the orientation toward models of successful (cognitive, constructive, economic, etc.) activity.[6] Moreover, success is understood precisely as the achievement of specific goals. Actually, normativity, in fact, is nothing more than a successful effective experience enshrined in the rules.

In this regard, the paradox of rationality arises. Indeed, if rationality is associated with certain patterns, that is, normativity, then the very choice of these patterns, norms, and criteria cannot be justified rationally. The situation of a "logical circle" arises when rationality is determined by the characteristics of scientificality, and scientificality has to be substantiated through rationality. It is with the attempts to solve this problem that the search for various types and forms of rationality are associated: scientific, practical, social, etc., up to the self-sufficient rationality of forms of social life and specific types of activity. The introduction of the "multidimensionality" of rationality looks somewhat more elegant and highlights its various "dimensions": methodological, sociological, psychological, socio-psychological, linguistic, psychosemantic, political, economic, etc. At the same time, nothing prevents the expansion of this open list.

Rationality is always specific and linked to the solution of a specific problem, functioning as a way to solve it successfully.[7]

Therefore, it seems that the ever-greater fragmentation of rationality is not due to postmodernism[8] but scientific rationality itself, with its focus on the self-sufficiency of various value-normative systems. However, such a pluralistic attitude does not relieve the tension associated with the question of what is common to all possible models of rationality and allows us to speak of it as a kind of integral concept.[9] If we start from such a formulation of the question, then the way out can be sought in the very root of the idea of rationality.

The civilizational breakthrough, which determined the image of the contemporary world, all its achievements, prospects, and problems, is largely due to the "meeting of Athens and Jerusalem" and the synthesis of two great ideas: Judeo-Christian monotheism and Greek logic. The awareness that the world was created by a single will according to a single intelligent design and that a person is given intellectual means and abilities

to comprehend this design—the *logos* as a rational idea, thought, the law of the world order—is a key moment for understanding why it was in the bosom of this tradition that scientific methods and scientific and technical progress are found. First, as a sophisticated questioning of the sacred texts. Then, the questioning of nature itself (experimental knowledge).[10] There was only one step left from this until the rejection of the "hypothesis of God" and the transition to activities that were not only cognitive but also transformative. The world as a whole and its fragments appear to be manufactured. The path of cognition is the path of realizing the schematism of this manufacturing. The infinite is reduced to the finite. This provided the conditions for the rapid rise of the scientific and technological progress of Western civilization as a scientific and techno-genetic civilization, allowing the development of science, education, scientific and technological progress, business activity, and management.

Traditionally understood rationality expresses precisely the idea of the manufacturing of a thing, a phenomenon, its "hidden schematism," as Francis Bacon said. We can say that such an understanding of rationality goes back to the ancient idea of *"techne"*—a skillful artificial transformation.

In this regard, rationality coincides with the idea of efficiency as expediency, efficiency, and economy. In the first case, we are talking about the correspondence between the chosen goals and the needs or value norms (G / N). In the second—between the result and the goals (R / G). In the third—between the result and the cost of resources (R / C).[11] In other words, rationality = efficiency = ($G / N \times R / G \times R / C$). The overlap of the concepts of rationality and efficiency is not accidental. It testifies to a deep fundamental commonality of managerial and cognitive processes, expressed in their conditionality by practical activity. Just as the integral expression of efficiency is the relation of needs to the available opportunities and resources, so the integral expression of the idea of rationality, the rational arrangement of things, is the idea of the realizable and effective action of its "hidden schematism." Rationaltty as the effectiveness and constructiveness of purposeful activity means that it is reasonable and rational to achieve the goal, and by optimal means.

This approach allows one to find a general principle of rationality, to streamline sometimes unreasonably divorced concepts. So, in the work of Chester Barnard, devoted to the management of organizations, the

effectiveness of the organization and its rationality (efficiency) are distinguished. In the first case, we are talking about achieving goals; in the second—about focusing on meeting needs and solving real problems.[12] It is easy to see that it is less fruitful to separate these concepts first and then talk about the task of their harmonization than to proceed from their initial connection.

The proposed approach opens the horizon to grasping the limitations of the traditional understanding of rationality. The twentieth century did not only bring about welfare and prosperity. Environmental problems, nuclear weapons, technical disasters, dangerous technologies, and political violence are by no means incidental costs but direct and inalienable consequences of the "technical" idea of rationality, which justifies bringing the surrounding reality into conformity with its cognized essence. Moreover, a person—as a being who is finite (in space and time)—cannot obtain the fullness of the knowledge of reality. A person always comprehends reality from some position, from some point of view, and with some sense that is set, first of all, by the context of their purpose. This knowledge, by its very nature, is not complete.

Traditional rationality actually sows the mortification of the living with abstract schemes that require forced implementation, giving rise to the problems of the metaphysics of morality that humanity faced in the twentieth century. "Technical" rationality either rejects it as an irrational category of responsibility (and related ideas of conscience, guilt, repentance, shame, etc.) or interprets it as responsibility for the implementation of a rational (= effective) idea. This kind of rationality leads to the self-sufficiency of certain spheres of application of reason: in science —to the extremes of scientism, in art—to formalistic aesthetics, in technology—to the absurdity of self-directed technicalism, in politics—to manifestations of Machiavellianism. The consequence of the absolutization of such rationality is immoralism, negative aspects of scientific and technological progress that feed misology, anti-scientism, and totalitarianism. The absolutization of the tradition of "technical" or "technological" rationality leads to the extremes of abstract rationalism, fraught with imposture, the tyranny of reason, and violence.

Our time recognizes itself as an era of practice and experimentation, when the fruits of enlightenment, great ideas in science and morality, politics, and economics, have become reality. And this reality is

increasingly expressed and realized as a crisis, not only in ecology but also in democracy, morality, science, art, etc. This crisis of the world, which is disintegrating into self-integral spheres of being that do not coincide with each other, is largely a consequence of the unrestrained expansion of "technical" or instrumental rationality. The current civilization is fraught with environmental problems, technologies that threaten the lives of mankind, and the rise of ugly and repressive political regimes. It is no coincidence that modern philosophy is characterized by the interpretation of rationality as a source of violence.

THE PARADOX OF RATIONALISTIC ACTIVISM

In one of my books, it was systematically shown how this type of rationality manifests itself in arbitrary violence against nature, society, and man.[13] Rationalistic morality, brought to the limit of logical consequences, even leads to the "devastating paradox."

The appeal to knowledge and objectivity can turn into depersonalization and inhumanity. Such a mind is capable of explaining anything for any purpose. "The mind is a scoundrel," wrote Fyodor Dostoevsky, because it "prevaricates" and is ready to justify anything. This is reinforced by its desire to learn regularities. Nature and society are subjected to violence for the sake of the implementation of the allegedly known regularities of their own development. And at the same time, responsibility is removed—in the end, nature and people are brought into line with their own essence. In other words, freedom is understood as arbitrariness imposed from the outside on nature, society, and man. A person is obliged to accept a certain scheme, "to realize the need"; therefore, he/she, one way or another, turns out to be absolutely not free in justifying his/her actions. But on the other hand, the person is completely free from responsibility for their consequences and results. After all, it is said that he/she acted rationally, was just a means and a tool, a performer—and nothing more. Thus, "technical" rationalism deprives the philosophy of morality of the act itself as a conscious and responsible action.

Attempts to implement rationalistic programs and projects and moral norms that organize social life are often imposed under the pretext of making others happy—regardless of or even against their own will. Society

turns out to be fundamentally inhuman, outside of humanity, denying human dignity. The mind turns out to be given to a person solely in order, in contemporary terms, to integrate himself/herself as a means, as a "screw," in a certain target program of a higher subject. A person's striving for freedom turns out to be obedience, and freedom of will turns out to be a will to bondage.

The Great French Revolution—the triumph and apotheosis of the Enlightenment and rationalism—revealed quite a lot in its time. The history of building a "rational society" on the basis of "laws of social development" was repeated in Russia after the Bolshevik revolution. Irresponsible violence is the main consequence of abstract rationalism. Such rationalism was reproached by all its critics: from the German romantics to Albert Schweitzer and from the existentialists to contemporary postmodernists.

The complete general civilizational victory of rationality struck science itself in an unexpected and paradoxical way. In a postmodern multicultural society, science has appeared as one of the equally possible normative-value systems, having lost the aura of exclusivity in public opinion, the right to authority in objective judgment. Moreover, logos was identified with coercion and masculine violence. Almost like in the well-known proverb: "What we fought for, we were hurt by."

Ultimately, rationality, which goes back to "*techne*" (the idea of being manufactured), is unable to justify responsible consciousness and behavior, and reason turns out to be a questionable and highly problematic thing. So, even Immanuel Kant, despite his defense of the idea of the rationality of good (free) will, emphasized that reason does not provide a path to happiness; on the contrary: "there arises in many, and indeed in those who have experimented most with this use of reason, if only they are candid enough to admit it, a certain degree of *misology*, that is, hatred of reason" and "they find that they have in fact only brought more trouble upon themselves instead of gaining in happiness; and because of this they finally envy rather than despise the more common run of people, who are closer to the guidance of mere natural instinct and do not allow their reason much influence on their behavior." This reminds us of the integrity and natural simplicity of Platon Karataev's personality (a character in Leo Tolstoy's novel *War and Peace*), not broken by the reflections of the enlightened mind. As Kant continued, "Now in a being that has reason and a will, if the proper end of nature were its *preservation*, its *welfare*, in a word, its

happiness, then nature would have hit upon a very bad arrangement in selecting the reason of the creature to carry out this purpose."[14] This goal, according to Kant, would be much easier to achieve and more accurately achieved by instinct.

Although happiness is a consequence of prudence, reason itself does not lead to happiness. If a truly rational (prudent, reasonable, and logical) "act" turns out to be a reckless, instinctive one, devoid of a rational principle, is this not evidence of the paradoxical result of rationalism?

The abandonment of reason is a consistent "logical" consequence of "technical" rationalism. Blaise Pascal made the suggestion to "go stupid," Leo Tolstoy's was "to be simpler," and Fyodor Dostoevsky's was "to get rid of logic."

The contemporary Russian situation is symptomatic in this regard. It seems that all the pluses have changed into minuses and vice versa; there has been a radical change in values and guidelines. "Spirituality" has taken the place of materialism. On the shelves of bookstores, the place of literature on dialectical and historical materialism has been taken by "spiritual," mental, and supramental literature. Irrationalism has taken the place of rationalism. The words "science" and "scientific" are perceived skeptically and almost discredited. Interests in astrology, horoscopes, palmistry, parapsychology, telekinesis, UFOs, aliens, etc. have become fashionable. And the place of utopianism has been taken by cynical and down-to-earth pragmatism. At first glance, everything has changed in the spiritual experience. Paradoxically, so-called "spirituality" has turned into a desire to change the material with the help of the spiritual-ideal, e.g., to heal at a distance, to move objects by an effort of will, etc. Irrationality is normative and catechetical, like any practice of Gnosticism, witchcraft, etc. Pragmatism seeks to get a result, to achieve immediate success, in the here and now, through an effort of will alone. It is this kind of spirituality that is indistinguishable from materialism, rationalistic irrationality, and pragmatism that is utopian. And, most importantly, the outcome is the same. In both cases, it is insanity, an escape from freedom, when a person (as Gustav Shpet used to say) dissolves like a piece of butter in a frying pan. And no one is responsible for anything.

As usual, the idea of freedom as responsibility and the rule of law in relation to any authority are rejected. Obviously, the problem is not in the lack or excess of rational knowledge but in the *quality* of this rationality,

which is not capable of unifying society based on a constructive balance of interests.

But, one way or another, as in the case of any paradox, the limitations of "technical" rationality and the need to search for a broader conceptual apparatus are exposed. And this opens up a new perspective of rationality.

"COSMIC" RATIONALITY

Rationality, cognition, and comprehension are associated not only with purposefulness but, ultimately, with the limitation and finiteness of expression, description, and representation. They are the manifestations of the attempts of a finite system (a human being), limited in space and time, to understand and express by finite means the infinite variety of the world, including the infinite variety of characteristics and properties of an individual thing, phenomenon. This limitation inevitably manifests itself in its abstraction from some properties and selective focus on others, which are essential in some sense (according to a certain goal) and perceived as forming a certain integral distinction of the whole thing.

Among other things, this also means the desire for a finite number of steps to build, construct, and recreate a given thing as a whole. In relation to this orientation toward wholeness, one can speak of another tradition of rationality. It can be associated with the ancient Greek idea of "*cosmos*"— the natural harmonious wholeness of the world, when the individual and the unique acquires special significance as not an abstract element of a set, but as a necessary part of the whole, without which the whole would be quite different. In principle, such an attitude toward wholeness has always been present in science (at least in the form of a requirement for the logical non-contradiction of knowledge), and in modern science, the tendency to concretize such an approach is increasingly growing. David Bohm's "holographic universe," Karl Pribram's "holographic brain," and Israel M. Gelfand's "given coordinates" are examples of systems in which the dynamics of each component affect all others, and hence the system as a whole. We can also recall Ernst Mach's principle of the "universal interconnection of the whole world." A synergetic approach also fits into this trend, especially the ideas of Ilya Prigogine regarding indeterminism in the study of unstable systems and the eventual integrity of the universe of

an infinite physical vacuum. The eastern analog of this type of rationality is the idea of "Dao": Dao-truth as a Dao-path—the one and only in the harmonious wholeness of the world.

The conceptualization of harmony and dialogue by Edward Demenchonok is precisely in line with this tradition.[15] This type of rationality is associated with the now almost forgotten categories of harmony and measure. Understanding human existence in this tradition is the realization not of an abstract generality but of a part of a concrete unity, which makes it possible to quite rationally raise the question of the nature of initial responsibility and non-alibi-in-being. This is not a responsibility to a higher authority in any of its guises, nor to a common idea and its bearers, but rather to the initial harmony of the whole, a part (not an element!) of which is an individually unique personality, to one's own path—precisely one's own, not the reproduction of someone else's—and to one's own "theme" or "voice" in this polyphonic harmony of the world,

In our time, the dependence of "technical" rationality on a more fundamental "cosmic" rationality is becoming more and more obvious. However, this does not negate the "technical" one but includes it as a means of reflection, an awareness of measure, and the content of responsibility. When the reduction of the infinite and the absolute to the relative and the finally manufactured leads to the inhuman, then the orientation toward the infinite and the absolute leads to the spiritual work of the soul and to its humanity. Responsibility is primary, while mind and intelligence are secondary.

The latter are the means for realizing the measure and depth of responsibility, the measure and depth of our involvement in connections and relationships, and the measure and depth of embeddedness and freedom in the world.

"Cosmic" rationality does not discard the "technical" one, its apparatus, because a person can only comprehend the measure and depth of responsibility by traditional methods (theoretical knowledge, modeling, etc.). But the vector is changing. Now it is not responsibility for the sake of rational arbitrariness but rationality as a way of understanding the measure and depth of responsibility. At the same time, the emphasis is also shifting: from partial efficiency to holistic harmonization; from the goal to the means used for achieving it; from the search for the root cause to the identification of the consequences; and hence from will to responsibility. The traditional

path is the path of arbitrariness and imposture, the path of the destruction of nature, of human ties and souls. The alternative way is the way of freedom and responsibility, the way of establishing existence and harmony—in the soul and with the world. Either Dostoevsky was right when he said that "the mind is a scoundrel because it prevaricates," or one must learn how to be able to use it properly.

Our time is the time of realizing the limits of traditional technological reason and instrumental rationality and their consequences. The imposture of rationalistic activism, which humanity allows in technology, politics, and even in science, is increasingly narrowing. Cognition of the essence and the essentiality of knowledge turn out to be manifestations of a specifically human dimension of being—freedom and responsibility in the harmonious integrity of being. Lack of knowledge, "technical" incomprehensibility, and "irrationality" do not excuse us from "cosmic" responsibility. "Technical" responsibility is not discarded but viewed as a technical means of knowing one's place and path in the "cosmos." Moreover, responsibility itself acquires a fundamentally rational character. It is irrational or "more than rational" in the traditional technical sense. But in the cosmic sense, it is simply rational. It is only "differently-rational," if not proto-rational.

THE PROTO-RATIONALITY OF FREEDOM AND RESPONSIBILITY

The comprehension of reality is not reducible to the awareness of the "manufacturedness" of things and phenomena. And the idea is not reducible to a program of effective (successful) activity. All this, of course, constitutes the fabric of comprehension, but it is secondary. The idea is the knowledge of the measure and depth of freedom, and hence the measure and depth of responsibility. Reason and rationality are secondary. Responsibility is primary as a correlation with others and with the world and conscience as a recognition of their rights and a dialogue with them. Human being is co-being, and consciousness is nothing more than conscience. In consciousness (conscience), the personal existence of a person is realized and it requires personal efforts to understand what is happening, while the mind only needs a clear expression of knowledge and the observance of objective rules to operate them.

The dutifulness (the "ought") of human action is not determined simply by the truth of the available knowledge and theoretical reasoning. It is not consciousness and thinking that are primary but the very practical life activities of which they are an aspect. Theoreticity and rationality are not goals but means, albeit means of justifying human actions. The human world is a personal world, not accidental, entirely filled with responsible choices.

And the center, the "assemblage point," of this responsibility is the personality, which occupies a unique and therefore responsible place in the fabric of being.

This power and significance of the individualized personality is implicitly recognized by abstract rationalism, which appeals to personal responsibility and asks the personality for its self-denial and submission. However, the principle of personal responsibility in any form presupposes the unconditional recognition of absolutely free will. The refusal to recognize freedom of choice would mean the collapse of any ethical system, morality, and law. The uniqueness and primacy of the responsibility of the individual for any manifestation of his/her activity is the cornerstone of any law and any morality.

According to the profound remark of Mikhail Bakhtin, will and duty are extra-ethical, primary in relation to any ethics or other system of values and norms (aesthetic, scientific, religious, etc.). For him, specific ethical, aesthetic, scientific, etc. norms are "technical" in relation to the original dutifulness of human activity.[16]

Mikhail Bakhtin concurs with his older brother Nikolay in the clear separation of the concepts of ethical norms and obligations. Taking into account the spiritual closeness of the brothers and the depth of spiritual searches inherent in their circle, the deep thoughtfulness of this idea is confirmed. Indeed, the absolutization of ethics leads, as the experience of Nietzsche or Dostoevsky's "underground man" showed, to nihilism. The endless need to substantiate the "ought" by some kind of norm is a consequence of the very nature of theoretical substantiation, which points to an endless succession of meta-meta-meta- . . . meta-levels.

The search for a "universal," "primary" ethics (either content-ethics or formal ethics) applicable to everyone is in principle abstract and empty to begin with. Ethics is just one, albeit the most important, manifestation of the primary dutifulness in human behavior. According to Mikhail and

Nikolay Bakhtin, there is no "content" in dutifulness at all, while dutifulness can be applied to anything which has a meaningful significance. This is not about the derivation of responsibility as a consequence of something but about the ontological primordiality of responsibility. The depth of this concept lies precisely in emphasizing the primacy and the fundamental inescapability of the "non-alibi in Being"[17] of a person, the primacy of his responsibility in relation to any form of activity.

It is interesting to compare the idea of dutifulness (the "ought") outside ethics with the diametrically opposite (at first glance) concept of Albert Schweitzer about the primacy of the ethical in relation to the worldview and action. The very ethical content Schweitzer saw in responsible self-consciousness found its final expression in "reverence for life."[18] But, in fact, in this case, it is actually the same view: the original human non-alibi-in-being and primacy, the fundamental nature of the life principle in the face of reason.

Thus, it is not "I think, therefore I exist" but "I exist, therefore I think." It is not the ontological assumptions of reason that are primary but rather the connection with being in the world and with others and the initial responsibility. Reason and rationality as such are unproductive in and of themselves. They become productive only in the case of the "responsible participation" of the person, not from abstraction into the "general" but, on the contrary, in relation to the person's "unique place in being." The action can be explained not from its result or rationality, which justifies the achievement of this particular result by these means, but only from within the "act of my participation" in life.

A sane act, that is, a responsible and rationally meaningful act, is the action of the dutiful uniqueness of human life. In Bakhtin's words, "That which can be done by me can never be done by anyone else."[19] This conclusion is fundamentally important. First, Bakhtin asserts the nonlinearity of an act that is always performed here and now and is irreversible, since it creates new realities. Second, only from this position can one explain how the "leap" from the realm of consciousness and thinking to the realm of reality occurs when an act is performed: "the uniqueness or singularity of present-on-hand Being is compellently obligatory."[20] Responsibility is irremovable from human life. The actually performed act in its individual wholeness is not responsible because it is rational, but it is rational because it is responsible. An act is not irrational; it

is simply "more than rational—it is responsible." Rationality is only a moment, a side of responsibility, a measure of its scale and depth. It is nothing more than an explanation and justification of an act both before and after its completion.

Doesn't the primacy of responsibility in relation to traditional rationality mean its not-rationality, or at least, its irrationality? After all, there is a rationalistic tradition of evaluating responsibility, sin, repentance, guilt as categories of the irrational. Doesn't responsibility become hung up in groundlessness? In the end, to whom is responsibility due?

A person cannot live in a meaningless world. His life in the world and the world itself must be comprehensible, understood, explained, and thus justified. In the relationship between dutifulness (the "ought") and objectivity, reason plays a fundamental but mediating role. The crux of the difference between them, their opposition, is in the ratio of reason and responsibility. If responsibility is a consequence of reason, secondary to rational schemes and derived from them, then the result will be rationalistic utopianism, which turns into the practice of bureaucratic totalitarianism. If reason is a consequence of the proto-rationality of responsibility and a way of knowing its measure and depth, then the result is the consciousness of the duty of a free person.

But the responsibility, duty, and guilt of the individual are absolute and primor-dial, while merits and successes are relative. The internal guarantors of self-esteem are the duty, dedication, self-restraint, and self-determination (setting oneself a limit, a "boundary") of the personality. But this is a duty, "the will to bondage," not imposed from the outside and "required" by the individual person. This is the person's "I cannot do otherwise," his/her own consciously understood vocation and moral choice. Only the "internal" duty, taken upon by the person themselves, is moral, and the ethics of duty is possible only "internally," subjectively, applicable to yourself, when you are obligated to everyone but nobody is obligated to you.

This altruistic relation to the "other" is highlighted by Edward Demenchonok when he refers to Bakhtin's view of "the inequality of the I and the other with respect to value in Christianity (we should relieve the other of any burdens and take them upon ourselves)."[21] As Bakhtin writes, "In Christ we find a synthesis of unique depth, the synthesis of *ethical solipsism . . .* with *ethical-aesthetic kindness* toward the other, . . . for

myself—absolute sacrifice, for the other—loving mercy. But *I-for-myself* is the *other* for God. . . . What I must be for the other, God is for me."[22]

THE PERSONOLOGICAL NATURE OF RATIONALITY

The cosmic rationality of wholeness is initially focused on building balance and harmonizing interactions, which in itself does not imply violence. We can say that the idea of tolerance is a manifestation of this aspect of rationality and is by no means relative. In these conditions, technical rationality acquires the character of an instrument for identifying the possible outcome of an action and its consequences and the responsibility for them. Of particular relevance is the definition of the socio-psychological prerequisites for building optimal and effective relations in society and the consolidation and optimization of the interests of all participants in social life. The economy, as well as politics and education, are not self-sufficient, but have a person as their ultimate goal.

The main tendency of processes in various areas of life is indicative, that is, there is an increasingly obvious dependence on the personal factor.[23] This means there is an increasing dependence in political life on the personality of leaders and on taking the personal expectations of citizens into account. There is also an increasingly humanitarian dependence in modern business activity: the increasingly individualized nature of marketing, advertising, personnel-oriented management technologies, public relations, the formation of corporate cultures, reputation management, etc. Only uniqueness is global. The source of all the diversity of the contemporary unified world (united in its diversity and diverse in its unity) is rooted in the soul of each unique person.

This general tendency is also expressed in the evolution of philosophizing of the last two centuries: from ontology to epistemology and further through axiology and culturology to personology. The human personality is the goal, means, and result of any social processes and transformations. Therefore, taking into account the possible consequences for prospects for personal development is fundamentally important.

There has been a shift in the global legal system, perhaps the most significant in history. The essence of this shift is that inalienable human rights have acquired supranational legal significance. This is precisely

about seemingly irreversible dynamics. On a global scale, law, along with economics and politics, has now stepped toward ensuring guarantees of national-ethnic culture.

Human rights movements have become more active everywhere, and legislation and the penitentiary system are becoming more humane. A remarkable example of this is the prohibition or moratorium on the use of the death penalty. This means that the right has already become enshrined at the level of guarantees for the existence of an individual. It looks like the next step toward the core of humanitarianism is brewing. This is not only about guarantees of freedom of religion and other cultural identities. It is also about the guarantees of the previous levels. It is about freedom on the pre-personal level. A notable example of this is the discussion about the problem of abortion and the use of genetic engineering, cloning, etc. All of them are associated with the legal protection of a person who has not yet been formed, a certain possibility of a person.

Since this shift on human rights, the law is a formalized part of the normative value content of culture, morality, fixing the established norms of social life in the "bottom line." This shows the general dynamics of humanitarian culture over the past hundred years, which is becoming all the more obvious. In the context of the intensive transformation of contemporary society and acute intercultural and social tensions, it is important to take into account the so-called "human factor," spiritual experience and motivation, the development of "human capital," and the effectiveness of social investments. In contemporary society, we can no longer talk simply about the conditions of physical survival or even the provision of social justice. In the foreground are ideas about the quality of life—a fulfilling life and personal well-being, which are formed not only by money and health but also by psychological well-being and the possibility of self-determination based on ethnicity, religion, and age.

Therefore, the possibility of evaluating projects and solutions is of particular importance, the procedure of which would use the potential of technical rationality to achieve the principles of cosmic rationality. In this situation, there is a need to introduce into social practice the concept of humanitarian expertise, which makes it possible to assess the possible consequences (positive and negative) of decisions made by a person for society as a whole and for them as an individual.[24] Its main features are normative value content; personological character; a focus on ensuring a

balance of interests and the consolidation of society; orientation toward ensuring the possibility of socially responsible personal choice (self-determination); and complexity and interdisciplinarity.

TOWARD A NEW METAPHYSICS OF MORALITY?

A radical transition to a new understanding of man is needed. What is man's nature, and how is man positioning himself in this contemporary world? In an attempt to answer these questions, one can find arguments for two different images of man. Is man an impostor seeking expansion, aggression, violence, and murder as extreme forms of self-affirmation? In this case, man can be restrained only by counter-violence on the part of others uniting for protection—both external and internal. But violence gives rise to new rounds of violence, evil generates evil, and the more active the counter impulses are. Such imposture can be associated with an empty self-centered "cogito" dissolving not only other people in itself but also the world in general. The act of thought becomes the basis of the world, its ontological assumption. Others are only projections of my "I" (self). Existence is deduced from thought itself—that is what the imposture of abstract rationalism is.

In another, positive view of man, I am connected to others and the world, and therefore I think that I am one with them, and not because I think. The essence of a person from this point of view is not "technical" but "cosmic"—in their unity and involvement in the integral harmony of the world, in their dependence on others for their own self-affirmation, in the impossibility of self-affirmation without others, though not at the expense of others but due to others in their necessity and inevitability. It is not simplistic elementary relationships such as "subject-object," "cause-effect," "element-set," or "end-means" that come to the fore, but rather a systemic reciprocity of relationships—"*sobor*" (*sobornost'*—communal spirit, conciliarity)—with everyone in the human soul.

Man is not a slave to ideas, but ideas are one of the forms of man's being in the world. Reason, knowledge, logic are universal and inhuman. The novelty lies in that this fact was fully revealed only at the turn of the century, when their inhumanity not only became clear in everyday life but their value also depreciated for humanity. Reason and knowledge were

removed from the person and put into computer information systems, becoming public property, a technical means, passed from the plane of culture to the plane of civilization, becoming "*techne*"—without man and outside of man. This has now become completely clear. Contemporary man, if he still wants to be a real man and not a technical means of civilization, must cognize himself "cosmically"—not as a mere sum of knowledge and skills. Likewise, contemporary culture must not be just a set of technologies, programs of activity, and group interests. Contemporary culture, if it wants to exist, must be a possible path to the elevation of a person, as a culture of spiritual experience that frees one from imposture.

This is the way to a new understanding of the human. Responsibility—which a person who has become internally free from the world has comprehended and is trying to realize in life—is ethics. Freedom from the world is nothing more than responsibility for it. The wider the zone of my autonomous behavior, the wider the zone of responsibility. And vice versa: the sphere that I take upon myself, for which I am responsible, is the sphere of my freedom, and a person is as ethical (free and responsible) as this sphere is wide. Traditional societies limited this sphere by its ethnicity, and later it was limited by race, nation, and class. Albert Schweitzer then extended ethical behavior to all living beings. Today, ethical self-determination in the sense of delineating the limitations of freedom and responsibility extends to almost the entire world. For society and for the individual in the current conditions of scientific and technological progress, the limits of freedom and responsibility coincide and include the habitat not only of mankind but also of nature as a whole.

The adherents of dialogue, without trivializing the gravity of the problems faced today by individuals and humanity as a whole, nevertheless reject the mood of despair and assert the possibility of a hopeful alternative and the transformation of the minds and hearts of individuals and societies. This, as Edward Demenchonok maintains, "must generate hopeful dispositions which, in turn, translate into practical conduct designed to promote peace and justice and thus to honor the 'better angels' of humanity. Such conduct demands the cultivation of a courage which, without turning away from present calamities, marshals as remedies the resources of civic virtue and public responsibility crucially demanded in our time."[25]

The concept of "harmony in difference" needs clarification. "Harmony" should not be understood as a static metaphor. It is a process, and if it is in

equilibrium, then it becomes a dynamic one, a balance of wills, realized in a continuous dialogue, as deliberation—a process of joint public discourse regarding common problems. As Edward Demenchonok rightly notes, building an effective dialogue is not so much a search for a compromise as a search for a broader context of common problems, a vision of a common future, which allows the dialogue to be transformed into a practical mode of collaboration and partnership.

Multiculturalism and tolerance in action are constantly discussed within the framework of civic identity (manifestation of personal self-determination), without which trust is impossible—not one that rallies along the ethnic-clan principle but rather "builds bridges" between representatives of different communities of a specific civil society. Moreover, since each culture, expressing a certain social experience, gives a certain life competence, the assimilation of cultural experience does not lead to a clash of cultures but instead to the acquisition of additional life competences, increases in human qualities, and social capital.

In this process, mediators or facilitators play a special role—persons who are embracing and assimilating different cultures and serving as role models for promoting intercultural dialogue. Edward Demenchonok is a prominent representative of this dialogue-facilitating role.

The "Mobius strip [tape]" of duty, honor, and responsibility connects the external and the internal, society and the individual, in the heart of the soul—the locus of freedom and responsibility. It is precisely with ideas of the harmonious wholeness of the world and the responsibility of the individual for their unique path in this single whole that the prospects of mankind's betterment can be envisioned.

Nietzsche once said that God is dead, but actually the one who died was his "superman." There is no human authority who can show everyone the true path of virtue. This path, the path to others, begins in the heart of everyone, and to traverse it, becoming conscious of one's own responsibility and unity, is the task for the self-transformative work of the mind and soul of each person.

NOTES

1. This work was supported by the Russian Science Foundation, grant No. 22-18-00591 "Pragmasemantics as an interface and operational system of meaning formation." See Edward Demenchonok's publications: Edward Demenchonok, ed., *Between Global Violence and the Ethics of Peace: Philosophical Perspectives* (Malden, MA and Oxford, UK: Wiley-Blackwell Publishing, 2009); Edward Demenchonok, ed., *Philosophy After Hiroshima* (Newcastle upon Tyne, UK: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2010); Edward Demenchonok, ed., *Intercultural Dialogue: In Search of Harmony in Diversity*, 2nd ed. (Newcastle upon Tyne, UK: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2016); Fred Dallmayr and Edward Demenchonok, eds., *A World Beyond Global Disorder: The Courage to Hope* (Newcastle upon Tyne, UK: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2017).

2. Edward Demenchonok, "Bakhtin's Dialogism and Current Discussions on the Double-Voiced Word and Transculture," in *Intercultural Dialogue: In Search of Harmony in Diversity*, ed. Edward Demenchonok, 2nd ed., 81–138 (Newcastle upon Tyne, UK: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2016).

3. Demenchonok, "Bakhtin's Dialogism and Current Discussions," 134n. 14.

4. See: www.peacefromharmony.org.

5. Eugene Zelenev, *Postizheniye obraza mira* [Comprehension of the image of the world] (St. Petersburg: KARO, 2012).

6. Vladimir Porus, "Mnogomernost' ratsional'nosti" [Multidimensionality of rationality], *Epistemology and Philosophy of Science* XXIII, no. 1 (2010): 6.

7. Ian Shapiro, *The Flight from Reality in the Human Sciences* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005); George Lakoff, *Women, Fire and Dangerous Things: What Categories Reveal about the Mind* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990).

8. Anatoly Stepanishchev, *Sovremennoye sostoyaniye issledovaniy yedinstva ratsional'nosti: Neizbezhnost' nelineynogo mira* [The current state of research on the unity of rationality: Inevitability of the nonlinear world] (Moscow: Humanitarian, 2012), 130.

9. Boris Pruzhinin and Vladimir Shvyrev, *Ratsional'nost' kak predmet filosofskogo issledovaniya* [Rationality as a subject of philosophical research] (Moscow: Institute of Philosophy RAS, 1995), 74–76.

10. It is not accidental that the emergence of science, *scientia*, as experimental knowledge and the witch hunts and the fires of the Inquisition were simultaneous processes.

11. See: Grigorii Tulchinskii, "Dva tipa ratsional'nosti," [Two types of rationality] in *Kosmizm i novoye myshleniye na Zapade i Vostoke* [Cosmism and new thinking in the West and East] (St. Petersburg, 1999), 57–67.

12. Chester Barnard, *The Functions of the Executive*, 30th ed. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1971). It is notable how the English language indicates the proximity of efficiency and rationality.

13. See: Grigorii Tulchinskii, *Fenomenologiya zla i metafizika svobody* [The phenomenology of evil and the metaphysics of freedom] (St. Petersburg: Aletheya, 2019).

14. Immanuel Kant, *Groundwork of The Metaphysics of Morals* (1785). In Immanuel Kant, *Practical Philosophy*, ed. Mary J. Gregor (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996): 4:396, 50–51.

15. Edward Demenchonok, *The Quest for Change: From Domination to Dialogue* (Berlin: Dialogue of Civilizations Research Institute, 2016); Edward Demenchonok, "Bakhtin's Dialogism and Current Discussions on the Double-Voiced Word and Transculture," in *Intercultural Dialogue: In Search of Harmony in Diversity*, ed. Edward Demenchonok, 2nd ed., 81–138 (Newcastle upon Tyne, UK: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2016); Edward Demenchonok, "Karl-Otto Apel's Ethics of Dialogue and of Planetary Co-Responsibility," in *Karl-Otto Apel: Vita e Pensiero / Leben und Denken*, eds. Michele Borrelli, Francesca Caputo, and Reinhard Hesse, 319–350 (Cosenza, Italy: Pellegrini Editore, 2020); Edward Demenchonok, "Philosophy of Hope," in *Cosmopolitan Civility: Global-Local Reflections with Fred Dallmayr*, ed. Ruth Abbey, 11–27 (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2020).

16. See: Mikhail Bakhtin, *Toward a Philosophy of the Act*, trans.Vadim Liapunov, eds. Michael Holquist and Vadim Liapunov (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1993).

17. Bakhtin, *Toward a Philosophy of the Act*, 40.

18. See: Albert Schweitzer, *Kultura i etika* [Culture and Ethics] (Moscow: Progress, 1973).

19. Bakhtin, *Toward a Philosophy of the Act*, 40.

20. Ibid., 40.

21. Demenchonok, "Bakhtin's Dialogism and Current Discussions," 92.

22. Mikhail Bakhtin, "Author and Hero in Aesthetic Activity," in *Art and Answerability: Early Philosophical Works by M. M. Bakhtin*, trans. Vadim Liapunov, ed. Michael Holquist and Vadim Liapunov (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1990), 56.

23. Grigorii Tulchinskii, *Filosofiya postupka: samoopredeleniye lichnosti v sovremennom obshchestve* [Philosophy of act: self-determination of personality in contemporary society] (St. Petersburg: Aleteya, 2020).

24. See Sergey Goncharov et al., eds., *Filosofiya i kul'turologiya v sovremennoy ekspertnoy deyatel'nosti* [Philosophy and Culturology in Contemporary Expert Activity] (St. Petersburg: Publishing House of the Russian State Pedagogical University of Herzen, 2011), 57–74.

25. Edward Demenchonok, "Preface," in *A World Beyond Global Disorder: The Courage to Hope*, eds. Fred Dallmayr and Edward Demenchonok (Newcastle upon Tyne, UK: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2017), xiv.

12

Being and Process

How to "Edify" "Arab Reason" (and Any Reason at All)

Andrey V. Smirnov

"Philosophy and intercultural dialogue," which is the central theme of this volume honoring Edward Demenchonok's work and 80th birthday, addresses important issues of the differences of cultures and ways of understanding them. It is in tune with movements for recognition of cultural diversity and dialogical relationships among cultures. The intercultural reorientation of philosophy introduces a new perspective in our understanding of what philosophy is and of its history, methods, and forms of articulation. It opposes the predominant "instrumental rationality" and irrationality and defends the multiplicity of theoretical reasons and "the culture of reason."

According to Raúl Fornet-Betancourt, one of the important tasks of philosophy is the transformation of the culture of reason, and he outlines its aspects:

- criticism of the narrow Eurocentric determination of the "culture of reason," and, based on this,
- the restructuring of the culture of reason in the light of a dialogue of diversity, from which follows

- the transformation of the culture of reason into an open space of relations wherein the "polylog" of multilingual diversity is carried out; and consequently, this will create the condition for the possibility that
- the culture of reason would become appreciative of diversity and become a facilitator for equilibrium (or harmony) in diversity.[1]

The intercultural reorientation of philosophy challenges the universalistic claims of European philosophy and Greek-European reason and shows the possibility of alternative views of reason. Indeed, we need a new philosophy, capable of addressing the multiplicity of theoretical reasons. An example of this alternative view can be seen in Arab philosophical tradition and "the Arab reason."

In this chapter, I will try to explain what is meant by the chapter heading, traveling from the subtitle to the title.[2] My text will develop, that is, unfold, what is enfolded in its heading.

HOW TO "EDIFY" "ARAB REASON"

So, we start with the subtitle: How to "edify" "Arab reason." This phrase bears reference to two outstanding contemporary philosophers. The first of the two is Muḥammad 'Ābid al-Jābirī. The second great figure is the French philosopher and sinologist François Jullien.

Muḥammad 'Ābid al-Jābirī (1936–2010) is generally recognized as one of the most prominent Arab philosophers of our time. He published extensively in Arabic, and some of his writings were translated into English. He is the author of many books, but the most important of his publications is the four-volume *Critique of Arab Reason* (*Naqd al-'aql al-'arabī*). Initially al-Jābirī intended to publish only the two volumes of his *Critique*, namely, *Formation of Arab Reason* and *Structure of Arab Reason*, but later he added to those another two: *Arab Political Reason* and *Arab Ethical Reason*. Al-Jābirī's books were reprinted almost every year and won wide appreciation. They also met with severe critique among Arab philosophers and intellectuals generally (e.g., *al-Ṭarābīshī*, 4-volume series "Naqd Naqd al-'aql al-'arabī").

The basic idea that al-Jābirī elaborates in his *Critique* is the following. Humankind developed two (not only one, but two) distinct reasons (*'aql*).

The first he calls the Greek-European, the other one—the Arab reason. They are not simply different but mutually irreducible. Yet they both are full-fledged kinds of reason, for each of them produces a certain type of knowledge, provides means for establishing the truth and discriminating between true and false, serves as a basis for a certain type of culture and civilization, etc. Al-Jābirī elaborates in detail on the concept of Arab reason, which he understands as a certain episteme, that is, a set of means which the Arab culture provides for the one who belongs to it for acquiring and processing knowledge. Basing himself on the French philosopher André Lalande, al-Jābirī holds that Greek-European and Arab reason each is the "constituted reason" (*'aql mukawwan*), and the fact that they are "constituted" accounts for their difference and irreducibility, while there is a universal "constituting" reason (*'aql mukawwin*), which acts as a "constitutor" of each of these two diverse kinds of reason.

This is a rough outline of al-Jābirī's ideas relevant for the topic of this chapter. His books are very deep, important and convincing, but the weakest point of his theory is, to my mind, the lack of answer to the question: how is the Arab (or, for that case, Greek-European) reason constituted, and what is the constituting (universal) reason?

Let me leave this question open (I will address it later) and move on to the second great figure to whom the subtitle of my paper refers, namely, the French philosopher and sinologist François Jullien. He is the author of many fascinating books. I will pay special attention to the one titled *Detour and Access: Strategies of Meaning in China and Greece*.[3] Here François Jullien explains why he became a sinologist. When I started studying Greek philosophy, he says, I could not appreciate its originality, because it is too familiar to the Europeans. Of course, Europe of today is not ancient Greece, and yet too many things in European culture and thought go back to the Greeks and are grounded in their philosophy and their worldview. This is why, whenever we study the Greeks, François Jullien says, we encounter ourselves. So, to appreciate Greek thought and to understand its significance and magnitude, one has to establish a "theoretical distance" (*ecart theorique*) separating him/herself from it. We have to distance ourselves from the Greeks to understand what they really mean in the history of thought. We have a good word in Russian for it: *ostranit,'* coined by Viktor Shklovsky: it means "to move something away in order to make it look strange instead of familiar," as if you have noticed it for the first time.

This is exactly what is meant by François Jullien. But now the question is: How? How can we distance ourselves—from ourselves? If the Greeks are the very basis of European thought, then if a European philosopher wants to distance him/herself from the Greeks, it sounds like demolishing one's own foundation of thinking, depriving oneself of the basis of rationality.

This sounds like a paradox, and François Jullien is well aware of it. Europe has never known China, he says, and vice versa. This is so because the task of distancing oneself from one's own foundations of thought had never been carried out; moreover, such a task had never been thought of. And yet without it you will never get an idea of China, François Jullien claims. And not only of China. Following his line of argument, we discover that this holds for Greeks as well, and, ergo, for Europe. If it is true that European philosophy had never succeeded in establishing a "theoretical distance" from itself (from its Greek foundations), then it means it has never been ultimately reflective: it had never disclosed the ultimate foundations of itself.

It is only now that the true meaning of François Jullien's question becomes clear. For philosophy to be philosophy, that is, to carry out the task of critically exploring and questioning its own foundations, it has to do what François Jullien is speaking about: it has to move away from itself, as if totally forgetting itself, and look critically at its own foundation, its own premises and its own beginnings, its starting point—look at it from the outside. And doing so, philosophy has to keep out of sight its own starting point, the foundation of its own reasoning; it has to refrain from building itself upon it—otherwise it will not carry out the task of disclosing its ultimate foundations. If the basis of European philosophy and European reason is not completely deconstructed, then it will be guiding the ultimate reflective analysis and inevitably distort it. No matter how powerful your binoculars are you cannot see your binoculars with your binoculars. The mirror is of no help either: you can see anything in the mirror except the mirror itself; your eye is able to discern anything around you but the eye itself. You have to have "an other point of view," as François Jullien puts it, in order to notice, appreciate and analyze the ultimate foundations of your own thought. And this "other point of view" has to be completely independent of "your own"—that is, for François Jullien, of the Greeks.

Here comes the task of constructing, edifying (*edifier*, as François Jullien says) "China" as the "other point of view" that we need, independent

of the Greeks. I will call this "Jullien's criterion": basic independence from the Greek-European rationality. François Jullien puts "China" in quotation marks: "China" is a "point of view" to be constructed, independently of our own point of view. We do not possess it; it is an aim yet to achieve. This is why François Jullien says Europeans never knew China: yes, this other point of view has never been constructed starting from the relevant basis. Jullien is very critical of the existing methodologies of comparative studies, and with good reason. Let me call the task of constructing "an other point of view" "Jullien's task." It has to be carried out, let me remind, according to Jullien's criterion, that is, it has to be constructed as if from nothing. We have to carry it out distancing ourselves from ourselves—from the basis of our own rationality.

This is a rough outline of the problem that I will be addressing. I argue that Jul-lien's task can be accomplished, that is, that the "Arab reason" can be constructed ("edified") as an other point of view, meeting Jullien's criterion: it will be independent of the Greek-European rationality, resting on the basis of its own. It is not a "resource" to draw upon for European reason; it is a full-fledged *alternative* to European reason.

Now, how can Jullien's task be carried out? At first glance, it looks like a paradox. If we abandon our own point of view, we are left—with what? Seemingly with nothing. We are permitted to take nothing from the abode of Greek-European thought, exactly as Jullien requires. Then how at all can we construct the new point of view?

Suppose we deconstruct completely, to the last element, our rationality. What are we left with? Is it nothing or something? If nothing, then how do we proceed, without any starting point? We are sort of suspended in the void. And if something, then the deconstruction had not been completed. This looks like a dilemma.

My answer is that we are left neither with nothing constructed nor with something constructed; we are left with an ability to construct. Pure ability, taken as if unpracticed.

"Ability to construct" is a metaphor, of course. Let me decipher it: it is an ability of subject-predicate linking-together. The English word "linking" is perhaps too shallow to express what I mean; I use the Russian *svyaznost'* which is only partially covered by "linking" or "linkage." Yet I can think of no better counterpart for *svyaznost'* in English.

So, when we deconstruct the rationality that we are accustomed to, we are left with the ability to produce the subject-predicate linkage. This is the starting point to construct any specific reason, be it Greek-European or Arab. (Or whatever; I am speaking about those two, but this is by far not an exhaustive list.) This pure, unspecified ability to produce the subject-predicate linkage is universal for human beings. I think it is worthwhile to propose a hypothesis saying that this ability serves as a dividing line between human and non-human consciousness (or intellect), be it the intellect of animals or artificial intelligence.

Since this ability is universal, we may call it, according to al-Jābirī, and after André Laland, "the constituting reason." But this is only *pure* ability, that is, ability not put into practice. This is a very important thing. It shows the limits of universal, when the word "universal" is applied to the human mind. Only pure ability, that is, only "zero reason," reason not yet constructed but ready to be constructed, may be called universal. And any constructed reason is that or this reason, always *some specific* reason—be it Greek-European or Arab reason (to use al-Jābirī's terms), or "China," as Jullien puts it, and not the universal reason. This places the issue of universal rationality (or anything presumably universal, be it universal ethics or universal principles) into a completely new perspective.

The reason constructed by virtue of practicing the subject-predicate linking ability is the "constituted reason" of al-Jābirī-Lalande, or "an other point of view" of Jullien distanced from any other and resting on the basis of its own. This is always a specific, and not a universal, reason.

Now, why subject-predicate linking ability? Because it is the intersection and the starting point for (at least) three lines which may be called constituting for the human mind and human reason. Again, this is not an exhaustive list, but I confine myself to those as the most important ones. I think, though, that any line of constructing human rationality starts exactly at that point of subject-predicate linking.

Those three lines are:

- the line of language; or, to be exact, the line of speech, that is, of practicing the language (and not language understood as a system of formal rules and means);
- the line of theoretical discourse, including logic and logical proof;
- the line of the basic philosophical problem of unity and multiplicity.

Let me comment briefly on those three lines. The unit of speech is a sentence. We speak using sentences, not using words. A sentence in its basic, nuclear form is a subject-predicate link. We say *The sky is blue*: *blue* is the predicate, *sky* is the subject, and *is* acts as a copula linking the first to the second. This is a very simple example, and we encounter such examples many times a day, every day. But what really happens when we say *The sky is blue*, intending to say it (that is, expressing our thought in the form of language), or when we hear *The sky is blue*, and understand it? What happens? A miracle, no less: the one (thought) becomes two (subject + predicate); or, rather, three, if we consider the copula to be the third element; and, vice versa, the three become one, as we hear the three words (subject + predicte) and deduce the one thought. For *The sky is blue* is a unit, it is one and indivisible thought; and at the same time, it is three, for each of the three stays separate and independent of others, for each can participate individually in other sentences. The three is one, and the one is three. They are one and three at the same time: not ceasing to be three, they are one, and vice versa.

How does it happen and how is it possible? The answer was provided more than two centuries ago by the famous Leonard Euler. His diagrams are known to every schoolchild (this is the case in Russia and, I think, everywhere), because they are used to illustrate the basic notions and basic laws of the set theory: intersection, inclusion, etc. In that capacity Euler diagrams were further developed by Vienne, and they are generally known as Euler-Vienne diagrams.

This is how they are used today, but it is not to this end that they were introduced by Euler himself. He intended to demonstrate to the arrogant professors of Aristotelian logic of his time that their sophisticated science is good for nothing, for it can be easily substituted by very simple drawings which every person can understand at a glance, without any training. So, he used closed curves to illustrate exactly what I am talking about: the possible types of relations between the subject and the predicate of a sentence. So, if you draw two closed curves, say, circles, and place the smaller one totally inside the bigger, and denote the smaller by *A* and the bigger by *B*, then this drawing speaks for itself: *A is B*. And if *A* stand for the *sky*, and *B* for *blue*, then the figure reads: *The sky is blue*. Negation and quantification are signified by other types of the closed curves' configurations. For example, if *A* is totally outside *B*, it reads: *The sky is not blue*.

Now suppose we have three circles of different size, so that circle *B* is completely contained by circle *C*, and circle *A* is completely contained by *B*. Looking at that figure, one would say immediately: yes, this is a *Barbara* syllogism: *Every B is C, A is B, ergo, A is C*. How do we know it? The illustration is only a drawing, and it is comprehended (so to say, absorbed by our mind) at a glance, immediately, not step by step. And there are no "ergo" and no "is" on that drawing. And yet we know, and without doubt— we know absolutely— that "*A is C*" is a true conclusion. Why and how?

The answer to the "why" question is: we know it by intuition. This is the limit of our rational explanation; and at the same time—the basis for any rational explanation, and not only rational explanation, but for the usage of Indo-European languages that depend upon the "to be" copula as a subject-predicate linking device. This is the cornerstone for the Greek rationality that Jullien is talking about, and this is the basis for Greek-European reason of al-Jābirī. But what is intuition? It is not a divine inspiration or an inborn capacity. Rather, it is personal and collective experience, trained through numerous cultural practices, packed and compressed "in one's head," so to speak, so that it unfolds as if automatically. We read the drawing with the three concentric circles as a *Barbara* syllogism because we are trained to do it automatically.

The answer to the "how" question is: our reading of this diagram depends exclusively on the intuition of the space, to be more exact, on the intuition of the closed sections of the space. This intuition has spatial character—this is primarily important.

Let us elaborate a bit on this. Imagine you have a box, divided into two parts, or two sections. Let us call the box *B*, and call its two inside sections "section *A*" and "section *non-A*." Now imagine you keep buttons in the box *B*, and the rule is that all the round buttons, and only the round buttons, go into section *A*, and buttons of all the other shapes are placed into *non-A* section. Box *B* is full. Now suppose you take a button from box *B*, but you do not know from which section exactly, and yet you know for sure that it will be either round or not-round: only one of the two, and necessarily one of the two, which means *B* is either *A* or *non-A*, *B* cannot be both and it cannot be neither of the two. Then, if you take a button from the *A* section, you know for sure that it will be round, and not any other shape: *A* is *A*, and *A* is not *non-A*. The three laws of Aristotelian logic are here, at our fingertips, substantiated by the properties of the closed space sections.

The foundation for laws of logic is the same as the foundation for usage of Indo-European languages with the "to be" copula, and this foundation is the spatial intuition of the subject-predicate linkage.

If the subject follows this rule of predication (*A* is *B, The sky is blue*) substantiated by the spatial intuition and illustrated by Euler diagrams, such a subject is called "substance" in the language of philosophy, and you can develop further the metaphysics of being and the genus-species logic and ontology proceeding from the same spatial intuition of the subject-predicate linkage.

Those are the basic milestones on the way to "edify" (using Jullien's expression) the Greek, or the Greek-European, reason. And this is the path of being, followed, by and large, by the Greek and, later, European thought.

"TO BE" AND ARABIC *KĀNA* AND *WUJIDA*

Among some scholars, there is a tendency to evaluate Arab philosophical though by the criteria and categories of European philosophy. They try to find equivalents to the verb "to be" in its role of copula between subject and predicate, in the Arabic words "*kāna*" and "*wujida*."[4] One of these scholars is Fadlou Shehadi, who in his book *Metaphysics in Islamic Philosophy* claimed that the Arabic in its pure post-Qur'ānic form possesses and uses an equivalent of the verb "to be," namely, the verb *kāna*, and the verb *wujida* (and its derivatives) as an additional device to perform all the existential and copulative functions of the Greek *to on* and *einai*.[5]

This desire to find a "to be-type" copula by all means stems out of the presumption that otherwise Arabic language and Arabic philosophy will turn out to be irretrievably inferior to the Greek language and Greek philosophy, because a language lacking a "to be-type"-copula does not suggest the philosophical idea of being, which is the basis of Greek philosophy and without which no genuine philosophy is possible.

But the question arises: What does Arabic grammar have to say about the verb "to be"? The answer is the following: there is no "to be" verb in Arabic. *Kāna* and *wujida* are the two candidates usually appointed in Western scholarship to fulfill the mission of "to be" in Arabic; nonetheless, often Western scholarship points out that there is no exact equivalent of "to be" in Arabic. The last thesis is absolutely correct, and what the whole

tradition of Arabic grammatical science has to say boils down to exactly that statement. When *kāna* has a meaning, it means "he originated," "he became," but not "he was." This is what Arab grammarians say specifically on *kāna*, but it also follows from the general theory of verbs that "to be" is ruled out as a meaning for *kāna* (or any other verb). For a verb to have a meaning it should point to an "event" (*h.adath*), and *h.adath* always, by definition, implies a change, "a happening," and not a stable existence.

We have to ask the crucial question: if (1) the copulative function has to be performed in Arabic, as in any other language, and if (2) the grammar of Arabic rules out a "to be-type" copula, then where can we find the seemingly absent copula, or what performs the copulative function?

What matters for Shehadi is the very fact that there is a linkage between subject and predicate, so that "the predicate attaches to the subject."[6] And this is why, in his view, it is possible to speak of similarities between Semitic and Indo-European tongues. This is where I have to agree, and at the same time disagree, with what Shehadi says. It is absolutely true that there has to be something that links the predicate to the subject, and that such "something" is present, though different, in both Arabic and Indo-European languages. But it would be, in my mind, too hasty a conclusion to say that the "deep," or "logical" structures underlying those surface differences are universal and similar. Shehadi simply projects the experience of Aristotelian logic onto the facts of Arabic.

But what if the difference between the Greek and Arabic domains of language-and-logic is the difference of not only surface structures but also of deep structures? The dependence of Aristotelian metaphysics and logic on the Greek language has been pointed out many times. What has not been pointed out in that respect is the dependence of Aristotelian logic on his substance-based metaphysics. But what if the deep metaphysical and logical structures underlying the surface facts of the Arabic language are not substance-based? Why should the universalist presumption be correct in that case, and why should we take for granted that the logic expressed by the Arabic language could be only Aristotelian? I think we should not. It is not possible here to elaborate this answer and to show the possibility of a different type of logic and metaphysics developed by Arab thought which managed to stay free from Greek influence, though it was done in a number of my publications.[7]

The copula is never omitted in Arabic. It is always there, though it is not a "to be-type" device. This has to do not with the surface but with the deep, logical grammar. Not just the grammar of language but the grammar of thought. If it is not a "to be-type" copula, then what is it? The answer is very simple and open for everyone. It is *isnād* (lit. "leaning-on"), as the Arabic grammar calls it. *Isnād* is a universal linkage device in Arabic, as it binds together the subject and predicate of not only nominal but also of verbal phrases. This is a well-known fact stated many times by Arab grammarians. If so, then the basic predication formula in Arabic is "S *isnād* P," and not "S is P." I argue that the two predication formulas are basically different and mutually irreducible.

This presumption of philosophers like Shehadi, who try to find the equivalent of "to be" in Arabic, is based on a tacit substantialist conviction that philosophy is possible only in the mode discovered by the Greeks and that it can be elaborated only in a substance-based perspective. It is true that for such a worldview the notion of being is really indispensable, and if the world is considered a collection of substances possessing qualities, then you cannot provide a coherent, theoretical, true knowledge of reality unless you base it upon the notion of being, for otherwise no regularity may be discovered.

A PROCESS-BASED THINKING

But if the world is viewed and conceptualized as a collection of processes and not substances, then we need a different basic category which would play the same role as the category of being plays in the substance-based perspective and would provide a basis for discovering regularities of such a process-based world. In that case a language lacking the "to be-type" copula is in no way inferior to the Greek language; on the contrary, Greek may be considered inferior to it because Greek imposes upon our thought the notion of being, while being cannot grasp the nature of processes. Processes do not exist; we have to think about them otherwise, and Arabic suggests how exactly. It gives us a hint. So why not elaborate on it instead of a futile attempt at finding an absent "to be-type" copula? Why not say that Arabic Muslim culture developed a kind of philosophy which only it could develop, proceeding from the process-based premises and elaborating

on them in a process-based perspective, instead of squeezing all of its legacy into a substance-based perspective of Greek thinking? Is it not a somewhat totalitarian premise to think that only a substance-based perspective is the true and genuine philosophic road to the truth of the universe?

In what follows, I will try to make my way to the concept of process, and thus to "edify the Arab reason" taking the same steps that led us on the way to Greek-European reason but taking them differently. Processes have always been a stumbling block to Western thinking which tried to reduce them to qualities of a substance and generally did not regard them as a basis in themselves (they have to be grounded in something else). Alfred Whitehead and Henri Bergson were among those few who proposed to look at the universe in a different way and to develop process-based thinking. This process-based perspective is not at all alien to Western thought; rather, it is a sort of neglected option. Actually, no logic-and-meaning perspective is alien to any culture: human universality is grounded in our universal ability to elaborate on any of those perspectives.[8]

The basic thing is the intuition of the subject-predicate linkage. And if "Arab reason" meets Jullien's criterion, that is, if it stays at a "theoretical distance" from Greek-European reason, then it has to be based on an intuition different from the spatial intuition of subject-predicate linking practiced by the Indo-European languages and lying at the basis of the logical and theoretical discourse of the substance-based metaphysics. But then, if this is so, and if we do not belong to the Arab culture, which means we are not native Arabic speakers and were not socialized in the milieu of Arab culture practices, we do not possess this intuition. So, our path to it will be difficult, not like it was in the case of Greek reason, and this intuition will not disclose itself easily. Yet it is possible to get an idea of it. I will take three steps towards it.

The first step: the *cogito ergo sum* formula. After Descartes, this formula guides, this way or the other, European philosophical discourse. But let me ask a simple question: why *ergo sum*? *Cogito* is any activity of my mind: I think, therefore, I am; I doubt my existence, therefore, I am. Etc., etc. *Ergo sum* has to be taken for granted, for I have to exist in order to think, doubt, etc. This can hardly be disputed. But why not *ergo ago*, why not "therefore, I act"? To think, to doubt, etc. (take any example of the human mind activity given by Descartes) means to act. Isn't it so? Imagine

we live in a sort of universe of Parmenides, where no movement is possible: the universe of total being. Will *cogito* be possible in such a universe? No, of course not. It means that we have to add to the *cogito ergo sum* formula: *et ergo ago*. Then the formula of human consciousness reads *cogito ergo sum et ergo ago*: I think, therefore, I am and I act. And it means that action, and not only being, has to be taken as an ultimate foundation, grounded in nothing but itself and serving as the basis for everything else.

Has this path been followed by European philosophy and Greek-European reason in general? The answer is negative. But the way of *ergo ago*, I argue, is exactly the way followed by Arab thinking and lying at the foundation of "Arab reason."

The second step. Henri Bergson, in his essay "An Introduction to Metaphysics" wrote: "[P]ure duration . . . excludes all idea of juxtaposition, reciprocal externality, and extension." Properly speaking, this says it all. Bergson unfolds his thought further, though:

> Let us . . . imagine an infinitely small elastic body, contracted, if it were possible, to a mathematical point. Let this be drawn out gradually in such a manner that from the point comes a constantly lengthening line. Let us fix our attention not on the line as a line, but on the action by which it is traced.

Thus, Bergson passes from the "line," understood in terms of space, to the "action": "Let us bear in mind that this action, in spite of its duration, is indivisible." Here comes the important point: the indivisibility of action. There is one condition, though:

> [T]his action . . . is indivisible if accomplished without stopping, that if a stopping-point is inserted, we have two actions instead of one, that each of these separate actions is then the indivisible operation of which we speak, and that it is not the moving action itself which is divisible, but, rather, the stationary line it leaves behind it as its track in space.

This "track in space" is a tribute to the habit of European thought which conceptualizes both time and action in terms of space. But Bergson takes the last step, getting rid even of that: "Finally, let us *free ourselves from the space* which underlies the movement in order to consider *only the movement itself,* the act of tension or extension; in short, *pure mobility*."[9]

This is exactly what we need to get an idea of the intuition of pure action, or pure process. Firstly, the action does not "take place": it has no place and is not basically dependent on space. Secondly, it is measured by nothing except itself: no action, though it is a duration, can be measured, because it cannot be divided, that is, it cannot be split into lesser units. Each

action (or each process) is an irreducible unit, and cannot be reduced to anything else. This is what explains the nature of the Arab-Islamic metaphysics elaborated by the Muʿtazila, the first Islamic philosophers, independently of Greek influence.

The third step. Fa<u>kh</u>r al-Dīn al-Rāzī (1149–1209):

> Time is an imaginary duration coming out of the dark depths of the world of *ʾazal* (Beginninglessness) and flowing towards the darkness of the world of *ʾabad* (Endlessness). As if it were a river, flowing out of the womb of the mountain of Begininglessness and running until it enters the womb of the mountain of Endlessness: we do not know where it comes from and where it goes to.[10]

This metaphor of a river flowing between the initiating end (the mountain of Beginninglessness) and the receiving end (mountain of Endlessness) perfectly completes what Henri Bergson told us about pure action. Now we have the full paradigm: the Initiator (the Agent), the Action (the Flux), and the Recipient (the Patient). All three are indispensable, for if you remove any of them, the whole construction falls apart: you dismantle everything totally by deconstructing any part of it.

So, the Action, or the Process, is the basic reality (it is a thing, *res*, <u>*shay*</u>’), irreducible to anything else, and grounding everything else—in fact, the thingness itself. This worldview is embedded in Arab pre-Islamic thinking, and it is there in Islamic autochthonic metaphysics.

Suppose we got an idea of this intuition of a flux, or of an action, or of a process: now, how does it display itself in Arabic language?

Speaking of the Arabic literary language, we mean language of the Qurʾān codified in every detail by Arabic Linguistic Tradition and unchanged, by and large, during the last 14 centuries. The fact is that this language does not use, and, moreover, cannot use, the copula "to be." But it is only natural, and expected, in the light of what was said: we deal here with a different intuition and a different device of subject-predicate linking. Independent of the spatial intuition, and therefore independent of the substance-based metaphysics, genus-species logic. (You cannot say "*A* is *B*" in Arabic, strictly speaking.)

What is the intuition of the subject-predicate linking? Arabic Linguistic Tradition calls it *isnād*—lit. "leaning-upon." It had not yet been appreciated in Western scholarship as a full-fledged linking device and a full alternative to the "to be" copula—exactly because it cannot be reduced to the spatial intuition underlying the usage of the copula "to be" as a subject-predicate

linking device in Indo-European languages and Greek-European thinking,[11] although it had been pointed out that Arabic lacks any counterpart for the "to be" copula and does not need it.[12]

Isnād is a process—it is an action flowing between the subject and the predicate of a sentence that glues them together. They remain two distinct entities—and yet they are one unit, when viewed as a phrase (*jumla*).

Last but not least, logic. The apodictic argument is based not on the intuition of the closed space units containing one another. It is based on the intuition of a process, and therefore does not need general premises. Here is the most simple abstract presentation of an apodictic, process-based argument:

> *A acts* (is linked by P^1) on *B*,
> because (exactly because) *B acts* (is linked by P^2) on *C*,
> while *D* acts (is linked by P^2) on *C*,
> then inevitably *A* acts (is linked by P^1) on *D*

Or, in terms of human language:

> *A*rthur *likes B*eatrice
> because (exactly because) *B*eatrice *adores C*ats
> while *D*iana *adores C*ats,
> then inevitably *A*rthur *likes D*iana

More detail on that type of argument and the historical circumstances of its elaboration in Islamic jurisprudence (*fiqh*) is provided in one of my articles.[13]

Thus the "Arab reason" is "edified"—distanced from the European, meeting Jul-lien's criterion.

A plurality of reasons opens completely new perspectives for philosophy. We need a new philosophy—a philosophy capable of dealing with new realities and with the irreducible multiplicity of theoretical reasons.

NOTES

1. Raúl Fornet-Betancourt, "Toward a Philosophy of Intercultural Dialogue in a Conflicted World," in *Intercultural Dialogue: In Search of Harmony in Diversity*, ed. Edward Demenchonok, 2nd ed. (Newcastle upon Tyne, UK: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2016), 50–51.

2. In this chapter some of the materials from my article published in the 10th issue of the *Ishraq: Yearbook of Islamic Philosophy* are used.

3. François Jullien, *Detour and Access: Strategies of Meaning in China and Greece*, transl. Sophie Hawkes (New York: Zone Books, 2000).

4. Andrey V. Smirnov, "'To Be' and Arabic Grammar: The Case of *kāna* and *wujida*,"*Ishraq: Islamic Philosophy Yearbook* no. 7 (Moscow: Sadra, 2016), 174–201.

5. Fadlou Shehadi, *Metaphysics in Islamic Philosophy* (Delmar, N.Y.: Caravan Books, 1982).

6. Ibid., 26, 27.

7. Andrey V. Smirnov, "The Collective Cognitive Unconscious and Its Role in Logic, Language, and Culture," *Herald of the Russian Academy of Sciences*, vol. 87, no. 5 (2017): 409–415; Andrey V. Smirnov, "The Finer Points of a Culture's Thought," *Russian Studies in Philosophy*, vol. 56, no. 3 (2018): 153–155; Andrey V. Smirnov, "Proposition and Predication," *Russian Studies in Philosophy*, vol. 56, no. 3 (2018): 156-177; Andrey V. Smirnov, "A 'Big Culture' and Cogito," *Russian Studies in Philosophy*, vol. 58, no. 6 (2020): 457–466; Andrey V. Smirnov, "A Simpleminded Discourse on Enfolding and Unfolding," *Russian Studies in Philosophy*, vol. 58, no. 6 (2020): 467–490; Andrey V. Smirnov, "Translation as the Manufacturing of Meaning: A Few Words about the Title of Ibn Khaldūn's *History*," *Russian Studies in Philosophy*, vol. 58, no. 6 (2020): 491–521.

8. The logic-and-meaning approach is closely related to the conception of *vsechelovecheskoye*. This Russian term has no exact English equivalent. Its literal translation of *vse*-(all) and *chelovecheskoye* (human) as "all-human" (or uni–human, panhuman) hardly transmits the semantic richness of its meaning. It is rooted in Russian thought in Nikolay Danilevsky's idea of cultural-historical types, in the worldwide responsiveness of Fyodor Dostoevsky, and in Vladimir Soloviev's notion *vseedinstvo* (all-unity). *Vse-chelovecheskoye*, with its logic-and-meaning approach, presupposes the intrinsic value and irreducibility of the logic of each of the cultures. It does not exclude any specific logic-and-meaning type of culture; rather, it includes it as a possible variant of meaning creation. This conception is contrasted to the idea of *obshche-chelovecheskoye* (roughly translated as "the common-to-humankind"), which presupposes the mono-logicality and not the multi-logicality of culture; it denies the plurality of original cultures and declares the logic of the meaning of a certain (European or American) local culture as having no alternative and to be embodied in a global mono-civilizational project. In contrast, the logic-and-meaning approach and the conception of *vse-chelovecheskoye* can serve the development of a theoretical justification for the need for a project of a multi-civilizational world. See Andrey V. Smirnov, *Vsechelovecheskoye vs Obshchechelovecheskoye* (Moscow: Sadra, YaSK Publishing House, 2019), in Russian.

9. Henri Bergson, *An Introduction to Metaphysics*, trans. T. E. Hulme (New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1912), 13–14 (the italics are mine.—A.S.).

10. Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, *Al-Tafsīr al-Kabīr* [The Great Commentary on the Qur'ān], vol. 1 (Bayrūt: Dār al-kutub al-'ilmiyya, 2000), 224.

11. For more detail, see Andrey Smirnov, "'To Be' and Arabic Grammar: The Case of *kāna* and *wujida*," *Ishraq: Islamic Philosophy Yearbook* no. 7 (Moscow: Sadra, 2016), 174–201.

12. Elsaid Badawi, Michael Carter and Adrian Gully, *Modern Written Arabic: A Comprehensive Grammar* (London and New York: Routledge, 2004), 307, 400.

13. Andrey Smirnov, "Is a process-based logic possible?" *Ishraq: Islamic Philosophy Yearbook* no. 9 (Moscow: Sadra, 2019), 287–297.

13

Occam's Razor and Axiomatics of Human Experience

The Problem of the Reduction/Proliferation of Entities in the Contemporary Context

Mikhail N. Epstein

In this chapter, I would like to discuss the principle of economy of thought and the reduction of essences ("Occam's razor") in the context of contemporary scientific and philosophical theories. Immanuel Kant was skeptical toward this principle and stressed the necessity for the specification of essences. This anticipated the latest cybernetic approach to the almost infinite information capacity of each entity. I introduce the concept of "Occam's number"—the ratio of the number of essences to the number of entities they describe—as a language problem of the relationship of code and text and their relative length. The principle of reducing the length of texts by increasing the vocabulary (code) demonstrates that the limited proliferation of essences rather than their reduction is a way to economy of thought. The rational limit of such proliferation is set by the number of signs of natural language as they express the axioms of human experience (a lexical sign as an articulated unit of experience).

I consider the correlativistic (Francis Collins) and emergentist (Garrett Lisi) approaches that challenge the reductionist tendency in the natural science methodology (Francis Crick). In contrast to Bernardo Kastrup's idealistic monism, I propose the position of *duomonism* (or uni-duality)—the duality of the mental and the material that only manifest themselves one within the other, so that their inversion, or mutual reversal, is the primary reality of the *uni-verse* ("turning around one"). At the same time, the current stage of civilization is dominated by the activity of the mental, because the advance of science and technology makes all material entities reproducible (simulacra) and gives ontological priority to the irreducible reality of the subjective experience. The axiomatics of human experience includes its *intersubjectivity*, and thus the problem of multiple essences turns into the problem of multiple beings, the agents of *co-knowledge* as shared experience.

OCCAM'S DOUBLE-EDGED RAZOR

Does the methodological principle, known since the era of medieval scholasticism and conventionally called "Occam's razor," still remain valid in our time? Does it not lead to reductionism, to the dominance of natural-scientific materialism—and what arguments does modern philosophy put forward against it?

"Occam's razor" is usually formulated as follows: "Entities should not be multiplied beyond necessity."[1] In short, if a phenomenon can be explained by one or more reasons, then the simplest explanation should be preferred. Reducing the many to one, the complex to the simple—this is the surest way to the truth. On this basis, for example, Pierre-Simon Laplace, after he explained the workings of the solar system to Napoleon, the latter asked him: Where does God come into all this? To which Laplace replied, "Sire, I have no need of that hypothesis."[2]

For Laplace, "God" is that "superfluous" entity that is not required to explain physical or astronomical phenomena derived from natural causes. But it is useful to remember that for Ockham and other medieval thinkers, the "razor" served as a tool to "cut off" all other entities except God. Why are specific reasons needed to explain certain phenomena if all of them can be deduced from the will and providence of God? The only necessary

primary essence was God, and everything else in the universe is completely derived from it. However, if later, with the development of empirical science, the principle of "economy of thought" began to turn against supernatural entities, should this principle itself not be viewed critically? After all, Occam's "razor" is double-edged and, when explaining the world, can cut off and declare superfluous both God and everything except God.

At different stages of the development of science, Occam's razor, straightening the logic of proof, at the same time led to *reductionism*. For example, there is a great temptation to reduce biological phenomena to physical and chemical ones, i.e., to reduce "living things" to independent entities, to reduce the organism to the same laws that govern inorganic nature.

Immanuel Kant in *Critique of Pure Reason* speaks skeptically of the presumption of the reduction of essences to one: "But that such unanimity is to be encountered even in nature is something the philosophers presuppose in the familiar scholastic rule that one should not multiply beginnings (principles) without necessity (*entia praeter necessitatem non esse multiplicanda*). It is thereby said that the nature of things themselves offers material for the unity of reason. . . . This unity, although it is a mere idea, has been pursued so eagerly in all ages that more often there has been cause to moderate than to encourage the desire for it."[3]

Kant also mentions the law of specification: "*entium varietates non temere esse minuendas*" ("The diversity of entities should not be recklessly reduced," or "The distinction between entities should not be recklessly reduced"). Kant stands for the principle of potentially infinite specification, i.e. the transition from genus to species and further to subspecies and ever smaller categories of phenomena: "The cognition of appearances in their thoroughgoing determinacy (which is possible only through understanding) demands a ceaselessly continuing specification of its concepts, and a progress to the varieties that always still remain, from which abstraction is made in the concept of the species and even more in that of the genus."[4]

However, Kantian criticism of Occam's razor seems limited to me. In proposing a consistent specification of phenomena, Kant does not insist on its irreversible character. If we reduce all salts to two types, acidic and alkaline (his own example), then is it permissible to reduce the essence of acidic and alkaline back to the general essence of salt? Or are "acidity" and "alkalinity" independent albeit correlated entities? In other words, does

Occam's razor reduce them, leading to the consubstantiation of salt, or even to the consubstantiation of salt and earth, and then to the consubstantiation of all physical matter? Obviously, Kant does not approve of such a reduction, but he does not give decisive arguments against generalization, only proposing to supplement it with a specification.

It seems to me that between entities of different levels—genus, species, subspecies, etc.—there is no complete reducibility in either direction. The general is not reducible to its varieties, nor the varieties to the general. Individuals are not reducible to universals, and universals are not reducible to individuals. After the publication of my book *A Philosophy of the Possible*[5], this principle received the name "Epstein's stubbles" as a figurative antithesis to "Occam's razor," as an assertion of the multi-essence of being. The principle says: "Entities can be multiplied as needed." Not in excess, but in measure. But what determines this measure?

OCCAM'S NUMBER: CODE AND TEXTS

It is usually believed that there should be many fewer entities than phenomena since this is the need for cognition—explaining one thing through another. But take such an obvious case as an apple—does it have its own special essence, which is present in a huge variety of objects called "apples" and distinguishes them from the more general category of "fruits"? According to Seth Lloyd, Professor of Mechanical Engineering and Physics at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and a principal investigator at the Research Laboratory of Electronics, the information saturation of the apple is extremely high. "The Universe is a quantum computer," he writes, in which every atom and every elementary particle contains bits of information: "Each atom, by its position and velocity, registers only a few bits; each nuclear spin in an atom's core registers but a single bit. As a result, the apple contains only a few times more bits than atoms—a few million billion zeros and ones."[6]

In the light of modern information theory, it is difficult to say that a certain individual object can be completely reduced to a certain "generic" essence—for example, an apple to the general essence of fruits. In the end, each thing is fully explicable only in itself and, in this sense, is irreducible

to anything else. The fallacy of reductionism is especially evident now, when phenomena are revealed to us in all their informational complexity.

The principle of economy of thought says that a simple and short description should be preferred over a long and complex one. But is it possible to describe the apple as a unit of human experience in a simpler and shorter way than the word "apple"?

Let us conditionally introduce the following parameter: *Occam's number* as the number of universals divided by the number of individuals (realities) that they describe. The smaller Occam's number, the fewer entities are needed to explain things and the more economical the language of their description.

In the language of information theory, Occam's number is the ratio of the characters of the code and the length of the description. Usually, the more characters in the code, the shorter the description, and vice versa—the simpler the code, the more complex the description. For example, if the code contains only general concepts such as "plants" or "animals," then the description of an apple becomes very long, since it is necessary to introduce all the characteristics that distinguish it not only from other fruits but also from other phenomena of the vegetable kingdom. If we reduce the description to a minimum, for example, to the concept of "apple," then, on the contrary, the code will become very long and will include the names of all plants, fruits, etc.

The question is, at what level is it better to save, i.e., to reduce Occam's number: at the level of code or at the level of descriptions? There are different approaches. I prefer to increase the dictionary (code) in order to decrease the length of the description. But then the number of terms and their definitions in the dictionary increases. What is more advantageous in terms of Occam's number: minimization or maximization of the dictionary and, accordingly, maximization or minimization of texts?

The dictionary (code) is just one of many texts describing the variety of world phenomena, including "apples." There is a huge variety of descriptive texts, but there is only one metatext on the basis of which all these descriptions are made. Therefore, in principle, it is more advantageous, more economical to increase the length of this metatext (dictionary), i.e., to multiply the number of entities *to a reasonable limit*, which allows you to reduce a huge number of texts repeating the same definitions when describing the same objects. Occam's razor is not a

principle of economy but, on the contrary, wastefulness because, by asserting only one essence (God, matter, or otherwise), it presupposes infinitely long descriptions of specific phenomena. Therefore, it is more advantageous to increase the number of characters in the code while simultaneously reducing the length of the set of texts. For example, having introduced the concept of "apple" into the code, we can use it to describe many apples, saving on the definition of this term within each text. So, in order to simplify the texts, the code becomes more complex.

But this only goes up to a reasonable limit. How is this limit determined? I believe that it is determined by the volume of natural language—at least for philosophy and the humanities in general. Natural language, in the totality of its signs (words, concepts), developed by the natural *mind* of mankind, is the *reasonable* limit of the vocabulary (code) with which the humanities can operate.[7]

No more, no less. It is not necessary to expand this vocabulary by introducing tens of thousands of special terms, say, from botany or astronomy. But this dictionary should not be reduced to the most general categories, such as "matter," "idea," "form," "unity," "contradiction" . . . The word "apple" is quite legitimately included in the philosophical code, in the category of entities that operate in the humanities, since humanity itself in the collective act of thinking has singled out this subject and endowed it with a special sign in the language.[8]

One can also imagine a moving scale on which Occam's number changes depending on the chosen frame of explanation: in some cases, the razor is sharper, while in others the stubbles are thicker. For example, it is possible to selectively "trim" or eliminate certain domains of being, such as those studied by physics, while leaving other domains to pluralistic growth, such as those considered by the humanities. To continue the metaphor of "Occam's razor," we can further speak of philosophy as a "hairdressing" art. Different "hairstyles" are analogous to different models of the universe: from "close-cropped" to "exuberant curls." One of the tasks of philosophy is to investigate the applicability of the movable Occam's scale to different domains of being and to different discursive strategies.

REDUCTION AND EMERGENCE

What has been said above about Occam's razor is directly related to the central philosophical questions of our time. What is the nature of primary reality, and is natural language suitable for describing it?

With the progress of biochemistry and neuropsychology in recent decades, the tendency, already dominant since the middle of the 19th century, to explain humans' mental states by exposure to chemicals has intensified. Nobel laureate biochemist Francis Crick, co-discoverer (with James Watson) of the DNA double helix, began his book *Astonishing Hypothesis: The Scientific Search for the Soul* as follows: "The Astonishing Hypothesis is that 'You,' your joys and your sorrow, your memories and your ambitions, your sense of personal identity and free will, are in fact nothing more than the behavior of a vast assembly of nerve cells and their associated molecules. As Lewis Carroll's Alice might have phrased it: 'You're nothing but a pack of neurons.'"[9]

In other words, all ethics and psychology, everything that we call soul and spirit, harmony and genius, is cut off from reality by Occam's razor and acts only as an emanation of neurons, a subjective experience of chemical and physical reality. Crick opposes his scientific theory of the soul as a "pack of neurons" and even "electronic pathways" to the religious and psychological understanding of it.

Francis Collins, an American geneticist who became known as the leader of the project to decipher the human genome but who at the same time openly professes his religious views, answered the questions of journalist John Horgan as follows:

> Horgan: What do you think about the field of neurotheology, which attempts to identify the neural basis of religious experiences?
>
> Collins: I think it's fascinating but not particularly surprising. We humans are flesh and blood. So, it wouldn't trouble me—if I were to have some mystical experience myself—to discover that my temporal lobe was lit up. That doesn't mean that this doesn't have genuine spiritual significance. Those who come at this issue with the presumption that there is nothing outside the natural world will look at this data and say, "Ya see?" Whereas those who come with the presumption that we are spiritual creatures will go, "Cool! There is a natural correlate to this mystical experience! How about that!"[10]

This is one line of argument: if mental states have cerebral, physical correlates, then this means that physical processes may have some mental prerequisites unknown to us—more precisely, known, but only from our inner experience.

Another line of reasoning is also possible: "there is no soul," there are only neurons. Well, is there flesh? If we look at the flesh through an electron microscope, getting to individual molecules and atoms, then nothing tangibly fleshy in general will be found in nature. There are only particles, waves, quanta, probabilities, impulses, in which there is nothing left that generates desire, love, admiration. "Fleshy" is the property of certain molecular cell clusters to interact with other molecular cell clusters at a certain level of their physico-biological organization. "Flesh" is a conditional verbal assumption that we exchange in order to understand and feel each other because it corresponds to our experience of living beings, endowed with a special field of perception. It is in this human range that the concepts of "flesh" and "soul" are formed; here they are the same *reality* as molecules and atoms in the field of observation of a microscope or the Synchrophasotron.

The concept of emergence, introduced into philosophy in 1875 by George H. Lewes in his book *Problems of Life and Mind*[11] and further developed in the philosophy of the process by Alfred Whitehead and Samuel Alexander, seems to be the most radical challenge to reductionism and, in general, "razor-sharp" thinking. I will cite the opinion of the American theoretical physicist Garrett Lisi, the author of "An Exceptionally Simple Theory of Everything," that the upper levels of human existence are not reducible to the physical and chemical elements of nature, even if they arose from them through self-organization. The English term "emergence," which is very significant in philosophy and science, means the emergence of new properties during the transition from one level of being to another. Garrett Lisi writes:

> We know better now. We know that the magic of life comes from emergence. It is the unimaginably large numbers of interactions that make this magic possible. To describe romantic love as the timely mutual squirt of oxytocin trivializes the concerted dance of more molecules than there are stars in the observable universe. The numbers are beyond astronomical. There are approximately 100 trillion atoms in each human cell, and about 100 trillion cells in each human. And the number of possible interactions rises exponentially with the number of atoms. It is the emergent qualities of this vast cosmos of interacting entities that make us. . . . This is the triumph and tragedy of our most ancient and powerful method of science: analysis—understanding a thing as the sum of its parts and their actions. We have learned and benefitted from this method, but we have also learned its limits. When the number of parts becomes huge, such as for atoms making up a human, analysis is practically useless for understanding the system—even though the system does emerge from its parts and their interactions. We can more effectively understand an entity using principles deduced from experiments at or near its own level of distance scale—its own stratum.[12]

Emergence is the emergence of new entities, irreducible to what they arose from.[13] This means, in particular, that the phenomenon of love is more accurately described not from the lower levels—physical, chemical, cellular, neural—but in a series of phenomena of the same level: tenderness, inspiration, desire, temptation, jealousy. . . . Or even in the context of a higher level of emergence: platonic love, Aphrodite Urania, man's love for God and God's for man . . .

HUMAN REALITY AND NATURAL LANGUAGE

As you know, even the property of such a simple chemical compound as water is not determined by the properties of its hydrogen and oxygen molecules. Moreover, mental states that are not recorded by instruments but perceived in a person's inner experience are not reducible to chemicals: phenethylamine, oxytocin, etc., the observation of which through a microscope or the description of which by formulas of their molecular composition has not the slightest resemblance to that love that we experience. Of course, as a result of processing data on trillions of chemical interactions, perhaps it will be possible to draw up an information map of some instant surge of emotions in a lover. But one word for "love," a natural language sign, gives a much more succinct and precise definition of this phenomenon than petabytes of digital information. The advantage of a natural, "analogous" language is not only in its brevity compared to trillions of numbers but also in the fact that it is uniquely accurate in designating those states that are experienced by the subject and are instantly recognized by him as his own, as the primary axioms of experience.

It is impossible to speak about the soul or the flesh more precisely than by using our human language, since, for the language of chemical or mathematical formulas, they simply do not exist. Likewise, a person's face disappears when viewed through a microscope. Large pores and skin peels are visible, then, with a sharp zoom in, some ornaments, tissue structure, and then cells, molecules, atoms. . . . But the face is gone. How are we able to perceive the human personality, its beauty and charm, if even the face is only an illusion? In fact, what constitutes the human world and is designated by the words "face," "flesh," "soul," "personality," "beauty," and "love" is the primary reality commensurate with man. But the reality,

which we observe through a microscope or telescope and describe in the language of exact natural sciences, is secondary in relation to man and his "inexact" language. Of course, we are tempted by the idea that the microscope knows the truth better than the human eye. But after all, while the microscope was created by man for the human eye, it is also a humanitarian instrument in its origins and parameters, although in it the human goes beyond the boundaries of itself, which is also eminently human.

This is the answer of the language itself to the question of which *reality* is primary: the human reality, or that perceived through microscopes, telescopes, and other tools created by ourselves? The reality of a person does not exclude other fields of perception (micro-, mega-); on the contrary, it technically establishes them. But the *human reality* remains the common denominator of all these fields, created on its basis and diverging into the spaces of the microcosm and the mega-world. And no matter how the vague concepts of "flesh" and "soul" are decoded and criticized in other disciplinary languages, they remain complete and indivisible in the primary language in which our humanity is expressed. We also cannot go beyond the reality of this language, just as we cannot give birth to ourselves. We can create—but *not ourselves*, but rather only *from ourselves*, that is, proceeding from our already created, human givenness.

AXIOMATICS OF EXPERIENCE: RETURNING TO THE BEGINNING

All scientific research of objective reality ultimately rests on the investigating subject themselves, his/her optics, psyche, prisms, and horizons of perception—not on the individual, but on humanity as an integral subject. Paul Valéry warned about this, relying on the paradoxes of modern physics, in his essay "Our Destiny and Literature" (1937):

> "It is to be predicted," I would say to them, "that, one day or another, you will be forced to concentrate your research on the sensibility and sense organs. These are your basic mechanisms. Every measurement you physicians make brings into play touch, sight, and the muscular sense. With the help of your numerous relays and other instruments, you have gone far beyond the little radius within which all these senses have a hold on something. You began by using the images they perceive, to imagine what you thought existed below the level of the senses, but now you have reached the limit, beyond which those images and analogies are

useless. You must come back to the source, back to our little-known senses which bring us what we know."[14]

Valéry is essentially talking about the *axiomatics of human experience*, which precedes all theoretical axioms. Quantum physics, new in Valéry's epoch, having reached the limits in the study of the material microworld, itself demanded "to return to the beginning"—to the observer, to the senses as the main instruments. And if the humanities express a person's interest in themselves, then this is not a sign of species selfishness or narcissism but the only reliable prerequisite for all other methods of scientific knowledge. We are what we are, and so we are forced to take ourselves on faith. "I" is the axiom of our experience, which underlies any theorem of scientific knowledge. We are given to ourselves as a condition for any further experiments that are carried out by a person on the basis of the methods of perception and thinking given to them. Even if we look through a microscope or a telescope, we cannot "jump" out of our pupils, out of our nerves, out of our brain. This *axiomatics of experience* is the initial act of any scientific cognition: the recognition of oneself, the knower, the starting point of all further research.

According to the modern Dutch philosopher and computer engineer Bernardo Kastrup, idealism is the most economical ontology possible.[15] Materialism, which gives priority to matter, is a secondary, artificial construction that does not correspond to the principle of economy (parsimony) of thought, which must always and everywhere be based primarily on its own data, on the reality of consciousness itself. We do not know what we call "matter," we only construct indirect assumptions about a certain substance underlying the observed world; we only directly know consciousness, since it knows and explains itself. The postulation of matter outside of consciousness as a primary reality is an abstraction that leads beyond the boundaries of authentic experience. Kastrup refers to an example: "English poet Samuel Johnson is said to have argued against Bishop Berkeley's idealism by kicking a large stone while exclaiming: 'I refute it thus!' . . . Johnson was clearly appealing to the felt concreteness of the stone to suggest that it could not be just a figment of imagination. Indeed, the felt concreteness of the world is probably the main reason why people intuitively reject the notion that reality unfolds in consciousness."[16]

Concreteness, firmness, tangibility, the impenetrability of physical objects—this is why most people reject idealism. Kastrup objects to this

view and argues that the very tangibility, impenetrability, etc. of objects are also the qualities of our own experiences, the projection of sensations that acquaint us with the world: "A stone allegedly outside consciousness, in and by itself, is entirely abstract and has no qualities."[17]

So, consciousness, according to Kastrup, is the primary reality, which explains itself. Thus, the "difficult problem of consciousness," as the Australian philosopher David Chalmers called it, is removed—the problem of deriving the indisputable, self-evident experience of consciousness from the material structure of the brain and the entire universe. More precisely, this problem does not even arise since consciousness is derived from itself; it is an existential primitive that cannot be reduced to anything else. I have strong objections to the idealistic monism of Kastrup, because when the problem of consciousness is eliminated, a "difficult problem of matter" arises: how can one deduce its existence from the primacy of mental structures?[18]

I proceed from another philosophical principle, which can be described as "*duomonism*." Being, like a Mobius strip, constantly turns from one side to the other: mentality turns into materiality (brain), and materiality turns into mentality (consciousness). There is only one tape, but its main property is reversibility. If we write "mentality" on one side of the tape and "matter" on the other, then by moving along one side, we come to the other. *Inversion* underlies the universe as a kind of *inversum*. Universum is inversum.

Inversion is not a reduction to one, it is precisely *two-sidedness*, the very property of reversibility as primary in relation to both the material and the mental. *Consciousness always dwells (finds itself) in the world in the same way that the world dwells (reveals itself) in consciousness*. What is common between these two ways of being, material and mental? The preposition "*in*," indicating the mutual inclusion of consciousness and the world: one *in* the other. As the Russian poet Fyodor Tyutchev said: "Everything is in me, and I am in everything!" That which is primary is not the mental or the material but their very ability to stay in each other, to turn into each other. This is not a dualism of two substances in the Cartesian sense but a *monism of reversibility*, which is emblematically expressed in the very concept of "universe," literally "one rotation" (from the Latin *unus*, one, and *versus*, the participle of the verb *vertere*, to rotate). Rotation involves at least two sides of something that rotates.

REALITY AS INTERSUBJECTIVITY: FROM ENTITIES TO BEINGS

Contrary to the trivial idea of the triumph of materialism in the methodology of contemporary science, at this stage of its development we are rather on the *mental* side of the Mobius strip. It is consciousness that increasingly reveals the properties of an ontological primitive. The nature of reality changes dramatically with the invention of new technologies capable of reproducing the material properties of objects. Previously, the real was identified with the objective instruments available for observation and registration. On the contrary, the subjective—i.e., consciousness, will, feelings—were considered rather surreal and as belonging to the sphere of imagination. However, reality most quickly loses its support precisely in the field of the objective. There is no fundamental difference between a real object and its exact copy, created by nanotechnology at the atomic level or by means of three-dimensional printing. The duplicate of a material object is indistinguishable from the original. The simulacrum successfully supplants any original or, rather, cancels the very status of the original. All objects are, in principle, virtually reproducible. Holography creates a complete optical illusion of an object, and nanotechnology of the future will be able to build exact copies of any object from elementary particles, reproducing their tactile properties, smells, etc.

And thus, it is the subjective that turns out to provide much more reliable support for the real. Everything can be faked—except for the state of the subject, his thought, will, and desire. A flawlessly copied item is the same item. However, copied will is no longer will but the absence of it. Fake love is no longer love but just pretense. It is impossible to fake faith, fear, or joy since they are experienced by the subject from the inside, and their fakeness means their absence.

The deeper we plunge into the field of the mental, the more reliable the reality and the lower the risk of its falsification. The most hidden thought is more real than the word that expressed it ("a pronounced thought is a lie," as Tyutchev said). At the very beginning of the film *I'm Thinking of Ending Things*, directed by Charlie Kaufman (2020), the following maxim can be heard: "Sometimes the thought is closer to the truth, to reality, than an action. You can say anything, you can do anything, but you can't fake a thought."[19]

The power of reason and will becomes decisive in shaping reality: what we want, what we insist on, what we believe in. "I" or "we," by our conscious effort, determine what we are to be, what will be included in the existing composition of our being. This is one of the main paradoxes of the modern "materialistic" civilization. It is thanks to the latest scientific technologies and the art of "simulation" that the importance of the human factor and even the purely personal is not decreasing but increasing. Reality is not "the world as it is," nor "the totality of material phenomena," nor "objective reality given to us in sensations"—such materialism is increasingly perceived as philosophical "crap." The objective retreats before the subjective. No longer "what" but "who" lies at the basis of things, so to speak, broadcasting and carrying the message, voice, and intention of the subject.

Of course, Occam's razor can also invade the area of "who-ontology," promoting solipsism, cutting off everything that is located outside the boundaries of my "I" and the subjective world outlined by it. However, it would be more correct to say that Occam's principle—"do not multiply essences beyond necessity"—turns out to be inapplicable in *who-ontology*, since it is no longer a question of *essences* at all but of *beings*. A *being* (e.g., a human being) is a special category of being, deeply different from *essence*, as well as from *existence*—irreducible to essentialism and existentialism. A being is "self-essential" and unique; it itself determines the forms of its existence. A being is a self-acting "someone" whose existence is determined by their own will, intentions, and needs, autonomous in relation to their environment. A being is someone who can *behave themselves*, i.e., they can be the subject of desire and action. The reflexive pronoun "myself" appears in the language as a special logical-grammatical category, central to who-ontology.

Who-ontology is a much less developed area of philosophy than what-ontology; therefore, shifting the focus of attention from an essence to a being, it is necessary to rebuild a number of alternative concepts. In particular, the concept of "who" brings ontology closer to theology, since man shares the property of "being a being" with God. It is no coincidence that the most fundamental criticism of the concept of "essence" came from the theology of Gregory Palamas, distinguishing the unknowable essence (Latin: *essentia*) from the manifested energy of God. Essence is eternally predetermined and self-identical, while energy is a spontaneous expression

of the will of God and manifests itself as grace, and in man as a free will to accept or reject this grace. The energetic branch of contemporary Orthodox theology is developing more dynamically than essentialistically, largely thanks to the works of Sergey Horujy.[20] These ideas have also been elaborated by Edward Demenchonok.[21]

The axiomatics of human experience includes its co-separation with others. Consciousness is not only always about *something* (intentionality) but also *someone* (addressing), which is imprinted in the very structure of this concept—*con*sciousness. This is a translation loan from the Latin *con*scientia, which literally means "joint knowledge" (from the verb *conscire*, to know together with another, "co-knowledge"). Thus, reality is increasingly defined not just subjectively but *inter-subjectively*, as a dialogical relationship between beings, more precisely, as the reality of another being—"being located beyond," *outsided will*, and *outsided desire*.[22]

At the end of the 2001 film *A Beautiful Mind* (with Russell Crowe playing the mathematician John Nash) the protagonist accepts the Nobel Prize for his most fundamental discovery, which is formulated as follows: "It is only in the mysterious equations of love that any logic or reasons can be found." And further, referring to the hall filled with all the characters of his life, memory, and imagination, he said: "You are the only reason I am. You are all my reasons."

This is the new criterion of reality—not the materiality of the object, but the presence of thought and will that meets me from the outside, other beings in their turn toward me. My being *desired, willed, loved* by someone —or, on the contrary, unwillingness, unacceptability, rejection. Reality encompasses the existence of all entities, since they are participants and mediators in the interaction of consciousnesses. It is the omnipotence of technology, which is mastering the material world and freely building it out of itself, that transfers the attributes of the primary reality to the sphere of intersubjective experience.

Translated by Edward Demenchonok

NOTES

1. "*Non sunt multiplicanda entia sine necessitate*." The English philosopher and monk William of Ockham (c. 1285–1347) had a slightly different formulation: "Plurality should not be posited without necessity" ("*pluralitas non est ponenda sine necessitate*"). The present one appeared much later, in the 17th century.

2. Francis Crick, *Astonishing Hypothesis: The Scientific Search for Soul* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1994), 6.

3. Immanuel Kant, *Critique of Pure Reason*, trans. and ed. Paul Guyer and Allen W. Wood (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 595, A652/B680.

4. Ibid., 598, A656/B684.

5. Mikhail Epstein, *Filosofiya vozmozhnogo* [A Philosophy of the Possible] (St. Petersburg: Aleteya, 2001), 126–137. Extended version of the book in English: Mikhail Epstein, *A Philosophy of the Possible: Modalities in Thought and Culture*, trans. Vern W. McGee and Marina Eskina, Value Inquiry Book Series no. 333 (Boston, Leiden et al.: Brill Academic Publishers/Rodopi, 2019), 117–129.

6. Seth Lloyd, *Programming the Universe: A Quantum Computer Scientist Takes On the Cosmos* (New York: Knopf, 2006), x, 3.

7. On the meaning of natural language and the frequency dictionary in the formation of philosophical categories, see Mikhail Epstein, "Predlog 'v' kak ponyatiye: Chastotnyy slovar' i filosofskaya kartina mira" [The preposition 'in' as a concept: Frequency dictionary and philosophical picture of the world], in Mikhail Epstein, *Znak probela: O budushchem gumanitarnykh nauk* [Space Character: On the Future of the Humanities] (Moscow: New Literary Review, 2004), 228–253.

8. For more details, see Mikhail Epstein, "Lichnyy kod: Individy i universalii v gumanitarnykh naukakh" [Personal code: Individuals and universals in the humanities], in Mikhail Epstein, *Ot znaniya—k tvorchestvu: Kak gumanitarnyye nauki mogut izmenyat' mir* [From Knowledge to Creativity: How the Humanities Can Change the World] (Moscow, St. Petersburg: Center for Humanitarian Initiatives, 2016), 429–443, https://imwerden.de/pdf/epstein_ot_znaniya_k_tvorchestvu_2016.pdf

9. Francis Crick, *Astonishing Hypothesis: The Scientific Search for the Soul* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1994), 3.

10. Francis Collins, "The Scientist as Believer (Francis Collins interviewed by J. Horgan)," *National Geographic Magazine*, February 2009, http://inters.org/Collins-Scientist-Believer.

11. George H. Lewes, *Problems of Life and Mind* (London: Trübner, 1875), 412.

12. Antony Garrett Lisi, "Emergence," in *This Idea Is Brilliant. Lost, Overlooked, and Underappreciated Scientific Concepts Everyone Should Know*, ed. John Brockman (New York et al.: Harper Perennial, 2018), 21–22.

13. The transition from a reductionist to an emergent approach is considered on the basis of analytical philosophy and its conversion into a philosophy of synthesis in my article Mikhail Epstein, "From Analysis to Synthesis: Conceiving a Transformative Metaphysics for the Twenty-First Century." in *Russian Philosophy in the Twenty-First Century. An Anthology*, eds. Mikhail Sergeev, Alexander Chumakov, and Mary Theis (Leiden, Boston: Brill, Rodopi, 2020), 74–100.

14. Paul Valéry, "History and Politics," trans. Denise Folliot and Jackson Mathews, in *The Collected Works Of Paul Valery*, vol. 10 (New York: Pantheon Books, 1962), 184. https://archive.org/details/in.ernet.dli.2015.137329/page/n3/mode/2up

15. Bernardo Kastrup, *The Idea of the World: A Multi-Disciplinary Argument for the Mental Nature of Reality* (Winchester, Washington, DC: Iff Books, 2019).

16. Ibid., 131.

17. Ibid.

18. On my polemic with Kastrup's monism, see Mikhail Epstein, "Vso—iz vrashcheniya! Mental'nost' oborachivayetsya material'nost'yu (mozg), a material'nost'—mental'nost'yu (soznaniye)" [Everything is in rotation! Mentality turns into materiality (brain), and materiality turns

into mentality (consciousness)], *Nezavisimaya gazeta*, October 8, 2019: 9, 12, http://www.ng.ru/science/2019-10-08/9_7696_rotation.html.

19. This is a quote from the 2016 novel of the same name by Canadian writer Iain Reid. Incidentally, the work's title lends itself to a metaphysical interpretation: if thought is the only reality, then it puts an end to all things. https://www.imdb.com/title/tt7939766/quotes/?ref_=tt_trv_qu.

20. See, for example, Sergey Horujy, *Ocherki sinergiynoy antropologii* [Essays on Synergistic Anthropology] (Moscow: Institute of Philosophy, Theology and History of St. Thomas, 2005).

21. Edward Demenchonok, "Practices of the Self: Hesychasm and Synergic Anthropology," in *Traditions of Formation, Spirituality and University: Transformation Perspectives or Intercultural Renewal*, ed. Raúl Fornet-Betancourt, 187-200 (Aachen, Germany: Wissenschaftsverlag Mainz, 2015); Edward Demenchonok, "Michel Foucault's Theory of Practices of the Self and the Quest for a New Philosophical Anthropology," in *Peace, Culture, and Violence*, ed. Fuat Gursozlu, 218–247 (Leiden, Boston: Brill, Rodopi, 2018).

22. For more on this in relation to Mikhail Bakhtin's concept of *vnenakhodimost'* (outsideness), see Mikhail Epstein, "Mikhail Bakhtin and the future of the humanities," in Mikhail Epstein, *The Transformative Humanities: A Manifesto* (New York: Bloomsbury, 2012), 57–68.

V

PHILOSOPHY FACING WORLD PROBLEMS

14

The Diverse Faces of Globalization

William L. McBride

Edward Demenchonok concludes his published contribution to the Twenty-First World Congress of Philosophy, held in Istanbul in 2003, with four paragraphs defending "Interculturality as an alternative to globalization."[1] His point here is that "globalization" is frequently taken to mean a kind of homogenizing process, strongly supported by blind, faceless economic mechanisms, that treats humanity as an object rather than, as it should be regarded, as a subject. But his treatment of "globalization" is not uniformly negative in his writings, a fact that reflects the vicissitudes of this word in the literature of social and political philosophy over the past few decades.

It would be quite impossible to chart all those vicissitudes in such a vast literature, but I will attempt a brief, impressionistic sketch, with which I do not anticipate a great deal of disagreement. The phenomenon of globalization, understood, roughly, as nations going outside their own borders to seek commercial trade and sometimes also cultural interaction with others, is not really new at all. It was pursued in imperialistic form beginning in the European "age of exploration," but examples of it in one form or another are to be found throughout recorded history—in the Mediterranean world, in Africa, and in Asia. (The Chinese government, for

example, has recently made a point of reminding the world of the old Silk Road, as well as its maritime counterpart.) Hegel, in his *Philosophy of Right*, identified the seeking of markets and resources abroad as one way in which an "advanced" civil society could relieve the stress of extreme poverty. Marx regarded what we loosely call globalization as one of the "countervailing tendencies" to the coming collapse, as he anticipated it, of the capitalist system. And so on.

But for some reason, I am not sure exactly why, the word "globalization" came into vogue in the late Twentieth Century, and there were those who treated it as something new. The rather sudden popularity of the term had something to do with the rising power of transnational corporations—but there have been some such corporations for centuries (consider, for instance, the West India Company, which is said at one point to have controlled half of the world's international trade)—and something to do with the end of the Cold War, with the rise of totally novel forms of communication, etc. I think it fair to say, in any case, that, despite misgivings about, for instance, the transnationals, globalization's early "press," as it first came into vogue, was more positive than negative.

But fame, as Professor Demenchonok and I have lived to see over the decades that we share in common, is usually short-lived. ("The evil that men do lives after them . . ." and all that.) So, it has been, at least to some extent already, with "globalization," as my opening reference shows clearly enough. However, there is an older concept that is often to be found in tandem with "globalization" in its more positive uses, and that is cosmopolitanism. Professor Demenchonok has been both a consistent proponent and a consistent incarnation of cosmopolitanism over his life and career, and for that he deserves our wholehearted gratitude.

If the idea of "globalization," at least of certain understandings of that term, evokes some fierce opposition, so too does that of cosmopolitanism. The latter was put to shameful use as an anti-Semitic slur at times in Soviet history, and at present there are strong nationalist movements, in many parts of the world, for which the cosmopolitan ideal is anathema. Their motivations are in most cases, as far as I am concerned, highly dubious and problematic at best, but at least one such motivation is shared by one of Professor Demenchonok's philosophical heroes, Immanuel Kant, who certainly supported cosmopolitanism as an ideal but feared the establishment of a single "republic," or authoritarian regime, that would

exercise worldwide dominance. In other words, a version of "globalization" that would precisely instantiate some of our worst political nightmares.

The remainder of this paper will be divided into two parts: globalizations past, and possible globalizations future. It will conclude with a few reflections on the nature of history.

GLOBALIZATIONS PAST

I could, if I wished, go far back in history, as my earlier allusions to "ancient" times implied. I once gave a talk at a seminar in Moscow, "Globalizatsyia i mezhkulturnii dialog" (Globalization and Intercultural Dialogue), the title both of the seminar and of my talk, which was published in Russian translation in *Voprosy Filosofii* in the same year, 2002.[2] There, I compared the relative modesty of the Roman Empire, for which the Mediterranean Sea was known as *mare nostrum*, with NATO, which at that point encircled the northern landmasses of the earth (with the exception of the very narrow Bering Strait). The idea of bringing the Roman Empire into the discussion was partly stimulated by the fact that a couple of former students of Leo Strauss's, a well-known conservative professor of classical thought, were then working in President Bush's White House and had implied such a comparison in light of the recent U.S. invasion and occupation of Iraq. In looking back at that paper (which has never been published in English), I saw that I had prefaced it with a wonderful citation, which I had forgotten, from former U. S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger: "The basic challenge is that what is called globalization is really another name for the dominant role of the United States." It was in a lecture given in Dublin in 1999 and cited in an article in which the author questions whether social justice and globalization are compatible.[3]

My wish here is to confine my survey of globalizations past to the last century and that portion of the present century that we have lived through. As the Austro-Hungarian, Ottoman, and Russian Empires all collapsed, in different ways, with the end of World War I, at least two significant new globalizing movements came to the fore: that of the Communist Party, centered in the Soviet Union, and that of Woodrow Wilson's "democracy," for the safety of which, worldwide, he asserted that the war had been fought. Still in existence also, of course, were the colonial empires of

several European nations, most notably France and, first and foremost, the United Kingdom, the British Empire on which, famously, "the sun never set." The world of the 1920s and 1930s that emerged from the war was thus, in many respects, highly globalized, albeit in ways which, at least in retrospect, were hardly conducive to worldwide well-being. Stalin's management of the Russian Revolutionary heritage, by virtue of which the Internationale was expected to fall in line with his wishes, effectively drained many of the hope that they had first felt after 1917 and laid the groundwork for widespread disaffection with "the Soviet experiment." The United States government failed to support the League of Nations (Kant's dream), and within a few years it and many other countries were afflicted with a severe economic depression. Hitler rose to power on the promise of inaugurating a "*dritte Reich.*" Imperial Japan extended its brutal control over increasing portions of Asia. In short, if there was globalization, as indeed there was, it was all too often of an *imperial* kind. The virtually inevitable result was catastrophic war, one of the outcomes of which, as Professor Demenchonok has brought out in the title of one of his books, Hiroshima.[4] This was the world of our childhoods, his and mine, however different our *cultural* worlds may have been.

The move toward globalization of a more benign sort is best epitomized in the formation of the United Nations immediately after World War II. Great indeed was the hope that this engendered. The colonial empires began to dissolve, at least in a political sense though not necessarily in an economic one, and eventually there ensued the "Thaw" in the Soviet Union under Khrushchev and various realignments that followed over the next couple of decades. It was during this time, as I have already indicated, that "globalization" really came into its own as an expression of something seemingly very important, and seemingly new, that was taking place and that now defined our world. But what most characterized those years, as a phenomenon with which globalization was closely linked, was American hegemony. It was a commonplace of the time to say that the United States was the sole remaining superpower, now that the Soviet Union had lost its predominance. This was certainly a strong theme in my Moscow paper of 2002, and I find it featured prominently in Professor Demenchonok's writing of the period as well. And, to the extent to which the United States wielded both greatly superior military force and economic control as well, with many of the largest transnational corporations being American-based

but with offices all over the globe, it occurred to many that this was not the kind of globalization that promised to benefit humanity as a whole from the standpoint of justice and rights. An outstanding illustration of the reasons for this widespread skepticism was the war in Vietnam, which the United States government took over after the French defeat there and carried on with increasing ruthlessness until it was finally forced to retreat.

But this failure ultimately to have its way in Vietnam was somehow insufficient to block the ongoing tide of Americanocentric globalization during the final years of the Twentieth Century. One rival movement that gained strength over those years was that of Islamic fundamentalism, but its power—military, political, economic— was slight by comparison. And yet, only a few months before my lecture in Moscow, a hostile action launched by a few Islamic fundamentalists, the air attack on the World Trade Center in New York City, began a process of de-globalizing, if I may put it that way, that to some extent continues to this day. At the time, as traumatic as that attack was especially for those living in or near New York City, I did not expect its long-term effects to be as pivotal as they have been. And they might not have been, had the United States Administration of the time not chosen, in its hubris, the military responses that it did. As always with aggressive wars, *solitudinem faciunt*, *pacem appellant*. The face of globalization, such as it was in 2002, has not been the same ever since.

Meanwhile, a new hegemon has emerged: China. It has extended its influence with remarkable speed and urgency in very recent years, exhibiting a new face of globalization. Exactly how it will play itself out remains something of a mystery, as do all questions about future history. But this guessing game is what I now intend briefly to play.

POSSIBLE GLOBALIZATIONS FUTURE

Could any young adult living in, let us say, the year 1914 have foreseen even a fraction of the path that globalizations now past would take? I think not. As the recent refocusing by historians on the "Great War" that began in that year has reminded us, there were senior European government officials who took their vacations after the assassination of the Archduke Ferdinand in Sarajevo, confident that no major developments deconstructing the existing world order would ensue; but they surely did. Similarly, one can

find many documents from the time of Hitler's ascendancy to the Chancellorship in which very well-informed observers predicted that this spell of idiocy would be very short-lived. From the vantage point of mid-2021 from which I am writing this, it would seem that, despite the vast amount of idiocy that permeates so many parts of the globe, clearly exacerbated by the virtually unprecedented pandemic, one is able to see a slow return to sanity here and there—in the United States, for instance. But, as many fear, this might be only temporary. We have some reason to hope that the rivalry of the United States and the Western European nations with China will continue comparatively amicably, at least without military involvement; that nuclear weapons, particularly the weapons possessed by governments prone to hostility with one another, such as those of India and Pakistan, will remain sheathed for the indefinite future; and that the dominance of capitalist enterprises seeking their own forms of hegemony, such as the vast private media organizations, will be able to be checked before they come to "inherit the earth." Virtually every serious observer, of course, is aware of the serious dangers of climate change, which have already manifested themselves in many ways. What optimists hope for, in reaction to this development, is a form of globalization as global cooperation to fight against the principal causes of climate change, and this does indeed seem to be beginning to occur. Beyond these sketchy and extremely fallible projections about "foreseeable" future world history, I am unwilling to go at this point. But I will venture to discuss possible futures of the intellectual field that Professor Demenchonok and I share, to wit, social and political philosophy.

A theme of many recent books and articles of late has been the question of the future of "democracy." Of course, the ambiguity of this term is notorious—not least so in the country with which it is so often identified, the United States. Because of peculiarities in the federal Constitution that were incorporated in it in order, above all, to guarantee weaker and smaller states some measure of equality with the larger ones, we find such anomalies, relative to the notion of democracy as majority rule with full citizen participation, as a Senate whose members, it is said, currently represent something like 20 percent of the total American population. Efforts are in fact underway currently, as is well known, to try to allow state legislatures in some states to exercise ultimate jurisdiction over popular votes for the Presidency. To regard the United States as a democratic ideal,

then, is to stray very far from reality into a realm of pure ideality. This invokes echoes of a philosopher with whom I have dealt in several of my writings (including an essay in Professor Demenchonok's edited volume, *Intercultural Dialogue: In Search of Harmony in Diversity*[5]), one who has been (unfortunately, to my mind) highly influential in Western countries and beyond, the late John Rawls.

Rawls' first and still best-known book, *A Theory of Justice*, is indeed the (lengthy) expression of an ideal, which it is comparatively easy to see as rooted in the moderately affluent mid-century America in which he grew up and, indeed, as a purified version of its culture. To be sure, a major part of the purification involved in his fantasy has to do with trying to imagine a more equitable, or "fair," distribution of resources and powers than prevailed in the real society of that time—a desideratum that, as everyone knows, has since then slipped ever further out of our grasp as the holdings of the richest and the poorest have become ever more disproportionate. Rawls, a gentle man, was no doubt sincere when he claimed that this society was a "nearly just" one. But it wasn't, and it isn't.

In Rawls' collection of essays entitled *Political Liberalism*, one detects a clear retreat from the self-assurance of *A Theory of Justice*, a strong insistence on the idea that Rawls' claims are political rather than metaphysical, and, as a new theme about which Rawls was quite prescient, an awareness of the problem posed by the existence, within avowedly liberal societies, of religious or political groups that adhere to comprehensive worldviews that are illiberal. In other words, Rawls foresaw the rise of religious fundamentalism, and for this he deserves credit. On the other hand, by identifying his own philosophical positions with political liberalism as such, as the book's title implies (whether this was intentional or not), Rawls at once diminished some of the excitement felt by earlier readers at the thought that his theory of justice was one of those rare instances of original philosophizing and contributed to the rising tide of skepticism about political liberalism itself. Finally, in his very short late work, *The Law of Peoples*, Rawls' cultural prejudices were allowed to show themselves more fully than ever as he distinguished "decent" societies such as his own from the other, presumably less decent, societies in the world with which the decent ones still had to try to get along, while refusing to try to apply his own theory of justice to the world scene. Given my reservations about Rawls' approach to political theory from the start (I wrote one of the

very first published reviews of *A Theory of Justice* [6]), I find it apt that Rawlsism has, at least as I discern it, entered into a long twilight of Rawls' own making.

To the extent, then, to which there can be a benign face of globalization as a theoretical explanation expression of the Twenty-first Century *Zeitgeist*,[7] it is certainly not, to my mind, to be found in the writings of John Rawls. Much more hope lies in an updated and appropriately reinterpreted version of the works of Marx—Marx himself was always clear, as the Rawls who aspired to political theory *sub specie aeternitatis* was not, that his critical enterprise was a time-bound and culture-bound response to the global advance of capitalism—but I do not wish to enter into this matter here, since it would take us too far afield. What I want to suggest is that Professor Demenchonok's key concept of "intercultural dialogue," which constitutes a non-monolithic, mutually respectful, pluralistic approach to a world of many "peoples," is the necessary prerequisite to bringing about a world which, while not "nearly just," would be much more just than that of Eurocentric and Americanocentric philosophers' dreams.

CONCLUSION

In considering how to frame my tribute to Professor Demenchonok and deciding that I would like to write about "globalization" both because of his reservations concerning it, which I mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, as well as my own positive though still vague idea of "the globalization of philosophy," I thought to compare the English word with the equivalent term(s) in the language that I know next best, French. (I realize, of course, that Professor Demenchonok himself has been a language specialist in both his native Russian and also Spanish.) When I started to speak about globalization, as the term was becoming popular, in French, I was admonished that the correct term was not "*globalisation*" but rather "*mondialisation*"— as in *L'Afrique au Cœur de la mondialisation*, a tribute to the late, well-loved Senegalese philosopher Sémou Pathé Gueye, to which I contributed an article entitled "Sémou Pathé Gueye et les espoirs pour l'avenir de la philosophie en Afrique et dans le monde."[8] So I now sought wisdom, concerning the distinction between the two terms, in my *Petit Larousse* dictionary. I first looked up "*globalisation*" and was given

two meanings, first, the act of globalizing, and second, in economics, the tendency of multinational corporations to develop strategies on the planetary level leading to the creation of a unified world market—or, in other words, *mondialisation*. Then I looked up the latter term, and it was defined as the act of becoming worldwide ("*mondial* ") or of mondializing oneself—or, in other words, "*globalisation*." *Lux et veritas*, as we say.

But there may, after all, be some small lesson to be gleaned from this otherwise fruitless effort at clarification. It got me to thinking of globes, of which this planet (why not "planetization"?) is one. In fact, as a planet, it is part of a larger set of bodies that is called, loosely, the cosmos. As Professor Demenchonok's work has shown, we are all—or at least should be working toward—a cosmopolitan order. But this expression, generally thought to have originated among the Stoic philosophers, opens the way to speculation about the possibility that we human beings are not alone in this universe. Or, even if we and our animal friends are alone, we have become increasingly clear, in recent years, about the short-lived nature of ourselves and of the whole of human history, which turns out to be but a tiny part of History, to wit, the history of the cosmos. Seen in this way and with whatever face, the globalization about which we speak and write may be just a fragment of something much vaster and more impressive, to which we are making a passing contribution.

NOTES

1. Edward Demenchonok, "Intercultural Philosophy," in *The Proceedings of the Twenty-First World Congress of Philosophy*, Volume 7, *Philosophy of Culture(s)*, ed. V. Cauchy, 30–31.

2. William L. McBride, "Globalizatsyia i mezhkulturnii dialog" [Globalization and Inter-cultural Dialogue], tr. D. Lakhuti, *Voprosy Filosofii* (Moscow) no. 1 (2003): 80–87.

3. Cited by Sam Gindlin, "Social Justice and Globalization: Are They Compatible?," *Monthly Review*, June 2002, Vol. 54, No. 2, p. 11.

4. Edward Demenchonok, ed., *Philosophy After Hiroshima* (Newcastle upon Tyne, UK: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2010).

5. William L. McBride, "The Philosophical Quest for Perfect Justice," in *Intercultural Dialogue: In Search of Harmony in Diversity*, ed. Edward Demenchonok, 255–269 (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2014).

6. William L. McBride, "Political Theory *Sub Specie Aeternitatis*. A New Perspective," review of J. Rawls' *A Theory of Justice*, *Yale Law Journal* 81, 5 (April 1972): 980–1003.

7. The work of our colleague and mutual friend Alexander Chumakov seems to me to be a good illustration of this.

8. Edited by Oumar Dia. Bibliothèque et Archives Nationales du Québec, 2016, pp. 63–72.

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[Philosophers' Contributions to the Theory and Practice of Dialogue in Facing Global Problems](#)

[Alexander N. Chumakov](#)

This chapter is offered in tribute to the famous Russian-American philosopher Edward Vasil'evich Demenchonok, a Doctor of Philosophy and a Professor at Fort Valley State University, USA, and in celebration of his 80th birthday. The creative path of this remarkable philosopher and charming person, after graduating from Lomonosov Moscow State University, was associated with the Institute of Philosophy of the Russian Academy of Sciences until the mid-1990s. He worked at this Institute for a quarter of a century as a highly qualified Senior Research Fellow and made a substantial contribution as a prominent specialist to the study of social philosophy in the United States and of Latin American philosophy.[1] His works during that period remain very relevant today.[2] Furthermore, Edward Demenchonok contributed to publications of the Institute of Philosophy RAS and of the Russian Philosophical Society.[3] His books have received favorable reviews in Russian philosophical journals.[4]

This is significant for me as well, because I have also worked at the Institute of Philosophy of the Russian Academy of Sciences for three decades since 1987, where I have been the Head of the "Philosophical Problems of Globalization" research group and also served as the First

Vice-President of the Russian Philosophical Society. Edward Demenchonok has been and remains an active member of the Russian Philosophical Society. Although we approach the same issues from different vantage points, our common goal is understanding and the search for possible ways to mitigate global problems. Despite our present distance following the invitation for Dr. Demenchonok to become a Visiting Professor at the University of Georgia, and later a Professor at Fort Valley State University, USA, we continue our dialogue and philosophical collaboration, including at the World Congresses of Philosophy, under the auspices of the International Federation of Philosophical Societies (FISP). In recent years our scholarly collaboration has increased and acquired new forms—from participation in collective publications to joint work in online philosophical and methodological seminars on global studies.

Edward Demenchonok's works are in tune with the publications of like-minded progressive philosophers in the international scholarly community that draw attention to global issues and the search for their possible solutions, or at least mitigation. They are waking up the global consciousness and reminding us about the world's problems that concern all human beings and our co-responsibilities for them.

Beyond such global issues, I am frequently inspired by Edward Demenchonok's ideas in the fields of ethics, social philosophy, and the philosophy of culture. While flying high in his thoughts and ideals, he at the same time keeps his feet on the ground, being aware of the underside of a conflicted world and human suffering from domination, violence, and wars. In his writings, he stands for freedom, human rights, justice, and peace.

Edward Demenchonok can be called a torchbearer for dialogue. He represents the intercultural synthesis of the native Russian, expert in Latin America, having lived for the last decades in the United States, and he is well-traveled in many countries. He exhibits a genuine love for the multicolored cultures of the peoples of the world and conveys this appreciation to others. His interest in other cultures is in-depth and spiritually driven in his attempt to learn and to find the paths to answers to the ultimate philosophical and existential questions in the wisdom of different peoples. Particularly important is his development of dialogical philosophy and of the normative status of dialogical relationships—intersubjective, social, and intercultural.

As an expression of my deep respect and recognition of the creative works of Professor Edward Demenchonok, I offer to this book dedicated to his 80th birthday a chapter on a topic that is directly related to his philosophical interests and his ethical and humanistic perspective on understanding our contemporary world.

In the first part of the chapter, I will briefly review dialogical philosophy and Edward Demenchonok's contribution to it. Then, in the second part, I will analyze the pivotal role of intercultural and inter-civilizational dialogue in facing world problems.

TOWARD THE MUTUAL RECOGNITION OF AND DIALOGICAL RELATIONSHIPS WITH "OTHERS"

The theme of dialogue is a running thread through Edward Demenchonok's works, with its variations elaborated in various registers. The starting point of this thread is his study of dialogical philosophy (and its correlative—the philosophy of dialogue) of the early twentieth century, as introduced by Martin Buber and developed by Mikhail Bakhtin. This study is based on Bakhtin's collected works (1996–2012), which provide a more comprehensive view of his philosophical thought, and on recent publications about him. The study also involves the works of philosophers who have sought to creatively develop Bakhtin's ideas—in the phenomenology of indirect speech (Liudmila Gogotishvili), the theory of trans-culture (Mikhail Epstein), and synergic anthropology (Sergey Horujy), among others—and reconstruct and actualize the heuristic potential of Bakhtin's ideas in the contemporary context.[5]

In this study, which is focused on Bakhtin's philosophy and its dialogical core, dialogue is viewed not as mere conversation but in a broader sense as *dialogical relationships*, which constitute the very foundation of all human activities—self-consciousness, intersubjective relationships, cognition, and cultural creativity—from the personal level to the most general level of dialogue among cultures.

Demenchonok notes that "Bakhtin saw the shift from the monologic framework of idealistic classical philosophy to the *dialogic* paradigm as the main event in twentieth-century philosophy,"[6] and he shows how Bakhtin himself substantially contributed to this dialogical paradigm, followed by

Karl-Otto Apel's transformation of philosophy and Raúl Fornet-Bentancourt's intercultural transformation of philosophy. In Bakhtin's dialogical philosophy he stresses an understanding of dialogue as a metaphysics of human Being as "co-being." Dialogical relationships between I and the other (and ultimately between I and the Absolute Other) constitute the structure of the event of Being: "This ontological structure determines the forms of existence and the forms of thought, language, and cultural meaning as such."[7] Bakhtin "views I and the other in opposition within the unity of the event of Being; yet each retains its uniqueness and equality of value."[8] He emphasizes their dialogical coexistence in the event of Being: "I-for-myself, the other-for-me, and I-for-the-other."[9]

Demenchonok's analysis of Bakhtin's philosophy of language and his concept of the double-voiced word provides further arguments in support of the idea that "dialogism, and all linguistic phenomena related to it, is a constitutive characteristic of the language as such."[10] Thus, dialogism is not a mere abstract concept but lies at the very foundation of culture and its creative potential.

Bakhtin held that true understanding requires two or more consciousnesses to participate, that it requires the outside perspective of the other, and that the process is dialogical: I see myself mirrored in the other, for whom I am also a mirror. Demenchonok underscores the moral underpinning of Bakhtin's dialogism. Dialogue should respect differences, and interactions with others should be conducted in an ethical manner.

Of note is Demenchonok's clarification regarding the expression "dialogue of cultures," stressing that it is important not to lose sight of its intersubjective, personological basis. Bakhtin extended the conception of dialogue to cultures in the sense that interrelations of different cultures can create a deeper understanding: "A meaning only reveals its depth once it has encountered and come into contact with another, foreign meaning: they engage in a kind of *dialogue*."[11] In Demenchonok's view, "the expression 'dialogue of cultures' is a metaphor, although one which is heuristically rich as a concept, describing the mutual influence of cultures. The actual dialogue takes place among individuals as representatives of different cultures."[12] The interactions of values, norms, and meanings and their mutual synergy occur in the field of consciousness of the individual as the source and result of meaning formation and cultural creativity. He stresses that, according to Bakhtin, a dialogical encounter of two cultures does not

result in merging or mixing, and each retains "an *open* unity," representing both the diversity of unique cultures and their common aspects as "the differentiated unity."[13]

Dialogical philosophy is shown by Demenchonok to have a profoundly transformative meaning for philosophy and the humanities as well as for society. Bakhtin's methodology of the human sciences challenges monologic thinking. "For him, the principal epistemological categories are the various types of dialogic relationships among persons, which constitute the ultimate goal of knowledge in the humanities."[14]

In the sphere of humanities, relations between the epistemological "subject" and "object" are always dialogical. Research is composed of questioning and answering as a kind of dialogue. Creative understanding supplements the text and involves both "the dialogical movement" of the correlation of a given text with other texts and reinterpretation, in new contexts, as "a dialogue of *personalities*."[15]

In order to understand the dilemmas facing the humanities, as well as the contemporary world, the Bakhtinian approach is helpful, contrasting "the one-dimensional monologic world of stereotypes and authoritarian dicta and the pluralistic dialogic world of creative thinking, recognition of the others as equals, personal moral responsibility and shared co-existence, and an openness toward the cultural-historical creativity of individuals," writes Demenchonok, and continues that "the task of humanities is to enhance dialogic relationships in order to fully realize the dialogic potential of culture and its creative possibilities for humanity."[16]

He traces the development of dialogical philosophy in "discourse ethics" by Karl-Otto Apel and Jürgen Habermas and how they, similarly to Bakhtin, stressed the moral underpinning of discourse. They formulated the norms for dialogue as equals, including the claims to truth, to truthfulness and sincerity, and to the morally relevant rightness of speech acts, and that "all possible discourse partners must acknowledge each other as having *equal rights* in representing their interests by arguments" and "to bear *equal co-responsibility* for identifying and solving problems of the life world through argumentative discourse."[17] In this way, the fundamental norms require us to seek solutions to problems only through rational arguments and not through open or concealed violence.

Analyzing it more deeply, Demenchonok highlights the transformative meaning of this theory: of Apel's project for the transformation of

philosophy and his ethics of "planetary co-responsibility" for issues that affect the human race, coupled with the need for the transformation of society and for an international system oriented toward a cosmopolitan world order. These ideas are emphasized as important "for striving for dialogical relationships and collaboration in the joint efforts of all peoples to mitigate global problems. The transformation of society and of the international system has become a categorical imperative for contemporary humankind."[18]

Turning to the relation of dialogical philosophy to interculturality and its development in intercultural philosophy, Demenchonok shows the importance of Raúl Fornet-Betancourt's project of the "intercultural transformation of philosophy." He discusses the contrast between "monological" and "dialogical" thinking as the contrast of "monocultural" and "intercultural" philosophizing.[19] Intercultural philosophy contributes to a better understanding of the socio-political context of dialogue as well as of its existential experience. For Fornet-Betancourt, "at this existential level of analysis, our approach in some respects coincides with the works of the well-known representatives of dialogic and personalist philosophy, such as Martin Buber, Emmanuel Mounier, and Józef Tischner."[20] To this list of dialogical philosophers, Mikhail Bakhtin can be rightly added, as Demenchonok's studies have shown. He also makes an important contribution to intercultural philosophy in showing how intercultural philosophical dialogue is practiced in the Latino and African American philosophies in the United States and Canada.[21]

Dialogical relationships imply the mutual recognition of "others" (in the community and around the world) as equal partners in dialogue and as carriers of the universal human values and rights. As Demenchonok writes,

> The dialogic worldview embraces openness to the other and collaborative relationships, an ability to consider others' viewpoints and interests, aiming at mutual understanding and co-existence, and a willingness to cooperate in search for the truth and solutions to common problems. It also implies a concept of an open history which is the result of human actions, and thus an ethics of responsibility of each of us for our choices and the consequences of our actions, which affect the others and ultimately the future of humanity.[22]

In today's environment, it is not easy to promulgate the ideas of dialogue. It may even look counterfactual and too idealistic in the face of the opposite trend of monologic or anti-dialogic thinking, accompanied by the arrogance of power and domination. It tramples over ethical and other

norms of argumentative discourse and democratic principles, substituting a blatant lie for the truth by calling it an "alternative truth" and denying empirically evidenced reality (such as global warming and the coronavirus pandemic) by calling it an "alternative reality." It would be easier to give up this ideal of dialogue—as many self-proclaimed "thinkers" from academia and the mainstream mass media did following politicians professing "might makes right"—if dialogue were not the only reasonable alternative to the authoritarian monologism and the boundless violence of lawless "global disorder," which destabilizes societies through manifold conflicts (hidden civil wars) and the new Cold War.

In order to understand the dilemmas facing the contemporary world, the Bakhtinian approach is helpful, contrasting dialogic and monologic worldviews. As Demenchonok writes, "a search for an alternative to the existing state of affairs can be conceived in terms of the contrast between the one-dimensional monologic world of stereotypes and authoritarian edicts versus the pluralistic dialogic world of creative thinking, recognition of others as equals, personal moral responsibility and shared coexistence, and an openness toward the cultural-historical creativity of individuals."[23]

The authoritarian monologism and violence, stemming either from ultra-nationalistic fragmentation or hegemonic neocolonial integration, are opposed to civilized dialogue. This increasing trend can already be seen at the beginning of our twenty-first century. Conversely, dialogical relationships within society and among nations are the only reasonable basis for an alternative to the downward spiral of deteriorating liberal democracies and the destruction of the international system with its laws and institutions. Developing genuine dialogue within society and in the international arena is a condition for normalizing the situation. This is the dilemma and the choice faced by humankind.

Without abandoning the normativity of the ideal of dialogical relations, at the empirical level, Demenchonok shows the difficulties of its realization as, in last decades, we have witnessed a regressive trend. He analyzes conditions for the possibility (or impossibility) of dialogue and, among the obstacles which hinder dialogue, he indicates those rooted in historical contradictions and in the existential contradictions of the human condition. Furthermore,

> An obvious contrast to dialogue is monological thinking, related to domination and authoritarian power. In the same vein are various forms of supremacist exceptionalism,

fundamentalism, and other forms of extremism, which are intolerant of differences and the other. Less evident, while also damaging, is the abuse of universalistic notions, such as dialogue, once they are downgraded to mere clichés in political demagogy or pseudo-philosophical sophistry.[24]

This deserves special attention. Without identifying these obstacles and working for their removal, there would be no progress in the development of dialogical relations. It is important to reveal the root cause(s) of the obstacles to dialogue and the policies and vested interests behind them. During recent decades, additional obstacles have been created in the international arena by the US policy of global domination in a unipolar world, which is essentially unilaterally monologic and at odds with the social-cultural diversity and self-determination of sovereign nations and their interests in independent development, dialogue, and collaboration.

A necessary condition for dialogical relationships is the transformation of people's hearts and minds, and this puts spirituality and a new philosophical anthropology at the forefront. Examining this aspect of dialogical relationships, Demenchonok goes into Raimon Panikkar's conception of "dialogical dialogue," which is not merely an abstract, theoretical dialogue but the actual praxis and a deep-reaching "total human encounter" of persons, involving not only minds but also hearts. His conception of the "cosmotheandric" threefold unity of the divine, the human, and nature points to the possibility of overcoming the "transcendence-immanence" conundrum.[25]

Demenchonok highlights the spiritual underpinning of dialogism as manifested in the so-called practices of the self (*pratiques de soi*). The dialogism of human consciousness is present in the internal dialogues and relationships of individuals with themselves, which help us to open ourselves to and better understand our relationships with others, thus facilitating dialogue. This includes spiritual practices, which are exemplified by spiritual traditions, such as those of Eastern Orthodox hesychasm (an ascetical and mystical practice that emerged with Christian monasticism). He writes: "Hesychast spirituality attracted Dostoevsky's attention. At the beginning of his work on *The Brothers Karamazov*, he made a pilgrimage to Optina Pustyn' Monastery, the main center of Russian hesychasm."[26] Bakhtin in his analysis of Dostoevsky's poetics referred to this monastery in the episode of the ascetic-monastic elder Father Zosima, who listens to a confession from a "mysterious visitor," as an example of

the dialogical meeting of two consciousnesses in the process of understanding.[27]

Based on the study of hesychast spiritual practices, Sergey Horujy developed his theory of synergic anthropology, which "asserts that a relationship of synergy (Greek *synergia*, 'cooperation') exists between God and human beings, resulting in harmony and cooperation between Divine and human energies."[28] Spiritual practice is an individual occurrence, but it is realized in dialogue with others and in connection with a spiritual tradition. Furthermore, "[p]ersonal communication is helpful for enhancing dialogue between diverse spiritual traditions," which Horujy called the "encounter in the depths."[29] In a broad sense, dialogical philosophy serves as the basis for "elaborating a view of human beings and society based on the principles of dialogue and communication." Furthermore, "the enhancement and cultivation of dialogue of cultures and the dialogue of spiritual traditions is crucial for the advancement to a dialogical civilization."[30]

As an alternative to the current "global disorder," Demenchonok elaborates on the possibility of a cosmopolitan order. It may seem counterfactual to talk about cosmopolitanism when the opportunities in the 1990s for a new world order and the movement in philosophy and political sciences for the cosmopolitan transformation of society were derailed by the neoconservative "revolution" and by the universalized ethnocentrism of the hegemonic superpower. Nevertheless, Demenchonok shows that cosmopolitanism has deep historical roots and remains relevant. In grounding a cosmopolitan project, he invokes Immanuel Kant's "Toward Perpetual Peace," in which he opposed to the violent "state of nature" a society of free citizens with a republican constitution, lawful relations between states which enter into a peaceful federation, and a cosmopolitan right. Kant rejected a "world republic" or a "world state" as a despotic "universal monarchy" and a danger to human freedom. A cosmopolitan right should transform the political and international right into "a universal right of humanity," thereby providing the conditions for perpetual peace.[31]

Cosmopolitan claims imply universality claims. But in traditional cosmopolitanism, such claims are understood as projected from a single point of view (that is, an abstract universality). Its critics view such claims to be expressive of an ethnocentric pseudo-universality and used in the "imperial" interpretation of cosmopolitanism. They oppose it to the concept

of universalism, which should be contextual, pluriversal, and inclusive of the other. Philosophers consequently developed a "new cosmopolitanism" as a political project for a culturally diverse world. Demenchonok highlights its distinctive characteristics, including its being dialogic, rooted, reflexive, critical, democratic, and transformative. As he writes, "the *dialogic* dimension of cosmopolitanism articulates the cultural diversity harmonized through dialogical relationships. It embraces cosmopolitanism's recognition of the Other and the normativity of dialogical relationships with the Other—engaging in dialogue among individuals, social groups, nations, cultures, and finally, in a 'dialogue of civilizations.'"[32]

This project is viewed in perspective as a "cosmopolitanism to come." It is an alternative to both the war-prone state-centered international system and the hegemon-centered "world state." Demenchonok asserts that "the ideal alternative would be not *for* the dominating power to change hands, but for a world free *from* any hegemonic domination."[33] He also suggests the necessary steps of the political transformations for getting from here to there: the counter-hegemonic resistance and the struggle for a polycentric world; regaining the international system based on the rule of law and sovereign equality and institutions like improved and independent United Nations or similar world organization; peaceful and collaborative relations; and further development as a transition from an international to a cosmopolitan order. He stresses that the movement in the direction of a cosmopolitan order can occur only in the mode of sustained dialogue, the mode of intercultural collaborative interaction.

With this heuristically fruitful philosophical framework established, we may now turn to our analysis of the pivotal role of intercultural and inter-civilizational dialogue for a better mutual understanding of peoples in a culturally diverse world, for waking up the global consciousness, and for the joint efforts in search of possible solutions to world problems that concern all human beings.

THE IMPERATIVE FOR DIALOGUE IN SEARCH OF SOLUTIONS TO SOCIAL AND GLOBAL PROBLEMS

We live in a rapidly changing world, qualitatively different to previous eras, one that will be understood in a new topic and written in a different

language. The new topic is the intensification of the integrative processes of globalization of the world, which is becoming increasingly interconnected. The language of this new topic is not only new technologies and more powerful means of communication, but also the increasingly important role of *values, morality, ethics,* and *law* for the evaluation of these means and of their use for the benefit of human beings as individuals and mankind as a whole. The contours of these changes are becoming more visible today due to many circumstances, of which we will single out the two most important. First, the process of globalization, which began during the Renaissance and, by the beginning of the 21st century, not only covered the entire planet but influenced many spheres of social, economic, political, and cultural relations. At the same time, however, humanity has yet to become a truly global community in many respects, which necessarily presupposes a serious transformation of people's worldviews, minds, and hearts and their relationships. Second, due to the influence of globalization on cultures, the various spheres of public life should now be considered in a cultural and civilizational context. In other words, when trying to solve social and global problems, we must now take into account the cultural and civilizational development of society.

Why did globalization make dialogue so vitally important? What are the obstacles that are hindering dialogue? What could be done, in theory and praxis, to promote dialogical relations at social and intercultural levels? These questions are at the forefront of contemporary discussions among philosophers, political scientists, and the reasoning public.

Under the conditions of multidimensional globalization, we have all become neighbors in one "small village" named "Earth," and we simply cannot avoid communication and interaction. The current globalization not only has positive but also negative aspects, which are manifested in the escalation of existing global problems (such as nuclear proliferation, underdevelopment, and the ecological crisis) and the emergence of relatively new ones (climate change, international terrorism, cyber-crime, the coronavirus pandemic). This trend threatens the future of humanity. First of all, it is necessary to understand its objective and subjective origin in order to successfully fight not only the phenomena but also their root cause(s). Then, it is important in such a world not only to act locally but also to think globally, holistically, and systematically, taking into account

the interests of individuals and communities and their immediate and long-term goals.

In a globally interconnected albeit conflicted world, dialogue at all levels is both the most difficult and the most important means for determining the fate of all mankind. In facing the escalation of global problems, common sense tells us that dialogical relations and collaboration are necessary in joint efforts to solve or at least mitigate these problems. The need for dialogue is also well-grounded at the normative level. But at the empirical level, the situation leaves much to be desired. On the surface, there are apparently no open objections to the need for dialogue, and the term "dialogue" itself has become fashionable and trivialized. But in reality, the practices of those who shape the politics of culture are quite different: "In the policies of liberal multiculturalism (*multikulti*), mere lip service is frequently given to the development of diverse cultures: the other's 'right to exist' is acknowledged, but while considering one's own culture or truth to be superior or absolute, and the dominating culture retains its control."[34] There is overwhelming evidence for the regressive trends of growing political and economic polarization within societies and among nations, as well as for the rise of nationalistic fragmentation and hegemonic neototalitarian integration.

This problem is analyzed by Raúl Fornet-Betancourt. While discussing the conditions under which dialogue is thought and practiced today, he provides a philosophical justification of "the dialogic nature of human beings" and opines that "dialogue is what sustains the very nature of our humanity."[35] At the same time, he states that the realization of human dialogism is taking place within historical and existential conditions, in which there are obstacles hindering dialogue. In his words,

> As a result of the "anthropological revolution," which has been carried out with the deployment of the organizing principle of modernity oriented toward the logic of money and private property, the principles of community and solidarity have been displaced from social dynamics by selfishness, competition, and thoughtlessness. Thereby, they give rise to the so-called society of cut-throats, within which dialogue is replaced by rivalry, mistrust, and conflict.[36]

These conditions are characterized by the "historical contradiction between dialogue and domination." The dark side of history as a history of domination and epistemological and political violence results in the "reduction" of the other, "the enforced silencing of the other" and exclusion

from dialogue. A root cause of this is the instrumental rationality predominant in the West, "the objectivizing instrumentalization of the world, toward which calculative reason has led us, as well as the total negation of communication" that resulted in colonialism, imperialism, and conflict-ridden and belligerent politics. Among the examples of these destructive processes that Fornet-Betancourt mentions are wars, the ecological crisis, social exclusion, the ever-deeper division of humanity into rich and poor as a result of the globalization of neoliberalism, and contempt for traditions that provide meaning, resulting in the destruction of unique traditional cultures.[37] Indeed, global studies confirm these negative tendencies, which are spreading worldwide.[38] The attempts of the powers that be to perpetuate their economic and cultural domination have provoked protests and broad movements for the recognition of cultural diversity.

Global studies have also shown the escalation of traditional social problems and global problems, which make the establishment of dialogue and collaboration between nations for their possible solutions an urgent task.[39] Here we can see a struggle between two tendencies. One is of those who argue for the necessity of dialogical relationships and collaboration between nations seeking peace and joint efforts for the solution (or at least mitigation) of social and global problems. The other tendency is that of the power politics of domination and global hegemony, behind which are geopolitical ambitions, vested interests, and the political forces representing them. The latter's policies are accompanied by ideological justifications, which invoke some academic theories that pretend to know the "objective laws" (of history, economy, and society) and present these policies as the implementation of such laws. For example, neoliberal theory claims that the "invisible hand" automatically regulating the "free market economy" grants economic growth, but its disastrous consequences—ruining national economies in developing countries, the economic crisis which began in 2008, and growing economic polarization within societies and among nations—have shown the failure of this deterministic doctrine and, behind it, the quite visible "hand" of influential transnational corporations with their manipulative control over economic policies for the self-serving interests of rich countries and their wealthiest 1 percent.

One can find a similar deterministic approach in ideological justifications for the power politics of war-mongering that invoke the deterministic theories of the "laws of history," "clashes of civilizations,"

and so on. Determinism, in the view of society and history, is typical for so-called "historicism." It refers to a holistic doctrine of historical evolution that expresses the idea that by obtaining knowledge of the inner necessity of historical progress, we might thereby come to predict the course of future human development.[40] Beyond its classical Hegelian version, "one can see the main features of historicism lurking behind the technocratic theories of industrial-postindustrial society, as well as in the neoconservative doctrine with its 'imperial designs'."[41] Historicism has since been challenged by the alternative concept of "open history," developed by Immanuel Kant and Karl Jaspers, among others. As Demenchonok writes, "In contrast to historicist determinism, Kant developed a concept of history that was open, or at least capable of being directed by human action. This view of history entailed moral responsibility."[42]

Instead of mobilizing people for reasonable protective actions, deterministic doctrines paralyze them either with the complacent myth of the "progress" automatically granted by techno-economic development or with the fatalistic fear of the inevitable course of history that people cannot control and thus they have to submissively accept the existing status quo with all its injustices. In countering this historicist determinism, Demenchonok points out that "in contrast to the deterministic view of history, we should not be limited to explaining the events that have already taken place, but should approach history as open and be willing to explore the different tendencies and possible alternative choices that existed at that time, which could have been realized."[43] The idea of openness is referred to as regarding both the past and the future. Therefore, we need to focus on the actions of political actors, such as movements, parties, and politicians, who shape policies and are responsible for their consequences.

For example, neither the Cold War nor its nuclear arms race was inevitable, but rather they were results of certain policies and political choices for the worst possible scenarios with all their consequences. Demenchonok, along with other researchers, argues that dropping the atomic bombs on Japan, which was already on the verge of surrender, was unnecessary and unjustifiable, and it inaugurated the Atomic Age, which became a turning point in the history of civilization: "Looking back at options that existed at that time, the choices made, and the paths not taken, it is clear that neither the inauguration of the Atomic Age nor the

perpetuation of war (from World War II to the Cold War, and to the open-ended 'global war against terrorism') were predetermined or inevitable."[44]

The Cold War pushed humanity to the precipice of catastrophe. Its imminence was clear during the Cuban Missile Crisis, when both sides were ready to use their nuclear arsenals. It was only due to the peace movements and the prudence of the leaders of both the USSR and the US, who were able to act responsibly, engage in diplomatic dialogue, and find a compromise solution, that the catastrophe was averted. At that historical crossroad, faced with the choice between war and peace, people with a growing global consciousness and the anti-war movements urged the political leaders to end the Cold War.

After the end of the Cold War, there was another fork in the road, with one path leading to opportunities for a new world order of peaceful coexistence, disarmament, dialogue, and collaboration in solving global problems. But the neoconservative "revolution" undermined it and derailed the US policy toward global hegemonic ambitions, unipolarity, and unilateralism. That led to the new Cold War and an even more dangerous spiral of the nuclear arms race.

Of note is the role played by some of the political theorists in this regressive turn by advising politicians and forming public opinion. One of the neoconservative ideologues, Francis Fukuyama, back in 1989, in pretending to explain "the nature of historical change," proclaimed "the end of history" and "the universalization of Western liberal democracy as the final form of human government." With imperious swagger and scorn in talking about less powerful nations in the diverse world, he claimed that the sole remaining superpower would determine world history and that, "for our purpose, it matters very little what strange thoughts occur to people in Albania or Burkina Faso."[45] The exclusivist and hegemonic implications of Fukuyama's view were later openly expressed by Samuel Huntington, who proclaimed the irreconcilable nature of cultural tensions and the "clash of civilizations" and suggested that the central axis of world politics tends to be the conflict between Western and non-Western civilizations, which the West should win in order to establish its global domination.[46] Fukuyama's and Huntington's theories, along with similar neoconservative concepts, became the theoretical legitimization of the US policy of global hegemony.

Nevertheless, their theories were criticized. Their main problems were their epistemological pretension of knowing the "laws" of history and their

claim that relations among different cultures and civilizations are of the nature of irreconcilable conflicts and "clashes." But the known history of different cultures and civilizations is complicated: in human history, one can find examples of everything, from bloody wars to constructive cultural creativity. What are called "clashes of civilizations" were rather colonial invasions by the European metropoles into America, Asia, and Africa, whose ancient cultures were destroyed. But in response to the tragedy of World War II, a process of decolonization started, and the United Nations adopted its Charter, which established the international system based on the rule of law and institutions as the civilized principles of behavior of the states and their relations with the others. The theory of "clashes of civilizations" ignores this. What Fukuyama and Huntington presented as the discovery of the "laws" or regularities of history, particularly those which determine the "end of history" or the inevitability of clashes among civilizations, is nothing more than a resuscitation of obsolete historicism.[47]

It is an ideological construction to justify the policy of global hegemony, a myth in the garb of academic theory, as a specific interpretation of history that aims to convince the public that this policy was the consequence (or even self-realization) of the "laws" of history. Historicist determinism is invoked as a justification for the political choices and actions of leaders who plunged mankind into the whirlpool of the new confrontation and the nuclear arms race.

This is not about mythical "laws" of history, however, but rather a certain position regarding the vital problems of humanity and the choices of policies between war and peace, confrontation and dialogue, collaborating to solve global problems rather than escalating them, and ultimately between self-destruction and the survival of the human race. Essentially, this is the contrast between a monological position of hegemonic unilateralism, placing the interests of the military superpower above the interests of other nations (as in President Trump's slogan "America First"), and the dialogical position of the recognition of the "other" as an equal partner in dialogue and collaborative negotiations regarding peaceful resolutions to disagreements and mitigation of world problems that concern all human beings.

Socio-cultural diversity should not be made a scapegoat for neocolonial wars. The diversity of cultures and civilizations has been the reality of the inherently pluralistic world throughout the history of humankind. Diversity

is viewed negatively and as doomed to lead to "clashes" only in the eyes of ideologues of homogenizing hegemonic globalization, such as Fukuyama and Huntington, whose ideas had an enormous impact on neoconservatism, itself associated with "spreading democracy," coercive regime change, and American hegemony (tenets that have come to be known as the Bush Doctrine).[48] They said what neoconservative politicians wanted to hear, presenting political interests in the garb of an academic narrative, in which flawed historical determinism was used to justify the political voluntarism of hegemony. This narrative provided an excuse for military aggression, and thus encouraged it, as an allegedly historically predetermined process of the "clashing" of civilizations.

Can we say that the destabilization of the Middle East after the invasion by the US and their NATO allies of Iraq in 2003 and then Afghanistan was a result of the "objective," predetermined process of the "clash of civilizations," and thus no one is responsible for its consequences? Or was it rather a premeditated and planned military occupation of sovereign states, motivated by "blood for oil" and hegemonic geopolitics, and thus the planners and perpetrators of these illegal interventions must be held accountable for its tragic consequences, for the hundreds of thousands of deaths and displaced refugees? The answers to these questions will reveal the root causes of the wars and the connection of these theories with the policies and concrete actions of the political leaders who unleashed the "global war on terror" and destabilized the Middle East.

The euphoric declaration of the "end of history" and the expectation of the victory of the West in the "clash of civilizations" and of it becoming a global empire or a condominium turned out to be false prophecies. In reality, attempts to establish hegemon-centric domination in the pluralistic world turn out to be futile. Countries that do not want to be vassals resist this domination and try to find ways toward independent development. Although Western countries generally hold an agreed position on key issues of international politics and military cooperation, each of them has its own economic interests and cultural traditions. Beyond them, the rest of the world is socially and culturally diverse and dynamically developing. Some countries have formed various pragmatic alliances or associations such as BRICS, the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO), the Collective Security Treaty Organization (CSTO), the Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC), the Association of Southeast Asian Nations

(ASEAN), etc. China has become the second-largest world economy. Russia is a Eurasian country, with close historical ties and common cultural and economic interests with Western Europe, as well as with Asia, and it can be regarded as a kind of bridge between the West and the East.

An alternative position to hegemonic unilateralism is presented by the mindful theorists and political leaders who are concerned about the global problems threatening the future of humanity and argue for the need to change the dangerous existing pattern of confrontation, to recognize the priority of the survival of the human race and of universal human values over all others (ideological, national, state), and to establish peaceful relationships of coexistence and collaboration. This position is dialogical and humanistic, involving everybody in discussions about these problems and the search for possible solutions in the interests of all and for the preservation of mankind.

In response to the thesis of "clashes of civilizations," the former Iranian president Mohammad Khatami at the UN in 1998 introduced the theory of "dialogue among civilizations." The United Nations proclaimed 2001 as the "Year of Dialogue among Civilizations" and expressed its firm determination to facilitate such dialogue among peoples of different cultural backgrounds.

In contrast to the confrontational ideologies of "culture wars" and "clashes of civilizations," adherents of dialogue argue for the necessity and possibility of the peaceful coexistence of nations, dialogical relationships between people with different cultural or religious backgrounds, and mutually beneficial collaboration in search of possible solutions to social and global problems. From the perspective of global studies, in addition to the dialogue of cultures, we also argue for a dialogue of civilizations and, more precisely, their interrelations as a dialogue of cultural-civilizational systems.

INTERCULTURAL AND INTER-CIVILIZATIONAL DIALOGUE

The conflicts of economic and related political interests have frequently been the sources of clashes and wars. The arrogance of power displayed in recent decades by unchecked transnational corporations, justified by the

neoliberal ideology and its "economic determinism," coupled with hegemonic domination, seems to have openly divorced politics from ethical norms.

Politics has always been counterbalanced by culture as the intellectual-spiritual sphere and the realm of values of individuals, communities, and humanity as a whole. In search of a peaceful alternative to violent politics, philosophers have turned to culture. But cultures are diverse and ambivalent: they are the sources of moral values common to people that hold societies together, and, at the same time, they have unique characteristics that differentiate cultures and their adherents' identities. Cultural diversity is an objective reality of the pluralistic world, and the interactions of cultures are the source of their mutual enrichment and development. In many multiethnic communities and states, individuals and groups with different cultural or religious backgrounds, despite their ideological differences and sometimes tensions, mostly have normal relationships and coexist peacefully. However, differences in ethnic and cultural identities and religious beliefs can be (and are) abused and exploited by political gamblers to instigate conflicts, "culture wars," and politically organized violence: *divide et impera* is a traditional method of grabbing power and perpetuating it.

Global studies show the need to explore processes that involve not only cultures but also civilizations. There are many definitions of "culture," "civilization," and their interrelations (in the works of Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Johann Gottfried Herder, Søren Kierkegaard, Friedrich Nietzsche, Oswald Spengler, Albert Schweitzer, Ernst Cassirer, Leo Strauss, Max Weber, Arnold Toynbee, Pitirim Sorokin, Nikolay Danilevsky, and Lev Gumilyev, among others). The concept of "civilization" has changed through history, obtaining new connotations and different versions: culturological, sociological, ethno-psychological, and geographical.

From the vantage point of global studies, we employ a working approach to culture and civilization, considering their differences and mutual complementarity, as well as their dialogical relationships. The concept of "culture" is used here in the sense that it characterizes the activities of people in the spiritual sphere and the sphere of material production, including the results of such activities.[49] The term "civilization" is used in the sense of accentuating the corresponding types of behavior and relations in society. This implies, first of all, a certain type of interaction

between people and their corresponding political structure, based on the recognition of human rights and the rule of law. So, we use the term "civilization" in relation to countries and peoples when we characterize them as a whole in terms of the forms of organizational and legal structure, while the term "culture" denotes the level of the intellectual-spiritual achievements of this or that nation. It is important to emphasize that both terms have a common subject but different, albeit closely interrelated, aspects. Both are created by human beings and express the way we live our lives. They reflect and describe (from different angles) the same reality, which appears in the form of all kinds of social systems.

Cultures can not only unite people but also distinguish them.[50] Nevertheless, both individuals and their various communities mostly coexist peacefully and live, work, and communicate on the basis of some common principles and mutual understanding. This side of the civil relationship is based on the culture of communication, where the recognition of universally accepted moral norms and rules, as well as respect for human dignity and rights, prevails. It is civilization that provides people with a common basis for dialogue, mutual understanding, and constructive interaction. In contrast to Huntington's thesis of a "clash of civilizations," we argue that each civilization unites its people(s) and that civilizations (or, in our terminology, "cultural-civilizational systems") can be in mutually beneficial dialogical relationships.

When speaking about a person or a society as a whole, we should keep in mind their cultural-civilizational matrix, which contains both a certain commonality inherent in all of them and the specificities and differences of people or communities. Correspondingly, the cultural and civilizational development of societies is interrelated, like two sides of the same coin. That is why it is necessary to consider contemporary international relations through the prism of cultural-civilizational interactions, wherein the cultural component cannot be separated from the civilizational one and vice versa. In the era of globalization, we are dealing not only with different cultures or civilizations but also with different cultural-civilizational systems.[51]

At the same time, the cultural and civilizational components of such systems should be considered from the point of view of the principle of complementarity. It should be emphasized that there are no objective criteria to assess such systems as "better" or "worse." They are just different. Hence, we have a diversity of cultural and civilizational systems,

which can be distinguished on different grounds, that exist not only in individual countries and among individual peoples but also in regions and continents. Europe, China, India, Africa, and Latin America can be considered as loci of cultural-civilizational systems. Each of them, being different, having their own tasks and pursuing their own goals, will always defend their own interests. Therefore, these are not mythical civilizations or individual cultures that collide and confront each other. There are specific cultural-civilizational systems, where, it would seem, the same civilizational achievements, the same norms or values, woven into different cultural contexts, give a unique kind of alloy that we can conditionally call the soul and body of this or that particular society. In other words, we are destined to live simultaneously in the conditions of not only a global but also a locally organized world, with its diversity of cultures. And this applies to any social system, the most important of which now is the national state.[52]

Thus, at the present moment, a fundamentally new, integrative view of history, culture, and civilization is needed, namely, a cultural-civilizational one. Many authors call for tolerance in the face of differences. This is a necessary but not sufficient condition. We need to take the next steps toward dialogue and active collaboration.[53] In the contemporary world, essentially, the only reasonable and acceptable way to resolve contradictions and ensure balanced social development is *cultural-civilizational dialogue*.

Such a dialogue is, in principle, possible not only at the local and regional levels but also at the global level. Certain uniting people conditions are required for this, such as a sufficiently developed and widespread *global consciousness*, based on both the values and norms of behavior common to all and the national and cultural characteristics of various people recognized by others. But that is not all.

For successful and stable cultural and civilizational dialogue in the global world, *morality that is common to all* is helpful. That is, on a planetary scale, it is necessary to recognize universal human values and morality, which would not replace but supplement and develop the morality and values of various peoples. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which equalizes all people in their right to life, freedom, and property, can and should be the starting point for the formation of such morality.

Another facilitation for effective dialogue is a *unified legal framework* and a common system of both the adoption and implementation of legal norms that are common for all countries and peoples. We are talking not only about international law, which is already well developed at the interstate and regional level, but global law, which would be truly universal. This does not imply the abolition of the legal systems of individual states or regional structures, international legal acts, or institutions. It is only important that the latter are complemented by legal norms of a higher order, expressing the vital interests of humanity as a whole.

Religious tolerance and *freedom of conscience* are also important, as they are necessary as essential conditions for the peaceful coexistence and constructive interaction of various peoples, regardless of their religious beliefs or lack thereof.

For effective dialogue in the global world, it is also important to learn foreign *languages* for communication or to use the language of one or both interacting parties in bilateral relations. It should be *common information space* formed on the basis of contemporary telecommunication technologies, together with space communication systems, which should be open to different voices and available to everyone. This would also function as a *swift mass media* that allows everyone to keep abreast of all the latest events in real-time and discuss any issues with anyone, regardless of where the interlocutors are located on the planet.

But the following question then arises: Who can and should take responsibility for ensuring the conditions for effective dialogue in such a complex and contradictory world? First of all, this responsibility lies with the world's leading political, scientific, intellectual and entrepreneurial groups, i.e. with those people who are supposed to have the appropriate authority, the necessary knowledge, and a broad global outlook, and who supposed to represent the interests of the people and to be accountable.[54] The most powerful countries—above all, the USA, the EU, Russia, China, India, Brazil, etc.—should take responsibility for creating the necessary conditions and the appropriate atmosphere for constructive interaction in the polycentric world. But most importantly peoples themselves should be active in striving for a better world.

Thus, contemporary mankind, without sacrificing its various cultural and civilizational systems, can maintain sustainable development, first of all, through a balance of interests, the achievement of which lies primarily

and, above all, on the path of dialogue in the culturally diverse and interrelated world.

INTERCULTURAL PHILOSOPHICAL DIALOGUE IN PRACTICE

Philosophers not only develop the theoretical and normative aspects of dialogical and intercultural philosophy but also try to put them into practice in their professional relationships. Philosophers of different countries contribute to the network of intellectual-philosophical communication and dialogue in different forms and platforms, such as direct in-person dialogue at conferences and indirect or virtual dialogue through publications in journals and books. What is most important is that this dialogue is not just trivial but about important subjects, such as the development of philosophy itself, the problems of man, culture, society, ecology, and politics, global problems, and perspectives on the future of humanity. Dialogue in practice seeks to realize its transformative potential in the transformation of philosophy, the humanities, and society.

In today's world, philosophers maintain the dialogical tradition and contribute to it in both theory and practice. This theme is discussed in journals, such as *Vorosy Filosofii* and *Global Studies*, in which philosophers from various countries participate, as well as in books.[55] It is articulated through the activities of the Russian Philosophical Society, which celebrated its 50th anniversary, and at its conferences. Russian philosophers maintain their dialogue with colleagues from other countries at a variety of international congresses and participate at the World Public Forum—Dialogue of Civilizations, held in Rhodes, Greece,[56] and at the Dialogue of Civilizations Research Institute in Berlin.[57]

The World Congresses of Philosophy (WCP), held under the auspices of the International Federation of Philosophical Societies, provide a broad platform for intercultural dialogue among philosophers from all regions of the world. Intercultural dialogue and the search for possible solutions to world problems are at the forefront of the themes of the congresses.

Many Russian philosophers participated in the XIX Congress on the theme "Humanity at a turning point: philosophical perspectives," which was held in 1993 in Moscow, at which the above-mentioned topics were

discussed. The XX Congress, held in 1998 in Boston, was on the theme "Philosophy in the education of mankind." The hallmark of what can be called the "global turn" in philosophy was the XXI Congress in Istanbul, the main theme of which was "Philosophy facing world problems." Held in 2003, this Congress came thirty-five years after the Club of Rome first called on the world community to unite in order to jointly confront global problems. Participants discussed the role of philosophy in understanding world problems that concern all human beings on our globe, as well as future generations. In light of this, the problems of social and political philosophy, education, the dialogue of cultures, and the emergence of new means of communication were all discussed.

The XXII Congress, "Rethinking philosophy today," took place in August 2008 in Seoul. President of the Korean Organizing Committee, Prof. Myung-Hyun Lee, who opened the Congress, said: "A new era requires a new philosophy, a new grammar of thinking." He noted that this was the first time the WCP had taken place in Asia. The fact that Western and Eastern philosophers were finally meeting face-to-face to hold a philosophical forum on an intellectual level is an important one because Asian philosophy had not previously been included in the Western concept of philosophy. Thus, the Congress provided an opportunity for the coexistence and dialogue of Western and Eastern philosophies under one umbrella—"world philosophy." There was a roundtable titled "Cultural dialogue between East and West: past and future." Almost all Asian countries and many African ones were represented among its many participants. During the discussions, the themes of globalization and cosmopolitanism, civil society and world civilization, and cultural identity came to the fore. This indicated a humanitarian turn in global studies toward the person, ethics, and social relations.

The XXIII Congress was held August 5–10, 2013, in Athens on the theme "Philosophy as cognition and a way of life." The attention of the international philosophical community was focused on philosophy as a subject and as an instrument for comprehending vital problems for individuals. In his keynote presentation, Jürgen Habermas considered cosmopolitanism as a means of the civilized management of political power with the help of legal laws, argued for cooperation within the framework of international law and organizations such as the UN, and called for solidarity.

The XXIV Congress (August 13–20, 2018, Beijing) on the theme "Learning to be human" brought together more than 6,000 philosophers from 121 countries and regions who participated in more than 1,000 activities such as plenary sessions, symposia, lectures, and roundtables. Its sessions reflected an attempt to move beyond Western ways of approaching philosophy and recognize a plurality of philosophical traditions from East and West, North and South. Participants took part in dialogues regarding major issues confronting individuals and challenges that mankind will face in the future. They also stressed the role philosophers play in orienting cultural and social choices within societies and in the international arena. On behalf of the Russian Philosophical Society, I organized the invited session "Global world: clash of interests," in which 26 philosophers from several countries participated. At this session, Edward Demenchonok gave a presentation titled "The quest for an alternative: a cosmopolis to come." He also chaired the section on intercultural philosophy and organized an interesting invited session "Cultural violence versus a culture of peace," in which William McBride, Peimin Ni, Fred Dallmayr, and Andrey Smirnov participated.

Philosophers are contributing to the shaping of public awareness regarding major issues concerning individuals and society and awakening the global consciousness so that mindful people are able to democratically influence politics for positive, progressive changes which will ameliorate the world. They are critically analyzing and challenging the politics of domination and the ideology of the status quo, showing that there is a possibility of better alternatives to hegemonic unipolarity and neototalitarian control. In contrast to deterministic ideologies, mass-media brainwashing propaganda, the political technology of manipulation, and paralyzing despair, philosophy asserts human freedom and dignity, human rights, democratic principles, the culture of reason, and spiritual values.

Philosophy also asserts the role of people as political actors and the subjects of historical-cultural creativity. This helps people liberate their consciousness from predominant ideological dogmas and fears and shows the possibilities for dialogue with "others," solidarity, free and responsible actions for self-transformation, and social changes.

Born in dialogue, philosophical ideas have a transformative power. Such a transformation of societies and of international relations, however, will not occur automatically, and "its attainment depends to a large degree on

the present and future actions of the social forces interested in and capable of pursuing this goal."[58]

NOTES

[1]. See: Edward Demenchonok, "Filosofskii prazdnik, kotoryi vsegda s toboi" [A philosophical feast which always remains with us], Institute of Philosophy RAS, 2020. Available at: https://iphras.ru/memdemen.htm

[2]. Edward Demenchonok, *Sovremennaia tekhnokraticheskaia ideologia v SShA* [Contemporary technocratic thought in the USA] (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo Nauka [Science], 1984); Edward Demenchonok (ed.), *Novye tendentsii v zapadnoi sotsial'noi filosofii* [New trends in Western social philosophy] (Moscow: Institute of Philosophy RAS, 1988); Edward Demenchonok, "La 'filosofía de la liberación' latinoamericana," *Ciencias Sociales*, Moscú: Academia de Ciencias de la URSS, v. 1, no. 71 (1988): 123–140; Edward Demenchonok, *Filosofía Latinoamericana: Problemas y Tendencias* (Bogotá: Editorial El Búho, 1990).

[3]. Edward Demenchonok, "Okonchanie vtoroy mirovoy voiny i dlinnaya ten' Khiroshimy" [The End of the Second World War and the Long Shadow of Hiroshima], in *Philosophy of the War and Peace*, eds. V.N. Shevchenko et al., 241–250 (Moscow: Institute of Philosophy RAS, 2016); Edward Demenchonok, "Filosofskii yubilei veka" [A philosophical anniversary of the century], *Vestnik— Herald of the Russian Philosophical Society*. No 3(7), (1998): 26–28; Edward Demenchonok, "Mezhkul'turnyi dialog kak al'ternativa global'nomu besporyadku" [Intercultural Dialogue as an Alternative to the Global Disorder], *Vestnik of the Russian Philosophical Society*, 4/76 (2015): 91–95; Edward Demenchonok, "Demokratiya v retsessii?" [Is Democracy in Recession?], *Public Policy* 2 (2017): 169–179; Edward Demenchonok "Dialog tsivilizatsii: v zashchitu chelovechnosti v cheloveke" [Dialogue of Civilizations: in Defense of Humanity in Human Beings], *Vestnik* 2 (86) (2018): 18–21; Edward Demenchonok, "A Globalization Aporia: A Hegemonic 'World State' versus a Cosmopolitanism to Come," in *Philosophical Aspects of Globalization: A Multidisciplinary Inquiry*, eds. Alexander N. Chumakov, Alyssa DeBlasio and Ilya V. Ilyin, 536-254 (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2022).

[4]. Grigoii Tulchinskii, "Filosofiya kak paradigma mezhkul'turnogo dialoga" [Philosophy as a paradigm of intercultural dialogue], *Intercultural Dialogue: In Search of Harmony in Diversity*, ed. E. Demenchonok (Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2014), *Filosofskiye nauki* 11(2015): 148–154; Tayana Danilchenko and Vasiliy Gritsenko, "Book review: *Intercultural Dialogue: In Search of Harmony in Diversity*," edited by Edward Demenchonok (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2014), *Vestnik*, 3 (75) (2015): 73–76; Alla Glinchikova and Anna Veretevskaya, "Mir po tu storonu global'nogo besporyadka: smelost' nadeyat'sya," Fred Dallmayr and Edward Demenchonok (eds.), *The World Beyond Global Disorder: The Courage to Hope* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2017), *Voprosy Filosofii*, 10 (2018): 217-222; David Dzhokhadze, "Mir po tu storonu global'nogo besporyadka: smelost' nadeyat'sya," pod red. F. R. Dallmayra i E. V. Demenchonka, N'yukasl: Kembridzh Skolars, 2017, *Vestnik*, 3 (83) (2017): 91–95; Sergey Akopov, "Ot 'muzhestva nadezhdy' k filosofskoy vere. Retsenziya na knigu," *A World Beyond Global Disorder. A Courage of Hope*, eds. E. Demenchonok and F. Dallmayr (Cambridge Scholars Publishing: Newcastle upon Tyne, 2017), *Filosofskiye nauki* 3 (2017): 154–159.

[5]. Liudmila Gogotishvili, *Nepriamoe govorenie* [Indirect speech] (Moscow: Iazyki Slavianskikh Kultur, 2006); Mikhail Epstein, "Transculture: A Broad Way between Globalism and Multiculturalism," in *Between Global Violence and the Ethics of Peace: Philosophical Perspective*, ed. Edward Demenchonok, 327–352 (Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009); Sergey Horujy,

Practices of the Self and Spiritual Practices: Michel Foucault and the Eastern Christian Discourse, ed. Kristina Stoeckl, trans. Boris Jakim (Grand Rapids, MI: William R. Eerdmans, 2015).

6. Edward Demenchonok, "Bakhtin's Dialogism and Current Discussions on the Double-Voiced Word and Transculture," in *Intercultural Dialogue: In Search of Harmony in Diversity*, ed. Edward Demenchonok, 2nd ed. (Newcastle upon Tyne, UK: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2016), 87.

7. Ibid., 85.

8. Ibid., 89.

9. Mikhail Bakhtin, *Toward a Philosophy of the Act*, transl. Vadim Liapunov, eds. Michael Holquist and Vadim Liapunov (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1993), 54.

10. Demenchonok, "Bakhtin's Dialogism and Current Discussions," 115.

11. Mikhail Bakhtin, *Speech Genres and Other Late Essays*, transl. Vern W. McGee, eds. Caryl Emerson and Michael Holquist (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1986), 7.

12. Demenchonok, "Bakhtin's Dialogism and Current Discussions," 96-97.

13. Bakhtin, *Speech Genres and Other Late Essays*, 5-6.

14. Edward Demenchonok, *The Quest for Change: From Domination to Dialogue* (Berlin: Dialogue of Civilizations Research Institute, 2016), 18.

15. Bakhtin, *Speech Genres and Other Late Essays*, 161–162.

16. Demenchonok, *The Quest for Change: From Domination to Dialogue*, 20.

17. Karl-Otto Apel, *The Response of Discourse Ethics to the Moral Challenge of the Human Situation as Such and Especially Today* (Leuven: Peeters, 2001), 48.

18. Edward Demenchonok, "Karl-Otto Apel's Ethics of Dialogue and of Planetary Co-Responsibility," in *Karl-Otto Apel: Vita e Pensiero / Leben und Denken*, eds. Michele Borrelli, Francesca Caputo, and Reinhard Hesse (Cosenza, Italy: Pellegrini Editore, 2020), 340.

19. Raúl Fornet-Betancourt, *Transformación intercultural de la filosofía* (Bilbao: Desclée de Brouwer, 2001), 32.

20. Raúl Fornet-Betancourt, "Toward a Philosophy of Intercultural Dialogue in a Conflicted World," in *Intercultural Dialogue: In Search of Harmony in Diversity*, ed. Edward Demenchonok (Newcastle upon Tyne, UK: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2016), 47.

21. Edward Demenchonok, "Discussions on Cultural Diversity and Interculturalism in the United States and Canada," *Concordia*, 68 (2015): 71–110.

22. Demenchonok, "Bakhtin's Dialogism and Current Discussions," 97.

23. Edward Demenchonok, "Preface," in *A World Beyond Global Disorder: The Courage to Hope*, eds. Fred Dallmayr and Edward Demenchonok (Newcastle upon Tyne, UK: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2017), xiii.

24. Ibid., xiii.

25. Demenchonok, "Discussions on Cultural Diversity and Interculturalism in the United States and Canada," 93–94.

26. Demenchonok, "Bakhtin's Dialogism and Current Discussions," 117.

27. Bakhtin, *Speech Genres and Other Late Essays*, 136.

28. Demenchonok, "Bakhtin's Dialogism and Current Discussions," 115.

29. Ibid, 121.

30. Ibid., 121-122.

31. Edward Demenchonok, "Universal Human Rights in a Culturally Diverse World," in *Intercultural Dialogue: In Search of Harmony in Diversity*, ed. Edward Demenchonok (Newcastle upon Tyne, UK: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2016), 297–298.

32. Edward Demenchonok, "World in Transition: From a Hegemonic Disorder toward a Cosmopolitan Order," in *A World Beyond Global Disorder: The Courage to Hope*, eds. Fred Dallmayr and Edward Demenchonok (Newcastle upon Tyne, UK: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2017), 257.

33. Ibid., 187.

34. Demenchonok, "Bakhtin's Dialogism and Current Discussions," 123.

35. Fornet-Betancourt, "Toward a Philosophy of Intercultural Dialogue in a Conflicted World," 44.

36. Ibid., 49.

37. Ibid., 48.

38. See Alexander Chumakov, Ivan Mazour, and William C. Gay, eds., Global Studies Encyclopedic Dictionary (Amsterdam and New York: Rodopi B.V., 2014); Joseph Stiglitz, *Globalization and Its Discontents Revisited: Anti-Globalization in the Age of Trump* (New York, London: W. W. Norton & Company, 2017).

39. See, among others, Fred Dallmayr, *Dialogue Among Civilizations*: *Some Exemplary Voices* (New York: Palgrave, 2002).

40. As Demenchonok notes, "various versions of historicist concepts are characterized by teleological determinism, the idea of benevolent Providential necessity, relativization of unconditional moral norms, juridical nihilism, attempts to justify injustice and violence as the means of progress, and interpretation of the present as a full and necessary truth of the past, ignoring unrealized possibilities." Edward Demenchonok, "Universal Human Rights in a Culturally Diverse World," in *Intercultural Dialogue: In Search of Harmony in Diversity*, ed. Edward Demenchonok, 2nd ed. (Newcastle upon Tyne, UK: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2016), 296.

41. Edward Demenchonok, "Philosophy after Hiroshima: From Power Politics to the Ethics of Nonviolence and Co-Responsibility," in *Between Global Violence and the Ethics of Peace: Philosophical Perspective*, ed. Edward Demenchonok (Malden, MA and Oxford, UK: Wiley-Blackwell Publishing, 2009), 13.

42. Demenchonok, "Universal Human Rights in a Culturally Diverse World," 295.

43. Edward Demenchonok, "Introduction: From Power Politics to the Ethics of Peace," in *Philosophy After Hiroshima*, ed. Edward Demenchonok (Newcastle upon Tyne, UK: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2010), 3.

44. Ibid., 9.

45. Francis Fukuyama, "The End of History?" *The National Interest* No. 16 (Summer 1989), 9.

46. Samuel Huntington, *The Clash of Civilizations* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1996).

47. One of the opponents of historicism, Karl Popper, criticized historicism and its doctrine of "the law of historical development" with fixed and predictable laws in history, in its various versions as a law of nature, a law of economic development, or historical law laid down by the Will of God, all related to the doctrine of the chosen people. He argued that there can be no prediction of the course of human history by scientific or any other rational methods. Karl Popper, *The Open Society and Its Enemies* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2020), 8. Although Popper's criticism is focused mainly on Hegelianism and Marxism, he noticed that nowadays Western statesmen are also "rarely free from the contamination of historicism": they tend to believe in the inevitability and predictability of history, appeal to the support of historical trends and that "history is on our side." Various historicist theories are used ideologically and "do play a role—in the Foreign Office or State Department." Karl Popper, *After the Open Society: Selected Social and Political Writings*, eds. Jeremy Shearmur and Piers Norris Turner (London and New York: Routledge, 2008), 268.

48. Both Fukuyama and Huntington served on the National Security Council and were received into the White House. Fukuyama was given a job at the State Department by his friend Paul Wolfowitz (then Undersecretary of Defense), and Huntington was invited by his friend Zbigniew Brzezinski (the National Security Adviser during the administration of Jimmy Carter) to become the White House Coordinator of Security Planning for the National Security Council.

49. Each person and his/her individual cultural portrait are always absolutely unique in his/her language, traditions, and beliefs, not to mention their many other hereditary and acquired characteristics, habits, and inclinations. A person and his/her culture are inextricably linked—one does not exist without the other.

50. O. N. Astaf'yeva and N. E. Sudakova, "Kul'turnyye imperativy v vek globalizatsii: inklyuziya v perspektive kul'turnoy politiki BRICS" [Cultural imperatives in the age of globalization: inclusion in the perspective of the BRICS cultural policy], *Age of Globalization*, no. 4 (32) (2019), 26–39.

51. Alexander Chumakov, *Put' v filosofiyu: Raboty raznykh let* [Path to philosophy] (Moscow: Prospect, 2021), 293–307.

52. Alexander Chumakov and Li Hey (eds.), *Mezhkul'turnoye vzaimodeystviye Rossii i Kitaya: global'noye i lokal'noye izmereniye* [Intercultural interaction between Russia and China: global and local dimensions] (Moscow: Prospect, 2019).

53. M.V. Rats, "Dialog v sovremennom mire," [Dialogue in the contemporary world] *Voprosy Filosofii* no. 10 (2004): 30.

54. Alexander Chumakov, *Global'nyy mir: stolknoveniye interesov* [Global World: Clash of Interests] (Moscow: Prospect, 2019), 367–408.

55. Andrey Smirnov, *Vsechelovecheskoye vs. Obshchechelovecheskoye* [All-human vs. the common-to-humankind] (Moscow: LLC "Sadra": YASK Publishing House. 2019); Marietta Stepanyants, *Mezhkul'turnaya filosofiya: istoki, metodologiya, problematika, perspektivy* [Intercultural philosophy: origins, methodology, problems, perspectives] (Moscow: Science - Vostochnaya lit., 2020).

56. Edward Demenchonok writes: "The World Public Forum 'Dialogue of Civilizations' (WPF) was founded in 2002 on the initiative of public figures from Russia, India, and Greece as a practical implementation of the UN General Assembly Resolution 'Global Agenda for Dialogue of Civilizations.' The WPF unites a wide network of non-governmental organizations, scientific associations, scientists, philosophers, and representatives of various cultural and spiritual traditions—all those who share the principles of openness and mutual respect as the basis of intercultural dialogue. It aims to unite the efforts of the world community to protect the spiritual and cultural values of mankind." Edward Demenchonok, "Mezhkul'turnyi dialog kak al'ternativa global'nomu besporyadku" [Intercultural Dialogue as an Alternative to the Global Disorder], *Vestnik of the Russian Philosophical Society*, 4/76 (2015): 91–95.

57. According to Edward Demenchonok, "On the basis of the WPF, Dialogue of Civilizations Research Institute, DOC RI, an independent international scientific center, was established in Berlin in 2016. Its work is carried out in a number of research projects, such as: East and West, bridging the gap in postmodern identity; civilization against the threat of social barbarism; global development policies, institutions and progress; postmodern economics. Among them, the project 'Living Space for Humanity: Protecting Humanity in Human Beings' is of particular interest to philosophers. Within its framework, on April 25, 2018, a roundtable was held in Berlin on the topic 'Contexts of identity formation in the postmodern era: the influence of the 'relational self' on the true dialogue of civilizations.' The relational and dialogical approach was articulated by participants from Austria, England, Germany, China, Russia, and the United States." Edward Demenchonok, "Dialog tsivilizatsii: v zashchitu chelovechnosti v cheloveke" [Dialogue of Civilizations: in Defense of Humanity in Man], *Vestnik* 2 (86) (2018): 18–21.

58. Demenchonok, "A Globalization Aporia: A Hegemonic 'World State' versus a Cosmopolitanism to Come," 252.

VI

TOWARD A COSMOPOLITAN WORLD ORDER OF LASTING PEACE AND GLOBAL JUSTICE

[16](#)

[Dialogical and Transformative Cosmopolitanism to Come](#)

[Sergei V. Akopov](#)

In perhaps his last work written before his death in 1975, "Toward Methodology for the Human Sciences," Mikhail Bakhtin wrote:

> There is neither a first nor a last word and there are no limits to the dialogic context (it extends into the boundless past and the boundless future). . . . At any moment in the development of the dialogue there are immense, boundless masses of forgotten contextual meanings, but at certain moments of the dialogue's subsequent development along the way they are recalled and invigorated in renewed form (in a new context). Nothing is absolutely dead: every meaning will have its homecoming festival.[1]

Bakhtin was talking about the contexts of understanding of cultures within the frameworks of the historically remote "great time," the contemporary "small time," as well as the desirable future. Philosophers, literary critics, and other scholars in humanities, in dialogue with the texts, are reconstructing these contexts and interpreting their possible meanings from their respective perspectives.

Edward Demenchonok, in his work on Bakhtin's dialogical philosophy, quoted the above-mentioned citation and elucidated its methodologically important meaning. It is relevant to him as well, being one of those intellectuals who, during his philosophical journey as an engaged cosmopolitan guest in the various domains of philosophical culture, tried to

understand their meanings and appreciated them as intellectual-spiritual resources for finding answers to pertinent questions concerning man in today's world and the future of humanity. In his works, he was consistently striving for freedom, dialogical relationships, cultural diversity and intercultural dialogue, and ideals of the cosmopolitan order of justice and peace.

In this chapter, I will analyze Demenchonok's search for a dialogical and cosmopolitan alternative to the current global disorder. I will start with his development of Mikhail Bakhtin's dialogical philosophy and its application to the justification of the recognition of cultural diversity and to the advancement of the theory of transculture and of intercultural philosophy. Dialogue is viewed not as mere conversation but as dialogical relationships to be practiced at the personal, intersubjective, social, intercultural, and intercivilizational levels. The conditions for this coincide with the need to transform society and international relations oriented toward a cosmopolitan ideal. In facing a policy of global hegemony, the cosmopolitan concept is under-going revision and transformation into a political project of a new cosmopolitanism. Attention is paid to its distinctive characteristics, at the center of which is dialogue: a *dialogical cosmopolitanism*. The views of cosmopolitanism to come by Jacques Derrida and Fred Dallmayr are analyzed, and the chapter argues that the cosmopolitan project goes beyond both state-centered and hegemon-centric models. There is a well-grounded hope that the powerful ideas of dialogue and cosmopolitan transformation will become the guiding force for political agencies—national and transnational social movements, leaders, and active individuals—striving for freedom, justice, and peace.

DIALOGICAL RELATIONSHIPS AND THEIR MORAL UNDERPINNING

In today's world, troubled by conflicts within societies, acute social and global problems and wars, we turn, in our search for alternatives, to the wisdom of thinkers such as Mikhail Bakhtin to learn about the possibilities of dialogical relationships as the path toward mutual understanding, justice, and peace. Bakhtin wrote that "Dialogical relationships . . . are an almost

universal phenomenon, permeating . . . everything that has meaning and significance."[2]

Demenchonok analyzes Bakhtin's innovative early work *Toward a Philosophy of the Act*, written around 1920 while he was in Vitebsk—the city in which Demenchonok was born two decades later. In it, Bakhtin outlined his personalist and dialogical view of philosophy and focused on the problem of freedom in relation to responsibility. In it, Bakhtin provided an original response to the problems faced by Western philosophers and, in particular, pointed out the main *ethical* deficiency of the "philosophy of life," stating that life can be consciously comprehended only as an ongoing event within the context of concrete responsibility: "A philosophy of life can be only a moral philosophy."[3] Bakhtin developed the concept of a free individual who actively participates in being and self-realizing and who has a moral obligation to assume responsibility for personal uniqueness and being; the imperativeness of choice and responsibility for an act or deed are rooted in the "fact of *my non-alibi in Being*."[4] Thus, he provided us with an insight into approaching the central problem of contemporary ethics.

Demenchonok points out that Bakhtin's ideas were similar to those of Martin Heidegger, although they were elaborated about five years earlier than Heidegger's *Sein und Zeit* (Being and Time, 1927). Both philosophers were working independently on the same philosophical problems: "However, Bakhtin not only anticipated Heidegger's ground-breaking ideas, but expressed a more fruitful approach to the problems conceptualized by German philosophy at the beginning of the twentieth century. He was nearer than Heidegger to the methodological innovations of contemporary philosophical hermeneutics, such as its *ethical* aspect."[5] These innovations of philosophical hermeneutics were later introduced, for example, in Hans-Georg Gadamer's works.[6] Demenchonok shows that Bakhtin identified an important dimension of the problem of understanding: "It pertained to the continuity of dutifulness (the 'ought') preserved in the conditions of the consciously comprehended uniqueness of the individual 'being-there.'" Furthermore, understanding requires the outside perspective of the other, and thus understanding is dialogical and "in dialogue, we respect differences and interact with others in an ethical way."[7]

Bakhtin was critical of philosophical monologism and considered a shift to dialogical philosophy as the main event in twentieth-century thought. In his philosophy, dialogism is intimately related to the concept of the other

and to I-other relationships. He grounded a personalist understanding of Being as the co-being of I-other interrelations and "the architectonic structure of the actual world-as-event" that is revealed within the absolute coordinates of I and the other.[8] He approaches the philosophical one-and-many problem through a phenomenological grounding of the ontology of "Being as event," taking Being as fundamentally constituted through human activity. Bakhtin viewed dialogical relationships as *an almost universal phenomenon,"* including in the "dialogue of cultures." In his introduction to *Toward a Philosophy of the Act,* Sergey S. Averintsev wrote that "Bakhtin's key notions—'event,' 'eventuality,' 'act'—introduce the sharp accentuation of the problem of responsibility. . . . In this, Bakhtin is to the highest degree a Russian thinker, continuing the tradition of the Russian culture of the nineteenth century. . . . Bakhtin's thought is rotating around essentially the moral problem."[9]

It is of note that Demenchonok, along with some other contemporary philosophers, continues this close connection with the Russian humanistic tradition, as expressed in philosophy and literature. This remains one of the sources of the originality of their philosophical contributions.

Bakhtin's works had a huge impact worldwide. His conceptions of "the culture of laughter" and of "carnivalization," which opposed the grotesque and laughter to the authoritarian "seriousness" of the predominant official culture, had a liberating meaning, and they became popular in the West within the rising movement for cultural diversity and the rights of minorities.

Bakhtin, along with Aleksei Losev, Dmitry Likhachev, Sergey Averintzev, and some other Russian philosophers, laid a theoretical foundation for culturology, the discipline that investigates the diversity of cultures and their common underlying principles. These two aspects of culture—diversity and unity—were articulated, each in its own manner, in these philosophers' works. They developed a view of culture as a whole, recognizing the diversity of these "wholes" as multiple national and historical types of culture, each having its own formative principles.[10]

TRANSCULTURAL DIALOGUE AND CRITICAL UNIVERSALITY

According to Bakhtin, culture is capable of "transcending itself," and this capability has manifested in culturology. With the evolution of culturology toward transcultural practice, the concept of transculture emerged. As Mikhail Epstein, the leading theorist of transculture, writes, "If culturology is the self-awareness of culture, then transculture is the self-transformation of culture, the totality of theories and practices that liberate culture from its own repressive mechanisms."[11]

Demenchonok also contributed to transcultural dialogue. As he writes, "Bakhtin's ideas of outsideness, freedom and creativity found their creative elaboration in the theory of transculture."[12] In this sense, both Demenchonok and Epstein were striving for freedom and creativity, for the recognition of cultural diversity and dialogical relationships among people with different cultural identities. What certainly unites them, in my opinion, is the idea of cultural transcendence. They were both supportive of the liberational and transformative aspirations of the movement for cultural diversity and democratization. Accordingly, in defending this movement, they were critical of the adverse ideologies and policies that were distorting and derailing it.

The cultural diversity movement emerged as a form of protest against the totalizing political system, with its dominating culture and globalism (the canonization of one homogenous global "mass culture"). But as a proverb says, "a false friend is worse than an open enemy." The "Trojan horse" to undermine this movement came under the guise of "liberal multiculturalism," which claimed to be in favor of diversity in words only, within the existing economic-political-ideological system. As Demenchonok put it, in the policies of liberal multiculturalism "mere lip service is frequently given to the development of diverse cultures: the other's 'right to exist' is acknowledged, but while considering one's own culture or truth to be superior or absolute, and the dominating culture retains its control."[13] This ideology obfuscated the root cause of unfreedom, misled and derailed the movement, and dulled its initially critical social edge (that is why the neoliberal system, which initially faced resistance, but instead of improvement later took revenge in the form of neototalitarian regression). This ideology effectively (ab)used prejudices and the lack of social consciousness, playing racial, gender, and other divisive cards. In this multiculturalism, which exaggerated liberal atomistic individualism, cultural identities were defined in opposition to each other, with a

deterministic view of cultural phenomena as conditioned by their race or gender, implying an essentialist connection between cultural production and ethnic or physical origin. Demenchonok writes the following about this reductionistic view:

> For example, a literary work is not a self-expression of its author as an individual, but a "representation" of the essence of the author's gender, race, and ethnicity. In this approach, the real human being is missing. Multiculturalism reduces culture to its racial, gender, or ethnic origins. Diverse cultures are categorized into a few rubrics such as "male," "female," "homosexual," "white," "black," "Latino," "Asian," and so on. . . . In this picture, however, something important is missing: the relationships between cultures.[14]

Here, horizontal determinism, represented by the mosaic form of multiculturalism, supplements vertical determinism, represented by hegemonic globalism. The combination of these two forms of determinism leaves no freedom of choice for the individual, who seems to have no other option than to serve as a specimen of some ethnic or gender identity or to accept the homogenization of "global culture." Both of these prospects look grim. Transculture, however, offers a model of cultural development that is an alternative to both isolating pluralism and homogenizing globalism.

Another form of disservice came in the guise of postmodern philosophy. This is noted by Demenchonok, indicating that although the postmodern deconstruction was critical of the multiculturalist view of culture, but did not offer a valid theoretical alternative. Deconstruction opposes any determinism and even rejects the notions of "beginnings" or "origins" as our own constructions. Jacques Derrida sets deconstruction against theories of multiculturalism that stress an external difference between cultural identities instead of paying attention to the internal difference that invigorates all forms of identity, saying that "the identity of a culture is a way of being different from itself."[15]

As Demenchonok observes, whereas multiculturalism emphasizes collective identities, deconstructionism accentuates internal differences.[16] In this impasse, Epstein proposes to move from the model of "difference" (*différance*) to a model of *interference*, that is, the dispersion of the symbolic values of one culture in the fields of other cultures. This implies the diffusion of individuals' initial cultural identities as they cross the borders of different cultures and assimilate them. Within the *interferential* model, cultures are not considered to be self-enclosed or isolated. Instead, this model opens up perspectives of cultures' self-differentiation and mutual

involvement and of building new transcultural communities.[17] Thus, cultural pluralism would become free from determinism and representation, and deconstruction would become positive and constructive. As he writes, "transculture is the next stage in the ongoing human quest for freedom from the determinations of both nature and culture that tends to grow into our second nature."[18]

The interactions of cultures in an interrelated world can be different, ranging from peaceful relations to war-like conflicts, as Demenchonok mentions, and he stresses the necessity for and the possibility of dialogical and collaborative relationships. This is the crux of contemporary debates.

One of the important conceptions of the theory of transculture is "critical universality." The Western canon and hegemonic ideologemes make claims to universality, which accompanies their claims for power. Critical universality, however, debunks these pretensions and provides its own view of universality.

Bakhtin's dialogical philosophy was helpful not only for the development of the transcultural conception of dialogical relationships among diverse cultures but also in the elucidation of the idea of universality. Bakhtin's conception of *vnenakhodimost*' (outsideness, being "beyond") presupposes the capacity of intellectuals for self-criticism and to be critical about the existing conditions. Dialogical relationships presuppose an openness to others, and an openness to others presupposes the ability to distance one from oneself, to look at one's own identity through the eyes of different cultures. Every discourse has to be critical about its own rules and abandon any hegemonic claims. This self-reflective and self-critical approach is characteristic of the transcultural view of universality. "The philosophy of the 21st century still has the task of elaborating the criterion of *critical universality* in order to distinguish it from the old, pre-critical type of *universality* as well as the *critical* attitudes of post-Kantian philosophy that undermined the value of universality."[19]

The old, pre-critical type of universality was manifested in the Eurocentric or Western-centric views of philosophy and history, and its distorted, propagandistic versions are used in totalitarian and neototalitarian ideologies. Of note in the contemporary pretensions of the Western canon and hegemonic ideologemes to universality is the justification of their assertion of power, which is quite obvious in the US policy of the

domination of the hegemon-centric world and which is accompanied by its attempts at "universalization." As Demenchonok writes:

> The traditional claims to speak univocally for a notion of the universal understood as projected from a single point of view (that is, an abstract universality) are criticized by the adherents of diversity, who consider such claims to be expressive of an ethnocentric pseudo-universality; the critics also point to the use of such claims in the "imperial" interpretation of cosmopolitanism. These philosophers are looking for universalism that is not the unwarranted generalization of some of the Western particular views.[20]

In pointing out the deficiencies of this positivistic type of universality, Epstein writes: "This understanding of *universality* mistakes it for *generality*, whereas in fact these are two very different concepts."[21] *Generality* is a quality that is common to many objects, while *universality* refers to one object that contains or displays many qualities. Epstein instead offers an alternative: "Universality must not be reduced either to the generality of one canon or to the plurality of isolated and self-sustained canons but should proceed to the next stage where the difference itself may become a starting point in the movement towards a new, critical universality."[22]

Epstein criticizes the tendency of postmodern philosophy to disavow universality and such related concepts as *humankind, truth,* and *objectivity*. He warns that this anti-universalist stance is dangerous in that it could be easily co-opted for the opposite cause: "if universality is fiction, then there is no intellectually justifiable way to limit the power of any particular group which aims to expand its political and cultural dominance at the expense of others."[23]

Rethinking universality presupposes critical distancing from all its dogmatic manifestations as well as from uncritical pluralism. From the perspective of transculture, the ambivalence of postmodernist views of universality can be seen more clearly. Its theorists, such as Jean François Lyotard, are critical of the imposition of any metanarratives with their totalitarian logic and instead strongly defend plurality. However, postmodernists' uncritical pluralism, their call to "activate the differences," and their relentless emphasis on the incommensurability of values and discourses leave little room for dialogue and consensus.

Lyotard is critical of his philosophical adversary Habermas, particularly of his conceptions of legitimation and consensus.[24] For him, "it seems neither possible, nor even prudent, to follow Habermas in orienting our

treatment of the problem of legitimation in the direction of a search for universal consensus through what he calls *Diskurs*, in other words, a dialogue of argumentation."[25] Lyotard adds that "Consensus has become an outmoded and suspect value." With regard to social justice, he states, "We must thus arrive at an idea and practice of justice that is not linked to that of consensus." He assumes that the incommensurability of values and discourses should become a foundation for a new cultural order: "A recognition of the heteromorphous nature of language games is a first step in that direction."[26] He thus insists on local and temporary limitations of consensus, on the plurality of consensuses.

However, if we accept this, then the next logical question would be how to achieve consensus among different consensuses. As Epstein notes, "the question of universality does not disappear, but moves onto the next level, and will continue to move until all consensuses, all forms of rationality, all groups find for themselves some meta-consensus that would include, as a minimum precondition, an *agreement to disagree* peacefully."[27] The right to disagree must be recognized by all participants as "a universal and not just local value."

The question of universality is especially relevant for the political dilemmas of the twenty-first century. In the age of growing globalization and new polarization, the interaction of various forms of consensus is inevitable, and no localities remain isolated, thus "it is only commensurability and translatability among discourses and values that may keep various groups peacefully negotiating their place and role in the global civilization."[28] It is the culture of consensus that includes the provisions for disagreement and dissent among the members of this binding convention. The lessons of postmodernism should in no way be forgotten or neglected; instead, "they should be incorporated into a broader, more tolerant, demanding, and simultaneously more responsible culture of agreement, i.e. a culture of critical universality."[29] Critical or self-critical universality means "the capacity of each culture and each ideology to criticize itself, recognizing its own limitations in an attempt to build new trans-cultural and trans-ethnic communities."[30]

From a transcultural perspective, it would be a mistake to reject universalism for the sake of diversity: rather, plurality is an aspect of universality. In metaphysics, universal is a general term that is applied to many individuals or many single cases. "However, every individual also

belongs to many universals and thus contains universality. . . . Each individual is a community of universals, a micro-universe."[31] To abstract universality transculture opposes a concrete universality, which does not neglect the individual and the particular but rather "recognizes the individual's inherent potential of diversity" and "embraces the value of universality as the capacity of a single individual or a single culture to be different from itself and to incorporate the multiplicity of others." Philosophy should analyze "the universality of individuals in their internal diversity." One individual can belong to many cultures. Critical universalism presupposes the internal diversity of individuals in their dialogical openness to others. Epstein also asserts the transformative role of transculture: "In the secular age, the concept of critical universality may become a major force that challenges both fragmentation and totalitarianism and ensures the survival of humanity as a species."[32]

STRIVING FOR PERPETUAL PEACE AND A COSMOPOLITAN WORLD

Demenchonok analyzes the influence of dialogical philosophy on intercultural philosophy and its justification of intercultural dialogue, and he views in dialogical philosophy a broad theoretical potential.[33] The principles of dialogical philosophy can serve as a kind of theoretical basis for a new society and a just and peaceful world order.

He shows the relevance of Immanuel Kant's ideas of lasting peace, who opposed the violent "state of nature" to a law-governed society of free citizens with a republican constitution, lawful external relations between states that enter into a peaceful federation, and a cosmopolitan right. Kant abandoned the initial idea of "a universal state of nations" for fear that it could become "a universal monarchy" and "soulless despotism."[34] Instead, he suggested a *federalism* of free states, a voluntary and peaceful league of nations (*foedus pacificum*),[35] under an international right, and eventually a condition of cosmopolitan right. As Demenchonok writes, "Cosmopolitan law unifies peoples globally, thus yielding strong pacifying effects, and thus facilitating the implementation of human rights."[36]

Demenchonok is critical of deterministic historicism in its Hegelian and contemporary technocratic and neoliberal versions. In contrast, he favors

views of history, developed by Kant, Karl Jaspers, and some present-day philosophers, as being open and containing many potential alternatives and implying moral responsibility: "the realization of one or the other potential possibilities (from best to worst) depends on the choices and actions of people as subjects of history."[37]

He has identified decisive moments or turning points in recent history. One of them was the formation of the United Nations (1945), which, according to its Charter, aims to maintain international peace and security, develop friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and the self-determination of peoples, achieve international cooperation while solving social and global problems, and promote respect for human rights as the cosmopolitan aspiration. This was an opportunity to realize Kant's project of "perpetual peace."

But this opportunity was torpedoed by the Cold War, which in reality began with the atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki on August 6 and 9, 1945. That inaugurated the Atomic Age, providing the human race with the material means for its own self-destruction.[38] Demenchonok, along with many other researchers, argues that President Harry S. Truman's decision to drop atomic bombs was motivated by the geopolitical interests of an emerging superpower in possession of a powerful weapon that could be used as a political instrument and a demonstration of force to the Soviet Union and to the world.[39] Many philosophers worried about the future of the human race in the age of unchecked technology of destruction. They discussed the "extinction" thesis (also termed "nuclear winter" or "omnicide") and argued that "nuclear war could bring about the end of the human species."[40]

The end of the Cold War was another historical turning point. As Demenchonok shows, it was a result of the rise of global consciousness, of movements for peace and democratization, as well as of the diplomacy and prudence of political leaders. The Soviet Union played an important role by calling for "new political thinking," that is, recognizing the priority of universal human values over all others, the peaceful coexistence of countries with different socio-political systems, and the view of the world as one and interdependent with sovereign equality and seeking mutual cooperation. This new thinking remains relevant today and "asserts that the transcendental task of the survival of humankind and the rest of the biotic community must have an unquestionable primacy in comparison to any

particular interests of nations, social classes, and so forth."[41] It thus has a cosmopolitan meaning.

Demenchonok argues that the peaceful end of the Cold War allowed opportunities for the positive transformation of society and international relations and created the conditions for a lasting peace and the solution to such global problems as the ecological crisis and economic underdevelopment. The 1990s were a time of rebirth of the ideals of cosmopolitanism and strong hope for a movement toward their practical implementation. At this time, Demenchonok analyzed the works of numerous philosophers and political scientists, including Karl-Otto Apel, Jürgen Habermas, Seyla Benhabib, James Bohman, Daniele Archibugi, Fred Dallmayr, Richard Falk, David Held, Ulrich Beck, and Mary Kaldor, who expressed the innovative ideas of democratizing relationships among nations in a multipolar world and of co-responsibility and collaboration for solving global problems, and he explored the possibility of a cosmopolitan democracy. As he writes, "In the 1990s, the predominant view was *moral* cosmopolitanism, which asserts that every human being has a global stature as the ultimate unit of moral concern, is entitled to equal respect, and must be properly considered in practical deliberations about any lawmaking and policymaking actions that may affect anyone's vital interests."[42]

At the same time, Demenchonok was among those intellectuals who expressed concern that the post-Cold War opportunities for the transformation of societies and the world order were not realized and, instead, political forces and other parties that had vested interests in the preservation of the status quo were undermining these opportunities. In the worst possible scenario, the neoconservative "revolution" has shifted the US to the extreme right and its foreign policy to global hegemony.

As the ideological justification for this political shift, neoconservative ideologues, such as Francis Fukuyama, declared the "end of history" and the dominance of "benevolent" hegemony, promising world stability and prosperity. In reality, however, the policy of militarized global hegemony has resulted in wars and millions of deaths and endless destruction. This kind of world leadership itself became a factor in global instability and wars and made international collaboration for solving the global problems of economic underdevelopment, climate change, and pandemics impossible.

In neoconservative and some neoliberal assessments, the current situation is frequently described deterministically as an inevitable process

resulting from globalization. They present it as a dilemma: either fall back to the pre-United Nations anarchy or accept "imperial necessities." In contrast to this, Demenchonok argues that a hegemonic future is not preordained and that it would have catastrophic consequences. Military domination by a superpower is perceived as a threat by nations that do not want to be dominated, thus triggering a new Cold War and the nuclear arms race. The overkill capacity of the existing stockpiles of thermonuclear weaponry is enough to exterminate life on Earth. There exists also "the time bombs of the escalating ecological crisis and of the deteriorating socio-economic conditions in the underdeveloped countries. The 'end of history' can come not as a bang but as a whimper: an entropy-like, agonizing process of degradation."[43]

Demenchonok analyzes the challenges that the US policy of global domination, which claims the hegemon-centered world to be the future of humanity, has posed to the idea of cosmopolitanism. He asserts that "the ideal alternative would be not *for* the dominating power to change hands, but to strive for a world free *from* any hegemonic domination."[44] He envisions a cosmopolitan future as the viable alternative to the current global disorder. As he writes, "a hegemon-centric world order, claiming to represent the future of humanity, is what the cosmopolitan project opposes."[45]

From this perspective, "the current period can be envisioned as part of a gradual, long-range process of transition from an international order and hegemony toward a cosmopolitan world order of law and peace."[46] At this historical crossroads, human-kind faces the choice between heading toward the self-destructive "end of history" and the realization of the possibility of humanistic self-transformation in learning to be human. In the struggle between the war-prone hegemonic tendency, which threatens the existence of humankind, and the urgent need for transformation of society and world order aiming at justice and peace, the future of human civilization is at stake. Demenchonok views the present period as a "turning point" in the development of civilization, in which the *hegemony* vs. *cosmopolitanism* opposition "stands at the forefront of the struggle for the future of humanity."[47]

HUMAN RIGHTS AND SOVEREIGN EQUALITY AS TWO INTERRELATED LEGAL PRINCIPLES OF THE INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM

In the discussions about cosmopolitanism, Demenchonok addresses the complex topics of human rights and state sovereignty. The relatively peaceful post-Cold War decade of the 1990s provided favorable conditions for focusing on human rights implementation, but with the subsequent shift to the policy of global hegemony, the situation has dramatically changed. Countries that do not want to become vassals view the hegemonic policy of the military superpower as a threat to their national security and independence, and thus previous interests in human rights have been overshadowed by concerns about war and peace, and the issue of sovereignty as the bulwark against hegemonic interventionism came to the forefront.

Demenchonok provides a philosophical justification for the universality of human rights. The challenge to this universality of human rights comes not only from relativism in its communitarian or postmodern versions, but also from what Habermas calls the pseudo-universal "imperialist claim that the political form of life and the culture of a particular democracy" is an example for the rest of the world.[48] Demenchonok addresses the problem of the foundational relationship between human rights, democracy, and international law. He criticizes the pretensions of the hegemonic superpower and its allies to assume the role of the sole legislators of international law. It is true that the fundamental rights of citizens are grounded in the constitution of a democratic state. But he mentions "a tension between the plurality of particular democratic states—with different interests and normative reservations—and the universal principles of international law, for example, human rights, which direct us toward a cosmopolitan legal order." Thus "no one particular democratic state can claim an impartial and disinterested representation of the interests of the other sovereign states, nor could its legislation be only a pure expression of universal 'principles of law' (such as human rights)."[49] The morality of individual rights was crystallized in international law, such as the International Bill of Human Rights, which was adopted by consensus at the United Nations as the most authoritative international body,

The project of a hegemon-centric world is construed as a unipolar alternative to the international system of sovereign states based on international law and the United Nations Charter. To them, the hegemonic superpower opposes "realism" with its reliance on military force and the quasi-ontological primacy of power over law, as well as disingenuously opposing law to morality and pretending to be a supreme moral authority in world politics. In Habermas' words, "the project of a new liberal world order under the banner of a *pax Americana*," advocated by the neoconservatives, "raises the question of whether the *juridification* of international relations should be superseded by a *moralization* of international politics grounded in the ethos of a superpower."[50]

Demenchonok has warned against the tendency to change the function of international law from an emphasis on constraining the use of power to one legitimizing its unilateral use, that is, reshaping law into a "hegemonic international law" as a tool for the superpower's policy and making international law and institutions subject to hegemonic "capture." As he writes,

> In this regard, the urgent challenge facing contemporary theorists—and political actors—is to find new ways to avert the ominous trend toward the "hegemonization" of international law and humanitarian concepts. . . . Legal scholars and philosophers see it as their task to critically deconstruct ideological justifications of the power structures developed by a hegemon, and to find the ways to liberate both international law and international institutions like the United Nations from hegemonic domination.[51]

Moreover, the US find it more convenient to reject international law and the UN-based order in favor of a "rule-governed international order," one in which they unilaterally set their own rules that are beneficial only to them.

According to Demenchonok, there exist the traditional problems of international law, which stem from the dualism of its normative orientations: its primary desire for the preservation of peace and its concern for human rights. This dualism was addressed by Kant and it is still reflected in the UN Charter: there is a primary orientation in international law toward the preservation of peace through prohibiting the violation of the sovereignty of individual states; but there is also a concern for human rights and, in the event of their violation, enforcement of human rights through a mandate from the UN Security Council, thus limiting the sovereignty of states. As a solution to this dualism, Kant called for a basic shift from an international to a cosmopolitan law.[52]

Demenchonok points out the difficulties in understanding human rights and sovereignty that are caused by the hegemonic "capture" of international law and institutions and the distortion of the discourses about these topics. The ideology of hegemonism pretends to universality and presents hegemonic integration as implementation of a kind of cosmopolitan "unity," but this simulacrum is criticized as "imperial cosmopolitanism."[53]

The hegemonic superpower approaches sovereignty selectively, treating it as its own exclusive privilege of "imperial sovereignty" while limiting or trampling over the sovereignty of other nations. This interpretation is anti-statist, presenting the nation state as obsolete, as an obstacle to the economic activities of transnational corporations, and as an obstacle to protecting human rights by its shielding of authoritarian regimes. In reality, however, the abuse of the "responsibility to protect" human rights and forcibly "spreading democracy" as a pretext for hegemonic "humanitarian interventionism," causing innumerable deaths and much suffering, has discredited these claims. "The ideological abuse of the ideas of democracy and human rights as a justification for the superpower's invasions and occupation of sovereign states compromised these ideas in the very act of supposedly pursuing them."[54]

The thesis of the "disaggregation" of the state, which was rather prematurely proclaimed by some adherents of "liberal internationalism," was adopted and (ab) used by hegemonism to pave the way to undermine the sovereignty of states and to vassalize them. The result was a growing number of failed states with humanitarian catastrophes, the disregard of international law, and the erosion of the international system.

Demenchonok's publications consistently and strongly defend human rights and contribute to the philosophical justification of the inalienability and universality of human rights. However, he adopts a nuanced approach, defending human rights while at the same time pointing out the role of sovereignty as a bulwark against unjustified military interventions and hegemonic rapacity. He stresses that in today's real world, human rights can be effectively protected only within a certain political structure, which is mainly the nation state with the rule of law. Nation states are also necessary for providing the legal and material conditions for the development of diverse cultures. This, of course, has nothing to do with authoritarianism, ultra-nationalism, hegemonic exceptionalism and fragmentation.

In discussions regarding sovereignty, Demenchonok critically assesses both the traditional Westphalian view of sovereignty and the thesis of the "disaggregation" of the state,[55] and he argues for a rethinking of the concept of sovereignty in light of the contemporary changes within societies and in the international arena. He examines sovereignty in its relation to the problems of human rights, war and peace, hegemonic domination, and cosmopolitan aspirations.

Demenchonok's works are in tune with progressive philosophers and political scientists who oppose anti-statism and who are rethinking the role of sovereignty, emphasizing its importance for seeking peace and maintaining the legal order within society as a condition for striving for the realization of human rights. Among them is Jean L. Cohen, who is reassessing the conceptions of human rights, sovereignty, and cosmopolitanism. She is critical of the so-called "legal cosmopolitans" who currently argue for a shift from international to "global" law with a special place for individual rights. Their views overlap with those of global constitutionalists, and they all assume that the individual is the referent of global legal norms, and that global law is not based exclusively on state consent as international law is. They argue that we are witnessing a constitutionalization of the international legal system and the replacement of the state-centered model of international society with a cosmopolitan political and legal global community.[56] This diminishes the role of the state and of domestic principles of political legitimacy, which then questions the organizing principles of international society based on "public international law and in the UN Charter system."

As Demenchonok notes, one of the problems with this view is that it assumes that we are already living in a "near cosmopolitan" society, and thus international law and institutions, including state sovereignty, are obsolete. This view is premature and ignores the reality of today's societies and of international relations in the time of the US policy of global dominance. Inadvertently, this view is adopted by the neoconservative ideology, which claims that the "benevolent hegemon" is the realization of the desirable world order, thus clothing hegemon-centric dystopia in attractive garb.

Demenchonok concurs with Cohen who argues that sovereign equality and human rights are two interrelated legal principles of the dualistic international system and that both are needed in order to make it more just.

She develops the "political conception" of human rights and points out that, in a positive legal sense, human rights are of a juridical nature even if they have a moral justification for all. She also offers a concept of sovereignty with a new dimension: the status of being a member of the international community with the right to participate in global governance institutions that make coercive decisions affecting all states and their citizens.[57] Cohen invokes these two legal principles in her criticism of the ideological construction of outlaw states and rightless persons, used as part of an imperial project to undermine international law. Sovereign equality has acquired new importance in light of the existing asymmetry of power and hegemonic unilateralism: it protects plurality within the international system and "serves as a bulwark against imperial or great power predations."[58] Cohen views a future dualistic world order composed of an international society of states and a global political community in which human rights and global governance institutions, within the framework of constitutional pluralism, affect the policies of sovereign states.

The universalization of the international society of states and the emergence of an "international community" has not left sovereignty or international law unchanged. However, Demenchonok points out that the premature idea of abandoning the concept of sovereignty and assuming that the state and sovereignty have been disaggregated misconstrues the nature of contemporary international society and the political choices facing us. Moreover, at a time when "imperial designs" are attempting to curb sovereignty and vassalize states, the idea of the "disaggregation" of the state plays into the hands of neoimperialism. The similar views are expressed by Cohen, who writes: "If we assume that a constitutional cosmopolitan legal order already exists which has or should replace international law and its core principles of sovereign equality, territorial integrity, non-intervention, and domestic jurisdiction with 'global (cosmopolitan) right' we risk becoming apologists for neoimperial projects."[59] She argues that we should instead opt for strengthening existing international law by updating it and using the conception of sovereignty, showing that "this is compatible with cosmopolitan principles inherent in human rights norms and with necessary forms of global governance and cooperation, so that appropriate reform and feasible constitutionalist projects can come into view."[60] Demenchonok stresses the importance of international law and institutions, free from hegemonic control, and he

views cosmopolitanism in perspective as a long-term goal and a process of the democratic self-transformation of societies and international relations in transition from an international to a cosmopolitan order.

In analyzing the causes of the de-sovereignization of many countries, Demenchonok mentions not only "the arrogance of power" and the military-economic strength of the hegemon, but also the political weakness, lack of resistance, and conformism of some countries, which are giving up their sovereignty and become vassals too easily. He examines these instances while invoking Kant's concept of freedom as the fundamental human right. Kant rejected both the abuse of power by rulers and servility on the part of the citizens, seeing it as the flip-side of paternalistic despotism. He wrote that every human being "has his inalienable rights, which he can never give up even if he wanted to and about which he is authorized to judge for himself."[61]

Demenchonok stresses that the notion of inalienable human rights means that an individual him/herself is not allowed surrender his/her rights or relinquish them for any pragmatic considerations, and "since no one citizen is allowed to relinquish his freedom, thus, similarly a nation as a whole can not to do that either."[62] He invokes Kant's criticism of paternalistic relationships between rulers and citizens as an analogy for the relationships between the empire and the vassals. He points out that "the dependent states could be not only the victims of the superpower's domination, but also active accomplices of hegemonism as the superpower's allies (condominium) or passively complicit in it. Nations which give up their sovereignty in exchange for the paternalistic promises of protection and economic benefits actually pander to the authoritarian and hegemonic trend of international power politics."[63] The opposite of paternalism and dependence are relations based on international law, the basic principle of which is sovereign equality. He rightly mentions that the decisions on foreign policy are made by the government, which has its vested interests and does not necessarily act in the best interests of the nation. At the same time, however, in a formally democratic society with elections, citizens have voting rights and thus co-responsibility for state politics.[64]

The normal relationships of sovereign states under international law are opposed to both an imperial "world state" and the anarchy of nationalistic failed states. In facing the neoimperial global *conquista* and assault on the

sovereignty of states and the international system, the immediate task is to defend state sovereignty and international law and institutions, ensuring they are free from hegemonic control and function properly, as well as to create new independent forms of international and transnational collaboration in polycentric world.

A DIALOGICAL AND TRANSFORMATIVE COSMOPOLITANISM

Demenchonok points out that the practical implementation of the principles of dialogical philosophy, of dialogical relationships at all levels, of a new society, and of a dialogical civilization all require a political structure. This demand leads to a conception of cosmopolitanism and a cosmopolitan project. Consequentially, there is a requirement for a revised conception of cosmopolitanism that needs principles of dialogue in order to go beyond an "abstract universalism" and to open itself to pluralism and cultural diversity. The coincidence of these two streams of thought leads to their conjunction in the conception of dialogical cosmopolitanism.

At first glance, it may seem that to talk about cosmopolitanism at the time of hegemony is counterfactual. Indeed, hegemonic policy, which tries to impose global dominance over other nations, trampling over their sovereignty and international law, has blocked nations' independent development and their collaboration and the normal maturing of the international community, which would have facilitated cosmopolitanization. A despotic "universal monarchy," against which Kant warned, in its contemporary hegemonic version, is the antipode to the *foedus pacificum* advancing toward cosmopolitanism. Nevertheless, in full awareness of this, Demenchonok believes that the current geopolitical situation should not obfuscate the broader historical picture, which is replete with the rise and fall of empires, and that the failure of the global hegemon's leadership that is causing widespread disorder requires changes and a constructive alternative. It is precisely the threat of the disastrous consequences of continuing hegemonism that gives a sense of imperativeness to these changes. He argues that, for a culturally diverse and globally interrelated world, cosmopolitanism remains the best model leading toward justice and

peace. But in the present situation, its conception needs rethinking, revision, and further theoretical development.

He, along with like-minded philosophers, is actively engaged in the development of a new cosmopolitanism, which, unlike classical cosmopolitanism, "is not only an attractive *ideal* but an emerging viable *project* offered to counter hegemonic policy, which would lead to the normalization of the international system and to the subsequent development of conditions for a gradual transition to a cosmopolitan world order."[65] He summarizes its characteristics as follows:

- It is self-reflexive regarding its philosophical and methodological assumptions;
- It is rooted or embedded in a specific history, culture, nation, or people, bridging both global and local;
- It is critical of the status quo and of hegemonic domination;
- It champions democratic principles and values within society and in international relations;
- It values dialogism as a normative principle for its own theorizing and as the best method to conduct intercultural and socio-political relationships, both domestic and international;
- It is transformative, committed to the mitigation of world problems, and represents an alternative to both the existing conflictual state-based international system and hegemonic integration.[66]

One of its main theoretical problems is to blend the universality of the cosmopolitan ideal with the cultural diversity of the world. The philosophy of cosmopolitanism emphasizes an identification with humanity as a whole and world-citizenship. For many, however, universalistic notions became associated with their Western-centricity and hegemonic abuse, especially because the hegemonic project pretends to universality. This has given rise to concerns about plurality and the protection of the cultural diversity of nations and minority groups.[67] Universalism faces the challenge of its understanding in relation to the pluralistic world, where the concept of "abstract universality" is opposed to contextual and "concrete universality." This is "the universalism of the other," which can be a participant of a worldwide "polylogue."[68] The concept of concrete universality is supported

by a pluralistic view of the world and of the different paths of human history, such as "multiple modernities."

Demenchonok refers to cosmopolitan theorists who, in contrast to an abstract universalism, argue that the principles of freedom and equality can be realized directly by the affected individuals and groups themselves. Values or principles can be invoked to support action for good or ill, for liberation or domination. Thus, they are vulnerable to being usurped by the powerful from above, as in the case of hegemonic universalism or "imperial cosmopolitanism," or they can be reappropriated for the benefit of the peoples from below. He examines the transition from a theory of universalism to a practice of universalization, as presented by James Ingram and Judith Butler, who developed an account of universalism as unfolding over time through the critique of false universals from the outside.[69]

Demenchonok highlights the distinctive characteristics of new cosmopolitanism such as being rooted, critical, democratic, dialogic, and transformative. In response to the concern regarding recognition of cultural diversity, new cosmopolitanism is *rooted* or grounded in a life-world, which arises from an awareness of one's location, nationality, and cultural heritage. Such cosmopolitanism is an attempt to integrate the similar and different aspects of cultures around the world.[70] Its ideal is to create a global community in harmony with local sensibilities. For Kwame Anthony Appiah, for example, to have roots or to be embedded in a specific history, nation, or people is perfectly compatible with also being a cosmopolitan citizen of the world, and one can feel deeply committed to the local while at the same time adhering to global identities and universal values. Rooted cosmopolitanism balances our "obligations to others" with "the value not just of human life but of particular human lives, which means taking an interest in the practices and beliefs that lend them significance," what Appiah calls "universality plus difference."[71]

The *critical* role of cosmopolitanism is self-criticality or self-reflexivity regarding its philosophical and methodological assumptions and in its critique of the status quo and hegemonic domination. Gerard Delanty asserts that "the idea of a critical cosmopolitanism is relevant to the renewal of critical theory in its traditional concern with the critique of social reality and the search for immanent transcendence, a concept that lies at the core of critical theory."[72] He has developed a conception of the cosmopolitan political community, of personhood, and a transformative conception of

belonging whereby the citizen is neither a passive entity nor a pre-political being but an active agent.

New cosmopolitanism critically deconstructs the Eurocentric and Western-centric versions of history, monologically presented from "one" perspective, and Walter Mignolo has developed the concept of "de-colonial cosmopolitanism" and the project of an increasingly transnational and postnational world as an alternative to imperial designs.[73]

The *democratic* dimension of cosmopolitanism asserts democratic principles and values within society and in international relations, and Demenchonok analyzes the works of philosophers and political scientists who have contributed to this theory.[74] He further examines its development by the representatives of radical cosmopolitanism who view it as being limited due to proposing reforms mostly within the institutions that are part of the existing system, which is oriented toward the preservation of the status quo rather than its transformation. They hold that meaningful changes will mainly come from outside of the existing institutions. For example, James Ingram has combined theories of political cosmopolitanism and radical democracy to develop a new conception of democratic cosmopolitics from below. According to him, democracy emerges not as an institutional design to be implemented but as a mode of political action and a principle of transformation: "Democracy, like cosmopolitan universalism, can then be understood as an infinitely repeatable claim against the limits, injustices, and usurpations of any given set of institutions."[75] He suggests "to regard existing 'fictive' universals as always potentially available for democratic rearticulation and existing institutions as potential sites of a democratic cosmopolitics from below."[76]

The key distinction of a new cosmopolitanism is its *dialogical* character, which presupposes cultural diversity harmonized through dialogical relationships, and Demenchonok provides an original contribution to the conception of dialogical cosmopolitanism based on Bakhtin's dialogical philosophy. He views dialogue not as mere conversation but in a broader sense as dialogical relationships, which are normatively expanded to the intersubjective, social, intercultural, and intercivilizational levels and obtain a cosmopolitan meaning.[77] He further explains the contrast between a leveling "monological" hegemonism and a dialogical cosmopolitanism:

In contrast to the homogenizing hegemonic "integration," cosmopolitanism enhances cultural diversity and encourages dialogical relationships among peoples with different cultural backgrounds, leading toward unity in diversity. Cosmopolitan universalism combines respect for diversity with dialogical relationships, including in [the] search for consensus and peaceful solutions to the problems. It views each individual as an end in itself. From this perspective, institutions and policies are justifiable only insofar as they serve the well-being of individuals as well as humanity generally.[78]

Dialogical cosmopolitanism includes the pluralistic view, the recognition of the social-cultural diversity of humanity and of different perspectives in views of histories and an ideal world order. It should give the voice to the "other," to the subaltern, which can be in "dialogue" as a participant of a worldwide conversation or a multivoiced "polylogue" regarding the past, present, and future of humanity.[79] Dialogical cosmopolitanism emerges from the various spatial and historical locations of the colonial and imperial difference. It should be oriented toward a combination of diversity and universality that Mignolo calls "diversality." Instead of a homogeneous hegemon-centered world, it is "a cosmopolitanism of multiple trajectories aiming at a trans-modern world based on pluriversality rather than on a new and good universal for all."[80]

The crucial characteristic of a new cosmopolitanism is its *transformative* orientation as an ideal that is guiding political practices toward the transformation of the social world. In Demenchonok's words, "Cosmopolitanism as political philosophy orients toward an ideal of a possible future world order as an alternative to both the existing conflicted state-centric international system and to hegemonic domination."[81] Being an ideal of a possible future and a project for the amelioration of the pluralistic world, dialogical and transformative cosmopolitanism is opposed to the monological dicta of hegemonic totalizing integration. Contrary to hegemonic globalization, cosmopolitan project embraces processes within cultures, the public consciousness, and political movements around the world that manifest cosmopolitan views and practices of social transformation that are alternatives to the status quo of hegemonism.

Demenchonok argues that the cosmopolitan project remains valid, but it should be viewed as a long-term goal and process. Upon dehegemonization, in a post-hegemonic polycentric world, the successful "normalization" and democratization of the international system will create the conditions for the next, long-term tasks of the democratic self-transformation of states, the maturation of their civic societies and self-government, and voluntary

strengthening their coordination and mutually beneficial collaboration in facing world problems. This positive development will clear the way for the process of cosmopolitan transformation and the transition from an international to a cosmopolitan order. In the meantime, the struggle for progressive changes will facilitate the advance of cosmopolitization.

Demenchonok views cosmopolitanism in perspective and as a transformative process. He indicates that the attempt of scholars to overcome a resilient "methodological nationalism" led to the growing interest in cosmopolitanism and to the emergence of the field of cosmopolitan sociology. Scholars are not limited by the idea of cosmopolitanism as a universalistic principle but are interested in the research of the sociological dynamics of the processes of cosmopolitization.

In this regard, for example, Demenchonok analyses Ulrich Beck's contribution to a new cosmopolitanism. Beck's attempt to square the circle of abstract universalism by emphasizing respect for the particularity of human diversity, led him to the reflexive and critical cosmopolitanism. He examines what he calls the contradictions between the hegemonic universalism of the Western world picture and a new cosmopolitanism from below. He calls his critical approach "methodological cosmopolitanism." Beck uses the term "reflexive cosmopolitization" and sketches an agenda for researching really existing cosmopolitisation. He states that "we do not live in an age of cosmopolitanism but in an age of cosmopolitisation."[82]

Demenchonok articulates the ideas of cosmopolitisation and of a cosmopolitanism to come. These ideas were also elaborated by Seyla Benhabib, who states that currently we live, not in an age of cosmopolitanism, but "in an age of cosmopolitization," in anticipation of its realization. She further explains: "The interlocking of democratic iteration struggles within a global civil society and the creation of solidarities beyond borders, including a universal right of hospitality that recognizes the other as a potential co-citizen, anticipate another cosmopolitanism—a cosmopolitanism to come."[83]

BROADENING THE HORIZON OF NEW COSMOPOLITANISM

Demenchonok pays special attention to the views of Jacques Derrida on cosmopolitanism and world citizenship within the context of his political philosophy. Derrida approaches the idea of cosmopolitanism from the point of view of the contemporary problems of refugees and of the aporias of liberal democracy. The anguished question of how to "live together" underpinned Derrida's writings on cosmopolitan law and hospitality in relation to refugees' migration. Unfortunately, European countries that participated in wars in the Middle East, resulting in a flow of refugees, are reluctant to help them: "Asylum-seekers knock successfully on each of the doors of the European Union states and end up being repelled at each one of them."[84] To this inhospitality, Derrida opposes an ideal of cities of refuge as a model for the transformation of societies worldwide, in approximation of a cosmopolitan ideal. He writes, "I also imagine the experience of cities of refuge as giving rise to a place (*lieu*) for reflection—for reflection on the questions of asylum and hospitality—and for a new order of law and democracy to come to be put to the test (*experimentation*)." He also refers to the Levinasian figure of the door at the threshold of the home, hospitably opened as a manner of relating oneself to the other: "Being on the threshold of these cities, of these new cities that would be something other than '*new* cities,' a certain idea of cosmopolitanism, *an other*, has not yet arrived, *perhaps*."[85]

Demenchonok also considers Derrida's critique of limitations of the classical cosmopolitan ideal and its rethinking, which is useful for the development of a new cosmopolitanism. Derrida writes about the old tradition of cosmopolitanism that goes back to Saint Paul, the Stoics, and Kant's idea of a cosmopolitical law, and he stresses the need to update it for contemporary society. In order to cultivate the spirit of cosmopolitan tradition, "we must also try to adjust the limits of this tradition to our own time by questioning the ways in which they have been defined and determined by the ontotheological, philosophical, and religious discourses in which this cosmopolitical ideal was formulated."[86]

Derrida laments that existing democracies "remain inadequate to the democratic demand" anywhere that human rights are violated and that many millions are "grossly deprived not only of bread and water but of equality or freedom."[87] He analyzes paradoxical sets of dualities or aporias of existing democracy—between freedom and equality, heterogeneity and homogeneity, self-determination and sharing, sovereignty and democracy—

and develops a transformative alternative conception of "democracy to come."

Demenchonok analyses Derrida's critique of the form of the nation state and the deconstruction of its concept as an aporia. On the one hand, the sovereignty of the nation state plays a positive role in providing citizens with protection against certain dangers (which is why refugees seek asylum and citizenship in foreign states). On the other hand, a state has negative effects by monopolizing violence, excluding or repressing noncitizens, enfranchising citizens' freedoms, and perverting techno-scientific advances into weapons of mass destruction. "Thus, Derrida warns that these negative characteristics could be reproduced in an idealized quasi-cosmopolitan 'world state,'" Demenchonok writes, fully concurring with this critique.[88] He refers to Kant's idea of a lawful world order based on a *foedus pacificum*, as opposed to a "world state" as a despotic "world monarchy," and shows that Kant was prophetic in his warning, as we can see the imperial designs of the military superpower to establish a hegemonic "world state" today. He also shows the relevance of Kantian ideas of the peaceful relationships of free states based on international right and eventually approximating a condition of "cosmopolitan right."

Demenchonok highlights the transformative potential of Derrida's conception of "democracy to come." He also considers Derrida's approach in distinguishing the immediate situation and long-term views of cosmopolitanism as realistic. Currently for the human rights protection Derrida calls "to extend the privilege of citizenship in the world: too many men and women are deprived of citizenship in so many ways."[89] At the same time, from an ideal long-term perspective, Derrida envisions that, in some distant future, the state "should, one day, no longer be the last word of the political" and will eventually undergo gradual transformations toward some forms of shared and limited sovereignty.[90]

Derrida suggests that we should think beyond nation states, citizenship, the state-centric international system, and the traditional cosmopolitical ideal. Demenchonok considers "beyond" as Derrida's signature word in his vision of a future world order.[91] This resonates with Demenchonok's own views. For Derrida, "democracy to come" goes beyond the limits of cosmopolitanism, understood as world citizenship: "it would be more in line with what lets singular beings (anyone) 'live together,' there where they are not yet defined by citizenship, that is, by their condition as lawful

'subjects' in a state or legitimate members of a nation state or even of a confederation or world state."[92] It would involve an alliance that goes beyond the "political," but does not lead to depoliticization. More generally, he suggests broadening the horizon of our views of cosmopolitanism: "Progress of cosmopolitanism, yes. We can celebrate it, as we do any access to citizenship, in this case, to world citizenship." He stresses that beyond the traditional cosmopolitical ideal, we should see "the coming of a universal alliance or solidarity that extends beyond the internationality of nation states and thus beyond citizenship."[93]

DIALOGICAL AND PRACTICE-CENTERED COSMOPOLITANISM

In 2015, Edward Demenchonok participated with Fred Dallmayr in the Rhodes World Forum Dialogue of Civilizations, and as a result they coedited a contributed volume titled *A World Beyond Global Disorder: The Courage to Hope*.[94] Philosophers from various countries contributed to this volume to discuss the current "global disorder," aggravated by hegemonic policy, and the possible solutions. The contributors expressed their own views, but the common thread of the volume is the critique of the negative consequences of homogenizing hegemonism and the need for an alternative that would provide the conditions for the independent development of nations with their diverse cultures as well as their peaceful coexistence and dialogical relationships between them. The perspectives of the future world order are envisioned as being in line with a cosmopolitan ideal.[95]

Dallmayr is also well known for his contributions to the development of a new cosmopolitanism over the last three decades. His intellectual path aimed at bridge-building and finding "complementarities" between critical theory (Frankfurt), phenomenology and hermeneutics (Freiburg/Heidelberg), and poststructuralism, and the comparison of Western traditions of thought with those of Asia.[96] In his writings, he pursued a certain affinity to a life-long project—"the paths of dialogue, hermeneutical understanding, comparative political theory, and cosmopolitanism."[97] Here, dialogue is bridged with cosmopolitanism as dialogical and practice-centered cosmopolitanism.

His views of cosmopolitanism are essentially akin to those of Demenchonok. Both argue for a recognition of cultural diversity and intercultural dialogue, and that a viable global ethics needs to be anchored in, or supplemented by, a global political praxis. Their main incentive is the endeavor of "recovering humanity's wholeness." As Demenchonok writes, "Dallmayr approaches issues from an eagle-eyed civilizational perspective in dialogue with both Western and Eastern philosophical traditions. . . . In collaboration with philosophers from India, China, Japan, Malaysia, Turkey, Iran, Egypt, Russia, and other countries, through conferences and publications, he promotes the idea that we need to work to restore and safeguard our world, thus preventing an apocalypse. . . . It is also important to revitalize intellectual and spiritual resources of humanity through intercultural and interreligious dialogue."[98] He continues: "Dallmayr's thought—beyond both a conflict-ridden state-centric system and hegemon-centric dystopia—strives for an ideal of a domination-free, cross-cultural, dialogical world order of peace and justice. He examines the conditions for progression in the direction of cosmopolitan order."[99]

Dallmayr defends dialogical cosmopolitanism from challenges that, for the most part, come from the side of political realism and empirical sociological methodology. In response, he highlights his own theoretical approach and methodology based on Gadamer's philosophical hermeneutics, stressing its dialogical character: "Gadamer developed his view of hermeneutics as an inquiry proceeding through dialogical engagement between self and other, reader and text, familiarity and unfamiliarity . . . Hermeneutical engagement requires a diligent openness to the world which, in the case of interhuman encounters, takes prominently the form of dialogue or of the interplay of 'question and response.'"[100] He indicates that "even the language of empirical science presupposes a hermeneutical understanding of its concepts" and that empirical social study and fact-finding also rely on interpretation and understanding. Instead of the "top-down" imposition of someone's preconceived opinion as an ultimate truth, hermeneutics presupposes interpretation and discussions to find meaning. He also indicates the relation of hermeneutics to practical ethics:

Although acknowledging the role of "pre-judgments," hermeneutics does not treat them as incorrigible but opens them up to correction through dialogical encounter. . . . It does not unilaterally impose meaning on the world, nor does it submit passively to an external "objectivity" (or absolute "otherness"); rather, meaning arises through dialogical solicitation. This solicitation is precisely at the heart of practical ethics (pretty much in the Aristotelian

sense). . . . Hermeneutics is a mode of "practical reasoning" in the sense that "dialogical understanding is oriented toward the question of the good, in dialogue with others."[101]

Both Demenchonok and Dallmayr are critical of liberal assumptions regarding proceduralism and individualism, as well as of "abstract universalism." In contrast, Dallmayr's hermeneutical interpretation comes not "from nowhere" but from a certain humanistic position or "pre-judgments" as the adherent of justice and peace. He clearly and consistently states his partisanship in favor of dialogical relationships, intercultural and intercivilizational dialogue, justice, and peace. His cross-cultural theory can be characterized in Richard Shapcott's words: "The dialogic model of comparative political theory and the practical dialogue of civilizations can be understood to involve a form of cosmopolitanism that involves an ongoing process of moving between potential universal values, such as equality, non-domination and freedom, and the particular locations, cultures, and cosmologies in which they are expressed and pursued." He calls it "dialogical cosmopolitanism."[102]

Dallmayr seeks to clarify the meanings of the term "cosmopolitanism" and distinguishes between three main interpretations: empirical, normative, and practical or interactive. In the first interpretation, this term refers to empirically observable economic and technical processes such as the global extension of markets and financial and communications networks, processes of border-crossing, and hybridization—"processes which are often accompanied by glaring ethical and psychological deficits."[103] This explanation has its affinity with "globalization," and, given the negative consequences of hegemonic globalization, it is clear that to call it "cosmopolitanism" is ideologically to misuse this term trying to put a good face on global hegemonic expansion. In commenting on a second interpretation, he refers to the normative level, that is, to cosmopolitanism as a moral "vision"—whether this is stressed as the Kantian demand for global justice or as the universal redemption of discursive validity claims—which implies a set of moral and legal norms or principles governing international politics. An example of this is "the Kantian tradition in thinking of cosmopolitanism as the emergence of norms that ought to govern relations among individuals in a global civil society."[104] However, Dallmayr notes the distinction between vision and practice and turns to a third interpretation of cosmopolitanism as a practical experience and mode of ethical conduct. He favors this interpretation, in which cosmopolitanism

refers to "the agenda of a global pedagogy fostering the cultivation of global civic 'virtues,' such as the virtues of openness, generosity, service and care."[105]

Dallmayr stresses the importance of the development of normative aspects of cosmopolitanism, of its vision of global order and justice, that "injects a badly needed moral or prescriptive dimension into an international arena ravished by rampant power politics." In facing the results of power politics—domination, violence, and injustice—"nothing appears more required in our world than a cosmopolitan order governed by rational and universal principles."[106] At the same time, he rightly points out the gap between the normative ideals and the existing reality, "a troubling remoteness of theoretical construction from lived practice." Presently, there is "no shortage of international norms and conventions—but their impact on the actual conduct of public decision-makers is minimal." The weakness of the normative theorizing about global principles and "metaprinciples"[107] is a certain "apriorism," an intellectual constructivism intent on "starting the global building with the roof."[108] There is a tension between norms and facts, or between global rules and local or regional contexts, but the constructivist theoretical analysis of this tension postulates the defining role of universal principles and primacy is granted to the "application" of global norms, while local or regional conditions appear mainly as obstacles thereto: "In the normativist construal, cultural contexts often tend to be treated as passive, even reluctant recipients of global rules rather than active contributors or resources."[109]

As a remedy, Dallmayr sees the need for a shift of intellectual horizons and the acknowledgment of "a certain primacy of practice (vis-à-vis theoretical principles)."[110] As examples of this, he mentions John Dewey's pragmatism and Gadamer's hermeneutics, which are marked by attentiveness to concretely situated experience and practice as an inquiry proceeding through interhuman dialogical encounters between self and other, reader and text, familiarity and unfamiliarity. Dallmayr emphasizes "the primacy of practice over cognition and, more specifically, the primacy of ethical conduct over the knowledge of normative rules and legal principles."[111] Dallmayr is talking about "practical cosmopolitanism," which is closely related to dialogue, and unites them in the notion of "dialogical or practice-centered cosmopolitanism."[112]

In discussions about the cosmopolitan project, Demenchonok underscores attempts to connect it with praxis. He highlights Dallmayr's view of cosmopolitanism as rooted, connecting the global and the local, or what used to be termed "glocal." Dialogical or practice-centered cosmopolitanism cannot sideline local contexts, and it needs to take seriously the necessarily situated character of concrete human actions and interactions because practice or conduct always occurs in a certain place and among a determinate group of people. For Dallmayr, cosmopolitanism requires learning and extending hospitality across borders. This learning, including cross-cultural or inter-civilizational learning, is a "bottom-up" enterprise. "Given that, in all these instances, pedagogy involves cross-cultural learning processes, practical cosmopolitanism in large measure relies on communication, mutual interpretation, and dialogue, and thus takes a stand against every form of unilateral or hegemonic monologue."[113] At the same time, Dallmayr explains that this emphasis on praxis and the local does not entail the underestimation of universalism or its collapse into the diversity of particular local customs but rather a rethinking of their relations.

Demenchonok reminds us of the well-known motto: "think globally, but act locally," and that in this, both parts are important. This approach is effectively employed by Dallmayr, who writes that "the 'cosmos' (of cosmopolitanism) can be found in small and recessed circumstances as much and perhaps more readily than in spatial bigness."[114] Moreover, according to his trans-cultural political theory, the idea of "a cosmic indwelling or of a cosmos inhabiting even small places" can be found not only in Western philosophy but also in Asian traditions of thought.

Dallmayr points out the deficiency of global moralism: its tendential neglect of politics. He argues that cosmopolitanism should combine moral and political dimensions and that a viable global or cosmopolitan ethics "needs to be anchored in, or supplemented by, a global political praxis."[115] The promotion of global justice—that is, the removal of misery and oppression—requires empowering the poor and the subaltern. He stresses that "nurturing morality—including cosmopolitan virtue—requires first of all an enabling and empowering strategy aimed at securing a measure of freedom and self-governance. 'Cultivating humanity' thus is a bifocal, moral-practical enterprise."[116]

Demenchonok notes that Dallmayr's dialogical and practice-centered cosmopolitanism is inherently transformative. As conditions for the practical implementation of cosmopolitan project, Dallmayr highlights "politico-theoretical responsibilities" and the need for social changes, including mutual learning between individuals and societies, which is the virtue of hermeneutical openness; the nurturing of a shared humanity and "genuine universalism" beyond abstract universalism or liberal proceduralism; and the cultivation of a "transformative democratic agency" inspired by Gandhian *satyagraha* and Deweyan pragmatism.[117]

Cosmopolitan reflections, Demenchonok believes, would be futile if the only reality to be taken into account is the present, ignoring the possibility of future horizons. The opening of such horizons requires not just a change of individual attitudes but "a change of the entire modern paradigm or frame of significance, that is, of our mode of 'being-in-the-world'," as Dallmayr suggests.[118] For him, this means opening up a whole new horizon, "something aspirational, where the future is adumbrated, like (say) the Sermon on the Mount, the 'promised land' or the teachings of the Bhagavad Gita of the Buddhist sutras."[119] Demenchonok notes that Dallmayr himself has contributed to the elaboration of this new horizon in his works on the need to mobilize the spiritual resources of different cultural traditions for the "humanization of humanity."[120]

Demenchonok asserts the role of intellectual-spiritual traditions as an important source for the amelioration of society and of peoples' hearts and minds: "Much inspiration for resisting disorder and for positive transformations can be derived from the great world religions and also from prominent philosophical and wisdom traditions around the world." He finds particularly important that Dallmayr's works invoke religious, spiritual and ethical resources for global renewal, for encouraging the disposition toward the common good: "He views the possibility of future horizons as a 'promise,' 'to come.'"[121] Spirituality is an antidote against the brainwashing, manipulation, and degeneration of people in the hegemonic neototalitarian system. Dallmayr insists that cosmopolis cannot be just humanly manufactured by calculative rationality and social engineering, and that arriving at the cosmopolis requires "spiritual guidance by pathfinders in the present desert."[122]

Dallmayr views history as a journey of humanity toward "cosmopolis"—a domination-free, dialogical world order of peace and

justice. The practical implementation of this ideal requires a profound transformation of society: to eliminate material disparities, domination, and violence, as well as to cultivate social ethics and co-responsibility through education:

> Hence, any move or journey in the direction of cosmopolis today can only occur in the mode of sustained dialogue, the mode of cross-cultural and inter-religious interaction . . . Going beyond the narrow confines of anthropocentrism, the journey has to make ample room for dialogue and listening, for the humanizing demands of education, ethics, and spiritual insight. Differently put: *homo faber* has to yield pride of place to *homo loquens, homo quaerens*, and *homo symbolicus*.[123]

CONCLUSION

In his intellectual journey, Edward Demenchonok was consistently striving for freedom, dialogical relationships, cultural diversity and intercultural dialogue, and the cosmopolitan ideals of justice and peace. He contributed to the development of dialogical philosophy based on the ideas of Bakhtin and other contemporary philosophers. He views dialogue as dialogical relationships and their manifestations at inter-subjective, social, intercultural, and intercivilizational levels. He envisions not only a dialogue of civilizations but also a new, dialogical civilization. "The conception of dialogical civilization provides a heuristically fruitful framework for approaching the issues of cultural diversity and collaborative coexistence in the interrelated world. The enhancement and cultivation of dialogue of cultures and the dialogue of spiritual traditions is crucial for the advancement to a dialogical civilization."[124]

Demenchonok strongly supports the recognition of cultural diversity and the rights of minorities and developing countries for the material conditions required for their unique cultures to be preserved and flourish. As an alternative to "culture wars," he argues for dialogue and develops philosophical justifications of the necessity for and the real possibility of dialogical relationships among people with different cultural backgrounds and identities, in tune with the theory of transculture and intercultural philosophy. In political philosophy, he explores the social-political conditions for the realization of dialogical relationships, which require the transformation of society and of international relations in order to approach a cosmopolitan world order.

Unfortunately, in today's world, dialogical relationships leave much to be desired, obstacles to which have been analyzed by Demenchonok. The end of the Cold War created an opportunity in the 1990s for a transformation of international relations, but it was torpedoed by the neoconservative "revolution," including the US policy of global hegemony. This required cosmopolitan ideas to be rethought and a new cosmopolitanism to be elaborated as an alternative to the global disorder and going beyond both a state-centric and a hegemon-centric world order. Demenchonok contributed to the development of the main dimensions of the new cosmopolitanism—rooted, critical, democratic, dialogical, and transformative—in dialogue with like-minded philosophers. New cosmopolitanism is not merely a moral ideal but also a political project and a process of cosmopolitization. It is imperative as it is a viable alternative to the continuation of neocolonial hegemonic integration and the "world state," which suppresses diversity and independent development.

Demenchonok views the current period as a "turning point" for human civilization.[125] He argues that the cosmopolitan project is practicable, and its fulfillment will open possibilities for the amelioration of society and international relations, and thus for hopes for a brighter future for humanity. He writes:

> The cosmopolitan project envisions the progressive transformation of the international system through its liberation from hegemonic "capture" and consequently through strengthening international law and institutions, regaining their roles in securing the rule of law and greater equality, which would create conditions for the peaceful and collaborative relationships of the nations for the solution to the social and global problems.[126]

Consequently, this will provide favorable conditions for the further transformation of the international system toward greater democratization, strengthening transnational relationships, and the implementation of human rights, global justice, and peace—the very direction epitomized by the cosmopolitan ideal. The cosmopolitan project considers "the process of dehegemonization and the democratic self-transformation of societies and international relations as steps on the long-range path of transition from an international to a cosmopolitan order."[127]

In contrast to deterministic historicism, Demenchonok holds that the changes are not predetermined, and the implementation of the cosmopolitan project depends "mainly on the choices and actions of the political actors, individually and collectively."[128] His works convey the hope that the

powerful ideas of dialogue, solidarity, and the cosmopolitan transformation will become the guiding force for political agencies—national and transnational social movements, leaders, and engaged individuals—in the struggle for justice and peace.

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17

The Realities of the War System and the Ideal of Global Justice

The Role of Public Discourse and the Vision of Cosmopolitanism

William C. Gay

For the last four decades I have been publishing regularly on issues concerning the dangers of nuclear weapons and war, the pursuit of nonviolence and social justice, and impact of linguistic violence and linguistic nonviolence. During much of this time, I also have worked with philosophers in Moscow on these issues and others surrounding globalization and the new discipline of Global Studies. Through these interests, I became acquainted with and have followed the work of Edward Demenchonok. This essay contributes to topics that he and I have sought to advance. I will examine some of the obstacles to the advancement of global justice and some appropriate responses. At the outset, I will address the problem of war and the special threat posed by nuclear weapons. Since war and nuclear weapons are very closely connected with nation states and globalization, I will also address key views on their future. Then, I will present the role that language plays in relation to these issues. In this regard, I will note how linguistic violence supports global injustice and how linguistic nonviolence contributes to nonviolent efforts to advance global

justice. Finally, I will support the version of new cosmopolitanism advanced by Edward Demenchonok and suggest the value of the Earth Charter in advancing it.

Part of the process of ending war, genocides, and other types of "ethnic cleansing" involves not only support for the International Declaration of Human Rights, but also the International Declaration of Linguistic Rights and the Earth Charter. Nation states, besides maintaining the capacity to wage war, often impose linguistic imperialism—even linguistic genocide—within and beyond their territorial boundaries. Regardless of the limitations of the language of particularity and dangers of linguistic imperialism, social groups need to be able to name themselves and describe their world in ways that overcome linguistic violence against them. At the same time, not only nation states but also social groups within them need to avoid practices of linguistic violence directed against individuals and social groups. Not surprisingly, the language used to justify war and the oppression of various social groups often relies on linguistic violence, while the language used to advance peace and social justice relies on linguistic nonviolence.

Nation states, which are responsible for developing and entrenching the military-industrial-complex (MIC), likely will need to play a major role in a substantial reduction in war and, potentially, its elimination. Nation states have already embraced to one degree or another international organizations, such as the United Nations, and numerous laws regulating international affairs. While some philosophers, such as Bertrand Russell, came to support world government as the most likely means to prevent nuclear war, such a consolidation of the power of nation states is not necessary for ending war and may be neither feasible in relation to having nation states surrender control over their capacity to wage war nor desirable in relation to protecting human rights and advancing global justice. As an alternative and as feasible even within the system of nation states, John Dewey stressed the important role of nation states in realizing his often-neglected advocacy for the "outlawry of war." Other models include the recent emergence and interdisciplinary spread of "nonkilling philosophy." However, in the final analysis, a more comprehensive model is needed. For this reason, as I noted at the outset, I will end with my support for dialogical and transformational cosmopolitanism.

THE PROBLEM OF WAR AND THE SPECIAL THREAT POSED BY NUCLEAR WEAPONS

Philosophy After Hiroshima (2010), edited by Edward Demenchonok, provides a collection of philosophical essays that address ethical issues relating to war in general and nuclear weapons in particular.[1] In my essay in that volume, I stress how, from the initial use of atomic weapons through the development of the hydrogen bomb, philosophical luminaries—like Camus, Russell, and Dewey—criticized the immorality of these weapons and the war system that spawned, stockpiled, and then threatened the use of them.[2] I have also examined the steadfast role that philosophers have played, particularly through the book series of Concerned Philosophers for Peace, in responding to the continuing threat posed by nuclear weapons and war specifically and by reliance on violence generally.[3] My position is that an adequate theory of justice should be global and should seek the elimination of war. Although ending war will not necessarily establish justice, as long as war continues injustice will continue; so, a theory of justice that is global in scope needs to address the problem of war. Also, the integrity of a theory of justice is suspect if it fails to address the status of and relations among persons living outside a limited framework within which a particular conception of justice is being pursued, and such limited frameworks include nation states. For these reasons and in order to move beyond nation states and their inherent hegemony, some form of new cosmopolitanism is needed.

So much has been written about the problem of war and the threat posed by nuclear weapons that I can be brief. A very accessible and comprehensive book on the topic is Ronald Glossop's *Confronting War*.[4] He provides a conceptual and historical framework on war, addresses how supposed "causes" of war do not make war unavoidable, and examines various proposals for ending war. In relation to the threat posed by nuclear weapons, Michael Pearson and I provide a detailed survey of the literature on the development of nuclear weapons and the consequences of nuclear war, the theories of deterrence and war fighting that are used to support possession of nuclear weapons, and the prospects for futures that retain or eliminate nuclear weapons or that eliminate war. A deeper understanding of the effectiveness and successes of nonviolent strategies can be found in works by Peter Ackerman and Jack Duvall and by Erica Chenoweth and

Maria Stephan.[5] Within philosophy, in addition to Demenchonok's *Philosophy After Hiroshima*, many responses by philosophers, especially to terrorism, can be found in Gail Presbey's *Philosophical Perspectives on the War on Terrorism*.[6]

Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMD) include nuclear, chemical, and biological weapons; each has been employed in war, with nuclear weapons being the most lethal and the most costly.[7] Atomic bombs were first used by the United States in World War II and were targeted against civilians. The Soviet Union tested its first atomic or fission weapon in 1949, and the United States tested the first hydrogen or fusion bomb in 1952. At the height of the Cold War the United States and the Soviet Union each possessed about 10,000 strategic nuclear weapons with blast yields on the order of 150 kilotons to over a megaton and many times more tactical nuclear weapons with blast yields of roughly 0.1 kiloton to 15 kilotons. Both countries can deliver strategic nuclear weapons by aircraft, from land based intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBMs), and by submarine launched ballistic missiles (SLBMs), and, beyond the international deployment of tactical nuclear weapons, many conventional forces that are deployed in various countries are "dual capable," meaning they can fire conventional or nuclear shells. Throughout the Cold War, the United States retained an option of first use of tactical nuclear weapons with the aim to deter Warsaw Pact invasion of Western Europe. Of course, escalation to higher levels of tactical use or even full-scale nuclear war could not be precluded. The development of such vast nuclear arsenals and the threat they posed made possible the doctrine of Mutual Assured Destruction (MAD), often also termed the "balance of terror." By unleashing its strategic nuclear arsenal, in only a few hours, either nation could obliterate 100 to 200 cities and kill 50 to 100 million civilians—or even more. Also, either side, even after being so devastated by the other, could launch a retaliative second strike that would inflict equivalent destruction on the nation that launched a full-scale first strike. The end of the Cold War, however, did little in itself to end the terror of nuclear weapons. In fact, the "balance of terror" may have fostered nuclear self-deterrence by the United States and the Soviet Union. Furthermore, since the end of the Cold War the possibility of nuclear war continues, partly spurred by on-going proliferation that follows from the coupling of the maintenance of national sovereignty with the capacity to wage war.

The United Nations and many countries have called for bans against such weapons; some even term them genocidal. Several significant treaties have also been ratified that ban the use or even the production and stockpiling of various weapons of mass destruction. Nevertheless, despite these efforts at least nine countries now possess nuclear weapons: the United States, Russia, Great Britain, France, China, Israel, India, Pakistan, and, recently, North Korea. (South Africa had some nuclear weapons during the period of apartheid but dismantled them before Nelson Mandela became president.) Several more countries and terrorist groups have tried to develop or obtain nuclear weapons, including Iraq, Libya, Iran, and Al-Qaeda. Still, no further use of nuclear devices has occurred since the U.S. atomic bombings of Japan.

On the one hand, at both formal and informal levels, some significant steps toward reducing the threats posed by WMD have been achieved. Early successes include the Partial Test Ban Treaty (to stop the aboveground testing of nuclear weapons) and the Geneva Protocol (to ban use of chemical weapons in war). On the other hand, the low cost and easy production of chemical weapons and biological weapons means that while agreement among superpowers may be necessary, it will not be sufficient. Unless militarily weak and economically impoverished states and subnational groups feel they have a voice in international decision making, the prospect for escalating use of WMD will continue to haunt us. The best prospect for protection involves the eradication of WMD and related weapons systems. However, since human beings know how to produce these weapons, eliminating them does not prevent their reintroduction. The materials needed for their production and delivery, and the knowledge of how to produce them, remain. As Jonathan Schell realized, ontologically we live in a world in which such weapons are physically possible and epistemologically we live in a world that has a species with the intellectual capability needed for developing such weapons.[8] For this reason, the moral issues relating to our knowledge and action require crucial examination and action.

Fundamentally, weapons of mass destruction are instruments of terror. Moral philosophers, such as Robert Holmes, have noted that both subnational groups and governments can resort to the use of weapons of terror.[9] Perhaps, the time has come to realize that violence, terrorism, and

war need to be condemned, regardless of whether we term the instruments of violence, terrorism, and war as weapons of mass destruction.

A further formidable challenge is posed by the connection of the war system with the "military industrial complex" (MIC) that was first addressed publicly by Dwight Eisenhower his 1961 "Farewell Address" at the end of his second term as U.S. President.[10] (To the MIC formula many additional terms are sometimes added, like - congressional, - educational, and - media.) War and preparation for war have been around a lot longer than the military-industrial complex, but now efforts to end war or to reduce reliance on preparation for war cannot make much progress without confronting the military-industrial complex. To do so also requires confronting capitalism, though the military-industrial complex is present as well in non-capitalist economies. However, under the conditions of globalization the solidification of the reign of capitalism has largely been completed. On the economic side, Seymour Melman in the 1970s coined the terms "pentagon capitalism" and "permanent war economy" to express how war had become the dominating business nationally and internationally.[11] Nevertheless, despite its entrenchment, the military-industrial complex is a social, political, and economic institution. Like all institutions, it is historical and is subject to change over time. Advocates of pacifism and nonviolence can agree on the goal of ending war and militarism and, as an alternative, agree on the aim of employing nonviolent methods of response to conflict in the pursuit of positive peace.[12] Nevertheless, in relation to the grip of the MIC under globalized capitalism, much of what can be done likely will be rather partial, unless somehow the making of profit can be excluded from the pursuit of military security.

Throughout the nuclear arms race moral assessments of militarism and the MIC have been made. Recent religious responses stretch from Martin Luther King, Jr.'s discussion of the "Giant Triplets" of racism, extreme materialism, and violence to Pope Francis's stress on how capitalism sanctions war and violence because they make more money than peace. Increasingly, awareness has grown that, even apart from actual war, the MIC cannot be separated from its negative impacts on the environment.[13] Within peace studies stress is often placed on the successes of nonviolent methods, especially those associated with Mahatma Gandhi. One advantage —beyond obvious moral ones—of nonviolent models of national security is that they are not capital intensive. Instead, they are labor intensive and rely

on training large portions of the population in nonviolent resistance. Since capitalism relies on industry, which is capital intensive, nonviolent models of national security could undercut much of the cost of the MIC, though they also shift responsibility for defense from a relatively small professional army and its supports to a very large portion of the citizenry. Within philosophy, further perspective and tactics can be drawn from William James's "The Moral Equivalent of War," John Dewey's involvement in the "Outlawry of War" movement, and, more recently, efforts by the professional association Concerned Philosophers for Peace.[14]

Logically speaking, the MIC is neither necessary nor unalterable. Leaving aside the fact that nation states are a product of modernity and are themselves historical, the argument for the need for a strong military has been challenged on its own terms. A strong military is not the only means (and perhaps neither the most effective nor most ethical means) for attaining national security. Moreover, even if a strong military is an effective means for attaining national security, it does not require militarism and the military-industrial complex. Less provocative and less costly military postures are feasible and could have comparable, if not greater, effectiveness. The money spent, profit gained, resources consumed, lives destroyed, and environmental degradation are each threats to security that need to be exposed and criticized—and these threats can be reduced, if not eliminated, by changed policies and practices that break the grip of private, for-profit contractors. Governmental desire to enhance the military led to reliance on industry and the rise of the MIC. Then, industry desire to increase profit led to pursuit of lucrative contracts with government. The influence of industry on military policy led to the MIC being transformed from an arguably efficient means to a clearly self-perpetuating end.

THE FUTURE OF NATION STATES AND GLOBALIZATION

The economic resources and technological innovations of nation states have exacerbated the number, types, and destructiveness of weapons and war, but many political leaders and citizens subscribe to the myth that couples the maintenance of national sovereignty with the capacity to wage war. From this perspective, the idea of a nonviolent model of national and global

security is naïve, unworkable, and even dangerous. Still, over the last few decades an increasing number of scholars, myself included, have assessed not only the future of the nation state but also the effectiveness of alternatives to the use of force for resolving conflicts.[15]

From a more traditional perspective, Francis Fukuyama created a stir with his proposition that, from a geopolitical perspective, history has come to an end.[16] According to Fukuyama, the process of nation building was completed with the establishment of democratic societies on a global scale. Samuel Huntington reached a similar conclusion in his assessment of the last few decades, which he terms the "Third Wave" of democracy.[17] Such claims have not gone unchallenged. For example, Max Singer and Aaron Wildavsky, while generally sharing the same conclusion as Fukuyama that democratic societies will prevail, project that this "end" is at least a century or two away. They concede that for at least several more generations the majority of nations and peoples will continue to suffer from "violence, injustice, poverty, and disorder," but they insist that the basic transition has occurred to systems that will increasingly make the world "peaceful, democratic, and wealthy by historical standards."[18] While democratic states are not devoid of shortcomings, various writers, including John Rawls, are fond of pointing out that democratic states purportedly do not go to war against one another.[19] Beyond these positions, some other scholars altogether question whether nation states have a future. Jean-Marie Guéhenno contends the nation state is coming to an end.[20] Robert Kaplan even suggests anarchy may be the outcome.[21] At the opposite extreme still others believe some form of world government or humane government is within reach.[22]

Advocates of the approaches I have sketched generally do not go into detail about the extent to which global justice can be advanced within or after the system of nation states. Nevertheless, an end to war could be pursued under almost any of the proposals for future global political organization that I have noted. Projects to end war deserve special attention not only because they are possible and may give us a means of achieving a necessary condition of global justice but also because they afford us with a goal that can be shared across the political spectrum. To forge a shared global value of seeking to settle conflict without resorting to large-scale violence would in itself be an important achievement in the history of the

pursuit of justice, especially since such projects may well require some form of cosmopolitanism.

What unit of political organization will next occur? Whether it will be a continuation of the modern state or whether it will be a post-modern state or whether it will require a withering of or alternative to the state remains open to question. Even by the close of the nineteenth century, continuing with modern nation states had been shown to be problematic, and awareness of their limitations grew ever more acute with the devastating wars of the twentieth century. But the system of nation states is still with us. Now, during the early decades of the twenty-first century, questions are still being asked and alternatives are still being proposed. Regardless, future political units, whatever their forms, can exist without war. With less fear and trepidation, but instead with more determination and expectation, political units can openly and passionately engage in debate on and implementation of further components of justice for all.

Beyond debate about the nature of and future for nation states is the critical issue of globalization. During the Cold War, geo-politics pursued globalization under a bi-polar model. The United States and the Soviet Union managed to avoid nuclear war, but citizens lived under a dreadful "balance of terror," and each made it difficult for the other advancing global justice. Some thought the end of a bi-polar global system would foster moving from East-West conflict to North-South cooperation. Instead, the post-Cold War Era largely ushered in uni-polar U.S. economic, political, and military hegemony. During the Cold War, the Soviet Union and the United States operated under conditions of self-deterrence, namely, each kept the other from extreme actions. In a uni-polar world, checks on U.S. unilateral international actions are absent. Neither bi-polar nor uni-polar models promote global justice. I am in agreement with others, such as Tatiana Alekseeva, one of Russia's leading political theorists, who saw right away that a mono-polar global system posed real dangers.[23]

In an increasingly globalized world, for however long and in whatever forms nation states persist, they need to find ways to listen to one another and to forge a multi-polar global system of real security and genuine democracy. To do so likely requires central aspects of cosmopolitanism, such as hospitality. In relation to this aim, the position taken on globalization becomes important. Unfortunately, the terms "globalization" and "antiglobalization" are used in such a variety of ways that an effort at

understanding and assessing these processes is difficult. For example, some who call themselves globalists and some who call themselves antiglobalists view environmentalism and democracy positively. Likewise, some who call themselves globalists and some who call themselves antiglobalists view capitalism and militarism negatively. Also, some globalists and some antiglobalists view globalism as continuous with modernity, while other globalists and antiglobalists regard it as breaking from modernity.

Even though the ideological field is complex, the increased use of a variety of terms connected with globalism can be identified historically. Basically, discussion of issues related to globalism has been explicit for over fifty years. Since the 1960s concepts of ecology, ecological crises, global problems of modernity, globalization, antiglobalization, and so forth have been widely used in scientific and political discourse. These discussions make clear that globalism concerns far more than merely how capitalism has impacted the entire planet economically. The global reach of capitalism is also closely connected to concerns about the environment and human rights. Various writers, including myself, have argued that to deal with the MIC and its threats to the environment and human rights, a model of economic democracy provides a means to restrain the environmental dangers and human rights abuses of current global capitalism.[24]

For the purposes of advancing global justice, I will note four common views on globalization: 1) supporters of globalism who also generally present it as being or as capable of being humane, 2) critics of globalism who, whether they call themselves antiglobalists, generally favor a grassroots process working from below rather than the elitist globalism that has been imposed from above, 3) scholars who, regardless of whether they support globalism, concede that the future of globalism is indeterminate, and 4) scholars who, regardless of whether they support globalism, advocate a specific traditional disciplinary as the needed approach for understanding and assessing globalism. As an alternative to these positions, I will turn to the rise of Global Studies and its contribution to such issues, as well as to the role of the new cosmopolitanism.

GLOBAL STUDIES AND PHILOSOPHY

The field of Global Studies is one closely connected with philosophy, though more outside than inside the United States. Historically, the consideration of Global Studies has gone through three stages. First, during the 1960s the world scholarly community began to study seriously the consequences of globalization. Second, during the 1970s and 1980s, as a result of the Cold War, Global Studies was advanced separately in the West and in the Soviet Union. Third, since the emergence of the Russian Federation, a more integrated field of Global Studies has emerged. I have been involved with this effort, especially in my role as one of the editors of the first integrative and interdisciplinary international encyclopedia of Global Studies.[25]

I have taken the position that whether our future is bright or bleak will not be determined solely by whether we augment or diminish the processes of globalization. The point is that the complexity of the issues demands a highly interdisciplinary approach and values oriented toward sustaining the planetary eco-system and respecting the rights of human beings within it. This position is also echoed in the Earth Charter and within most versions of cosmopolitanism. Regardless, whatever the approach, documenting the damages of human activities on the environment and on human beings themselves and analyzing and extrapolating trends are complex interdisciplinary tasks that need to be open ended yet value centered. Global Studies does not settle the political debates, but it does provide a post-Cold War perspective in which past East-West and continuing North-South differences can be set aside in the face of our global challenge to protect our precious human rights and the delicate ecosystem upon which the continuation of all life on this planet depends.

Within my work in Global Studies and in Philosophy, I seek to show connections between militarism and threats to biological and cultural diversity and, at the same time, to propose an alliance among advocates of pacifism, multiculturalism, and environmentalism. Some multiculturalists and environmentalists are already joining forces because of their recognition that threats to cultural and biological diversity are interconnected. A related point is also made in the recent emergence of inter-sectonality.[26] From this perspective, an increasing number of scholars see that militarism threatens both biological and cultural diversity.[27] In relation to harming the ecosystem, military activity impacts the environment in the production of military equipment and weapons, in the

deployment and testing of military systems, in the use of military force, and in the storage and reprocessing of military waste. Whether these systems and activities are conventional, chemical, biological, or nuclear, they contribute to environmental degradation. From a utilitarian perspective, if ecological damage exceeds the contribution to security of a military system, the morality of reliance on such a system is in question. Beyond killing people, military programs also strain multiculturalism by undercutting global socio-economic development.

Only a limited supply of labor power is available for research and production in society, and many natural resources are non-renewable. Diversion of these resources to military activity indirectly reduces what is available to pursue other human interests. Johan Galtung notes that the goals of peace, multiculturalism, and environmentalism are jeopardized by practices within the triad he designates as the "environment-development-military systems triangle."[28] Galtung suggests we need a concept of security that encompasses military, developmental, and environmental systems. He rejects the view that the environment has nothing to do with security. As a partial counter, he lists some of the linkages. For example, wars, which are often fought over resources, also undermine biological and cultural diversity and can lead to further wars over even more scarce resources. Positive peace for a nation (and even more for the planet) aids biological and cultural diversity and, potentially, releases more funds for development. Just as advocates of peace need to support multiculturalism and environmentalism, even so advocates of biological and cultural diversity can come to a similar critique of the military-industrial complex. Global Studies, buttressed by at least moral cosmopolitanism, provides a context for such multidisciplinary solidarity and for providing feasible models for global justice.

NEGATIVE AND POSITIVE IMPACTS OF LANGUAGE IN ADVANCING GLOBAL JUSTICE

I have already noted the value of the Universal Declaration of Linguistic Rights that was presented to UNESCO in 1996. While its formal approval and many more concrete steps are still needed, individual and collective actions can be undertaken to expose and eliminate current political

discourse that functions to justify global injustice and, in a constructive response, forge and utilize a discourse for advancing global justice. I will address both one major linguistic obstacle, namely, the language of particularity, and one major linguistic pathway, namely, the cosmopolitan ideal of humanity, and I will note their connections, respectively, to linguistic violence and linguistic nonviolence.

Since the publication in 1915 of Ferdinand de Saussure's *Course in General Linguistics* and through the late twentieth century works of Pierre Bourdieu, linguists have stressed that we always speak and write in a language filled with arbitrary designations of particularity, dated by the power relations that are currently dominant.[29] Given this embedded nature of all languages and individual speech acts, the quest for a discourse not structured by these biases might seem quixotic. However, because of the linguistic innovations and linguistic creativity of speakers demonstrated by philosophers such as Maurice Merleau-Ponty and Paul Ricoeur, I have argued that a discourse can be forged which places a priority on identification with humanity.[30] This discourse does not dismiss, though it does temper, expression of the particularities of our lives that are reflected in the terms in and structure of the language of particularity. Nevertheless, even when some degree of linguistic voluntarism is granted, the preponderance of the language of particularity remains. Many writers, in fact, celebrate (and often appropriately so) such particularity, specifically that which a social group chooses for its own self-description.[31]

At the same time the language of particularity also is too often used to efface the "other." I have addressed this dimension of the language of particularity in my work on linguistic violence.[32] Languages operate with binary oppositions that structurally support oppressive designations for various social groups. As an alternative, I have called for the practice of linguistic nonviolence. I have suggested that the practice of linguistic nonviolence would require the development and use of an understood language of inclusion. I do not believe we can develop a discourse devoid of the language of particularity. Probably, we should not do so even if we could do so. Regardless, the most offensive uses of any language of particularity can and should be moderated, if not eliminated.

These concerns lead me to situate the *fact* of our embeddedness in the language of particularity in the relation to the cosmopolitan *ideal* of humanity. In other words, the ideal of an understood language of inclusion

can be the fulcrum for the transformation of everyday speech in ways that are less linguistically alienating and less linguistically violent. By referring to the ideal of a language of inclusion, I am expressing the value that primacy should be given to humanity in general over any particular human group. In making this claim, I am not making a call that is naively anthropocentric. Part of a proper language of inclusion affirms not only the life of the human species but also the interconnection and the dependence of all life on the entire ecosystem. However, to move toward such a discourse, we need to address the ways in which persons are organized into classes and specific social groups that are arbitrary but that systematically deny species possibilities to groups designated as inferior. Members of disenfranchised social groups are not unwilling to undertake species possibilities; they are not allowed to do so. We have clear examples of such discrimination in practices of colonialism, racism, sexism, and heterosexism. A variety of political theorists from Plato to Martha Naussbaum have developed capability arguments that show that arbitrary systems of classification based on such irrelevant factors as class, race, and gender in all their expressions are not what determine an individual's capabilities and, consequently, should not be used to preserve the privileges arbitrarily claimed and oppressively exercised by dominant groups.[33] We need to resolve the problems of partisanship, that is, the problems that arise when we give unwarranted privilege to functionally irrelevant characteristics that are a part of our particularity. If we are to give primacy to our species being, to the cosmopolitan ideal of humanity, we need to have a discourse that expresses this ideal. Hence, beyond the mere positing of the ideal, efforts need to be made to change our discourse in ways that go beyond the language of particularity.

Just as we distinguish negative peace (the mere absence of war) from positive peace (the presence of justice), we can distinguish a discourse that is merely politically correct (the absence of ethnocentric and class-centric discourse in the public sphere) from a discourse that arises from a culturally transformed base (the presence of a primacy of species being in society and language).[34] A politically correct discourse may be only formal and no more represent a real advance toward a discourse that expresses the ideal of humanity than many formal peace treaties that merely mark a lull between war without achieving an end to hostilities and animosities. Just as the view that war must be taken for granted is a myth, even so another long-standing

myth relates to the presumption that the language of particularity must be taken for granted and that we are locked into a language of intra-group rivalry. We need to forge new ways of speaking. We need to integrate into discourse cosmopolitan terms of peaceful and just social interaction.

In relation to alternative terminology, Lynn McNeil has observed how the art of cooking provides some terminology that can provide helpful metaphors for affirming diversity. Creative and appreciated cooks use a wide variety of spices to keep their dishes from being bland. Just as no perspective should be omitted from society, no ingredient should be left out of a recipe; the trick or talent is in avoiding putting in too little or too much. By using this terminology, McNeil is saying that social differences, like variations in the types and amounts of spices used in cooking, are not intrinsically a problem; we have variation in preferences for how spicy we like our food, as well as how social groups choose to dress, speak, and act.[35] Even when terms from a language of particularity are employed, they can be used as complements to, rather than substitutes for, terms from another language of particularity. As long as the cosmopolitan ideal of humanity and respect for diversity are given precedence, creative metaphors can be found for expressing differences without insisting on the superiority of some and the inferiority of others.

McNeil also provides examples from gardening. She suggests that the variety cultivated in gardens "might serve as effective illustrations with which to teach the values of community responsibility, diversity, and tolerance."[36] Increasingly, ecologists have come to recognize the importance of crop diversity.[37] The same could be said of society.[38] We may come to realize that the preservation of humanity requires respect for our diversity and the achievement of forms of community that celebrate this diversity rather than disdain it in word and in deed.[39] Given this awareness, the terminology of gardening, as opposed to agro-business, offers an especially rich linguistic field. The garden of humanity will best flourish when composed of multiple plots in which the diverse varieties of life co-mingle, benefit, and enrich each other.

Of course, the alternatives that I have sketched can be co-opted and, instead, can be used to express the hierarchical and often vicious terminology of the language of particularity. While I concede that we are unlikely to build a discourse exempt from the possibility of abuse, I stress that, even under such circumstances, some amelioration can always be

achieved. The quest for a discourse that expresses the cosmopolitan ideal of humanity is simultaneously a contribution to the practice of linguistic nonviolence and to the achievement of truly just societies. A discourse that aspires to express the ideal of humanity advances the prospects for attaining positive peace.

Patricia Friedrich's book *Language, Negotiation and Peace* is very useful for reflecting on the relation of language to the quest for peace.[40] She cites my work in making her point that changing terms that have negative meanings is insufficient if the underlying social structures that perpetuate inequality are not transformed as part of the effort to achieve positive peace and global justice. She also addresses the thesis of linguistic imperialism, specifically how the imposition of English introduces a new form of imperialism. While linguistic imperialism undercuts linguistic peace, Friedrich contends that we are still able to formulate and circulate alternative narratives that counteract the ill effects of the widespread use of English.[41]

In relation to this debate, my position is the following. Since linguistic volunteerism is possible, linguistic resistance is possible. Since conscious efforts to change language sometimes succeed, the thesis of linguistic determinism is not correct. Moreover, since efforts to practice linguistic resistance sometimes succeed, the thesis of linguistic imperialism needs to be qualified to admit that within an official language individuals can speak and write in ways that can challenge and transform not only these linguistic structures but also the social structures that it legitimates and supports.

Friedrich's views are similar to the position of bell hooks. In *Teaching to Transgress*, bell hooks cites Adrienne Rich's poem, "The Burning of Paper Instead of Children" and quotes her line "This is the oppressor's language yet I need it to talk to you."[42] Still, she adds, "It is difficult not to hear in standard English always the sound of slaughter and conquest."[43] Nevertheless, for resistance, we need the oppressor's language—we need English. As bell hooks says, "Learning English, learning to speak the alien tongue, was one way enslaved Africans began to reclaim their personal power within a context of domination."[44] Her point continues to be relevant under contemporary circumstances of linguistics imperialism and English linguicism. For bell hooks, we need to resist more than white supremacy; we also need to create spaces for "alternative cultural production and alternative epistemologies—different ways of thinking and knowing" in

order to create "a counter-hegemonic worldview." A language of linguistic nonviolence, of linguistic peace and linguistic justice, can reduce the manifestations of cultural violence found in linguistic violence and in linguistic imperialism and hegemony. Just as language has been used to justify cultural violence, language can be used to eliminate cultural violence.[45] The fault is not with language, but the responsibility is with us in how we speak and act.

Patricia Friedrich and Francisco Gomes de Matos argue that peace linguistics and other academic subfields that focus on peace can contribute to "the building of a nonkilling society."[46] Irene Comins Mingol and Sonia Paris Albert are philosophers in Spain who deal with peace from the nonkilling perspective. They contend that, depending on how it is regulated, conflict can be positive or negative. So, instead of seeking to end conflict, they aim for "peaceful alternatives that avoid the use of violence in the transformation of conflicts."[47] They affirm a need to move "beyond conflict resolution and conflict management to peaceful transformation" of conflict.[48] In this regard they support nonviolent methods for peaceful conflict. They reject the view that human beings are naturally violent. Instead, they assert that human beings have capacities for harmonious coexistence and reciprocal care in dealing with conflicts.[49] Linguistically, this effort involves moving from a language of war and linguistic violence to a language of peace and linguistic nonviolence.[50]

Like Friedrich, Mingol and Albert emphasize the positive. They cite peace researcher Francisco Muñoz who notes the cognitive dissonance of strongly desiring peace but primarily thinking about and publishing on violence, which he terms the "*violentology perspective*" and that Mingol and Albert say has the "perverse effect of . . . making it seem as though violence is more prevalent."[51] Mingol and Albert reiterate the thesis that "violence, killing and war are not inevitable" and that "human beings have a great capacity for peaceful coexistence and for dealing with conflict nonviolently." In their conclusion, they note how cultural violence "dulls our moral responsibility," while a nonkilling philosophy, first, should make visible and remove "the veil of cultural killing, with its discourses that marginalize, exclude and ultimately serve to legitimize structural and cultural killing," and, second, should "construct and reconstruct discourses that legitimize and promote nonkilling."[52]

We need to try to think, speak, and act in ways that reduce violence and advance peace.[53] We can speak and act nonviolently. We can take on the cause to stop the killing—not just at the local level but globally as well. A nonkilling philosophy when focused on efforts to eliminate linguistic violence and to advance the practice linguistic nonviolence could play a central role in efforts at reducing cultural violence and expanding social justice on a global scale.[54] In order to make the needed changes, we need to challenge our taken-for-granted assumptions. We need to take off the normative lenses of warism and violentism and put on ones of pacifism and nonviolentism. This paradigm switch facilitates a transforming power that allows us to take the next steps in seeking world peace and global justice. When we think in these ways, we can prepare ourselves to speak in these ways and eventually to act in these ways.

Often, however, we remain silent. As I have noted elsewhere, in many cases silence is violence.[55] To remain silent before the injustices around us is to be complicit with their perpetuation. So, even when we change our thinking, speaking out is not always easy and getting others to genuinely listen is even more difficult. Nevertheless, in breaking the silence, several levels of nonviolent discourse are open to us. I have noted elsewhere that at the level of justified or nonviolent talk, we can use diplomacy and other methods to address injustice and engage progressively in discussion, negotiation, and arbitration.[56] All of these forms of speaking can remain nonviolent and are types of peacework that advance social justice locally and globally.

Pacific discourse that is analogous to positive peace facilitates and reflects the move from a lull in the occurrence of violence to its negation. The establishment of a genuinely pacific discourse that is analogous to positive peace requires a transformation of cultures oriented to violence and war. It also requires a commitment to the active pursuit of domestic and global justice. Efforts to establish a practice of linguistic nonviolence that is analogous to positive peace are part of a larger struggle to reduce cultural violence. They advance the quest for societies in which human emancipation, dignity, and respect are not restricted on the basis of irrelevant factors like race, class, gender, or gender expression.

The practice of linguistic nonviolence facilitates the practice of nonviolent action. Knowing and saying that peace is possible is not enough. Paulo Freire talks about "untested feasibility."[57] We will not know whether

we can succeed if we do not try. Moreover, only making the effort when success seems assured sells us short. Our personal failure at achieving peace and justice or, at best, our limited partial success is not the measure. The goal is not individual. Many of the women suffragists who worked so hard to win for women the right to vote did not live to see its reality. The prospect that we will not see world peace in our lifetime only points to the importance of our keeping alive the passion and action that are needed in this quest of humanity. Pierre Bourdieu states, "One can act on the social world by acting on their knowledge of this world."[58] Heretical subversion works by exploiting "the possibility of changing the social world by changing the representation of this world."[59] Basically, speakers can shape an understanding of reality by articulating alternative descriptions of the world.

We can change our thinking, and many of us have. Out of this changed thinking comes the practice of linguistic nonviolence that facilitates the practice of nonviolent action. The goal of thinking, speaking, and acting in these ways is a more cosmopolitan world in which peace and justice prevail. Will the twenty-first century witness the escalation of violence, terrorism, and war and the use of weapons of mass destruction or will it usher in their renunciation? The choice is ours but casting our lot will not be easy. Whatever we choose will involve struggle and hardship; yet, hope remains that we can avoid the wholesale slaughter of millions or even billions of innocent lives through reckless reliance weapons of mass destruction, unconscionable practices of genocide, and unwillingness to commit on a global scale to a nonkilling philosophy.[60]

THE EARTH CHARTER AS A NORMATIVE FRAMEWORK FOR ADVANCING NEW COSMOPOLITANISM

The potential and often actual carnage of war continues to grow. In a study on the lethality of war, sociologist Roy Prosterman extrapolated that at its present rate war would destroy the entire human race within the next thousand years.[61] John Somerville concluded that such annihilation is already possible and coined the term "omnicide" for the potentiality of killing all sentient life in nuclear war.[62] For some scientists this concern

grew with the prediction that, following a large-scale nuclear exchange, a "nuclear winter" could threaten all life on the planet. While the prospect for such levels of destruction provides compelling reasons for avoiding any war with such prospects, I have argued that we do not need to be able to "burn all, kill all, destroy all" before we raise moral objections to war.[63] For this reason, while nuclear weapons remain our most grave concern, along with some chemical and biological weapons, war at much lower levels is still far too destructive from a moral point of view.[64] Ultimately, we need to stop the killing. In this regard, the recent "Nonkilling" perspective in political science and other fields, including philosophy and linguistics, offers a very powerful empirical and moral basis for working to end all forms of lethal violence against human beings and many other forms of life.[65] Our ecosystem has a fragile balance, and its preservation is a precondition for continuing the beauty of life that has graced this planet.

The Earth Charter, in only 2,400 words, provides a very useful normative framework for cosmopolitanism that is accessible to the general reader. Its contributions to cosmopolitan values are made clear in its sixteen main principles and sixty-one supporting principles.[66] Overall, the Earth Charter can be used to stimulate reflection and discussion on why individuals, organizations, and nations should adopt its values and suggestions. The Earth Charter offers principles that can sustain this planet and the life it supports, including particular measures needed to advance social justice among the peoples of the earth. More specifically, the Earth Charter is guided by four carefully crafted ethical principles: 1) respect and care for the community of life, 2) ecological integrity, 3) social and economic justice, and 4) Democracy, Nonviolence, Peace. The topic that has gotten greatest attention is how to manage sustainable development, while, at the same time, avoiding irreversible environmental harm resulting from economic and military activities. Also of importance for social justice are its affirmations of gender equality and universal access to education, health care, and economic opportunity, as well as the protection of freedom of expression and dissent, the prevention of cruelty to animals, and demilitarization of national security.

Unlike the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the Earth Charter has not been adopted by the United Nations. Still, as I have noted, the Earth Charter was endorsed by UNESCO and has been adopted by some countries and many organizations. Also, the Earth Charter Secretariat that is housed

at the University of Peace in Costa Rica advances its work. At the University of Peace and through on-line courses, many classes on the Earth Charter are made available to students from around the world. This education of young activists and future leaders also prompts political action from the local to the national scale around the world. So, the Earth Charter can provide an additional and important pedagogical tool for discussing and advancing nonviolence, peace, and social justice.

NATIONALISM AS AN OBSTACLE TO HOSPITALITY

In the preceding sections, I have mentioned various models for addressing the problem of war and the quest for global justice. Several times I have noted how these models point to cosmopolitanism. In this regard, Eddy Souffrant and Edward Demenchonok have provided several careful philosophical reflections on cosmopolitanism. In this concluding section, I will discuss one of the key essays of each of them. Their suggestions could be served by consideration of the normative model provided by the Earth Charter.

Eddy Souffrant argues that, before cosmopolitanism can be achieved, we must first address the violence that is deeply rooted in nationalism.[67] Within nationalism (as well as throughout society) violence is taken for granted and often assumed to be natural. As a response, a means is needed to introduce, expand, and establish the ideals of cosmopolitanism within the reality of national boundaries.[68] Once our connection with others is recognized to be organic rather than artificial, this communitarian view can promote peace and nonviolence. In this regard, Souffrant stresses the role that hospitality can play.

The cosmopolitan hospitality that he seeks is unlike the Kantian version that accepts the necessity of trade across borders in a manner that can exclude the stranger and the foreigner.[69] Foreigners are expected to "shed" their foreignness and "bend" to the demands of the state. In a similar manner, contemporary opposition to immigration is based on a type of nationalism that perceives the foreigner as a threat and "promotes a rejection of difference, of complexity, and of plurality."[70] Such nationalism "creates and nurtures otherness, since it needs 'the other' against which it asserts national identity."[71]

In contradistinction, Souffrant argues that persons are interconnected and need and benefit from interaction with one another both within and beyond national borders. So, for him, the threat is not the foreigner, but the type of "patriotism" on which the modern nation state is based. As a more cosmopolitan alternative to these views, he promotes the "right to have rights" of the foreigner who crosses national boundaries. As he puts it, "Rather than erecting walls, doors instead ought to be opened."[72] This orientation requires that we strive to be comfortable, even at home, with "difference in general." Such cosmopolitanism affirms as a fundamental value that persons should have "viability" wherever they are. Souffrant further argues that pacifists and advocates of nonviolence should embrace this form of cosmopolitanism. He concludes, "The globe is indeed all of ours, so all of us have a responsibility to make it habitable and welcoming to every member of the globe, whether they are crossing borders . . . or whether they are indeed staying put wherever they are." Hence, the challenge for cosmopolitanism is not just political but also ethical.[73]

DEMENCHONOK ABOUT THE NEED FOR A DIALOGICAL AND TRANSFORMATIVE COSMOPOLITANISM

Demenchonok stresses the need for a new, dialogical and transformative cosmopolitanism. He notes that "cosmopolitanism envisions a long-range democratic transformation of societies and international relations."[74] He assesses many of the theorists who have advanced such perspectives, including within the Critical Theory of Jürgen Habermas and many of the scholars who follow his lead. Demenchonok also notes the need to strengthen international law and institutions, such as the improved and independent United Nations. In this regard, I note the additional and highly beneficial step of supporting the Earth Charter, endorsed by UNESCO in 2000. The Earth Charter presents a long-term goal toward which persons committed to its ideal should aim.

The need for protracted action on several fronts is important, since, as Demenchonok concludes, "The perspective of a cosmopolitan order remains a positive alternative toward which we should strive. There is reason to strive, reason to hope, and we must continue the process. . . .

Neither the success nor the failure of cosmopolitan project is predetermined."[75] He is picking up on an important aspect of hope, namely, since the future is contingent, our action is relevant and decisive.. The cosmopolitan ideal is neither impossible nor inevitable. We should avoid the inaction that follows from failure to see the contingency of the goal.

Demenchonok is right that cosmopolitanism is an alternative to hegemonization.[76] The latter is characteristic of the mono-polar order under U.S. hegemony. Habermas and others have established that a hegemonic structure is not the solution to global problems. Our "interrelated world requires peaceful and collaborative relationships" among all nations.[77] Demenchonok goes on to say, "cosmopolitanism asserts that the transcendental task of the survival of humankind, and the rest of the biotic community, must have an unquestionable primacy in comparison to any particular interests of nations, social classes, and so forth. It also asserts an ethics of nonviolence and planetary co-responsibility."[78] This view is very close to the Earth Charter.

Demenchonok also examines the lesser known position of agonistic democracy and accepts its criticism of the assertion of "a triumphant West" and an "end of history." He also turns to Fred Dallmayr in particular for a view of non-hegemonic multipolarity that can serve as an alternative that fosters new cosmopolitanism.[79] Demenchonok goes on to say, "Progressive theorists see the possibilities of radical democratic transformation of societies and international relations in conjunction with cosmopolitan ideas" and "as a matter of fact, the cosmopolitan project of a peaceful, democratic, and domination-free pluralistic world is an antidote and alternative to the hegemon-centric design of militarized 'order,' dominating the other nations, and neo-totalitarianism in domestic politics."[80]

Also in line with the Earth Charter, Demenchonok goes on to say, "One of the lessons to be drawn from the analysis of the failure of the previous cosmopolitanism of the 1990s is that the changes it requires cannot be realized 'from above' by ruling elites, who are interested in the preservation of their power and privileges. . . . Thus, cosmopolitanism should provide the oppressed and the powerless with a strategy to overcome their exclusion and inequality."[81] Utilizing Balibar's concept of "equiliberty"—that rejects viewing liberty and equality as contradictory—Demenchonok states: "Equaliberty simultaneously rejects both subordination and domination, privileges and tyranny, hierarchy and inequality, the struggle against which

remains at the center of modern political movements. The notion of equaliberty is particularly salient for cosmopolitics, because it underscores the universalizing character of these politics."[82] As he put it, "new cosmopolitanism" has "a concept of concrete universality, which is supported by a pluralistic view of the world and of the different paths of human history."[83]

Of particular significance is his assertion that "A *transformative* orientation is the crucial characteristic of new cosmopolitanism—as an ideal which is guiding political practices toward the transformation of the social world."[84] Demenchonok also makes the crucial observation that "The central problem is how to imbue cosmopolitan moral thought with a legal and enforceable status for individuals as well as states and governments."[85] Finally and importantly, he stresses the role of intellectuals and adds incisively: "adherents of cosmopolitanism should play an active role in wakening the global consciousness and mobilizing social movements— national and international—for the defense of peace, freedom, justice, and democratic principles on a global scale and for the transformation of societies and of international relations. Cosmopolitan theorizing should elaborate the recommended course for the promotion of the cosmopolitan alternative to the hegemonic regression: the struggle for cosmopolitanism in the time of hegemony."[86]

My conclusion to this essay is that our rallying cry needs to be "End War and Stop the Killing!" We can and should move beyond not only the direct violence of war and killing but also the systems of structural and cultural violence that sustain them. A world in which war has been eradicated and global justice has been achieved is within our grasp; it is not just a pipe dream; it is a cosmopolitan ideal that can become a reality. *Practical models for eradicating the war system and achieving global justice are known; their implementation is our moral challenge*.

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18

In Praise of Edward Demenchonok

A Cosmopolitan Visionary

Richard Falk

Edward Demenchonok is an erudite advocate of cosmopolitan thought. His extensive writings are both responsive to humane values that are universally resonant as well as to the obstructive presence of entrenched political, economic, and cultural structures that fracture human identity and cloud perceptions of the bio-political crisis of our time. He is fully alert to the urgency of actualizing a worldview that can persuasively discredit lawless violence, militarism, and hegemony, and looks to philosophers, seers, and an assortment of thinkers from a variety of civilizational backgrounds in his search for illuminating truths with transformative potential. By analyzing and drawing from an astonishing range of such intellectual figures Edward Demenchonok composes a coherent vision of the way forward for human society. This chosen path is dialogic, rational, ideational, ethical, nonviolent, humanistic, ecologically enlightened, and radical. It contrasts with the various strands of historicist, positivist, and technocratic thought, and above all with the grand illusions and reprehensible practices of various forms of imperial geopolitics.

A COSMOPOLITAN VISIONARY FOR OUR TIME

Edward Demenchonok is among the philosophers who are concerned about the situation of individuals and humankind in facing world problems that affect all human beings and future generations. First of all, these are global problems, such as wars in a world threatened by the presence of nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction, poverty in underdeveloped countries, climate change, and pandemics. He identifies wars and militaristic geopolitics as the central problem, as these features of present world order obstruct the collaboration of nations in jointly working toward solutions to common global problems, the intensification of which threatens the future of humanity.

He points to the end of World War II as an important historical turning point, when the horrors of total war and of the Holocaust shocked the consciousness of humanity and urged humankind to transform the world order based on the principles of the United Nations Charter. But those hopes and opportunities for change were lost by the continuation of power politics, taking the potentially catastrophic form of the Cold War. Demenchonok concurs with those scholars who argue that there was no justification for the development of the atomic bombs and even less for their use against the predominantly civilian population of Hiroshima and Nagasaki three months after the capitulation of Germany when Japan was on the verge of surrender. These early critics of nuclearism concluded that U.S. President Harry Truman's decision to drop the atomic bomb was primarily an expression of power politics that was motivated by the geopolitical interests of an emerging superpower in possession of a powerful weapon that could be used as a political instrument and that its use was a demonstration of both capability and will, a warning to the Soviet Union and to the world.[1] Truman's decision marked the beginning of the Nuclear Age and the Cold War, even before its formal declaration, and humanity is still living beneath the shadow cast by that fateful act. Albert Camus, Jean-Paul Sartre, Bertrand Russell, and John Dewey are singled out by Demenchonok for not only condemning the atrocity of the act but also for revealing its deeply disturbing implications for the future that were so self-destructive as to imperil the survival of the human species.

Demenchonok takes serious account of what we should learn from Auschwitz and Nazism as well as from Hiroshima. He refers to the writings

of Theodor Adorno to underpin an argument that such barbaric behavior represents a failure of philosophy, which at its root reflects the refusal to heed the suffering of other human beings. Without the commitment of a scholar to challenge gratuitous forms of suffering or cruelty, barbarism eventually erupts, as in Nazi Germany, under conditions of societal stress. Demenchonok reminds us of Emmanuel Levinas' warning that instrumental reason of the sort that informs and empowers all aspects of modernity when coupled with the will and incentive to dominate produces "a type of knowledge which leads to the atomic bomb."[2] In pinpointing the locus of this evil-generating disposition of modernity, Demenchonok reminds us of the "dangerous gap between sophisticated high-tech power and inadequate ethics" and between "the worldwide effects of politico-economic activities and the level of global consciousness."[3]

For Demenchonok, meaningful reflection on creating a peaceful world is anchored in the work of Kant, especially *Perpetual Peace* and his related essay "Idea for a Universal History with a Cosmopolitan Aim." Kant counterposed to the existing violent "state of nature" a law-governed social organization based on a republican constitution, lawful external relations, and a cosmopolitan right. He rejected a "world republic," modeled after a state, for fear that the hegemony of a powerful global state would be like a despotic "universal monarchy" and a danger to human freedom. He affirmed the idea of a cosmopolitan right that would transform the political and international right into "a universal right of humanity," providing the conditions for lasting peace.[4] An important feature of Kant's thought that also informs Demenchonok's cosmopolitanism is an explicit repudiation of world government as the solution for the torments of hegemony and war. Demenchonok's way forward proceeds through an acceptance of the foundational insight of human rights affirming the human dignity of all persons, combined with a respectful attitude of tolerance toward differences of gender, culture, religion, race, and mode of development. Cosmopolitanism is about universality, not sameness, and its prophetic proponents mentioned in Demenchonok's writings, aside from Kant, include Leo Tolstoy, Mahatma Gandhi, and Martin Luther King, Jr.

The Cold War, generating a reckless nuclear arms race, pushed humankind to the precipice of nuclear self-destruction. As Demenchonok notes, many philosophers argued that nuclear war could bring about the end of the human species, and the "extinction" thesis or "omnicide" was

broadly discussed in numerous publications by John Somerville, Carl Sagan, Jonathan Schell, Douglas Lackey, Gregory Kavka, Steven Lee, Russell Hardin, William C. Gay, and Andrey D. Sakharov, among others.[5]

The emergence in the 1980s of "new political thinking" had elements of a cosmopolitan worldview in stressing the priority of universal human values over all others (ideological, class, national, state), peaceful coexistence, and constructive mutual cooperation. The rise of global consciousness, which resulted in movements for peace and democratization, as well as inducing the prudence of political leaders, led to an eventual end of the Cold War. Moreover, as Demenchonok emphasizes, the task was much broader and deeper—to remove the root cause of wars in a nuclear age and to proceed toward gradual denuclearization and demilitarization, and by stages over time achieve disarmament. These movements were underpinned by understanding the necessity of encouraging the construction of a pluralistic world order of peaceful, collaborative relationships among nations. The escalating global problems of the ecological crisis and economic underdevelopment also require such relationships as conditions conducive to desirable responses with regard to policy formation and political behavior.

After the end of the Cold War, there was another turning point that provided opportunities for the positive transformation of society and international relations with peaceful coexistence and collaboration in solving global problems, evolving toward a cosmopolitan world order. Demenchonok shows that, since the early 1990s, numerous philosophers and political theorists, including Karl-Otto Apel, Jürgen Habermas, Fred Dallmayr, Seyla Benhabib, Judith Butler, James Bohman, Daniele Archibugi, Ulrich Beck, David Held, Mary Kaldor, and myself have expressed innovative ideas about democratizing relationships among nations in a polycentric world and the possibility of actualizing cosmopolitan democracy. Demenchonok emphasizes the transformative meanings of cosmopolitanism in the quest to improve humanity's future prospects and describes the 1990s as "a time of a rebirth of the ideals of cosmopolitanism and striving toward their practical implementation" occasioning a tidal wave of stimulating publications and discussions. The predominant view was "*moral* cosmopolitanism, which asserts that every human being has a global stature as the ultimate unit of moral concern, is entitled to equal respect, and must be properly considered in practical

deliberations about any lawmaking and policymaking actions that may affect anyone's vital interests."[6] Cosmopolitanism was regarded by its proponents as a benevolent alternative to the war-prone Westphalian state-centric system. It envisioned a long-range democratic transformation of societies and international relations while proclaiming as its ultimate goal the freedom and equality of each human being as "citizens of the world."

However, the neoconservative "revolution" thwarted this transformative movement and steered US policy toward the pursuit of global hegemonic ambitions, unipolarity, and unilateralism. Furthermore, the global hegemonic project presents itself as the universalized ethnocentrism of the sole superpower, which amounts to a regressive alternative to cosmopolitanism. This claim has been criticized as "imperial cosmopolitanism,"[7] which is ethically and ideologically opposed by the concept of "de-colonial cosmopolitanism."[8]

The continuation of the existing trend of militarized hegemonism coupled with the intensification of global problems threatens the future of humanity, and it needs to be changed. It may seem counterfactual to talk about cosmopolitanism when facing the hegemonic superpower imposing its domination by using instruments of "soft" and "hard" power. However, for Demenchonok this is not discouraging, but rather supportive of the claimed pivotal role of cosmopolitanism in shaping the future of humankind. He does not believe that the current situation is the "end of history" and rather views the current phase of fear and flux within a broad philosophical-historical perspective. He shows that cosmopolitanism has deep roots in the philosophical tradition of thought and is more pertinent than ever. Indeed, he views cosmopolitanism not merely as a moral ideal but as a political *project*, and he shows that it is a preferable alternative to both the state-centered international system and the hegemon-centered "world state."

Demenchonok, together with like-minded philosophers, reevaluated the classical conception of cosmopolitanism and developed a "new cosmopolitanism" for a culturally diverse world as a political project that has distinctive characteristics, such as being dialogic, reflexive, rooted, critical, democratic, and transformative.[9] He refers to Jacques Derrida's idea that beyond the traditional cosmopolitical ideal, we should see "the coming of a universal alliance or solidarity that extends beyond the internationality of nation states and thus beyond citizenship."[10]

Demenchonok outlines the twofold task of a new cosmopolitanism: "In its critical role, cosmopolitan theorizing should clearly distinguish genuine cosmopolitan ideas from the hegemonic pseudo-democratic and pseudo-universal simulacra such as 'imperial' versions of cosmopolitanism. In a positive role, this theorizing should elaborate the progressive course for the promotion of the cosmopolitan alternative to the hegemonic regression: the struggle for cosmopolitanism in the time of hegemony."[11] This project is viewed as a process of cosmopolitanization and in perspective as a "cosmopolitanism to come." He also considers the necessary steps of the political transformations required to prepare the conditions for its implementation in a post-hegemonic and polycentric world: establishing the authority of international law and institutions like an improved and independent United Nations, collaborative relations when solving social and global problems, and a gradual transition from an international to a cosmopolitan order.

The richness of thought that Demenchonok offers his readers covers an astonishing range of contemporary deep thinkers, including Jacques Derrida, Hannah Arendt, Judith Butler, Fred Dallmayr, and others, each of whom lends authority to their distinctive cosmopolitan synthesis, which exemplifies listening to what others have to say, accompanied by a readiness for dialogue. In the process he also draws on the political theory of kindred liberal/progressive thinkers as Daniele Archibugi and David Held, especially for their attempts to extend democratic theory and practice beyond sovereign states. In seeking to globalize democracy, respect for a non-hegemonic conception of international law and the UN provides a normative and institutional architecture to underpin his hopes for humane global governance beyond existing structures and without enduring the tyrannical tendencies of world government.

By creatively drawing on these disparate sources of critical and restorative thought, Demenchonok offers a comprehensive vision of a transformed world order that embodies the wisdom of congenial philosophers together with the practical insights of ecologists and others. To imagine in the spirit of "possibilism" the emergence of "world citizens" who will make this impossible scenario actually happen, exhibits Demenchonok's extraordinary confidence in the "possibilization of reality" based on the belief that there exists an "excess of the possible over the

actual, the proliferation of possibilities rather than their reduction to the mode of actuality."[12]

One aspect of Demenchonok's vision that is less developed but integral to the unfolding of a cosmopolitan polity is that of "global solidarity" of a quality grounded in functional imperatives and reinforced by a culture of human rights. In the remainder of this essay, I will try to develop a conception of global solidarity that is congruent with Demenchonok's new cosmopolitanism. Such a preoccupation on my part with the relevance of global solidarity to the cosmopolitan quest is the current absence of "global community," without which the postulated political ethos of "world citizen" is drained of meaning. In my understanding, global community remains to-be-created and until that happens at some future time, citizenship may extend somewhat beyond state borders through transnationalism, but it will fall short of attempts to overcome the persisting primacy of geopolitics, which continues to rely on violence, hyper-nationalism, and militarist patterns to retain its bloody hegemonic grip on wellsprings of world order.

GLOBAL SOLIDARITY: TOWARD A POLITICS OF IMPOSSIBILITY

The Imprisoned Imagination

As the COVID-19 pandemic slowly subsides, it is not clear what lessons will be drawn by political leaders and publics around the world. Entrenched power, wealth, and conventional wisdom have demonstrated the overwhelming resilience of hegemonic forms of world order even while the virus continues to ravage many national societies. Despite some notable exceptions revealing extremes of solidarity or discrimination, efficient competence or irresponsible partisanship, this reversion to the status quo occurred at all levels of social organization from the village to the world and is especially salient at the level of the sovereign state, which continues to generate the most formidable resistance to the realization of a cosmopolitan alternative.

For the most part, rich and powerful governments used their leverage to corner the vaccine market, allowing a draconian market-driven logic to drive distribution that privileges intellectual property rights and technical

knowhow, leading to unacceptable disparities in vaccine access between the peoples of the North and those of the South. It has become a truism to observe that no country will be safe from the virus, or its variants, until the entire world is vaccinated, and even then we cannot be sure. Never had the self-interest of the species so vividly and concretely coincided with an ethos of global solidarity. And yet such an ethos did not materialize, and governments were not even embarrassed by their nationalist biases and market-driven priorities, and even their opportunistic resort to "vaccine diplomacy." Geopolitical actors maintained harsh sanctions against governing processes of some states, heedless to widespread suffering and international appeals, including from the WHO, for a humanitarian pause during the pandemic. We must search for explanations and correctives.

A people-first approach to the global health emergency would have transcended statist and profit-making priorities during all phases of COVID prevention and treatment and situated them within a global commons framework that gestured toward a cosmopolitan future. Such an approach might have dramatically heightened prospects for the social transformation at the heart of the Great Transition Initiative of the Tellus Institute and would at least have restored some confidence that the human species, at least in response to a planetary emergency, is capable of meeting the most acute challenges of the Anthropocene. Instead, the pandemic revealed the resounding strength of statist structures and private sector interests. It seems necessary to acknowledge this tragic interlude as but one more lost opportunity for the human species to awaken from its prolonged slumber before it is too late.

To some extent, the failure has been masked by the newfound pragmatism of some countries as the sense of a world health emergency appeared to recede and vaccine supplies exceeded national demands in richer countries. In a spirit of philanthropy rather than solidarity, shipments of the vaccine to countries in need were made, recipients often selected on the basis of short-term diplomatic advantage rather than humanitarian urgency. Perhaps charity toward those less fortunate can be considered a weak form of solidarity, even if filtered by political leaders motivated by selfish national interests.

More than ever, we must face the question: can the peoples of Earth, doomed to share a ravaged planet, learn to live together in ways that encourage our species to flourish in an emergent future? Ideas about

systemic transition invite us to reimagine such a future by exploring what might be possible, which requires an initial willingness of the imagination to let go of the trappings of the present without engaging in wishful thinking. Such a balancing act is not as straightforward as it sounds. What was science fiction a generation ago is increasingly entering the realm of the possible, and even the real. What seemed unimaginable a generation ago, through technocratic ingenuity has already become a feasible goal to be achieved in the near future. It is an opportune time to explore the cosmopolitan seedlings of possibility sprouting around us, inscribing a more hopeful mapping of the human future in the prevailing collective consciousness.

On what is possible

> "Some men [*sic*] see things as they are and say 'why?' I dream of things that never were and ask 'why not?'"

> — George Bernard Shaw

We must start by rejecting conventional foreclosures of the imagination. We cannot accept the idea that politics is "the art of the possible" if the "possible" remains circumscribed by the play of current forces of stasis, confining the idea of change to policy shifts at the margin or—at the most ambitious—elite-driven national revolutions. The structures of state and market remain essentially untouched and continue to run the show, as reinforced internationally by geopolitical maneuvers designed to sustain hegemonic privilege. As long as these features of world order remain unchallenged by popular movements, transitions toward a more humane and ecologically viable future for humanity will be stymied. The first, yet most difficult, challenge is to find effective ways to subvert and transform these primordial structures. Meeting this challenge starts with liberating the mind from ingrained conventions that solidify the ideological biases of modernity, including, above all, the sense of its inevitability and the accompanying dismissal of alternative ways of organizing life on the planet to that generated by the European "invention" of statism in the middle of the 17th century as an antidote to mutually destructive and "forever" religious wars.

If we carefully consider our own lives, we are likely to appreciate how many epochal public happenings had been previously deemed "impossible," or seemed possible only after the fact. A potent illustration of the tyranny of a status quo bias is Winston Churchill's derisive attitude toward Gandhi during the early stages of the rise of Indian nationalism. Dismissive of any self-determination threat to British colonial rule, Churchill described Gandhi as a "malignant subversive fanatic" and "a seditious Middle Temple lawyer, now posing as a fakir of a type well known in the East, striding half-naked up the steps of the Viceregal palace." The illustrious British wartime leader (and predatory colonialist) displayed his attachment to a Western understanding of power that had little insight into historical circumstances that would soon reveal the vulnerability of colonial forms of exploitative domination to the mobilized emancipatory energies of anti-colonial nationalism.

Similar patterns of the seemingly impossible happening are evident in contemporary history, such as the peaceful ending of the Cold War followed by the collapse of the Soviet Union; the American defeat in the Vietnam War despite overwhelming military superiority; China's half-century rise from mass impoverishment and backwardness to prime geopolitical challenger, including threatening Western mastery of innovative technology such as AI, G5 connectivity, robotics, and genetic engineering; and the abandonment of apartheid by South Africa in the face of nonviolent resistance from within and anti-apartheid solidarity from without.

What these examples demonstrate is that our understanding of the scope of the possible has been artificially circumscribed in ways that protect the interests of various elites in the maintenance of the status quo, making it seem reckless and futile to mount structural challenges however justified they may be morally or bio-politically. Such foreclosures of imagined futures have been key to the protection of institutions like slavery, discrimination, systemic racism, patriarchy, ecocide, and warfare but often remain limited in scope to specific locales or policy areas.

The uniqueness of the Anthropocene is to be burdened by ideologies that restrict the possible to unsustainable and dysfunctional structures and modes of behavior, while bringing to a head the question of finding more viable ways of organizing life on the planet and living together in a manner that protects future generations. Demenchonok's long engagement with the transformative potential of philosophical thought should be seen as both an

enlargement of our sense of the possible and a stirring refutation to the fatalism of Thatcherism with its touchstone mantra of TINA—There Is No Alternative.

Such foreclosures of the imagination inflict damage both by shortening our temporal vision and by constraining our understanding of useful knowledge. Despite what science and rationality tell us about the future, our leaders—and, indeed, most of us—give scant practical attention to what is needed to preserve and improve the life prospects of future generations. Given the scope and depth of the challenges, *responsible* anthropocentrism in the twenty-first century should incorporate a sense of urgency to temporal axes of concern besides extending the reach of political aspiration to the natural habitat. We should acknowledge that humanity is now dependent on making happen a "politics of the impossible," a necessary utopianism that stands as an avowal of the attainability of the cosmopolitan quest. We must begin by interrogating the semantics of the possible as a cultural, political, economic, and ideological construct binding humanity to a system that is increasingly bio-politically self-destructive for the species and its natural surroundings.

Closely connected to this foreclosure of our temporal vision has been a scientifically conditioned epistemology asserting the limits of useful knowledge. Within the most influential epistemic communities, an Enlightenment ideology prevails that sets boundaries limiting productive intellectual inquiry. The positive legacies of the Enlightenment in grounding knowledge on scientifically verified evidence rather than cultural superstitions and religiously framed metaphysics and dogma are real and important, but there have been costs as well. Notably, a bias against subjectivity discourages normative inquiry and advocacy, which is dismissed as "non-scientific," distorting the guidance provided by relying upon instrumentalization of knowledge. The noted Confucian scholar Tu Weiming has powerfully criticized the impact of what he calls "instrumental rationalism" on the capacity of Western civilization to appreciate and operationalize the value of empathy, which he views as integral to human dignity and humane governance.[13]

We need a moral epistemology to achieve responsible anthropocentrism, exploring right and wrong, and to distinguishing between desirable and diminished futures, not as matters of opinion, but as the underpinnings of "normative knowledge." Universities, split into specialized disciplines and

privileging work within the Enlightenment paradigm, are largely oblivious to the need for a holistic understanding of the complexities and solidarities with which we must grapple in order for humanity to extricate itself from present structures that divide and fragment the human experience, strangling possibilities. This paradigm also rejects the relevance of dialogue as essentially a waste of time, given the "truths" of science and reason, which allows predatory patterns to remain embedded and basically unquestioned until challenged by insurrectionary popular opposition. Such is the civilizational price paid by viewing ethics as essentially irrelevant to the management of society, including the workings of the market.

It may be helpful to distinguish "the feasible," "the necessary," and "the desirable" to further illuminate "the pursuit of the impossible." In short, "the feasible" from the perspective of the status quo seems incapable, under the best of circumstances, of achieving "the necessary" and "the desirable." We will need to pursue "the desirable" to mobilize the capabilities needed to engage effectively in realizing "the necessary." Science is helpful in identifying the necessary in certain behavioral domains, for example, climate change and bio-diversity, ethics in others such as the extensions of democracy to vulnerable people or to transnational and global policy frameworks.

If existing conditions continue, the bio-political destiny of the human species seems destined for dark times. In the past, before the Nuclear Age, we could ignore the future and address the material, security, and spiritual needs of bounded communities, and success or failure had no ramifications for larger social systems. Now we must find ways to attend to the whole, or the parts will perish and likely destroy one another in the process. St. Francis found some fitting words for such an emancipatory path: "Start by doing what is necessary, then what is possible, and suddenly you are doing the impossible."

GLOBAL SOLIDARITY AS THE VITAL PRECONDITION TO COSMOPOLITAN TRANSITION

When seeking alternative worldviews not defined by states, empires, or markets, many have turned toward the pre-modern realities and cosmologies of native peoples. Recovering that pre-modern worldview

might be instructive in fundamental respects, but it is not responsive to the practical contours of contemporary liberation. Retreat to the pre-modern past is not an option, except as forced upon humanity as a result of a planetary calamity.

Instead of the realities of localism and tribal community, our way forward needs to engage cosmopolitanization and human community, and to affirm such strivings as falling within the realm of possibility. We must reimagine a sense of our place in the cosmos so that it becomes our standpoint: a patriotism for humanity in which the whole becomes greater than the part, and the part is no longer the dominant organizing principle of life on the planet. Understanding the interplay of parts and wholes is a helpful place to begin this transformative journey. Parts are not only enclaves of space on world maps but the separate identities of race, gender, class, belief, and habitat. An ethos of human solidarity would not eliminate differences but would complement them with a sense of commonality or cosmopolitan unity while sustaining their separate and distinctive identities. Such an ethos would generate new modes of being for addressing the challenges of transition. For this to happen, a sense of global solidarity must take over the commanding heights of the imagination rather than continue to inhabit echo chambers hidden in underground hiding places far from the domains of policy formation. Never has the human species more needed the wisdom of philosophers and sages, but not the voices of language philosophers, which has exiled critical thought to obscure academic enclaves unmindful of a darkening sky filled with ominous storm clouds.

Without global solidarity, the structural features of the status quo will remain too deeply entrenched to allow a more cooperative, peaceful, just, and ecologically mindful world to emerge. Such a benevolent future is blocked by the prevailing consciousness in government and corporate board rooms, a paralyzing blend of ignorance, denial, incrementalism, and most of all, an unconscious respect for and deference to fragmenting boundaries that make global solidarity seem "impossible" to achieve. Assuming the paralysis has been overcome by an enhanced conception of the possible, then what?

Global solidarity would benefit humanity functionally, ethically, ecologically, and spiritually. Its functional role is most immediately obvious from a problem-solving perspective. Whether we consider vaccine diplomacy, climate change, or nuclear weapons, it becomes clear that only

on the basis of human solidarity will we treat vaccines in the midst of epidemics or pandemics as part of the global commons rather than as a source of national diplomacy, international property rights, and pharmaceutical profits. With climate change, whether we will manage a displacement of national and financial interests on the basis of general global wellbeing depends on achieving an unprecedented level of global solidarity. Similarly, with nuclear weapons, will we find the courage to live without such weaponry within a security framing that represents the well-being of *people* rather than the shortsighted hegemony of a few governments and their self-regarding societal elites? And in a post-nuclear world, it will seem more plausible to propose comprehensive forms of collective security premised upon demilitarizing processes and global exclusions of violence as instruments of dispute settlement or conflict resolution.

Higher measures of global solidarity would almost certainly enhance the democratic quality and nature of global governance. Even if the defining unit of solidarity remained the sovereign state rather than the human being or humanity as a whole, a sense of world citizenship could underpin an independent and much more robust United Nations whose membership sought shared goals shaped by ideas of the global public good as proclaimed by its Charter rather than statist competition and geopolitical rivalry that has been its characteristic operating mode up to now, especially on issues of peace and security. The world economy would become much less tied to militarized forms of security, freeing resources for peace building processes of social protection and economic development. From a broadening sense of global identity, we could also expect a more effective approach to biodiversity, preserving even restoring the ecological viability of the rainforests and polar regions as indispensable aspects of our common heritage. And as heightened empathy would inhere in the manifestations of global solidarity, there would be a greater tendency to take human suffering seriously, including poverty, displacement, and the victimization that follows from natural disasters and political strife.

Perhaps the greatest benefits of global solidarity would be felt ethically, ideationally, and spiritually. We can presume that the collective self of a world exhibiting high levels of global solidarity would enhance cosmopolitan loyalties and identities. The enmities of difference (race, nation, religion, gender, class) would lose their existential and normative

relevance, replaced by a radically democratic calibration of "otherness"—perhaps even inclusive with the cosmos regarded as the great other of the earth. It seems reasonable to anticipate the emergence of a less metaphysical religious consciousness inspired by the greater harmonies on earth and a growing experience of cosmic awe as knowledge of this larger realm spreads and is reinforced by mind-broadening experience such as a greater awareness of life elsewhere in the galaxy, and even beyond.

Do We Have the Time?

An ethos of global solidarity led an idealistic group of jurists in 1976 to draft the Declaration of the Rights of People to be implemented by a Permanent Peoples Tribunal, and many inquiries have been carried out since to hold states and their leaders *symbolically* accountable for violations of international law. People throughout the world have organized numerous civic initiatives organized by social forces in defense of nature and of peace.

Recently, Bolivia and Ecuador enacted a text devoted to the Rights of Mother Nature. New Zealand passed a law recognizing that animals are sentient beings with a legal entitlement to decent treatment. A movement is underway to regard "wild rivers" as subjects of rights, prohibiting the construction of hydro-electric dams. Civil society groups in Europe and South America have formed the International Rights of Nature Tribunal to protect various natural habitats from predatory human behavior.

Within the wider orbit of UN activities, many quiet undertakings involving health, children, food, cultural heritage, and environment proceed in an atmosphere of global solidarity obstructed by only occasional intrusions from the more conflictual arenas of the Security Council and General Assembly. There are no vetoes, and partisanship is kept at a minimum, in these venues within which cosmopolitan ways of engaging-the-world flourish.

Gestating within the cultural bosom of world civilizations and world religions have been subversive ideas of global solidarity. Philosophic and religious affirmations of unity in the ideas and values of "cosmopolitanism," whether so named or not, have garnered increasing numbers of adherents. Growing attachments to nature and humanity proclaimed in many forms gives rise to loyalties that find no place on world

maps or within national boundaries. Fears of future catastrophe by way of nuclear war and ecosystem collapse, informing a growing awareness that present arrangements are not sustainable, thereby making many persons receptive to creating other more inclusive forms of organizing life on the planet.

Transition is not off in the distance or only in dreamscapes or science fiction imaginaries; it is happening around us if we only learn to open our eyes and hearts to the rich array of hopeful possibilities now emerging.
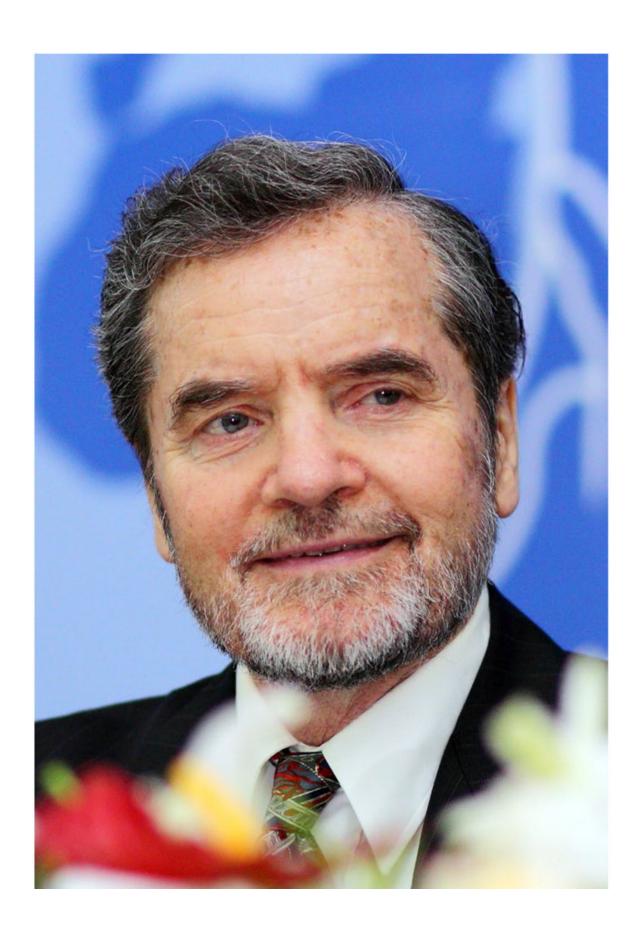
CONCLUDING REMARKS

We cannot know the future, but we can know that the great enhancement of global solidarity would underpin the future we need and desire. Although this enhancement may currently seem "impossible," we know that the impossible can happen when the historical moment is conducive. This century of interdependent risks and hopes has been germinating the possibility of human solidarity globalizing. We know what is to be done, the value of struggling on behalf of our beliefs based on species survival and ecological sustainability, and the urgency of the quest. This is the time to dedicate our hopes and indeed our lives to making cosmopolitanism in its protean forms begin to happen globally and locally, which is coincident with learning to live in accord with the ethical, ecological, and spiritual precepts of *responsible anthropocentrism*.

NOTES

1. Gar Alperovitz, *Atomic Diplomacy: Hiroshima and Potsdam; The Use of the Atomic Bomb and the American Confrontation with Soviet Power*, rev. ed. (New York: Penguin Books, 1985), 290. See also Barton Bernstein, "The Atomic Bombings Reconsidered," *Foreign Affairs* (1995, January-February): 135–152; Tsuyoshi Hasegawa, *Racing the Enemy: Stalin, Truman, and Japan's Surrender in the Pacific War* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2005).

2. See interview with Emmanuel Lévinas in Raoul Mortley, *French Philosophers in Conversation: Lévinas, Schneider, Serres, Irigaray, Le Doeuff, Derrida* (London and New York: Routledge, 1991), 19.

3. Edward Demenchonok, "Introduction: From Power Politics to the Ethics of Peace," in *Philosophy After Hiroshima,* ed. Edward Demenchonok (Newcastle upon Tyne, UK: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2010), 18.

4. Edward Demenchnok, "Learning from Kant: On Freedom," *Revista Portuguesa de Filosofia*, vol. 75 (1) (2019): 224–225.

5. Demenchonok, "Introduction: From Power Politics to the Ethics of Peace," 17.

6. Edward Demenchonok, "World in Transition: From a Hegemonic Disorder toward a Cosmopolitan Order," in *A World Beyond Global Disorder: The Courage to Hope*, eds. Fred Dallmayr and Edward Demenchonok (Newcastle upon Tyne, UK: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2017), 188.

7. Eduardo Mendieta, "From Imperial to Dialogical Cosmopolitanism?" *Ethics & Global Politics* 2, no. 3 (2009).

8. Walter Mignolo, "Cosmopolitanism and the De-Colonial Option," *Studies in Philosophy and Education* 29 no. 2 (2010).

9. Edward Demenchonok, "World in Transition: From a Hegemonic Disorder toward a Cosmopolitan Order," in *A World Beyond Global Disorder: The Courage to Hope*, eds. Fred Dallmayr and Edward Demenchonok (Newcastle upon Tyne, UK: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2017), 255–259.

10. Jacques Derrida, *On Cosmopolitanism and Forgiveness* (London and New York: Routledge, 2001), 123–124.

11. Demenchonok, "World in Transition: From a Hegemonic Disorder toward a Cosmopolitan Order," 213.

12. Demenchonok, "Introduction: From Power Politics to the Ethics of Peace," 33.

13. Tu Weiming, "Spiritual Humanism: An Emerging Global Discourse," in *A World Beyond Global Disorder: The Courage to Hope*, eds. Fred Dallmayr and Edward Demenchonok, 177–182 (Newcastle upon Tyne, UK: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2017).

[Latin American and Russian Philosophy and Literature in Dialogue](#)

[Raúl Fornet-Betancourt's Conversation with Edward Demenchonok](#)

Raúl Fornet-Betancourt: In your biography and your publications, your long and continuous relationship with Latin American philosophy is immediately obvious, as is your role in the promotion of dialogical relationships and as serving as a "bridge" between Russian philosophy and Latin American thought. In this interview, I'd like to ask some questions regarding your intellectual trajectory and your role in "bridging" these two philosophical cultures. First of all, how did you become interested in Latin American culture in general?

Edward Demenchonok: My interest in Latin America started with my interest in Hispanic culture, which was born in the dramatic encounter between the Arabic and Euro-Christian civilizations as a unique cultural

synthesis. It has always been welcomed in Russia. Hispanic motifs naturally blended with those in the works of Russian composers and writers. Mikhail Glinka, the founder of Russian opera, was enchanted by the local folk music during his trip to Spain, and it was after this that he wrote his Spanish overtures *Jota Aragonesa* and *Summer Night in Madrid*. Such motifs can also be found in the music of Nikolai Rimsky-Korsakov (*Capriccio Espagnol*) and Pyotr Ilyich Tchaikovsky. Hispanic motifs are also found in the poetry of Alexander Pushkin. Spanish classics have been completely translated into Russian, and the plays of Lope de Vega and Federico Garcia Lorca are permanently in the repertoire of theaters in Moscow and St. Petersburg. Don Quixote is a popular fictional hero. Slavic and Hispanic characters are alike in their openness and high values of honor, friendship, and spirituality.

Russians have a similar interest in Latin America, which culturally is the result of the threefold ethnic synthesis of European (mainly Hispanic), native, and African cultures. Russia has a good academic tradition in Latin American studies. In the Academy of Sciences, there is an Institute of Latin American Studies. The works of Russian scholars about the economy, ethnography, and culture of Latin America are recognized worldwide. The contemporary Latin American novel has found a warm reception in Russia. I learned Spanish at Lomonosov Moscow State University and practiced it within the milieu of the Hispanic community in Moscow from those who came from Spain as children during the Civil War (1936-39). At the university, there were students from various Latin American countries, and we learned about each other's cultures. I traveled to Spain and Latin America and did research.

RF: If I remember correctly, your first academic work on Latin American culture was dedicated to the Cuban writer Alejo Carpentier. Why this author? Does this choice have to do with the intuition that there is a close link between literature and philosophy in Latin American culture, to the point that philosophy is often expressed in novels or poetry?

ED: Since my student years at Lomonosov Moscow State University, I have been interested in Latin American literature, especially in the phenomenon of the Latin American novel, which was a hallmark of world literature in the second half of the twentieth century. I was particularly interested in

Alejo Carpentier, who pioneered this literary movement, laying the theoretical ground for the new literary genre called *el realismo mágico* (magic realism).

This interest deepened with my trip to Cuba, where I took the opportunity to do some research about Carpentier, who grew up in Havana. I found some interesting materials in the National Library José Martí, including his early publications in the journal *Revista de Avance*, founded in 1927, which was an organ expressing opposition to authoritarian rule in Cuba, as well as a forum for the expression of aesthetic renewal, exhibiting avant-garde art and black poetry and "pure" or experimental poetry. His publications showed his interest in Afro-American culture and its contact with imagery and the magical, as well as his love of Afro-Cuban music.

I also visited the house museum of Ernest Hemingway—the villa "Finca Vihía" near Havana and did some research, which inspired me later on to write about culture in the United States.

Upon returning to Moscow State University, I wrote my master's degree thesis on Alejo Carpentier. After my graduation, in 1969, I had the chance to meet Carpentier in person during the reception held in his honor in the editorial office of the journal *America Latina* when he visited Moscow. I had the opportunity to spend several days in the company of him and his wife Lilian during their excursions to the cultural sites of Moscow, including to the Bolshoi Theater for Tchaikovsky's opera *Eugene Onegin*, and I was amazed by his deep knowledge of Russian music and literature. I was also impressed with his charming and deep personality.

Carpentier was deeply familiar with European culture, including the surrealist movement of the 1920s and literary avant-gardism, as well as with Latin American culture, thus creating an intellectual synthesis of two cultural universes. That's why he was able to write Latin American novels to the highest standard of European literature and, conversely, to lay the theoretical ground for the innovative style of writing or technique known as *el realismo mágico*, or *lo real maravilloso* (the marvelous reality), which incorporates magical or supernatural events into a realistic narrative, thus enabling special artistic effects and the expression of deep philosophical meanings. This theory was introduced in the prologue to his 1949 novel *El reino de este mundo* (The Kingdom of This World).[1] He writes that the marvelous reality is the patrimony of Latin America, where cosmogonies and mythologies have remained, accompanied by magical hymns that

people have preserved, and which are still sung in voodoo ceremonies, and the collective dances that incorporate a deep ritualistic meaning, such as the dances of the Cuban Santería. These mythologies remain because of the ontology and the presence of the Indian, the black, and the mestizo. Carpentier fruitfully implemented magical realism in *El reino de este mundo* and his other novels. Magical realism became the cornerstone of the new Latin American "boom" novels, creatively employed by Miguel Ángel Asturias, Gabriel García Márquez, Jorge Luis Borges, Julio Cortázar, Jorge Amado, and Isabel Allende, among others.

Magical realism depicts the real world as having an undercurrent of fantastic or mythical elements. But beyond its artistic merits, perhaps most important is that this literary device helps to convey deep philosophical meanings. This "philosophy through literature" was fully expressed in Carpentier's most significant novel, *Los pasos perdidos* (*The Lost Steps*, 1953). This was written in the milieu of the Latin American quest for the development of their own distinctive philosophy and literature, at the center of which were issues of the self-consciousness of Latin American nations, their cultural identity, and national and social liberation. These themes underpinned this novel. I indicated this connection between this novel and Latin American philosophy in my book *Filosofia latinoamericana: problemas y tendencias*.[2] I also pointed out that Latin American philosophy and literature have in common the themes of man, freedom, cultural authenticity, national identity, and development pathways: "The culturally specific and the universal are harmoniously combined in the project and realization of Latin American philosophy."[3]

The modern city in *Los pasos perdidos* is New York, but this isn't explicitly stated in the novel, where each place is emblematic. Nor is the protagonist named, being a character archetype, and the problems he faces are the typical problems of a generic "modern man." As the protagonist travels through the geographical space, he concurrently moves in time through different historical epochs in a reverse chronology, retrogressing from "civilization" to the Paleolithic—to "primitive" nature, until he arrives at the inception of human culture and the origins of mankind in the world of Genesis. Actually, it's a metaphysical journey in search of the meaning of life and human origins. Through a reflexive protagonist, the novel draws a comparison between the degraded culture of the West and the authentic world of Latin America as a viable alternative.

Carpentier thus presents his original contribution to philosophical and literary works providing a critical assessment of Western civilization. It's developed at several levels and from different angles. First, it starts at the personal level as a testimony through the eyes of a mindful artist-musicologist living in New York who is trapped as a pawn in the depersonalizing "instrumental rationality" of the capitalist system, which leaves no room either for free artistic creativity or for personal self-realization and happiness. Second, at the cultural level, the protagonist, who is of Latin American origin and is very learned in the European cultural heritage, is contrasting his high humanistic ideals and aspirations with the grim reality of the soulless consumeristic society and its commercialized "mass culture." Finally, at the civilizational level, it's a critical view of Western civilization in comparison to some alternative society (more exactly, an imaginary social organization associated with an indigenous community).

Carpentier further addresses the war-mongering nature of Western civilization. He does this through the personal experience of the protagonist, who was an eyewitness to the horrors of WWII. In the novel, there is an episode when, in the midst of his journey into the depths of the geographical space and historical time, the protagonist listens on the radio to beloved music from his youth: Ludwig van Beethoven's *Ninth Symphony*, based on Friedrich Schiller's "Ode to Joy," with its radical call for equality, freedom, and brotherhood: "All men shall become brothers, wherever your gentle wings hover." That was the noble ideal, inspiring many generations since the Enlightenment era to strive for a more just and humane world. The protagonist was also a believer in this ideal. For him, Schiller's verses, along with the odes of Michel de Montaigne and Voltaire, were the culmination of a centuries-long ascent toward tolerance, kindness, and an understanding of the "other," of what was foreign.

But these aspirations were brutally trampled over. The protagonist was shocked and disillusioned when he discovered the dark side of Western civilization by seeing the horrors of WWII, in which he had participated. He recalls his impressions of what he witnessed in one of the recently liberated Nazi extermination camps or "death factories," where everything was evidence of torture. The most shocking contrast was that, only a short distance from the concentration camps, their administrators were living with their families and other "sensitive and cultivated Germans," who,

without paying attention to the smoke of the crematoriums' chimneys, were studying the glories of the Aryan race, playing pieces of Mozart's music, and reading Hans Christian Andersen's *The Little Mermaid* to the children.[4]

It's well-known that the first victim of war is the truth. Its victims also include noble humanistic ideals. When the butchers and political gamblers (ab)use these humanistic ideals in their demagogy, they're emptying them of meaning.

The protagonist viewed the Holocaust as a breach of the so-called progress of European culture and as the culmination of Western civilization's cold-blooded barbarism. This shocking reality of war and the Holocaust revealed the essence of Western civilization that was behind its pretensions to present itself as the moral legislator of and model for the civilized world. He felt betrayed by its unfulfilled promises and lost faith in the pronouncements of those who hypocritically lied when they spoke of their principles, invoking texts whose deep meaning had been forgotten. Although the protagonist adheres to the virtues of tolerance, kindness, and other human values in his soul, he no longer associates them with the cliché of Western civilization, which is instead alienating and violent. He breaks with this civilization, becoming an "inner emigrant," and, later on, he escapes from it in his journey into the jungle.

His reaction reminds us of Theodor Adorno, who proclaimed after WWII that "To write poetry after Auschwitz is barbaric" and worried that "mankind, instead of entering into a truly human condition, is sinking into a new kind of barbarism." This descent encompassed the invention of the atomic bomb and the dropping of bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, which "belongs in the same historical context as genocide."[5]

Carpentier was quite prophetic in his critique of Western society with its depersonalizing effects and manifold violence—the cultural, structural, and politically organized violence of wars. The problems he addressed in the middle of the twentieth century (the novel was published in 1953) have escalated since that time. Nazi fascism was an ugly product of Western civilization. It was defeated in WWII at the cost of more than 50 million lives. But the fruits of that victory were stolen by those lusting for power and money. Although the United Nations was created, declaring its aims to avert future wars and to secure world peace, human rights, and collaborative relationships in its Charter, its principles were torpedoed by another war, euphemistically called "the Cold War." With the invention of

the atomic weapon, humanity created the material means for its self-destruction. The end of the Cold War opened an opportunity for the transformation of society and of international relations, but this opportunity was blocked. The hopes of the people for a peaceful world were dashed again. Instead, the world was derailed by the triumph of the neoconservative "revolution" and the US policy of global domination in a unipolar world, which provoked a new Cold War.

The critique of Western civilization and the quest for a more humane alternative, addressed by Carpentier, became a running thread in Latin American thought, and it found its specific expression in literature and in the philosophy and theology of liberation. These ideas coincided with those expressed by progressive thinkers in both the West and the East. The erosion of liberal democracy and the neototalitarian tendency of control over individuals, combined with the policy of global hegemony over sovereign nations and the arms race, pose a threat not only to individuals but also to the survival of mankind.

The answer to your question is thus affirmative. Indeed, there is a close link between literature and philosophy in Latin American culture, and literature became so powerful precisely because of the philosophical depth of its content, as is perfectly exemplified in the novels of Carpentier. Great literature is frequently a means for expressing philosophical ideas.

RF: If this is true, wouldn't that special relationship between philosophy and literature in Latin America be one of the characteristics that would facilitate dialogue with Russian philosophy, since there is a similar relationship between philosophical thought and literary creation in Russia?

ED: This is a good question, albeit a broad and complex one. Trying to answer it is like swimming across two oceans and finding the strait between them. I will try to answer it, at least briefly, and to do so, I will go step by step.

First, let me start with a general observation. There are ongoing debates about the relationship between philosophical questions, or what are called metaphysical, epistemological, and ontological questions, on the one hand, and literary questions of artistic presentation, form, content, and aesthetic value on the other. The discussion about the relationship between philosophy and literature faces difficulties rooted in the Eurocentric or

Western-centric views of philosophy, which is reluctant to recognize philosophies that don't fit into the traditional Eurocentric canon. This also limits an adequate understanding of literary works because it rejects both the presence of philosophy therein and the ability of literature to express philosophical thoughts and intuitions, dismissing the depth of its philosophical content because it's expressed through artistic means rather than in categorial form and in the form of treatises. This is despite overwhelming evidence of the successful recurrence of philosophers to literature, such as Martin Heidegger, Jean-Paul Sartre, Albert Camus, and many others. I think that an analysis of philosophical cultures in Latin America and Russia can prove the close and mutually beneficial dialogical relationship between philosophy and literature.

There is a growing tendency to recognize traces of literary thinking in philosophy and to see how philosophy is influenced in its dialogue with the study of literature. Discussions about this invoke relevant works by Heidegger, Maurice Blanchot, and Jacques Derrida.[6]

Derrida viewed philosophy as a specific literary genre close to poetry. Adherents of poststructuralism and deconstructivism, based on the metaphorical nature of language, consider philosophy and literature to be interrelated. However, by emphasizing poetics over rational categories and logical thinking, they also rejected philosophical conceptual universalism.[7] Unlike the Western European tradition, the Russian intellectual culture, as well as the Latin American one, doesn't have a firm impenetrable boundary between these two disciplines. This facilitates close relations between philosophy and literature.

RF: I see. Turning to the detailed picture, first, what would you say about the relationship between philosophy and literature in Latin America?

ED: The relationship between philosophy and literature can take many forms. But their close interactions and "dialogue" occur when they're both devoted to their common themes that have great importance for people and for society. This is characteristic of the Latin American intellectual culture, which, to a large degree, was formed under the influence of literature and philosophy.

Indeed, a close link between the two disciplines emerges and becomes particularly strong when both are inspired by great ideas or themes that are

significant for the people and catch their imagination. Demand for such ideas has frequently arisen at crucial existential moments in the history of society, which requires the mobilization of its intellectual-spiritual energies. In Latin America, one such moment was the formation of independent nation-states after the end of Spanish and Portuguese colonial rule in the first quarter of the nineteenth century. The emerging nations were facing both internal and external challenges, and they needed to find their own methods for independent development. Intellectuals were also trying to contribute to the formation of the national self-consciousness as an ideological basis for social-political development. This demand stimulated the emergence of Latin American philosophy. The next key moment in the close relations between literature and philosophy came during the liberational movements for social reforms in the 1970s and 1980s, which were marked by the philosophy and theology of liberation as well as by the "boom" of the Latin American novel.

Philosophical historiography distinguishes between "philosophy in Latin America" (which includes the variety of existing philosophical currents, mostly replicating European and North American ones) and a genuine "Latin American philosophy," which strove for authenticity as an original philosophical current that responded to the socio-cultural needs of the countries of the region.

The need to create a Latin American philosophy was explicitly expressed by the Argentinian political theorist Juan Bautista Alberdi in his "manifesto," published in 1842, in which he outlined a project of a new philosophy that would respond to the spiritual and social needs of the developing nations, stressing the freedom of individuals and of the people as the main issue. Francisco Miró Quesada distinguished three periods in the development of Latin American philosophy as a "project" in the mid-twentieth century. The first, "the generation of founders"; the second was the generation striving for "normalcy," that is, for institutionalization and normalization in the philosophical profession (1940–1960), which was followed by the third period, that of "maturity," which included Arturo Ardao, Augusto Salazar Bondy, Francisco Miró Quesada, and Leopoldo Zea. The striving for an authenticity of philosophical perspective led, in the early 1970s, to the emergence of the philosophy of liberation, seen most notably in Enrique Dussel, Arturo Andrés Roig, Raúl Fornet-Betancourt,

Horacio Cerutti-Guldberg, Rodolfo Kusch, Osvaldo Ardiles, and Carlos Cullen, among others.

During all these periods, the search for authentic philosophy resonated with similar efforts to overcome a (neo)colonial cultural dependence and to create original Latin American literature. Three years after Alberdi's "manifesto," another Argentinian intellectual, Domingo Faustino Sarmiento, published his book *Facundo: Civilization and Barbarism* (1845), in which he denounced the dictatorship of *caudillos*. From his own perspective, he pondered the dialectic between civilization and barbarism as the central conflict in Latin American culture, which sparked broad discussions about the prospects of the development of the region.

José Martí was a Cuban philosopher, political theorist, poet, and essayist. The concepts of freedom and political and cultural independence were prominent themes in his works. Although he recognized the merits of North American society, he was critical of its imperialist policy. He was a visionary, and in his poetry and essays, he asserted the ideas of a free and united America, "*Nuestra América*" (Our America). In his writing, Martí gave literature a profound value as an alternative way to express philosophical and political ideas. His works became influential in the writings of the American continent.

In 1900, the Uruguayan philosopher and modernist writer José Enrique Rodó wrote his famous philosophical essay *Ariel*, the title of which comes from William Shakespeare's *The Tempest*. At the turn of the century, he expressed the broadly spread concern in Europe and the Americas about the future of civilization (which, on the eve of World War I, was prophetic). He criticized North American utilitarianism and egoistic materialism. In contrast, *Ariel* called for young Spanish Americans to be lifted up on wings of the highest idealism and spirituality to bring forth the intellectual-spiritual and moral values of the cultural traditions of the Latin American nations. *Ariel* exerted a widespread influence on the intellectual community, and its ideas were adopted by Latin American philosophy.

The 1960s and the following decades were turbulent, marked by the quest for global changes. In Latin America, the quest for changes and structural reforms took the form of the liberational movement, which found its intellectual expression in the philosophy and theology of liberation.

Latin American philosophy opened its new chapter as the philosophy of liberation, the proclaimed goal of which was social and national liberation

and, more broadly, human liberation. It developed a critique of globalization from historical, cultural, and ethical perspectives, and this theme was presented in debates about "a philosophy of Latin American history" (Leopoldo Zea), "civilization and barbarism" (Arturo Roig), and "dependence and liberation" (Enrique Dussel, Raúl Fornet-Betancourt, Juan Carlos Scannone, Osvaldo Ardiles, Horacio Cerutti-Guldberg). These showed that globalization is carrying out the main assumptions of Eurocentrism and Western cultural and economic hegemony.

Latin American literature retained the general mood of the philosophy of liberation with its ideas and its ethical-political and metaphysical themes while expressing them through its own artistic means. Unlike the philosophers' sweeping generalizations and their synoptic view of human destiny, the novelists expressed a more detailed and deeper "anatomy" of society and of human thinking and behavior. In their attempts to understand man and the world, philosophy and literature complement each other: philosophical thinking helps uncover and formulate the issues raised by literature, while literature can help us to clarify and correct lacunae in our understanding and provide concrete-historical "flesh" to abstract philosophical theory. The Latin American novel seeks to provide a condensed representation of the full span of social life: in its objective conditions, the subjective reactions of individuals to those conditions, and the social institutions or norms which mediate the relation between individuals and society. For example, the condemnation of the unjust social order of oligarchs, landlords, and military dictators, all of whom oppress and impoverish people, was philosophically conceptualized in the works of Zea, Dussel, and Gustavo Gutiérrez, and the condemnation was also artistically expressed in literature.

The struggle against violence in all its manifestations is the dominant pathos of the Latin American novel, uniting the ideas of its main representatives. In the images of Latin American literature, strength, which rests on moral foundations, is a positive value that equally opposes both impotence and violence. This is one of the most important motifs in the dictator novel (*la novela del dictador*). The Latin American novel presents a powerful critical analysis of authoritarianism and the dictatorship of *caudillismo* as a phenomenon, forming a special genre of the dictator novel and a general reflection on the nature of authoritarianism. Some of these novels describe real historical dictators (albeit in a fictional guise), such as

Augusto Roa Bastos' *Yo el Supremo* (I, the Supreme) about Dr. Francia of Paraguay, Mario Vargas Llosa's *La fiesta del chivo* (The Feast of the Goat) about Rafael Trujillo of the Dominican Republic (with some allusions to Alberto Fujimori's corrupt government in Peru), and Tomás Eloy Martínez's *La novela de Perón* (The Perón Novel). Others present a composite character assembled from historical figures to present a fictional dictator, such as in Miguel Ángel Asturias' *El señor Presidente* (The President), Alejo Carpentier's *El recurso de método* (Reasons of State), and Gabriel García Márquez's *El otoño del patriarca* (The Autumn of the Patriarch). Some dictator novels use magical realism or other innovative narrative strategies and postmodern techniques, such as the use of stream-of-consciousness narratives, interior monologues, fragmented plots, interwoven stories, varying narrative points of view, etc.

Some of the themes of the dictator novel resemble those of liberation philosophy. The central theme is the theme of power. These novels challenge dictatorial power, its language, and authoritarianism as a phenomenon. They show that, to some degree, the dictator is the creation of the corrupt elites and the populist manipulation of the masses. The novels attempt to grasp the psychological motivations of both the oppressor and the oppressed. The novelists disavowed the propagandistic image of the dictator as "a father of the nation": they don't provide a schematic concept of the dictator as a function of power structures but instead render the subjective image of the man, with his personal failings, fears, manias, and phobias. Laughter is the remedy against fear, which tyrants try to pump up as a means of domination. The novels are tragicomic in nature, and frequently the dictator becomes the subject of satire and comic diminishment, where his rule is nothing but a farce.

Another constant theme that runs through the dictator novel is that of imperialism, showing the link between the power of the Latin American tyrant and his military and financial support from the US, as, for example, with Trujillo's regime, described in Vargas Llosa's *La fiesta del chivo*. These novels, with the benefit of one hundred years of historical experience, express far fewer illusions about "civilization" and their northern neighbor than was indicated in Sarmiento's *Facundo*. These novels show immense human suffering and sacrifices placed on the altar of Western "progress."

Latin American philosophers develop their critique of globalization from two theoretical perspectives: postcoloniality and interculturality. The ideas of interculturality are focused more on cultures and their possibilities to serve as the basis for creating an alternative to homogenizing globalization. They extend their critique deeper into areas of culture and "epistemic violence," showing the indirect connection between the socio-economic system, power interests, and the manipulative use of mass culture (including the colonization of language and memory). The Latin American philosophy of liberation, in its efforts toward "cultural decolonization," undertook a radical revision of the Eurocentric and Western-centric narratives of history, of the "discovery" of America, of the myths of modernity and neoliberal "progress," as well as of the understanding of philosophy.

Arturo Roig, Raúl Fornet-Betancourt, Rodolfo Kusch, and Ignacio Ellacuría criticize homogenizing globalization and argue for cultural diversity and the preservation of unique traditional cultures. From the perspective of the intercultural transformation of philosophy, Fornet-Betancourt sees the task of Latin American philosophy as broadening its scope through engaging in dialogue with the indigenous and African traditions of thought present in Latin America.

Similar ideas underpin Latin American literature, to which the thematics of cultural identity are central. It explores the unique symbiosis of the "tri-ethnic" culture in Latin America and the Caribbean, whose populations include indigenous people, people of European descent, and people of African descent. The novels and short stories by Carpentier, García Márquez, Vargas Llosa, Carlos Fuentes, and Borges, among others, are great sources of information for understanding the distinctive characteristics of Latin American culture and how they shape society and people's identities. They also guide the readers through the controversies of the real-life "historical drama" of Latin America.

Many of these novelists also wrote essays. The essay genre is a kind of "bridge" between literature, journalism, and philosophical treatise, through which the writers are able to conceptually explain their concerns, ideas, and intuitions, some of which they also sought to convey through artistic means in their novels. Their essays also help readers and literary critics to better understand the philosophical thoughts implicit in their novels. The main topic of their essays was the justification of the distinctiveness of Latin

American culture and, within it, of the original cultures of various regions and ethnicities. It was in this vein that Carpentier, García Márquez, Borges, and the poets Octavio Paz and José Lezama Lima wrote their essays.

The likeminded Latin American philosophers, writers, journalists, and artists, each working within their respective genre(s), shared the same motivations of exploring the cultural-historical roots of Latin America and its individual countries and of regaining its intellectual-spiritual traditions as the basis for creating alternatives to the homogenizing hegemonic globalization and for building a future of justice and peaceful coexistence for all.

RF: OK. So, what would you say about the relationship between philosophy and literature in Russia?

ED: Russian philosophy and literature are closely related. In the Russian cultural heritage, the achievements of classical literature, represented by Leo Tolstoy and Fyodor Dostoevsky, have gained worldwide recognition. Russian philosophy is less well-known, though it was an integral part of the Russian intellectual tradition, along with literature and art, and played an important role in the formation of the national self-consciousness and the intellectual-spiritual growth of the nation in dialogue with other nations as a part of the world community. To better understand (and enjoy) Russian philosophy, like any original philosophy developed within national cultural traditions, it's methodologically important to go beyond the prevalent Euro-centric or Western-centric canon with its specific view of philosophy and to approach the philosophical thought of the country within the context of the national culture and its role in society and, above all, to assess it by its own criteria, while also keeping in mind the intercultural global context and the contribution of this thought to the global philosophical culture. Russian philosophy, however, isn't well known in the West. Thus, I will first briefly survey the historical development of Russian philosophy before discussing its relationship with literature.

The origin of Russian culture is traced to the introduction of Christianity in Kievan Rus' in the ninth century. The formation of philosophically informed thought in Russia began in the nineteenth century, and three periods of its development can be distinguished: the "philosophical awakening" of the 1830s and 1840s (which overlapped with the beginning

of the Golden Age of Russian literature); the philosophy of "the Silver Age" of Russian culture, which lasted from the last decade of the nineteenth century until the first quarter of the twentieth century; and the intellectual renaissance that started in the second half of the twentieth century.[8]

The search for an original literature and philosophy was motivated by Russia's own dynamics of evolution and also in response to the need to consolidate Russia as a nation-state with its own independent development while facing the internal problems of the czarist autocracy and the external problems of foreign invasions. The existential threat of the invasion of Napoleon's troops in 1812 and the Patriotic War (which was brilliantly described by Leo Tolstoy in his novel *War and Peace*) stimulated a rise of social and national consciousness in response to the demands of society and the "reasoning public" through the genius of the prominent thinkers, which resulted in an "awakening" of literature and philosophy.

For Russian literature, this period was its "Golden Age" in poetry and prose, opened by Alexander Pushkin and Mikhail Lermontov, who were followed by the great novelist Nikolai Gogol and, later, by Dostoevsky and Tolstoy, who became internationally renowned. In music, Mikhail Glinka composed the first Russian operas, and then classical music was further developed by Nikolai Rimsky-Korsakov, Modest Mussorgsky, Pyotr Ilyich Tchaikovsky, and Sergei Rachmaninov, among others.

In philosophy, in the 1870s, the seminal works of Vladimir Solovyov as a systematic philosopher appeared on the intellectual scene. Philosophy evolved into a special academic discipline with its own scope and aims, and its inquiry into the questions of human nature, freedom, individual destiny, and social responsibility marked the birth of the distinctive Russian tradition of philosophical humanism.

The recurring theme in Russian intellectual life was the search for national identity (Russianness) and for its own way of development. This became the central point of a passionate search for the meaning of universal history and the place Russia occupied in it. One of its manifestations was the quest for the originality or authenticity of literature and philosophy.

This was articulated in Slavophilism as a movement in Russian philosophy and social thought, focused on discovering the authenticity and originality of Russia and insisting on the uniqueness of its legacy and its distinctive characteristics, including its typical differences from the societies of the West. Russian philosophers were critical of Western

political institutions, capitalism, and atomistic individualism as outgrowths of a morally deficient society in decline, to which they opposed religious personalism seeking ascension to unity with God. The main representatives of Slavophilism were Aleksey Khomyakov, Ivan Kireyevsky, and Konstantin Aksakov. They sought to create an original philosophy, historiosophy, and anthropology and started the development of the concepts of integral knowledge and unity of all (*vseedinstvo*) on the Russian "*native soil*." They believed that the ideological basis of Russian identity is Christian Orthodoxy, rooted in the Byzantine Orthodox tradition, as a spiritual tradition and a set of beliefs, customs, and habits of thought preserved through popular culture. They strove to promote *sobornost,'* which means spiritual harmony based on freedom and unity in love, the principle of spiritual unity and religious community based on a free commitment to a religious (Orthodox) tradition, catholicity, and conciliarity, as well as togetherness and the spirit of commonality.

Their opponents were Westernizers such as Pyotr Chaadayev, Vissarion Belinsky, Alexander Herzen, and Nicholay Ogarev. For them, the Enlightenment meant the development of reason and secular culture. They developed a wide range of concepts, from "Russian socialism" to theories of development.

The quest for national identity and the creation of original Russian literature and philosophy, however, didn't mean a parochial isolationism: they developed in interaction with literature and philosophy in Western Europe and the creative assimilation of their achievements. What the Russians resisted was the domination of the Eurocentric canon and its imitation, and they attempted to be an equal partner in dialogues with the West and to find their own voice in the polyphony of world cultures.

The last decade of the nineteenth century and the first quarter of the twentieth century was the "Silver Age" of Russian culture, characterized by further artistic and intellectual achievements. There were several philosophical and social currents—positivism, Marxism, neo-Kantianism, personalism, existentialism, and others—which, in mutual interaction and dialogue, generated new ideas, raised the general tone of philosophical thinking, and created a polyphony that led to its flourishing. They also facilitated the birth of new disciplines, such as modern linguistics, comparative literature, and literary theory. Russian philosophy was developed in a creative dialogue between Western European philosophy and

the cultural-spiritual tradition of Russia, resulting in a new synthesis of religious-philosophical thought. It thus provided an Eastern Christian perspective on Western Christian thought.

The main motifs and topics of Russian philosophy—such as freedom, truth, justice, and issues of morality—are bound together by a striving for *wholeness* (*vseedinstvo*—all-unity or unity-of-everything) as a desirable state of an individual, society, and mankind in general. In response to the dichotomies of rationalism/intuitivism, individuality/commonality, law/ethics, liberalism/conservatism, and universal/national-specific in Western philosophy, Russian thinkers attempted to reconcile these dichotomies through new approaches and sought an "integral knowledge," combining faith and reason, the national-specific and the universal.

Vladimir Solovyov was a prophetic representative of Russian idealism, and he laid the foundations of the Russian religious-philosophical renaissance. He aimed to create a comprehensive philosophical system that went beyond the accepted notions of contemporary Western European philosophy, with its positivism and dichotomy of "speculative" (rationalist) and "empirical" knowledge, arguing instead in favor of an inquiry that would reconcile all notions of thought in a new transcendental whole. His religious philosophy sought to reconcile philosophical elements of various religious traditions with Orthodox Christianity and with the Divine Sophia. Solovyov developed his concepts of ethics, social justice, and epistemology. His views of humanity and divinity include a metaphysics of *vseedinstvo*, which conceives the cosmos as the manifestation of the divine absolute in the process of its own becoming or self-realization, and his concept of Godmanhood as the ideal of humanity's self-realization in union with God (theosis). The will of God is open to all: let everything be one. In the philosophical substantiation of the ecclesiological concept of *sobornost,'* Solovyov also relied on Schelling and Hegel. Unlike the Platonists, who distinguished between the one which isn't related to the multitude (i.e., "everything") and the one which is related to many things, Solovyov proceeded precisely from the one in the multitude: the absolute is ἐν καὶ πᾶν ("one and everything"; hence the concept of all-unity). The spirit of *sobornost'* was regarded as the basis for the ecumenical movement within the Russian Orthodox Church in its relations with different Christian factions.

The ideas of *vseedinstvo* (wholeness), in its various conceptualizations, including as *sobornost,'* were developed by a number of philosophers. For example, Berdyaev described *sobornost'* in anthropological terms and its actualization in the church-secular community, characterized as a unity of love and freedom. Trubetskoy argued about the intuition of unity as a *sobornost'* consciousness, in which, underlying love, is the unity of all in one, the consciousness of all in itself and itself in all. Frank developed a metaphysics of unity on the basis of intuitionism. He united the world and God into a single whole (*vseedinstvo*). Lossky returned to the doctrine of the supreme principle, characteristic of the Platonic "metaphysics of one" and Christian theology, transcendent to everything that exists. Florensky's life project was to pave the way for a future integral worldview, synthesizing faith and reason, intuition and discourse, theology and philosophy, and art and science, and he called his insights "concrete metaphysics." In the spirit of Christian Platonism, he sought an idea of the universal being and the revelation of the fundamental spiritual principle in it. Truth is revealed in divine love, and creativity is inspired by the Divine Sophia.

Aleksei Losev created an original phenomenological-dialectical system that's simultaneously rooted in the Russian, Eastern Orthodox, Palamite, Platonic and neo-Platonic traditions, as well as in German idealism. The world in this system is considered as a hierarchical and "primordially" charged whole, manifested in the continuous self-development of a single living bodily spirit. The forms of comprehension of the world—philosophical, mythological-symbolic, and aesthetic—are also thought to be inseparably united. He clarified the scientific "first principles" of symbolization and structuring, as well as the fundamental ideas about the First Principle (of apophaticism, the Trinity, and the Divine Sophia), and offered an original interpretation of ancient aesthetics. Losev applied his system to the analysis of ancient and Christian cultures, linguistics, musicology, logic, and mathematics. He viewed a symbol as the fusion of inner meaning and its external expression. He provided valuable insights into the nature of thinking, personhood, and history.

Mikhail Bakhtin developed his own personalist and dialogical philosophy. In his early philosophical work *Toward a Philosophy of the Act*, written around 1920, he continued the tradition of Russian thought and provided an original response to the problems faced by neo-Kantianism,

Wilhelm Dilthey's historical knowledge, and Georg Simmel's philosophy of life in their efforts to find a firm basis for the human sciences. He pointed out the main ethical deficiency of the "philosophy of life," writing that life can be consciously comprehended only as an ongoing event within the context of concrete responsibility. Bakhtin expressed a more fruitful approach to the problems conceptualized by German philosophy at the beginning of the twentieth century. He was nearer to the methodological innovations of contemporary philosophical hermeneutics, such as its ethical aspect, as articulated in Hans-Georg Gadamer's works. If Bakhtin's work had been published in the 1920s (instead of in 1986, as actually happened), this would likely have led to an accelerated development of the hermeneutic trend in Western Europe even before WWII.

These thinkers were stellar representatives of the exceptionally creative period called the "Silver Age" of Russian culture. The researchers of Russian philosophy highlight its main characteristic as "philosophical humanism," stressing that "Russian philosophy as a whole constitutes an extended dialogue on human dignity, with many philosophers defending it against those political institutions and ideas that were not averse to reducing human beings to mere instruments."[9]

The first decades of the twentieth century were also marked by Russian and German philosophical debates during the boom period of European humanistic thought. Unfortunately, that process was interrupted by the dramatic historical turn when Europe plunged into wars and revolutions. In Russia, the Bolshevik Revolution, the Civil War, and WWII, as well as the ideocratic Stalinist regime, hindered philosophical creativity.

In the Soviet Union of the 1970s, a process of liberation slowly developed out of the grip of official party dogma, leading to a new renaissance of intellectual life, including in literature and philosophy. The previously prohibited works of Losev and Bakhtin were published, and a new generation of progressive thinkers, such as Evald Ilyenkov, Alexander Zinoviev, and Merab Mamardashvili became influential.

After 1991, the Russian Federation became a constitutional democracy, and this facilitated the regaining of Russia's philosophical legacy, as well as a broad dialogue with philosophers from Western Europe and the Americas, which stimulated philosophical creativity in the country. This new philosophical renaissance has been thoroughly studied in several historiographic publications.[10]

After this outline of some of the key moments in the history of philosophy in Russia, now I can turn to the question of the relationship between philosophy and literature. In Russian culture, unlike the Western European tradition, there were no impenetrable boundaries between these two disciplines, and their relationship was particularly strong and mutually beneficial.

To better understand this relationship, it's necessary to see it within the historical and cultural contexts of Russia. If we were to apply the criteria of the Eurocentric canon and reduce philosophy to an academic discipline, to classical themes of *pure* philosophy or sophisticated philosophical systems, such as those developed by German idealism, then we wouldn't see the woods for the trees and would limit the living philosophical thought to only a part of it. Philosophy as a discipline has always remained prominent in Russian intellectual discourse. Historically, it developed in dialogue with Western philosophical currents, and didn't merely imitate their ideas but sought to creatively assimilate and contextualize them with qualifications that reflected specifically Russian intellectual-spiritual culture. Specialists studying Russian culture and thought have noted that Russia is a philosophical nation in a more profound sense. As in his novel *The Brothers Karamazov*, Fyodor Dostoevsky, through his character Dmitri Karamazov, noted: "all real Russian people are philosophers. . . ."

In Russia, the meaning of philosophy isn't limited to the confines of one specific academic discipline or to purely philosophical studies but goes beyond them and is associated with the intellectual-spiritual activities of philosophizing. As Mikhail Epstein notes, "In Russia, philosophy is less a noun, a self-sufficient entity (a field, a discipline, a profession), and more an *adjective*, an attribute or property of various *philosophical* activities."[11] These philosophically oriented activities take place in the humanities, in cultural creativity, or in transformative socio-political projects. Engaging in these activities are not only philosophers but also writers, journalists, lawyers, artists, and literary critics. They have found their creative means of philosophizing in literature, journalism, and literary and social criticism. They have been philosophizing reality. Russian philosophy is distinctive in its commitment to the goals of the practical transformation of society. This was reflected in the term *intelligentsia*, coined in the nineteenth century, meaning the well-educated and critically thinking part of society, which exhibits a high level of civic responsibility and a passionate preoccupation

with social ideas and their implementation in reality through all available means (literature, critical journalism, artistic creativity, and actions of civil disobedience).

Russian philosophy has never isolated itself from literary, religious, ethical, or social areas. Philosophizing in these areas was prevalent during the formation of philosophy as a discipline in the nineteenth century.

Many researchers have shown that there exists a very close relationship between philosophy and literature in Russian culture. They trace the philosophical nature of Russian literature from Alexander Pushkin to contemporary writers and analyze the most important metaphysical problems expressed in the multidimensional interplay of its characters and images.[12]

The nineteenth century was the "Golden Age" of Russian literature, which started with Alexander Pushkin, who crystallized the Russian literary language and laid the groundwork for both poetry and prose, along with Mikhail Lermontov, the first great novelist Nikolai Gogol, and other such giants as Ivan Turgenev, Fyodor Dostoyevsky, Leo Tolstoy, and Anton Chekhov, as well as a number of other great writers. Russian classical literature gained international prominence not only due to its artistic achievements but also due to its humanistic meaning and philosophical depth. It was, for the reader, a figurative-artistic form of the philosophical reflection on and exploration of human and social realms. It was literature that was elevated to the level of genuine philosophizing. Literature and literary criticism also fulfilled the functions of philosophical and moral analysis to some degree. Russian literature has always maintained an organic connection with the tradition of philosophical thought: Russian romanticism, the religious and philosophical searches of the late Gogol, and the works of Dostoevsky and Tolstoy received the deepest appreciation and response in subsequent Russian philosophy.

The flourishing of Russian classical literature in the nineteenth century overshadowed the development of its philosophy. Russian literature of the period gained worldwide recognition for the richness of its philosophical content, not as a substitute for philosophy (which had its own dynamics of development in Russia) but rather as a qualitatively new phenomenon. Some researchers explain it by arguing that the intellectual comprehension of the world developed mainly in the form of literature rather than philosophy because of the peculiarities of Russian life, which for its

adequate reflection required not a philosophical system but a poetics and the novel. These researchers note the difference between Russian and Western European intellectual traditions in their view of the interaction between literature and philosophy and that the distinction of Russian culture is that it never developed a rigid boundary between these two disciplines. Researchers consider Russian literature as a synergic, figurative, and artistic philosophy, showing how the metaphysics of the writer is discerned through the poetics of the text. It fulfilled the role of a national philosophy as a qualitatively new phenomenon in the history of literature, philosophy, and religion.[13]

Russian philosophy has been inspired and even created by writers of literary fiction, such as Dostoevsky and Tolstoy, in their philosophical novels.

Fyodor Dostoevsky's novels are particularly rich in philosophical ideas, and they defined his religious philosophy, Christian anthropology, and ethics. The philosophical significance of literary works by Dostoevsky as an artist and metaphysical thinker was recognized by Solovyov and many other philosophers. He became a part of Russian philosophy, not because he created a philosophical system but because he deepened the metaphysical experience, and he showed it artistically rather than proved it by categories and logic. His novels can be read as an "adventure of an idea." In their plot, the protagonists, searching for answers to life's existential "damned questions," represent certain metaphysical ideas that collide in a "polyphonic" dialogue of their positions and worldviews. Dostoevsky sought answers to the "eternal" questions, expressing them in artistic and symbolic form, with amazing artistic and philosophical force, irreducible to any rational schemes.

In a letter to his brother (dated 1839), Dostoevsky wrote: "Man is a mystery that must be solved, and if you spend your entire life trying to solve it, then don't say the time was lost. I am working on this mystery, because I want to be a man." In his works, Dostoevsky explored the depths of the human soul and the boundlessness of human freedom and its temptations; he denounced the dehumanizing materialism of contemporary civilization and defended the absolute value of moral ideals and beauty. Some researchers have highlighted the existential themes in Dostoevsky's works and compared him to Søren Kierkegaard, but the former's

philosophy was experienced by the author himself, woven from his life experiences, and thus is profoundly convincing.

In the spring of 1878, when Dostoevsky began working on his last novel, *The Brothers Karamazov*, his two-year-old son, Alyosha, suddenly died from a seizure. Dostoevsky was crushed by grief, and in unfading anguish, he, accompanied by Solovyov, went on a spiritual retreat to the famous Optina Pustyn monastery, the center of Russian hesychasm, where a memorial service (*panikhida*) for his deceased son was held. While he was there, Dostoevsky met the venerable monastic *starets*, or "elder," Amvrosii (Ambrose), who became a prototype of the character of the *starets* Father Zosima in his novel. Solovyov is also believed to be a prototype of another character, Alyosha Karamazov. Dostoevsky returned from Optina Pustyn with renewed spiritual strength and resumed his work on *The Brothers Karamazov*. This novel includes the legend of the Grand Inquisitor, which became an independent philosophical work. It's dedicated to the theme of spiritual freedom as opposed to material well-being and "enslavement to bread." The monologue of the Inquisitor is aimed at denying Christ and faith in man and his spiritual nature, but it becomes its opposite: "the greatest theodicy in world literature." The idea of love for humanity reaches its most profound depth in philosophical thought: no harmony in the world is justified if even one tear of an innocent child is shed. Each human personality is unique and irreplaceable, and the path toward perfection is in striving to approximate unity with Christ.

There are libraries of books dedicated to the study of the phenomenon of Leo Tolstoy as a writer and thinker, of his religious and philosophical views and his connections with world philosophical thought, and of his moral and socio-political ideas that set the current agenda for contemporary philosophy. He authored a number of excellently written philosophical-journalistic treatises, expounding his religious, philosophical, moral, and social views. However, it was in his literary works that he was able to express the full depth of his philosophical thoughts, which remain an inexhaustible source of artistic depth and philosophical wisdom for many readers around the world. Tolstoy's prose is philosophically pregnant, containing reflections on the essence of life and the purpose of man as expressed in artistic form. His works also contain many philosophical fragments and aphorisms. For example, in the novel *War and Peace*, the narrative is interwoven with entire chapters of philosophical reflections on

the problems of freedom and necessity and the problems of the philosophy of history—the causes of historical events, the driving forces of history, its laws, and the roles of leaders and the masses.

At the heart of Tolstoy's worldview is the question of the meaning of life. He also meditated on the themes of life, death, and love. In his philosophical treatise "On Life," he describes the optimal life in which we can all be happy despite our mortality, and he writes that "Love is the sole and complete activity of the true life," and in the cosmic ecstasy of love, the destructive forces of space and time cease to operate. God, freedom, and goodness are concepts that each represent a different formulation of the question about the meaning of life. These ideas are also expressed through artistic means and underpin his literary works. For those to whom "philosophy is a way of life," Tolstoy, with his integrity, serves as a role model.

Tolstoy's worldview reached far beyond the European horizon. He believed that there are universal ethical, religious, and social ideals beyond European ones. He was experienced in Orthodox Christianity and was knowledgeable about Judaism, Islam, Brahmanism, Buddhism, Taoism, and Confucianism, as well as the philosophies of Socrates, the late Stoics, Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Immanuel Kant, and Arthur Schopenhauer. However, he created his own original moral philosophy, and the very idea of interpreting Christianity as a doctrine of non-resistance to evil came to him on his own. Tolstoy condemned the world of violence, oppression, and injustice, which must be radically transformed, but this should be achieved by peaceful means. Non-resistance transforms human activity into a spiritual work of internal moral self-improvement. Tolstoy didn't speak of non-resistance to evil in general but only of non-resistance to evil through physical force. This, however, doesn't preclude resisting evil through other—non-violent means, including spiritual influence, education, persuasion, argument, protest, etc. Tolstoy was in correspondence with Mahatma Gandhi and inspired him and the non-violent resistance movement all over the world.

The mutual relationships between philosophy and literature took various forms: not only were the same authors expressing themselves in both literature and philosophy, but the two "genres" also began to overlap as literature increasingly became the vehicle for expressing philosophical ideas and, conversely, literature was frequently invoked to support

philosophy. In other words, there was a philosophization of literature and a literarization of philosophy.

The works of prominent philosophers at the turn of the century (the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries) were "literature-centric," which helped to give rise to the works of writers-philosophers. The philosopher Vasily Rozanov provided an analysis of the works of major Russian writers. The key philosophical problems of theodicy, anthropodicy, and freedom, which were first formulated by Dostoevsky, were later developed by Nikolai Berdyaev, who wrote a book about Dostoevsky and his spiritual and moral themes. Sergei Bulgakov was a philosopher and a literary critic who argued that at the forefront of Russian literature are metaphysical and moral problems—areas that, in the West, are covered by philosophy. Pavel Florensky's general theory of cultural signs and the theory of the symbol as a link between the empirical and noumenal worlds (especially the fundamental symbols of the Name and Face) influenced Russian symbolism, as did similar ideas offered by the poet Vyacheslav Ivanov.

At the same time, the intellectual moment of Russian cosmism began, which attracted a number of philosophers (Nikolai Fedorov, Vladimir Solovyov, Sergei Bulgakov, Nikolai Berdyaev, Pavel Florensky), writers, and artists. They had a lot in common in their images of the future, such as an orientation toward universality, a cosmic sense of existence, immortalism, and the unity of the individual and the community, as well as in their visions of transformation, which aimed to create not merely new art or philosophy but a new world.

During the Stalinism period, both philosophy and literature were suppressed by ideocracy. But despite censorship, courageous authors performed literary miracles and, as writing virtuosos, contrived a way to express fresh ideas, which opened up new horizons. Ideocracy felt challenged by and was intolerant of critical thinking, and philosophy was a dangerous occupation; thus, for many thinkers, it was safer to practice philosophy in areas that were somewhat more distanced from ideology, such as literature and literary studies, linguistics, aesthetics, or ancient culture. Although this was due to circumstances of necessity, by doing so, these thinkers expanded the scope of philosophical knowledge.

One such thinker was Mikhail Bakhtin. He was a philosopher, but under the conditions of censorship, he was forced to retreat to literary studies.

Every cloud has its silver lining: this resulted in being beneficial to both philosophy and literary theory. In his books about Dostoevsky's poetics, he was able to discern a new literary phenomenon, namely the polyphonic novel, and, at the same time, to develop his dialogical philosophy.

The post-Stalinist decades were a period of a new intellectual awakening, of a new renaissance of philosophy, literature, and cultural life. In the 1970s, the previously forbidden works of Alexey Losev, Mikhail Bakhtin, Lev Vygotsky, and other Russian thinkers and writers started to be published, and thus attention to the question of the relationship between literature and philosophy was revived. The fusion of literature and philosophy in one synergic discourse was creatively manifested in the philosophical prose, poetry, and literary criticism of Boris Pasternak, Alexander Solzhenitsyn, Joseph Brodsky, and Alexander Zinoviev, among others.

After 1991, when the Russian Federation became a constitutional democracy, the atmosphere of intellectual freedom facilitated the regaining of its intellectual legacy in philosophy and literature, including through the publication of the works of religious philosophers of the first quarter of the twentieth century and of those in exile. In its new historical period, Russia was opened to new opportunities and was facing new challenges. The questions of the self-identity of the nation, its ways of development, its place in the world, and its future came to the fore, and in approaching these questions, it was necessary to regain its cultural legacy and to be in dialogue with it to find the best possible answers.

Since the 2000s, this regained legacy and the many related publications in philosophy and literature have become subjects of research and discussions at conferences. New approaches to the study of the relations between philosophy and literature have emerged. The issue of the interpenetration of the language of Russian literature and philosophy has become the subject of study not only for literary critics and historians of philosophy but also for linguists. They have studied the mutual influence and convergence of the language of Russian philosophy and poetry at the lexical-semantic level and at the level of textual structures and developed the concept of "lyric-philosophical metatext." Through the analysis of authors' texts, researchers can better understand the ontology and teleology of artistic rhythm, implicit philosophy, and the author's philosophical and theological views. The linguistic approach allows researchers to

substantiate the concept of "Russian philosophical philology" and to identify the most characteristic typological features of the Russian language in philosophical texts. In this approach, however, it's necessary to avoid extremes of the "philologization of philosophy" and the "philosophization of philology." There is also an interdisciplinary approach to exploring the interactions between philosophical, aesthetic, and literary studies, as well as the interactions between religious and philosophical images and motifs. Researchers have revealed the mechanisms for generating philosophically rich literary symbols and mythologemes, and their studies have led to insights regarding the mutual interdependence of the anthropological and historiosophical models in Russian culture as a whole.[14]

In the study of relations between philosophy and literature in Russia, researchers have discerned some philosophical themes in works of writers and poets, as well as the literary form of expression of the philosophical ideas of thinkers; they have defined and analyzed such works as philosophical novels or philosophical poetry; and they have discussed literary-centric philosophy and philosophical literature more generally. Disciplinary boundaries between philosophy and literature do exist, historically structuring their development, but these boundaries aren't absolutely rigid but rather are flexible and "porous." They thus facilitate mutually beneficial interdisciplinary communication and create synergic forms, which can be heuristically fruitful and artistically expressive. Russia has shown the coexistence of full-fledged philosophy and literature as well as their successful marriage, as can be seen in the excellent examples of profound "philosophical novels" and literary-centric forms of philosophy. I think that the best way to characterize the relations between philosophy and literature is as a form of "non-fused yet undivided" or "unconfused and inseparable" unity and, at the same time, as a dialogical relationship that shows the profound originality of Russian culture, at once intellectual, metaphysical, spiritual, and artistically expressive.

RF: Wouldn't that close relationship between philosophy and literature in Latin America and in Russia be one of the characteristics that would facilitate intercultural dialogue between Latin American and Russian philosophies?

ED: Indeed, both Latin America and Russia have in common that they never developed a rigid boundary between philosophy and literature. This is also a favorable factor for the possibility of other cultures engaging in open intercultural dialogue with their philosophies. Great literature with philosophical ideas is a good starting point and a vehicle for understanding a cultural context and accessing philosophy. Both cultures are literary-centric, which means that literature plays a particularly important role in the formation of a holistic worldview, cultural and artistic code, value system, and identity.

In the conditions of the secularization and demythologization of cultural and artistic consciousness in Western culture, the literature of Latin America begins to develop its own humanistic system of values, focused on the ideals of harmony and the "fullness" of the "Latin American person." In the second half of the twentieth century, Latin American literature created its own classics in the "new" novel. This new literature, while outwardly similar to postmodernism, is, in fact, a different and opposing phenomenon. This artistic system opposes a constructive function to deconstruction, and to Western-centrism it opposes the originality and value of the autochthonous cultures. Latin American literature reflects the multidimensionality and complex architectonics of the Latin American world, where myth intersects with history and different eras and traditions interact.

The humanistic orientation of Russian literature brings it closer to Latin American literature. It was attractive in Latin America not only because of its critical depth in exploring man and society but also because of its ethical, humanistic pathos. There was also an emotional attraction to the world of Russia and its spiritual underpinning. In this perception, there was a tendency to unite Russian literature and philosophy into a kind of a generalized image symbolized both by ideals and utopianism as well as by citizenship, sociality, humanism, and artistic truth. Likewise, the perception of Latin American literature in Russia was very positive. Latin American poetry, the main novels of Asturias, Carpentier, García Márquez, Vargas Llosa, and Cortázar, and the short stories of Borges were translated into Russian and widely circulated.

The peculiarity of the last decades is that there have been tendencies toward the mythological epic. An example from this genre is *One Hundred Years of Solitude* by García Márquez, which tells the story of the Buendia

family and the village of Macondo, in the images of which the fate of the entire Latin American continent is represented. The tribal principle undoubtedly dominates each of the Buendias, and the Marquezian epic feeds on this fusion and indivisibility of the clan, which appears as the collective hero of the entire narrative. But the word "solitude" in the title is significant: now that the world has become more crowded, a reverse national mythology of solitude has appeared. The modern epic is being created in the conditions of an expanded universal consciousness; therefore, the motifs of national abandonment and parochial smallness enter into it.

The words of Dostoevsky about fantastic reality are very suitable for the artistic world of García Márquez. In both Dostoevsky and García Márquez, the characters live in the power of bizarre ideas, which reaches a level of maniacal force, with the essential difference that, in Dostoevsky, the main content of these ideas is moral and religious ("I" and God, an attempt to establish a relation of human and deity), while in García Márquez, it's natural (an attempt to master the forces of nature, to miraculously de-concoct them through scientific means). The characters of García Márquez live in the hope of a miracle, which expresses the loneliness and otherworldliness of the mind in relation to reality. *One Hundred Years of Solitude* is thus an epic about a family experiencing the tragedy of being alone. In this work, the artistic worldviews of the West and the East and the moral and existential experiences of personal self-autonomy and the socio-biological experiences of tribal life meet.

For García Márquez, the social and tribal ties of people and the entire fantastic-surreal element of his works are intended to emphasize the absurdity and emptiness of the real life of his characters. In contrast, in works of Julio Cortázar, the surreal is filled with positive content, which brings it closer to the true reality that's usually obscured by false social, one-sidedly pragmatic experience. García Márquez depicts a family aching from loneliness, being separated from humanity. Cortázar portrays a loner, who seeks to become related to what is beyond not only his own personality but humanity as a whole.

Perhaps the most attractive aspect of Latin American literature is the powerful outflow of traditional culture blending into the modern world, the combination of the truly popular with the truly modern, and the movement from the patriarchal heritage directly into the postmodern era. However, one can see what distinguishes Latin American literature and thus gives it a

special attraction. In the works of García Márquez, Cortázar, Fuentes, and Vargas Llosa, the protagonist and the bearer of mythological consciousness isn't a man of the earth, inseparably merged with his work, family, and people, but a single man, although he is acutely sensitive to his attitude to the whole. In this, he differs both from the typical character of Russian classical literature, who was originally attached to the flesh of his land and people, and from the character of Western literature, who, being a loner and tragically aware of this, is at the same time deprived of the opportunity to join in the whole because it has already fallen apart. In Latin American literature, the depth of loneliness and the breadth of the whole, the existential experience of the individual, and the historical experience of the people constantly come into contact, making this literature instructive for both Russian and Western readers.

Contemporary literature is now in dire need of familiarization with other types of consciousness and creativity. One of the reasons for the Russian interest in Latin American literature is the attempt to take a different spatial and temporal point of view and look at oneself from the outside. In general, using Bakhtin's term *vnenakhodimost'* (outsideness), one can explore reality only by gaining a certain point of view of this reality. You need to take the perspective of another in order to fully understand and evaluate yourself. The literature of a distant continent, in addition to its own intrinsic value, helps one to form a better attitude towards oneself; it gives the national literature and philosophy a valuable perspective on the domestic reality.

Latin America represents, as it were, humanity "in miniature," concentrated within the framework of one national-historical community, precisely because many antithetical principles—that exist separately, historically and geographically remote, on the scale of humanity—are pushed as close as possible to each other, compressed into the self-consciousness and fate of this region. That's why Latin America is fraught with the possibilities of a great creative upsurge.

In his formation as a writer, Jorge Luis Borges was strongly influenced by the Russian literary tradition. In Borges' writing, there are comments about Dostoevsky, and for many readers, the Borgesian exploration of the labyrinth of the human soul resembles Dostoevsky's complicated inner world of the individual. In Borges' fiction, it's a labyrinth of consciousness, a net of imaginary paths, alternatives, and scenarios created by the

character's imagination in extreme situations. For example, in his prologue to the Spanish translation of *The Possessed*, Borges tells the reader about his discovery of Dostoevsky: "Like the discovery of love, like the discovery of the sea, the discovery of Dostoevsky marks a memorable date in one's life . . . I read *The Possessed*, and something very unusual happened. I felt that I had returned to my homeland. The steppe in the book was like a magnificent *pampa*."[15] In his short story "The Other," he writes about his early interest in Dostoevsky: "The Russian master has seen better than anyone else into the labyrinth of the Slavic soul."[16] It's interesting that, in this story, the young Borges mentions Dostoevsky's work *The Double*, in which Golyadkin, an old clerk, "meets" his imaginary young self, who is carving out a splendid career; this was the unaccomplished dream of the very frustrated man,

A comparative analysis of both authors requires adequate theoretical and methodological means and a broad philosophical view. Such means can be found in Mikhail Bakhtin. He considers Dostoevsky's novel not only to be the discovery of the new vision of man and consciousness but also the creation of a wholly new, "polyphonic" type of artistic thought that made it possible to express this vision artistically. Bakhtin's pluralistic and dialogical view is akin to the growing consciousness of cultural diversity. His approach became actively used in the literary analysis of new phenomena in literature, in particular Latin American literature. It was also applied to the study of Borges, who shows the inevitability of choice and action. Philosophically, this was formulated by Bakhtin, who emphasized the imperativeness of choice and responsibility for deed as rooted in the "fact of my *non-alibi in Being*." We can also find an important guideline for understanding Borges in Bakhtin's concept of carnivalization, which relativized everything that was externally stable and symbolized a renewal. We can see this in Borges's prose, where it was creatively developed and expressed in his unique manner. For him, the artistic form and technique are the means for expressing and testing a philosophical idea. Borgesian prose is characterized as "ideological" literature, the main purpose of which is the artistic representation of an idea, frequently related to philosophical satire and critiques of ideas. Perhaps the most amazing thing about Borges is his artistic and philosophical laconism and his ability to express complex aesthetic and philosophical problems in a short story.

Borges' stories are interconnected by their philosophical themes and leitmotifs (time and eternity, death and immortality, the Other, etc.). These are related through repeated symbols: Heraclitus' river, labyrinths, mirrors, libraries, circles, pyramids, towers, knives, tigers, etc. The dialogical principle, expressed in language and in all the levels of the compositional structure of Borges' stories, is supported by the contrapuntal themes of his prose as a whole, constituting a multi-voiced artistic work.

The merging of the world of our everyday reality with an imaginary and even physically impossible alternative world can be described as an illustration of the possibility of an instantaneous transition and connection of everything at an ontological level (e.g., Borges' short story "The Aleph"). Similar transitions at the level of individual consciousness can be found in his short stories "The South" and "The Other Death." The metaphysical dimension of Borges' work is associated with an attempt to express some philosophical ideas at the level of an imaginary experiment with abstract entities. Defining world history in "Pascal's Sphere" as "the history of several metaphors," Borges depicts one of its aspects as a set of philosophical intonations from Xenophanes to Pascal, in which the idea of the divine sphere, the universal metaphor of the world, is revealed. Borges' metaphysical prose is an attempt at an alternative development of philosophical ideas not in a purely theoretical form, but in the form of an intellectual experiment by means of the artistic imagination, where the abstractions of philosophy are fleshed out with visible light and content, encouraging one to think about them.

Many Russian researchers highlight Borges' philosophical views on the problem of human existence and the existential problems of death and immortality, as well as on the intellectual ability of the human mind and imagination. Borges anticipated the rapid development of such areas of cultural knowledge as hermeneutics and semiotics. These researchers note his significant influence on Russian literature, referring to the closeness of his ideas and the emergence of his followers ("Borgesianism") in Russia. Borges' paradoxes, his mixing of fantasy with everyday life, and the germination of fiction into reality are all characteristic features of Russian literature.

Latin American literature provides artistic images that embody philosophical ideas, including ideas of totality and infinity, and the search for ontological integrity or completeness. One of the central motifs that run

through the works of Latin American authors is the existential search by their protagonists for the ultimate foundations of their own authenticity and the acquisition of the ontological substantialness of their position in the world. This search is largely associated with the fact that Latin America is "other" in relation to Europe and the US. An analysis of the works of Latin American authors shows the complex and multi-vector nature of their ontological and existential searches, making it possible to see attempts in them to design potential philosophical and cosmological models of the future, expanding the boundaries of both philosophical and literary creativity.

The similarities between Latin American and Russian literature and their philosophical underpinnings certainly facilitate intercultural dialogue between them. Of course, these philosophies also have common concerns and questions for dialogue and collaboration among their representatives.

RF: That's precisely my next question. What, in your opinion, are the central issues that facilitate the dialogical exchange with Russia? Do these relate to questions of freedom, national identity, or the relationship with the hegemonic West?

ED: In 1984, the Mexican philosopher Leopoldo Zea visited Moscow to receive a doctorate degree *honoris causa* from Lomonosov Moscow State University and to mark the publication of his book *Philosophy of American History* in Russian. I participated in a meeting with Zea in the editorial office of the journal *Latin America,* during which he expressed interesting ideas, including about the historical similarities between Russia, Spain, and Latin America, each suffering from wars and seeking their own independent way of development. The dramatic situations stimulated searches for their solutions and generated extraordinary spiritual-intellectual efforts, resulting in an upsurge of philosophical, literary, and artistic creativity. Their literature, arts, and thought had common characteristics such as engagement in socio-political issues, social criticism, and the search for ideals and spiritual orientations.

The reason for dialogue between Latin American and Russian philosophers, as well as for a worldwide intercultural philosophical dialogue, is that philosophy—and humanity in general—is facing world problems that concern all human beings. These problems are escalating

perilously. We are at once witnesses of and participants in the dramatic changes in the world, comparable to a "tectonic shift." In a broad historical picture, today's humanity is at a crossroads. On the one hand, there exists the crisis of the obsolete neocolonial-neoliberal hegemonic world order, which caused wars and global disorder. On the other hand, there is the quest and struggle for positive changes, for the transformation of societies and the world order.

Within this general context, the questions that you mentioned—of freedom, national identity, and the relationship with the hegemonic West—are pertinent, and they're at the center of contemporary discussions. These problems, as well as their possible solutions, are interrelated. In the changing world situation, when many past presuppositions have been shown to be in need of rethinking, new approaches and ideas need to be explored.

Let's start with the question of *freedom*, which remains at the center of philosophical discussions. Both Latin American and Russian philosophies have contributed to these discussions. Each of them has their own dramatic experiences of striving for freedom, the lessons to be learned, and the wisdom they gained, which can be shared with the rest of the world.

Latin American philosophy, especially the philosophy of liberation, has a longstanding tradition of addressing the question of freedom. It isn't limited to an abstract conception of freedom; rather, it proclaims a practical process of *liberation* as its goal. In his ethics of liberation, Enrique Dussel formulated "the liberation principle" with its ethical imperative to liberate victims. This implies an obligation to participate in the emancipatory transformation of society.[17] Liberation philosophy gained recognition as a paradigmatic change: instead of the pattern of Western liberalism, which only adds a few items to individual "liberties," liberation philosophy develops a counter-discourse from the misery of the oppressed and affirms trans-modernity and the real and necessary process of the liberation of the great majority of humanity, a cosmopolitical liberation or emancipation as a future-oriented project.[18]

The philosophy of liberation and intercultural philosophy are consonant with Jean-Paul Sartre's conception of freedom and its concomitant sense of personal responsibility. Sartre held that although one is never free from one's "situation," one is always free to choose and to "negate" that situation and try to change it. This philosophy, however, isn't limited to the dialectics

of determinism and freedom (as a personal biography or a reflexive exercise of personal autonomy) but addresses the mutually complementary dialectics of oppression and liberation.

In the philosophy of liberation and intercultural philosophy, freedom is one of the crucial presuppositions of intercultural dialogue, along with the human condition, critical reflection, and rationality. These presuppositions are anthropological constants for the justification of culture and socially organized life. They have a cultural origin. Whether they're acceptable to other cultural traditions or are universalizable is a question that can't be decided solely from the philosophical position: it's a matter of intercultural dialogue.

Culture frees human beings from the material dependencies of nature, but it also creates new, symbolic dependencies on customs and values for its members and imposes limitations with its own idiosyncrasies and information filters. The dominating cultures with universalized norms, if they aren't freely chosen, can infringe on personal freedom through the dependencies imposed by cultures and self-imposed by cultural identities. Subjective critical reflection is necessary as a protective remedy that prevents a particular cultural universe from becoming oppressive to its members. Freedom prohibits the manipulative domination and colonization of subjective reflection. In other words, freedom is the condition in culture for any person to disagree and to seek, beyond the limits of their cultural situation, the solidarity and common action of those who demand the "reign of liberty" for all. Solidarity is considered a foundation of liberty.

Rationality is constitutive of and organically linked to the anthropological constant of human freedom. Reason is a necessity for freedom, and the exercise of reason presupposes human freedom. In other words, if a human being is free, s/he is obligated to be rational, that is, to give reason, to oneself and to others, to the manner of understanding, living, and acting s/he has. This is the qualification of freedom as subjective reflection. The vital relation between freedom and rationality implies the responsibility of the human being. Thus, freedom is viewed as reflexive and solidary. This reflexive solidarity, chosen as a way of life, enables people to realize their freedom through the joint praxis of liberation. The realization of freedom is possible in each person as the power of autonomy, which should belong to all human beings: to be co-subjects of freedom without alienation. "Intercultural dialogue aspires to the transformation of relations

among persons and their cultures, opting for the universalization of the principles of co-autonomy and co-sovereignty as ways of life that realize the 'project' of freedom in all and for all."[19]

Freedom and solidarity are an important theme, one that's actively discussed in today's political philosophy, within the context of the rapid changes in the world. The pivotal category of Western modernity is the idea of human freedom anchored in the Cartesian *cogito* and typically identified with a self-possessed autonomy or proprietary quality. The entire development of economics in modernity can be grasped as a process of the "liberation" of private profit-seeking from all social and ethical constraints. At the twilight of the modern paradigm, its inherent conflicts—between freedom and solidarity, ego and society—are evident. A major issue is how freedom can be reconceived and rendered compatible with the notion of solidarity (which is related to the ideas of equality and fraternity). Thus, it's necessary to find a way of reconnecting or reconciling freedom and solidarity on a novel, transmodern basis. Philosophers point out the importance of exploring the possibilities of the movement toward new beginnings or modes of life where freedom and solidarity are reconciled, thus making a brighter future for humanity on a global scale possible.[20]

Latin American and Russian cultures have traditions of community ties, and thus the theme of freedom and solidarity, uniting people around the common goals of solving social and world problems, is very interesting for the philosophers of both regions.

Now let's turn to Russia, where interest in the problems of the human being and freedom has always been exceptionally great. The nineteenth-century Russian philosophers' experience of studying freedom is the key to understanding the important aspects of Russian philosophy of the twentieth century, and therefore it remains relevant for understanding what is happening in contemporary Russia in the twenty-first century.

Russian philosophy of the nineteenth century was an integral spiritual formation, which proclaimed the ideal of a personally liberated individual and in which the theme of human freedom was the most important leitmotif. The characteristic idea within the framework of Slavophilism is the idea of a person focused on spiritual life, "reasonably free," genuine and open to the universal. Aleksey Khomyakov's concept of freedom of a Christian in the Church is the freedom of his self-realization and self-fulfillment, which

for the believer, in the "state of faith," lies in aspiration of the communion with God. This concept of freedom has patristic roots.

The works of Fyodor Dostoevsky were of great importance for the formation of ideas about the freedom and happiness of man in Russian philosophy. The religion of Christ is the highest embodiment of the moral ideal of the individual, based on the concepts of the meaning of life, freedom and responsibility, good and evil, reason and morality. In *The Brothers Karamazov* (1880), the legend of "The Grand Inquisitor," expresses the truth about the freedom and happiness of man. The temptations of human freedom can be dangerous and lead to disaster. The essence of the truth of the Grand Inquisitor is in his imposition of his ideal of universal human happiness and paradise on Earth (disregarding the individuals' will). But Dostoevsky warns against this instrumentalization and that it's impossible to build a society based on a lie "in the name of good," to deprive a person of the freedom to know and to make a choice. The path to a social utopia is unacceptable if it's at the cost of the suffering of a particular person. The novel proves the truth of Christ through the image of Alyosha Karamazov, and it consists of the desire to know and love the reflected Face of God in every human face. The truth of Christ presupposes only free choice, no matter how hard it may seem. The path to the genuine truth is from the happiness of one person to the happiness of all mankind. Dostoevsky's protagonist is free from external forms of connection with reality (class or property), but he acquires genuine relationships that allow him to live according to internal personal laws—the relationships of free choice, responsibility, love, and faith.

The problem of freedom is one of the fundamental themes of Russian religious philosophy, and the main component in the interpretation of freedom is the phenomenon of spirituality. According to Vladimir Solovyov, an important condition of the spirituality of the individual is freedom. In Solovyov's early works, freedom is defined as a necessary manifestation and expression of the inner essence of the person. In his later works, a transition is made to a new understanding of human freedom—the ability of autonomous self-determination. He was a defender of the inner spiritual freedom of the individual, considering freedom an integral facet of spirituality and ensuring the dignity of the individual. In Solovyov's teachings, the freedom of the individual is closely connected with morality. Morality is at the origin of freedom: it's the individual's choice between

good and evil. Further, the definition of the goals of a freely chosen activity and the means of achieving them is mediated by the court of conscience and, finally, the responsibility of a person for his act.

The dynamics of freedom are revealed in the possibility of a person's transition from "negative" freedom to "positive" freedom. The modality ultimately depends on a person's choice, but it also has its own ontological basis. The positivity of freedom for Russian religious philosophy is connected with the man's aspiration of the unity with God.

Nikolai Berdyaev considered Nothing to be the ontological basis (or, more precisely, the "groundlessness") of freedom. Through creativity, a person controls freedom, turning its negative power into a positive one. It's in creativity that a person realizes himself, and his destiny is to seek unity with God. Semyon Frank saw this foundation of freedom in Reality, which, depending on the degree of its connection with God, can act as a source of both "positive" and "negative" freedom. Nikolai Lossky distinguishes between formal freedom (to choose actions) and material freedom (creative power for the implementation of absolute values). The individual must voluntarily make an irrevocable choice in favor of the Good, and hence in favor of the positive material freedom in God and the Kingdom of God permeated with love. The core moral ideas of Russian thought of the previous century remain valid in our twenty-first century.

Traditional interpretations of freedom in political philosophy encounter difficulties in trying to reconcile the common with individual freedom: the problem is how to conceptualize the relationship between the freedom of an individual, a "singular" human being, and his involvement in the community life world. An original approach to this problem was offered by Michel Foucault, who in his late works introduced an anthropological and philosophical concept of the practices of the self (*pratiques de soi*) and envisioned a new ethics of care for oneself as an exercise of freedom. Similar ideas were creatively developed by Sergey Horujy in his "synergic anthropology" related to hesychasm (from Greek ἡσυχία, *hesychia*: stillness, rest, quiet, silence—an ancient mystical tradition of prayer and spiritual practices). Horujy developed synergic anthropology with a reconstruction of hesychasm, focusing on its anthropological meaning and insights for a new approach to philosophical anthropology. Synergic anthropology asserts that a relationship of synergy exists between God and human beings, resulting in harmony. Horujy further elaborated on these

ideas in light of his concept of "anthropological unlocking," which occurs during the encounter of the configuration of the energies of a human being with those of the Other.[21]

Furthermore, being created in the image of God, the human bears the qualities of freedom and relatedness. A person chooses whether or not to enter into a relationship. A human being is truly a "personality" only when a person actualizes his attitude toward other people. Personal freedom is positive when it is inscribed in a spiritual tradition. Spiritual tradition is inner-personal, transindividual, and a result of efforts of many generations in forming this experience, in developing many psychical and hermeneutical procedures and methods. Many spiritual traditions have several similarities. In comparing traditions such as classical yoga, Tibetan Tantric Buddhism, Taoism, Zen Buddhism, Islamic Sufism, Roman Catholic spiritual exercises, or Eastern-Orthodox hesychasm, despite their differences, in their spiritual practices share some ontological, methodological, and anthropological elements. The universal elements of spiritual practice can facilitate communication among peoples from different religious backgrounds and dialogue between their respective traditions. The practices of the self and spiritual practices, philosophically conceptualized in a new anthropology, promote the ideas of human freedom, justice, and peace.

In contemporary Russian philosophical thought, there are two main currents in understanding the value of freedom: personalistic-individual and social. Both the personalistic-individual and the social understanding of the value of freedom have in common the moral-axiological dimension of human Being, but in contrast to classical religious philosophy, the emphasis is placed on the social value of freedom. This shift is related to the process of the maturation of civil society. Civil society is a society of free citizens who enjoy a plenitude of rights, and an ideal of freedom is a free individual in a free society. Freedom exists within the context of the spiritual culture of society, and freedom is also understood from the point of view of the person who bears it.

Here, what is important is the principle of communicative action as a form of dialogical communication. Social-political freedom in civil society facilitates the emergence of the creative elements of interpersonal contacts. The polyphonic character of intersubjective relations helps to better evaluate the levels of personal freedom and responsibility. In this situation,

an individual can understand that the value of freedom implies conditions for freedom of the "other."

A new vision of the philosophical problems of freedom has emerged in our contemporary high-tech information society. In the technogenic society, the category of freedom obtains new meanings. In a globalized society, the transformation of the essence of freedom and of the social forms of its realization takes place. It increases the role of the individual in social life and increases personal responsibility for decisions and actions. Responsibility is impossible without freedom, and thus freedom of choice and free action of the individual is the basis of collective activity that creates culture and develops society. In the interrelated world, responsibility of individuals at certain level becomes co-responsibility. Contemporary civilization has developed powerful means, including weapons of mass destruction. The collective destiny of the world increasingly depends on the goals and actions of individuals, which requires global awareness and co-responsibility.

The questions you raised regarding national identity and the relationship with the hegemonic West are pertinent for both Latin America and Russia, as well as other regions, and are vital topics for dialogue among philosophers. Latin America and Russia both have their own history of being challenged by Western hegemonic policies deploying "hard" and "soft" power. At the same time, each of them has its own history, with ups and downs, of anti-hegemonic resistance and of struggling for independence and political, economic, and cultural sovereignty. Both passed through and learned from bitter experiences of neoliberalism and tried to find alternative ways of independent development based on their own cultural traditions. The Latin American philosophy of liberation is a counter-discourse underpinned by the ideas of cultural identity and anti-hegemonic struggle, boldly articulated by intercultural philosophy and the conceptions of transmodernity seeking a transformation of society and international relationships. Russia, meanwhile, as a Eurasian country, became more open to the East. It's searching for an independent path of development as a state-civilization based on regaining its own cultural identity and intellectual-spiritual tradition. In the search of the nations for identity and independent development their interests coincide, and this is a common ground for dialogue, philosophical reflections, sharing experiences, and collaboration.

Hegemony has become a troublesome issue. The proverbial saying "power corrupts; absolute power corrupts absolutely" is relevant to hegemonic power, particularly hegemony on a global scale. Domination infringes on liberty and hegemonic exceptionalism is opposite of equality. The design of a hegemon-centric world, dominated by one state alone or with its allies (condominium), is inherently un-democratic. People always knew about the dangers of an excessive concentration of power. In the US, for example, there have been attempts to prevent it through the separation of political power into the legislative, executive, and judicial branches, through the antitrust laws to prevent unjustified monopolies, through the struggle for the recognition of cultural diversity, etc. For a long time, theorists have insisted on the democratization of international relations, pointing out the contradiction between the US claim to be the "model" of democracy for the world and its foreign policy regarding other nations and stating that democratic imperialism is a misnomer. But now we are witnessing the unprecedented phenomenon of the military superpower exercising hegemony over most countries in the world and aiming to expand its dominance still further with the involvement of NATO and its other allies.

The neoconservative ideology claims that the "benevolent hegemon" is the realization of the desirable world order, thus clothing hegemon-centric dystopia in attractive garb. The United States' aspiration to become a global empire (what Kant called "universal monarchy"), and thereby achieve absolute security and dominance, is a dangerous illusion. This has provoked neototalitarian tendencies domestically and has triggered a new Cold War that prevents any collaboration between nations to solve global problems. What is likely to happen in reality is that attempts to pursue this goal will provoke an arms race and increase the risk of WWIII and a nuclear and ecological catastrophe.

Not many nations would agree to be vassals to an empire. The future of mankind is at stake in the struggle between the unipolar hegemon and the nations that don't want to be vassals and which seek independent development in a multicentric world. The real alternative to the hegemon-centric order isn't for power to change hands but a world free from *any* hegemonic domination. Free sovereign nations should develop their relationships based on the international law as having equal rights and

strengthen their dialogue and collaboration for solving social and global problems.

RF: We have focused a lot on your work as a "bridge," which I referred to at the start of this interview, with the thought of the Latin American world. But in your biography and publications, there is also a very important element related to your work in favor of a dialogue of civilizations and a philosophy of peace. That is why I'd like to round off our conversation with this question: What is the extent of the work done so far in this field, and how would you describe the challenges of the future?

ED: For me, the issue of war and peace isn't just a theoretical abstraction but a vital and existential question. I was born during WWII in the then-occupied city of Vitebsk, where the people were suffering and fighting heroically against the Nazis. I survived by a miracle, and as a philosopher, I became committed to the cause of peace in my publications. Witnessing the horrors of war and being in the existential *Grenzsituation* between life and death always remains with you and is conducive to developing a deeper and more meaningful understanding of life, an opposition to war and violence, intense soul-searching and an inner awakening, a sharpened sensitivity, and an interest in philosophical questions and the transcendent "beyond."

Peace is what humanity needs most of all. Peace is possible only through dialogue, diplomacy, and agreements. Lasting peace will be possible only through establishing relations of dialogue and collaboration. The absence of peace, that is, war (in all its manifestations: cold, undeclared, hybrid, open, civil, etc.), remains the main challenge for humanity. This is not only because war in a thermonuclear age threatens the very existence of the human race but also because war-mongering and confrontational policies prevent the collaboration of nations for solutions to social and global problems, the escalation of which imperils the future of humankind. Therefore, without just and lasting peace, the future of humanity is grim.

Philosophers have addressed this problem for a long time. The classic example is Immanuel Kant's *Perpetual Peace*. He was a true visionary. He accurately diagnosed the dangerous tendencies of modern civilization that remain with us today: authoritarian and paternalistic power structures in society, perpetual war among nations, and the imperial ambitions of

powerful states. Kant rightly considered all of these to be threats to human freedom as such, and he warned that they might someday imperil the future of the human race unless they were properly confronted and dispatched. His proposed solutions—the establishment of the rule of law with a republican constitution, the enlightenment of the citizenry (and their representatives), a peaceful federation of free nations under a commonly accepted international right, and a condition of "cosmopolitan right" that will "finally bring the human race ever closer to a cosmopolitan constitution"—remain as apt and urgent today as they were in his time.[22]

Political attempts to implement the project of perpetual peace were made after WWI with the establishment of the League of Nations in 1920 and after WWII with the establishment of the United Nations in 1945. But these were torpedoed by geopolitical rivalries and the Cold War with its nuclear arms race.

I personally remember the atmosphere of ideological confrontation and the fear of living under the nuclear Sword of Damocles when the Americans' Pershing II missiles deployed in West Germany and the Soviets' SS missiles were pointing at each other. At that time, there were many anti-war publications and mass protest movements. As a philosopher, I was engaged in discussions about war and peace, and I was among those who wrote about the dangers of a political-ideological confrontation in the Atomic Age, of the nuclear arms race that threatened to incinerate the world, and of the need to find peaceful solutions through diplomacy and negotiations.

For example, at the peak of the Cold War, prominent philosophers from the Institute of Philosophy and the wider Russian Academy of Sciences published a book, to which I contributed, titled *Problems of Peace and of Social Progress in Contemporary Philosophy*.[23] In it, the problems and theories of war and peace were discussed, as well as the views of Arnold J. Toynbee, Karl Jaspers, Bertrand Russell, Pierre Teilhard de Chardin, Mahatma Gandhi, and other thinkers from the Middle East, Africa, and Latin America. The volume invoked the peace-loving traditions of philosophical thought in both West and East. The contributors argued that the survival of humanity is supreme in comparison to the narrow interests of particular social classes, geo-political ambitions, or ideologies. They also provided justifications for the possibility and, indeed, the necessity of the peaceful coexistence and collaboration of nations in order to avert the risk

of nuclear catastrophe and solve the global problems of the arms race, underdevelopment, and the environmental crisis. These ideas resonated with those expressed by famous philosophers and scientists, such as Albert Einstein and Andrey Sakharov, and as well as with the will of many people around the world to live in peace. That book and similar publications built up an international dialogue in search of peace and the survival of humanity. The humanistic imperative of peace obtained its political shape in Russia in the "new political thinking," which asserts the priority of all-human interests and universal values, collaboration, mutual security based on political rather than military means. This initiative was taken up by peace movements around the world. These movements were underpinned by an understanding of the necessity to move away from potentially apocalyptic confrontations to a pluralistic world order of peaceful, collaborative relationships among nations. The rise of this global consciousness, with its movements for peace and democratization, and diplomacy contributed to the end of the Cold War.

The people of the Soviet Union, who sacrificed 27 million lives during WWII, were most genuinely interested in peace. Russia subsequently pulled out of the arms race and ended the Cold War, a move that was seen as saving the world from a potential nuclear apocalypse. The basic premise of ending the Cold War was peaceful coexistence, the reduction and eventual destruction of nuclear weapons, and steps toward disarmament. Russia followed this path with a number of unilateral steps, including agreeing to tear down the Berlin Wall and to the reunification of Germany, dissolving the Warsaw Pact in 1991, and drastically reducing its arsenal.

Russia also wanted to establish close collaborative relationships with Europe. In 1994, it signed the Partnership and Cooperation Agreement with the EU. In the globally interrelated world security is indivisible. This principle was affirmed by the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE), which reaffirmed—at its Istanbul summit in 1999 and its Astana summit in 2010— the rules for coexistence based on the principle of equal and indivisible security, meaning that each participating state has an equal right to security, and that they will not strengthen their security at the expense of that of other states.

The end of the Cold War opened opportunities for a positive transformation of societies and international relations. One might even say that it could be considered as the third attempt to implement the Kantian

project of perpetual peace. It inspired movements for democratization and human rights protection and the activization of the UN, generating great hopes.

It is hard to imagine that anyone would object to these opportunities to rescue the world from the precipice. Unfortunately, rather than morally responsible individuals, it is those who, in pursuit of the "golden calf" of wealth and profit from wars, are in control of the economic-political-ideological system and possess the real power to decide on war and peace and on the destiny of peoples. With the concentration of power and the domination of elites, manipulating and corrupting voters, this gap between politics and morality seems to become an abyss, with no limits of hypocrisy and cynicism.

However, Russians believe that their peaceful initiatives were not reciprocated. It turned out to be a one-way street; the United States and its Western allies got everything they wanted, but Russia got nothing (other than continuing threats and the new Cold War). In hindsight, it is evident that, in contrast to the new political thinking, the US merely gave lip service to the idea of a peaceful world order and instead continued with its old imperial political thinking, aiming for geopolitical dominance and expanded ambitions of global hegemony in a unipolar world. In a breach of its promises and written agreements, the US took the advantage to become the sole military superpower, withdrew from arms control treaties, and modernized its nuclear arsenal. Breaking promises not to do so, and in violation of the principle of equal and indivisible security, NATO also expanded eastward, close to the Russian borders, converting Eastern European countries and some of the former Soviet Republics into militarized "anti-Russian" outposts, posing an existential threat.

The US undermined the concept of deterrence because its nuclear buildup disturbed the strategic balance. It developed the Ballistic Missile Defense System (BMDS), which makes it possible for the US to launch a first strike while simultaneously hoping to shield itself from a retaliatory response. Furthermore, it also withdrew from the Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty, which banned weapons designed to counter ballistic nuclear missiles, the Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty, and the Open Skies Treaty. The only remaining treaty, the New START Treaty, will expire on February 4, 2026, and there are no negotiations about its extension. The US

National Security Strategy also declares its adversarial relationships with Russia and China.

The US rejection of the peace-building opportunities of the post-Cold War period and its shift to militaristic hegemonism were perhaps, in the short-term, advantageous to the military-industrial-political complex and big corporations. But the long-term consequences were negative both for America (bringing neither security nor moral authority to its pretensions for global leadership) and for the world.

This US shift, its breach of promises to and written agreements with Russia (as its partner in peace negotiations), the subsequent declaration of "victory" and its hostility against Russia is viewed as aiming to colonize or destroy it on the path to total dominance. This was denounced by Russians as a perfidious betrayal. The crux of the matter is that the peaceful end of the Cold War was based on a great deal of trust, and the blatant trampling of this trust undermined the very basis for diplomacy and agreements. This was viewed as proof of the intractability and inability to conclude any agreements or fulfill its part of the deal. Without basic trust, it is impossible to have any serious agreement, and this undermines the international system. Thus, the declared "victory" was actually a Pyrrhic victory over international law and its underpinning moral principles, and merely formed the prelude to a new Cold War. Given this background and the current state of world affairs, menaced by the hegemon's obsession, it is unlikely that this second Cold War will have a similar peaceful ending. Peace, trust, and international law fell prey to this cynicism.

The superpower established its hegemonic dominance not only through its "hard" power of military preponderance and economic sanctions but also through the "soft" power of legislation and propaganda. However, the pretensions of the US—or any state—to be a legislator of international law are unfounded. Due to inherent differences in interests and political discourses, no one democratic state can claim an impartial and disinterested representation of the interests of other sovereign states, nor could its legislation be only a pure expression of universal "principles of law" (such as human rights). There is also the tendency of the US to change the function of international law from an emphasis on constraining the use of power to legitimizing its unilateral use; in short, creating a "hegemonic international law" and establishing patron-client relationships in which loyal clients seek the hegemon's security or economic support.

Furthermore, the US is trying to dismantle legal and institutional foundations serving as bulwarks against the domination of powerful states over those less powerful, and to exert a bullying control over the UN. It is also trying to substitute international law with the "rules" that it invented itself and makes changes to its benefit. Following the example of the "world leader," the other nations may think that "might makes right" is a type of new norm.

Scholars have been concerned about these policies, which undermine the basis for peaceful international relations and cooperation in solving global problems. They show a glaring discrepancy in US policy between the declared ends and the means used to achieve them: world stability through power politics and the hegemony of a global empire; security through militarization and global electronic mass surveil-lance; the prosperity of the few at the expense of the many; economic growth at the cost of destroying the environment; the forcible "spread of democracy" in violation of international law; and neocolonial hegemonic "integration" while actually increasing global disorder. Economic interdependence is used by hegemon for dominance.

Global domination by a superpower is perceived as a threat by nations that do not want to be dominated, provoking defensive reactions and galvanizing the arms race. In response to the US deployment of the BMDS, Russia developed hypersonic missiles immune to any current missile defense system. Neither "Star Wars" nor a layered missile defense system can shield the United States from retaliation in the event of a first strike; instead, it has increased the risk that it might become the target for a retaliatory strike. China is also boosting its nuclear potential. In a new arms race, technical mistakes in the highly complex automated systems might trigger an unintended launch. All this increases the already high risk of a nuclear catastrophe for the world.

Even though the world is no longer unipolar but is emerging as politically multi-centric and socio-culturally diverse, as the US is losing its dominance in the global economy and its political standing is weakening, it tries to keep a grip on hegemonic power through military means and irresponsible flirtations with nuclear threats.

Hegemonic ambitions and militarism are a very dangerous combination. Some political scientists think that the prospect of moving toward a new world order, unless this move occurs in an altered atmosphere of a post-

catastrophe global setting, is currently inconceivable. However, in a nuclear age, a catastrophe may leave nothing to change. Will *homo sapiens* stop charging headlong toward self-destruction? What could be the peaceful alternative?

Against the grim background of hegemonic unipolarity, many nations are looking for anti-hegemonic alternatives and are attracted to the ideas of a polycentric world order, which would be based on the rule of law, equal rights of the sovereign nations, noninterference in the internal affairs of other nations, and mutually beneficial collaboration, opening possibilities for independent development. With the growth of the economic and military potential of non-Western powers, the contours of an emerging polycentric order are marked by transcontinental and regional alliances such as BRICS (an economic association of Brazil, Russia, India, China, and South Africa), the Shanghai Cooperation Organization, the Eurasian Economic Union, and the Collective Security Treaty Organization.

But what about peace? An old adage says that "defeated armies learn well." If this is so, the adherents of peace need to better understand the causes of the rise and fall of antiwar movements. The vested interests of the military-industrial-political complex and hawkish politicians who torpedoed the peace-building process in the 1990s are no secret. But this outcome was not predetermined, and the neoconservatives' claim of "the end of history" was premature: their advance was possible not because of their moral or political strength but, to some degree, due to the weakness and mistakes of the forces who were supposed to be interested in peace. There were many illusions regarding the existing system of liberal democracy, and too much trust was given to politicians, who were sworn to represent the interests of the people but who, in reality, served the interests of the big corporations and the deep state. This resulted in people's disappointment and political apathy. However, this cannot be an excuse for the citizens: in a formally democratic society with elections, citizens have voting rights and thus co-responsibility for state politics.

Facing a new Cold War, those who are interested in peace should learn lessons from the past, rethink their strategies, and find new approaches in the struggle for, hopefully, a peaceful and just world order. First of all, people should not be passive consumeristic conformists in exchange for the comfort provided by the existing system but active citizens responsible for their role in democratic politics. As Kant would say, individuals should not

surrender their freedom to be the masters of their own lives. Similarly, nations should not give up their sovereignty in exchange for the hegemon's promises of protection and economic benefits and should not become paternalized vassals but preserve their sovereignty under international law as equal members of the international community with equal rights and responsibilities for maintaining the lawful and fair international order and for contributing to peace, to the solutions to global problems, and to the prosperity of humankind.

But what can philosophers do in this regard? Philosophy as critical thinking needs to provide a thorough analysis of the theme of war and peace in the current situation, the root cause of the problem, and the possible solutions. It needs to expose the prevailing illusions regarding the neoliberal system and the myths that justify the status quo. Some of these myths are rooted in the technocratic or neoliberal versions of deterministic historicism, which instills ideas of the "progress" granted by the existing system and that the technology-driven neoliberal market economy is securing economic growth and prosperity. Another myth concerns the "benevolence" of the hegemon, whose leadership provides global stability and peace.

But economic crises (in 2008 and the one looming ahead), as well as ongoing global disorder and wars, have shown just the opposite. Recent propaganda has tried to turn the failures of the system to its advantage: the previously "triumphant" theme has been changed to one of "dramatic necessity," in which only global hegemony can protect citizens in a "global war on terror" and in the global crusade of "an alliance of democracies" against "autocracies" in the world. The policy of external domination also has internal parallels, as evinced by the infringement of civil liberties on the pretext of homeland security, such as surveillance programs, amounting to neototalitarian control over the people it purports to protect. Under the pretext of providing security and protecting citizens from "enemies," their privacy is invaded and their civil liberties infringed upon, or taken away. But in the "surveillance state," who will protect citizens from Big Brother's high-tech tyranny?

Philosophy should expose the groundlessness of these deterministic schemes. In approaching the current situation, people should not be misled by the saccharine promises of the "benevolence" of the hegemon or paralyzed by fear of its omnipotence. Adherents of peace assert that history

is open, containing many potential alternatives and implying moral responsibility, that human beings are free and responsible, and that the role of people is to be subjects of cultural-historical creativity.

In contrast to the ideology of the status quo, which insists that there is no better alternative, philosophers show the dynamic processes in the world and the possibilities for change. As an alternative, they justify the viability of the conception of cosmopolitanism, which, however, still needs to be revised.

Like-minded philosophers are aware of the difficulties in speaking of cosmopolitanism in a Western civilization that does not know what the κόσμος (cosmos) is and confuses the universalistic term with the expansion of its own interests. Thus, it is important to separate the wheat from the chaff, to distinguish the genuine liberating meaning of the cosmopolitan ideal from subjugating hegemonic simulacra as an "imperial" version of cosmopolitanism. At the same time, a human being, due to his/her finite condition, needs a "homeland," a family life-world, with proximity and vital community ties. Our aspiration is openness to the universal without forgetting one's own roots, as has been brilliantly expressed by many Russian thinkers and writers.

At this point, it is worth examining the direction the conception has taken heretofore and the emergence of the new cosmopolitanism. The idea of cosmopolitanism, embracing calls for human rights and citizenship of the world, can be traced back to Diogenes Laertius, the Stoics, and the Christian moral universalists. It found in the philosophy of Kant both a moral and a political grounding, together with the idea of a cosmopolitical law based on the rights of world citizens as the condition for perpetual peace and the idea of a cosmopolitan order. The horrors of World War II and the breakdown of civilization led to interest in the cosmopolitan idea and the establishment of the United Nations, which adopted the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

The end of the Cold War opened up opportunities to achieve positive change and establish peaceful international coexistence and collaboration. This gave new impetus to cosmopolitanism, and the 1990s were a time of discussions and a rebirth of the ideals of cosmopolitanism and of striving toward their practical implementation. Many philosophers and political theorists argue that the prevention of wars, the solution to global problems, and responding to the numerous dangers facing the world can only be made

possible through the transformation of society and a world order oriented toward cosmopolitanism. Cosmopolitanism envisioned a wide-ranging democratic transformation of societies and international relations, aiming for freedom and equality for each human being as a "citizen of the world" and a cosmopolitan world order.

The debates around cosmopolitanism present a broad range of interpretations of and approaches to it, encompassing the individuals and various aspects of society involved, as well as academic disciplines. This is reflected in the number of adjectives linked to the concept: "moral," "political," "legal," "cultural," and "economic" cosmopolitanism, as well as "cosmopolitanism about institutions" and "cosmopolitanism about the good life." They cover a variety of topics on the freedom of the individual, human rights, global distributive justice, feminism, intercultural communication, nation-states, international relations, and the world order. Some theorists use the term in a purely normative sense, while others' approaches are more analytical and empirical.

In the 1990s, cosmopolitanism was viewed mostly in opposition to pugnacious nation-states with their divisive and war-prone borders and the lack of transparency regarding human rights protection. It was from this perspective that the problematization of power aspects and concepts related to the nation-state, such as sovereignty, citizenship, pluralism, democracy, and civilization, were rethought.

On the eve of the twenty-first century, many hoped humanity would at last embrace new opportunities for peaceful international relations and cooperation in the search for solutions to social and global problems. However, these hopes were soon dashed. Instead of a multicentric order the world became overshadowed by a militarized superpower that implements a policy of global hegemony in a unipolar world. Global "imperial designs" challenge the sovereignty of nation-states, envassalling them, and neocolonial hegemonic "integration" is blocking their independent development.

The project of a hegemon-centric world order claims to represent the future of humanity. It is in order to avoid this dystopia that the cosmopolitan project sets forth its anti-hegemonic alternative. Thus, the *hegemonism* vs. *cosmopolitanism* opposition stands at the forefront of the struggle for the future of humanity. Hegemonism poses a formidable challenge to cosmopolitanism, which requires its own self-evaluation in a

new situation. This has to respond to the critique of classical "moral" cosmopolitanism of lacking the power of political theory and practice, which are so necessary for the implementation of these ideals. The cosmopolitan agenda has frequently been criticized for its universalized Western-centrism, which tends to exclude decolonial or subaltern perspectives. Critics have pointed out that such universalism was not sensitive to the plurality of the world and cultural diversity. It was vulnerable to being associated with "abstract universalism," which is also abused by homogenizing hegemonic globalization with its ethnocentric pseudo-universality and "imperial cosmopolitanism."

Theorists of cosmopolitanism thus set out to revise it, developing a conception of a new cosmopolitanism, which is not a mere ideal but also a political project, open to diversity, with distinctive characteristics such as being reflective, critical, rooted, democratic, dialogical, and transformative.

The *reflective* dimension refers to the self-reflection of cosmopolitanism on its philosophical and methodological assumptions, and it concerns self-problematization and critical self-understanding. It must become aware of its own conditions of possibility, and it should also reflect on the point of view of the Other. Cosmopolitanism is seen as a political philosophy, a culturally oriented approach to anthropology and cultural studies, a methodological approach to social sciences, and a new orientation in the world today.

The *critical* dimension suggests a critical attitude to the social world. It plays an important role in critiques of the status quo and hegemonic globalization, it is relevant to the renewal of critical theory in its traditional concern with the critique of social reality, and it requires a "cosmopolitan imagination." Critical cosmopolitanism is also decolonial. Non-Western schools of thought are recognized as crucial components of the conceptual development of cosmopolitanism. It must be sensitive to the voices of women, the poor, ethnic minorities, and excluded groups in different geographical locations, that is, it must be globally inclusive and truly cosmopolitan. Finally, it seeks to foster possibilities for cosmopolitics from below and for trans-national solidarity.[24]

The *rooted* or grounded dimension emphasizes that an individual has roots or is embedded in a specific history, nation, or people and that this is perfectly compatible with also being a cosmopolitan citizen of the world. It arises from an awareness of one's location, nationality, and cultural

heritage, harmonizing a sense of being a citizen of the world with an appreciation of the richness of shared culture. One can feel deeply committed to the local while at the same time adhering to global identities and universal values, that is, "universality plus difference." Such cosmopolitanism is an attempt to integrate the similar and different aspects of cultures around the world. *Democratic* cosmopolitanism asserts democratic principles and values within society and in international relations, as expressed in the theory of cosmopolitan democracy.[25]

The core of the new cosmopolitanism is its *dialogical* character, which embraces its rootedness, openness to cultural diversity, recognition of the Other, and the normativity of dialogical relationships with the Other—engaging in dialogue with individuals, social groups, nations, and cultures. It shows the possibility for reconciling differences through dialogical relationships without diminishing the voice and uniqueness of the Other: "unity in diversity." In dialogical relationships of equals, people with different cultural backgrounds, who at the same time understand their common humanity and status as "citizens of the world," can better understand each other, find common ground, collaborate in finding mutually beneficial solutions to existing problems, and join their efforts to build a better future—a cosmopolitan world. Theorists distinguish in dialogical cosmopolitanism a respect for difference, a commitment to genuine dialogue, and an undertaking to expand the boundaries of moral concern to the point of universal inclusion and global justice. Dialogical cosmopolitanism aims to bridge the alleged national-global divide and is oriented both toward treating the values and cultures of other societies with great respect and simultaneously toward dialogue across cultural frontiers.[26]

The new cosmopolitanism is essentially *transformative*, and it is guiding political practices toward social transformation on both macro and micro scales. Its implementation requires profound transformations of society, international relations, and people's minds and hearts, fomenting a global and cosmopolitan consciousness. It provides a theoretical basis for a critical revision of existing socio-economic structures, institutions, policies, and ideologies, as well as for a search for positive alternatives. It can become the regulative principle for understanding the interaction between universalistic, national, and cosmopolitan principles in contemporary society. An important characteristic of the new cosmopolitanism is its attempted connection with today's social reality. Its practical

implementation reveals the obstacles hindering efforts to realize self-transformative critical cosmopolitanism and facilitate dialogue across differences, and it therefore shows the need for changes in order to overcome such obstacles. With regard to social movements, this new cosmopolitanism has the potential to shape translocal solidarities in spaces of convergence and provide a vision for combining local and global dimensions of the protests and struggles for global justice and the necessary material conditions of life.

The new cosmopolitanism as a political philosophy is oriented toward an ideal of a possible future world order as an alternative to both the war-prone, anarchic, state-centered international system and to totalizing hegemon-centered "universal monarchy." In today's world, in the face of the hegemonic encroachment upon the sovereignty and independent development of nation-states, theorists see a positive role for nation-states in providing citizens with protection against certain dangers and with conditions for ensuring human rights. They have developed the political conception of human rights and updated the conception of sovereignty, arguing that sovereign equality and human rights are two interrelated legal principles of the dualistic international system and that both are needed in order to make it more just, thus giving the system a cosmopolitan dimension. They also stress the importance of strengthening international law and its institutions, such as an improved and independent UN, as a bulwark against the hegemonic predator and as the basis for sound international relations in a multicentric post-hegemonic world. They suggest thinking beyond nation-states, citizenship, and the state-centric international system and broadening the horizon of our views of cosmopolitanism.

In contrast to some premature declarations, these theorists argue that, currently, we are living not in an age of cosmopolitanism but "in an age of cosmopolitization." They refer to a "cosmopolitanism to come" as the as yet unrealized but realizable future potential of democratic political arrangements within sovereign states and in international relations, in conformity with international law and global consciousness, gradually evolving from an international to a cosmopolitan order. These ideas can serve as a guiding and mobilizing force in striving for social and global transformation, for a more just and peaceful world.[27]

Hegemonic designs and the new cosmopolitan project represent two different perspectives of the future. So are their strategies for achieving their goals different. The hegemonic superpower relies on force, imposes its monologic dicta, and uses *divide et impera* tactics to dominate in a "controlled chaos." In contrast, the new cosmopolitanism is peace-seeking, promotes morally good means for achieving moral goals, recognizes cultural diversity, and encourages dialogical relationships and the collaboration of peoples in pursuing common goals.

One may think it's counterfactual to talk seriously about intercultural philosophical dialogue in the hegemonically-monological environment. But it is precisely this dramatic situation that makes the intercultural philosophy of dialogue so pertinent in grounding a viable alternative to domination. Humanity has passed through many challenges under imperial and other authoritarian regimes while preserving the ineradicable courage to think and to seek the truth in dialogue. Horace's motto "*Sapere aude!*" ("Dare to know!")—or, as Kant translates it, "Have courage to make use of your *own* understanding!"—still remains vivid. It encourages individuals to make use of their minds to work their way from dependence to independence, to become enlightened and active citizens, to struggle in solidarity for their rights, and thus to be the masters of their own destiny and engage in harmonious relationships with others as part of the common humanity.

I have been fortunate to witness and participate in many events celebrating intercultural and intercivilizational philosophical dialogue in practice at World Philosophical Congresses organized by the International Federation of Philosophical Societies and at conferences of various international organizations, such as the International School for Intercultural Philosophy, the Rhodes Forum, the Dialogue of Civilizations Research Institute, etc. It was encouraging to see bright thinkers realizing dialogue in theory and practice in the joint search for truth, answers to perennial philosophical questions, and humanistic approaches to possible solutions to world problems. They asserted dialogue as an indispensable condition and a means for mutual understanding, collaboration, and peace. Philosophers from the United States, Russia, China, India, Latin America, and many other countries found common ground in their concerns about the freedom of individuals and the future of humanity and tried to find alternatives to deal with a twofold problem: the homogenizing consequences of hegemonic globalization and ethnocentric-fundamentalist

ideological fragmentation. Many of them addressed the problems of cultural identity and relations among different cultures and provided justifications for the recognition of cultural diversity and dialogical relationships among people with different cultural and religious backgrounds.

Following these discussions and publications and taking into account the theoretical criticism of classical cosmopolitanism and the challenges of hegemonic globalization, a new cosmopolitanism has emerged as a political project. It provides a comprehensive conceptual framework for promoting dialogical relationships. At the heart of it is dialogical philosophy and the conception of dialogical relationships at all levels—intersubjective, social, intercultural, and intercivilizational. The principles of dialogical philosophy can be considered as a kind of theoretical basis for a new society. The theor!y and practice of dialogue, including of the dialogue of civilizations provide a heuristically fruitful framework for a conception of a new, dialogical civilization.

The peaceful alternative is attractive to many people and serves as a common ground for dialogues between people with different cultural backgrounds and world-views who are vitally interested in the survival and prosperity of their families, communities, nations, and civilizations. People can use the internet and social media to establish solidary networks of associations, growing into a kind of a peaceful world community that can discuss and develop the theoretical aspects of cosmopolitanism, create strategies and tactics for the spread and implementation of cosmopolitan ideals, for the ennoblement of the hearts and minds of the people, for "cosmopolitanization" within societies, to influence political processes, and to democratically promote the transformation of societies and international relations. The articulation of a pluriversal and dialogical "cosmopolitanism to come" as a viable alternative inspires and provides us with a vision of the path toward strengthening a broad international collaboration and furthermore toward a cosmopolitan world order of freedom, justice, and peace.

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