

Table of contents

Editor's foreword

BARBARA MARKIEWICZ

On revolution once again

ANNA KRZYNÓWEK-ARNDT

Civil Revolution in Hannah Arendt's perspective versus paradoxes of political action

WŁODZIMIERZ JULIAN KORAB-KARPOWICZ

Politics and time : a fight between traditionalism, modernism, and postmodernism

TOMASZ GRZEGORZ GROSSE

The potential for revolutions in Europe

AGNIESZKA NOGAL

Solidarity as a political value

PIOTR KOŁODZIEJCZYK

New Deal as a revolution phenomenon according to Garet Garrett's The Revolution Was

JOLANTA SAWICKA

A permanent revolution in Claude Lefort's view

MICHAŁ R. WĘSIERSKI

A few remarks on the crisis and the need for philosophy of politics

DOROTA HALINA KUTYŁA

The cultural origins of the concept of a warrior

REVIEWS

AGNIESZKA NOGAL

The grass is always greener...

(Włodzimirz Bernacki: *Political thought of the First Polish Republic*)

EMILIA KACZMAREK

Hurricanes, cannibals and stock brokers – how to write a popular philosophical book

(Michael J. Sandel: *Justice. What's the right thing to do?*)

JOWITA RADZIŃSKA

Possible relationship between solidarity and a civil society

(Karolina Ciechorska-Kulesza, Radosław Kossakowski, Paweł Łuszczenko, eds., *Culture of solidarity. Sociological and anthropological analyses of Solidarity's cultural heritage*)

BARTOSZ FINGAS

The struggle between economics and philosophy

(Łukasz Hardt: *Studies on realistic philosophy of economics*)

TOMASZ SOSNOWSKI

Triviality of pragmatism and the beauty of American hope

(Richard Rorty: *Philosophy and social hope*)

KARTARZYNA ANNA KLIMOWICZ

With equality life is better...

(Richard Williamson, Kate Pichett, *The Spirit Level*)

Abstracts

Abstracts

Barbara Markiewicz

On revolution once again

As a starting point for considerations the author accepts that the concept of revolution has changed historically in a similar way as the concept of democracy. Initially democracy was limited to a certain reality and political system, but over time the concept has become synonymous with common good. It can be claimed that similar changes in meaning can be observed in the concept of revolution. However, as the trouble with its use in the media shows, the universal dimension of the concept of revolution does not apply to axiological and ideological layers. Therefore, it should be sought for elsewhere. The author suggests focusing on the technical side of the revolution rather than political ideas and values, as every revolution makes use of a specific technique for taking over power and establishing its own new form.

Keywords: revolution, authority, power.

Anna Krzynówek-Arndt

Civil revolution in Hannah Arendt's perspective versus paradoxes of political action

In the concept of revolution there are two essential elements of political life. The first one is the fragility and sensitivity of the world of things created by human beings, lack of durability and strong support of the political order. The other element is the human ability to create and build a new order with hope for its survival. However, a more adequate approach to understand these elements is conceptualization of politics and political actions that anticipate the opening of the public sphere to the traditional and religious arguments (desecularization of religion as an impress of the postmodern epoch), and also to the problems of dignity of human work. What is also important is the awareness that it requires redefinition of the anthropological assumptions and a radical broadening of understanding how humans act according to what Hannah Arendt proposes. Moreover, it is important to understand that the redefinition means something more than just retouching as it is defined

by Habermas, who believes in “laic communicative power” even in spite of mentioning “complementary learning process” of religion and secular outlook from yourself.

Keywords: Hannah Arendt, revolution, public sphere.

Włodzimierz Julian Korab-Karpowicz

Politics and time: a fight between traditionalism, modernism, and postmodernism

There are many social conflicts. Some of them may be regarded as intra-epoch conflicts. In the past traditional societies faced many conflicts and wars including those for dynastic, economy, ethnic, and religious reasons, as well as those caused by unequal availability of resources. Subsequently, the modern epoch added economy and ideological conflicts between sovereign national states or groups of states. The fundamental reason which has been causing conflicts for more than 300 years is the clash of epochs. It leads to the severe change of the human life – from the traditional life based on the value of community and culture as a whole; through modernist, which results in a secular and sovereign state, to postmodernist which is characterized by the idea of globalization, abolition of all traditional moral and social barriers, and religious fundamentalism. The author proposes that the fundamental conflict is the conflict between epochs. However, it constitutes an insufficiently observed arena, which faces many conflicts, including the one between civilizations. The author assumes that the fight, which in fact is a fight between traditionalism, modernism and postmodernism, has lead the Western world to an internal dilemma, which causes it to become less capable of facing new challenges.

Keywords: modernism, postmodernism, conflict, civilization, tradition.

Tomasz Grzegorz Grosse

The potential for revolutions in Europe

The article aims to analyze the situation in the European Union in terms of whether it is possible to talk about the pre-revolutionary situation in 2013. This analysis refers to the three factors contributing to violent political change, that is the geopolitical factor, economic factor, and democratic legitimacy. The article concludes with a forecast of possible changes in the current integration processes, which may be a result of accumulation of political tensions in the above-mentioned fields.

Keywords: revolution, geopolitics, economic crisis, European Union.

Agnieszka Nogal

Solidarity as a political value

Horizontal relationships unite the society and level off the differences from other sources. A solidary political community is based not only on common property but also on private property, and at the same time levels off the economic disproportions so that economic conflicts would not become political, which could in turn cause the emergence of antagonized social groups. In this sense, solidarity can stabilize the political community. A case in point being the Western European democracies, which after the Second World War became welfare states. Solidarity could play this role now, even though there are organizations such as Occupy Wall Street or Indignants Movement, which rebel against the inequalities. The current idea of solidarity may be achieved on different levels. The first is the local level, where the most is known of the citizens' situation; the state level, where there are institutions which aim at a unified political community according to economy and culture; and finally, the supranational level, to level off the dangers which a growing economic stratification entails.

Keywords: revolution, solidarity, economic solidarity, political state stability, redistribution.

Piotr Kołodziejczyk

New Deal as a revolution phenomenon according to Garet Garrett's The Revolution Was

The article attempts to prove whether some elements of New Deal make it a revolutionary phenomenon. When thinking of New Deal as a model of revolution it can be said that the revolutionary change was the liberation of the bureaucratic class. It was the government that was liberated from the power of citizens. Therefore, it can also be said that the change was made without no change in the political system (including the remark borrowed from Aristotle). The United States of America remained a democratic country but the power was

transferred from the citizens to the bureaucratic apparatus. This, apart from the violent character of the changes, could have caused Garrett to define New Deal as a revolution that happened behind the back of the biggest opponents of revolution.

Keywords: revolution, New Deal, state intervention, legitimacy.

Jolanta Sawicka

A permanent revolution in Claude Lefort's view

When young, Claude Lefort, was a committed Trotskyist. However, in the mid 50's he lost his faith in the communist and truly proletarian revolution, which was presumed to lead to a truly socialist society. By claiming Marxism was not a political philosophy, he proposed a new view on politics. The foundation of this new philosophy was the opposition of totalitarianism and democracy. What kind of society it is, totalitarian or democratic, is decided by looking at the authority. In totalitarianism the place of the authority is occupied by one particular person, or a particular group. In democracy, that place is empty. Nobody, or no group may take this place permanently. However, at the same time everyone has the right to it. So democracy as such has no solid foundations; its foundations are undefined and unstable. For Lefort, it is democracy that constitutes revolution, which makes members of the society constantly involved in politics, so as not to allow one person to take that empty place. A question then arises, does permanent revolution really determine a democratic society and protects against totalitarianism?

Keywords: revolution, democracy, totalitarianism, authority, power.

Michał R. Węsierski

A few remarks on the crisis and the need for philosophy of politics

A philosopher of politics should not be a social engineer, even if he were to dabble in piecemeal engineering, in Popper's sense; he should rather be a social surveyor, responsible for measuring a plot of land for development, for which politicians should in turn be responsible. That measured land is ordered by a system of philosophical notions and critical

studies, together with comments on the history of political thought. One of the outcomes of a philosopher's work should be an ordered thought, i.e. objective knowledge that includes genesis and evolution of philosophical notions, relationships between ideas, and presentation of the cultural background, from which those ideas originated. In this reconstruction work a philosopher of politics needs to move in between the allowed boundaries of the text under analysis. A philosopher does what others cannot do due to the separation of exact sciences from philosophy. Therefore, a philosopher is not beyond scientific inquiries; he can use them as confidently as representatives of those sciences. It can be argued that a philosopher has a unique position in the social life of every group.

Keywords: philosophy of politics, method of philosophical inquiry, idea, political thought

Dorota Halina Kutyla

The cultural origins of the concept of a warrior

The author returns to both Polish and German cultural sources and depictions of rebellion. In Polish culture the basic, even archetypical depiction of warriors comes from Zygmunt Krasiński's *Un-divine comedy* [*Nie-Boska komedia*]. For the German culture it is *The Robbers*, written by Friedrich Schiller. Both dramas are characterized by the author as cultural models of rebellion and revolution for the two countries. The problems depicted in both books have not only become historical, old and resolved, but they are present in the current times. Due to this fact, the questions of how to change them remain. Since the questions recur it is worth coming back to the culturally depicted solutions.

Key words: revolution, revolutionist, Zygmunt Krasiński, Friedrich Schiller.