



**STATE (IN)STABILITY:
Past, present, and future
perspectives for the nation-state**

Book of Abstracts

Libertas International University

12 November 2021

**STATE (IN)STABILITY IN THE AGE OF
POST-TRUTH**



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Organization

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The first STATE (IN)STABILITY conference is funded by
Libertas International University.

Introduction

State (In)stability was conceived in mid-2019, with the idea of establishing an annual conference which deals with social, political, economic, cultural, moral, and other factors which influence the stability and/or instability of states. The first Call for Papers which was published in late-2019 has received an excellent response, allowing us to introduce the conference speakers' first Book of Abstracts. We are happy to say that the second Call for Papers, published in December 2020, received an even better response, resulting in our second annual conference and Book of Abstracts. Our 2021 conference on *STATE (IN)STABILITY IN THE AGE OF POST-TRUTH* features 34 presentations given by 36 presenters from 19 different countries and more than 30 higher education and scientific institutions. The authors' short biographies and contact information are available in the last part of this booklet.

We extend our gratitude to all the conference speakers for their contributions, but also, given the unpredictable nature of events in 2021, for their patience and goodwill. We also extend our gratitude to all of the members of the conference's Scientific Committee for lending their names to our cause, participating in efforts to help news of the conference reach a wide array of prospective speakers, and helping us make choices with regards to incoming abstracts and paper suggestions. Finally, we extend our gratitude to Libertas International University for hosting and fully funding the conference.

In hopes of many successful conferences in the coming years, we present you with this Book of Abstracts and bid you welcome to our second annual gathering.

Vladimir Filipović & Stipe Buzar

Conference Schedule

10:00	<p>Opening and 1st Plenary Session <i>Chairs: Vladimir Filipović & Stipe Buzar</i></p>
10:00 - 10:10	<p>Stipe Buzar <i>Greetings and introduction</i></p>
10:10 - 10:50	<p>Kristijan Krkač <i>Bullshit, fake news, misinformation, and lies in crisis and disaster</i></p>

11:00 - 12:20	Panels A1 & B1 & C1		
	<p>A1 <i>Chair: Boris Kashnikov</i></p>	<p>B1 <i>Chair: Višeslav Raos</i></p>	<p>C1 <i>Chair: Stipe Buzar</i></p>
11:00 - 11:10	Adam Cebula	Marijana Opashinova Shundovska	Lunneihoi Thangeo
11:10 - 11:20	Boris Kashnikov	Višeslav Raos	Renz M. Villacampa

11:20 - 11:30	Dragan Stanar	Daniel Hinšt	Cheung Wai Lok
11:30 - 11:40	Nenad Stekić	Chris Ranalli	Petar Nurkić
11:40 - 11:50	Ivan Burazin	Brian McNiff	
11:50 - 12:20	<i>Discussion</i>	<i>Discussion</i>	<i>Discussion</i>

12:20 - 14:00	Lunch Break
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14:00	2nd Plenary Session <i>Chairs: Vladimir Filipović & Stipe Buzar</i>
14:00 - 14:40	Lee McIntyre <i>What is Post-Truth?</i>

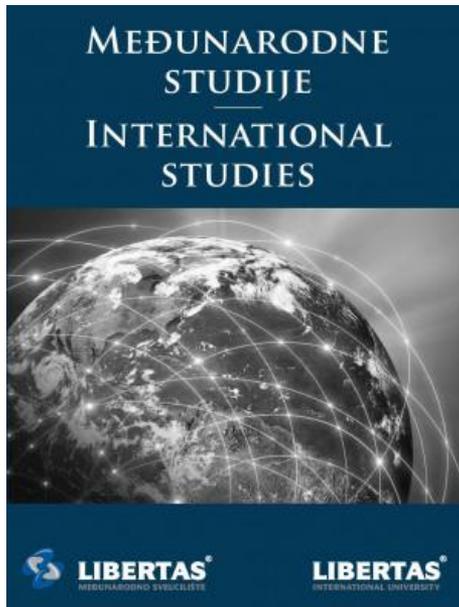
14:50 - 16:10	Panels A2 & B2 & C2		
	A2 <i>Chair: Damir Mladić</i>	B2 <i>Chair: Vladimir Filipović</i>	C2 <i>Chair: Stipe Buzar</i>
14:50 - 15:00	Clara H. Whyte	Mark Satta	Marta Zorko
15:00 - 15:10	Soim Lee	Pieter De Corte	Petar Popović
15:10 - 15:20	Zanan Akin	Florian R. R. van der Zee	Josephine Papst

15:20 - 15:30	Jason Keyser	Teemu Tauriainen	John Lawless
15:30 - 15:40	Stanford Howdyshell	Josipa Điri/Mateja Soldo	Tom Grimwood/Martin Lang
15:40 - 15:50	Andrés Molina Ochoa	Alexios Stamatiadis-Bréhier	Emilio Sierra García
15:50 - 16:20	<i>Discussion</i>	<i>Discussion</i>	<i>Discussion</i>

16:20 - 16:30	<p style="text-align: center;">Vladimir Filipović <i>Concluding remarks and information about publishing opportunities and deadlines</i></p>		
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Publishing Opportunities

International Studies



International Studies is referenced in:

- EBSCO Host
- ProQuest Worldwide Political Science Abstracts
- Sociological Abstracts
- Social Services Abstracts
- HRČAK – Portal of Croatian Scientific and Professional Journals

Keynote Speakers

Lee McIntyre is a Research Fellow at the Center for Philosophy and History of Science at Boston University and a Lecturer in Ethics at Harvard Extension School. Formerly Executive Director of the Institute for Quantitative Social Science at Harvard University, he previously taught philosophy at Colgate University, Boston University, Simmons College, and Tufts Experimental College. McIntyre is the bestselling author of *POST TRUTH* — which was named a CNN Book-of-the-Week and a Best Book of 2018 by the PBS News Hour — along with eleven other works of fiction and nonfiction. His essays have appeared in the *New York Times*, *Washington Post*, *Boston Globe*, *Newsweek*, *Scientific American*, *The Chronicle of Higher Education* and numerous other popular venues. He has appeared on CNN International, the BBC, and National Public Radio and has spoken at the United Nations, the Getty Museum, and the Aspen Institute. McIntyre’s new book *HOW TO TALK TO A SCIENCE DENIER* was published MIT Press in August 2021.

Kristijan Krkač has been a Professor at the Zagreb School of Economics and Management (ZSEM) since 2003. Prior to joining the ZSEM he was an Associate Professor at Faculty of Philosophy and Religious Sciences of the University of Zagreb (1996-2017). He was guest professor at Science Po Lille (France) and RISEBA University (Latvia). His research interests are mainly in a business ethics, CSR and sustainability and in the philosophy of Ludwig Wittgenstein. In these areas he published 12 books, edited and co-edited 8 textbooks, conference proceedings, and as a guest editor co-edited an issue of *Social Responsibility Journal*. He is the author and co-author of more than 120 original scientific, professional and review articles, book chapters, and encyclopedia entries. He published for De Gruyter, Springer, Ashgate, Emerald, and Austrian Ludwig Wittgenstein Society. He is an associate editor at *Social Responsibility Journal* (Emerald) and served as an editorial board member and a reviewer for several international journals and conferences (Europe, Asia, North America), and as a section editor for two encyclopedias of CSR (Springer). His notable ideas include the pragmatic/morphological analysis of later philosophy of L. Wittgenstein, the criterion of lying by default, and the remodeled concept of corporate social irresponsibility.

Conference Abstracts

The Nazis or the Germans? Some remarks on the veracity of post bellum historical narratives.

Adam Cebula

The paper is an attempt to delve into the underlying causes of one of the still unfinished debates over the dramatic experiences of several generations of people directly or indirectly affected by the hecatomb of the Second World War. With almost all the members of the international community involved in the conflict, the most egregious atrocities committed during WWII were not, however, equally distributed across the globe. The average level of exposure to life-threatening violence experienced by civilian populations in Western Europe were by no means comparable to the corresponding level of harm inflicted on civilians in the Far East, or in the countries of Central and Eastern Europe. Due to the relatively recent (re)establishment of democracy in the latter region, the full picture of the Central and Eastern European theatre of WWII is only now being discovered by modern (especially Western) historiography. What is crucial, some parts of the apparently distant past are still the subject of intense public debate in the political communities most severely traumatized by the war. The weighty questions about the responsibility for (complicity in) the Holocaust - as well as the other crimes against humanity perpetrated by Nazi Germany - or the most recent controversies in Poland over the methods of armed resistance to the installation of the communist regime in the country in the 1940s-50s testify to the presence of real tensions between – as well as within - particular collective memories of those events. The paper examines the ways in which the leaderships of the states resorting to unrestrained military violence (Nazi Germany being an obvious example) must rely on the support of - and exploit the resources made available by - ordinary members of their political communities. It also discusses the limitations of the standard model of administration of retributive justice when applied to crimes perpetrated during a total war such as WWII. Finally, the issue is raised of the reliability of official historical narratives constructed after the end of the war, particularly in the countries trying to distance themselves from their disreputable past.

Key words: WWII, Nazi Germany, total war, jus post bellum, historical revisionism.

Annexation or national self-determination? What difference does it make if post-truth prevails?

Boris Kashnikov

According to Dostoevsky: if there is no God, everything is permissible. Similarly, if there is no truth, everything goes. Is there any truth, related to self-determination, or it is all a sheer display of force? The urge for national self-determination stigmatized the 20th century. Dubrovnik once provided the hot spot of Croatian separation from Yugoslavia as well as Knin, not far away from here, provided the hot spot of Serbian separatism. These two mutually excluding self-determinations used to be not only a matter of force, but also a matter of legal and moral truth claims. We may outline at least three diverse movements belonging to self-determination. The first is the peace settlement, imposed on Europe by the Versailles peace accord. The second is the anti-colonial struggle of the 1960th. The third is insatiable separatist urge, which gained momentum in 1990th. The truth of each national-liberation claim may be disputed and there is always a substantial leeway of doubt and skepticism. We may refer to three distinct theories, which so far were providing moral ground for separatist mobilization: Nationalistic theory, Social Choice Theory and Human Rights Theory. Each of these theories in its own way provides the necessary moral bedrock for the flow of separatist sentiment and endeavor. They often stumble over a hard case. The annexation of the Crimea, widely denounced as not just, may be, in a way of paradox, perfectly justified in terms of any of the three theories mentioned above. Does it mean that post-truth prevails and there is no moral truth about self-determination claims? It would be premature to put aside truth claims. We only have to deal with the different kind of truth. Instead of metaphysical truth we have to deal with the pragmatic truth of self-determination, which we yet did not uncover.

Key words: Post-truth, national self-determination, separatism, irredentism, war, ethics.

War and Post-truth: Moral Equality of Combatants and Inculpable Ignorance in Just War Theory

Dragan Stanar

Abstract: This paper aims to identify and explain the effect of the modern-day post-truth age on crucial and essential presumptions of revisionism in contemporary Just War Theory (JWT). Revisionism of the classical JWT is based on the claim that Jus ad Bellum and Jus in Bello cannot be logically separated, and that only those combatants who fight on the just side are morally justified in killing their enemies in war. One of the core arguments of extreme revisionists is that combatants can and ought to know the moral status of their side in war, and act in accordance with it – if their side is unjust then killing in war is not morally justifiable. Moreover, they have a duty to surrender or desert. This paper will demonstrate that it is irrational and unjustified to demand combatants to know whether their side is just or not by investigating the effects and implications of post-truth phenomena in modern armed conflicts. By proving the practical impossibility of combatants to know, with any significant degree of certainty, whether their side is just or unjust, the author will demonstrate that the assumption of inculpable ignorance of combatants in war must remain the corner stone of both JWT and International Humanitarian Law (IHL), particularly in a world so heavily encumbered by post-modern relativization of truth, fake news, filter information bubbles, and all other phenomena from which the concept of post-truth is derived. Post-truth phenomena and its implications only further fortify the necessity of separating Jus ad Bellum from Jus in Bello and upholding the fundamental and imperative principle of moral equality of combatants in contemporary armed conflicts.

Key words: War, Inculpable Ignorance, Moral Equality, Post-truth, JWT.

Ontological insecurity of international system in a post-truth era: Military aligning in the Indo-Pacific (QUAD & AUKUS)

Nenad Stekić

Ontological security has become a vivid part of theoretical considerations within the Security Studies recently. Despite its earlier thematization in literature, it seems that newest occurrences within the practice of international politics nowadays revived the need for offering more accurate theoretical explanation of these phenomena. This article aims at shedding the light into the newest security groupings in China's geographic surrounding through analysis of some post-truth phenomena. Author applies the postulates of ontological security, in an attempt to explain the misleading behavior of the USA military partners that are supposed to "contain" China: Australia, India, and Japan. Quadrilateral Security Dialogue – QUAD, along with newly established AUKUS pact are serving as case studies of this research. The main idea is to demonstrate how the changing distribution and economic interdependencies shape the regional perceptions of US-led security initiatives and more networked and independent security relationships. The newest Cold War-like containment is exposed in US endeavors to address China's economic, military, and political rise. However, the key countries that fall under the US umbrella are reluctant to join the hard power agenda led by the USA. The main argument of this paper is that QUAD and AUKUS member states are fluctuating in their foreign policy preferences due to multivector fear coming from both USA and China as a challenger to its hegemony. To convince these countries to align against China, the USA uses specific argumentation which is based on the misuses of post-truth myths and illogical arguments, such as insisting on China's „malign“ threat towards the regional security in the Indo-Pacific. Based on the narratives between the QUAD/AUKUS partners, author discusses three potential scenarios of the security dynamics for this region in the near future: new balance of powers, new Indo-Pacific coherent US strategy, and desperate response of the West.

Key words: ontological security, QUAD, AUKUS, China, Indo-Pacific, post truth.

Framing the “terrorism in a state of insecurity” dilemma – theoretical and policy shortcomings

Ivan Burazin

When states face the insecurity dilemma, they become vulnerable to external and internal threats. The regularity of societal processes turns into a fear driven interactions which spiral the societal security dilemma. Moreover, both the states and the non-state actors become faced with the need for increased securitization efforts in which framing and counter framing become a crucial part of the policymaking processes. Terrorism in this regard becomes both a discrediting frame and a policy direction for dealing with the opponent. Generally, the discussion coalesces around the familiar notion that one man's terrorist is another man's freedom fighter. This binary logic becomes a divisionary master frame for understanding the overall situation. It fails to acknowledge the reality of a situation in which terrorists lack societal legitimacy and can be analyzed but not considered as a social movement in its basic form. Simultaneously, the militants fail to acknowledge that principles of totality by default prevent rational adversaries from engaging in any other form of interaction. Reproduction of knowledge by different instances takes a course in the state of insecurity dilemma and follows the logic of a security and political deadlock. While the identity certainly is a centrepiece of resonances, without strategic rationalizations of the environment, it fails to achieve the utmost for the actor and fails to provide an efficient analytical framework for the analyst. Hence, the case for constructivist realism and the need to integrate the three social movement theories in the quest for a comprehensive and neat analytical framework.

Key words: terrorism, framing, insecurity dilemma, social movements, constructivism, realism, policy making.

Security implications of fake news and disinformation in NATO Member States and Partners

Marijana Opashinova Shundovska

The misuse of digital platforms for dissemination of fake news and disinformation online is becoming an increasing problem both for individual states and multilateral organizations. Alternative facts presented under the veil of awakening critical thinking or placing false and purported pieces of information out in the social media environment by state and non-state actors for their own purposes, have been disturbing the credibility of traditional fact-checking media outlets to present actual information to the public. The grasping notion of parrhesia as part of the democratic free expression of oneself in a liberal society via social networks is now seriously questioning the common objective standards for the truth. Deliberate interference with fake news and disinformation in contemporary democracies, especially during electoral campaigns against opponents, the use of anti-NATO narrative especially in countries with former communist regimes, and recent promotion of false sense of security or insecurity about the Covid-19 pandemics, became an issue of major concern for the entire Alliance and its field work. Although in essence being a military organization to secure peace and stability in its wider area and promote its values globally, NATO has witnessed in the last decade that peace and security in its traditional terms can not be taken for granted. The emergence of modern non-military tactics by adversaries to destabilize member states and partners require specific methods and approach for deterrence and defense. This paper will analyze how these alternative facts affect state and overall Alliance stability, the implications they might have on diminishing public trust in state institutions and what actions are needed to mitigate their effects.

Key words: fake news, disinformation, state stability, elections, pandemics.

Who Doesn't Trust the News? Factors Influencing Trust in the Media Among Croatian Citizens

Višeslav Raos

The rise of post-truth, alternative facts, and division of both voters, and politicians in echo chambers and information bubbles is closely connected with the rise of distrust of media outlets, especially those pertaining to traditional media forms (press, radio, and television). The aim of this paper is to examine the factors that influence one's inclination to trust or distrust media, whereby a distinction will be made between traditional media forms and new media forms (internet news portals, social media networks). The paper will try to test whether sociodemographic background characteristics, party preferences, level of religiosity, as well as views and opinions on bioethical issues, have an influence on one's trust in information presented by media outlets. In addition, this analysis of social opinion will also make use of measurement instruments that assess one's proclivity to authoritarianism and populism. The paper will test the relation between trust in media and the aforementioned factors by making use of nationally representative field survey conducted in early 2020, as party of the Croatian Electoral Studies series, maintained for three decades by the Faculty of Political Science in Zagreb. The analysis of factors influencing trust in media will be based on an OLS regression model, with levels of trust in both traditional, and new media sources, as the outcome variables.

Key words: media, trust, voter behavior, social cleavages, Croatia.

Post-truth in the context of disinformation and a risk for fact-based policymaking

Daniel Hinšt

The concept of 'post-truth' combines fake news, populist-driven conspiracy theories, revisionism and distrust of mainstream media, political institutions and scientific expertise. Post-truth is usually a product of disinformation, which has broad societal and policy impacts, by trying to spread false dilemmas and narratives. When facts, critical thinking and scientific expertise become relative or irrelevant, the need for facts-based and evidence-based policymaking easily erodes. This risk can have a strong impact on the existing institutional structure of liberal democracies, including EU and NATO, foreign policy options and alliances among Western countries, with significant implications on global security of democratic countries. Michael Hayden, former CIA and NSA director, mentioned the post-truth in his book *The Assault on Intelligence*. Hayden connects the post-truth with the alternative-facts narratives and the erosion of the Enlightenment values, which decrease the value of fact-based intelligence, and the ability of society to base important decisions on the best judgment of objective reality. This risk was especially present during the Trump era, when the former President compared the intelligence system with the Nazis, and promoted a popular deep state narrative. While post-truth seems to be a modern term, disinformation that stands in the background is not new, but rather has deeper historical roots within the Soviet policy as well as within the revisionist Russian policy. This policy represents a challenge for the Western institutions, based on the Enlightenment values. Hereby, the main challenge is how to distinguish freedom of arguments-based opinion within the framework of liberal democracy and populist attempts to undermine facts. The last option would increase the political risk for democracies and policymaking as a rational process based on different options of factually informed stakeholders to solve complex societal problems.

Key words: Post truth, disinformation, revisionism, Enlightenment, intelligence, institutions, democracy.

'Indoctrination' as Political Propaganda

Chris Ranalli

The populist response to the perceived threat of critical ideas in schools and universities in recent years is the charge that students are being indoctrinated. In this paper, I explore the epistemology of these charges, the epistemology of charges of indoctrination. I defend what I call the Propaganda View, according to which public charges of indoctrination are political propaganda which serve a deformative social-epistemic function (cf. Cassam 2019 on conspiracy theories). On this view, the kind of public charges of indoctrination we see in recent popular and alternative media are expressions of political propaganda. They seek to undermine a person, movement, or idea; to sow doubt or distrust by creating a sense of public controversy. That's the primary function of public charges of indoctrination. In turn, charges of indoctrination contribute to post-truth politics. This is because they either mislead the public about what's controversial or artificially create the needed controversy. Although there can be sincere and legitimate charges of indoctrination, the social-epistemic ecosystem is polluted by too many misleading cases (cf. Battaly 2018; Ryan 2018). The trouble is that it can be difficult to distinguish propagandistic from legitimate charges of indoctrination. One place to start is to ask: 'if you believe the charge, who gains?' The more reason one has to think that political agents are the benefactors, the more likely the charge is propagandistic. Surprisingly, however, even the sincere, accurate charges of indoctrination can do more epistemic harm than good in an epistemically polluted environment. For this reason, charges of indoctrination should be dropped from public space entirely.

Key words: Indoctrination, the value of truth, political propaganda, misleading defeaters, epistemically polluted environments, distrust.

Cynical Journalism: How the Environmental Movement is “Othered” by Right-wing Partisan News Media

Brian McNiff

Popular right and far-right wing media is rife with narratives that doubt the sincerity of social and political movements that are deemed as belonging to the perceived “other side,” perhaps first among them being the effort to stem the worst effects of the current ecological crisis. Such accounts not only help to prevent the dissemination of accurate information about the threat of global warming but can also play a role in embedding their adherents with a sense of cynicism regarding their political “others.” This effect is magnified by the existence of what has been referred to as epistemic bubbles, self-segregated social networks of political confederates that lack inbuilt incentives that would otherwise lead to discrediting false information. Further, recent evidence in belief acquisition suggests that human beings are naturally susceptible to forming beliefs against their better judgments regardless of their priors. This can result in extreme ideas gaining a foothold in the political mainstream when disseminated by politically homogenous, hyper-partisan news outlets. By considering the role that cynicism in right-wing news media plays in shaping the national public conversation, we will examine how the disposition dominates right-wing perspectives of the modern ecological movement and hijacks the public conversation concerning anthropogenic climate change.

Key words: Epistemic/information bubbles, social epistemology, media ethics, popular distrust of science, acceptance of fringe ideas in the political mainstream.

Deviation from the Orthodox

Lunneihoi Thangeo

Some events that occurred after the Christian movement became the state religion of the Roman empire can be regarded as one sort of historical revisionism. Theodosius had sanctioned the state persecution of all those who did not uphold the Nicene version of Christianity. This resulted in the loss of many works by those who were deemed unorthodox Christians. For many, the Christian movement bifurcated, then permutated after the Protestant Reformation. Had it not been for the discovery of some of these so called unorthodox texts in the twentieth century, we would not have known alternate views apart from the mention in some polemics. This paper does not argue about the truth of who Jesus was, but rather focuses on the deliberate attempt to oblivate some early followers of Christ. Perhaps this is comparable to the ways in which powerful leaders today use mainstream media to promote their version of truth and create a diversion from ground reality. Another issue is whether such censorship is justifiable. Had it not been for the unifying endeavors of the early church leaders, there might not have been a Christian community as we know of now. In the same way, if a leader of state does not present a grander than life narrative, perhaps there would be more chaos than order. When we weigh in such factors, do they make the effacement of some parts of reality necessary? After all, we are not talking about personal or even social morality, but institutional morality. Perhaps promoting a version of truth over another is not condemnable in the larger scheme of things and in one way we are all complicit in this.

Key words: Christian, historical revisionism, unorthodox, suppression, justification.

Bahala na si Batman: The Bahala Na Mentality and the Glorification of Filipino Resiliency in the COVID-19 Pandemic

Renz M. Villacampa

Proposing that the common notion of the unique Filipino bahala na mentality is disoriented and abstruse, this paper will discuss the Filipino bahala na mentality and establish its grounding to the experience of Filipinos in their fight against the COVID-19 pandemic. By “disoriented and abstruse”, what this paper means is that there is a looming possibility to see this Filipino mentality as an act of transcending beyond their experience of misfortune with humility and patience – to see them as the willing suffering people. Thus, as the contention of this study, this leads to the glorification of the Filipino Resiliency concept. The aim is to provide readers with an examination of the Filipino bahala na mentality and point out how it leads to the glorification of Filipino resiliency especially now that they are at the helm of this global health crisis. Three-part discussion is presented to make this hypothesis feasible: (1) the Filipino bahala na mentality and its philosophical relevance in facing the COVID-19 pandemic; (2) the glorification of the Filipino resiliency concept, and; (3) the overarching challenge, first, to the government at-large to craft a responsive policies and proactive actions in dealing with the COVID-19 pandemic and, second, to the Filipinos in particular, to examine their understanding of the Filipino resiliency concept.

Key words: Bahala na, Filipino Resiliency, COVID-19 Pandemic, Bathala, Fatalism.

A pretence understanding of the post-truth through an identity politic

Cheung Wai Lok

Consider a liberal theory of identity politics. Identity politics is a politics of self-identification with groups. On freedom of association, whether geographically or otherwise, liberalism permits free self-identification, although the right self-identification is constituted by the metaphysics of one's belonging to the group. Could a biological male ever belong to the gender group of women? A self-identification is wrong if one self-identified with a group that one does not belong, but the culture of womanhood, in perfection of femininity, if underdetermined by biology, then it is open for such a person to self-identify with women. Consider some motivation for self-identification to be not thus appropriate on the corresponding metaphysics. I could have self-identify with the liberals through victimhood, such as being a person of colour. Although I do share some liberal values, and thus putative have the same goal of other group members, I am, as a matter of fact, not a victim. In Hong Kong, a Chinese who speaks native Cantonese has much better job prospect than someone who does not, although Caucasian who are native speakers of English do have some better job opportunities, such as in having higher employability as an English teacher with a rather good pay. If I were to pretend victimhood, and join some liberals to engage in American politics, I will have been within their echo chamber, reinforcing my group identity of victimhood with information about oppression of people of colour. How I do have a sense, however, fictitious, of belonging, shall have sustained my participation and the corresponding in-group dynamics, but such untruthful self-identification is worse than one that is justified on the actual facts. The alternative facts I would have been acting on – that I am a victim – constitute myself as contributing to the popularity of the post-truth.

Key words: Victimhood, collectivity, solidarity, individuality, personhood, identity politics.

The Rhetoric of Instability: Epistemic Authority in Crisis Circumstances

Petar Nurkić

In this paper we will examine how experts, from certain epistemic networks, behave in the circumstances of a crisis. Our main goal is to show kinds of rhetorical strategies that experts use to strengthen their own epistemic authority. We will do that by analyzing experts' strategies used in two pandemics: the one caused by A H1N1 virus, in 2009, and the current pandemic caused by SARS-CoV-2. There are four different, but interrelated, rhetorical strategies, that epistemic experts use to consolidate their epistemic authority. Two are internally oriented and consist of (1) experts providing additional reasons for why the measures, they propose in the time of crises, are rational and (2) experts emphasizing their own responsibilities in the crises. Experts also use two externally oriented rhetorical strategies by which they (3) challenge the expertise of other experts and (4) raise doubts about the motives of other epistemic experts. To analyze the collected data, we used a qualitative content analysis software (Quirkos, 2016). To observe the roles of experts, during pandemic crises (social context I / social context II), we focused on a cross-cultural approach, by observing 14 central actors in Croatia, Serbia and Sweden, that directly influenced the shaping of public opinion and the outcomes of crisis circumstances in the period from 2009 to 2010 (crisis 1), as well as in the period from 2019 to the end of 2020 (crisis 2). In order to arrive at a convenient sample of statements, made by epistemic experts during the crisis, we focused on 10 key events within the two mentioned crisis situations. We collected data from electronic media sources using global archives accessed through the browser "news.google" and the website "FactCheck.org". We collected 103 relevant media articles from which we sampled 169 direct statements made by epistemic experts.

Key words: Epistemic networks, epistemic experts, epistemic authority, rhetorical strategies.

The “Post-Truth Society” and Neoliberalism: How Capitalism Gone Mad is headed to New Forms of Totalitarianism... or to its Destruction

Clara H. Whyte

The so-called “push towards a post-truth society” corresponds to the later stage of capitalism, often called neoliberalism, and to what Hannah Arendt had identified as the end of the “bourgeois era” which relied on the pragmatic values of profit and power[Arendt H. .- The Origins of Totalitarianism, Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, New York: USA, 1973, 527 p.]. Although it could appear as a new reality, it is, in fact, the continuation of a long process of political degradation which started with the emergence of the first historicist philosophies, including that of Hegel with his concept of spirit in history[Hegel F.- Phenomenology of the Spirit, Oxford University Press, Oxford: UK, 1977, 595 p.]. In fact, those philosophies rely on the main idea that human societies race on a path on which they do not have control[Popper K.- The Poverty of Historicism, Boston: USA, The Beacon Press, 1957, 166 p.] led by a law of history which governments should not hinder but rather help unfold. They lead to utopian approaches of public policies which rather than focusing on improving human lives and life on earth focus on enabling the birth of future utopian societies[Ibid.] which are supposed to come about as the result of the law of history, and this at any cost – human, environmental, etc. Among the most well-known regimes that relied on historicism to inform their policies, we can name Nazism and communism which lies we do not need to detail.

In this article, we shall first demonstrate that neoliberalism also relies on a historicist ideology. The latter states that if we let the law of the market run freely and completely unhindered, we shall reach a state of global prosperity and perfect economic harmony for all. In order to reach this goal, any means can be used and any sacrifice is possible. It is the necessary Darwinian waste on the path to an idyllic economic future.

Key words: capitalism, neoliberalism, historicism, utopia, totalitarianism, manipulation, conditioning.

The ‘Idealist’ Ideology of a Postnational Europe vs. the ‘Factualist’ Ideology of the Social Welfare State

Soim Lee

I want to consider how the development of discourse on the legitimization crisis of the EU can be analyzed from a perspective of the post-truth phenomenon. The problem of cognitive bias (McIntyre) inherent in the post-truth phenomenon can also be witnessed in two arguments on the crisis of EU, that oppose each other. On the one hand, ‘idealist’ proponents of EU-integration employ the concept of a ‘postnational Europe’ claiming to think a supranational model of democratic sovereignty. On the other hand, ‘factualists’ point to abundant facts provided by empirical research proving the dismantling of the social welfare state since the 1970s, which can be understood as the ongoing dissolution of social politics into economic governance due to the process of EU integration. I contend that neither of these political frames are able to explain the normative relation between the legitimization crisis and the rise of right-wing populism, thereby lacking crucial criteria to adequately evaluate an ongoing loss of democracy. Two interrelated questions will be discussed: 1) What is at stake in the idealist truth of the idea of a postnational Europe which opts for enforcing the state as a normative concept but for abolishing the reproachable idea of the nation? 2) What is the paradox and contradiction in the ‘factualist’ truth of political economy? A historiography which construes the current crisis as a loss of the heyday of the *trente glorieuses* ignores the difference between two dimensions in the loss of democracy: the loss of political values in the context of post-war history and the loss of a nation’s wealth in post-war political economy.

Key words: EU, post-truth, legitimization crisis, post-national, democracy.

Reactionaries vs. Progressives and the Indifference of the Logics of Capital

Zanan Akin

Since the beginning of the pandemic, we have witnessed a kind of split into two fronts: reactionaries vs progressives; a strange phenomenon of juxtaposition. The strangeness in this juxtaposition, which constitutes my point of venture has nothing to do with the particular “fronts” but with the center; so, the very line of demarcation which enables this framing itself. Because, as my paper will argue, in this center there lies the indifference of the “capital” towards the so called “facts” or so called “conspiracy theories.” Just take one symptom among others: How come that on the one hand, a way of ideal life has been prompted in the markets of western world for decades which promises a “pure” non-chemical and natural way of life if one buys the right products for it –just think of the increase of popularity of “grandma’s medicine” among upper-middle classes in recent years and the overall boom of the good-old-natural “pre-modern” way of consumption, which could be enjoyed in a late-modern packaging– but on the other hand, it is possible to treat some Corona-Sceptics who seem to have taken the promise of “purity” quite serious, as if they come from another planet?

The question in broader terms is: What does enable a certain simultaneity in the modern liberal democratic capitalist societies to treat certain choices as legitimate, innovative, and sustainable in the realm of consumption and to damn the same in the political realm, if the very same choice wants to exceed the realm of circulation of exchange and articulates itself as a political stake and wants to shape the world accordingly? I will argue that it is the logics of capital, which is “indifferent” towards any truth or conspiracy which enables such schizophrenic simultaneity of occurrences in the midst of western societies.

Key words: Capitalism, Commodity circulation, Indifference, Consumption, Healthy Products, Corona-Sceptics, Schizophrenic Simultaneity.

Coup d'État in the Disinformation Age

Jason Keyser

At 11:26 a.m. ET on Saturday November the 7th, The Associated Press declared Joe Biden the winner of the 2020 United States presidential election. One hour prior then President Donald J. Trump, in an unprecedented move, declared via Twitter: "I WON THIS ELECTION, BY A LOT!" Thus began his ill-fated "stop the steal" crusade that culminated in the January 6th storming of the United States Capitol.

The goal of the "stop the steal" movement was, and indeed still is, to prevent or reverse a Joe Biden coup d'État. In the name of preserving the state the Trump contingent engaged in a mass insurrection that, itself, amounted to a failed coup attempt. On what grounds can insurrectionists, and those sympathetic to their cause, condemn coup d'État as a political strategy when they have embraced it as a political strategy themselves?

Political philosophy is uniquely equipped to deal with the logical dissonance one experiences at seeing coup d'État characterized as both the savior of the state and an existential threat to it. Two philosophers stand out for their sustained interest in coup d'État: Niccolò Machiavelli and Michel Foucault. Foucault states, "The coup d'État...is an assertion of *raison d'État*, and a self-manifestation of the state." If understood as a philosopher of *raison d'État*, rather than primarily concerned with preserving sovereignty, Machiavelli offers a straightforward, detailed, and interesting account of coup d'État that allows it to operate simultaneously as a means of saving the state and a threat to it. If we understand coup d'État as a diagnostic tool, free of ethical concerns, as a manifestation of *raison d'État* we can use it to assess potential risk factors regarding the state, and attempt to mitigate future manifestations. A cause which ought to appeal to anyone actually interested in the preservation of the state.

Key words: Fake News, Conspiracy, coup d'État, *raison d'État*, Populism, Insurrection, Fringe Ideas.

Conspiracy Theories as a Covering Over of Truth

Stanford Howdyshell

A common solution offered to the problem of conspiracy theories is to gently offer better information to the theorist. With the continual application of facts, trustworthy sources, and verifiable data, the conspiracy theory will eventually become too tangled of a web and buckle under its own weight. The conspiracy theorist will then see the internal contradictions and come around. This approach assumes that everyone engaged in the debate is oriented towards the truth about the world and that the crux of the debate is around how to get to truth. In this paper, I will argue that this assumption is false. Instead of being oriented towards truth, but ultimately misguided, conspiracy theories are a form of discourse that covers over truth while pursuing another goal.

Not all engagement with phenomenon is oriented around truth. Oftentimes people engage with the world in ways that cover over the truth. A common example of this is idle chatter or small talk. In idle chatter, one is not engaging with any given phenomenon in order to learn something about it or uncover some truth, but instead one is focusing on reinforcing social relationships, filling the silence, or just trying to get through the next five minutes. Through parallels with idle chatter, I will show that conspiracy theories are not oriented towards finding a hidden truth or a way of squaring the circle of contradictory beliefs, but rather are a way of covering over. Thus, providing conspiracy theorist with better tools to evaluate truth and trustworthy sources will not provide the solution. It will also open up further investigations into the structure of conspiracy theories to understand the ends that they serve and the way that they meet them, which could, potentially, lead to better ways of addressing the problems of conspiracy theories.

Key words: Conspiracy Theories, Heidegger, Hermeneutics, Phenomenology, Truth, Epistemology.

The right to the truth and Historical Revisionism

Andrés Molina Ochoa

Truth only recently came to be valued in transitions from wars to peace or from authoritarian regimes to democratic governments. Contrary to modern practice, in the Treaty of Osnabrück, from the Peace of Westphalia, the parties agreed to “a perpetual oblivion and amnesty for all hostile acts committed since the beginning of these troubles in whatever place or manner, by one party or the other.” (Art II) There was no successful political movement to establish the truth and preserve the memory of atrocities and systematic violations of human rights until the end of the Second World War.

This study’s objective is to analyze the repercussions of negationist versions of history by studying two important moments in the emergence of the right to the truth and laws of memory: the aftermath of Second World War and the first laws of memory, and the period of social struggles in Latin America that resulted in history’s first successful truth commission, CONADEP (National Commission on the Disappearance of Persons). Both movements were founded on the idea that we must remember to “never again” suffer atrocities akin to those committed during the Second World War and the military dictatorships in Latin America. By remembering history, these movements succeeded in developing a set of legal and rhetorical tools, as well as a web of alliances, for preventing the perpetration of horrendous crimes. If this history is negated, the paper concludes, minorities will be bereft of the resources required to protect themselves in contemporary democracies.

Key words: Collective Memory, Right to the Truth, Historical Revisionism, International Law, CONADEP.

Epistemic Exhaustion and the Retention of Power

Mark Satta

In this presentation, I seek to identify and explore one of the political motivations for the promotion of various catalysts for “post-truth” society, such as fake news, echo chambers, and distrust of experts. That motivation is the creation of what I am calling epistemic exhaustion. Epistemic exhaustion is cognitive fatigue generated by efforts to determine, retain, or communicate what one believes under conditions that make doing so especially taxing. I argue that the creation and maintenance of epistemic exhaustion is a tool that the socially and politically powerful can and do use in order to retain power. This is because creating epistemic exhaustion is one way of dulling a population’s commitment to truth and ability to spot falsehoods. I consider a variety of conversational tactics as well as three circumstances—partisan polarization, epistemic chaos, and epistemic oppression—that can leave people prone to epistemic exhaustion. I survey several common responses to epistemic exhaustion. These responses include reactive partisanship, pervasive skepticism, epistemic disengagement, and burnout. All these responses can be used by demagogic politicians in the service of illegitimately gaining or retaining power. Based on this, I offer some suggestions for how we ought to respond to epistemically exhausting circumstances in order to improve our epistemic and political circumstances. These suggestions include (1) recognizing epistemic exhaustion as a tool of the powerful, (2) being selective in expending epistemic energy, (3) being intentional in selecting epistemic goals, (4) identifying and naming relevant epistemic dynamics, (5) being considerate and cultivating awareness of the epistemic demands put on others, and (6) accounting for one’s epistemic position.

Key words: Epistemic exhaustion, polarization, epistemic oppression, epistemic injustice, fake news.

A Genealogy of the Post-Truth Era: Nietzsche on Truth, Nihilism and Democracy

Pieter De Corte

In this paper, I will show that Nietzsche's philosophy offers a genealogical inquiry into the origins of the "post-truth" condition. Nietzsche saw the collapse of dogmatism as the result of the "self-overcoming" of the will to truth through the recognition of the limits of empirical science, a greater understanding of the powers of language, and the birth of a new "historical sense". Nietzsche understood this modern spirit as a gateway to nihilism, for the "age of realism" would also be that of the "death of God", a deprivation of meaning fostering axiological anarchy and intellectual confusion. The relativism of the modern spirit is aggravated by a democratic culture founded upon the free circulation and agonistic confrontation of equally legitimate opinions in the public sphere, giving way to a proliferation of competing narratives. This "democratic relativism" of values and opinions is strengthened by what Nietzsche calls the spirit of "misarchism", a deep feeling of distrust and hostility towards authority, elites and hierarchies, favoring the emergence of authoritarian regimes fueled by resentment, propaganda and demagoguery. In this respect, "post-truth politics" are a built-in flaw of democracy, and threaten to lead that "most agreeable" political regime to ruin. Lastly, Nietzsche envisioned the possibility of a general backlash against truth and science on the basis of their depressive effects upon the "unscientific man": as science dries up humankind's illusions about its situation in the world, Nietzsche speculates that "the interest taken in the truth will cease as it guarantees less pleasure", that "illusion, error, fantasy" will recover previously occupied territory, ensuring a possible "relapse into barbarism". At the core of Nietzsche's "prediction" is the pragmatic problem of the primacy of illusion and its effects on humanity's relationship to truth. Nietzsche thus invites us to question the problematic and idealistic alternative between truth and post-truth.

Key words: Truth, Genealogy, Relativism, Nihilism, Democracy, Misarchism.

Scepticism and the modern state in the thought of Georg W. F. Hegel

Florian R. R. van der Zee

The concept of “post-truth” often links two phenomena: a plurality of irreconcilable “truths” and a certain disregard for truth. Can the modern state cope with such a post-truth situation? This paper starts with two observations. First, ancient scepticism establishes the same general link as the concept of “post-truth”, since the aforementioned plurality reinforces the ancient sceptic’s suspension of judgment. Second, Hegel values both ancient scepticism and the modern state. However, that does not imply a disregard for scepticism’s politically destructive tendencies. For according to Hegel, the suspension of judgement undermines both the political status quo and political debate. Nevertheless, Hegel values scepticism for what it can be: the dialectical moment of his own speculative philosophy. That is, he reworks scepticism into the moment of his own philosophy that realizes the finitude of all finite determinations, but that—unlike ancient scepticism—does so determinately and teleologically, thus facilitating an ascension towards truth. In this reworking the destructive tendencies of scepticism re-emerge, albeit transformed. For Hegel’s dialectical progression is informed by the rejection of received truths and the articulation of appearances of truth, which gives rise to a plurality of *prima facie* irreconcilable “truths”. But that plurality is now understood neither as the effect of, nor as cause for, a disregard for truth. Rather, the partial comprehension of truth perceived through a glass darkly is, for Hegel, a fleeting yet essential moment of the ascension towards truth. In short, Hegel’s reworking of ancient scepticism may be read as an attempted remedy against the link established by the concept of “post-truth”. The resultant optimism is what, for Hegel, grounds the modern state’s embrace of freedom of conscience. This embrace has been radicalized since, which suggests that contemporary democratic states strongly rely on a public culture optimistic about the human ability to grasp truth.

Key words: Georg W. F. Hegel, modern state, ancient scepticism, post-truth, truth, freedom of conscience.

Defense of the Value and Normativity of Truth

Teemu Tauriainen

Truth is subject to widespread criticism in both, academic and less formal debates. In academia, positivists, naturalists, post-modernists, and deflationists direct pressing critique against truth as a valuable goal of inquiry and a standard for correctness of belief and assertion. Others have criticized truth from the perspective of authoritarianism, claiming that the concept is a powerful instrument of oppression that should be removed especially from political discourse. Interestingly enough, similar criticism has started to appear in the public domain, where speech about alternative facts, fake news, and the post-truth era has become customary.

I defend truth from this widespread criticism by arguing that it has a key explanatory role in our understanding of three important phenomena: (1) goal of inquiry, (2) disagreement, and (3) trust. (1) Without truth as a goal of inquiry, justifying the existence of those disciplines that do not provide pragmatic utility becomes difficult if not impossible. Those who reject truth as at least a goal of inquiry need to offer alternative explanations for why we study certain ethical questions, formal mathematics and the more theoretical questions of physics. (2) Without truth's normative role, defining what it means to agree or disagree becomes difficult, for we commonly agree or disagree on something being true or false. Further, truth's normative role explains why disagreements about serious subject matters, such as climate change or the utility of vaccinations, are unsatisfactory or even unbearable states. We make considerable efforts to resolve these types of disagreements by figuring out the truth, and we are motivated to cultivate true beliefs about these matters in others. (3) Finally, it is an important standard to require our pedagogical and political institutions to teach and tell us the truth. Without truth's normative role, it becomes difficult to explain what type of information we require from our educators and leaders.

Keyword: truth, value, normativity, post-truth, alternative facts, fake news.

What must be true for a circumstance to become a post-truth phenomenon. Critical thinking and post-truth.

Josipa Điri, Mateja Soldo

The goal of this paper is to understand post-truth as a concept. From a historical point of view, post-truth (and similar) phenomena have shown to be harmful and even dangerous. For a better understanding of the concept, we must try and understand what must be true for a circumstance to become a post-truth phenomenon. The question in this paper will primarily be an epistemic one, as it will regard mostly belief and justification. We will try to analyze the logical fallacies in question, and any other events that affect human reasoning and critical thinking skills. Are the events regarding post-truth events mostly deliberate or accidental in their beginning? If those events appeal to human emotions, do they appeal to positive or negative emotions in post-truth believers. The key is to understand what triggers humans to abandon their well-known set of beliefs and adopt new, questionable ones?

In this paper we will then analyze a) post truth phenomena and concept itself, b) logical fallacies (and other errors in reasoning) that occur – if any. If there are any occurrences beyond the logical errors, we will then c) find what they are and possibly why do they occur. Finally, we will d) research which belief systems are most susceptible to post-truth. The idea is not to reduce post-truth phenomena to logical fallacies but try to understand are there any occurrences on top of errors in deductive thinking that must be true for an occurrence to become a post-truth, and possibly expose post-truth as three sheep in a trench coat.

Key words: post-truth, logical fallacies, critical thinking, belief, epistemology, reasoning, deduction.

In Defense of Macro-Debunking

Alexios Stamatiadis-Bréhier

There are many conspiracy theories which call for debunking. Examples of such conspiracies involve claims about the Earth being flat, QAnon's revelations about election fraud during the recent US presidential elections, and secret visitations of UFOs (or UAPs).

There have been many recorded attempts to debunk such claims. What is striking however, is that most of these attempts occur on a highly particularized, case-by-case, format. This means that they aim to refute the proposed claims directly by considering the details of each particular case and proposing various methods to test the relevant hypothesis.

Consider Dr. Robert Malone's claim involving the putative toxicity of the spike protein in mRNA vaccines. This claim is most likely false since the claim that spike protein could damage the blood-brain barrier has been directly refuted in numerous studies (e.g. Ogata et al. 2021).

In this paper, I want to propose an alternative way of debunking: macro-debunking. A macro-debunking of P involves assuming the truth of P and showing how P's truth is in tension with various well-established beliefs about the world. The crucial component of this method is that one is not required to be involved with the fine-grained details of each particular case. To illustrate, one need not refute the Flat Earther's claim that skyscrapers shouldn't be visible due to the Earth's curvature. Instead, it suffices to show what it would take for Earth to be, indeed, Flat (various revisions in our science, the existence of a global conspiracy, etc.).

Finally, I argue that this is compatible with various insights from formal epistemology and the philosophy of science: (i) with taking naturalness as a constraint on priors in Bayesian epistemology (Bradley 2020), and, (ii) with the truth of the Duhem-Quine thesis concerning theory confirmation (Morrison 2017).

Key words: Conspiracy Theories, Debunking, Epistemology of Conspiracy Theories, Bayesian Epistemology, Evidential Holism.

Borders and Re-bordering processes as a post-truth phenomenon?

Marta Zorko

The processes of De-bordering and Re-bordering in South East Europe interchange on a daily basis. When thinking of the process of making borders and/or crossing borders in contemporary world, three variables are affecting borderlands; border dynamic (daily exchange of peoples and goods), migration flows (regular and irregular), and security. Those variables are the key challenges for EU external border as well. On the other hand EU external border in the region of Western Balkans is a frontier rather than a border. The externalization of European borders has many levels as well as accompanied mechanisms. At the same time different kinds of crisis left an imprint on ongoing processes of bordering practice and changed its dynamics.

The migration crisis in 2015/2016 opened numerous issues and affected all the countries along the Balkan route as well as European Union member states. The latest and ongoing pandemic crisis has had similar effects on borders in SE Europe. Nevertheless, patterns of re-bordering slightly changed. The most important geopolitical game that influenced bilateral relations during COVID-19 pandemics is related to the politics and policy of (non) movement. Measures imposed by states (and/or blocks of states) were different but the first reaction to pandemics was border closure worldwide. This paper analyses dynamic of border closure and its consequences in European continent, specifically on external EU border towards Balkans as Other. Abolition of Schengen Agreement in Europe challenged the usual border dynamic in this part of Europe. Nevertheless, mechanisms of strong(er) border control or even completely closed borders have had its exceptions. Border closing politics and practice were selective due to the nature of bilateral relations (moreover the perception of the quality of relations) between states; specific timing (forthcoming elections or tourist season); and individual preferences (nationality, ethnicity, status).

Key words: De-bordering, Re-bordering, Borderscapes, Geopolitics, Security.

Post-realism and Global Health

Petar Popović

Conventional International Relations approach to global health issues has been dominantly structured according to theoretical binary opposites - state vs. international organization, conflict vs. solidarity, realism vs. liberalism. The dominance of such thinking is in the context of the Covid-19 pandemic challenged by the new theoretical stream of post-realism, put forth by authors FA Beer and R. Hariman. While post-realism challenges the rhetoric of realism at the level discourse, pushing us to reconsider standard thinking on states as rational actors, the purpose of this paper is to go step further - to discuss the international health system from the perspective of post-realism. First part will explain the behavior of main actors, from World Health Organization, governments and corporate world, in relation to viruses, and how these relations structurally shape the system. Second part will show that the nature and character of international health system transcends the conventional state-centrist and cosmopolitan polarities, whose opposite interests are essentially irrational with respect to the reality of pandemic-shaped system. Third part will trace the foundational roots of how the system came into being, specifically looking at two historic phases: classical sanitary system (1851-1948), and contemporary global health system. Post-realist critique will thus break the discursive comfort of rationalist IR theories, offering a stimulating new approach to thinking about politics of global health; its actors, interests and power, and how these are determined by the systemic effects of the pandemic.

Key words: post-realism, realism, WHO, state, pandemic.

The post-truth paradigm is a threat to the rule of law State

Josephine Papst

Since ever it was held to grasp reality in all its essential dimensions in order to understand ourselves and the world in which we humans live and to be able to ward off natural and social catastrophes; including State crimes due to the rule of law State. The human being dared to use his own spirit for this purpose, whereby the principle of truth was considered as the standard of knowledge, which became expressed by means of languages and logic. The truth-predicate «true» is attributed to a statement if and only if the content of the statement corresponds to the entity of reality that depicts the statement; otherwise, it fails truth. The same holds for complex theories and jurisdiction, of which the final meta-level for a proof is the reality itself.

At the beginning of the 20th century, some paradoxes were discovered in basic sciences, in mathematics, physics and in life sciences, and as sciences developed new knowledge as well as conflicting theories became generated. This resulted finally in giving up the standards of truth by advertising an inflationary version of truth in terms of coherent storytelling, which turned into post-truth with its most damaging effect on jurisdiction by threatening the rule of law State. As concrete law cases in Austria show, although a false official certification and corruption carried out by judges at the Austrian courts do count as acts of crime, the prosecutors deny to let them investigate based on an order by the Austrian Ministry of justice. This method of post-truth jurisprudence is a threat to the rule of law State. The consequences are an inefficiency of the jurisdiction, which turns the State into State necessity and lawlessness.

The aim of my contribution is to make aware this crucial problem of the post-truth paradigm: It is a threat to the rule of law State of western origin.

Key words: post-truth State, threat to the rule of law, jurisdiction, inefficiency, State necessity.

Contingent Citizenship and the Boundaries of White Discourse

John Lawless

The herrenvolk (or racial) republic ties citizenship to Whiteness, enabling the extraction of unjust profits through the exploitation of non-White labor and the expropriation of non-White people's resources. In this context, non-Whiteness entails vulnerability to White citizens and to the state; in contrast, Whiteness affords people basic rights of citizenship, including rule-of-law protections against the institutions and practices that dominate non-White people. But Whiteness is malleable: Being White today is no guarantee of being (fully) White tomorrow. Developing republican political theory, I demonstrate that the herrenvolk republic forces Whites either to "purchase" citizenship through demonstrations of fealty to Whiteness, or to risk the loss of citizenship and the protections it affords. Moreover, aspiring Whites negotiate the price of Whiteness in spaces that necessarily lie beyond citizenship's protections, affording elites substantial power to set the price of Whiteness, and so to extort non-elite Whites' acquiescence to policies and institutions that enable elites to dominate non-elite Whites. Although the herrenvolk republic ties citizenship to Whiteness, then, it actually offers White people only citizenship contingent on their Whiteness, which turns out not to be citizenship at all.

White people's contingent citizenship can help to explain persistent lacuna in White discourse, including non-elite Whites' refusals to attend to the harms that they face at White elites' hands. The herrenvolk republic's market for citizenship empowers White elites to demand that non-elite Whites accept boundaries on their political discourse. These boundaries make certain complaints against White elites inarticulable, even while the grounds for those complaints persist. As a result, non-elite Whites develop codes with which to express and to acknowledge one another's complaints without crossing these boundaries. These coded expressions will not be responsive to rational critique, but must be answered within the context of a political movement that contests contingent citizenship itself.

Key words: republicanism, citizenship, racism, Whiteness, recognition.

Re-imagining the dialectic in the age of post-truth: socially engaged art, monuments and the state

Martin Lang, Tom Grimwood

The Turner Prize 2021 will, for the first time, exclusively consist of socially engaged art collectives. We take on the rise of socially engaged art (SEA) as both a performance of post-truth, and a compendium of its genealogy, in attempting to introduce artistic sensibilities into the cultural instability of British society. We do this by staging a dialectical engagement, utilizing the classical form in order to draw out the key sites of contestation for a renewed, Marxist-informed, cultural hermeneutics.

The first part of this paper presents the thesis that a major impact of postmodernism and social constructivism on culture was to create the conditions where artists abdicate their authorship through fear of being termed authoritarian. The resulting suspicion of artistic expertise reflects broader societal trends: during the Brexit campaign Michael Gove infamously declared ‘we ave had enough of experts’, for example. If SEA has become an ‘empty signifier’, as we argue, then we must read populist politics in the same vein.

The second part of this paper offers a deconstructive antithesis, arguing that the role of post-modernism is overstated in the creation of post-truth. We argue that the valorization of objectivity and truth merely reify particular terms. Reification is read as a form of ‘monumentalising’ which drives a dysfunctional model of cultural value, and consequently contributes to instabilities around social identities and fuels cultural tensions.

The paper concludes that so-called ‘unmonumental’ art, including SEA, is actually monumental in its reification of equality. It is this monumentalising process, rather than postmodernism per se, that has the bigger impact on post-truth. Consequently, we call for art to retain a dialectical tension between equality and the production of truth as a cultural value; a dialectic which involves the careful reinstatement of artistic authorship and a more sincere vision of SEA’s political ambitions and signification.

Key words: Socially engaged art, dialectics, reification, Marxist hermeneutics.

The sources of post-truth in current thought

Emilio Sierra García

Man can choose the truth, he can surrender to it, testify to it through doubt and anguish, or he can remain indifferent or renegade. In post-truth times, hermeneutics, in its tragic sense, is constituted as an antidote that surpasses the abyss of nothingness and absurdity, in pharmakon to recover and regain, through the exercise of freedom and a renewed encounter with Christianity, the meaning of things. Fake news, information bubbles, the tyranny of digital companies dilute the truth into information. Philosophy has alive the effective presence of truth, of that truth that, as Vico said, is great and conquers everything. If the original character of truth has been lost, it is worth asking since when and why, and what historical and intellectual processes have led to the notion of post-truth. When in human history a notion of such importance as the truth leaves an empty place, it does not take long for that emptiness to be filled. Philosophy deals with the truth, it is its first object, that which man seeks and the ultimate meaning of asking every question. Probing the sources of post-truth in Nietzsche, Heidegger, and Pareyson will shed light on the possibility of saving truth.

Key words: post-truth, truth, metaphysics, freedom, Heidegger, Pareyson.

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As a researcher, he is interested in the philosophy of the indigenous people of Cordillera. He has also served as a member of the panel of evaluators in undergraduate and senior high school research defenses. His research interests are Martin Heidegger, Phenomenology, Indigenous Philosophy and Ethnography. He has presented his papers in national and international philosophical and multidisciplinary conferences.

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John Lawless is an Assistant Professor of Philosophy at Utica College in Utica, NY. His current research develops republican political theory to analyze contingent citizenship, a condition in which people enjoy republican citizenship only as long as they satisfy some arbitrary condition. For instance, in the herrenvolk (or racialized) republic, White people enjoy citizenship only as long as they are White. This puts White people (and people in proximity to Whiteness) in the position of having to make a choice: either to risk exile from Whiteness, and exposure to the institutions that dominate non-White people; or to purchase their ongoing citizenship through demonstrations of fealty to Whiteness, often by sacrificing aspects of citizenship itself. Lawless deploys the concept of contingent citizenship to analyze White discourse and politics, and to map the strategic and moral possibilities for the cultivation of a multi-racial republican coalition oriented toward severing the relationship between citizenship and Whiteness once and for all.

This work builds on Lawless' past publications, including "Agency In Social Context" (Res Philosophica), "Gruesome Freedom" (Philosophers' Imprint), and "Against the Managerial State: Preventive Policing as Non-Legal Governance" (Law and Philosophy), which clarify the nature of republican ideals and of the institutions that promote them. It also fits into Lawless' broader contributions to critical Whiteness studies, including "White Shame, Non-White Citizenship" (Public Affairs Quarterly, forthcoming).

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Recent publications include “Spectacular malaise: art and the end of History” in *Art & the Public Sphere* (2019); “From Watts to Wall Street: a Situationist analysis of political violence” in *Cultures of Violence: Visual Arts and Political Violence* (Routledge, 2020); and “Hazlitt on aesthetic democracy and artistic genius” in *The Hazlitt Review* (forthcoming).

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His interests include contemporary aesthetics, hermeneutics and religious experience, phenomenological access to being, the mystery of evil and human suffering, and the unity and multidimensionality of human reason: expansion of reason as a theoretical of experience.

He us the author of the monograph: (2021) *Thinking about freedom with Pareyson. A reason that embraces the myth*, Madrid. Dissertations Collection, Saint Damasus Ecclesiastical University.



**STATE (IN)STABILITY:
Past, present, and future
perspectives for the nation-state**

