# The Russian Presidential Academy of National Economy and Public Administration

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## IDEOLOGY IN THE STRUCTURE OF THE CONFRONTATION OF INFOR-MATION INFLUENCES ON SOCIAL REALITY

Specialty 5.7.7. Social and political philosophy

#### **ANNOTATION**

of the dissertation

for the degree of Candidate of Philosophical Sciences

Scientific supervisor: Doctor of Philosophy, Professor Andrey Vasilyevich Dahin Relevance of the research topic. The first source of relevance of the chosen topic is the issue of the social and functional significance of party and political diversity, namely, the social function of ideology that ensures the solidarity of society and maintains a stable socio-political partnership within the country. Thus, the question of the extent to which ideology can ensure national consolidation, the nationwide cohesion of citizens within their country, the extent to which ideological influence, enhanced by the capabilities of information technology, can work to consolidate the state-forming communities of different countries is becoming more acute.

The second source of relevance of the chosen topic is related to the fact that the last century has become a period of unprecedented information technology revolution in terms of its scope, the consequences of which are contradictory in relation to the status of man in the system of social reality, ideas about the essence of society, the nature and significance of knowledge and human cognitive activity. The third source of relevance of the dissertation topic is seen in the fact that the study of human activity, which is one of the main topics in social philosophy and is considered the main source of influence on social reality, is problematized by the fact that theories that consolidate the dominant significance of "institutions", "technologies", "information" in society are becoming increasingly popular. The main relevance is associated with the question of the philosophical foundations of a holistic understanding of the nature of man as a subject of activity, which can be considered as a priority basis for the prospect of integrative, including ideological influences on the social reality of the individual, society, and the state.

The object of the research of this dissertation is the place, the role of ideology in the system of mechanisms of influence on social reality, the features of manifestation in the modern information society.

The subject of the study is ideological activity, acting in the format of the general ideology of the state, its significance for Russia in the situation of modern global information and ideological confrontation. In terms of the involved empirical material, the subject area of the study covers the field of information confrontation between the West and the USSR / Russia. The chronological framework of the involved empirical material covers the period of the 20th century and the first twenty years of the 21st century.

The purpose of the study is to determine the socially significant format of ideology, as a mechanism of influence on social reality that consolidates society and the state, acting in the situation of global information confrontation, of which Russia is a participant.

Achieving the goal involves solving the following tasks:

- 1. to analyze the basic approaches to describing the mechanisms of influence on society in their relationship with philosophical ideas about the nature of social reality, to consider the genesis of ideas about man as a source and social subject of influence on society, ideas about the technologies of such influence, including those related to the characteristics of the modern information society;
- 2. to provide a critical analysis of conceptual ideas about the mechanisms of influence on social reality that exclude man as a social subject, including a critical analysis of the concepts of modern technologies of information influence,
- 3. using the example of relations between the West and the USSR/Russia to analyze the basic philosophical foundations of ideological differences in the field of modern confrontation of information influences aimed at transforming social reality, to determine the specifics of the format in which ideology appears in this confrontation;
- 4. to develop a conceptual idea of the nationwide consolidating role of ideology in its connection with the factor of state sovereignty, with the platform philosophical systems on which it relies, in the context of the information confrontation between the West and the USSR/Russia, to determine the features of the main forms of such ideology in the 20th early 21st centuries;
- 5. to develop a conceptual idea of the nationwide consolidating role of ideology in its connection with the mechanisms of influence on social reality, to formulate socio-philosophical grounds for a typological analysis of the modes of action of the ideology of the nationwide consolidation format. 6. to substantiate the possibility of using the concept of the nationwide consolidating role of ideology as a tool for applied research into the peculiarities of the connection between ideology and technologies of information influence on the social reality of the modern information society, for applied research into the Russian ideological situation:
- 7. in light of the approaches to the concept of the nationwide consolidating role of ideology developed in the study, to analyze the peculiarity of the ideological situation in Russia, the platform philosophical foundations of current ideological activity, and to determine the priorities of Russia's ideological choice in the 21st century.

# The scientific novelty of the study is as follows:

1. The socio-ontological sources and specific forms of influence of human activity on social reality, their connection with forms of thinking (thought activity) and with the corresponding ideas about the mechanisms of influence on society, which are reflected in ideologies, are revealed; it is shown that ideologies operating in the format of broad socio-political consolidation

originate from the pre-industrial period to the industrial one and retain their presence in the modern social reality of the information society; ideologies of this format of action are defined by the concept of "general ideology", thus, the fundamental significance of the broad social consolidating role of ideology in the general system of mechanisms of influence on social reality is substantiated. 2. As a result of a critical analysis of philosophical ideas of the 20th century about the place and role of man in social mechanisms of influence on modern society, the main opposing platform philosophical systems were identified, one of which is defined as socio-anthropological determinism, and the other as socio-technocratic constructivism; they are built on alternative ontological foundations, but both have the potential to provide substantive content for the ideological activity of states in the format of a common ideology; the main criteria for the significance of the platform philosophical system for the prospects of ideological activity in Russia were determined. 3. A comparative analysis of the manifestations of a common ideology is given in the context of the information confrontation between the West and the USSR during the Cold War, in the context of which the features of the connection between the common ideology of the state and the mechanisms of "soft power" were revealed; in this aspect, the problem of ideological parity and ideological disparity of the West and the USSR/Russia in the field of global information confrontation is characterized, and the relevance of the problem of the absence in Russia of an ideology that carries out a nationwide consolidating function is clarified.

- 4. The concept of "general ideology of the state" is revealed, substantively supplemented by the author, its definition is given, its connection with state sovereignty, the internal structural structure of this specific format of ideological activity, its significance for the integration of society within the country, for integration processes in the external political space of the country are revealed. 5. The author substantiates the conclusion that the general ideology operates in four different modes of influence on society (the modes of "consumer empiricism", "roguery", "propaganda", "participatory"), presents the foundations of this typology (the nature of the subjectivity of ideological activity, the nature of its platform philosophy, the nature of the integration of an individual into society), the features of the mechanisms for transmitting ideologically verified content to a mass audience, and provides a description of several formats of descriptive analysis of the mechanisms of information influence in modern society, which can be used for a comprehensive study of the ideological situation in Russia.
- 6. The possibility of using the concept of "general ideology of the state" as a tool for studying the features of the ideological situation in Russia is substantiated, the features of the processes

of deideologization and reideologization in Russia in the format of general ideology are considered, and the main characteristics of the state of current state ideological activity in Russia in the format of general ideology are determined in the context of the factor of state sovereignty. 7. As a result of applying the concept of "general ideology of the state" to study the ideological situation in Russia, the importance of forming this format of ideological activity has been substantiated, the priority mode of influence of the general ideology on society, the dialectic of participation of the state and society in the action of the general ideology in Russia have been determined, and the outlines of the priority platform philosophy have been defined, which will be able to provide meaningful filling and updating of the content of the general ideology of the state in our country. Theoretical and practical significance of the work. The theoretical, methodological provisions and conclusions obtained in the course of the dissertation research contain the disclosure of sociophilosophical provisions on the peculiarities of social being and the existence of ideology in the structure of confrontation of information technologies of influence on modern social reality, contain the substantiation of the significance of the connection of ideological activity with the function of state sovereignty, and the text material itself can be used in solving a number of research and pedagogical problems related to the development of conceptual foundations for the formation of priority foundations of a common ideology in the perspective of Russia's ideological choice. The theoretical significance of the study lies in deepening the understanding of the essential nature of the multi-structure of modern social reality, the specifics of its individual components.

## The provisions submitted for defense:

1. The mechanisms of influence on society go back to the ideas about the sources of holistic, consolidating influence on social reality of social communities of people, political entities (ancient polis, feudal or national state). The ideological design of such holistic influence was associated with a special format of ideology, which is defined by the concept of "general ideology". The concept of "general ideology" is defined: it is a form of ideological influence on society, which was based on the ideologically designed picture of the world of a specific territorially and politically sovereign social community, containing the current team-forming ideas of this social community, which revealed the nature of the root causes of influences on its social reality and the mass dissemination of which contributed to its internal social solidarity in the specific conditions of the historical era. In the historical manifestations of the action of a common ideology, the socio-ontological basis of the alternative nature of techniques of influencing society was revealed, some of which ensured the production of essential foundations of social being in the field of cur-

rent conditions of human existence, while others ignored the essential integrity of the nature of man and society and were the source of the rupture of the connection between the sphere of human existence and the foundations of his social being. 2. In the field of social reality of the industrial world, ideas about man as the only primary source of expedient influence on social reality are spreading. Throughout the 20th century, anthropocentrism in understanding the causes and mechanisms of influence on society takes the form of opposing philosophical systems that rely on alternative socio-ontological foundations, but both have the potential to provide meaningful content for the ideological activity of states in the format of a common ideology. The philosophical foundations on which this alternative is built are defined: one direction, defined as the philosophy of socio-anthropological determinism, is based on the assertion of the integrative nature of man and his essential powers, which are realized through theory and socio-historical activity, subjective in its essence and aimed at ensuring the dialectical unity of the sphere of everyday human existence and the essential foundations of his socio-historical being; the second direction, defined as the philosophy of socio-anthropological constructivism, is based on the fundamental criticism of the ideas about the integrative social nature of man and society, substantiates the ideas of subjectless influence on social reality, reduces the dialectic of social existence and socio-historical being to the everyday life of an individual alienated from collective sociality. It is shown that in the era of the information society, the philosophy of socio-anthropological constructivism is transformed into the philosophy of socio-technocratic constructivism. This division of philosophical approaches forms the ideological basis for the confrontation of information technologies of influence on social reality, the participants of which are the West and the USSR/Russia. The conclusion is substantiated that in order to successfully confront the philosophical ideas of socio-anthropological and socio-technocratic constructivism, Russia needs to develop a system of philosophy of socioanthropological determinism.

3. An analysis of the substantive components of the information confrontation between the West and the USSR/Russia during the Cold War and at present has made it possible to clarify the characteristic features of the common ideology acting through the mechanisms of "soft power"; in this aspect, the confrontation between the West and the USSR is defined as ideological parity, since the common ideology of "Westernism" (A. Zinoviev's term) was opposed by the common Soviet communist ideology. The confrontation between the West and modern Russia is defined as an ideological disparity, since modern Russia has only recently declared its own format of common ideology, which is in many ways an alternative to the common ideology of "Westernism", in

contrast to the common ideology of "Westernism" and its modern transformation in the form of the common ideology of the "new reset" (K. Schwab). The latter circumstance is considered as a factor weakening Russia's position in the system of global multipolar influence and information confrontation and acutely problematizing the situation of the absence of ideological activity in Russia in the format of a common ideology.

- 4. The article provides a definition of the concept of "general ideology of the state" that reflects the peculiarities of the modern world of sovereign states. The general ideology of the state is an ideologically founded a priori system of state-forming values, the elite information content of which is disseminated in the state in the modes of maximum public information openness in the forms of ideologically verified information technologies of influence, the mechanism of which can have various activity modes and which are aimed at integrating an individual (citizen) into the system of the state-forming community of a sovereign country. The article reveals the content of the dilemma about information technologies of mass distribution of ideologically verified content in the modern information society, which is characterized as a "cognitive-educational" model and an "agnostic" model. In the first case, information technologies are aimed at conscious perception and understanding by a person of the provided ideological content and at conscious activity as a subject of activity according to the perceived value guidelines. In the second case, information technologies are aimed at forming a superficially thinking individual ("fast thinker" according to P. Bourdieu) and at obtaining his reaction signal in the form of "autopoiesis".
- 5. As a result of the typological analysis, the allocation of four descriptive fields of study of the role of general ideology in the structure of technologies of information influence on society is substantiated, and a description of four modes of openness of the general ideology of the state in modern society is given: 1) the mode of "consumer empiricism", which is characterized by the "subjectlessness" of the mechanisms of influence, where the ideas of the general ideology are disseminated through the use of information technologies that ensure the disclosure of the potential of the individual, egoistic principle of a person in the sphere of his everyday social existence, rely on the substantive foundations of the philosophy of socio-anthropological constructivism and are aimed at the social integration of an individual as a bearer of egoistic interests alienated from other people; 2) the "roguery" regime, which is characterized by the "subjectlessness" of the mechanisms of influence, where the ideas of a common ideology are spread through the use of IT information technologies that block living social relations of everyday life, transforming them into relations of anonymous "avatars" and IT programs that are built on the philosophical foundations of

socio-technocratic constructivism and generate the integration of an individual into a virtual digital reality; 3) the "propaganda" regime, which is characterized by the assertion of a subjective form of influence on society, when the monopoly resource of the state is used for the existence and dissemination of ideas of a common ideology, state technologies of information influence that reveal the forces of state influence in the sphere of everyday existence and socio-historical being of a person, in the USSR were meaningfully built on the foundations of the philosophy of historical materialism, were aimed at the integration of an individual into "Soviet society"; 4) a "participatory" regime, which is characterized by a subjective form of influence on society, when the subjects of a common ideology are both the institutionally authorized representation of the state and the institutionally authorized representation of civil society; for its mass dissemination, information technologies are used based on the philosophy of socio-anthropological determinism, ensuring a holistic disclosure of the dialectic of the social existence of an individual in society and his collective socio-historical being, and also aimed at integrating an individual into the living state-forming community of the country

6. Instrumentalization of the concept of "general ideology of the state" allows us to identify the following framework factors that reveal the connection between this format of the country's ideological activity and the function of state sovereignty and ensure the integrity of applied research into modern practices of national consolidating ideologies in the situation of confrontation of information influences on social reality: a) the factor of centers of sovereign power concentrating volitional efforts to create elite ideological content, their spatial dislocation; b) the factor of a priori state-forming values, in relation to which the mechanisms of maximum public openness are implemented; c) the factor of mechanisms for integrating an individual into the system of the country's state-forming community. This approach made it possible to test the potential of the concept of "general ideology of the state" in relation to the analysis of the modern ideological situation in Russia. The results led to the conclusion that the Russian ideological situation of the 1990s. can be characterized as a transition from the "propaganda" regime, which ensured the dissemination of Soviet communist ideas (based on the philosophy of historical materialism) to the "consumer empiricism" regime, which ensured the dissemination of the ideas of "Westernism" (based on the philosophy of socio-anthropological constructivism). The ideological situation of 2000-2022 can be characterized by a trend of new re-ideologization, which shows signs of the emergence of new, so far disparate, a priori state-forming values and signs of a transition to a "participatory" regime of their informational and ideological influence on Russian society.

7. Using the example of the analysis of the messages of the President of the Russian Federation to the Federal Assembly of the Russian Federation and a number of other regulatory documents, the content of the process of state participation in the formation and functioning of the format of the new common ideology in Russia is revealed, the logical conclusion of which is the establishment of the constitutional status of the state-forming idea / value (the concept of "marriage"). The example of the project "DNA of Russia" reveals the content of the process of public participation in the formation and functioning of the state-forming idea/value (the idea of the state as a traditional value of our society), the logical conclusion of which was the universal recognition of the significance of the discipline "Fundamentals of Russian Statehood" and its substantive content. In general, these examples reveal the specifics of the "participatory" mode of action of the general ideology of the state within the country. The category of new a priori state-forming ideas/values also includes: patriotism, memory of the Great Victory, the concept of marriage as a union of a man and a woman, etc. Their totality does not have a holistic systemic organization, but their presence allows us to conclude that a trend of new domestic re-ideologization has begun. An analysis of the specific components of the new general ideology of the state in Russia allows us to conclude that the restoration and development of this format of ideological activity de facto does not contradict the legitimacy of the existence of various group, party and political ideologies in the country, as enshrined in Article 13 of the Constitution of the Russian Federation. Therefore, the prospect of equipping Russia with its own general ideology of the state is uncontested. Russia's priority ideological choice must be oriented toward a priori values, substantively based on the philosophical platform of socio-anthropological determinism, on the "participatory" mode of action of the general ideology in the system of living social relations and on the model of mass dissemination of ideologically verified content, related to the category of "cognitive and educational".

The theoretical and methodological basis of the dissertation is determined by the purpose and objectives of the dissertation, and the specific features of the material under study. The sociophilosophical analysis of ideology as a specific component of the mechanisms of influence on social reality is based on the use of philosophical research methods: dialectics in the study of various aspects of the object of study, historicism in the study of traditions, long-term trends and situational circumstances, principles of activity and systematicity in the study of practices of ideological activity, the principle of complementarity in the study of various approaches to the subject and object of research, as well as methods of scientific typology in the study of descriptive fields of

ideological activity, scientific analysis and synthesis in the development of the concept of ideology in the information dimension, generalization and concretization in the study of specific historical episodes of ideological activity, critical analysis of a number of Western and domestic concepts, problematization and conceptualization in the development of the definition of ideology as an information element of technologies of influence on social reality.

Approbation. The results of the research were presented by the applicant in 18 scientific publications with a total volume of 23.3 pp, including five refereed journals recommended by the Higher Attestation Commission of the Ministry of Education and Science of the Russian Federation for publication of the main results of doctoral and candidate dissertations and in one monograph published abroad. The main provisions of the dissertation were presented in reports and communications at scientific and practical, international, interregional conferences: "State and Society: Philosophy, Economics, Culture" (Moscow, Russian State Library, Institute of Philosophy of the Russian Academy of Sciences, 2005); "Human Potential of Russian Modernization: Strategy of Advanced Development - 2006" (Moscow, Russian Academy of Sciences, Institute of Scientific Information on Social Sciences of the Russian Academy of Sciences, Institute of Economics of the Russian Academy of Sciences, Russian State Library, 2006); "1917-2007: Lessons of the USSR and the Future of Russia (resource-energy, economic-political and socio-cultural parameters" (Moscow, RAS, F. Ebert Foundation, 2007); "Management: history, science, culture" (Petrozavodsk, KF SZAGS, 2007); "Actual problems of modern sciences" (Poland, Science and Education, 2012); "Dialogue of worldviews: the life path of an individual, society, state" (XIV International Symposium, Nizhny Novgorod, National Research University RANEPA, 2017), "Russia as a secular and social state: dialogue of worldviews in a comparative civilizational perspective" (XV Symposium, Nizhny Novgorod, National Research University RAS-HiGS, 2019), "Historical Responsibility: Memorial Practices and Theoretical Models" (VIII Russian Scientific Conference, Saratov, Saratov National Research State University named after N.G. Chernyshevsky, 2021), "Anthropic Principle of Development, Welfare State, Urbanization: Dialogue of Worldviews" (XVI International Symposium, Nizhny Novgorod, RANEPA, 2021), "Political Science in a Changing World: New Practices and Theoretical Search" (Russian Conference of the Russian Political Science Association with International Participation, Moscow, RAPS, RUDN, MGIMO MFA of Russia, 2023).

The structure of the dissertation. The dissertation research consists of an introduction, three chapters, including six paragraphs, a conclusion and a list of references.