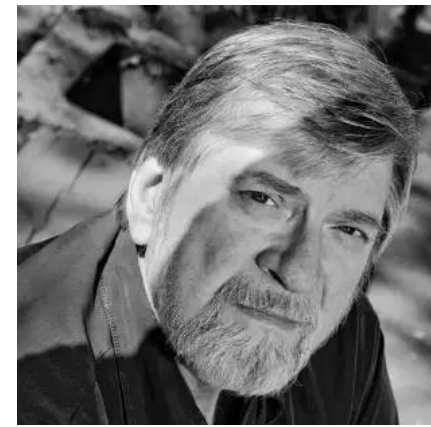


# 13 skaidrių R. Sakadolskio žurnalistikos forumui:

polikrizė, proto-f-zmas, postmodernizmas  
refleksivumas, ideokratija?

R.K.

2024 rugsėjis, trylikta, penktadienis



Daug pastaruoju metu kalbama apie polikrizę...

# Polikrizė

R.K.

(LB, LRV, VU, [www.ekonomika.org](http://www.ekonomika.org))

2024

[http://ekonomika.org.gedutis.serveriai.lt/Econlib/rk\\_polikrize\\_2023.pdf](http://ekonomika.org.gedutis.serveriai.lt/Econlib/rk_polikrize_2023.pdf)

... svarbi potēmē joje – populizmas, proto-  
fašizmas (via T. Palley)...

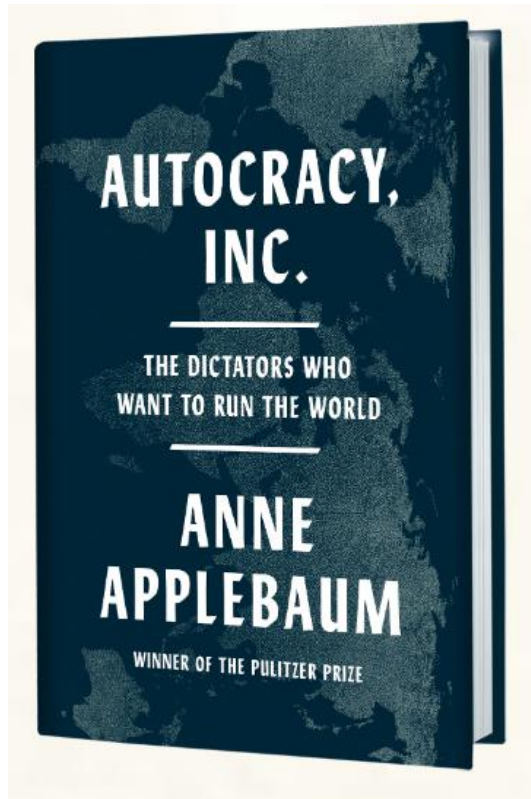
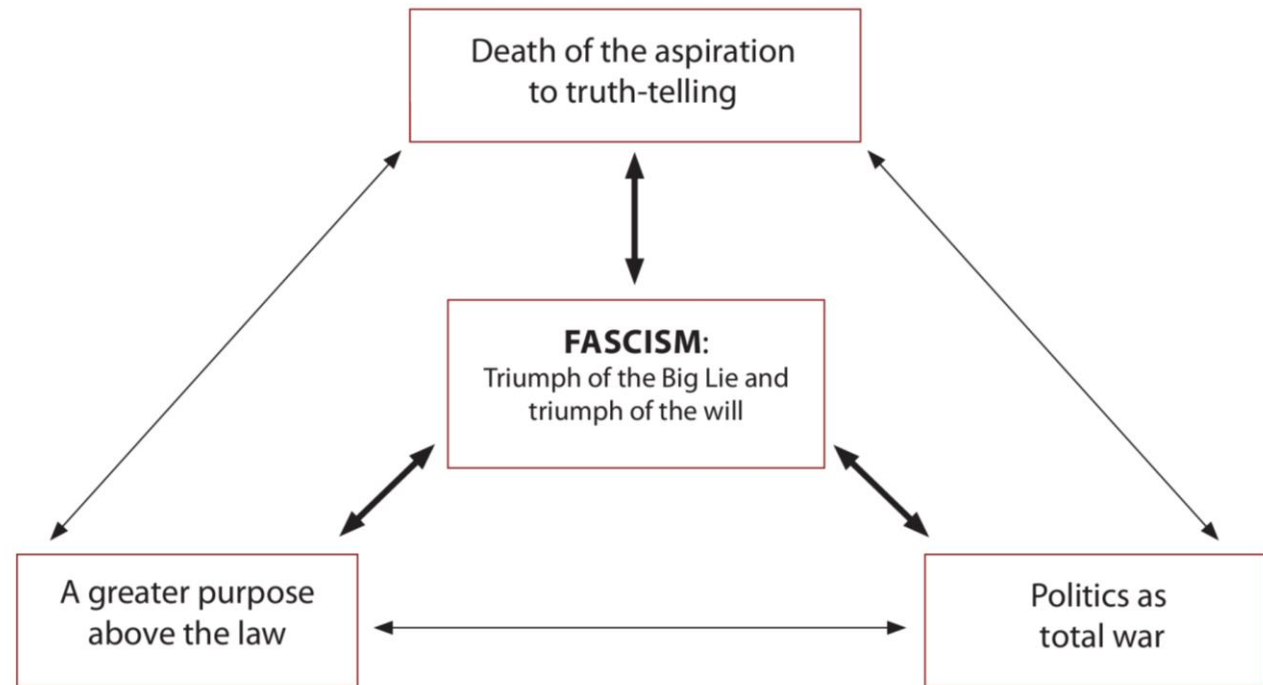
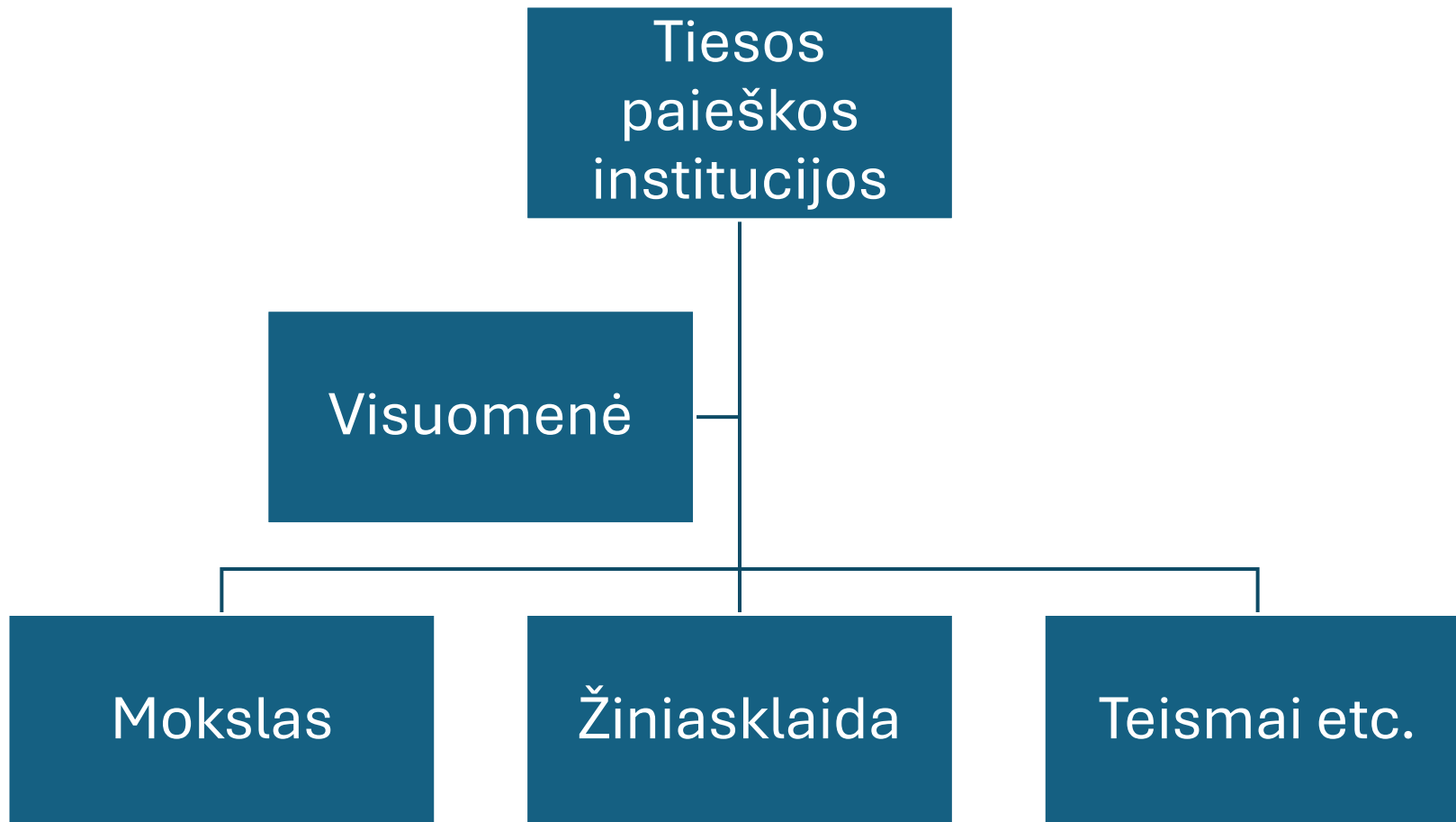


Figure: Political Practices and Beliefs Conducive to Fascism



# Prie ko čia žiniasklaida (\*ne žurnalizmas)? #1-TPI



# Prie ko čia žiniasklaida? #1 (T. Palley)

- The bottom line is that **Fox News** has played a critical role transforming the news and political reporting culture, and prepping Americans to be receptive and welcoming of extremist **fake news**.
- In effect, it prepared the ground in which internet based fake news could seed so easily. But just as fake news did not develop in a vacuum, so too Fox News did not develop in a vacuum.
- That leads to the other side of the bridge and the **original sin** that birthed today's conditions. The decisive measure was the Federal Communication Commission's (FCC) elimination of the "**Fairness Doctrine**" in **1987**.
- The doctrine had been introduced in 1949. It required holders of broadcasting licenses to **present controversial issues of public importance** and to do so in a manner that was, **honest, equitable, and balanced**.
- In short, it was a restraint on exactly the corrosive type of news and political reporting that Fox News introduced, and which opened the **ugly Pandora's box of fake news**.
- The attack on the Fairness Doctrine was led by **conservative libertarian and business interests**. Business viewed it as an **expense** and a **restraint on lucrative commercial possibilities** offered by the **infotainment market**, in which news is twisted into **entertaining partisan half-truths and opinions are presented as fact**.
- Both business and libertarians sold their attack on **First Amendment grounds** (i.e. unconstitutional restriction of speech), and on grounds that market developments meant **consumers had a multitude of news possibilities** against which they could **check for truth**.

# Prie ko čia žiniasklaida? #1

The Opinion Pages



**The Conscience of a Liberal**

PAUL KRUGMAN

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## Shape of the planet

NOVEMBER 3, 2007 12:31 PM

Yesterday I complained that news reports on Rudy Giuliani's fake facts describe his position as "in dispute," when it's actually just false, and describe the truth as something "Democrats say" rather than as, simply, the truth.

I've said this [before](#):

If a presidential candidate were to declare that the earth is flat, you would be sure to see a news analysis under the headline "Shape of the Planet: Both Sides Have a Point."



Raimondas Kuodis

1 Sep 2018 · 🌐

Postmodern theory may be the most loathed concept ever to have emerged from academia. Developed within literature and philosophy departments in the 1970s, it supposedly told us that facts were debatable, that individual perspectives mattered most, that shared meaning was an illusion and that universal truth was a myth.

...

These challenges to postmodern theory did identify an important crisis: Losing a shared vocabulary for the world's problems, for the way we relate to one another and for current events may be the greatest threat to American society.

...

"The deliberate falsehood and the outright lie used as legitimate means to achieve political ends," writes Arendt in her 1971 essay "Lying in Politics," "have been with us since the beginning of recorded history."

...

It's one thing to help people understand that facts don't emerge in a vacuum or that grand narratives aren't always accurate explanations for the way things are. But it's another thing to suggest that such ideas have encouraged society at large to reject scientific fact as "just another opinion."

washingtonpost.com

**Perspective | Postmodernism didn't cause Trump. It explains him.**



# Prie ko čia žiniasklaida? #1

# Žiniasklaida prie ko #2 – politika kaip totalus karas, politikos skandalizacija

- The third key development is the shift to a view of politics as total war in which **winning is the only thing that matters, regardless of damage done to the spirit of democracy.** (T. Palley)

- „Kraujas parsiduoda gerai“.

**Geros ir blogos pusiausvyros**

	Žurnalistika	Infotainment
Žurnalistika		
Infotainment		

## Political Scandal: A Theory

**Wioletta Dziuda** University of Chicago  
**William G. Howell** University of Chicago

*Abstract: We study a model that characterizes the conditions under which past misbehavior becomes the subject of present scandal, with consequences for both the implicated politician and the parties that work with him. In the model, both authentic and fake scandals arise endogenously within a political framework involving two parties that trade off benefits of continued collaboration with a suspect politician against the possibility of reputational fallout. Rising polarization between the two parties, we show, increases the likelihood of scandal while decreasing its informational value. Scandals that are triggered by only the opposing party, we also find, are reputationally damaging to both parties and, in some instances, reputationally enhancing to the politician. The model also reveals that jurisdictions with lots of scandals are not necessarily beset by more misbehavior. Under well-defined conditions, in fact, scandals can be a sign of political piety.*

American politics is awash in scandal. The most renowned of them—Teapot Dome, Watergate, Iran-Contra, Monica Lewinsky, Russian collusion—consumed presidents. But outside of the White House, plenty more transgressions, ill-gotten gains, moral lapses, lies, and crimes have derailed the political careers of politicians. As Brandon Rottinghaus (2015, 161) observes, “by their nature, scandals are like prairie fires—easy to flare, difficult to control, and hard to stop once started.” Indeed, outside of wars and economic downturns, scandals may be the most disruptive and damaging force in American politics.

As a pervasive and enduring fact of political life, scandals have become the subject of serious empirical scrutiny (for summaries, see Dewberry 2015, 4–12; Rottinghaus 2015, 3–7; Invernizzi 2016). Scholars also have begun to build theory that evaluates the strategic behavior of politicians amid political scandal (Basinger and Rottinghaus 2012; Dewan and Myatt 2007; Gratton, Holden, and Kolotilin 2018). Very little of the existing scholarship, however, characterizes specific conditions under which past misbehavior, through public revelation, translates into present political scandal—a subject that is of intrinsic interest, but that also vexes the inferences we can draw from observational studies of scandals. From both theoretical and empirical standpoints,

the political incentives that undergird the production of scandal remain opaque. As Charles Cameron (2002, 655) laments, “The politics of scandal has not received the degree of serious scholarly attention it probably deserves. [If] scandal seeking and scandal mongering are normal political tactics cdots then political scientists need to learn their logic.” Or as Giovanna Invernizzi (2016, 18) notes, “we still lack a proper theoretical characterization which puts scandals in the broad context of political structures and strategic behavior of the actors involved.”

At its heart, scandal is the public revelation of previously concealed misconduct (Dewberry 2015, 4–6; Thompson 2000, 18–19); or as Theodore Lowi (1988, vii) puts it, “scandal is corruption revealed.” Public accusations about past misdeeds, however, need not be universally endorsed. Parties may misrepresent the information that they receive about a politician, either through suppression or fabrication. Consequentially, politics regularly features “partisan scandals,” that is, accusations by one party that are vehemently denied by another. The politics of scandal, moreover, regularly features efforts to ascertain the veracity of accusations leveled. In addition to specifying processes by which claims of misconduct are asserted, therefore, we need theory that clarifies when “authentic” and “fake” scandals are likely to arise, and the

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# Kur toliau?

## Transcript: General Theory of Reflexivity

*The following is a transcript of a lecture given by George Soros at Central European University on October 26, 2009.*

In the course of my life, I have developed a conceptual framework which has helped me both to make money as a hedge fund manager and to spend money as a policy oriented philanthropist. But the framework itself is not about money, it is about the relationship between thinking and reality, a subject that has been extensively studied by philosophers from early on.

I started developing my philosophy as a student at the London School of Economics in the late 1950s. I took my final exams one year early and I had a year to fill before I was qualified to receive my degree. I could choose my tutor and I chose Karl Popper, the Viennese-born philosopher whose book *The Open Society and Its Enemies* had made a profound impression on me.

In his books Popper argued that the empirical truth cannot be known with absolute certainty. Even scientific laws can't be verified beyond a shadow of a doubt: they can only be falsified by testing. One failed test is enough to falsify, but no amount of conforming instances is sufficient to verify. Scientific laws are hypothetical in character and their truth remains subject to testing. Ideologies which claim to be in possession of the ultimate truth are making a false claim; therefore, they can be imposed on society only by force. This applies to Communism, Fascism and National Socialism alike. All these ideologies lead to repression. Popper proposed a more attractive form of social organization: an open society in which people are free to hold divergent opinions and the rule of law allows people with different views and interests to live together in peace. Having lived through both Nazi and Communist occupation here in Hungary I found the idea of an open society immensely attractive.

While I was reading Popper I was also studying economic theory and I was struck by the contradiction between Popper's emphasis on imperfect understanding and the theory of perfect competition in economics which postulated perfect knowledge. This led me to start questioning the *assumptions* of economic theory. These were the two major *theoretical* inspirations of my philosophy. It is also deeply rooted in my personal history.

The formative experience of my life was the German occupation of Hungary in 1944. I was not yet fourteen years old at the time, coming from a reasonably well-to-do middle class background, suddenly confronted with the prospect of being deported and killed just because I was Jewish.

Fortunately my father was well prepared for this far-from-equilibrium experience. He had lived through the Russian Revolution and that was the formative experience of *his* life. Until then he had been an ambitious young man. When the First World War broke out, he volunteered to serve in the Austro-Hungarian army. He was captured by the Russians and taken as a prisoner of war to Siberia. Being ambitious, he became the editor of a newspaper produced by the prisoners. It

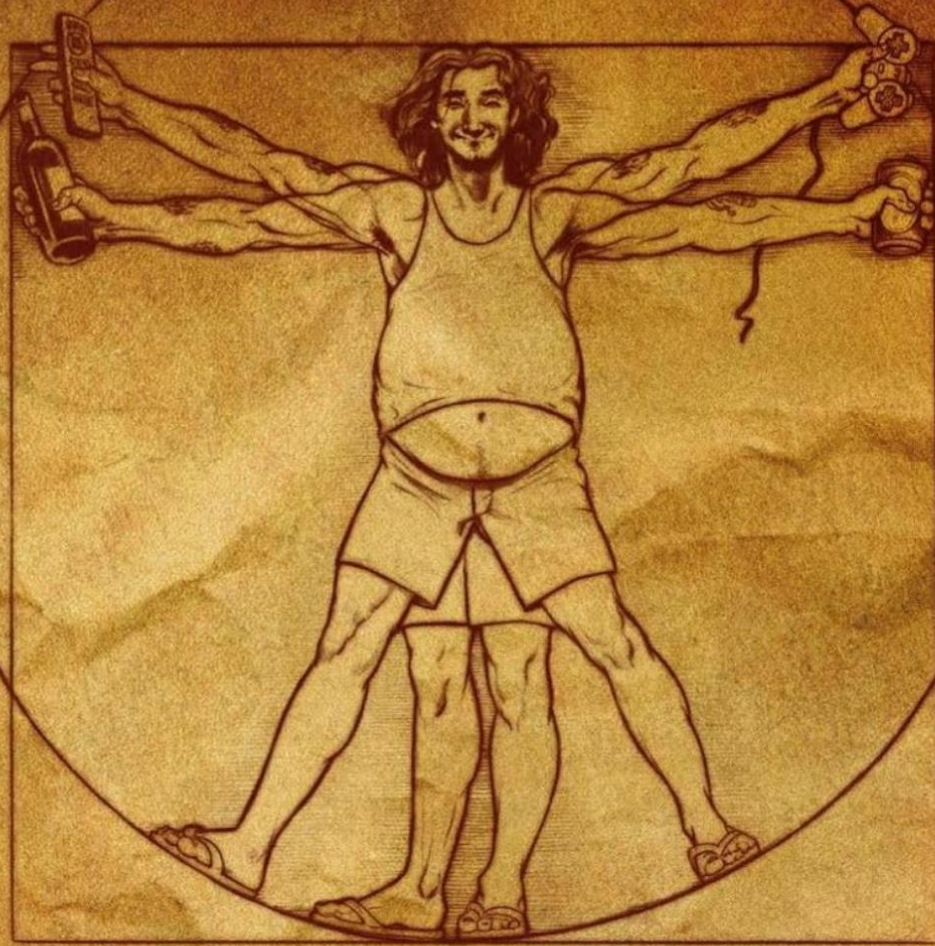
# Refleksyvumas trumpai, arba „Mes, žiniasklaida – tik visuomenės veidrodis“

- The concept of reflexivity needs a little more explication. It applies exclusively to situations that have **thinking participants**.
- The **participants' thinking serves two functions**. One is to understand the world in which we live; I call this the **cognitive function**. The other is to change the situation to our advantage. I call this the participating or **manipulative function**.
- The two functions connect **thinking and reality in opposite directions**. In the **cognitive function**, **reality is supposed to determine the participants' views**; the direction of causation is from the **world to the mind**. By contrast, in the manipulative function, the direction of causation is from the **mind to the world**, that is to say, the intentions of the participants **have an effect on the world**.
- When both functions operate at the same time they can interfere with each other. How? By depriving each function of the independent variable that would be needed to determine the value of the dependent variable. Because, when the independent variable of one function is the dependent variable of the other, neither function has a genuinely independent variable. This means that the cognitive function can't produce enough knowledge to serve as the basis of the participants' decisions. Similarly, the manipulative function can have an effect on the outcome, but can't determine it. In other words, the outcome is liable to diverge from the participants' intentions. There is bound to be some slippage between intentions and actions and further slippage between actions and outcomes.
- As a result, there is an element of uncertainty both in our understanding of reality and in the actual course of events. To understand the uncertainties associated with reflexivity, we need to probe a little further. If the cognitive function operated in isolation without any interference from the manipulative function it could produce knowledge. Knowledge is represented by true statements. A statement is true if it corresponds to the facts—that is what the correspondence theory of truth tells us. But if there is interference from the manipulative function, the facts no longer serve as an independent criterion by which the truth of a statement can be judged because the correspondence may have been brought about by the statement changing the facts.
- Consider the statement, "**it is raining.**" That statement is **true or false depending on whether it is, in fact, raining**. Now consider the statement, "**This is a revolutionary moment.**" That statement is reflexive, and its **truth value depends on the impact it makes**.

# Refleksyvumas trumpai, arba „Mes, žiniasklaida – tik visuomenės veidrodis“

- In the real world, the **participants' thinking finds expression** not only in **statements** but also, of course, in various forms of **action and behavior**. That makes **reflexivity a very broad phenomenon** that typically takes the form of **feedback loops**.
- The participants' views influence the course of events, and the course of events influences the participants' views. The **influence** is continuous and **circular**; that is what turns it into a feedback loop.

FROM THE CREATOR OF "BEAVIS AND BUTT-HEAD" AND "OFFICE SPACE"



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