
Theoretical and methodological foundations of the political element study as the phenomenon of social being: the theories of unity and conflict

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Abstract: The study of the political element as the phenomenon of social life is possible only in the form of an appeal to ontological principles. Speaking about "political" in our study, we turn to a scientific discipline - political ontology. Political ontology in the most general view studies the problems of the political world being, its various forms of expression and essential characteristics. Besides, the purpose of the study in the mainstream of political ontology is to identify the patterns in power relation development, the interaction of various political actors in society within a multifaceted political reality. The status of political ontology as an independent study area is often questioned, and despite the fact that nowadays the academic community for the most part recognizes political ontology as an autonomous sphere, endowing it with the status of one of the basic disciplines for socio-political space study in on the whole, the discussions on the speculative nature of political-ontological research are still ongoing (Blaser, 2014). Political ontology is recognized as a system-forming role in the study of political space, and its formation as a paradigmatic basis for the study of any political and social phenomena and processes is considered as a subject area (Hay, 2006). Thus, the study of the political element as the phenomenon of social life is possible only in the form of an appeal to dogmatic principles and attitudes formed by political ontology..

Keywords: Political, Social, Political Ontology, Ontology, Political Philosophy.

INTRODUCTION

All existing theories of political life as the way of human existence, and hence social existence, can be divided into two large groups - conflict and conflict-free theories. The theories of "common good" can also be conflict-free (Escobar, 2007).

The most striking embodiment of the conflict theory of the political as a form of social life, can be found in the works by K. Schmitt and D. Agamben. Starting his study of political reality, Schmitt emphasizes the importance and enormous role of the political in all spheres of human life and society, proclaims the thesis of the impossibility concerning the existence of common, fundamental, politically irrelevant knowledge. Political being and political consciousness are the defining components of human life that allow a person to self-identify. Existence independence, according to Schmitt, manifests itself already in the very possibility of identifying such an opposition as "friend-enemy" and opposing it to other dichotomous divisions from the spheres of morality, ethics, economics, and so on. K. Schmitt's notions of "friend" and "enemy" should be taken not literally, exclusively in existential, but not in any psychological or individualistic sense, "enemy" can only be public, general, non-specific, blurred into a stable multiplicity of opposites. An individual enemy, a subject to which a person experiences a stable feeling of antipathy, is not a political enemy, a political enemy is just "a struggling aggregate of people opposing exactly the same aggregate" (Pyatigorsky & Alekseev, 2008). There is no place for feelings, emotions and personal preferences in the issue of identifying political enemies. A political enemy is the enemy of a political group, that is, the state as an organized political unity. In this regard, a political enemy is always immanent, blurred, faceless. He has no clear characteristics and personifies a common will that is opposite to the will of our political group. The existential meaning of political expression and the demarcation line dividing the unity of "friends" and "enemies" is the willingness to kill and be killed for the interests of his political group, the willingness to fight the enemy of his state and nation, implying a stable identification of a person with other people, with a civil community (Filippov, 1992). Within the framework of this understanding, all political concepts, including the policy of neutrality, acquire their true political meaning, because neutrality

itself exists only thanks to the potential for its destruction, if not a single military action, the action of struggle would have the possibility, the concept of neutrality would disappear, exactly, like the political, the world without a person's identification with his state community, without dividing into friends and enemies, without the opposite, on the basis of which the demands of sacrifice and demands to kill for the sake of his political group, sanctioned by the state, would be a world without politics (Schmitt, 1992). K. Schmitt believes that in such a world, it is likely that a number of opposites of another order, derived from the social, would remain, namely, the conflicts and contradictions of economic, ethical and so on. However, the issue of the existence and purpose of law as an expression of state interests remains controversial in this case (Schmitt, 2005).

The theory of political by K. Schmitt is inseparable from the concept of "emergency state" developed by him, as well as the doctrine of "sovereign", which later were developed in the works by D. Agamben in relation to the analysis of modern political reality. Agamben, in his studies, radicalizes the concepts described by Schmitt, and believes that the idea of the sovereign dictatorship, as well as the concept of a state of emergency, which formalizes sovereign power, underlies all Western democracies. Modern democracies are increasingly resorting to the possibility of a state of emergency introduction, explaining the conduct of such manipulations and the actual usurpation of power with the necessity caused by global international challenges - the threat of terrorist acts, international and local armed conflicts, and so on.

D. Agamben, preserving the original provisions by Schmitt, and recognizing the idea of the connection between the concept of sovereign and the state of emergency, as well as the special simultaneous position of the sovereign "inside" and "above" the law, introduces a new term into the concept, which was mentioned above, "homo sacer" - "naked life". Agamben borrows this term from Roman law, in which "homo sacer" means an expelled criminal who cannot be killed by the decision of a state body and cannot even be sacrificed, however, every citizen can kill the owner of "homo sacer" without explaining the reasons and without subsequent persecution by the state and society. Unprotected by law, outside the scope of law, "homo sacer" becomes the object of the unlimited, illegal power of a sovereign. Thus, Agamben believes, there is a close ontological connection between these two concepts - the unlimited power of the sovereign creates "naked life", displacing it outside the framework of law and performing any actions, at the same time "naked life" creates a sovereign, having an extra-legal status, and being an object unlimited power. In the conditions of modern political reality, formed under the influence of global disintegrating tendencies, the relationship between the sovereign and "bare life" is the core of all power relations for D. Agamben within Western democracies, in particular, the philosopher considers such phenomena of modern political reality as the presence of special prisons for prisoners, accused of organizing or aiding terrorist activities, the most famous of which is the Guantanamo prison, although the existence of similar political camps and organizations in other regions is beyond doubt (Agamben, 2005).

Thus, we can conclude that political being in the ideas by K. Schmitt and D. Agamben has independence, and the basis of the political is an extreme degree of distinction - "friend-foe", which creates the possibility of a person's identification with the state, and therefore of a political group allocation.

However, such an understanding of political existence is not the only one, and further in the discussion section we will talk about an alternative point of view, namely the theories of political unity, which are most popular among the modern academic community.

METHODS

To analyze the phenomenon of the political in this study, they used a number of general scientific methods - analysis, synthesis, induction, and deduction. Besides, special analytical methods were used - content analysis, comparative analysis and others. The neoinstitutional approach is adopted as the basic methodological paradigm

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Modern Western political philosophers, as well as political scientists and sociologists, for the most part criticize the conflicting understanding of the political, seeking to emphasize the consensus characteristics of politics and presenting political being as an accumulated desire for the common good. For example, A. Heller in his article "The Revised Concept of the Political" criticizes the approach by K. Schmitt, calling it "completely tyrannical" (Heller, 1991). Heller represents the political as a special place (a patch of reality) in which politics unfolds, in the form of specific activities, for example, a family discussing the results of parliamentary elections in the kitchen or a new political course development in the Oval Office of the White House by the US President's team. A. Heller perceives a conflict as just one of the variants of the political aspect manifestation, another variant may be consensus and the actions aimed at mutual understanding and unification. In our opinion, this approach loses the criterion of differentiating the political and the non-political, and also substitutes the essence with the form. An illustration of yet another "removal" of the conflict from the concept of the political can be the concept of the political by E. Folrat, who identifies three criteria of the political: community, publicity and freedom. In this case, only politics becomes political, which is based on legality and legitimacy, pursues public interests and does not encroach on personal freedom, which completely contradicts the facts and phenomena of

political reality and allows us to conclude that Folrat's concept itself is far from political life and political thinking.

Recalling the well-known thesis about the universality and commonality of politics, which asserts "... the absolute priority of politics as the factor that determines the meaning of all conceivable situations and cancels any non-political reflection ..." (Pyatigorsky & Alekseev, 2008), philosophy itself, like any knowledge, turns out to be a part of the political when discussing the political, and, in this case, it is impossible to single out a "pure" theory of the political. Each of the concepts has a certain level of theoretical or practical potential. In some areas they are intertwined and have a close relationship, in other areas they completely contradict each other.

However, it is necessary to note a certain paradox: diverging in mutual refutation, each of the concepts of the political, passing into the format of public discourse, defends its positions, opposing them to the antagonistic positions of other theories, just as in the case of a "non-confrontational" understanding of politics, which assumes the only goal of political implementation of order, awareness the presence of contradictions and obstacles to the implementation of the common good automatically makes the seemingly unifying concept of the political conflictual. Thus, in our opinion, the confrontational definition of the political seems to be the most systemic and with a higher epistemological potential. Based on the position of such a perception of political life, according to the objectives of the study, it is necessary to carry out further analysis, highlighting the structural elements of the political, influencing the identification and formation of political consciousness.

SUMMARY

Based on the analysis of politics and the political history perception in various concepts of Western thinkers, a number of conclusions can be drawn. Most researchers agree on the need to distinguish between the terms "politics" and "political". These terms are used interchangeably in a number of concepts. Despite the fact that these two concepts seem to be interrelated and politics serves as a form of expression of the political, it is advisable to define the following in the ontological aspect:

- politics is a real manifestation of the diversity of various social practices and discourses that implement political as being (the activities of political institutions, the mechanisms of the struggle for political power, and so on).

- the political is a necessary existential condition for the existence of politics (such political institutions and constructs as the state, nation, and so on).

Also, to one degree or another, all political philosophers point to political existence area that has a certain autonomy and specific characteristics.

Conditionally, all the existing theories were divided by us into the following groups:

- "state-centric" and "independent" (according to the degree of the political identification with the state);

- "confrontational" and "communicative" or the theories of unity (according to the essential characteristics on which the distinction between the political and the non-political is based).

CONCLUSION

The most important elements of the political as an autonomous space of being are political culture and political consciousness. The formation of political consciousness, as well as of political culture, took place over a long period of time under the influence of a number of subjective and objective factors. In our opinion, any political identification is based on a special type of political worldview - political mythology, which, is based on traditional archetypes, and at the same time a product of political culture and political consciousness development and the factor which influences their transformation. The analysis of ideas about the essence and ontological principles of the political, presented by us in this chapter, allowed us to conclude that each group of philosophers creates and maintains a certain type of political mythology that embodies their ideas about the political. For example, Platonic myths about the cave and the ideal state supported the integrity of the ancient concept of political order and the embodiment of a special type of justice; religious myths of the Middle Ages reinforced the ideas of the divine origin of power, and Hobbes's Leviathan embodied antagonism, which was the basis of the political in its conflictual embodiment.

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