

1.2. Сучасний соціум: виклики та перспективи розвитку

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TRANSFORMATION OF POLITICAL-ECONOMIC ORDER IN THE MODERN GEOPOLITICAL SITUATION

Today, the social world is transforming towards a «new world order». It would probably be untrue to say that politics has disappeared and the state has gone, since the state and politics are an integral part of a machine in which the accumulation of power and the accumulation of profit work together. In the essay «Why War?» Maurizio Lazzarato argues that Marxist and Foucauldian interpretations of production and biopower unjustly downplay the constitutive role played by civil wars, coups, and class struggle in political life, leading to a pacified concept of social order. Logically connecting Karl Marx's analysis of «initial accumulation» with Carl Schmitt's concept of «state of emergency», Lazzarato argues that the political death of the «vanquished» inevitably precedes the stabilization of all new political-economic orders. His ideas shed new light on the present moment of biopower and contemporary media of «cognitive capitalism», «immaterial labor,» and politics in a disciplinary and control society. He articulates that just as in the 1970s it was the state that forcibly forced the transition from one political-economic order to another through force, so now the outbreak of the current global war will lead to a new regime of private property that will no longer allow any type of producer into its circle. Owners of stocks, bonds and other sources of passive income will also not be allowed into this new world order.

Based on a dialog taken from Marx - Teacher: «Child, where did you get these gifts from?» Child: «I got them all from my father». Teacher: «And where does he get them from?» Child: «From grandfather». Teacher: «And from whom did grandpa get them?» Child: «He took them away» (Marx, «Capital») [3], Lazzarato believes that to

raise the problem of war today means to raise the problem of the world market. But what exactly is the relationship between the state, which has the right to declare and manage war, and capital? For a long time, it was believed that the state was subordinate to finance, and this thesis was supported by the example of the United States. Today, however, it is desirable to recognize that war demonstrates that, on the one hand, it cannot manifest itself without the power of finance, but the economic monopoly of finance cannot, on the other hand, exist without the military-political monopoly of force that promotes and imposes the «dollarization» of present life. This is why Lazzarato implies by «political life» a life of «military life» as well.

In our societies, according to Lazzarato, «economic activity and military-political activity are closely linked in the sense that they form a single state-capitalist machine in which the function of the former is not merely instrumental and subordinate to the latter.» The state and capital pursue different but converging goals: «the increase in the power of the former and the increase in the profits of the latter: both feed off each other.» [1]. Therefore, Lazzarato's thesis «it is not true that politics has disappeared, that the state has gone away; the state and politics are an integral part of a machine in which the accumulation of profit and the accumulation of power work together» [1]. Hence, Lazzarato's theoretical and political conclusion is that since the 1960s, the goals of critical theory have been the critique of the concept of sovereignty and the attempt to overcome the Marxist interpretation that equates power with production and reduces the state to a mere function of managing value accumulation processes.

To understand the current geopolitical situation, we need to consider a number of causes and events: financial crisis, populism, neo-Nazism, civil wars, wars on different continents between neighboring countries and wars for geopolitical interests, various forms of genocide. Lazzarato believes that law is born not in the zone of indifference between «internal and external» caused by the suspension of the legal system (G. Agamben) [3], but in conflicts between forces, where there are winners and losers. Lazzarato's final theoretical conclusion is also disappointing, noting that «once control of the state-capital machine is regained, the situation will be normalized by the

formation of a new consensus of winners based on a debt economy and consumption on credit, rather than on wages and welfare» [1].

J. Butler defines «oppressed» political subjectivity - as «torn between the conviction of its non-existence and the overflowing notion of its future power» in the state of postcolonialism, when political regimes in post-Soviet countries cherish a sense of «oppression» in their subjects.

In thinking about alliances in contemporary conditions, Hegel's «cunning of reason» is of no help, since on the one hand it recognizes history as violence governed by evil, injustice, and irrationality, and on the other hand, from the perspective of the Absolute Spirit, violence, evil, and irrationality are expressions of higher rationality. Similarly, Marx later argued that class division and struggle ends in a higher positivity of the Absolute Spirit type. Alliances must be built on ontological difference as a form of antagonisms without a false higher positivity.

The attack on the World Trade Center in September 2001 was the last spectacular act of war of the twentieth century. In the twenty-first century, humanity faces the specter of «immaterial» warfare, in which attacks are mediated by viruses and proxy-combatants that can appear suddenly and just as suddenly disappear. At the level of visible material reality, nothing fundamentally new may occur, but nevertheless the old life, the old way of life, begins to collapse and changes irrevocably. Mankind enters the era of wars, in which the most difficult task will be to identify the enemy and his weapons. With the advent of this radical "dematerialization", Karl Marx's famous thesis from «The Communist Manifesto» – that under capitalism, "all that is solid melts into air" – takes on a literal meaning. The material social reality is not only subjected to the ghostly or speculative movement of Capital but also gradually becomes "spectral" itself. The "protean self" replaces the old identity of the Subject, as the elusive fluidity of its experiences supplants the stability of the objects that provoke them. Here, the usual relationship between "solid" material objects and "fluid" ideas is inverted (objects gradually dissolve into fluid experiences, and the only thing that maintains stability is virtual symbolic commitments), and in this sense, the aspect that

J. Derrida referred to as the ghostly aspect of capitalism – the presence of the past in the present – is finally realized [5].

Transformations also concern the culture wars in the era of extermination wars, according to Etienne Balibar [4]. The goal and result of extermination warfare, ideologically articulated as a demand for «Victory», is, according to Balibar's definition, the mass extermination of the population - not only the extermination of the enemy, but of one's own population, both military/mobilized and civilian. At this stage of the conflict, the main factor in the success of hostilities becomes not the strategy and tactics of warfare, or even the quantity and quality of the weapons available to the parties, but the ability to conduct mass mobilization of one's own population in the most rapid and effective manner, and the willingness of the population to be annihilated in a war of extermination, the outcome of which, in Balibar's words, «will be decided by the ability of the people to accept the extermination of their youth.» The key mechanisms of mass military mobilization are propaganda and mass culture, to which today the leadership of all countries participating in extermination wars pays very great attention. It is noteworthy that not only mass culture (from movies to popular music and stand-up), but also persons claiming to speak in the name of «high» culture, are becoming uncompromising tools for waging wars of extermination by «other means».

Which side is winning today on the field of culture wars - the state that stakes on the monoculture of nationalism and the total abolition of genetically close culture and language, or the state that stakes on an inclusive strategy of productive coexistence of different ethnic groups on its territory? At first glance, the mobilization strategy looks more effective, which makes it possible to use the resource of nationalism as a factor of the affective dimension of politics and to obtain as a result the mass destruction of its own population. How can we explain the strange obsessive desire of the authorities to stop protesting people from taking to the streets at any cost? The reason for this desire can be explained by the effect of «obsessive presence», which causes a sense of the threatening proximity of the Other. The subject (power) perceives the Other as a mystery, inexpressible as the dark message of the Other, who wants something from me. In this sense, the "neighbour" is primarily related not to the abyss

of the Other's desire, but to the mystery of "what does he really want from me?" and to the actor of intrusion, who, by definition, is always too close.

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FALSE UNIVERSALS OF HUMAN SOCIAL BEING IN THE HISTORICAL PROCESS

The crisis of social being is diagnosed in several ways: it is a sharp increase in economic inequality and loss of faith in the ability of state social elevators to function for the common good; transformations in party systems that allow radical groups to