

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

enter the mainstream and block the activities of other competing parties and blocs; internal contradictions of liberalism and the nation-state. Thinking today must free itself from the power of false universals. This means not only refuting historical teleologies, but at a much deeper level includes a categorical critique of all philosophical attempts to totalize and construct socio-political systems. According to T. Adorno, «honest thinking» following the thought of W. Benjamin about the concept of time and moments of historical breakthrough can be achieved only in fragmentary constellations that unite historical-cultural and socio-economic trends that converge at certain moments of the historical process [2]. In Adorno's work entitled «The Relevance of Philosophy» the main thesis was that the power of thought is sufficient to comprehend the totality of the real, and the main task of philosophy should be the task of rejecting the illusion with which previous philosophical subjects began. Only the polemical mind presents itself to the knower as total reality, while only in traces and ruins can he hope to ever encounter a correct and just reality. Adorno not only criticizes the arrogance of philosophical thought, but also points out that the «real» itself «suppresses any claim to reason». This failure of philosophy stems not only from the thinker; it is also the fault of reality, which does not allow itself to be perceived as rational. Turning to M. Heidegger and the question of Being as the most radical form of thinking, Adorno observes that Heidegger returns precisely to the latest plan of subjective ontology based on Kierkegaard's philosophy.

Adorno does not reveal possible connections between Heidegger's existential ontology of anxiety, death and his pro-Nazi views. The categories of abandonment, anxiety, and death, according to Adorno, «are not really capable of banishing the fullness of the living», but they oscillate between an irrational exuberance toward the «pure concept of life» and a sense of fear and anxiety when confronted with the finitude of Dasein. Adorno turns to aesthetic theory and the concept of the «naturally beautiful», seeing it as an allegory and cipher that hints at a utopian desire for the «non-identity». This does not mean, however, that Adorno has turned his back on the political and reduced the emancipatory claims of critical theory to aesthetics. First, for him, neither the non-identical nor the non-identical «allows for totalization». Adorno insists that the

false universals of world history, nation and tribe must never overcome the individual, the particular, the Other; they must remain and preserve the moment of difference. We can only achieve the preservation of the moment of difference through encounters with the Other that allow the Other to communicate its otherness without exoticizing and alienating it. It is in the medium of communicative interaction that the Other can go beyond mere difference and become non-identical.

The contemporary crisis of democracy manifests itself, according to political theorist Wendy Brown, in the following: (1) the explosive growth of economic inequality and the widespread loss of faith in the ability of state institutions to work for the good of all members of society; (2) changes in party systems that allow radical groups to enter the mainstream; (3) the internal contradictions of liberalism and the nation-state bordering it, which opens the door to authoritarian leaders; (4) the deterioration and degradation of public education, resulting in a widening distance between political elites and everyone else; 5) in the fact that liberal democratic institutions – courts, parliamentarism, the principle of separation of powers and much more – have been torn to shreds, democratic values have become a fiction for a significant part of various groups of the population, and democratic culture is being destroyed by the neoliberal mind [3]. Against this background, the task of democracy advocates, according to Brown, is to develop «a counter-concept of democracy that seeks to move our politics away from its destructive man-centeredness toward coherence and restoration. To do this, Brown turns to the notion of «reparative democracy» as a response to the «twin crises of democracy and ecology» that now threaten, destroy, and exploit all planetary capacities and human resources. Democracy, Brown argues, today must not just be restored but remade reparatively if we are to remain committed to collective self-government and if we are to have an ecologically viable and just future.

But what, then, is reparative democracy not, asks Brown? And he answers: first of all, it is not about restoring liberal constitutional nation-state democracy to its mythical former splendor, as if it was once beautiful but is now broken. In practice, it is not only authoritarian and neo-fascist mobilizations that threaten the liberal

democracy of the nation-state, based on the rights and interests of the individual. Brown's argument is that the democratic ethos and practice we demand today must be relentlessly and radically reparative of past and present destructive forms of life, especially over the past two centuries. This orientation diverges sharply from the notions that structure liberal democracy, including progressivism, anthropocentrism, and individual interests and rights as the essence of political freedom.

In practice, liberal nation-state democracy based on individual rights and interests is not only threatened by authoritarian and neo-fascist mobilizations. For many reasons it is unsuitable for modern states, and Brown's main argument in the context of ecocide critique is that «most good political thinking about ecological damage has focused on capitalism as the culprit». The fundamental separation of politics from everything related to "necessity" and the "nature" of non-human life, as well as from non-human production and reproduction, generates, as Brown notes, "both a very limited demos and an irresponsible form of governance, or a democracy cut off from the sources of its existence and self-empowered to violate them". This suggests that Western democracy, its very ontology, may be responsible, along with the voracity of capitalism, for the histories of damage to human and nonhuman life that are now at a critical juncture».

To mobilize human capacities for democracy, political freedom must be based on relations of reciprocity, responsiveness and responsibility, and let the past and the future «always remain merely on the horizon». Is there a class struggle today? Two political strategies must be fundamentally distinguished.

An example of the first is the riot after the death of George Floyd, which is still seen as an important political event in recent American history, when people took to the streets in cities and towns. This riot was a warning sign to the ruling class that something similar could happen again at any minute. The second example is the formally democratic election campaign of C. Harris, which was filled with the presence of super-rich celebrities and militaristic hawks. National democracy is still no opposition to fascism. Only to a certain extent can we analyze the figure of a political leader whose political program, proclaimed under the slogan of national regeneration,

is in reality based on racism, xenophobia and transphobia. In reality, «late capitalist fascism» is a varnished version of fascism, whose images of a better future are presented in postcards with visions of a non-existent past and an imagined future that will actually be quite different. Neo-fascist forces are merely adherents of a modified version of Italian fascism and German Nazism. Nevertheless, it is necessary to return to the old analysis of the relationship between the state and crime. The left has never given the criminal element much importance, although Marx himself occasionally included it in his analysis of Bonapartism during the Second Empire. And if we ask ourselves today why the state needs crime, we will come to a frank and no longer frightening answer: as a tool to suppress and persecute political opponents and protests against the deterioration of living conditions to the point where people who work and receive a salary cannot live on it. Modern fascism is not the opposite of Western democracy, which can be reduced to mere formal procedures that ensure the periodic rotation of political figures. But unity achieved through violence is a prerequisite for civil war. Today, there is a growing popularity of political strategies that transform globalist military confrontation strategies into civil conflicts, fraught with the risk of civil wars.

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