

POLITICS AND AUTHORITY IN DE-MODERNIZING SOCIETIES

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1. THESIS

De-modernization of post-Soviet societies:

- hegemony of collective traditional rights over individual modern rights
- understanding justice as 'historical' justice, not a fairness-among citizens, or socio-economic justice, or legal and political equality
- degradation of the political, of the public sphere, and of a citizen

2. DE-MODERNIZING TRANSFORMATION OF POLITICS AND AUTHORITY

There are two conceptual and one empirical observations behind my thesis

- Aristotle on deviation of authority
- Habermas on colonization of Lifeworld
- De-modernization as deviation of authority and colonization of System

2.1.1. ΚΟΙΝΩΝΊΑ AND ΠΑΡΕΚΒΆΣΕΙΣ

- Aristotle, Politics (Book 3ff): ‘communication for common good’ (κοινωνία) can devolve (παρεκβάσεις)
 - The virtuous power can transform into something abnormal
 - παρεκβάσεις = deviations, but also degradation
 - **κοινωνία deviates and authority degrades**

2.1.2. COLONIZATION OF LIFEWORLD

- Jurgen Habermas, *The Theory of Communicative Action and Legitimation Crisis*
 - growing intrusion of System into Lifeworld
 - Habermas dilemma: the modern complex societies benefit from System, but when economic and administrative systems intrude into everyday life of humans, they erode communicative competences of humans and Lifeworld

2.2. EMPIRICIST OBSERVATION

- contemporary post-Soviet political systems tend to devolve into conservative authoritarian regimes
 - Cycle of Constitutional deviations: Post-Soviet societies have gone through a cycle that started with a 'leap to freedom', and ended up in progressively conservative political and socio-economic system
 - Colonization of System: unlike in Soviet period, the colonization of Lifeworld has changed for degradation of both market and public administration

3. POST-SOVIET CONCEPTUAL INNOVATIONS

Criteria for selection: publically accepted, intellectually uncontested in mainstream media, legally approved (in laws or policies), practiced by authorities

- Case 1: Tradition as a subject of law
 - Case 2: Justice as historical justice
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3.1. TRADITION AS A SUBJECT OF LAW

- Russia: Traditional religions (Orthodox Christian, state-friendly Islam) versus non-traditional religions
- Russia: symphony of church and government
- Ukraine/Kazakhstan: exclusive rights for 'state language' in a bi-lingual society
- Ukraine: preparation for one state church

Tradition as a citizen in a Republic of traditions

3.1. TRADITION AS A SUBJECT OF LAW



3.2. JUSTICE AS HISTORICAL JUSTICE

- Russia/Belarus: Victory in WWII and the ideological ground for the authority
- fSU: linguocultural extraterritorial politics
- separatism and de facto states: deficits of rational solidarity, rich traditional grounds for small-groups enmity

Past generations as dominant participants

Communication for public good is falsified

Politics is a sphere of competition between historical entities

3.2. JUSTICE AS HISTORICAL JUSTICE



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4. CONCLUSIONS

De-modernization is degradation of the political, of the public sphere, and of a citizen

- The Political is an exercise of illegitimate power that needs 'small war' situation when citizen rights are not possible any more
- The Public Sphere is gain destroyed by limiting communication between citizens in a falsified dialogue
- Civic spirit and its political consequences are impossible to practice