POLITICAL NATION: CONTENT AND PERSPECTIVES

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The article investigates the concept of "political nation". The analysis of research studies and the generalization of domestic and foreign experience in the formation of political nation prove the relevance of the issues raised. The study of peculiarities of the political nation formation in the coordinates of the Modernist period enhances the understanding of processes in the socio-humanitarian sphere, makes it possible to outline the ambiguity of interpretations of the conceptual foundations of the political nation, and also helps to develop the effective state policy in this area. It should be noted that there are few studies that systematically analyze the domestic and foreign experience of forming the political nation and they need modernization.

It has been determined that the identification of the sense of national identity is the result of the appropriate mental work, and external challenges greatly optimize this process.

Different approaches to the content characteristics of the notion "political nation" have been considered and summarized. A number of factors (the need to preserve the integrity of state and its consolidation, the formation of civil society, hybrid aggression, etc.) have been outlined, which stipulate the necessity of developing the adequate policy on dealing with crisis phenomena, existing in the Ukrainian national identity. It has been established that the political nation forms a corresponding type of national culture, which creates a more systematic understanding of the genesis, ritual and strategy of national development.

Problem statement. The general context of understanding the nation as a politically motivated community constitutes the worldview paradigm of the Modernist period, which is defined as a transition period from the feudal system to capitalist relations. It is known that capitalism produces the completely new intentions of uniting social communities, for which the issues of origin, means of communication, territorial belonging, and historical and cultural peculiarities are not crucial. Modernists are not interested in the genesis of the phenomenon, since the history during its formation is the dialectic of the necessary and the accidental. Modernists assign a considerably more important role in the strategies of developing the paradigms of society's functioning to the futurological, prognostic perspective. Civilizational progress reduces the influence of the common genetic origin, whereas it promotes the priority of the nation's collective future.

It is logical that the modernist analytical paradigm for the phenomenon of nation is based on the following theoretical foundations:

Nation as a procedure for identifying individuals. Nation as an independent phenomenon has the right to exist and to identify itself exclusively as a product of the conscious choice of individuals only with the development of liberalism as an essential component of capitalist relations. The individual's belonging to the community without the conscious choice and identification procedure has no reasonable basis. Therefore, premodern civilizations have, in fact, no grounds for national verification.

Conditions of the nation-building process. The nation-building process can hardly be characterized as sustainable and consistent. And the belief in the organic, implicit character of the nation-building is nothing more than an illusion. Modernists are convinced of the conditions of the nation-building process, the crucial role of political will as well as the psychological and motivational decision-making factors.

Nation as a synchronized collective nature of production. The ideology of modernism produces a theoretical concept of society, in which all fundamental functioning processes are connected to production

(of things, symbols, ideologies, values, etc.). It is impossible to achieve such balance and coherence in the complex system if the reflection level of its participants is low. Therefore, modernists emphasize the special mission of the Enlightenment project in the formation of modern nations. The spontaneous and inert social mass closely connected by the common need to survive cannot be called a nation. This connection is temporary, because it is dictated by external circumstances, which are often likely to change. A more long-term connection of identities with the national community attributes the synchronization of human subjectivities.

Eurocentrism of nation's analytics. Based on the fact that the ideology of the Modernist period is inherent in the European worldview, it is quite logical that the European model of nation-building is viewed by the theorists of this trend as a starting point of any analytical and discursive activity, of nation in particular. And this is more a praxeological than a theoretical issue, because the political elites of different nation-states define the European model of liberal capitalism as a purpose of their activities.

Purpose of the article. The purpose of the article is to define the concept of "political nation" and to identify a set of factors that dictate the need for developing an adequate policy on dealing with crisis phenomena, existing in the Ukrainian national identity.

Results and discussion. The proponents of the modernist approach to the study of nation can be figuratively divided into "materialists" and "idealists" based on the factors that consolidate the national community.

"Materialists" consider economic factors to be the most significant and effective in unifying the nation. Production necessity, in their opinion, leads to the development of a coherent system of communications and administration. This general objectified system forms an overindividual way of identification in which the affiliation with community is not a necessity, but a desirable and progressive result of activity. This complex system of early capitalism helped the countries of Central and Western Europe to create the preconditions for the rapid civilizational development, and, ultimately, the foreign policy of colonialism in relation to the countries of Eastern Europe, Central and Latin America, Asia and Africa. The orientation towards the efficient patterns of consolidating

communities in more progressive countries leads to the corresponding mobilization of colonized nations and promotes the process of their internal unification and reflection. It should be noted that colonization implies not only political, but also economic dependence. Therefore, those countries that throughout their history came under the influence of more progressive countries subsequently borrowed their models of national unity and self-identification.

"Idealists" consider economic factors as derivatives from ideal entities, that is, it is not the material need which leads to communication and the common paradigm of consciousness, but the unity of values and beliefs which promotes the joint productive activity. Therefore, in the issue of the nation's genesis "idealists" are more interested in politics and ideology as the unifying means of communities. A widely used concept of "political will" logically leads to the conclusion that elites play an essential role in the development of nations. The reciprocal dialectic of the mass and the elite in the discourse on national communities receives the necessary mutual correlation between these phenomena. Thus, national masses create the necessary demographic context for the formation of elites, and the elites, in their turn, represent the value and significance exclusively in this national mass context. The dialectic of public opinion and political and intellectual elite of the national unity is a mechanism for the gradual development of society towards some more advanced patterns of organization. Therefore, the logical conclusion of this position can be the statement: "nations are the products of conscious actions of elites, the result of purposeful transformation of cultural and ethnic communities into political communities." [1, p. 29]. In fact, the role of this dialectic is to promote liberalism, the rule of law, and increase the level of self-awareness of the national community.

However, it is an unjustified assumption to consider the notions of "nation" and "political nation" to be identical. The presence of political will and the corresponding state apparatus of representation is not yet the evidence of national unity. For example, the Soviet Union was a representative example of the political state unity, one of the strictest authoritarian regimes and ideologies, which failed to create a corresponding national identity. And political slogans, which at a certain

period of time created the basis for consolidation of various ethnic communities in the most extensive form of state unification, perform a quite opposite function in modern history, the function of centrifugal forces of returning to historical ethnic groups, and not political groupings. This fact shows that the ideology of the Soviet Union was artificial and it was not internalized in the personal beliefs of the majority of the demographic community. There are grounds to make an even more universal assumption that the systems of totalitarian and authoritarian state structures do not produce the sufficient potential for the nation-building. Probably, in the modern scientific discourse on the nation, the political component is considered obligatory, and in some contexts the concepts of nation and political nation are used as equivalents. However, it is inappropriate to consider them to be identical in the problem field of differentiation between ethnic and political national formation. In other cases, it is difficult to imagine national unification only on the basis of common history and traditions, especially in the current conditions of democratization, liberalization and globalization of international geopolitics.

The "idealists" of modernist approach to the study of the phenomenon of nation pay special attention to the so-called subjective factors of the harmonization of social life. A positive psychological climate is often called an important factor in the course of the integration processes of nation-building. Yuli Tamir, Benedict Anderson, Anthony Smith and Liah Greenfeld believe that psychological factors are the most effective in the formation and implementation of solidarity. Thus, the conceptual core of the psychological approach to solving the problem of the genesis of solidarity is to demonstrate the attributive needs of individuals in communication and collaboration, such as the psychological awareness of belonging to the social community of like-minded people, sharing common values, symbols and ideas about the desired future. This area of designing the desirable future is important, in particular, in view of the inability of all involved members of the community to have direct contacts. Therefore, B. Anderson insists on the importance of imagination as a psychological process of transforming the real into the desired in the matters of nation genesis. The ideas of self-identification mechanisms,

common for the nation, effectively regulate the personal and social habitus. This is one of the consolidation mechanisms of the nation. In some way, nation is a product and result of the collective imagination, an ideal concept of national consciousness.

The concept of competition is an integrating principle of the economic-political and psychological-ideological tools of the nation's interpretation. In the economic context, competition is a mobilization and optimization means for the most effective organization of activities. In the psychological context, competition is an important factor of reflection and identity. It is known that the highest indicators of consolidation of society appear in the conditions of external confrontation. The nation unites and intensifies in case of various kinds of interaction with the more progressive types of national entities, especially in the condition of external threat from the more consolidated national organizations. In this case, a significant increase in the level of national self-awareness can be observed, that is an indisputable factor of the nation-building. The identification of national consciousness is a result of the corresponding mental work, and external challenges greatly optimize this process. Following this argument, E. Gellner states: "Nations are the artifacts of people's convictions, loyalties, and solidarities. A mere category of persons becomes a nation if and when the members of the category firmly recognize certain mutual rights and duties to each other in virtue of their shared membership of it. " [1, p. 7].

Cirila Toplak and Irena Šumi [2] solve the problem of identifying and reinforcing the European identity. By involving the arguments in the form of influential political speeches and EU legislative documents in the discursive analytics of the European identity, the authors seek to justify the impossibility of reinforcing and implementing the project of the European national unity. The statistical data of the public opinion polls in the European Union show negative indicators, that is, on a regular basis, the traditional national identification significantly outnumbers the strategic and perspective motivations. The European identity, which is the search purpose of the authors, is viewed by community members as artificial and fake. Does that mean that the European identity is in fact an empty concept? The authors consider it necessary to create a strategy of the

European identity formation that would take into account modern socio-cultural contexts and the key principles of the identity theory evolution. The accomplishment of these objectives will facilitate the realization of the European integration project, and will ensure a long-term existence and sustainable prosperity of the European Union as a conglomerate of historically distinct ethnic groups. Dimitris N. Chryssochoou [3] provides a more radical formulation of the issue. He describes the issue of national self-identification of the European nation as a revolution, i. e., spreading democratic ideas beyond its borders. The author believes that the revolution is still going on, especially in connection with the study of interaction matrices of nation-states and supranational unions, as the European Union. The purpose of this activity is to establish and validate the democratic order of the state. However, the uniqueness of the process is characterized by the fact that contemporaries witness "a complete transformation of the system of democracies into a democratic system". The author states that a pluralistic ethnos is formed from the plurality of ethnic groups.

Matthias Kaelberer [4] analyzes the phenomenon of national solidarity in terms of the nominal value of the monetary unit. The author considers money as a form of trust between the members of the community: "Money represents a social bond between the members of a community. It embodies the guarantee of a community that particular tokens have value. In other words, money is a form of trust among the members of a community. We believe that money has value because we trust that others believe the same thing." [4, p. 487]. In some way, on the basis of social contract, the nominal value is exported to the real value. This form of contractual relations in the socio-economic context is realized in the following way: "The euro follows the principle of "one money, many nations". This situation forces us to rethink and explore the relationship between statehood, community and money." [4, p. 488].

Eurosceptics often reproach that the European community has no signs of a united community: "No-demos theory suffers from the fundamental misconception that political community and democracy are possible only in the nation-state. This leads the theory to pose the issue as a stark dichotomy between demos or no-demos: nations are demos,

whereas the euro zone is not a demos. The only way for the euro zone to become a demos would be to become a nation-state and to replace the individual nation-states. This depiction of community represents a zero-sum understanding of community that simply cannot capture the dynamic interaction of multiple communities." [4, p. 488]. They define euro as a monetary unit, deprived of a realistic justification and therefore lacking in its legitimacy. Matthias Kelberer states the following: "Three major political features have consistently presented constraints for the effective exercise of authority by national governments: the distribution of power in the international system, economic interdependence, and domestic institutions. The distribution of power in the international system limits the ability of states to full self-determination. Other powers will simply set limits on what goals states can realistically pursue. Economic interdependence creates sensitivities and vulnerabilities to the actions of other states and the processes of the international economy. Governments often find themselves faced with situations that are not of their own choosing and therefore limits on their self-determination." [4, p. 495]. Thus, the author of the study provides a significant counterargument: the political community and democracy are possible only in the nation-state. Multiethnic states and national unions function effectively in conditions of complex and duplicate identities. Disaggregated communities are sufficiently motivated and united to perform the coordinated international political and economic activities.

The traditional view of the nation-state as a system that ensures social justice does not contradict the recent strategy of the multiethnic union: "These arguments in favour of viewing the monopoly over the means of violence in a different light do not make the European Union more state like than it really is. Rather, they are supposed to support the objective of this paper to conceive of political community in terms other than that of statehood. Military security is just one example of a policy area where the functions that states formerly provided are shifting towards other entities. This shift implies that the relationships between states and citizens and between functional competences and territoriality are shifting. The key point here is that in a disaggregated world, no single entity can claim a monopoly on security provision any more." [4, p. 491].

However, the fairness and reasonability of using violence and coercion, even by the state, is an important issue for ethical debates.

Byron Kaldis [5] analyzes the connection between ethics and politics in the context of global justice and global politics. He defines three groups of ethical and political objectives that, in his opinion, influence the formation of national consciousness. Thus, the connection between ethics and politics is revealed in the contradiction between duties and values, as it is reflected in relations between sovereign nation-states, different social groups, and post-colonial practice. These aspects of geopolitics and their resolution appear as pressing issues of state system and responsibility: "By neglecting this aspect in the interests of resolving conflicts of duties, the state as a supreme juridical entity would turn out to be mutated, or reduced from its status as a political/legal order to that of a moral-cum-cultural-cum-national one. In such a case, states become nations shedding off their exclusive structure as legal orders of self-determination and adopting the identity appropriate to any other communal arrangement that is decisively non- or pre-political and emanating from, for instance, moral sentiment, cultural customs or religious beliefs." [5, p. 177].

The author thoroughly criticizes the Kantian concept of sustainable peace, as the establishment of federal peace between different states requires a coherent organization and an appropriate moral and ethical justification. So, this objective seems to be more utopian than realistic, especially in the modern period of information and hybrid confrontation. The problem is to determine the initial constants of the desired peace: either the world order is the result of a high spiritual and ethical culture, and, consequently, nationalism gets only positive interpretation, or a sustainable system of the world politics is a prerequisite for the moral and ethical perfection of society and individual.

The lack of understanding of the direction of this dependence is problematic. In addition, having analyzed the relevant empirical research material, the author came to the conclusion about the depoliticization of nation-states in the context of general globalization tendencies. In view of these trends, a logical question arises: who should be the guarantor of world justice in the federation of sovereign states in the absence of

a superstate? It is clear that all these ethical distinctions have political dimensions of suitability: "Politics only expresses and secures an underlying cosmopolitan requirement of morality: that is, the individual human rights of equality and autonomy are passed over to the collective entity, i.e. the state. If one were to probe further, though, the deeper meaning of such political demands in flavour of collective entities and the corresponding values attached to the concepts of "equality" and "autonomy" seem to be based not on universalistic ethics, but rather on the values signed to the notion of culture (of an ethnic group, etc.) within which human ourising takes place. "Culture" thus becomes the analysans, or alternatively the item to which the usual apparently purely political explanations reduce them tacitly. But this is misleading. For, again, the general liberal principle of "autonomous agency" is what is supposed to lie underneath all such justifications of the right to self-governance of all ethnic or cultural units of considerable significance: "culture" itself acquires value to the extent that it is promoted as the exercise of such equal and autonomous agency. Similarly, for example, irredentist claims may, and often do, clash with the national security of states against which they are made. In both these cases the analysis of the exact conflict involved and the justifications offered sound as thoroughly political in origin and content. But it is not clear that there may not lie behind such overtly political analyses and justifications just another version of the paramount ethical principle of autonomous agency. Notions such as "self-determination", "autonomy" or "protection and promotion of interests," "security of property" that are all of them usually thought to be exclusively ethical claims attached to individuals, primarily, are somehow transformed into political by being attached to states." [5, p. 186]. In this case, the spontaneous tendencies of the law and order formation cannot be used as a justification system, since then it is simply impossible to avoid relativism.

The author associates the second category of problems, related to the formation of a just federal world system, with the existing asymmetry between the ethical standards and legal norms that nowadays exist in different nation-states. Consequently, the author problematizes the possibility of solving moral conflicts by postulating the permanent and

comprehensive super-norms of conduct. This aspect makes up the third problem of the consolidation of nation-states. The author rightly believes that these ethical and political problems constitute a single complex on the way towards changes in the roles of nation-states in the globalized political, economic and cultural environment.

Thus, the relations between the nation and state are complex and contradictory. James Hudson [6] refers to the political philosophy of Charles Murray, which has a utilitarian, individualistic and civil nature. J. Hudson believes that the main criterion for the interaction of an individual and a person is the happiness, based on the harmonization of belonging to a community and self-respect, which results from the successful implementation of social commitments. Therefore, the activities of national governments should focus on the formation and functioning of communities that promote the consolidation of the principles of liberal individualism. This is the true path of democracy.

Expanding the context of interaction between nation and politics to the international level causes an increase in the factors of social tension. This transition from the state level to the level of interstate interaction is studied by Nuit Banai [7]. The author considers the existence of nation-states in the conditions of globalization, that is, the elimination of borders that are territorially determined by ethnic differentiation. The author provides arguments about the change in the paradigm of nation's representation by means of aesthetic practices, discursive and institutional mechanisms of legitimizing the public sphere. Based on the main manifestations of the European Union's formation, the author examines the logic of transition from viewing Europe as an aggregate of nation-states to the concept of the single European space with only external borders. It is like a metaphor for the boundary between the civilized and another, barbaric world. The prerequisites for this marking principle cannot be explained by the conditions of the political or economic reality. The researcher believes that the true indicators of this cartography have a direct attribution to the cultural, namely ideological and creative, identification paradigm of the nation's community. However, can the replacement of the ethnic justification of the phenomenon of the nation be characterized as its politicization?

Valery Tishkov [8] makes an original research slogan: "Forget the nation: post-nationalist understanding of nationalism." The author rejects the recognized theories and political practices of studying the nation and nationalism and states: "The reason is a long-standing and widely shared quest for adequate definition of what does not exist, in reality, as a collective body. Nation is a powerful metaphor which two forms of social groupings – polity (state) and ethnic entity (the people) – are fighting to have as their exclusive property. In its latest manifestation, it is an argument for geopolitical engineering and for questioning the legitimacy of weaker collective actors on the part of the winners. There is no sense in defining states and ethnic groups by the category of a nation. The latter is a ghost word, escalated to a level of meta-category through historic accident and inertia of intellectual prescription. A suggested 'hard scenario' for breaking the methodological impasse is a 'zero option', when both major clients for being a nation will be deprived of a luxury called by that label. The process of dismantling the non-operational category should be started with the intellectual courage to forget the nation as an academic definition and extend this logic into the domain of politics and everyday discourse [8]. In this logic of reasoning, there is every reason to distinguish the European nation and the European identity. Clare Sutherland [9] uses the archetype of a cosmopolitan, diaspora Jewish community to reassess the concept of nation. The author questions the antagonistic nature of the interaction of cosmopolitanism and nationalism. For example, Carlo Gamberale [10] studies the meaning of the European identity as the basis and condition of the European citizenship. The traditional elements of national identity, such as kinship, common ancestry, culture, language, and traditions, are ineffective in this area. That is why the author substantiates the concept of collective identity, which combines various political associations, cultural peculiarities and national identities. The essential elements of the European political identity are Europe's political and constitutional history and the practice of citizenship in the European Union. The author names two main obstacles to the formation of political identity. They are pluralism of possibilities and exclusion as an underlying element of unification. These contradictory trends define the course of socio-

cultural, political and economic life of the European Union as well as the content of corresponding mental structures and their explication in communication.

Conclusions. The interpretation of nation as a political entity is based on the following fundamental principles:

- nation as a political entity involves a common understanding and a voluntary acceptance of the rights and obligations that govern the course of social life;

- nation as an implementation of political program involves the collective and coordinated cooperation based on the common goal and action strategy;

- a rather high level of national self-awareness is important, because only the high level of critical thinking and reflection of individuals can produce the efficiency and effectiveness of responding to the flow of external challenges;

- political nation forms the corresponding type of national culture, which creates a more systematic understanding of the genesis, ritual and strategy of national development;

- nation as a political community minimizes the diversity of geopolitical context, it structures and organizes the formation and functioning of the nation-state and civil society;

- nation as a subject of international geopolitics is legitimate exclusively by means of state and political methods of organization and implementation.

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ПОЛІТИЧНА НАЦІЯ: ЗМІСТ ТА ПЕРСПЕКТИВИ

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У статті досліджується поняття «політична нація». Аналіз наукових досліджень та узагальнення вітчизняного та зарубіжного досвіду формування політичної нації доводять актуальність поставлених питань. Вивчення особливостей формування політичної нації в координатах модерністського періоду підвищує розуміння процесів в соціально-гуманітарній сфері, дозволяє виявити неоднозначність інтерпретацій концептуальних основ політичної нації, а також допомагає розробити ефективну державну політику в цій галузі. Слід зазначити, що мало досліджень, в яких систематично аналізується вітчизняний і зарубіжний досвід формування політичної нації, і вони потребують модернізації.

Було встановлено, що виявлення почуття національної ідентичності є результатом відповідної розумової роботи, і зовнішні проблеми значно оптимізують цей процес.

Були розглянуті й узагальнені різні підходи до змістовним характеристикам поняття «політична нація». Виділено ряд факторів (необхідність збереження цілісності держави та її консолідації, формування громадянського суспільства, гібридна агресія), які обумовлюють необхідність розробки адекватної політики щодо боротьби з кризовими явищами, що існують в Росії. українська національна ідентичність. Встановлено, що політична нація формує відповідний тип національної культури, що створює більш систематичне розуміння генезису, ритуалу і стратегії національного розвитку.

Ключові слова: нація, політична нація, національна держава, національна ідентичність.

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