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INTELLIGENTSIA AND POWER

In the article distinguished the main features and analyzed the social role of the intelligentsia as a social phenomenon. The power aspect of social role of intelligentsia considered, its participation in political life of society. An attempt was made to analyze the power of intelligentsia as manifestation of its subjective ability to influence others (in the context of the concept of “will to power” of F. Nietzsche).

Keywords: intelligentsia, power, political power, “will to power”, values, truth, idea.

ЗИЯЛЫ ҚАУЫМ ЖӘНЕ БІЛІК

Мақалада зиялы қауымның әлеуметтік феномен ретіндегі әлеуметтік рөліне сипаттама берілген және негізгі белгілері көрсетілген, сондай-ақ әлеуметтік рөлінің билік аспектілері қарастырылған. Басқаларға (Ф. Ницшенің «билікке ерік» концепциясы

бойынша) субъективті әрекет етуінің көрінісі ретінде зиялы қауым биліктеріне талдау жасау мүмкіндігі іске асырылаған.

Түйінді сөздер: зиялы, билік, саяси билік, «билікке ерік», құндылықтар, шындық, идея.

ИНТЕЛЛИГЕНЦИЯ И ВЛАСТЬ

В статье выделены основные черты и проанализирована социальная роль интеллигенции как социальный феномен. Рассмотрен властный аспект социальной роли интеллигенции: ее участие в политической жизни общества. Предпринята попытка проанализировать власть интеллигенции как проявление ее субъективной способности влиять на других (в контексте концепции «воли к власти» Ф. Ницше).

Ключевые слова: интеллигенция, власть, политическая власть, «воля к власти», ценности, истина, идея.

Research intelligentsia, singling out its priorities and outline features of the social role held in the German philosophy of the late 18th – early 19th century. German Enlightenment philosophy phrased a formula of “classical” intelligentsia, which is still widespread in researches. Thus, German philosophers (G. Hegel, J. Fichte, F. Schelling) endowed intelligentsia intellectuality and spirituality: it is able to perceive, interpret the essence of things and being (meaning not only knowledge, but the highest form of thinking and understanding, rational and spiritual ability to know their surroundings).

Thus, intelligentsia divide the world into the ideal and the material, spiritual – real, the subject – object for critical reflection and knowledge of the objective world and, consequently, – formulation knowledge of subjective existence. It theoretically determines the trajectory progressive change of the objective world, indicates the means of its transformation. Intelligentsia able to efficiently combine object and subject, its main social task is reconciliation the material and spiritual worlds with domination and assimilative influence of spiritual one. Defined as a kind of triad [1, p. 133]: 1) the world of mind, ideal, order; 2) the world of object, matter, spontaneity; 3) the humanity that belongs to the previous worlds, but can, knowing and creating perfect one, to rule in material, make the most adapting it to the first.

The ideal of the German philosophy of the Enlightenment is liberation from the world of object, mastering it with a higher form of thinking. Intelligentsia that endowed with spiritual qualities and the highest form of thinking – critically perceive, interpret the objective world, formulate ways its further, primarily spiritual, development, maintaining national spiritual values and traditions – can own a world of objects. Intelligentsia efficiently manages their spiritual world, knowing the objective world, points to ways likening it to subjective, therefore, owns the truth.

In the second book of basic work “Will to Power” – “Criticism of Previous Higher Values” – F. Nietzsche wrote that the value of German philosophy, in particular sci-

entific views G. Hegel, aimed at justification of morality, which was assigned priority role [2, p. 226]. The rule of morality as the main factor of creation and transformation of life was set by creating a pantheistic system: “great people”, “winners in the war”, which embodies the historical process, represent human progress.

German philosopher denied the authority of the higher principles of reason and morality. The latter one is the fruit by which the soil is known on which it grew [2, p. 124], because there is no moral phenomena, but their interpretation, which in turn – out of moral origin. The moral is “kind of illusion”, which encourages the individual to sacrifice for the future, thus transforming it into a slave of truth, which he “justifies” intellectually. F. Nietzsche in his work “Will to Power” concept “truth” writes in quotation marks, thus denying its connotative meaning and the desire of intelligentsia for truth defines as a display (via knowledge and transform the objective world) of desire for power [1, p. 133].

Intelligentsia traditionally characterized by: high intellectual ability; spirituality; confession of moral values; selflessness and conscience; conscious, proactive activities to national well-being; generosity and rejection of violent means to achieve the goal. Social role – mission of intelligentsia mostly updated during the social transformation of society. Thus, the main social objective of intelligentsia is the preservation and transmission from generation to generation national values and culture. Social changes catalyze national consciousness, which in turn activates the intelligentsia to social action to preserve the national identity of the people. Consequently, the intelligentsia is a social phenomenon that reveals a conscious and proactive social role aimed at preserving national values between generations during the social transformation of society.

The role of intelligentsia in the state building process, its direct participation in politics, peculiarities of ideological convictions and value orientations studied N. Berdyaev, M. Gershenson, G. Grebennik, G. Kasyanov, E. Kindratets, V. Malakhov, A. Solzhenitsyn and others. F. Nietzsche one of the first attempted to build ontology of power. The question of social power relations German philosopher described in the works: “Thus Spoke Zarathustra. A Book for Everyone and No One”, “Beyond Good and Evil”, “Genealogy of Morality”, “Will to Power. Revaluation of All Values”. The main philosophical ideas of F. Nietzsche, in particular the concept of “will to power”, investigated: J. Bataille, J. Deleuze, I. Derzhko, A. Enhovatova, B. Markov, E. Troshkin, M. Heidegger, K. Jaspers and others. However, despite the significant number of researches devoted to the study of power relations in society, the question of civic activism and civic position of intelligentsia remains open yet, its interaction with public authorities, participation in the political life of society. Moreover, virtually unexplored problem of power as the ability of the individual subjective will affect others, including the possibility of intelligentsia exercise power over people. The purpose of this article is to study the powerful aspect of the social role of the intelligentsia, its

participation in the political life of society and as an expression of subjective ability to influence others (in the context of the concept of “will to power” of F. Nietzsche).

Exploring the problem of power and intelligentsia, scientists have repeatedly raised the issue of direct participation of intelligentsia in political life of society. In particular, E. Kindratets focuses on such forms of cooperation of intelligentsia and authorities: actively retrieval position on power; habitual serve the instructions of the authorities; exclusion of intelligentsia from social, political and government issues; “internal” opposition [3, p. 39]. Intelligentsia, for which the dignity, conscience, honor, responsibility are the greatest values, is practically incapable in pragmatic and consumer society with material goods outright. The history of the formation of the political system has demonstrated that for intelligentsia, in our opinion, there is no place in politics. After all, human nature, values orientations, internal beliefs, means of social transformation and so on of government representatives and intelligentsia are too different.

The problem is, by definition of G. Grebennik, that intelligentsia positioning itself in politics as a moralist [4, p. 272-273], which is interested in one aspect of social life – human rights, which it claims to be as absolute. Social order of intelligentsia in politics is making to it morals as the main criterion of democracy. Therefore, power should be humane, respect human rights and to serve the people, aware of their duty to it. People commends the political power primarily from the standpoint of general morality, but formulates and represents their interests exactly intelligentsia. It acts as a kind of mediator between the political elite and the people, because able to think critically and analyze, define and formulate not clearly-defined events, enhance processes hidden in society. Intelligentsia catalyzes the spiritual elevation of the masses in periods of social changes. It organizes communicative process between the government and the people, is a kind of “interspersed” of morality and truth in society, synergistic factor that can unite masses for the common achieve the ideal.

Given the above priority features, intelligentsia cannot cast doubt on the credibility of the highest principles of reason and morality, because it contradicts its inner nature, “natural” belief in the primacy of spiritual and moral values. This position F. Nietzsche treated as domestic slavery. In addition, the German philosopher denied the truth – the basic tool of intelligentsia for national and spiritual rallying the masses. Instead, he characterized possession of “truth” as a hidden desire for power over people. It’s difficult for intelligentsia to realize its ideas in the material world where intelligence, spirituality – a world of ideal values – false [1, p. 134] (first, it secondary (as a form of hidden desire for power), second, its truth denied).

F. Nietzsche gave great attention to the issue of establishing values, particularly higher one, which determines existence. However, the philosopher does not deny “the past” higher values, despite the fact that the first book “Will to Power” – “European

Nihilism” – the author is dedicated this outlook. Nihilism is the process of devaluation of the highest values, as a result – their self-destruction. The period of social transformation, according to F. Nietzsche, involves criticism of previous values and their new formation necessarily manifested their revaluation [5, p. 30]. Thus, the emergence of new values involves the creation and consolidation of needs and requirements that meet evaluative choice.

When higher values devalued then impaired existence, caused by them. Any progressive movement of humanity created nihilistic movement at the same time [6, p. 77]. The manifestation of nihilism could be a sign of a decisive and radical growth, transition to new living conditions. Given convinced of F. Nietzsche that the principle of formation of new values is the will to power, life in its basic essence and the essential basis is nothing but the will to power. Consequently, the value is also a certain amount of power determined will to power (the latter one orients itself to the preservation and growth perspective that is identified with the adoption of new values).

The short phrase “God is dead” F. Nietzsche described and explained the causes and consequences of global transformation processes. The philosophical position about the death of God – moral values – rejects traditional values as a necessary precondition that warns of rethinking and re-evaluation of higher values [7, p. 227]. That is, the death of god, the imperative moral values is that starting point from which their change begins. The familiar world destroys, and with it that moral imperatives which followed the man. It is natural that social transformation accompanied by disappointment in the truth leads to value reorientation. As a result, the man needs new god, changing of traditional values.

19th century reflected in the historical process as a period of global changes: besides wars and civil wars this time reflected with rapid growth of technological power, the development of the global and in particular European science and culture. Contemporary trends of society led to its metamorphosis, changes of outlook, rethinking and reorientation of values. Against the backdrop of social changes is the modification of consciousness of humanity: the social role and purpose of man changing – from the object of being it becomes a subject, plays a key role in its creation. Thus, M. Heidegger in his work “Nietzsche”, exploring the concept of “will to power” and overman of F. Nietzsche wrote that new humanity, which seeks to achieve the goals, requires overman [6, p. 267] – a senior subject of complete subjectivity, installation of will to power.

The work of F. Nietzsche “Thus Spoke Zarathustra” most accurately describes a new type of man – overman. In this case prefix “over-” includes denial, means transcend the former man. The author wrote that it is necessary to transcend a man inside, because the essence of life lies not in its own preservation, but self-improvement. Man is like a rope stretched over the abyss – rope between animal and overman. Goal isn’t

important – to overcome the way, but whom it will form as a result of [8, p. 8-11]. Changing of values references contributing to the new goals is to create a higher type of man – overman, who singled out in human genus, different from the others, perfect for real human principles [7, p. 227]. That is, the ideal of the overman of F. Nietzsche is earth, devoid of residues of transcendental world, one that can be achieved. Previously person strictly followed the imperative moral values established highly individual but social transformation processes actualized its activities. As a result of the devaluation of traditional moral values their “creator” devalued too and the truth recognized false. As a result, there is a need for a new ideal: the formation of new value references and dependence on who establishes them – the belief in the truth of being.

F. Nietzsche is not limited in his views continuation of transcendent entity of being in its earthly incarnation purely as an individual representative of the human race. Selection – does not biological process towards nature and not the result of technological development but above all value re-orientation of the human being [9, p. 94]. The meaning of the evolution of Nietzschean man is in ability to go beyond the established social norms and standards, distinguished of human crowd, deprived of fear to be different. Way of transforming man into overman is constant growth by stimulating with modification process the “will to power”.

In the second half of the 19th century F. Nietzsche first attempted to build ontology of power [10, p. 111]. “Will to power” German philosopher treats as life itself, the ability to overcome in themselves instincts, emotions, passions, show inner strength to self-determination. Thus, the category of “will to power” expresses “filling of lack” [6, p. 230-232]. Will “to” is not the direct power, but the way to it. However, power is not a goal to which the will is directed as to something external to it. The will is already in the essential sphere of power, the essence of power is the will to power and vice versa.

Everyone is endowed with varying degrees of will to power, storage and sale which are aimed at organizing world around [10, p. 113]. F. Nietzsche in “will to power” meant not only the world will as invariant, but its pluralism. Thus, the German philosopher distinguishes such “types” of wills: affect, passion, feeling. Thus, he describes will to that detects affect (passion, sense). The classification, proposed by F. Nietzsche, characterizes the irrational side of human life [5, p. 56], which gives reason to interpret Nietzsche’s will in the context of emotions within the sense of life. Thus, the concept of will of F. Nietzsche is biological. Nevertheless, we cannot state unequivocally that the German philosopher conceived exclusively within the “biologism”. He tried to end the Western metaphysics [5, p. 454], to prove metaphysically the biological picture of world. But at the same time, considering the outlined characteristic of the concepts of the “will to power” and overman, eliminate biological interpretation by F. Nietzsche of essence of life, we also cannot.

Development and improvement of mankind is in creation of powerful individuals, through which formed the mass, the crowd, "flock" (by definition of F. Nietzsche). Tendency of flock directed to passivity, preserving the familiar world order, it is devoid of creativity [2, p. 142]. The feeling of security and equality within the crowd forms individuals. As a result, the crowd idealizes its gregarious nature, harmonizes coexistence within the social strata, which contributes to "morality". Thus, in the formation of morality the major role played by higher – power – individuals, independent, with their specific instincts [2, p. 216-217]. Thus, morality is a movement against the effort of nature to choose a higher type of individual who would realize the power in the natural world and in the world of ideas. In such a way absolute freedom achieved, which gives power over any world.

Consequently, the intelligentsia is not able to realize the powerful social role in society. The idea of "will to power" of F. Nietzsche as expression of subjective ability of the individual to influence others (coerce, control) isn't realized on the example of intelligentsia. German philosopher denied spiritual culture, the moral values which intelligentsia adheres and determines the priority in the progressive development of humanity. They don't have unlimited power over any world (ideal or material) but form the internal slave of "truth". Intelligentsia is unable transformed into overman to overcome its natural essence. Thus, man can cultivate one's intelligence, but at the same time never concern to intelligentsia which deliberately initiative capable of self-sacrifice for realization of idea – the preservation of national identity in the period of social transformation of society, system of values that form the national tradition.

However, can we consider the realization of will to power as absolute freedom over objective, subjective worlds and ourselves? It is unlikely, because the power of overman is not absolute, Nietzschean man is slave of time [1, p. 137], who doesn't own its physical life. Movement to power and overman completes with physical existence of the individual. Moreover, man of flock keeps coming back and trying to realize the power. Instead consciousness of intelligentsia doesn't recognize the cycling, it moves progressively from one point to the next and it's aimed at achievement and realization of idea. In addition, permanent way to power, its realization is internal slavery of overman. The will to power is devoid of any sense and its immortality is a death that has created by overman, overpowering a natural person inside. In summary, I would like to note the expediency of further research of Nietzschean concept of "will to power", because this idea hasn't found a definitive study in philosophical scientific thought yet. There is no unequivocal scientific reaction for basis ("biological" or metaphysical) of philosophical views of F. Nietzsche. In addition, it is appropriate in the future to analyze the feasibility of the powerful influence of intelligentsia in society, based on other philosophical concepts.

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