

The Symbolic Subject in the Optics of Symbolic State Power

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ABSTRACT

Political subjectivity today takes on a symbolic or digital form. The symbolic subject is gradually replacing the physical subject from the political sphere. The state power in its activity essentially relies on symbolic politics, an element of which it, being a type of political activity, is itself. Symbolic politics is a special kind of political communication, aimed not at rational understanding of reality, but at creating sustainable meanings of reality through staging reality or its visualization. Symbolic politics is the activity of political structures aimed at the production, promotion, imposition and use of certain methods of interpreting social reality as dominant. Modern symbolic politics have strengthened their influence through the use of digital technology. The symbolic subject is the subject of a symbolic policy, the effectiveness of which when modeling the subject is insufficient. Digitalization of the symbolic subject and symbolic power can resolve the contradiction between them.

Keywords: symbol, interpretation, meaning, sense, symbolic subject, symbolic politics, algorithms

«Sur une barricade, au milieu des pavés
Souillés d'un sang coupable et d'un sang pur lavés,
Un enfant de douze ans est pris avec des hommes.
— Es-tu de ceux-là, toi ? — L'enfant dit : Nous en sommes.
— C'est bon, dit l'officier, on va te fusiller.
Attends ton tour».
Poème de Victor Hugo[1].

I. INTRODUCTION

Victor Hugo's poem "On the Barricades" presents us with a teenager in the form of a symbol of a fiery and unfortunate revolutionary, one of those revolutionaries mentioned by the poet Robert Burns: "A rebellion cannot end in success, otherwise its name is different" [2]. The Russian reader is well acquainted with such a symbol of the revolutionary. This is Alexander Radishchev (1749-1802). In 1790, in the work "Journey from St. Petersburg to Moscow," Radishchev first used an expression that would become a symbol of the Russian state - "The monster shook, mischievously, enormously, stiff and barking" [3]. This expression, used as an epigraph, means a monster fat, vile (rude), huge, with a hundred mouths and barking. The poem of V.K. became the source and prototype for creating such a vivid image of a terrible creature. Trediakovsky "Telemachis", but he means by the monster Cerberus or Polyphemus. Thus, A.N. Radishchev managed to create

an embodiment, for his monster is precisely a state, and a state hostile to people, a serfdom state. Until now, the radio phrase is perceived as a symbol of an authoritarian state. The work itself was printed by the author anonymously in his own printing house in May 1790 in a small number of copies. The text of the book was a collection of scattered fragments, interconnected by the names of the postal stations of those cities and villages, past which the traveler follows. A.N. Radishchev reproduced the genre of travel notes (sentimental travel), popular in Europe at that time. Thanks to this genre, the book was able to pass censorship: the censor looked only at the content, and since the chapters of the novel are called by city, the censor found this book harmless, he hardly read it. The product did not have commercial success. However, some secret detractor of Radishchev presented the book to Empress Catherine II, and she read it. Further history is well known, it has become a symbol of the

arbitrariness of state power and a symbol of the lawlessness of the people of the Russian Empire.

The most flattering review of the work of Alexander Radishchev belongs to Catherine II: "A rebel is worse than Pugachev! He, even though he pretended to be a tsar, professed a monarchist system, and this one, by revolution, decided to establish a republic in Russia!" The most sober assessment of A.N. Radishchev gave A.S. Pushkin in his alternative work. "Travel to Moscow," wrote A.S. Pushkin, "the reason for his misfortune and glory, is a very mediocre work, not to mention even the barbaric syllable" [4]. The most important in the posthumous fate of A.N. Radishchev was the statement of V.I. Lenin, who made Alexander Radishchev "the first among the Russian revolutionaries, evoking a sense of national pride among the Russian people" [5].

A.N. Radishchev became the ancestor, discoverer, founder of what is commonly called the Russian revolutionary movement. A long chain of Russian dissidentism begins with it. Radishchev gave birth to the Decembrists, the Decembrists woke Herzen, then Lenin, Stalin, etc. The life of the first Russian dissident is unusually instructive. His fate has been repeated many times and continues to be repeated. Radishchev was the first Russian person convicted of literary activity. The next will be the writer N.I. Novikov in 1792, "Journey" was the first book that secular censorship dealt with. And, probably, Radishchev was the first writer whose biography was so closely intertwined with his work. The harsh sentence of the court awarded Radishchev the halo of a martyr. The persecution of the government provided Radishchev with literary fame. A ten-year exile made it indecent to discuss the purely literary merits of his works. Thus, the symbolic policy of the Russian state was implemented in relation to the symbolic subject, which should be considered now, having the case considered as an argument.

II. THEORETICAL FOUNDATIONS OF SYMBOLISM

The state power in its activity essentially relies on a symbolic policy, an element of which it, being a type of political activity, is itself. Symbolic politics is a special kind of political communication, aimed not at rational understanding of reality, but at creating sustainable meanings of reality through staging reality or its visualization. Symbolic politics is the activity of political structures aimed at the production, promotion, imposition and use of certain methods of interpreting social reality as dominant. Symbolic politics involves the conscious use of aesthetically symbolic resources of power (hymns, flags, coats of arms) for its legitimization and consolidation through the creation of symbolic "ersatz" (surrogates) of political actions and

decisions (direct lines of government, open broadcasts) and their approval by the population (parades, processions, rallies). Since the leading term in the expression "symbolic politics" is precisely the word "symbol", it is necessary to clarify the meaning and meaning of this sign.

The concepts of "symbol", "sign", "interpretation" refer to the field of knowledge, which is called semiotics or the theory of sign systems. Academician A.V. Smirnov described the discipline and its achievements as follows: "The 20th century was the century of the triumph of semiotics. The science of signs, the fundamental foundations of which was laid by Aristotle, experienced an unexpected - but quite logical - take-off, provided both by the mathematization of logic and the victory of the Anglo-American empirical, one might say, Bacon direction in philosophy. It turned out to be convenient to operate with signs as single entities. Semiotics ruled the ball and celebrated the victory: the whole world has become a world of signs, culture has turned into a carnival of meanings, and semiotics has already claimed the title of a universal method in humanities.

A sign is nothing meaningful, because it is an arbitrary, connection between some two objects or events, which also include representations in our mind. The paradox is that semiotics could never hold onto this necessary condition of sign theory: the arbitrariness of the sign. The well-known Frege triangle "sign-signified-signification" (or meaning) testifies to this: an arbitrary sign should be associated with the signified by that connection, which - for the inability to explain it - was called "meaning".

Of course, sign and signification are possible - who is arguing with this. They are accessible to animals, at least highly developed, but as a reflex, i.e. the lowest level of sign function, is present in almost all living beings. Yes, and inanimate, if desired, it is not difficult to discern the same sign function: is not redness or blue-light of a litmus test a sign of acid and alkali? Man inherited a lot from the animal, and from the natural world as a whole: his body, his reflexes, his instincts, and his ability to use the sign function. But what is there in the sign function, with the exception of the reflex? Having seen the stop sign, the driver presses the brake pedal - the sign function works perfectly. But what turns out to be this most mysterious "meaning", or the connection of "signification", connecting the sign and signified in the semantic triangle, if not with a reflex, even if it is complicated? And hardly by chance B. Russell, the creator of the theory of logical atomism, dropped in his Philosophy of Logical Atomism the remark that meaning is always psychological and therefore the theory of meaning is impossible. But this, of course, is not so; more precisely, this is not so because we humans, apart from the values delivered by

the sign function, are capable of the meaning-setting provided by the unfolding of integrity. This is what makes our human language possible (and not just a system of signs or signals exchanged by animals); this is what makes theoretical reasoning and proof possible"[6]. Speaking of signs and symbols, they usually use concepts developed by Charles Sanders Peirce, who became the founder of semiotics, the science of the study of signs. C. Peirce defined the concept of "sign" and identified the main types of signs.

A sign is any pairing between the form (word, smell, sound, road sign, Morse code) and meaning (to which this sign refers).

An index is the most primitive part of a sequence of signs; it is a connection that manifests itself in the form of a direct physical connection with an object. A cat's footprint is an index: it makes us wait and see a cat. The smell of char-grilled meat suggests meat and grill. Smoke indicates a fire.

An iconic sign (icon) is something physically connected with the image of what it refers to: a sculpture or portrait refers to the depicted object through physical similarity. Onomatopoeic words like "bam" or "boom" resemble certain sounds. In Peirce's understanding, indexes are more complex than iconic signs, as people choose and use them. But from the point of view of their use by other species (not by people), from the point of view of evolution, it can be assumed that the indices preceded the iconic signs.

Symbols have a conditional and intentional connection with what they refer to. They are more complex than other signs, therefore it is not necessary for them to have any similarity or physical connection with what they refer to. The word "cat" does not look like many pets. There is an agreement regarding symbols in society. The numeral "3" refers to a set made up of three objects, just as the name "Ivan" refers to a person with that name not because "three" has a physical connection with a particular set or is similar to it, and not because all people named Ivan have common physical characteristics. This arbitrary, conventional connection between form and meaning is precisely what makes symbols the beginning of a language and indicates the existence of social norms. Symbols are the original social contract.

However, according to Peirce's theory, indices, iconic signs and symbols are still not enough for the functioning of the language. To do this, we need another element, which Peirce called the "interpreter" and which, in essence, allows you to use the sign in such a way as to understand what object it is associated with. An interpreter is a person who is able to meaningfully use this sign. A sign taken by itself, outside of human communication, is just a thing.

Based on the methodology of C. Peirce, there is a modern logical analysis of the language, which uses the following concepts.

Language is a sign system designed for fixing, storing, processing and transmitting information. Distinguish between natural languages (Russian, French, English, etc.) that spontaneously emerged as a means of communication between people and artificial (Esperanto, programming languages, utterance logic, emoji, etc.) - consciously created by a person to solve certain tasks. Every language consists of signs.

A sign is a material object that, for some interpreter (interpreter), acts as a substitute for some object. An object is any material or ideal object that our thought is directed at. Meaning is an item corresponding to a sign. An interpreter (interpreter) is a person who is able to meaningfully use these signs. Sense is a way of pointing to an object, the information with which we select this object, a modern analogue of Peirce's interpreter. The relationship of sign, meaning and interpreter can be graphically represented as a semiotic triangle.

It was logic that first pointed to situations associated with signs-symbols. Modern logic is called symbolic, which emphasizes the enormous role of these signs in it. Logical studies have proven many problematic situations associated with natural language. The leading problem of natural language is its symbolic basis, i.e. the characters themselves. On the one hand, the creation of signs of symbols is a great discovery of mankind. On the other hand, the absence of a causal relationship between the sign and the meaning makes possible such phenomena as lies, misunderstanding, etc. And the main difficulty is the problem of translation, study, understanding of another language and other culture.

Semiotics has traditionally distinguished three sections: syntax, semantics, and pragmatics. The syntax studies the relationship between signs, i.e. rules for building a language. The relation of signs to the objects and situations designated by them (i.e., the sign to the meaning and meaning) is occupied by semantics. Pragmatics deals with the problems of understanding and interpretation of signs by people - native speakers, as well as relations that arise between people in the process of sign communication. Recently, it has been actively evolving in connection with the development of rhetoric, theory of speech acts, etc.

Semiosis is the unity of the three sides of the semiotic triangle, i.e. sign, meaning and meaning. In semiosis, all of them must be represented completely, and then the symbolic expression fulfills its function. However, in logic, situations are specially created when such unity is violated. A sign loses its sign (loss of parts of a sign, illegible handwriting, signs of an unknown alphabet) and ceases to be a sign. The sign value may

also be lost or unknown to the user. The most common violation of semiosis is semantic deformation.

The distinction between the meaning and meaning of the sign was a significant achievement of the semantics of the twentieth century, despite the difficulties in understanding and defining the concept of meaning. A generally accepted definition of meaning does not exist to date. The meaning is the essence of a phenomenon in the broad context of reality, an endless collection (in contrast to the meaning, which is finite) of all cognitive processes associated with a particular word. Meanings prevail over meanings, and this is a nontrivial statement. The meaning of the object justifies its very existence, as it determines its place in the world, makes it necessary as part of this world. The meaning also refers to the purpose of any things, words, concepts or actions laid down by a specific person or community of people. The opposite of meaning is meaninglessness, that is, the absence of a specific purpose. The meaning may mean, for example, goal setting, as well as the result of any action. Meaning is what is meant, it directly depends on knowledge of the subject. An unfamiliar thing may seem pointless if you do not know how to use it or how you can benefit from it. An unfamiliar thing can be endowed with false useful qualities and possess, from this point of view, mysterious meanings. The most diverse objects can serve as typical examples of things that are meaningless for some and meaningful for others: science, rituals and traditions, superstitions, signs, values.

For the first time, the distinction of meaning and sense was made by G. Frege in the article "On Meaning and Sense" [7] (1892). By meaning or denotation, he understood the designated object itself, and by meaning - information about the subject. His favorite example is the expressions "Evening Star" and "Morning Star", which have the same meaning (Venus), but different senses. However, the meaning is not an idea of the subject, since it carries not only the subjective image of the subject, but some generally significant information. Therefore, according to Frege, the meaning does not belong to the inner world of human notions, nor to the outer world of objects, it forms the Platonic "third world". Meaningful expressions may not matter, and meaningful expressions may not make sense.

In addition to semantic definitions of meaning, there are also pragmatic definitions of meaning that evaluate it from the standpoint of a person as a subject of activity. In this case, the meaning becomes the value, significance or characteristic of the usefulness of the item for the user. The meaning is acquired in the context of a life situation, needs, self-preservation and projective activity. Meaning contains both knowledge about the subject and attitude to it.

III. COMMUNICATION PRACTICES

The reproduction and analysis of some theoretical principles of semiotics allows us to draw the following conclusions related to the practical implementation of the principles of communication.

In fact, any characters, including index signs and iconic signs, are considered as symbols in fact, since it is they that suggest the possibility of dramatization.

A person or subject is considered as a representative of communication activities. However, the main properties of this perceiving subject are not its rational qualities, but rather its irrational or emotional indicators - sensations, perceptions, ideas, will, faith, beliefs and ideals.

Any actor can act as an interpreter or creator of meanings. Moreover, the semantic arrangement can be traditional or created a new, depending on the goals of its creator.

Since the example, in accordance with this article [8], can serve as an indicative argument, we consider some of the initiatives and practices of our modern state that are in this row.

The following facts can be cited as confirmation of the first thesis talking about symbolism: military parades, actions of the Immortal Regiment, military-historical reconstructions, Soviet and modern feature films about war, revolution, repression, etc.

As confirmation of the second thesis, talking about the irrational subject of ideological influence, in this case, typical facts are elections at all levels, debates and public hearings when people "vote with their hearts".

As confirmation of the third thesis related to the meaning, then an excellent example of this type is the above-mentioned story of Radishchev. It was Catherine II who became the creator of the meaning of the radio works, and the subjects of the empire accepted it, for the horror and fear of the Pugachev uprising became the eternal horror and fear of the nobility of the Russian Empire until the abolition of serfdom. In turn, Alexander Radishchev became the creator of the meaning of the Russian state. In the optics of this trend, attempts were made to destroy the state by the Noble Decembrists, Narodniks and, finally, successful Social Democrats. In this optics V.I. Lenin said that "the State is a special organization of power, there is an organization of violence to suppress a class" [9].

IV. SYMBOLIC PUBLIC POLICY

Symbolic politics is an inextricable part of the political organization of society, therefore, can be implemented by any actors of the political field. In the aspect of the development of ideas V.I. Lenin on the revolutionary situation can be distinguished "symbolic

policy of the upper classes" (1), "symbolic policy of the lower classes" (2) and "symbolic policy of the upper and lower classes at the same time" (3). The most common types of symbolic politics are:

Symbolic actions, symbolic legislation, symbolic personalization, symbolic ideologization, semantics of political language.

Symbolic violation of public laws (acts of civil disobedience), symbolic political participation (purposeful creation of the appearance of political actions), symbolic disregard for state actions (boycott).

Myths, rituals and cults (games in the fresh air) produced (or encouraged) by the authorities, with which the masses allegedly voluntarily (voluntarily-forcibly) agree.

Modern symbolic politics is a given, the possibilities of which are significantly enhanced through the use of digital technology. "In general, the essence of modern symbolic politics is due to the connection of mass-democratic methods of legitimation with visual-communicative technologies and the production of political" stars "by analogy with show business. At the "exit" we get a symbolic policy in the form of a tactical and strategic form of political communication, which very often is aimed not at enlightenment and mutual understanding, but at skillfully deceiving the senses - and through this - at gaining mass support for the authorities' policies "[10]. The underestimation of symbolic politics stems from a misunderstanding of the significant role of symbols in public life in general and in social management in particular. A symbolic policy is not just an action using symbols or other signs, but an action that itself acts as a symbol.

V. THE SYMBOLIC SUBJECT

The relationship between man and society, the individual and the state is traditionally considered by two philosophical disciplines - philosophical anthropology and philosophical sociology. From the standpoint of philosophical anthropology, man, personality, citizen is the center of consideration. Society and states should exist and act on the basis of the interests of the individual, a person should be the dominant element of this structure. From the standpoint of philosophical sociology, the state or society is the main element of this structure. It is the state that carries out political activities aimed at people. In the framework of political activities of a symbolic nature, a person becomes the object to which this activity is directed. The correlation of these two approaches is clearly visible in all spheres of public and private life. For example, the state is creating a healthcare system, building hospitals, training medical personnel, and adopting legislation guaranteeing the availability of

medical care to citizens. It creates the appearance of universality and accessibility, medicine for the people. A huge amount of money is spent on the implementation of medical programs. However, in practice, most people turning to medical institutions and holding relevant documents (marginalized population is a separate issue) often face a situation that can be called "non-format". A person does not fall into the allocated quota, the necessary hospital is closed for repairs, there is no specialized specialist, etc. Free medicine is paid, and a person feels superfluous and unnecessary to this system. In addition to the health care system, similar contradictions exist in the education system, in employment services, in the tax system, etc. The state symbolic policy turns a person into a symbol of his activity or into a symbolic subject. Symbolic subjects are such designations of a person as a hard worker, consumer, user, voter, buyer, visitor, client. The well-known slogan "The customer is always right", in fact, has the exact opposite meaning: the creation of a customer model that will think in this way within the capabilities established by a certain organization.

Recent years have been characterized by the transformation of a symbolic subject into a "digital" subject. It is not the symbolic subject himself who is digitized, his characteristics that allow him to be a person and a citizen are digitized: passport and rights, phone and e-mail, photograph and electronic signature. Identification began to occur according to digital parameters. Numerous data about each symbolic subject are placed in electronic databases with which search engines and algorithms (artificial intelligence) work. As a result, the goals of the center (state, candidate in elections) are combined with a specific person, and not a symbolic subject. We give an example of such a combination from the work of Pedro Domingos "The Supreme Algorithm": "In the 2012 presidential election, machine learning determined the fate of the United States. Traditional factors: views on the economy, charisma, and so on - both candidates turned out to be very similar, and the outcome of the elections was to be determined in key fluctuating states.

Mitt Romney's campaign went according to the classical pattern: polls, large groups of voters and the choice of the most important target groups. Neil Newhouse, a public opinion specialist at Romney's headquarters, argued: "If we can defeat the self-nominated people in Ohio, we'll win the race."

Romney really won by a margin of seven percent, but still lost both in the state and in the elections.

Barack Obama has appointed Raid Ghani, a machine learning expert, as chief analyst for his campaign. Ghani was able to carry out the greatest analytical operation in the history of politics. His team brought all the information about voters into a single database, supplemented it with information from social

networks, marketing and other sources and proceeded to predict four factors for each individual voter: how likely is he that he will support Obama, come to the polls, respond to this reminder to make and change the opinion of these elections after discussions on certain topics. Based on these models, 66,000 election simulations were held every evening, and the results were used to control an army of volunteers: who to call, what doors to knock on, what to say.

In politics, both in business and in war, there is nothing worse than watching the enemy do something incomprehensible and not know how to answer it until it is too late. This is exactly what happened with Romney. At his headquarters, they saw that rivals were buying ads on specific cable channels in specific cities, but why it was not clear. The Crystal Ball was too muddy. As a result, Obama won in all key states with the exception of North Carolina, with a greater margin than even the most respected public opinion experts predicted. And the most authoritative experts (for example, Nate Silver), in turn, used the most sophisticated forecasting techniques. Their predictions did not come true, because they had fewer resources than Obama's headquarters, but they turned out to be much more accurate than traditional experts whose predictions were based on their own knowledge and experience" [11]. Symbolic politics, acquiring a digital form, begins to meet the expectations of the subject, losing the symbolic look.

VI. CONCLUSION

The problem of the relationship between a real person and an object of symbolic politics (a symbolic subject) loses its sharpness in digital transformations. Using algorithms makes it possible to take into account not the alleged desires of a symbolic subject, but specific opinions of specific people. The aforementioned Pedro Domingos said: "Big data and machine learning will make a difference. Given that in the future, voter models will become more accurate, elected officials will be able to learn at least a thousand times a day what people want and act in accordance with these wishes without bothering real, living citizens "[12].

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