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War in the practice of functioning of different types of political systems

Війна у практиці функціонування різних типів політичних систем

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Abstract

The purpose of the paper is to explore the relationship between the possibility and necessity of using war and a certain type of political system. The relevance lies in the fact that war is inherently destructive and strongly influences political consciousness. A political system that exercises power and political influence contains state and social institutions with certain values and norms that generate war or, on the contrary, oppose it. During a full-scale war, the issue of war in the practice of functioning of different types of political systems has become particularly important. The main methodological approaches were holistic and systemic analysis. General scientific and philosophical methods were also used. The study achieved its goal by fulfilling the following tasks. Based on the study of literary sources, the definition of the concepts of “war” and “political system” was determined. A table of typology of political systems was developed. The role of war, its goals, and its objectives in the functioning of

Анотація

Мета статті – дослідити взаємозв'язок між можливістю та необхідністю використання війни та певним типом політичної системи. Актуальність обраної теми полягає в тому, що війна за своєю природою є деструктивним явищем і сильно впливає на політичну свідомість громадянського суспільства. Політична система, яка здійснює владу та політичний вплив, містить державні та суспільні інститути з певними цінностями та нормами, які породжують війну або, навпаки, протидіють їй. Під час російської збройної агресії питання війни в практиці функціонування різних типів політичних систем набуває особливого значення. Основними методологічними підходами стали цілісно-системний та системний аналіз. Також використовуються традиційні загальнологічні методи пізнання: аналіз і синтез, абстрагування; філософські методи: діалектика, аналітичний, конкретно-історичний. У дослідженні мета була

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totalitarian, authoritarian, and democratic political systems are clarified. The features of the political system of Ukraine under martial law are analyzed. The causes and factors of the Russian-Ukrainian war are determined. The regularities of activity and functions of political systems are revealed.

Keywords: Ontology of war, political system of society, Russian-Ukrainian war, typology of political systems, war for hegemony.

реалізована завдяки виконанню наступних завдань. На основі вивчення літературних джерел визначено дефініцію понять «війна» та «політична система». Розроблено єдину таблицю типології політичних систем. З'ясовано роль війни, її цілі та завдання у функціонуванні тоталітарної, авторитарної та демократичної політичних системах. Проаналізовано особливості політичної системи України в умовах воєнного стану. Визначено причини та чинники російсько-української війни. Виявлено закономірності діяльності та функції політичних систем. Встановлено взаємозв'язок війни усередині політичної системи з зовнішніми обставинами та зроблено висновок про те, що російська агресія зумовлена насамперед внутрішніми чинниками. Визначено ресурси збереження демократичного режиму політичної системи під час російської агресії проти України.

Ключові слова: Війна за гегемонію, онтологія війни, політична система суспільства, типологія політичних систем, російсько-українська війна.

Introduction

Civil society undergoes constant transformation in the context of state instability, being in negative psycho-emotional states depending on various factors, which mostly has a negative impact on society. The nature of war is destructive, which is reflected in the destructive processes of the individual, the complication of social communication and interaction. In addition, there are changes in political, economic, information, and cultural life. The ability of civil society to respond to global challenges, adapt to them, and change the way of life depends on the political system. Accordingly, the functioning of war in different political systems and the ability of society to adapt to external and internal threats is of theoretical and practical importance.

Throughout human history, war has been a powerful means of influencing the political process. Understanding political phenomena, including war, is possible only with the benefit of historical retrospective. The current Ukrainian realities necessitate the development of critical thinking in assessing reality and analyzing the actions of the authorities and political processes in general. During the war, new countries emerged, and others disappeared, rulers and political regimes changed, knowledge was spread and inhumane ideology was imposed. The state plays a key role in the realization of public

interests, distributing resources of power, values, and persuading society to accept a certain order of reality. The modern world is changing dynamically, and at the end of the twentieth century, the concept of a new, post-industrial era emerged. In the 1990s, the idea of humanity's transition to an information society spread. According to the logic of these theories, war as a tool for the functioning of political systems should have disappeared, since there is no need to fight for material resources, and it is almost impossible to gain intellectual resources by force. During a full-scale war, one of its components is the use of information influence on the mass audience, i.e., the introduction of information warfare.

These features of the present did not lead to the abandonment of the use of war in the political process. On the contrary, the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries demonstrated the opposite trend, aimed at its spread and intensification. Numerous wars of aggression and military conflicts, disregard for international law, the obvious dysfunctionality of the United Nations (UN), and the full-scale war unleashed by the Russian Federation in the center of Europe once again prove the correctness of this thesis. A hybrid war is currently being waged on the territory of Ukraine. Studying the classical interpretation of the phenomenon of war, the vast

majority of survey and experimental studies raise the issue of modern warfare, which is associated with evolutionary and modification changes. From now on, war is not only a statement of political relations characterized using various forms of violence, genocide, and crimes against humanity. War in the twenty-first century is hybrid in nature, combining methods of military strategy and systemic information, psychological and propaganda influence on large groups of people. Hybrid warfare has come into use with the effective introduction of information technology into people's lives and the emergence of mass communication tools to influence the masses.

The described paradox of the modern world requires a deep scientific understanding of the correlation between the possibilities and necessity of using war and a certain type of political system. Given that Russia's aggression against Ukraine cannot be explained solely by analyzing the functioning of the global political and economic system. The purpose of the study is to examine the correlation between the possibility and necessity of using war and a certain type of political system. The subsequent tasks must be carried out in order to reach this goal:

- 1) to define "war" and "political system";
- 2) to develop a unified classification of political system types;
- 3) to analyze the functioning of war in totalitarian, authoritarian, and democratic political systems;
- 4) to study the political system of Ukraine under martial law and the causes of the Russian-Ukrainian war.

Literature Review

Adamson (2020) examined the phenomenon of war in the ancient world in the context of how the republic and empire actually operated. According to the results of the analysis of external and internal wars (494 BC-395 AD), 390 battles were recorded in the republic and 225 in the empire. Of these, 311 battles in the republic were external and 79 internal. In the empire, 113 wars were external and 112 internal. These data show that the republic fought mostly for public goods (e.g., defense of land), while the empire fought for private goods.

Harrison and Boyd (2018) discuss the significance of four types of ideologies in politics and society: hegemonic ideology, resistance ideology, constrictive ideology, and weakened

ideology. The scholars emphasized that the prevalence of the dominant ideology or "hegemony" in capitalist states is due to the need to maintain power. They also emphasized that any conflict has an ideological basis. Regional uprisings and political militarization that have an impact on the political process were researched by Eibl, Hertog, and Slater (2019). The authors come to the conclusion that regional upheavals cause military authoritarian regimes to arise not only in a specific region but also globally. A military invasion, the use of election manipulation, the violation of political rights, the limitation of civil liberties, and the weakening of accountability are the five main traits of an authoritarian regime that the researchers discovered.

A theoretical justification of the concept of the "political system" was offered by Hnasevych (2018). He described the elements that make up the political system's structure, such as the media, public institutions, and political relationships. According to Ramazanov (2019), the fundamental cause of World War II's start was the rivalry between strong nations and their pursuit of dominance in Europe and beyond. Researchers Parakhonskyi and Yavorska (2019) examined the fundamental ideas behind the concepts of war and peace as they examined the phenomenon of traditional and hybrid warfare. The authors conclude that the traditional model of war involves identifying the enemy, specific goals, means, and strategic plans for waging war. The opposite of this model is a hybrid war, which has an enemy, but the real aspirations of the war are hidden. In this model, the media play an important role, creating conditions of uncertainty, panic, and fear. After researching the political system during a hybrid war, Smolianiuk and Krutij (2019) came to the conclusion that it may be examined from a variety of angles, including institutional, normative, functional, communicative, cultural, and ideological. During a hybrid war, all these aspects change, as new military bodies are created at the institutional level; legislation is updated and supplemented at the normative level; enforcement of the norms defined in the current legislation takes place at the functional level; the media influence public opinion at the communicative level; values and attitudes change at the cultural and ideological level.

The functioning of war in different practices of political systems requires the development of new ideas and means of countering it. In this context, an important task is to develop the capabilities of an individual who has a high level

of innovative and computer technologies. The concept of transhumanism will play an important role in solving this problem (Filipova, Iliev, & Yuleva-Chuchulayn, 2021).

Methodology

The analysis of the chosen topic is based on the methodology, in which the author's holistic and systemic approach is central. The proposed holistic-systemic approach can be described by the following theses. The root cause of all socio-political phenomena and processes is the sum of people's everyday practices. At the same time, the use of the systemic-elemental aspect has revealed that everyday life can be influenced by various factors, including socio-economic and political, as well as natural and climatic, cultural, mental, etc. The application of the described holistic-systemic approach makes it possible to take into account all available subjective and objective factors of influence on the socio-political process and to reveal the place of war in the practice of functioning of different types of political systems. It should be emphasized that the holistic-systemic approach involves the rejection of the development of a universal model of understanding socio-political processes and the identification of the leading one among them, and is based on the principle of methodological pluralism - the synthesis of different ideas, methods, and approaches.

The use of the theoretical aspect of system analysis allowed us to identify and systematize the main patterns of political systems. The practical aspect of system analysis can be traced to the formation of goals, depending on political regimes and political systems.

Additionally, in the development of connections between internal conflicts and enemies outside the political structure, the fundamental roles of political systems were recognized by the systemic-functional approach. We were able to define the goals of the war under totalitarian, authoritarian, and democratic political systems thanks to the systemic-target approach.

Based on the analysis presented and the elements of the term "system" and "war" generally recognized in the scientific literature, the author's definitions of these phenomena are presented. The method of classification allowed to develop a typology of political systems, and with the help of grouping and graphical method a single table of classification of types of political systems characterized by multivariate was created. Using the system-resource approach, the author

analyzed the political system of Ukraine under martial law and identified the resources for preserving the democratic regime while countering Russian aggression. The method of deduction allowed us to identify the causes of the Russian-Ukrainian war. Using a binary analysis of the two mutually exclusive political systems of Ukraine and Russia, the key characteristics of the war and its development in these political systems were identified.

In addition to the above approaches, the author used traditional general scientific methods of cognition: analysis and synthesis, abstraction; philosophical methods: dialectical, analytical, specific historical.

The theoretical basis of the study was formed by scientific works of Ukrainian and foreign authors. The search for scientific materials was carried out using the keywords most often used in the subject area under study: war, political systems, war for hegemony, typology of political systems, the political system of society, the ontology of war, Russian-Ukrainian war.

Results and Discussion

The paper will use its own generalized definition of war and the political system. War is the most large-scale type of external armed violence as a political phenomenon, which is organized and uncompromising, implemented by the subjects of military-political relations with the help of military means, and implies a special state of society. Political system - a set and interaction of political, social, and cultural structures that have certain norms and values, exercising public administration and influence on political and social processes. All of these structures contain political significance and resources that are mandatory for acceptance by society. Changes in one of these structures lead to changes in the entire system.

War predates the first states and, consequently, political systems. Wallerstein characterizes the first pre-state associations of people, or historical systems, as mini-systems. They were local, relatively short-lived, and based on an appropriative economy. These entities were in constant decline due to environmental disasters and demographic growth (Piatnytskova, 2021).

The first state formations, regardless of their further evolution, were of the monarchical type.

Therefore, consideration should be given to variables like the irrational desire for power and the corresponding material capabilities.

War has been preserved in the highest rational forms of civilization as a relic of barbarism and savagery. At the same time, it should be emphasized that public property, equality, and brotherhood inherent in ancient clans did not guarantee peace and tranquility. On the contrary, ancient people were in a state of permanent war.

As is well known, typical political systems of the world-empire, also characterized as despotic monarchies or oriental despotisms, functioned based on tax exploitation of agricultural communities and subsequent redistribution of resources among the branched state apparatus. In view of the above, the main source of profit for the ruling elite was war, which allowed for the extensive annexation of additional production units to the empire. As a result, conquest and further exploitation became the basis of the functioning of world empires. Western civilization emerged much later and in different natural and climatic conditions, which led to the emergence of fundamentally different, even abnormal political systems for the world-empire of the time. This does not mean, however, that war did not have a significant impact on the existence of ancient political entities. Like typical states, external armed violence was used for enrichment.

The absence of an effective power mechanism for domination over European nations led to fundamental political changes in state formations and stimulated the emergence of a radically different world-system - the capitalist world-economy. The logic of the functioning of political systems in the new conditions is

changing significantly, now based not on conquest and exploitation, but on mechanisms characteristic of market relations. However, war as a factor in the political process does not disappear but takes on new forms. Colonial wars should be considered a new type of war stimulated by the mechanisms of the world economy, namely the primary accumulation of capital, the conquest of resources, and markets. It is important that the world economy necessarily involves the formation of a hegemonic state. This is possible if the challenger does not invest heavily in building a large army for a long time.

The competition for hegemony ends when these advantages of one of the contenders allow it to take a privileged position that is not related to market mechanisms in the core of the world system. First of all, this happens during a global military conflict. In the context of the analyzed problem, it is important to emphasize that the end of the struggle for hegemony always involves the victory of a certain state in the Thirty Years' War. There are three world wars in history. The first was the war of 1618-1648, in which the Dutch hegemony emerged after the victory over the Habsburg Empire. The second - 1792-1815, associated with the Napoleonic Wars, the victory over France, and the establishment of British hegemony. The third is characterized as the American-German war of 1914-1945, which resulted in the emergence of US hegemony. Obviously, today we are witnessing the fourth war for hegemony during the Russian-Ukrainian war.

The typology of political systems is multivariate, formed under the influence of various factors, including political, economic, social, and cultural. Table 1 shows the only classification of political system types that is currently known.

Table 1.
Typology of political systems

Criteria	Type
Political regime	Totalitarian, authoritarian, democratic
Interaction with the external environment	Open, closed
Socio-economic formations	Primitive, slave, feudal, capitalist, communist
Development of civil society	Traditional (pre-industrial), modernized
Combined approach	Transitional systems containing components of old and modernized systems
Structural differentiation and secularism	Primitive, traditional, modern
Values	Anglo-American, Continental European, pre-industrial (industrial), totalitarian
Content and forms of government	Liberal democracy, communist (radical authoritarian), traditional, populist, authoritarian-conservative

Source: developed by the author based on (Blikhar, 2018)

The functioning of different political systems is characterized by common patterns of development. The first pattern is that of the balance and pendulum. This means that political institutions undergo dynamic changes due to the internal and external circumstances within which they operate. However, for their proper functioning, it is necessary to establish a balance in the subsystems. Due to the influence of internal and external threats, the political system seeks to achieve an optimal state of equilibrium to ensure the normal functioning of the system. The essence of this pattern is that a political system that is out of balance must first move to the opposite state. In addition, deviations in one direction are as important as deviations in the opposite direction. The system protects itself. Political institutions strive for stability and balance in their activities. There is a correlation in the political system, where a change in one component of the system leads to changes in others. Similar patterns of political system evolution were noted by scientists Pilgun and Slutska (2021), who also noted that the political system is closely linked to the development of the social, spiritual, and economic sectors. A political system as a structure, regardless of its type, has to perform certain functions. First of all, it is socio-political orientation, expression of values, unification of social needs, benefits, interests with the state, development of legal regulation. In addition to social orientation, Hnasevych (2018) defined the following political system functions: stabilization and legitimization. Since there are many types of political systems, totalitarian, authoritarian, and democratic political systems were chosen to analyze the functioning of war. In a totalitarian regime, the introduction of war is the main practical means of building a “new humane society”, since it is through war that it is possible to control large masses and carry out propaganda.

According to Zhovtianska (2022), the formation of democratic principles marked by humanistic and logical viewpoints, the collapse of democracy, and the establishment of ideology are the three factors that contribute to the rise of a totalitarian dictatorship. The main task of a totalitarian political system is the war to establish the absolute political monopoly of the ruling party government and preserve its social and national beliefs through bloody terror, mass repression of the people, internal and external wars.

A totalitarian political system, according to Shabanov (2022), always results in the escalation of civil wars since it is perpetually engaged in

conflict with a "enemy" that may or may not exist.

Similar in ideological orientation is an authoritarian political system, which involves the exercise of state power by a single person or a limited group. Such persons have unlimited power and are not subject to laws and society. In public administration, representatives of the authoritarian regime use mostly administrative and forceful methods of exercising power, and at the same time have no legal responsibility, since the legislation exists formally.

Skrypniuk (2020), who remarked that society is based on the ideals that would help to keep power, noted that he holds the same view. Since power is in the hands of one person or a limited circle, opposition and competition are quickly suppressed in the state. Parties and trade unions can exist, but with a clear ideology that is consistent with the political goals of the state. In a state with an authoritarian political system, the authorities are not interested in the development of cultural and spiritual life. For the most part, public administration is focused on foreign policy, defense, and the economy. The opposite political system in terms of ideology and forms of government is democratic. In this context, it is important to find out the reasons for the outbreak of the Russian-Ukrainian war, which is characterized by two opposing political systems. The outbreak of the hybrid war was caused by the imperialism of the Russian Federation, which perceives other territories and populations as a resource. The authoritarian political system with the ideology of violence and weapons on the way to forming a strong state supports the functioning of the war. The Russian worldview is based on the denial of the ideas of democracy and independence. An equally important reason for the outbreak of war was the increase in the share of fossil fuels and money laundering in the war. The propaganda campaign is a large-scale one, created to create a positive image of the authoritarian regime and change the public opinion of other nations. The war can also be attributed to the personal interests of the Russian president and the ineffectiveness of international organizations.

Russia's political system is characterized by an undemocratic regime. An analysis of the functioning of the capitalist world economy makes it possible to assert that states with similar political regimes become contenders for hegemony. For example, Napoleonic France, Hitler's Germany, and now Putin's Russia tried to change the established order of things in the

world by force. There is no doubt that one of the Kremlin's central objectives is to change the status of Russia or the entire global political and economic system. However, we emphasize that these efforts did not lead to the realization of the goals set by the aggressor.

We think it's crucial to point out that the aggression against Ukraine was conducted using outdated military tactics due to Russia's semi-peripheral location and technological disadvantage compared to the countries in the center.

Vladimir Putin in particular has emphasized numerous times that his cruise missiles are aimed at military infrastructure. The United States used a high-precision space-based targeting system in the Persian Gulf and Yugoslavia; Russia, on the other hand, does not. This leads to low hit accuracy, significant destruction of civilian infrastructure, and numerous civilian casualties. It should be emphasized that the tactics of total war chosen by V. Putin are also completely outdated. Today, a small, mobile, agile group armed with the latest equipment can withstand significantly superior enemy forces. This is fully confirmed by the failure of the rapid offensive and Russia's numerous losses in equipment and manpower. Russia's information campaign that preceded its aggression against Ukraine also failed. Unlike in 2014, when the situation was ambiguous, in 2022 most of the Ukrainian population did not support Russia's actions. It

should be emphasized that even in the Southeastern regions, which were considered loyal to Russia, citizens actively supported the preservation of their country's sovereignty. It is clear that this situation was one of the factors behind the inability of Russian troops to quickly capture large cities such as Kharkiv, Mariupol, etc. At the same time, it also encouraged the Russians to turn to terror tactics and the systematic destruction of the besieged cities. It should be emphasized that numerous civilian casualties, destruction of civilian infrastructure, and the creation of a humanitarian catastrophe clearly make the military and political leadership of Russia and V. Putin personally war criminals.

The Kremlin's thesis about a military threat from Ukraine or NATO also seems illogical. In today's realities, there is no practical sense in seizing territories or resources, especially from a country with nuclear weapons. Accordingly, the main factors that pushed the Russian leadership to start the Russian-Ukrainian war are internal. The authoritarian political system of the Russian Federation needs an external enemy to justify the large number of security forces and repressions against the opposition. In our opinion, the personal factor, in particular, the distorted beliefs and perverse ambitions of Putin and his entourage, also played an important role. The political system of Ukraine, operating under the state of emergency, continues to support the democratic regime (Figure 1) and protect the values and freedoms of citizens.

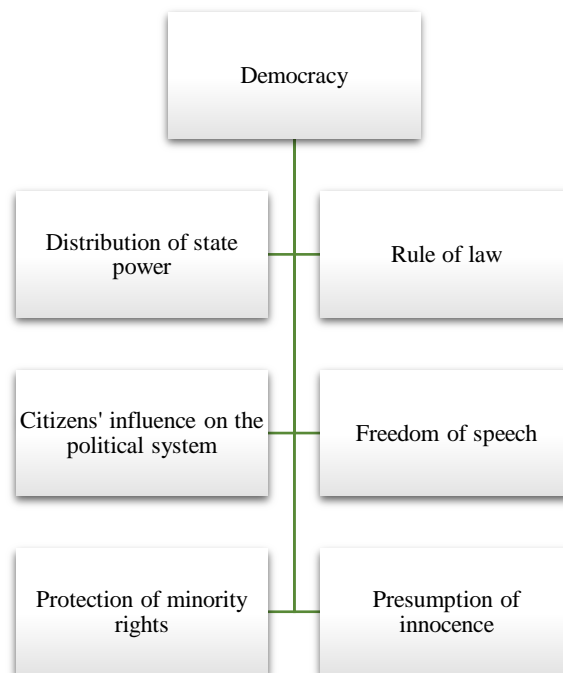


Figure 1. Principles of a democratic regime.

Source: developed by the authors

During the full-scale war, society united with the state to resist Russian aggression and win (Razumkov Center, 2022), and support from international organizations and Europe intensified (Kumar, 2021). Despite a number of human rights restrictions introduced by law (Law of Ukraine No. № 389-VIII, 2015) for security reasons, 63.9% of respondents continue to support the democratic regime (Ilko Kucheriv “Democratic Initiatives” foundation, 2023). The growth of civil society is a crucial component in supporting Ukraine's democratic system during the conflict, according to Pilgun and Slutskya (2021). Efteni (2019) placed special emphasis on how political culture and consciousness emerge. The employment of numerous diplomatic tools to end the Russian-Ukrainian war was underlined by Taranenکو (2021). So, war is one of the leading factors that influenced the emergence of the first political systems. The key reason for this process was not objective regularities, but the rational desire of primitive people to change their everyday life, to make it more stable and predictable.

Conclusions

The globalization trends of the late twentieth century provoked a rethinking of many phenomena in the academic environment, including views on the essential foundations and place of war in the socio-political process. The article examines the phenomenon of war in the practice of functioning of different types of political systems. As a result of the theoretical study of the topic, the author's definition of the phenomena of “war” and “political system” was formed. According to the developed classification table, there are about 19 types of political systems, which indicates pluralism. In this study, the functioning of war is examined on three models of political systems, grouped by the political regime - totalitarian, authoritarian, and democratic. Accordingly, the goals and objectives of warfare in these three political systems are defined.

The authors identifies the primary regularities of political systems based on the analysis of various political system types, including the interdependence of all elements within the political system's structure and the relationship between the political system and the social, cultural, economic, and diplomatic spheres.

The key functions of political systems are analyzed. The political system of Ukraine during martial law is characterized, the resources for preserving the democratic regime in the context

of Russia's armed aggression against Ukraine are identified. Based on the historical retrospective, the author identifies ten reasons for the outbreak of a full-scale war. It is substantiated that it is impossible to explain the reasons for Russia's war against Ukraine by external factors. The main factors that pushed the Russian leadership to aggression are identified as internal - an authoritarian political system that needs an external enemy and the personal, distorted beliefs of the Russian president and his entourage.

Prospects for further development of the topic include the study of war in the functioning of other types of political systems.

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