

SOFIA UNIVERSITY “ST. KLIMENT OHRIDSKI”
FACULTY OF LAW
DEPARTMENT OF INTERNATIONAL LAW AND INTERNATIONAL
RELATIONS

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THE PHILOSOPHICAL ROOTS OF POLITICAL REALISM

DISSERTATION ABSTRACT

for the acquisition of the educational and scientific degree "Doctor"
in the field of higher education 3. Social, Economic and Legal Sciences,
professional field 3.3. Political Sciences,
Doctoral Programme in International Relations

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Sofia

2024

The dissertation has undergone preliminary discussion in the Department of International Law and International Relations of the Faculty of Law of Sofia University "St. Kliment Ohridski" on 11.06.2024 and has been directed for public defense before a scientific jury composed of:

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The submitted dissertation covers 244 standard pages. It's structure consists of an introduction, two sections, a conclusion and bibliography. Conclusions are formulated after each chapter. The bibliography contains 109 sources.

The public defense of the dissertation will be held on 2024 at in of the Sofia University "St. Kliment Ohridski".

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2. Characteristics of the dissertation - relevance, subject, tasks, structure, methodology

The relevance of the topic is determined by the fundamental importance of political realism for the science of international relations. As one of the main theoretical approaches in this field of political knowledge, realism has its own internal development. The evolution of the school of realism has taken place, on the one hand, through the internal theoretical debate between the different approaches in the school and, on the other hand, in a constant scholarly dialogue with other theoretical approaches to international relations. Because of the broad scope of its theoretical premises and assumptions, realism has earned its near axiomatic position as an analytical perspective for examining and critically analyzing events in international relations.

However, the content of the theory of political realism does not have the privilege of a static existence, devoid of a critical analysis. In this regard, this dissertation sets out precisely to examine the fundamental theoretical premises of realism as formulated by the first wave of classical realists, and especially by the generally accepted founding father of the school, Hans Morgenthau. The analysis of the theoretical foundations of realism aims to highlight two main points. On the one hand, to examine classical realism in depth and, through a thorough analysis, to reveal some theoretical weaknesses in the thus structured realist paradigm. On the other hand, through such an approach it becomes possible to propose a theoretical actualisation of the canon of realism by proposing additional structural-improving concepts or notions, as some of Carl Schmitt's theoretical postulates on the nature and essence of the political.

Structuring the issues in this way reveals the potential for a return to the fundamental moments of the school of realism and the beginning of a debate about the essential foundations of the school. As the academic environment evolves and new possibilities for scholarship on political realism open up, a critical return to the fundamentals is needed to explore the nature of the postulated premises and to create the possibility of exploring and potentially 'renewing' those premises. This is what this dissertation sets out to do.

The object of study is classical political realism. The subject of the study are the basic conceptions of realism concerning the concept of the political, the source of political conflict and its nature.

The aim of the study is to integrate Carl Schmitt's concept of the political into the theoretical foundations of classical political realism. The stated aim is specified in the following tasks:

- Examination of the fundamental concepts of political realism with primary emphasis on the conception of the political and politics.
- Establish the intellectual relationship between Max Weber and Hans Morgenthau as foundational authors for the school of realism.
- An examination of Morgenthau's conception of the political.
- Analysis of Morgenthau's Six Principles of Political Realism.
- Extension of the analyzed authors so to include the first wave of realists.
- Outline the basic conceptions of the political of Carl Schmitt.
- Bringing Schmitt's political ontology into the system of realism.
- Examination of Schmitt's ideas concerning the existence of the political subject.
- Introduction of the notion of "political subjectivism" into the canon of political realism.

The main thesis of the study is that political realism in its classical form has a fundamental need for a clear conception of the political, which has to become the basic premise for the subsequent construction of the school. In its classical version, this premise is marginalized in theoretical-structural terms, underdeveloped or absent altogether. The axiomatic use of "political" in fact leaves the concept unexplained and without clear conceptualization, leading to a different kind of problems, mostly related to the logical coherence of the theory of classical realism. Carl Schmitt's conception of the political is precisely the concept that is capable of becoming fundamental to political realism because it has a clear understanding of the concrete content of the political.

The structure of the dissertation is built and subordinated to the strict logic of the exposition and the main thesis of the text. The dissertation contains an introduction, two sections, each of which is composed of separate chapters, and a conclusion. The first section is devoted to the canon of classical realism, describing and critically analysing the basic premises of this school of international relations. The internal logic of the section is as follows: an introduction to the most serious conceptual precursor of realism: Max Weber; an introduction to the father of classical realism, Morgenthau; an introduction to some of the other realists who constitute the

first wave of academically institutionalized political realism. The role of the first section is to create a contextual situation for the second section and to condition the need for its formulation. The second section is now the elucidation of the merely implied thesis of the first section - the need to conceptualize and clarify the political. It is structured around Schmitt's theses in combination with an exposition of the main theoretical premises and conclusions that follow from Schmitt's integration into the canon of political realism.

The following methods of analysis are used in the dissertation: general scientific hypothetico-deductive method, contextual analysis, conceptual analysis. The research is carried out through general scientific methods of analysis, synthesis and generalization of the obtained results. It is important to specify that the research is entirely at the conceptual level.

The practical applicability of the dissertation can be used in two separate spheres: scientific research and practical-political. In the research sphere, the conclusions drawn in the course of the thesis can be applied to the real world. That is, by adopting these innovations in the theoretical core of realism, researchers who consider themselves as representatives of this school can integrate this new theoretical approach to the analysis of events in the world of international politics. Although the text is entirely at the conceptual level, this does not mean that it can exist only in the world of abstraction, for one of the possibilities that emerges is precisely the application of these abstractions to the reality of international relations. Researchers thus have another tool in applying the theoretical framework to the analysis of events.

In the practical-political sphere, the conclusions of this text can be applied to the foreign policy analysis carried out within the institutions responsible for the implementation of the country's foreign policy. The scientific provision of foreign policy is an important element of the process of its implementation, which implies the consideration and applicability of the theoretical introductions of this thesis. Beyond the specifics of foreign policy and institutions, the findings and conclusions can be used as a specific knowledge with regards to the policy action by policy makers and a plan for decision making and building policy strategies.

3. Resume of the dissertation's contents

Introduction

The introductory part offers a very concise outline of the main elements of political realism, marks its development and presents the general problems facing the school of political realism, thus giving an initial direction to the forthcoming study. In this chapter are included the main limitations that are placed on the study, in terms of the framework and boundaries of the research. The dissertation aims to examine only the political realism in its classical version from the period immediately following the end of the Second World War. It introduces the notion of the 'concept of the political', which is fundamental to the text, and then describes the significance of this concept, its role in the theory of political realism, and its relevance and relationship to the main thesis of the dissertation, thereby making a transition to the statement of the thesis itself. The introductory section describes the structure of the text and the analytical techniques that are applied within the thesis.

Section 1

The first chapter of this dissertation describes the work of Max Weber, with the aim of examining it not only sociologically but also politically so as to understand what his conception of the political is. The aim of this approach is to reveal the connection between Max Weber's political science and Morgenthau's scientific concepts. In this chapter, Max Weber's political science perspective is examined, and his sociological writings are presented to provide a clearer context for the German sociologist's thought and work. Weber's conception of the political is drawn primarily from his purely political writings along with sociological conceptions of the political reality of the political group. Weber's concept of the political and power are deeply intertwined and can be defined as representing the same phenomenon through different terms. Politics and the political are essentially a struggle for power. This concept is realized differently in the world. Weber contains within himself two alternatives about the world that represent two realities of his life. These are the strictly scientific value-neutral analysis and the highly existentialised view of the political reality in terms of the realisation of the political subject. In some of his essays and articles, Weber reveals his highly political - here used with a value-laden sense - views on the fate of Germany and the nature of international relations. These two foundations of Weber's thought also became the foundations for the development of political realism. Both Carl Schmitt and Hans Morgenthau were thinkers who were influenced in one

way or another by Weber's work. The difference is that they both stand on a different foundation deduced from Weber's work. While Morgenthau uses Weber's rigorous value-neutral scientific method, Schmitt is much more influenced by the other views of Weber.

The first section continues with an analysis of classical political realism by getting into the heart of the subject. If it is difficult to incorporate Weber - due to the sociological focus of his academic interests - into the canon of realism, Morgenthau is not merely imported, but is essentially the core itself. The German-American thinker's enormous influence is undeniable. He became one of the founding fathers of the school by virtue of his many writings on international relations, as well as through his active participation in the demarcation of international relations as a distinct field of knowledge. Morgenthau's analysis is accomplished by concentrating on two major aspects of his thought - his conception of the political and the six principles of political realism. The detailed examination of the principles is accomplished not only through an analysis of the textual material itself, but also within the broader context of his work, in particular through additional articles and monographs in which Morgenthau reveals some of his views in depth.

The central role of Morgenthau in this part of the thesis must be understood in terms of an analysis through the prism of his conception of the political, which is entirely derived from the work and influence of Max Weber. Morgenthau's definition is structurally identical to Weber's, which becomes a further premise and evidence of the German sociologist's enormous influence on the school of political realism and its development.

The chapter that is devoted to a detailed discussion of Hans Morgenthau and his six principles reveals to us several distinct points that deserve to be brought to the fore. For Morgenthau, the political and politics are deeply connected with man and one can safely speak of an established anthropocentricity of his theory. In this sense, Morgenthau proceeds from a premise that can be attributed to Hobbes's conception of man, namely, an extremely pessimistic anthropological perspective. Morgenthau conceives of man as inherently evil and selfish, which is accepted as the foundation not only of the political but also of the logic of social realisation, and hence of history. These two conceptions are the basis of Hans Morgenthau's political realism. Evil human nature contains the seeds of specific human behaviour that is selfish not only for material goods but also for power over others. It is through this motive, therefore, that the essence of politics and the political is reached, namely, the struggle for power.

Morgenthau adopts this individualist perspective on the genesis of politics, the political and the state, while at the same time, using the same anthropocentric perspective, he brings the ethical into the structure of the problem. The argument for the existence of the ethical is precisely the absoluteness in man's difference from the world around him. Ethics and moral requirement make us human. By bringing in the ethical requirement, Morgenthau raises the issue of the intractable problem of the politics/morality dialectic. It is here that the transformation of realism from a purely descriptive to a normative theory takes place, because Morgenthau uses universal morality as a reference for evaluating political action. This move is accomplished through Weber's comparative composition "ethics of responsibility/ethics of conviction," which is another moment of interweaving the intellectual legacies of the two authors. The main difference, however, occurs with the referent of responsibility, for whereas in Weber it is the political subject over which the political actor exercises power, in Morgenthau responsibility is not only to the state but also to universal moral values. This point has also been identified as problematic for realism, precisely in the context of the political.

Overall, on the basis of the analysis of the theoretical premises established by Morgenthau, several main problematic points for political realism can be identified. First of all, there is the over-assertion of the thesis concerning the problematic nature of man and its portrayal as the source of political behaviour. In practice, this approach has a psychological-ethical conceptual framework that attaches fundamental importance to man in his very absoluteness. This premise directs judgment not only to the individualistic source of the political - as a projection of personal and private desires - but also to the ethical motive in its construction. Here comes the possibility of a smooth transition to the second problematic point in Morgenthau's concepts, and that is the fundamentally ethical nature of the political world. As the dissertation makes clear, one of the main motives is for political superiority in the ontological structure of political realism. For Morgenthau, however, the most important element of the political world and life is ethics, which dominates the political. Here one finds much more normativity than descriptiveness, and Morgenthau makes the mistake of wishful thinking about ethical superiority. Although he argues that the dialectic between ethics and politics is an intractable problem, at many points in his work Morgenthau gives moral values complete primacy over political action. This is the result of an entirely ethical conception of politics as an "inevitable evil" in the world that permeates life through the evil character of human nature. Of course, anthropological skepticism is also present in Schmitt, but it is not the foundation on which he builds his theory. It is perhaps this conception of the ethics-politics relation that is the most

fundamental difference between Schmitt and Morgenthau, and that determines the serious differences in the character of their philosophical legacies.

The final point that can be taken as problematic in Morgenthau is his acceptance of the world as divided into equally standing and equal in importance spheres of life, each of which has its own logic and, above all, solution. This stems from Morgenthau's desire to 'rescue' the political from the legal-ethical considerations against it, but in the course of this rescue he makes the mistake of enclosing the political within his own particular domain. The struggle for power, which is the typicality of the political for Morgenthau, is too narrow a motive to encompass political existence. The basic meaning of such existence is to contain within itself the typical way of life of the group, which extends far beyond the motive of struggle for power.

The next element of Morgenthau's exposition is his "conception of the political," which is discussed in detail after the six principles. The concept that the German thinker gives, as already mentioned, is qualitatively identical to that of Max Weber. It is an extremely curious point in the study of realism that this thesis of Morgenthau is the reason for the only meeting between him and Carl Schmitt in real life. Morgenthau disagrees with Schmitt's thesis, accusing him of a logical inconsistency in the construction of the idea. In his thesis, Morgenthau describes the political as a state-related problem that depends on intensity in the relation itself, which is the subjective definition of the political. The objective is much more trivial and in the sense of Weberian sociology - a struggle for power. Morgenthau considers the political in a negative sense, that is, not by positively affirming the content of the concept, but by analyzing legal interstate disputes and discovering what is not a matter of international law.

The concept of the political is further developed in Morgenthau's later writings, with the culmination of his conceptual motif on the state and politics being the structuring of man's thirst for power within the state, whereby the power impulse is enabled to be realised outside of one's own political space. Here, a moment of theoretical insufficiency is identified, which is addressed through the thesis of this dissertation. Such a definition and conceptualisation of the political does not provide sufficient conceptual capacity for theory and cannot be said to have sufficient analytical-conceptual depth to be a realistic mirror image of the world. It is the desire to reveal more fully at the theoretical level and to bring a much deeper essence to the notion of the political that is the reason for formulating the main thesis of the text.

The last and concluding chapter of the first section of this thesis contains further discussion of other writers of the first wave of political realism. The main aim is to broaden the context and

scope of the school of classical realism by analysing authors such as Carr, Aron, Herz and others entirely in terms of their consideration of the source of the political and its relationship to power. Without entering into deep philosophical debates, most realist authors proceed on the hypothesis of the natural state of man (which is entirely Hobbesian), which leads to the anarchic nature of international relations and the constant threat of conflict. These authors consider international relations much more empirically and Morgenthau's influence is distinct. It is worth noting that only Carr does not proceed from the natural state hypothesis, but his subsequent constructions are entirely in the sense of the school of political realism.

The general conclusion about the political nature of realism can be formulated as follows: political realism perceives the position of man in the world as the premise of theoretical construction. In this assumption, man is in a position in which he must survive, which can only be achieved through the accumulation of more and more power. Power is conceived generically as the ability to influence the will of another, which implies two separate moments. On the one hand, power is a psychological moment (Morgenthau), and on the other hand, it has irrevocable material dimensions (Aron, Carr, Herz). Political realism rests on the objectivity of the struggle for survival through the accumulation of power, which is taken to be valid not only for the individual but also for the world of international relations. The political does not experience a qualitative change in its 'transfer' from the field of individual survival to the behaviour of states. It is the same law with the same regularities but on a different scale. With these conclusions, the logical and conceptual end of the first section is reached, thus completing the premise of the proposed theses. The main role of the detailed discussion of classical political realism is to discover those propositions which, from a theoretical point of view, require further discussion - or even opposition - in order to fulfil the tasks and objectives of this text.

Section 2

The second section, titled "Bringing the Concept of the Political into the Canon of Political Realism," is the argumentative and ideational core of the text. If the description and analysis of realism are for the purpose of creating a contextual situation and the premises and reasons for a theoretical debate, the second part is already the substantive proposal for the realization of a theoretical renewal of the canon. In this section, a new conceptual-analytical framework is 'brought' into the debate on political realism, which, in the sense of the intra-textual dialogue, presupposes and creates the logically required conclusions concerning classical realism.

The section itself is structured on the basis of its own logic, which is revealed within the exposition. On the one hand, this logic is isolated in relation to the whole text because it serves only the purposes of the second section itself. On the other hand, the dialogue with the canonical postulates of early classical realism is fully preserved, even intensified. The section is constructed in such a way as to create dynamism in the reading process. First, a new conceptual level and conceptual unit is introduced, which then, based on its definition entirely by Carl Schmitt, is unfolded as a theoretical consequence for the school, leading to a certain conclusion or new position in the school. The first chapter examines Schmitt's concept of the political and unfolds a broad notion of a fundamental phenomenon of the world. Accordingly, chapter two develops an argument and a corollary for the theory of realism that aims to establish itself as a premise and theoretical foundation. Chapters three and four are built on the same principle.

Overall, the second section is organized around the dominant theme of the political and its essence, not as content in the sense of its elements and projections into the world, but as an ontological framework to be presupposed in relation to the entire realist project. In addition to the nature of the political itself and what it is as a phenomenon, the structure in which the political exists is also considered, for one of the theses of the text is that there is no objective and neutral political field. The political subject, its genesis, character and subjectivity are therefore the second important part of the second section. The purpose of isolating the characteristics of the political subject as a separate sub-theme and seemingly diverting the original direction of reasoning to international relations is to demonstrate and change the holistic and purely structural thinking about international relations and to shift the attention and knowledge in this field to the subjects themselves who are the main actors in international relations. Through this shift of the focus, the extremely strong political charge of international

relations is demonstrated and the presence of the predicate 'political' in the phrase 'political realism' is initially argued for.

The first chapter contains a thorough exposition of Carl Schmitt's conception of the political. The concept of the political that Schmitt constructs has an incredible dynamism about it, not only because of the categorical nature of his position in relation to an entire modality of existence in the present (at the time of writing) world, but also because of the depth and multifaceted nature of the concept itself. It could be said that what Schmitt sees and enunciates as political is not just a complex concept, but an extremely specific conception of political reality. His conception of the political definitely differs from the classical ones, mostly because of the degree of abstraction he brings to the concept as opposed to standard attempts at definition that try to capture the daily routine of domestic politics.

The political for Schmitt is the division between friends and enemies, which is perhaps his most famous formulation and one of his most serious contributions to the history of ideas. The political division, that is, the division between friends and enemies, is the result of a threat to the way of life of a given subject, which threat is posed by another subject. In this sense it is an existential clash. Not a conflict about power, not a clash of ideas, but about being, about the way of realizing the politically unified group in the world. What Schmitt succeeds in articulating through the division is that it transforms the imposed conception of politics enshrined in the canon of realism, namely as a purely tactical clash between individuals who aim to satiate their power-mongering impulses. Similarly, it manages to avoid defining the political in terms of psychology and psychological concepts. Schmitt conceives of the political as a collective destiny, as a principle of participation in history and the making of history. The most important implication for the theory of realism that is brought about by such a formulation is the transformation of space as anti-neutral.

This formulation of the political is hugely important for thinking about the political sphere as a whole because Schmitt refuses to give the political a sphere of its own. That is, whereas we can think of typical spheres of human culture such as aesthetics, ethics, and economics in terms of the typical characteristics of these spheres that uniquely and explicitly delimit them within their own boundaries, such a boundary is virtually absent in the case of the political. This is not an oversight on Schmitt's part, but a fully conscious theoretical staging. He argues that the political becomes such at a certain point of accumulating tension that can lead to conflict, which tension is preceded by the division into friends and enemies. Neither friend nor foe has a

specific content as, for example, "beautiful." This content is extracted from non-political social spheres by problematizing them. The political thus expropriates the space of the field in question and transforms it into a political question. This existence of the political reveals its dominance over the non-political spheres of public life.

By adopting such a notion of the political, one arrives at the logical conclusion concerning the ontological superiority and dominance of the political. This "domination" of the political is expressed above all in a structural origin that this phenomenon occupies. This means that the political existence of the subject becomes its existential appearance, that is, its being acquires historical relevance due to the fact of its very existence as an established being. The affirmation takes place through the phenomenon of friendship and enmity with another political being, another political entity. Therefore, the image of a political subject is determined entirely by the picture of its political perception. Cultural phenomena become images of their own friendship, and can only 'receive' this legitimacy as such in the sense of being founded through a political origin.

This clarifies the question of the nature of the political and its fundamental importance for international relations. Through such a formulation and the construction of a coherent definition of the political, international relations scholarship would strengthen its theoretical perspective and solidify its theoretical premises. Such a situation would now correspond to the importance derived from the naturalness of international politics. In this sense, the political not only takes precedence over all other conceptions in the sense of 'economic, ethical, aesthetic', but also dominates them, thereby qualitatively changing their character, shape and realisation in the world. This position must be taken as axiomatic for political realism, and any analysis of international reality must take such an analytical stance into account.

Such a formulation of an ontological superiority of the political allows realism to be immune to its own intellectual and philosophical errors and contradictions. Each of the individual moments contained in the political has a direct bearing on its affirmation not only as a concept but also as an existential phenomenon. It is the existentialism of the political as a theoretical presupposition of realism that brings it out as a different approach to theories of international relations.

The third and fourth chapters turn to the political subject and its dimensions. Without Schmitt's concepts of *nomos*, political constitution, and political unity, the theory of the political would remain without its concrete definition. The construction of the political subject is fundamental

to understanding its nature and to understand why we speak of friends and enemies to begin with. This subjectivity, which derives, for example, from the constitution of the political agent, can only be understood in terms of its existentiality and constitutive will, which become the sole ground of political existence. This means that for any political subject, its being derives not from phenomena external to it, which in a certain way legitimates it as politically relevant in a certain system, but from its very will understood as a decision to exist as a political subject. Nomos as the acquisition of space, order, right; political order as unity and pacification; constitution as a form of one's own political "friendship" are all elements - symbols - of the political subject that are unique to each political being. On this basis are built international relations, which become a clash of different existentialities that - and this is of utmost importance - are recognized as legitimate enemies of each other. On the basis of these concepts, which Schmitt developed in the course of his academic career, we arrive at the final element of the innovations in political realism, which is here called 'political subjectivism'.

Thus, the realist approach to the system of international relations in its full scale is also formulated. If so far the political subject has been considered from within in the sense of its being, logic of realization and overall onto-political structuring, we now consider the political subject as a subject with an external political dimension. That is to say, a perspective of perception in pure subjectivity is taken beyond the boundary of its being and concerning the implications for the system of international relations. Two distinct problems can be identified here, which are addressed.

On the one hand, the object of study is subjectivism as a phenomenon of political thought. The idea is therefore accepted that realism is rooted in a subjectivist conception of the political world, in which what exists and its very basis derive from the subjects themselves, without their being able to create a common objective space of realization of relations between them. We are not only talking here about a realist description of an anarchic system of international relations, but to change the very thinking from system to subjectivity. The system requires common space, orderliness (even if orderliness is disorderliness) and perceptions of interconnectedness. Thinking in subjectivism puts such intellectual construction in serious doubt and reframes it in the political subjectivism of friends and enemies. They are incapable of being connected in a system because they are not parts of a whole - the whole is the subject, and outside the subject is otherness. Such a shift in the perception of international relations must change the focus from a technical, objectivist and de-personalised consideration of state behaviour to a natural and authentic focus on states themselves. Such a shift of focus to subjects

would return realism and the scholarship of international relations to an authentic intellectual existence that sees initiative in the behavior of subjects as primary.

In addition to the abstract-theoretical argumentation of political subjectivism as a principle of realism, the projections of subjectivism into the ontic reality of the world must also be analyzed. For it is impossible for a principle so strongly ontologized to remain completely in the field of abstraction, especially as far as theory related to political realism is concerned. Hence, there are in the world pictures of the reality of the subject which contain within themselves the realities of the subjective character of the political and of the political agent. These pictures of subjectivity represent several distinct realisations of the political agent, which can be defined as follows: territory; orientation; form; culture, which are discussed in detail in the text as elements of the political subject derived from Carl Schmitt's political conceptualisation.

Conclusion

In conclusion, several conclusions can be drawn from the analysis in the course of the presentation. First of all, the connection between Morgenthau and Weber and the influence of the German sociologist on the formation of Morgenthau's views, which subsequently became the basis of his realism, can be clearly seen. This influence is mainly in the sense of the definition of the political, the question of the ethical dilemma in relation to politics, and last but not least the division of human existence into separate independent spheres. This legacy of Morgenthau is entirely in the sense of Weber's purely scientific contribution, without allowing for the conflation of science and personal views. Of course, Morgenthau does not take Weber's concepts in a crude form and leave his imprint on them. For example, Morgenthau makes the connection between the struggle for power and the state through human nature and man's desire to rule over others. In the same vein, Morgenthau makes a slight change in the meaning of "responsibility ethics," adding universal morality to the referent of responsibility itself.

Morgenthau's six principles also suggest separate conclusions. In its most concentrated form, the formulation of a realist perspective can be highlighted, which is insufficiently logico-theoretically distinct in its own analytical field. What does this mean? It is clear from the analysis of the six principles of political realism that Morgenthau takes some positions that are identical to those of his conceptual opponent. In this sense, as he attempts to establish a theory and a theoretical framework, he falls into the trap of the already established postulates of the age in which he is working. Morgenthau is therefore unable to avoid these presuppositions, and they are implicitly present in his work. The strongest evidence of this is his thesis concerning

the superiority of the ethical over the political. John Herz, by the way, attempts to achieve a synthesis between realism and liberalism, thereby adopting realism much more as a tactic or strategy than as a philosophical alternative. The overall conclusion for the first section, and for the state of political realism overall, is that there are gaps in its theoretical foundation that require addressing and further consideration.

As a further conclusion, the "compatibility" at the theoretical-conceptual level between Carl Schmitt's notion of the political and the theory of political realism can be distinguished. Schmitt's thesis of the division between friends and enemies becomes the ideal and most suitable option to fill some of the theoretical shortcomings of the theory of realism. This is the result of a change in the very way of looking at the science of international relations because it corresponds to the actual positioning and action of political actors in the international environment. The Schmittian theory of the political is not only suitable to be brought in as a complementary cognitive foundation of realism, but is close to being identical with realism itself, because for Schmitt - in his "ideal" theoretical construction - international relations is the actual field of the realization and actualization of the political, because only the politically unified subject can fully participate in history.

The last, but certainly not the least, conclusion is about the fundamental importance of the political as ontologically supreme in relation to human life, being and culture. Through such a construction of an ontological pyramid, at the top of which stands the political, the field of the realization of international relations is hierarchized. The most important motive for the unfolding of history is the political action and political will of the subject, who is united and with a fully clarified conception of his enemies and his friends. Thus the anchoring of the political as axiomatically superior saves the theory from the danger of differentiated cognition in the sense of the liberal conception of culture as separate and independent spheres of life and knowledge. By absolutizing the political, it also creates a different understanding of international relations as a system not with a common space, but as spaces-performances of individual subjects.

All of these conclusions can be seen as the first step in a very complex and very long debate about political realism and its theoretical shape. Such a debate, to take place exclusively within realism itself, is necessary for the school to identify some of its errors or inconsistencies, thereby updating its theoretical approach and revitalizing its ability to provide a substantive analytical perspective on the events of international politics.

4. Scientific contributions of the dissertation

The scientific contributions of the thesis can be defined as follows:

1. Bringing Carl Schmitt's conception of the political into the canon of political realism is not only the essence around which the entire structure of the text is built, but also the main scholarly contribution of the dissertation. Such a study is among the first in the Bulgarian scientific literature, and it opens the possibility of launching a complex scientific debate on the real value of Schmitt as a researcher of the school of realism and how appropriate it is to apply his concepts - especially those of friends and enemies - as fundamental elements of the theory of political realism.
2. Considering international relations in terms of absolute subjectivity offers a new approach to addressing questions about the system and structure of the international environment. Considering international relations in terms of absolute subjectivity offers a new approach to considering questions about the system of the international environment. Such a debate is necessary because it asks fundamental questions about the scientific perception of international relations. The basis of this subjectivity is derived entirely from the preceding motif of the division between friends and enemies, and is a logical corollary. Such a consideration of the system of international relations opens up the possibility of an in-depth debate in the field of one of the fundamental problems facing science.
3. The thesis on the fundamental importance of the political as the first moment in the ontological structure of political realism. This is perhaps the most complex point of the text in terms of challenging one of Morgenthau's fundamental conceptions of the independence of the spheres of life. Nevertheless, such a new situation has the possibility of reordering and restructuring political realism's understanding of the nature of the political and political relations.
4. Expanding the scope of Bulgarian scientific literature in the field of political realism. The examination of this fundamental school of the science of international relations is carried out not only in the sense of an uncritical description of the theory, its differentiation as a separate school and development, but also its main motives and fundamental ideas are analyzed in depth. These fundamental premises are subjected to critical analysis in order to be able to start a debate and dialogue in this direction.

5. The detailed analysis and interpretation of Carl Schmitt complements the Bulgarian scientific literature on his political-philosophical ideas. The dissertation offers an examination of Schmitt beyond his legal contributions. The second section of the text, devoted to Schmitt, certainly does not exhaust the vast scope of his work, but contributes to the scholarly debate on the German thinker in the Bulgarian academic space.

5. Scientific publications related to the topic of the dissertation

VENTSISLAVOV, Denis, *The Dichotomy "own-foreign" in the Dialogue between Lazar Glaushev and the Greek Governor (analysis in the light of the political theory)*, Contemporary Linguistics, 2022, 1, 106-112.

VENTSISLAVOV, Denis, *Rethinking the Theoretical Tenets of Political Realism*, International Politics, XIX/2023, 1, 129-140

VENTSISLAVOV, Denis, *Carl Schmitt's Political Existentialism*, Philosophical Alternatives, XXXIII/2024, 2, 42-52

VENTSISLAVOV, Denis, *Political unity and the absolute enemy in Carl Schmitt's political philosophy*, NotaBene, 63/2024, 185-192