

THE STATE – IN INTERPRETATION OF JOSE ORTEGA Y GASSET

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Abstract

The manuscript explores the historical conditionality of the state – its essence and primary features in the doctrine of J. Ortega y Gasset. In his interpretation, the state is a metaphysical phenomenon, an imaginary potency that requires the creation of a new socio-political reality. This idea is embodied due to the regulatory violence, consensus between the lifestyle of a mature nation, its freedom and the creative inspiration of the elite. The state is an integrating force that constrains the hierarchical order of values and balances spiritual movements with material stability. In turn, a nation-state is a metaphysical tension and unity of the past and the future, the tradition and a new consolidating idea, a fusion of democratic institutions and the subconscious calling of blood, earth, and a language of a mature nation. The democratic nature of the nation-state is its obligatory advantage – it provides an individual with ground and values to harmoniously withstand collective oppression. The nation-state is not possible without a high level of social elasticity, without a tight consolidation of elites with social strata, without democratic principles of cooperation.

Key words: *violence, nation, elite, social elasticity, theory of raciovitalizm*

Introduction

According to a number of well-known scientists (Toffler, 1996: 78; Negri, 2007: 54; Robertson, 1992: 21, and others) modern state has reached the critical status that will result in its “political mortality”. The author is sure that notwithstanding the existence of social and economic threatens, which should include multicultural challenges and radical individualism, etc., the state is far from exhausting of its historical potential. The basic factor of the crisis of the modern state is hidden in its vulgar-positivist interpretations, undervaluation of its ability to evolve into another more perfect form (Kildare Magalhães et al., 2018: 59-62). It's required to reveal the metaphysical and social and historical background for the occurrence and patterns of transformation of the state in order to correct this tendency. The European philosophical tradition is acquainted with a lot of national concepts, each of which brings its own standpoint regarding this phenomenon. One of the original

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interpretations of the state is a doctrine developed by J. Ortega y Gasset, up-to-dateness of research of which is reached due to the experience of the philosopher himself – the painful experience of post-imperial syndrome, fascist-barbarous invasion, civil war, immaturity of elites and the establishment of an authoritarian regime in his homeland. Without a doubt the historical realities have found a response in creativity of the resident of Madrid – in his search for a reason of the European crisis of the early twentieth century and ways of its overcoming. It is the interpretation of the state moved by J. Ortega y Gasset that is important for the post-Soviet communities, which are still in a search, for consolidating all strata of the population, principles and types of the state (Buzuk, 2017: 146-147; Miethlich & Oldenburg, 2019: 7146).

Developing the theory of raciovitalizm J. Ortega y Gasset (1997b: 88) examines the state starting from determination of the substance of an individual and society, its mutually dependent existence, which unique principles form original folk cultures that are combined in civilization. In the process of uncovering of the human nature the thinker proceeds from the expression of N. Kuzanskiy (1970: 84), that a person is “a free entity, a creator, similar to God, in other words, is a substance, that creates its own essence”. This optimistic and renaissance indication points at the imperative idea – a person must determine own destiny, assert itself as an individual opportunity and realize this target through creative relationship with the world (Ortega y Gasset, 1994c).

According to Ortega's ideal, potentially free and intelligent person must become well-known (*nobilis*) – celebrated in its career, a person which has sent a message about itself to other nations, the one who has managed to surpass an innominate mass and rise above the darkness of time. Through generosity – “intensive life with constant striving to outdo themselves, to tear away from the old achievements to the scheduled duties and requirements” (Ortega y Gasset, 1987: 115). Masses act as an opponency to the *nobilis*. Its basic peculiarity is satisfaction with itself as it is. Its representative feels himself as perfect, complete ego – it is a child spoiled by own wishes which has surrendered to enjoyment with its sensations and is not able to give itself a justified evaluation. A person out of mass is stripped of life program – masses live through feelings and float on a surface of impressions (Ortega y Gasset, 1987: 118-120). Volition conceptualization of *nobilis* counterbalances and inspires masses to cultural and harmonized system (Bekmansurov et al., 2019: 16).

According to the resident of Madrid, a healthy society has a hierarchical nature, where aristocracy dominates – it offers society the ideal perceptions, patterns. If a society loses its aristocratic nature, ruins the presence of aristocracy, the ability to generate ideas, gets rid of hierarchical relationship and values, then it falls into a state of barbarism (Iovenko, 2017: 88-91). There are no principles and standards, on which an individual would rely, no opportunity to appeal in the barbaric state (Ortega y Gasset, 1994c: 65). Thus, the aristocratic nature preserves healthy signs and multiplies cultural heritage. Owing to these peculiarities in its nature the human society acts as the instrument of improvement since the imposed standards of *nobilis* stipulate successful coexistence of all social strata. Thus, the purpose of the article is to reveal the historical dependence of the state – its essence and reference points in the doctrine elaborated by J. Ortega y Gasset.

Analysis of the Theory of J. Ortega y Gasset

Initial fact to Ortega is that individual life necessarily depends on the historical genesis of the community. A person “is unable to navigate in the Universe, except perhaps just through the race, to which it belongs, since it dissolves like a drop of water in the itinerant cloud” (Ortega y Gasset, 2012: 127). Collective genesis is denoted by the philosopher as the imperative existence of a person in the united body of the nation. The nation is an approved style of life, which “involves certain simple and differentiated metamorphosis that organizes a matter around itself” (Ortega y Gasset, 2012: 132). A nation “fails to choose between different styles of life: it either lives according to its own one or does not live” (Ortega y Gasset, 1994b: 79). If there is a solidarity of strata in a nation a community positively determines the dominant type of a person, style of life, joint life procedure (Ortega y Gasset, 1994c: 91). It is a symbiosis of individual latitudes and collective program that forms the existing social world that presents substantive possibility of a human life. Thus, a nation constitutes a unique culture that forms certain convictions – ideas and values. They are combined in the concept – a strategic plan for the natural items use, the surrounding world arrangement. The concepts overcome the chaos of life, form a magic drape owing to which a person “looks at the life’s eyes” (Ortega y Gasset, 1994c: 95).

In case a nation loses its solidarity, rejects traditional perceptions, then this nation tends to slide back into a state of barbarism. Thus, any nation, in the representation of Ortega, is constantly in a state of fragile balance between creative blooming conditions and a crisis – the state of stagnation or stability is an evidence of the barbarism approach, since this state does not provide new perceptions, but only uses the old ones. In order the masses would not forward a society to crisis, people established the right to use violence – a means “to which the one falls back on who is the first at the end of other resources while defending righteousness and justice, which, they say, are in its favor” (Ortega y Gasset, 1994c: 66).

It is opinion of the author of the “Mass Revolt” violence is a cultural phenomenon. This is a righteousness that has been brought to the madness state where the forwarded force, simultaneously, is the last and first argument (Latin ultima ratio and prima ratio). Every nation in its historical development course resorts to violence both externally and internally (Petrovsky & Shmelev, 2019: 408-411). However, only that nation can be named a civilization, which has reached the level of the power limitation ultima ratio. Only that nation becomes civilized, which has confirmed the perceptions of procedure, standards, mediocre customs, justice, citizenship in its style of life, and concentrated notional concepts in a joint, equal for everyone entire community life space. And vice versa, if a nation has left violence in community as a prima ratio, then this is that very canon that crosses out any canon – it forms the barbaric lifestyle (Khadzhyradieva et al., 2019: 95).

According to Ortega’s concept, violence has a progressive and historical significance – “there would be nothing of everything we most appreciate in the past without it, and if it is removed from the future, it’s hard to imagine what kind of disarrangement will dominate in the world” (Ortega y Gasset, 1994b: 123). However, progressive violence – as a great political surgery – must be implemented with a creative imagination. It is this principle that distinguishes historical pseudo-union of

Genghis Khan, Timur, Ivan the Terrible from the great civilizations of Alexander, Caesar, and Napoleon. Violence for the latter not only concludes an idea but executes a community objective as well. The original idea of a community is formed to turn into reality a dominating general idea, and violence carries out an internal and external integration function – it engages other communities to join. The resident of Madrid confirms his thesis through the Roman history when other nations were inoculated to the Latin tree as a result of invading campaigns. To his mind, the Romans united for the first time with a definite purpose – to conquest other nations and new territories. It served as an example for other nations. And the conquered nations, who, although were forcefully taken in to the empire, recognized themselves as collaborators of the conquerors – they got connected with a great idea. That's why the conquered nations considered that a new challenge faced them – their goal found expression in the principle not to live in a pile, but to be in a pile and to produce something jointly (Ortega y Gasset, 1994b: 37-43).

The Latins extended the idea of the “Great City”, formed a superpower owing to violence, conquests and alliances with conquered nations. Their state of domination is assessed by the resident of Madrid as a positive civilization phenomenon, as the volitional obtrusion of perfect new order patterns, forwarding of historically mature people to the civilization goal of “young nations” – nations without their own ideas. The thinker notes that domination means “to provide nations with employment, put them in their place, in their destination; to put an end to their chimeras that lead to idleness, senseless life and despair” (Ortega y Gasset, 1994a: 125). Therefore, the violence charged with the idea of a mature nation, represent a civilization movement to a new stage in the perfection of everybody who is engaged in the sphere of conceptual order – this is the ideal program of life in the city-state in the Roman example.

The considerations of the resident of Madrid reveal the essence of the state. The right to resort to force that is combined with the conceptual order reflects one of its features and the original reason for the emergence. The process of state establishment and the right to violence is legitimized by the customs, the culture of the dominating nation, and the exemplary idea arises and introduces it through hierarchical school nobilis. Owing to violence, society “establishes for itself a state as a tool for a better life” (Ortega y Gasset, 1994c: 127-129). Thus, the positive state arises owing to the synthesis of violence, perfect perception, distribution of a national style of life, custom of a dominating nation and the will of the “best representatives”.

The nobilis declaration of will, from a historical point of view, is a progressive form of government – it obtains a “sacred” nature since it is based on religious perceptions. They are constantly the first form on the basis of which there appears something that later turns into a spirit, an idea, a thought; in a word, immaterial and metaphysical (Ortega y Gasset, 1994a: 54-55). On the other hand, history knows the states that are established without ideal patterns, are penetrated by violence as the first and the only argument. These are barbaric states, the union of “young nations” which do not possess its own commandments, and therefore are “camouflaged” behind alien ideas – they do not go beyond endurance of the natural and vegetative rhythm of life and depend on the call of a blood. No social life is provided in their cities.

A perception regarding order acts in the doctrine of Ortega as a separate component of nation-building. He reveals this concept through the example of a phenomenon of the city-state, which is a political epicenter of European civilization. City-state is a specific embodiment of the ideal, dynamic competition of tribes, elites and nations. These are the established forms of cohabitation that arise in antiquity – the history that, starting with Alexander the Great and Caesar, “consists in an endless fight between two spaces: between a rational city and a vegetative field, between a legislator and a cereal farmer, between *ius* and *rus* (city laws and peasants habits)” (Ortega y Gasset, 1994c: 96). A city-state is a result of the historical process of the association of small tribal communities, seeking to establish a new reality – to get liberation from nature, to withdraw from the intimate rhythms of cohabitation – to create a style of life – with division of a nation not on men and women, but on equal citizens. The state appears only “when a certain nation rejects the traditional structure of one form of cohabitation and elaborates another one, hitherto unknown. That’s why it is a real creativity. Therefore, the state at the beginning is always the fruit of free imagination. People can create the state only to the best of its own imagination” (Ortega y Gasset, 1994c: 163-164).

The thinker placed greater focus on the fact that originally the city-state arose as a political and civil area. This field is designed for exercising public functions. The forum or Agora became a strategic point of life, on which the procedure for confirming the agreement of citizens of a city to live jointly was constantly carried out – synoecism (Ortega y Gasset, 1994c: 115). It was owing to the concordance in city-states that a power was created, which, in turn, was the application of authority. In turn the authority, both now and always, is supported by a public opinion. This thesis acts as an axiom for any time and sort of political regime for the resident of Madrid. Nobody ever, he states, “reigned on earth, finding support to his power essentially on something different than public opinion”. Thanks to the public opinion the ruling establishment can use power, because “notwithstanding naive and melodramatic views, domination is not a consequence of a fist but rather of a rank. In short, a state constitutes holding of opinion, maintenance of balance, statics” (Ortega y Gasset, 1994c: 126).

Internal equilibrium of the state can be achieved by a government both through violence and authority. The latter is a spiritual power, an advantage of a certain point of view in community, which is supported by a dynamic internal and external sharing of ideas and actions between governors, the best representatives and the masses. Nevertheless, the reached statics of a state with internal powers of a community and external levers exists as a provision for execution of a state’s constitutive objectives – to carry out a program of cooperation to achieve a visionary ideal. In this context, the state must always encourage people to do something collectively – something that is a commonwealth, which is not limited by any material boundaries. The goal of the state, according to the author of the “Mass Revolt” opinion, determines its next feature – it is “not an item, but a movement”. It constantly “comes from somewhere and goes away somewhere”. Like any movement, it has the term “*a quo* and *terminus ad quem*” (Lat. – beginning and finish). Should one dissect at any moment a life of the state, which in fact is the state, then one will reveal the unity of cohabitation, exteriorly

established on peculiar physical signs: blood, language, “natural borders”. The static school considers it to be an essence of the state. However, we soon reveal that this human group is concerned not only with the domestic affairs: it conquers other nations, plants colonies, becomes federalized with other states, that is – constantly triumphs over the things which, supposedly, constitute the material ground of its integrity. It is – the term “ad quem” (Lat. – final destination), this is what is called the state in its proper sense, which integrity consists in overcoming of all this integrity. When this striving to further goal cools down, a state automatically decays, and this integrity, supposedly based on a material ground – race, language, natural boundaries – becomes useless: the state breaks up (Ortega y Gasset, 1994c: 145-159).

Thus, according to the doctrine of Ortega, a state is a predetermined metaphysical sense that is embodied in the political reality, and not until later that – a statically-physical subject. Since its essence lies in constant determination to the goal – the perfect images. It presents a free motion, dynamics of peaks and valleys. The state is emblematic of freedom which is “justified only as a transition from the imperfect order to more perfect order... It is necessary to move further, to “nouveau regime” establishment (Fr. – new regime) – a new order, a new social structure, a new hierarchy” (Ortega y Gasset, 1991: 21). The state manifests itself in the intensity of the spirit of the “best representatives”, in the free spirit of its creators, and is therefore an invitation, the collaborative fate of coalitions which “jointly execute some sort of undertakings. These undertakings, regardless to its milestones, consist... in the creation of the determined kind of social life. The state, on the one hand, and the project of life, the program of social action, on the other hand, constitute an inseparable integrity” (Ortega y Gasset, 1994c: 114-116).

However, physical status of the state tends to hierarchical obduracy, maturity of freedom, which is a symptom of crisis. The state of decay of the country has its roots in the pursuit of the ruling class, the bureaucracy to state-build the society – to convert it into something secondary, destroy spiritual spontaneity, to master the creative search for perfect perceptions, reduce the political risks and social competitions. Mastering of a society by a state takes place owing to the spread of technology. Obsession with stagnation has adherents among the masses which are attracted with the vulgar-frozen mode of life (Omelchuk et al., 2020: 952-955).

The society state-building has historical roots. For the first time the state enters the crisis phase owing to the failure of the Roman ruling class to accept the new idea – Caesar’s project. Owing to this, in the times of Antonins (II cent.) “the state through deathlike dominance prevail over the society. The society falls into slavery and is no longer able to live except in the service of the state. All spheres of life become bureaucratized... Bureaucratization of life leads to its decay, and it takes place in all areas... Then the state proceeds to implement the human life bureaucratization in order to meet its own needs. The second-degree bureaucratization is expressed in militarization of the society” (Ortega y Gasset, 1994c: 178-179).

Thus, owing to rejection of the supremacy of concepts, spiritual dynamics the society becomes governmentalized and it stiffens in a stable status. In this condition, the state is not committed to the ideal sophistication and has a goal in itself. The state perception has frozen in a mechanical image – from the spiritual perception it turns

into a dead-like technique. That's why the state is no longer an instrument for the implementation of the general welfare, but vice versa – the society must live for the state. In the extreme case, to consolidate its superficial position over the society, the state is in need for service of strangers who “muster the state, and the rest of the society must live as their slaves – slaves of the people with whom they have nothing in common. Here are the consequences of the state intervention: the people turn into meat eaten by the state machine” (Ortega y Gasset, 1994c: 118). The state is perceived as the reason for itself.

The most progressive form of a modern state, which has embodied the highest desire of coexistence of different communities, according to Ortega's mind, is a liberal democracy. This regime permits to take into account tolerantly the desire of many other people to participate in the process of making decisions relating to political issues (Cat, 2018: 28-31). Liberalism, as the thinker notices, “is the ground of political legislation, according to which the state power, despite its almightiness, limits itself and attempts, even at its own expense, to leave a space in the country, which is governed by it, so that the people whose opinion and feelings differ from what the strongest people, the majority of people think and feel, could live there” (Ortega y Gasset, 1994c: 128).

The Concept of a Nation and its Signs According to Ortega y Gasset

The era of modern gave rise to the national state. Exploring the nation-state Ortega makes the definition of the original concept – the nation. Firstly, this concept is not subject to precise definition. And secondly, the nation “is a well-organized human mass, regulated by a minority of selected individuals” (Ortega y Gasset, 1994b: 36). At the same time the resident of Madrid formulates the principles of its origin, maintaining that the common past is the starting point of the nation. Being the adherent of the constructivist approach to the nation building, he underlines that prior to creating a common past, peoples had to dream of the nation, “to strive for it, to design it. It's enough that a nation design itself in order to begin its own existence” (Ortega y Gasset, 2012: 111-112). Thus, the nation building is surpassed by an imagine project, a national myth which temper the consciousness and encourage a community to create “really good things” (Ortega y Gasset, 1994b). The national myth and the concept compose original beliefs and convictions of the community, establishing its scheme of life. They form the determinative factor for the history change (Ortega y Gasset, 1997c: 68).

By beginning of the identity of the national myths, unique scheme of life of the European Nations, Ortega identifies the era of the Early Middle Ages (Ortega y Gasset, 1997a), the era of traditionalism where nations are being built and only then obtain full strength (Ortega y Gasset, 1994a). In this era elites provided the nations with new beliefs, principles of consolidation, which later formed the basis for the nation-building. Thus, nation-building and development directly depend on perfect imagination of its creators. The established state is the result of human creation that historically is invented by the community. It is supported by certain virtues and prerequisites that yesterday were popular among people, but tomorrow can disappear without a trace like a smoke (Ortega y Gasset, 1994c: 79).

The age is the next sign of the nation. By this notion Ortega means not so much the biological state of the body, as the scheduled image of the nation life (Ortega y Gasset, 1997a: 49). Nations have different age period – in its genesis not every nation succeeds to reach the status of perfection. Therefore, nations can be divided into mature and underage ones. The first one's act as the authors of creative perceptions and the world history. The latter huff and puff and imitate the greatness of concepts, turn upside down the achievements of the first ones and give birth to the lowest types of “nationalisms”. In its essence the underage nations are at the prehistoric stage and are presented with the nation-mass which approves for itself the highest value – festive simple-mindedness and the right not to recognize other challenging imperatives and representations that are burdensome for its thinking (Ortega y Gasset, 1994c: 159). At the same time the thinker marks that a nation is never “ready”. It constantly is in the state of growth or decay. There is no middle ground. The nation either gains supporters, or loses them depending on whether or not its state currently has a task for living (Ortega y Gasset, 1994c: 162). The same peculiarity is characteristic for the national state as well.

The key sign of the nation in Ortega's opinion is Renan's thesis that the nation represents a “daily plebiscite”. The resident of Madrid means a permanent civil confirmation of cultural and political unity of the nation at the stage of nation-state building, infinite renewal of itself as a nation. This is the true life of the nation, which owing to involvement of the majority of individuals ensures its integrity and requires considerable stimulating activity and “social elasticity” (Ortega y Gasset, 1994b: 162). Moreover, the “daily plebiscite” performs a decisive integration feature. Because “... neither blood nor the language build the national state; it is rather the very nation state itself aligns the initial difference between the red cells of blood and articulated sounds... Very rare, if not to say never, the state emerged from the previous integrity of blood and language... Every linguistic unity, covering a wider territory, almost always is the product of previous political associations” (Ortega y Gasset, 1994c: 117). Thus, the philosopher considers the “state-nation” the historical formation of a plebiscite nature – the process of individual detection permits to reveal the inner essence of the nation: the project of building a free cohabitation by joint efforts, dedication of everybody to the nation's project (Aleksandrova et al., 2020: 129-131).

As for the “natural boundaries” of the nation-state development, according to the thinker, this notion is not sufficiently outlined. It is a relative subject, the concept which bears the sign of geographical mysticism. Because the aspiration to complete the dynamics of development of the nation and to fix metaphysically it in a specific territory is hidden behind this. For example, the historical experience of France and Spain indicates that these states have not definitively determined the “natural boundary” and started their expansion from small territories, which one period grow, another – narrow. In a historical sense, the boundaries often hindered expansion of the nation. Its spread depends on contemporary economic and military capabilities (Ortega y Gasset, 1994c: 161). Prior to this, “the boundaries served to consolidate the state association which had been already reached. So, they didn't act as the beginning of the nation; on the contrary, at first, they constituted an obstacle, and then, after it had already been overcome, became the material guarantee of integration” (Ortega y

Gasset, 1994c: 125-127). The notions of race and language are close to the same sense since “it wasn’t the unity of the first or the second that created a nation but on the contrary: the national state has always met in its quest to unite many races and many languages that became an obstacle to it. Only after this obstacle had been removed, a period of relative unity of races and language had come” (Ortega y Gasset, 1994c: 131). In conclusion, Ortega proclaims: “it’s necessary to search for the secret of the success of the national state in its unique spirit, in its plans, policies, and not third-party principles of biological or geographic nature” (Ortega y Gasset, 1994c: 132). However, the resident of Madrid doesn’t under-estimate the nation nature. It acts as a historical ground for him that is suitable for any state.

Morphogenetic process of the European nation, according to the author of the “Mass Revolt” mind, passed through three stages. The first: the territorial, ethnic and language groups start a spontaneous merge into political and moral community. The second: is defined as the period of closure of the nation in its state and simultaneously the period of consolidation. During this stage the nation is locked in its state and other nations outside the new state are considered as strangers and enemies. This is the period in which the national process acquires an exceptional nature. Nevertheless, in the context of confrontation with others, the latter gradually integrate and with the lapse of time become a homogeneous nation which is conceived in a dynamic dichotomy “friend – stranger”. The third phase approaches when starts up the idea of integration with other nations, which until recently were treated as the enemies. In this era, the confidence that nations are morally and economically congeneric obtains strength, and therefore they have jointly created a national circle against the other, more distant ones (Ortega y Gasset, 1994c: 166). So, after three phases of the formation of the national state, Western nations have reached the time when Europe can become their national idea. Furthermore, Europeans are unable to exist when they are not faced with a great consolidating goal. Under the condition such a goal is absent, they run down, become weedy (Bidaishiyeva et al., 2018: 10).

Ideally, the national state is a commonality that owing to the new perception, social elasticity has overcome traditional and static fatality and revolutionary directs itself to the future. It is the political principle which comes close to the pure concept of the state, rather than the state-city or the “state-tribe”, which are based on the proximity of blood. Along with this in the modern form of the state, a burdensome connection “...with the past, with the territory, with the race is present in its national concept; but the pure principle of human association around the attractive program of the future always rings the bell in it” (Ortega y Gasset, 1994c: 157). So, the essence of the nation-state is defined by bilateralism – a deliberate and won integrity which it already has achieved and the wider integrity it seeks for.

Ortega explains that social elasticity relies on commitment and ability of all social strata to the close cooperation and the development of democratic principles. Such integrity is “... mainly a union of different ethnic or political communities, but not limited to this. As the national body and the complication of its needs grow there starts the distribution through social functions, and therefore – in the bodies that carry them out. In a unitary society, there appear and grow the small worlds introduced in it, each with its own special atmosphere, with its principles, interests and a variety of

sensuous and ideological traditions... In general, the process of unification, in which a great society is being established, bears a counterpoint of the distribution process which divides the society into classes, professional groups, occupations, corporations... National health depends on the realization of each of these classes and workshops that they are only an indispensable constituent, members of one social body. It is not required and there's no need that the parts of the social unity coincide in its desires and judgments; it is obligatory and important that each as the best know about the living of other ones" (Ortega y Gasset, 1994b: 188-192).

Social elasticity of the mature nation also is reflected in various types of social perfection. Besides the prominent sages and artists, the scientist remarks, "We need both a pattern soldier, a perfect industrialist, a model worker, and even a world genius. In the same degree, if not more, the nation requires outstanding women. The continued shortage of some of these fundamental types of perfection will be ultimately beneficial to the lifespan development of the national life... It is required that gifted individuals were always available in the nation" (Ortega y Gasset, 1994b: 194-196). In case the nation loses its social elasticity, it, as the population of Spain of that period, loses its quality and becomes "a number of waterproof partitions" where each state is in a "hermetically closed" space (Ortega y Gasset, 1994b: 186).

Conclusions

In conclusion we should note that the conservative-liberal, anti-crisis interpretation of J. Ortega y Gasset defines the state as metaphysical phenomenon. This is the imagined power that insistently needs the creation of a new reality. The perfect perception is embodied owing to a legal violence, the consensus found between the life style of the mature nation, its freedom and the creative encouragement of its "best representatives". The state acts as an integrating force that restrains the hierarchical order of values and counterbalances spiritual movements with tangible physical stability. The revolt of masses, the barbaric regime of governing, the status of governmentalization of social life, its technonization, the domination of vulgar-frozen ideas, inability of the "best representatives" to creative activity for the benefit of society – all this as a historical alternative opposes and threatens the existence of the state of progressive type.

The modern form of the state – the nation-state is a metaphysical intensity and the unity of the past and future, a traditional and a new consolidating concept, the compound of democratic institutions and the subconscious call of blood, of land, of the language of the mature nation. As an instrument of the nation, the national state is a political unit, which legitimizes the concept of social order and acts as the basis for social self-development of the nation and the individual. The democratic nature of the nation-state is its mandatory benefit – it gives the individual a basis and values to withstand harmoniously collective oppression. Simultaneously, the national state is the result of the integration of nations on a new historical stage of development. It isn't possible without a high level of social elasticity, without a tight consolidation of elites with social strata, without democratic principles of cooperation, which jointly preserve the imagined-symbolic and real-institutional unity of the nation.

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