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EPISTEMOLOGY OF GEORGIAN PARLIAMENTARISM RESEARCH

Abstract: The article deals with the new methodology of researching parliamentarism, and in particular the research of Georgian parliamentarism using the epistemological method.

The use of this method is especially relevant for the study of so-called new democracies, since the structuralist method does not allow an in-depth analysis of the content, it cannot explain the context, hidden layers and undercurrents that give rise to and is a source of knowledge for political processes, in this case - for Georgian parliamentarism.

The method proposed in the article is an adapted version of Michel Foucault's "archaeology of knowledge" policy, and Georgian parliamentarism, supplemented by one aspect of Derrida's deconstruction (in part of his critique of Foucault's 'History of Madness') and the concept of the 'conceptual character' developed by Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guatar.

The article shows the utilitarian value of new epistemological research in the field of politics (and Georgian parliamentarism) through the analysis of a specific case.

Key words: epistemology, episteme, political research, parliamentarism, Georgian parliamentarism.

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Introduction

Epistemology of social transitions according to Foucault's "Archaeology of Knowledge".

The root of Foucault's method is the failure of traditional, including structuralist, approaches.¹ From dialectic to structuralism, according to Foucault, every analysis of the existing is conducted within the existing as a given, therefore the foundations, the hidden codes, thus the givenness itself, the context, as Foucault calls it - the discourse is constructed. Foucault's goal is to unravel the causes of the constructed as a whole, its foundations, which he carries out in the field at the level of codes and signs.²

Foucault argues that throughout history - and history refers to the whole of history, social reality - including art, science, and politics - given continuity is an illusion, in fact history consists of significant discontinuities, which are not fragmentary breaks, but discursive ones, that is, when the perception of order as a system of signs is overturned, and a new coding takes its footing, in the form of a new discourse. Signs of a turning point appear in every sphere of reality, and it can be described by the method of archeology of knowledge.

¹ Foucault, Michel. *Les mot et les choses*. Éditions Gallimard, 1966. p. 11-14.

² Ibid, p.12.

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Foucault is interested in the analysis of the transformation process, its clarification and transparency. It is self-evident that such a description has a scientific value, but at the same time it has a political (in a broad sense) weight. The latter is manifested in the fact that, looking at one's own history, a person will find a scientific basis for doubting their own attitudes, so to speak, policies; A prerequisite for the creation of a freer and more humane order is given.

Archeology of knowledge focuses on the study of Western history from the 16th to the 19th century, that is, the study of the time when ancient man becomes modern man. Foucault is interested in how the modern man became what he is today, how he broke with his predecessor and defined himself, to a large extent, as an opposite being.

Foucault's research is based on the mutual comparison of similarities and differences, so to speak, discovering homogeneous fields of similarities and emphasizing their mutual differences. He finds two such fields, more precisely - discourses, in Western history from the 16th to the 19th century: from the 16th to the 17th century, and the other - from the 18th to the 19th century (in the process of formation). The epochs that Foucault researches are not so relevant to our study as how he investigates and what he investigates through these epochs. Foucault researches the foundation of the new order. At the same time, of course, he examines the old, previous order as well. And the difference between the new and the old shows him the process of transformation that finds its expression in different areas. Foucault's archeology of knowledge is relevant for our research in the part of the foundation process, i.e., the research of the turning point. Because beyond the immediate order, it goes through the research of the epistemological field, the episteme itself.

What is episteme for Foucault? - This is the basis on which every given order, discourse stands. Discourse change is an epistemological change, when ideas and perceptions about the given change (in all fields). This is a fundamental transformation, which is not so much visible on the surface, which is silent and largely hidden, which produces as its fruit a system of visible signs, a coded field, which no longer surprises itself and perceives being in such a discourse as natural. It is a fundamental transformation that is not so visible on the surface, that is silent and largely hidden, which produces as its fruit a system of visible signs, a coded field, that he no longer surprises himself and perceives being in such a discourse as natural. In other words, any discourse is so locked in its own

language that it does not understand, see, or consider anything outside of itself.

We think that the use of this method is relevant in the study of radical changes in the political order, including Georgian parliamentarism. We should consider parliamentarism as a political adventure of speech, the formation of political language - politics as language, and language as politics. The core of the history of Georgian parliamentarism, the main affective node, is the political discourse that was conceived and formed before the foundation of the new Georgian Republic (April 9, 1991). This is exactly the fruit of the new Georgian episteme in the political sphere. Therefore, we should consider the archeology of knowledge as the main method of researching the Georgian political episteme.

The need to use the conceptual character of Deleuze and Guattari for the epistemological analysis of Georgian parliamentarism.

An important role in Foucault's "archaeology" belongs to art and the creation of art. Foucault typically uses the analysis of works of art as a mirror to the epochal episteme—each episteme is limited by epochal thought and spans, in Foucault's case, that is, from the 16th to the 19th century—for explication in advance. However, this step of Foucault's, this gesture of his, cannot be called forward. This is more of a primary study of episteme in the field of art, since it seems that the system of signs, the codes in art are more clearly visible, the work of art is a representation of this network of signs. Thus, Foucault uses a work of art - a painting or a literary character from a literary work - as a model, a sample of an epistemological image,³ the background that a specific episteme, that is, a hidden system of order, represents.

The picture that Foucault showed through his studies of the process of transition from old times to new times, old times and new times, is much more important than it might seem at first glance. Why is it so important? Because it demonstrates, in fact, three fundamental conditions for Western discourse: 1. The old order; 2. The new order; 3. A very specific state of transition from old to new, the process, which has not yet been stabilized into a new order from the old, is a case of unique chaos. Foucault's special contribution is the discovery and analysis of the pre-state of the modern episteme, its transition, the process of creation. Practically, Foucault's discourse analysis is an overarching map for any major post-modern change, the so-called for constituent processes in politics.

³ Comp. Foucault's analysis of Velázquez's *The Menins and Don Quixote*. Foucault, Michel. *Les mot et les choses*. Éditions Gallimard, 1966. P. 20-31, 6-64.

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It seems that the logic of the political process organically reflects the epistemological situation, insofar as it is based on it and is governed by it. The definition of the signs of the political process, finding their real meaning becomes impossible without epistemological identification. If this is true, then Foucault's "character" is not only one of the moments of the discourse, but also its model, prototype. Therefore, Don Quixote is not only one of the cases with Foucault, but also marks the homology of episteme. Thus, the importance of character is not extended in Foucault's theory itself, although the necessity of this is revealed, in our opinion, based on Foucault's research. We think it is possible to fill this gap by invoking Deleuze and Guattari's concept of "conceptual character", so to speak - additionally.

In the book "What is Philosophy?", Deleuze and Guattari introduce the concept of conceptual character. ⁴Who is the concept character? Where does it come from? According to Deleuze and Guattari, every philosophy, in our case episteme, requires its conceptual character, and every conceptual character requires its philosophy. These two are practically inseparable from each other. Such conceptual characters are Plato's Socrates, Nietzsche's Zarathustra, Descartes' idiot and others.⁵ Deleuze and Guattari distinguish conceptual characters from "aesthetic figures"⁶, which are "phenomena" are composite models of the multiplicity of order, while the conceptual character is directly "the icon of the being-thought (Pensée-Etre), the noumenon"⁷. In the novel, in the work of art, there may be many aesthetic figures, but "only one original figure[s], like the unique sun in the cosmic constellation, as the origin of things, or as the beacon that reveals the hidden world from the gloom."⁸ Here, Deleuze and Guattari conceptualize the episteme as the subject, which corresponds to the essence of the character presented by Foucault. Thus, Foucault's character is, in fact, as fundamental, unique, original, and inclusive as the conceptual character of Deleuze and Guattari. Don Quixote is not just Don Quixote, but an episteme of the transition time, which already sees the signs of the world from its signs, because the world is no longer an open book for him, but a read book (his language) indicating the way to the world.⁹

Parliamentarianism as an epistemological phenomenon; From Foucault to Derrida.

If we separate ourselves from the structuralist approach and liberate parliamentarianism from the

schematic approach, seeing that the place of this process is uniquely in the parliament building, and we will restore the original process of parliamentarianism, as a political adventure of speech within the close interaction of speech and power, then we will face the epistemological basis.

What is this epistemological basis? For this we must invoke Derrida's critique of Foucault in the Descartes cogito section of his "History of Madness".¹⁰ Derrida's critique of Foucault's cogito takes him from the epochal boundaries of the history of madness to the Logos as such, to the origin of any thought, any philosophy. In a word, Derrida gives the critique of Foucault's era a transepocheal character, a transhistorical face. Derrida says: speech as the place of sense, and madness as senselessness, which has no place in the word and cannot have, is a characteristic not of any particular age, but of any age, it is the moment of every word and every thought, therefore of every thinker, for in the face of speech there is always speechlessness, and in the face of sense there is madness, as insensibility, which cannot speak without violence. Any attempt to speak madness into words and to hear madness from words is to do so by violence.¹¹

'This is why crisis or oblivion is not a matter of chance, but the fate of a speaking philosophy that cannot survive unless it locks in madness, [without it] he would die, as a thought, and still worse violence would occur, if every language did not at every step release its old madness by breaking into itself, into its present, into the light of day.

Only with this suppression of madness can finite thought, or history, flourish. Not by assigning it to any historical moment, but by extending this truth to general history, it could be said, that the kingdom of finite thought cannot be established without locking up, humiliating, fettering, and ridiculing the madman in us, of that madman who is always mad only for the Logos, as Father, as Lord, as King.¹²

Derrida expands the boundaries of Foucault's critique in general, it extends to the border of logos, and the realm of language to the political field. Violence is the new moment which, unlike Foucault, he outlines as universal. If Foucault's violence towards madness is institutional and related to a specific period, for Derrida violence is universal and political in a general sense. Thus, it is possible to turn from Derrida's paradigm back to Foucault when we move Derrida's violence into Foucault's epochal, periodical framework. Thus, in the study of the political

⁴ Deleuze, G. et Felix Guattari. Qu'est-ce que la philosophie? Paris: Les Éditions de Minuit, 1991. 3. Les personnages conceptuels. p. 60-81.

⁵ ibid p.60-65

⁶ ibid p.64

⁷ ibid

⁸ ibid

⁹Foucault, Michel. Les mot et les choses. Éditions Gallimard, 1966. p. 61-62.

¹⁰ Derrida, Jacques. L'écriture et la différence. Éditions du Seuil, 1967. Cogito et histoire de la folie. p. 51-97

¹¹ Ibid, p. 94

¹² Ibid, p. 94-95

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adventure of the word, we are given the opportunity to perform an epistemological analysis of both universal history and a specific stage.

Application of epistemological method for the research of Georgian parliamentarism

We show here the general possibility of the epistemological method, its resource for the study of Georgian parliamentarism, on a specific example, and most importantly, the relevance of this method. As an example, I take the Georgian political processes at the border of the Soviet and post-Soviet eras the formation of the national movement and the establishment of the Second Republic of Georgia.

The formation of the national movement began in the 50s of the 20th century and continued until the 80s. In this period, the political word, which is then institutionalized in the form of the body of state power, at the end of the 80s of the 20th century, is in a similar epistemological role, condition, topos, as Foucault's madness in the classical era - in relation to the mind. The validity of this analogy is confirmed not only from Foucault's point of view, but also from Derrida's (universal) point of view.

The political characters of the national movement of this era are all in the same epistemological role as Foucault's Don Quixote. This is a person whose language is against the existing language, who sees the environment as the area of realization of his signs. As with Foucault's Don Quixote, here too, the national movement (together with its members) performs the old simile game and establishes new relations.¹³ Like Don Quixote, the leaders of the national movement are not extravagant, but reactive to new similarities. They are the heroes of the same, the identity, as opposed to the previous figures damaged in the dissonance of signs; The regime in which they are currently still appears to them as an evil Don Quixote, and they see the old heroes - the Communists - as bad Don Quixotes. Some of them, notably, see themselves as knights of the holy mission, as Don Quixote saw himself... Like Don Quixote, the national movement (its politically victorious wing) does not seek to go beyond its "province", its homeland, but on the contrary, to make it the center of the world, of which it is the center.

Like Don Quixote, the winning wing of the national movement - the Round Table and its leader - Zviad Gamsakhurdia, the first president of Georgia, turns out to be a prisoner of the web of similarities and differences, in which he will never fully understand, and the more he cuts through this net, the more he becomes a victim of new and fatal obstacles. Like Don Quixote, Zviad Gamsakhurdia tries to separate signs from each other in their single meaning, to call things

by their real name and to set real action tasks, but the world in which Zviadia is, like the world of Don Quixote, is confused, and it also suffers the fate of Don Quixote: the fate of the victorious victim who returned to sanity before death. The violence, multifaceted and varied, ambiguous, ambiguous, from light to very severe, which manifests itself at this time, is like Don Quixote's violence. This is the violence in the world whose episteme gave rise to Don Quixote. This is a world of transition, an era of transitional discourse. Thus, Zviad Gamsakhurdia is not only a political figure, but also a conceptual character of the episteme of this era, like Foucault's Don Quixote, whose adventure shows us the contradictory history of the word, the history of a specific era, of a word that falls into the topos of madness, begins from there, outside the institutions, is pursued institutionally, and finally, himself embodies the institution, the highest political authority, the entire nation, the Logos, but which at the same time contains its madness, and incites, logically, all kinds of characteristic violence and destruction.

The fragment of the research, which we quoted above, shows that from the 50s to the 80s of the 20th century, the Georgian political episteme is a transitional stage of discourse. And it must be overcome, but in the future, we have seen that so far, this discourse has not been overcome. Thus, the new Georgian parliamentarism, from the Second Republic until today, is a prisoner of the same discourse, moves in the same episteme with Don Quixote-like adventures. All this shows us the need to overcome this episteme, which has acquired the form of a national discourse, in favor of the universal justice and equality, that is, the finally formed, modern discourse. For this, an in-depth analysis of the transitional discourse and the episteme underlying modern Georgian parliamentarism is needed, which is provided by the epistemological discourse.

CONCLUSION

In the article, we showed the importance of the epistemological method for the study of Georgian parliamentarism. In particular, according to Foucault's "Archaeology of Knowledge", we showed the importance of analyzing the political episteme on the example of the period from the 1950s to the 1980s. Foucault's method was enriched by Deleuze's and Guattari's notion of conceptual character and Derrida's criticism of Foucault's interpretation of the cogito, with the moment of expanding the area of archeology of knowledge to the universal level. As an example of a general analysis of the epistemological basis of the national movement, we showed the reality of the conceptual character of Don Quixote and the signs of

¹³ Foucault, Michel. Les mot et les choses. Éditions Gallimard, 1966. p. 60.

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the transition discourse, expressed in the political processes from the 50s to the 80s of the 20th century. We have shown the need to overcome the episteme of this period - from national power to the universal model of justice and equality, - to the modern discourse. In conclusion, it can be said that the use of the epistemological method is key to the research of

those political processes, which aim at the rejection of the old order and the establishment of a new order.

Thus, the use of the epistemological method is one of the keys to the research of Georgian parliamentarism.

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