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**The Political Organization of Space in the Political Theory of
Carl Schmitt**

Doctoral (PhD) Theses

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1. The topic and purpose of the thesis

The aim of my doctoral research project, conducted at the Doctoral School of Political Science of ELTE-ÁJK under the supervision of Em. Prof. Márton Szabó, DSc and Prof. Lajos Cs. Kiss, CSc, is to provide a reconstructive reading of Carl Schmitt's theories and concepts of the political organisation of space. This will be done within a discursive-interpretive conceptual framework based on his writings on the political organisation of space from the post-Weimar period. This approach is made possible by Schmitt's 'proto-discursive' conception, which locates the system of relations between man, space and the political in linguisticity, understood as the dimension of the generation and formation of political meaning.

In line with this aim, the dissertation employs a problem-centred, theory- and concept-oriented method of textual analysis. This analysis focuses on Schmitt's texts on the political organisation of space as a thematic unit of interpretation, as well as their external, intertextual and internal contexts of meaning. It also examines the rhetorical strategies and devices used by Schmitt. Thus, the thesis has a theoretical-synthesising intention with regard to Schmitt's theorising on the political organisation of space, which, by making visible the problem areas revealed by the contextualising analysis, can also facilitate further scholarly discourse aimed at deepening our understanding of Schmitt's oeuvre.

I hope to be able to enter into a dialogue with Schmitt's texts through my perceptions of problems, commentaries and compositional solutions, and thus to create a productive parallelism in the course of the investigation, which summarises and generates knowledge. In order to achieve this, in the process of reading I will strive to realise a real and concrete authorial presence on the level and in the semantic sphere of Schmitt's texts, which does not establish a relationship of subordination or superiority to the authorial texts. Rather, it offers the possibility of a synergistic interpretation that can be organically combined with them.

I see this as possible within the context of an interpretive position appropriate to the object of study, in accordance with the hermeneutic tradition, which does not follow a predetermined methodology of understanding based on an external point of view. Instead, it reconstructs the texts to be analysed through the medium of its own conceptuality, thus

recreating the object of its study. The thesis presented here aims to provide the reader with a theoretical-synthesising reconstructive reading based on these premises.

2. The primary sources of the research and their use

Due to the genre of the reconstructive theory- and problem-oriented textual analysis described above, the thesis is based primarily on two major corpus of texts by the author. On the one hand, the 'foundational' texts that constitute Schmit's conceptualisation of the of the political and the phenomenon of the state, namely *Der Begriff des Politischen* and its subsequent corollaries, as well as the smaller texts published in *Das Zeitalter der Neutralisierungen und Entpolitisierungen* and *Positionen und Begriffe, im Kampf mit Weimar-Genf-Versailles 1923-1939*. These texts were published in Hungarian in 2002 in a volume edited by Lajos Cs. Kiss, and have thus already been productively taken up and analysed in the Hungarian scholarly reception of Schmitt.

On the other hand, the dissertation is based on Schmitt's writings on the political organisation of space as primary sources, which have been analysed at a high level in the Hungarian reception of recent years in their partial references, but have not yet been treated in a comprehensive monographic form. The work is based primarily on the English critical editions, supplemented by valuable accompanying studies, which serve as important documents for basic research, and by detailed annotations, which point out the differences between the versions of the texts published at different times and in different political contexts. Most of these volumes have been published in the last two decades and serve as documents and milestones in the reception of Schmitt's work, which has been particularly intense in the field of international relations theory in the Anglo-Saxon world.

The question of rupture and continuity can also be raised in relation to Schmitt's works on the political organisation of space, which are referred to in the thesis or will be discussed in more detail. For these works, written in the different authorial periods of Schmitt's second major period after the Weimar era, display a diversity of genres that may come as a surprise even to a reader who is more familiar with Schmitt's work. As such, they vividly reflect Schmitt's wide-ranging personal interests, his cross-genre aesthetic and compositional sense,

as well as his experimental spirit and desire for stylistic renewal. They also document their author's efforts - always problematic in terms of his coexistence with successive regimes, especially because of his carefully guarded intellectual autonomy - to (re)integrate himself into the academic and public spheres under conditions of radical political discontinuity.

Thus, *Völkerrechtliche Großraumordnung* [1939] is both an academic lecture on the theory of international law and a political pamphlet on foreign policy, while *Die Raumrevolution* [1940] and *Beschleuniger wider Willen* [1942] are short geopolitical analyses published as popular educational propaganda texts, *Land und Meer* [1942] is a short book in the form of a tale, *Der Nomos der Erde* [1950] is a monumental scientific monograph, *Raum und Rom* [1951] is an etymological study, and *Gespräch über den neuen Raum* [1958] is a radio play in the form of a Platonic dialogue.

Nevertheless, the external referential context of these texts, which aim at the diagnosis and renewal of the spatial structures of international relations, their intertextuality, which Schmitt presents sometimes implicitly and sometimes explicitly, and their internal thematic correlations, make it not only possible, in my view, but desirable to analyse them as a single authorial corpus of texts within the framework of a thesis with a theoretical-synthesising intention.

This way of discussing the works also demonstrates that Schmitt's writings on the political organisation of space published during the national socialist and wartime period, and the post-war period of intellectual tabooing and criminalisation bridge the theoretical gap between the conceptualisation of the political and state phenomenon in the preceding Weimar period, and the historico-philosophical and techno-critical themes and problems that dominate his late writings.

These writings on the political organisation of space thus represent an important area of the oeuvre that explores and illuminates internal theoretical contexts, in contrast to the countervailing forces of taboo and silence. A meaning-oriented and theory-centred reception of these writings, which is not subject to (any kind of) current political use, is a challenging but unavoidable task for contemporary Hungarian Schmitt scholarship. This is due to the political context in which the writings were produced, the personal situation of their author, and the national-socialist semantic content that emerges in them. This dissertation, with its modest means, aims to contribute to this endeavour.

3. Ethical considerations in research

The understanding and interpretive intention of the dissertation is to provide a primarily non-biographical, but theory-oriented reading of the themes of the oeuvre under study. Accordingly, it does not aim at an external, psychologising or downright moralising, and thus inevitably politicising, assessment of Schmitt's personal political decisions, his resulting commitments and roles, and, along these dimensions, his personality. In contrast, in this dissertation I aim to offer a meaning-based theoretical reconstruction that respects the author's intentions and sheds light on the inner context of his texts. In doing so, I hope to provide a theory-based, contextualising explanation of Schmitt's role in providing a theoretical foundation for the fundamental critique of liberal parliamentarism and the Paris-Geneva peace system, as well as his role in the theorisation of the total state and the Grossraum order in the Nazi period. The analysis will be carried out directly at the level of the theoretical dimension to which Schmitt's own theorising and conceptualisation is directed.

This approach can serve as a guideline for an oeuvre-centred understanding that maintains an equal distance from both hagiographic and neutralising tendencies. These tendencies, despite their contradictory orientation, are subjective and value-laden, and thus not conducive to scholarly understanding. In contrast to these efforts, this thesis aims to provide a text-centred theoretical understanding along which the fatality and tragedy of Schmitt's role (or, as we shall see, his multiple roles) in theorising the National Socialist period can be more intensely revealed in the encounter between intellect, existence and concrete historical situation.

Two preliminary remarks should be made on this point. First, although Schmitt did indeed succumb to the "temptation" of historical acceleration, his ambition to lay the theoretical and conceptual foundations of National Socialist foreign policy and to define its main directions ultimately failed. For this area was declared taboo by the National Socialist party and state leadership as the prerogative of the Führer in the academic and mass public sphere in which Schmitt sought to exert his influence. On the other hand, as the exploratory analysis of the implicit critical content of his writings during the National Socialist period will show, Schmitt retained his intellectual independence and autonomy under the conditions of a

totalitarian dictatorship that posed a direct threat to his own person. Accordingly, despite the sharp shifts in the direction of Nazi foreign policy and his changing rhetorical strategies, Schmitt's own theorising and conceptualisation remained essentially coherent throughout the period, while he demonstrated an intellectual courage - perhaps not sufficiently recognised, consciously acknowledged and appreciated - along the implicit critical content of his works.

As a scholarly work, the dissertation, apart from clearly distancing itself from the anti-Judaic and anti-Semitic content of Schmitt's writings as a personal moral minimum, does not intend to take a stand for or against the Schmittian political polemics that emerge from the analysis of his works, and at the same time consciously refrains from using them for the purposes of contemporary politicisation, whatever their orientation. On the other hand, the author is guided by the intention and hope that Schmitt's theory, which fits into and consciously reflects our own Central European tradition of intellectual history and political theory, and is directly embedded in political theory and social science, can, by its inventive, synthesising and intellectually illuminating nature, provide us with a deeper understanding and awareness of our own contemporary situation in the field of scientific study of the phenomenon of the state and inter-state relations. It is perhaps worth comparing this reflection with Stanley Hoffmann's famous bon mot that the contemporary field of mainstream international relations theory is 'an American social science'.

4. The structure of the thesis, the main areas of research, the methods of analysis and their results

I.) The first chapter of the dissertation serves as a theoretical introduction and offers the possibility of a hermeneutic reading of Schmitt's Christian philosophy of history, which serves as the metaphysical foundation of his writings on the political organisation of space. Within this framework, the chapter examines Schmitt's interpretation of world history in relation to the three dimensions of classical hermeneutics identified by Richard E. Palmer: proclamation, explanation and translation, with the aim of interpreting Schmitt's philosophy of history as political hermeneutics. As explained in the chapter, this attempt is based on the

close interconnection and mutual referentiality between the linguistic, spatial and political present in Schmitt's theologically grounded reading of history.

The first chapter of the dissertation thus outlines the following three observations regarding the hermeneutic reading of Schmitt's philosophy of history, which form the basis for the more in-depth analysis.

a) As the chapter first shows, in Schmitt's Christian philosophy of history the text-centredness that characterises Christianity is interpreted in an extended way, as language-centredness. The focus is on a language that dynamically changes and expands in the process of erosions and transmissions of meaning in history, thus maintaining its referentiality to reality and its capacity for action. Accordingly, the message of the Absolute (understood as the metaphysical level of the meaning of history) becomes accessible, interpretable and mediable in the concrete and exceptional (linguistic) events of history as they unfold throughout its course, within the public-communal dimension of human existence. Schmitt's philosophy of history is thus manifested in the first dimension of meaning in hermeneutics, as identified by Palmer, in the public proclamation of the message (*kerygma*, κήρυγμα). This is expressed in the related effort to transmit and receive the message of history in order to make it contemporary and relevant to one's own being.

b) Second, as the chapter shows, Schmitt's philosophical engagement with history is directed towards a process of historical understanding through which he can uncover the essence of the historical actor as an object of knowledge that establishes the internal validity and coherence of his actions. This essence can then be expressed through linguistic representation, now in the form of a statement. Here we are confronted with truth revealed through language, that is, with the linguistic-hermeneutic analogy of theological revelation [apocalypse, ἀποκάλυψις], which is "the lifting of the veil". Schmitt's philosophy of history thus manifests itself in the second dimension of hermeneutics identified by Palmer, that of explanation, and is directed towards the construction of true statements about the essence of historical agents (and through them, about the meaning of historical existence itself).

Schmitt's philosophy of history follows this process of hermeneutic "comprehending cognition" precisely because its objects of knowledge are the specifically historical expressions of human existence. This comprehending cognition aims at revealing the essence that is the unique property of human communities acting in history, and in which

the truth and the driving force of their existence become apparent both to themselves and to other groups of people. In his writings, Schmitt refers to the essential truth articulated through the choices made by the decisive actors of history, the peoples and their elites, in exceptional historical situations, as the arcanum, a hidden truth that emerges in the specific and concrete historical situation.

This historical truth, understood as the situational and particular truth of the historical situation, is actualised in being by the "metaphysical" decision. The resulting objectified creation, the structure of meaning of the spatial order, is capable of encompassing and organising the previously antithetical relationship between transcendence (spirit) and immanence (life) into a single unit of meaning. It thus enables the individual to access and mediate the experience of the 'true' [das Wahre], which arises in the particular and concrete historical situations of each epoch.

c) As the chapter points out thirdly, in Schmitt's Christian philosophy of history transcendence and immanence (as potentialities) are always simultaneously present in historical events and phenomena. However, their simultaneous expansion in the historical time of the world and in the space of historical action does not eliminate their essentially different character. In the context of interpreting Schmitt's philosophy of history, the critical moment is of utmost importance. This is the moment when transcendence and immanence mutually interpenetrate each other and the inherent difference of their essence becomes unrecognisable (even if only temporarily, at the moment of decision) for the actors of the specific historical situation.

The term 'absolute' event, as a historical category, refers to a concrete historical situation that is analogous to creation out of nothing and requires a 'metaphysical' decision. This concept is incomprehensible to 'pure' historical understanding, which consciously dissociates itself from metaphysical images of history as subjective-situational meanings and formulates its own epistemological position precisely in opposition to them. For Schmit's Christian philosophy of history, however, it is this specific moment of the "concrete and unrepeatable singularity of the historical moment" that becomes decisive. In which the encounter of the immanent with the transcendent is realised through the intrusion of the Absolute into history.

Schmitt's Christian philosophy of history is a method of understanding that derives its value of insight precisely from its conscious transgression of boundaries. Its validity and adequacy, in contrast to 'pure' forms of historical and sociological knowledge, is based on Schmitt's insight that no event or series of events can be articulated as history unless it also traverses the path of metaphysics. Along the lines of associations of images, conceptual formulations and general attitudes to life that refer to the essence of history understood as a spiritual [Geistliche] meaning.

Schmittian philosophy of history thus emerges as a mode of understanding that grounds its own approach in historical situations of mutual transgression of the boundaries between immanence and transcendence. Its epistemological value is demonstrated through conscious transgressions between the systems of thought and conceptualisations of historiography, philosophy and theology. This course manifests the third dimension of meaning in hermeneutics, identified by Palmer as 'translation'.

The purpose of translation is to mediate between realisations in different, in principle equivalent, intellectual and life domains, in order to achieve mutual understanding and comprehension between them. In doing so, it also promotes a better self-understanding of the 'translator' as an interpreter who recreates the text and communicates it to others. This allows a philosophical understanding of history to penetrate the horizon of understanding of a past world, stylised as history from our contemporary perspective, and to reinterpret it in our own world of understanding and in our own contemporary language. By reclaiming our own historical consciousness, we can gain a clearer understanding of our contemporary intellectual and political situation and evaluate the possibilities for action it offers.

Accordingly, for Schmitt, an enabling language and an enabling philosophy of history mutually presuppose each other. This creates a common ground for a reading of history that can simultaneously grasp the historical significance of human action and through which human beings as historical agents can grasp the meaning and significance of history as it emerges in the context of the situation of decision.

II.) The second chapter of the dissertation presents a synthesising reconstruction of the theoretical context in which Schmitt's writings on the political organisation of space originated, based on a reading of *Der Begriff des Politischen* and its subsequent corollaries, as well as the smaller writings originally published in *Das Zeitalter der Neutralisierungen*

und Entpolitisierungen and Positionen und Begriffe, im Kampf mit Weimar-Genf-Versailles 1923-1939.

a) The analysis is guided by the observation made in the preceding chapter I, which discusses Schmitt's Christian philosophy of history as political hermeneutics. According to this interpretation, on the one hand the political, as something groundless from the point of view of the transcendent, can only justify the validity of its own distinction between friend and enemy indirectly, by experiencing and representing the spiritual-metaphysical truth in being. On the other hand, the spiritual-metaphysical, as something groundless from the point of view of the immanent, can only become a valid truth in the ontic sense indirectly, through the political, through the existential participation of historical agents.

The chapter expands on this statement and discusses, in the broader context of the theory of the state and the political organisation of space, the problem posed by the fact that liberalism, which succeeded Hobbesian absolutism in the administration of the state, separated the decision about spiritual-metaphysical truth and its material realisation from state politics and relegated it to the sphere of the individual's private beliefs and convictions. By neutralising the state in relation to the transcendent claim to truth, it becomes impossible to provide a non-tautological foundation and justification for political distinctions and the validity of state action based on them. Thus liberalism has depoliticised the state in its political aspect and desacralised it in its spiritual-metaphysical aspect, thereby eliminating its remaining metaphysical basis and preventing its re-grounding in metaphysics.

Following Schmitt, the chapter concludes that the liberal concept of a centreless, 'neutral and agnostic' state is based on the identification of the political with the state and the state with the political, and on the distinction between the statist political and the social, which is negatively described as something non-statist and non-political. On this basis, it also reconstructs the structural shift that occurs in the wake of mass democratic transformations, whereby state and society interpenetrate each other and the hitherto 'neutral' spheres cease to be 'neutral' in the sense of being non-statist and non-political. This dissolution of the neutral and agnostic state leads, according to Schmitt's interpretation, to the end of the age of classical statehood and of the classical interstate order itself.

b) As the chapter shows, this shift places Schmitt at the threshold of an era that marks the end of modernity. The historical challenge here is to transcend the 'neutral and agnostic' state

of liberalism as a means of redefining the contemporary phenomenon of the state and grounding it in the now recovered concept of the political. From the perspective of Schmitt's Christian philosophy of history, this liminal situation also presents itself as an opportunity to restore the unity that disintegrated in the early modern period, manifested in the possible bridging and overcoming of the rupture between the spiritual-metaphysical and the political.

However, the challenge of the mutual re-grounding of the political and the spiritual-metaphysical is not only expressed in nihilistic assumptions about the meaninglessness of historical understanding and a general resignation to the possibility of the continuation of history. In the context of a 'modernity after modernity', this challenge is compounded by the radicalism of free value propositions.

Within the framework of activist metaphysical systems articulated externally as modern philosophies of history, elites who see themselves as the vanguard of historical development no longer need to justify the validity of the political friend-enemy distinction through the actual experience and existential representation of spiritual-metaphysical truth as it manifests in concrete historical situations. However, replacing the experience of existential truth with one's own immanent ideological explanations of the world is problematic. For this leads to a purely self-referential decisionism that cannot provide a valid response to the challenges posed by exceptional historical situations.

This leads to a global intellectual (and potentially political) civil war between activist metaphysics representing mutually exclusive totalistic ideological worldviews. The conflict is over the unilateral yet universal determination of the further direction of historical development through the expropriation of the monopoly of world interpretation, which extends to all individuals and their collectives occupying the habitat of the earth. In his narrative of world history, Schmitt elevates three activist metaphysical convictions to the rank of spirit. These convictions embrace and mobilise the whole sphere of human existence, and enable a contemporary understanding of the situation of humanity and the world in different directions. From the 'Jewish spirit', which represents the denial of the metaphysics of Western Christianity in the theological sphere, to the 'Anglo-Saxon' spirit, which represents its denial in the economic-technological sphere, and finally to the 'Russian-Bolshevik' spirit, which represents its denial in the political sphere.

The challenge to which European humanity, conscious of the possibility of destruction, must respond, according to Schmitt, is the encounter and confrontation of these spirits in the concrete spiritual, intellectual and historical situation of his own time. In his view, at the end of the era of classical statehood and the *Ius Publicum Europaeum*, a Central European total state and a great space must be created that is capable of independently formulating and asserting its own order and orientation, a space that, by absorbing and relativising the group conflicts within it, is capable of excluding any form of external intervention in its own spatial order. Either by the oceanic world powers, which bear the Anglo-Saxon spirit, or by the continental monolith of Eurasia, which bears the Russian Bolshevik spirit. And at the same time, based on an understanding of the new realities of statehood and the inter-state system, it must be able to lay the foundations of a new international order, non-universalist in intent and non-normative in character, which will allow the relatively peaceful coexistence of the great spaces of the earth.

Schmitt's theoretical work is based on a research-based scientific approach to the contemporary world situation. However, it is important to note that his personal situation led to a temptation towards political acceleration in the form of radical politics. This context will also determine the problem context of his writings on the political organisation of space. During the subsequent period of National Socialism and the emerging Cold War, not only Schmitt's theorising but also his political rhetoric was directed towards solving this problem.

III.) The second major thematic section of the dissertation explores, through a summative-reconstructive reading of Schmitt's writings on the political organisation of space, four areas of inquiry that are crucial to the interrelationship between spatial existence, its political structures and its linguistic articulations. These areas of investigation, which follow logically from one another, articulate themselves as research questions and will also determine the further structure of the thesis itself, along the next four chapters of the thesis.

a) The first node of interpretation, discussed in the third chapter of the thesis, is to redefine the concept of order, which is a fundamental category in all theories of interstate relations. This concept determines the nature and functioning of interactions between states as a whole. Despite its centrality, however, the concept is not always clear. In the interstate space, where there is no central sovereign capable of enforcing norms, there is often a significant discrepancy between normativity and political practice. This is a theme that Schmitt explores

repeatedly in his critique of the Paris-Geneva peace system, as well as in a broader theoretical context.

To approach the core meaning of the concept of order, we can follow Schmitt's view that order is not only a relatively stable structural situation, but also an analytical category that describes both fixity and its absence. Conflict can therefore be understood as the transgression and extension of boundaries. Accordingly, liberal theories, which postulate order as harmonious institutional cooperation, posit conflict as its dysfunction, as a systemic failure to be eliminated, while the realist tradition sees it as a central domain of interstate existence under conditions of anarchy.

In contrast to these conceptions, Schmitt's concept of order sees conflict as an objective, structuring manifestation of the system of spatial relations between human communities. This distinctive feature derives from his political anthropology and the realism of his conceptualisations and theorisations of the mutual linguistic significations of political communities acting in concrete historical situations. As a result, studying order and conflict together can provide a more comprehensive understanding of their nature than studying them as separate, distinct concepts. Schmitt's concept of conflict therefore has epistemic and existential significance rather than intrinsic value. In a concrete historical situation, the distinction between friend and enemy reveals the fundamental characteristic of a spatial order and orientation that also determines the structure of interstate relations.

The internal logic of the political manifests itself in statehood as the organised, unified action of a homogeneous political community which, while aware of the impossibility of eliminating conflict, is able to delimit it. The concept of friend and enemy is thus spatially and semantically differentiated, on the one hand by separating the concepts of private and public enemy, thus distinguishing the administration of law and order from the foreign policy actions of the state, and on the other hand by differentiating between the absolute and relative concepts of enemy.

Schmitt's concept of the *nomos* syncretises the correspondence between the political organisation of space and the normative order that prevails within it. The *nomos* refers to spatial order and orientation. The theoretical yield of the Schmittian approach is twofold: first, it eliminates the artificial distinction between the normative order inside and outside the nation-state, and second, it locates this normative order in the mutually interpenetrating

dimension of spatiality and communal meaning-making. Schmitt describes the concept as a fundamental sequence of processes involving the occupation of land, its subsequent distribution and the production of goods. This process defines the relationship between the prevailing political, social and normative order in a given community and its spatial orientation. As a theoretical concept, the *nomos* is central to the political organisation of space and all other conceptions of space. It encompasses the meanings, separations and inclusions that exist within a given space. The *nomos* represents law, but not in the form of a written, abstract or codified text of norms. Rather, it is a dynamic spatial expression of sovereignty, representing the capacity to make decisions.

b) The second node of interpretation discussed in the third chapter of this thesis covers a complex set of issues central to the maintenance of inter-state order and the avoidance of global anarchy. It looks at how human communities assemble and separate, and construct their spatial identity structures of exclusion and inclusion. It also explores why conflicts between some communities escalate while others are contained. Finally, it asks which conflicts can take place within the framework of the existing inter-state order without fundamentally altering its characteristics, and which conflicts, having already disrupted this framework, entail the need to reconceptualise the existing order.

Traditional theories of international relations explain this problem area in terms of an interplay of psychological, sociological and economic determinants. While acknowledging the relevance of these approaches, a more productive reconstruction of the problem can be proposed by considering the historical-structural interpretation of space in the Schmittian perspective and its connection to the cultural-semantic dimensions emphasised in the conceptual history of Schmitt's student Reinhart Koselleck. Within this framework, it becomes clear that language, identity and culture do not obscure or confuse the reality of politics, but rather provide the meaningful reality to which all authentic understanding is directed. For it is from this direct relation to existence that authentic understanding derives its own concepts.

The reconstruction of Schmitt's analysis of the spatial-historical stages in the third chapter of the dissertation shows that the historical-spatial-structural dynamics that emerge along the dualism of the *nomos*, its external closure and internal openness, are inextricably linked to the linguistic-semantic mechanisms of community building and enemy formation. Schmitt identifies three stages of European consciousness: that of the mythical conception of space

that characterised the cultures of antiquity, that of the spatial order of the Christian Middle Ages, and finally that of the *Ius Publicum Europaeum*, which he sees as the first global *nomos* of the earth. According to the analysis presented in this chapter, these three conceptions of space correspond to the three structural characteristics of the asymmetrical counter-concepts described by Koselleck: the naturalisation of territorial differences, the temporalisation of counter-concepts, and the reference to humanity.

Accordingly, conflicts between political entities that exist in the same sphere of *nomos* and that only temporarily suspend the state of peace are considered blunt conflicts. In these conflicts, the opposing parties regard each other as *justus hostis*, that is, as essentially non-different entities. By acknowledging their coexistence in a shared political, social, and normative spatial order, they contribute to the maintenance of the internal order of the *nomos*. Beyond the sphere of the common order and orientation (i.e. the Greco-Roman civilisation, then the *Respublica Christiana*, finally the sovereign European nation-states) lies the Hobbesian state of nature, the terrain of absolute hostility (i.e. the territory of the barbarians, then that of the non-Christians, finally that of the 'uncivilised' peoples), in which war takes the form of a veritable struggle for existence. Consequently, this conflict becomes total in a qualitative sense, undermining the political order of spatial organisation based on different interpretations of meaning, with the aim of eliminating and overcoming it.

IV.) In the fourth chapter, I analyse the practical aspects of Schmitt's research programme on historical structures and structural changes in interstate relations. Within this framework, after the collapse of the interstate structure of the Paris-Geneva peace system, Schmitt attempted to reposition international relations within a plural spatial order based on concrete power realities and thus capable of delimiting conflicts, on the basis of the concept of gross space. And through the historical realisation of meaningful political action on the basis of an event- and decision-centred pattern of interpretation that emerges from an authentic philosophical understanding of history, to reintroduce man into the meaningful medium of history. In the concrete historical situation and foreign policy practice of National Socialist Germany, this attempt was ultimately realised in a manner completely contrary to Schmitt's intention, leading to the elimination of continental Europe's political self-existence.

V.) Following the comprehensive and synthesising reconstruction of the external layers of meaning of Schmitt's writings on the political organisation of space presented in third and fourth chapters, the fifth chapter of the dissertation presents the possibility of a different,

internal rhetorical reading, which focuses on Schmitt's giving of meaning through literary representation. Accordingly, interpreting his geopolitical writings of the National Socialist period, it is demonstrated how Schmitt depicts and mobilises the theoretical-conceptual framework he developed in the process of narrative storytelling, at the level of language itself. In order to achieve a now emphatically political understanding and the generation of meaning for political purposes, directed towards the specific situation of his own time.

The medium of the above investigation is perhaps the least typical, but certainly the most personal of his works, *Land und Meer*, originally published in 1942. Taking the form of a tale told by Schmitt to his young daughter, *Anima*, the work combines philosophical reflection on history with an anti-British foreign policy pamphlet, presenting modern world history as a story of conflicts between different spatial consciousnesses. The purpose of the chapter is to provide an analytical account of Schmitt's polemical rhetorical strategies aimed at the image of man and the rhetorical devices he employs in their service. In this way, the dissertation explores the interpenetration and organic interconnection of language, space and the political in a new dimension and degree of emergence through the linguistic world of Schmitt's own literary work.

The theoretical analytical framework of the chapter, which justifies the use of the discursive-interpretive approach, is based on Schmitt's conceptualisation of the self-definition and self-formation of the political community in political spatial structures as an interpretative performance. That is, as an authentic self-representation that, through the linguistic production of meaning, creates a correspondence between its world-historical situation and the specific structure of contemporary historical space and time.

Schmitt's narrative explores the different human responses to the challenge of filling and experiencing historical space and time. These responses take the form of existential decisions that lead to the emergence of two opposing modes of being and spatial consciousness. The choice of the sea over the land, or vice versa, leads to a duplication and mutual unrecognisability of the image of man. The decision is set in the early modern transition of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In Schmitt's theory of modernity, this period marks the fundamental separation between the transcendent and the immanent. It also gave rise to the modern concept of the political, which aimed to bridge the gap between the two.

By examining the different interpretative performances of the characters in the narrative, the chapter traces the genealogy of the confrontation between land and sea powers in modern history in terms of changes in historical-spatial consciousness. In the process, Schmitt repeatedly reflects on the world situation of his own time. The confrontation between National Socialist Germany, which aspired to continental hegemony, and its Anglo-Saxon enemies, who dominated the world's oceans, as it was unfolding in the ongoing Second World War.

VI.) Finally, the sixth chapter of the dissertation, which constitutes a theoretical summary, analyses the problem of spatiality and the political, starting from a dialogical reading of the previously reconstructed Schmittian theory of the political organisation of space and contemporary critical geopolitics, discussed in terms of their political theoretical aspects.

The two approaches, which, in addition to their conceptual synchronicities, also show strong asynchronicities, share the same ambition: to develop an alternative theoretical framework for the study of the political organisation of space that is more directly aligned with the perspectives and concepts of the political and social sciences than the geographically deterministic approach of classical geopolitics, which has had a significant impact on foreign policy strategic planning up to the present day. The practical relevance of this endeavour is implied by the epistemological crisis of classical geopolitics as a standpoint for interpreting reality, as analysed in this chapter.

The analytical framework used in this chapter is based on a theoretical localisation of a basic, common conceptual ground on which scholars of the political organisation of space operate and to which they relate their findings. The reconstruction of this common conceptual ground along the lines of Edward Soja's Thirdspace model of space serves as a point of departure for a broader theoretical dialogue on the problems and possibilities of the scientific study of the political organisation of space, bridging the fragmentation of geopolitical approaches and providing a common ground for a more general theoretical dialogue.

The analysis aims to identify common areas of interpretation and problems in order to create a synchronicity of thought and a productive dialogue between classical geopolitics, Schmittian theory and contemporary critical efforts in the field of international relations. By comparing these approaches, Schmitt's theoretical inventions will also emerge with clearer contours. These contributions cannot simply be ignored by other approaches because of their

enduring value for the exploratory analysis of the contemporary field of the political organisation of space. As theorisations and conceptualisations that represent a challenge and a provocation that at the very least demands a proper theoretical confrontation instead of the procedures of silencing and tabooing that are still practised today.

As the chapter will show in a detailed and contextualised way, these contributions of Schmitt can be summarised as follows:

First, he shifted the focus of analysis of the political organisation of space to the participatory perspective of human communities (whom he portrayed as both actors and interpreters), whereby space is now understood as a construct of meaning shaped by language. Secondly, by recognising the inherently political nature of space as a mediating medium for inter-group interaction and meaning-making, he managed to re-politicise the naturalistic-deterministic view of classical geopolitics. Third, by linking the cultural-semantic dimension of linguistic distinctions with the structural dimensions of the political organisation of space, he recognised and emphasised the role that spatial antagonisms, both linguistically grounded and articulated through language, play in the formation of political identities and structures.

Schmitt's contributions thus enhance the epistemological and practical value of the geopolitical vision by including in the analysis the socio-cultural context and the processes of meaning-making in communal existence.

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