


TRANSFORMATION OF NATIONAL POLITICAL ELITES IN THE ERA OF GLOBALIZATION: SOCIO-ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL-LEGAL ANALYSIS


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ABSTRACT

The authors analyze the mutual influence of the processes of globalization of the socio-political, financial-economic and state-legal development of national societies and states and the development of national political elites. The paper identifies the main problems that are generated by the transformation of national political elites under the influence of globalization processes, as well as their impact on the prospects for the preservation and development of national societies and states, including in terms of preserving the national and state sovereignty, independence, and territorial integrity of individual states, respect, protection of the rights, freedoms and legitimate interests of their citizens. The paper substantiates a system of proposals for improving national legislation in terms of organizing and exercising people's control over national political elites so that their activities are aimed, on the one hand, at the preservation and development of national societies and states, and on the other hand, at optimal implementation of system of rights, freedoms and legal interests of a person and a citizen.

Keywords: Globalization. State sovereignty. People. Global constitutionalism. Power.

Transformação das elites políticas nacionais na era da globalização: análise socioeconômica e político-jurídica

Transformación de las élites políticas nacionales en la era de la globalización: análisis socioeconómico y político-legal

RESUMO

Os autores analisam a influência mútua dos processos de globalização do desenvolvimento sócio-político, econômico-financeiro e jurídico-estatal das sociedades e dos Estados nacionais e do desenvolvimento das elites políticas nacionais. O artigo identifica os principais problemas que são gerados pela transformação das elites políticas nacionais sob a influência dos processos de globalização, bem como seus impactos nas perspectivas de preservação e desenvolvimento das sociedades e dos Estados nacionais, inclusive em termos de preservação do Estado e das sociedades nacionais. soberania estatal, independência e integridade territorial de Estados individuais, respeito, proteção dos direitos, liberdades e interesses legítimos de seus cidadãos. O documento consubstancia um sistema de propostas para melhorar a legislação nacional em termos de organização e exercício do controle popular sobre as elites políticas nacionais, de forma que suas atividades visem, por um lado, a preservação e o desenvolvimento das sociedades e estados nacionais e, por outro lado. Por outro lado, na implementação ideal do sistema de direitos, liberdades e interesses jurídicos de uma pessoa e de um cidadão.

Palavras-chave: Globalização. Soberania do Estado. Pessoas. Constitucionalismo global. Poder.

RESUMEN

Los autores analizan la influencia mutua de los procesos de globalización del desarrollo sociopolítico, financiero-económico y estatal-legal de las sociedades y estados nacionales y el desarrollo de las élites políticas nacionales. El artículo identifica los principales problemas que genera la transformación de las élites políticas nacionales bajo la influencia de los procesos de globalización, así como su impacto en las perspectivas de preservación y desarrollo de las sociedades y estados nacionales, incluso en términos de preservación de la economía nacional y social. soberanía estatal, independencia e integridad territorial de los estados individuales, respeto, protección de los derechos, liberdades e intereses legítimos de sus ciudadanos. El documento fundamenta un sistema de propuestas para mejorar la legislación nacional en términos de organizar y ejercer el control del pueblo sobre las élites políticas nacionales de manera que sus actividades estén dirigidas, por un lado, a la preservación y desarrollo de las sociedades y estados nacionales, y por el otro. Por otra parte, en la implementación óptima del sistema de derechos, liberdades e intereses legales de una persona y un ciudadano.

Palabras-clave: Globalización. Soberanía del Estado. Personas. Constitucionalismo global. Poder.

INTRODUCTION

The problem of the formation and functioning of elites has been the subject of scientific analysis for a long time, both by outstanding authors of the Renaissance, such as N. Machiavelli (2005), and scientists of later historical eras, for example, supporters of classical theories of elites and popularizers of the research of the institute of elites N.Ya. Danilevsky (2015), G. Mosca (2011), V. Pareto (1896-1897), R. Michels (1915), P.A. Sorokin (2005), prominent representatives of the theory of instinctism V. McDougall (1916), G. Le Bon (1894), supporters of the civilizational approach A. J. Toynbee (2012), L.N. Gumilyov (1974), as well as H. D. Lasswell (1935), H. Ortega y Gacette (2002), T. Dye (1990), S. A. Avakyan (2019, 18-21), and many others. In turn, the scientific works of R. Robertson (1992, 8), J. L. Dunoff and J. P. Trachtman (2009, 1-31), J. M. Pureza (2012), M. Kumm (2017, 1-11), G. A. Vasilevich (2019, 85-92), S. A. Kalinin (2020, 14-23), J. Zalesny (2019, 129-142), J. Havercroft (2018, 1-13; 2020, 1-6), K. S. Levichev (2021) are of great importance in the study of the processes of globalization of the socio-political, state-legal and financial-economic development of modern society and states.

However, the share of modern research dealing with the analysis of the mutual influence of the processes of the rapid globalization of national societies and the transformation of national political elites is extremely small. In this regard, it seems relevant to analyze the main directions of transformation of national political elites in the era of globalization in order to determine the limits of stability of national societies and states and the prospects for their further preservation and development in the future.

METHODOLOGY

This article in the process of cognition of state-legal and social and philosophical phenomena were used: a) general scientific methods (formal-logical, systemic, structural-functional, concrete-historical); b) general logical methods of theoretical analysis (analysis, synthesis, generalization, comparison, abstraction, analogy, modeling, etc.); c) private scientific methods (technical and legal analysis, specification, interpretation, etc.) (ZALESNY et al., 2019, 51-61; MOROS & GONCHAROV, 2020, 114-128; ZALESNY & GONCHAROV, 2020a, 1-4; ZALESNY & GONCHAROV, 2020b, 1-10; KROTOV et al., 2020, 3521-3526).

MAIN PART

The concept of the national political elite, derived from the more general concepts of "nation" and "elite", has been actively used in the scientific and educational conceptual apparatus, as well as in regulatory documents, for a long time, since the 19th century (ASHIN, 2021, 1; GONCHAROV, 2016, 3-5). The term "elite", which is etymologically rooted in the Latin concept "eligere" (to choose) and the French "elite" (best, selected), was originally used in trade to denote the exceptional quality of goods offered, primarily in international trade. However, since the beginning of the capitalist era, this term has spread in politics and public relations to refer to special, most qualitative groups of the population (for example, selected military units). And only in the century before last, this concept began to be used everywhere: in biology, agriculture, chemistry, medicine, etc. In a sociological interpretation, this term was first enshrined in Great Britain in the Oxford Dictionary of 1823 to denote the upper classes of the kingdom, opposed to the bulk of the population (OXFORD, 1823, 189).

In the scientific literature, there is no unified approach to defining the concept of elite. Thus, the authors distinguish various institutionalizing features that make it possible to classify individuals or their groups as elite: the highest level of competence (PARETO, 1896-1897); political activity and organization (MOSCA, 2011); high social status and the ability to influence the direction of social development (DUPRAT, 1923); the presence of power (LASSWELL, 1935; ETZIONI, 2005; DYE, 1990; SANISTEBAN, 1992); intellectual or moral superiority over the masses (BODIN, 1576); a tendency to realize responsibility for the fate of society (ORTEGA Y GACETTE, 2002); functional social relevance (KELLER, 1991); divine providence (Freund, 1965); personal political charisma (WEBER, 1971); endowed with creative talents (TOYNBEE, 2012); creativity and popularity among the masses (LEVICHEV, 2021, 90-91). At the same time, all these approaches in defining the concept of the elite have one thing in common: in them the elite, as a part of society, differing from the rest by some criteria, is opposed to the general mass of the population, devoid of these qualities. In our opinion, in the understanding of the term elite, an important role is played by the socio-economic formation of the society and the state in which we are going to identify the elite.

If we are talking about a classless society in socialist states (although we question the complete absence of political classes in real and existing socialist states) (Goncharov et al., 2020a, 93-106), then the elite should include representatives of society whose moral - ethical and professional qualities and achievements are the standard for the formation of a model of behavior and personal development as a person for other members of socialist society. In a socialist classless society, belonging to the elite is not an objective reality that is inherent in

a particular person from birth, due to belonging to a particular family, nationality, political class or social stratum, etc., it is the result of a conscious, purposeful human activity, his inner psychological work on oneself, through which a free personality is formed, who is aware of responsibility for his own destiny, as well as the future of his family, his people and state.

If we are talking about those socio-economic formations in which there is one or another form of exploitation of person by person, then, without a doubt, representatives of the class (or classes) of exploiters in a given society should be referred to the category of the elite (for example, in a capitalist society it is, first of all, representatives of the political class of the bourgeoisie). In this regard, the concept of an elite in a slave-owning, feudal and bourgeois society is identical with the concept of the political elite, since the elite is predominantly (or exclusively) represented by representatives of the ruling political class. This does not mean that the ruling political class cannot mobilize or recruit representatives of other political classes with the necessary qualities and characteristics into the ranks of the elite, but in this case, as a rule, specific people are transferred from one political class to another (for example, actors, who come from the families of the proletariat, who have become popular in bourgeois cinema and have earned significant financial fortunes, invest them in financial projects, real estate, business, becoming representatives of the bourgeoisie).

In turn, the term national political elite was fixed in the scientific and educational literature as the concept of the nation was popularized in the definition of certain state-legal and socio-political processes. At the same time, in the scientific literature there are several approaches to defining the concept of "nation": as an abstract political rather than an ethnocultural group (PAUL, 1996, 34); as a community of personally strangers (JAMES, 2006); as a fully mobilized or institutionalized ethnic group (ELLER, 1997); as an imaginary society (Anderson, 1983); as a group of the population united by a single language, a common worldview, living together in a certain territory (GONCHAROV & CHIMITOVA, 2020, 86-95), etc. Thus, the national political elite should be understood as a political elite that identifies itself with a certain state and nation living on its territory. As the processes of globalization of socio-political, state-legal and financial-economic development of national societies and states grow, the transformation of national political elites takes place both in individual states of our time and in the world as a whole. These transformations proceed in the following directions.

Firstly, as the social concepts of neoliberalism and neoconservatism that dominated in the Western world converge, the ontological identity is washed out of them and a new dominant interpretation of social reality is formed in the form of global constitutionalism, which should be understood as a system of knowledge of a socio-philosophical and political-legal nature, based on the fundamental global democratic values regarding the need to organize interstate, state and public life on a planetary scale in accordance with the ideological basis of the modern stage of development of capitalism in the world by minimizing negative consequences in its development by exporting costs from the center (core) to the periphery of the world capitalist system (GONCHAROV et al., 2020b, 78-90), there was a final isolation of a part of the national political elite in each state (both in the countries of the core of the world capitalist system and states of its periphery), and the formation of a single global governing elite on their basis. At the same time, the global governing elite, although it is based on representatives of a part of the national political elite, acquires a number of features that significantly distinguish it from the latter. In particular, during the formation of a global governing elite, there is a leveling of all kinds of individualizing signs of national political elites. Its representatives no longer pay special attention to religious, national, and ethnic characteristics when they incorporate representatives of national political elites into the global governing elite.

At the same time, the global management elite includes a number of interrelated and interdependent segments: owners and top management of transnational corporations; top management of international governmental and non-governmental organizations; certain groups of national political elites. Secondly, despite the formation of a global governing elite, contradictory processes are taking place in the system of relations between national political elites and the global governing elite. On the one hand, some of the national political elites are becoming more and more isolated and are losing the need to identify themselves with the indigenous state, their place of origin, feeling themselves "global people". On the other hand, some of the national political elites oppose themselves to the global governing elite, not wanting to recognize its priority in determining the directions of development of national societies and states.

These differences are the result of the contradictory development of capitalist relations in the countries of both the core and the periphery of the world capitalist system. The basic basis of the global governing elite is transnational financial capital, which has gained dominant influence since the end of the 20th century. A certain opposition to it is provided by the extremely weakened by the beginning of the 21st century, the industrial

segment of the world bourgeoisie, tending to support certain elements of state sovereignty due to the fact that it is based on industrial assets, objectively tied to certain territories, which are impossible (in contrast to the assets of financial capital) instantly move in space and which, in principle, are tied to certain spatial territories.

A somewhat ambiguous position is occupied by a growing segment of the world bourgeoisie such as the capital of social platforms, which over the past decade has grown from an insignificant appendage of financial capital in the amount of 1-2% of its volume (according to capitalization estimates) to values comparable to half of the volume of financial capital (LEVICHEV, 2021, 111-112). At the same time, the capital of social platforms in the era of the COVID-19 pandemic is the only one who has increased its capitalization at a rapid pace. In addition, a huge volume is acquired by the cryptocurrency market, which is not derived from the financial market, but, in many respects, from the capital of social platforms. The volume of only one cryptocurrency prism approaches 1 trillion US dollars (at the beginning of 2021) (LEVICHEV, 2021, 130).

J. Biden's coming to power in the US presidential elections, who is more a supporter of further globalization of processes in the world, was largely due to the fact that he was supported by the capital of social platforms. There was a merger of the capital of social platforms and some elements of e-government (the segment of the executive branch responsible for the consolidated control and distribution of material wealth in society) (KISILEVA, 2018, 61-69).

Thirdly, the processes of globalization have significantly changed the composition of the national political elites (moreover, both in the countries of peripheral capitalism and in the states of the core of the world capitalist system). In particular, the collapse of the Soviet regime in the USSR, the countries of the Council of Mutual Economic Assistance, and the Warsaw Pact countries reshaped the national political elites in these states. In contrast to the consequences of the Great October Socialist Revolution, when there was a complete change of national political elites with their partial destruction, de-sovietization only partially renewed the national political elites. At the same time, most of the party and economic nomenclature, especially the second level, as well as at the level of regions and union republics, were integrated into the new national political elites of free democratic states, or formed their basis. At the same time, representatives of the big and middle bourgeoisie, parts of the leadership of the criminals, which are rapidly growing together with the bourgeoisie, the top of the power structures, as well as the elite part of the intelligentsia, especially from among the media, cultural and art workers, entered the composition of the national political elites. In turn, formed a new national political elite in the countries that form the core of the world capitalist system (to a greater extent it affected the US because of rapid capital growth social platforms, based in the USA, less so in the Great Britain, which is famous for its conservatism in transformation of elites). First of all, this has led, on the one hand, to an increase in the number of representatives of national political elites, and, on the other hand, to their universalization and unification in the cultural, ethnic, national and religious context.

Fourthly, the processes of globalization have led to the consolidation of national political elites under the leadership of a global governing elite. At the same time, all segments of the national political elites in individual states were consolidated, both supporters of the global governing elite and its opponents. These, at first glance, contradictory processes, however, have a completely natural explanation. The crisis of the world capitalist system, temporarily weakened by the collapse of the socialist countries and the rapid decommunization of China, is gaining momentum again. In this regard, the threat of new socialist revolutions, which was indirectly evidenced by the temporary "dissociation" of most Latin American countries, demanded the consolidation of national political elites in order to achieve the main goal of such a consolidation - the preservation and development of the world capitalist system (as the most optimal social - economic formation, which allows you to preserve power and property in the hands of the global governing elite and national governing elites, represented by the global and national governing classes represented by the bourgeoisie, as well as allied social and political strata in society).

Fifthly, the processes of globalization in the world have initiated another important direction in the transformation of national political elites - the universalization of their socio-political views. In addition, among the national elites, the religious, ethnic and other characteristics of its individual representatives are being leveled. The pragmatic aspect is acquiring priority importance - the significance and importance of certain representatives in the preservation and development of the world capitalist system.

CONCLUSION

It seems that these transformations of national political elites lead to a number of negative consequences in the

development of national societies and states.

- Firstly, national political elites will continue to lose sovereignty over the global governing elite, becoming its regional appendage.
- Secondly, the national political elites will increasingly distance themselves from the bulk of the population of their states, which will rapidly become impoverished.
- Thirdly, the need to preserve and develop the world capitalist system will induce the global governing elite to forcefully shed the costs in its development to the countries of peripheral capitalism, which will lead to the curtailment of most of the social rights and freedoms of citizens of developing countries. However, these processes will not escape the countries of developed capitalism. We are already witnessing, under the pretext of preventing and combating the COVID-19 pandemic, the curtailment and transformation of a significant number of socio-political rights and freedoms of citizens won by workers over several centuries.
- Fourthly, among the national political elite, the segment of the state-oriented political elite will decrease due to the increase in the national segment of the global governing elite.
- Fifthly, massive changes in the demographic and migration situation in Europe and North America will lead to a serious ethnic, national, religious and cultural transformation of the composition of the national political elites, primarily in Europe and North America.

From the point of view of the peoples living in separate states, these consequences threaten the possibility of preserving and developing not only national societies and states, but also humanity as a whole. In this regard, at the level of national states, it is necessary to initiate the consolidation of a number of principles in national legislation that will allow adjusting the activities of national political elites in terms of ensuring the preservation and development of both individual national societies and states, and humanity as a whole.

- Firstly, preventing the curtailment and abolition of socio-political, socio-economic, religious and other human and civil rights and freedoms at the level of national states, as well as in UN documents, under any objective or far-fetched pretexts, for example, under the pretext of constitutional modernization (MASLOVSKAYA, 2020, 46-52).
- Secondly, the prevention of the incorporation into the system of fundamental human values, as well as human rights and freedoms, mythical, lacking socio-historical prerequisites, and sometimes destructive for society, institutions (for example, "the rights and freedoms of LGBT people").
- Thirdly, the preservation and development of society, as well as the institutions of the family, motherhood, and childhood, is consolidated as the main priority in the activities of the national political elites.
- Fourthly, creating conditions for the preservation and development of national societies and states, popular sovereignty, state integrity, independence and territorial integrity.
- Fifthly, preventing the consolidation of the priority of international legislation over the national legal system in terms of determining the directions of development of national societies and states.

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