

Современная наука и инновации.
2023. № 2(42). С. 254-265
Modern Science and Innovations.
2023; 2(42):254-265

Павел Леонидович Карабущенко
[Pavel L.Karabushenko]

ДИСКУССИОННЫЕ СТАТЬИ /
DISCUSSION PAPERS

Реквием по элите:
конец индустриального господства

Обзорная статья / Review article

Requiem for an elite: the end of industrial
domination

УДК 347.77

DOI: 10.37493/2307-910X.2023.2.28

Астраханский государственный университет им. В.Н. Татищева,
Центр стратегических исследований Евразии, г. Астрахань, Россия /
Astrakhan State University named after V.N. Tatishchev,
Centre for Strategic Studies of Eurasia, Astrakhan, Russia, pavel_karabushenko@mail.ru

Аннотация. Системный кризис современной западной цивилизации особенно виден на примере профессионального состояния ее правящего политического класса, который с завидным постоянством выдает отрицательную селекцию элит. Профессиональная компетенция власти катастрофически снижается с каждым новым ее поколением. Именно этот маркер является самым важным критерием кризиса и деградации того, что В. Парето и Г. Моска называли элитой. История уже фактически исполняет по этой элите свой финальный реквием. Поток критики в адрес существующей ныне политической элиты свидетельствует о ее глубочайшем профессиональном кризисе. Критикуется сама система элит и критика эта приобретает все больше системный характер. Сегодня мы действительно являемся свидетелями самого настоящего реквиема по элите индустриального типа. Её господство берется под сомнение не только политологами, но и уже отдельными политиками.

Ключевые слова: элита, кризис, индустриализм и постиндустриализм, олигархия и меритократия, карнавальная политическая культура

Для цитирования: Карабущенко П. Л. Реквием по элите: конец индустриального господства // Современная наука и инновации. 2023. №2 (42). С. 254-265. <https://doi.org/10.37493/2307-910X.2023.2.28>

Abstract. The systemic crisis of modern Western civilisation is particularly evident in the professional condition of its ruling political class, which has produced a negative selection of elites with enviable consistency. The professional competence of the ruling class declines disastrously with each new generation. This marker is the most important criterion of crisis and degradation of what V. Pareto and G. Mosca called the elite. Actually, history is already performing its final requiem for this elite. The stream of criticism to the existing political elite testifies to its deepest professional crisis. The system of elites itself is being criticized and this criticism is becoming more and more systematic. Today we are indeed witnessing a veritable requiem for the industrial-type elite. Its supremacy is questioned not only by political scientists, but also by some politicians.

Key words: elite, crisis, industrialism and post-industrialism, oligarchy and meritocracy, carnival political culture

For citation: Karabushchenko P. L. Requiem for the Elite: The End of Industrial Domination // Modern Science and Innovations. 2023;2(42):254-265. <https://doi.org/10.37493/2307-910X.2023.2.28>

The most criticized is the so-called. carnival behavior of politicians. Politicians have finally lost their sense of shame and gone beyond morality. An unscrupulous politician is a monster. And many were afraid and ashamed of such a "beast in power." Machiavelli tore off the veil of modesty,

showing who the politician really is, devoid of morality and out of the power of its laws. Cases are known when political leaders engage in frank self-disclosure. They are no longer embarrassed by the discrepancy between reality and the world they invented.

Introduction ("Introitus"). Scholarly criticism of the elites really resembles a funeral oratorio. An objective assessment of reality and conclusions are made not in favor of the prosperity of the elites and their well-being. Increasingly, the crisis of the elites is considered in the context of the "decline of Europe" formula (O. Spengler). The elites in their historical development have indeed reached a certain limit, beyond which they do not see any horizon of their development. The elites stopped in their development, because the industrial age has completely exhausted itself, and the transition to post-industrialism means the rejection of the elites from most of their previous achievements, the main of which is the oligarchic system of relations worked out to perfection (Absolute).

The elites entered an era of stagnation, reached a level of calm (peace – *requies*), after which their complete degradation is already beginning. Destructive practices only accelerate their disintegration, turning all their previous achievements into hidden vices and shortcomings. It is high time for political elitology to begin the memorial mass for the dead ("Requiem aeternam dona eis, Domine" - "Give them eternal rest, Lord"). Proceeding from this, we must define the crisis of modern elites *as the object* of this study, and as a *subject*, we should name criticism of its elite quality.

Evaluating the present work as a requiem for the elite, we intend to adhere to the canons of the classical requiem in its structure (*introitus, kyrie, graduale, tractus, sequentia, offertorium, etc.*), thus transferring some of the laws of music into the methodological basis of elitology. What modern elitology lacks is musical harmony and logic. The following trivium will serve as *the methodological basis of the work* - dialectics, hermeneutics, comparative studies.

In the elitist sense, "requiem" can also be understood as the absence of any positive changes for the better among the elite, as the achievement of its final point of development, some kind of historical peace. In science, this is scholasticism; in the politics of the elites, this is stagnation and degradation. It is these destructive qualities of the elite that are increasingly being written about in political literature.

Under the community of modern elites, we will further understand the elites on both sides of the Atlantic Ocean and Russia, which joined them. Such unity is due to the total literature we used (USA, Great Britain, France, Germany, Russia), presented in the bibliography of this work.

Jericho blindness ("Kyrie eleison"). The elites understand "kyrie" as a statement of their own *chosenness*, granting them the right to *avoid punishment* (in this they see their *salvation, the preservation* of their privileged status and security - *protection*). But at the same time, they deny others *salvation, mercy, and alms*. They never became "lovable" (worthy of love and respect) to their societies. The justifications given by the elites for their destructive practices turn out to be incomprehensible to society. One should not expect repentance from the elites at all. They still remain Jericho blind, to whom no one pays any attention.

From a philistine point of view, such elites perform incomprehensible actions. You can often hear that "power plays tricks." And here we must again turn to the classical requiem, where from the hymn "Kyrie eleison" comes the Russian word "kurolesit" (ordinary parishioners did not understand Greek chants pronounced hastily - "kuroles" became synonymous with nonsense). Indeed, the irrational, that which cannot be assessed by hermeneutics, is intensifying in modern elites. Elites are becoming more and more "dark" for understanding. And here the formula of Heraclitus (who was also considered by everyone to be a "dark" philosopher) applies. Recall that the teaching of Heraclitus himself was usually said to be so deep and unusual that it "needs a deep diver" (David. *Commentary on Porphyry's "Introduction"*, CAG 18, 2). The very style of his speech stimulated the interlocutor's intense mental activity, since Heraclitus preferred to speak in riddles: he "left us to guess [about the meaning of his words], without bothering to make his speech clear to us" (Plotinus, IV, 8 [6], I, 8 H.-S.). That is why contemporaries called Heraclitus "Dark", "because

he reasoned too darkly about the nature of things" (Cicero. *On the limits of good and evil*, II, 15; *Lucretius*, I, 638 ff.) [18].

Impunity, just like irresponsibility, has become the norm for the ruling Western elites, especially the Anglo-Saxon geopolitical systems. Not a single American politician guilty of unleashing hostilities in Yugoslavia (1999), Afghanistan (2001), Iraq (2003), Libya (2011) or Syria (2012) has suffered the deserved punishment. They are outside the power of action of the court, outside the framework of any tribunal. Moreover, even the court of conscience is not terrible for them, because the national interests of America are above all. They are also the moral justification for the sin committed in her name. It turns out that the elites are those who can effectively avoid punishment and responsibility.

Everyday books of political elitology (graduale). The literary body of political elitology now already has a specialized library. Elitological literature (graduale – everyday book) is the analysis of the elite embodied in the text. At the same time, we must understand that the elite that exists in reality and the elite that exists on paper are often different subjects of modern history. In recent years, we will not find with you a single apologetic monograph in which the virtues of the elites would be extolled. The elite are extremely reluctant to talk about themselves, but write about themselves very skillfully.

The memoirs of the British Prime Minister T. Blair [28] and the transcript of G. Kohl's speeches [43] tell how politicians can be trusted. How politicians like to praise themselves can be judged from the books of D. Bush [29], and how they can talk nonsense - from the recordings of F. Hollande's speeches [32]. D. Trump, [31] and Paul Craig Roberts [37], and Chris Hayes [35], and Udo wrote about the crisis of the elites in their time. Ulfskotte [42]. We also have works on how national elites can degrade and then return to the top geopolitical league [39, 33, 2].

The interest of Russian elitologists is the subject of the quality of professional training of elite personnel, the criteria for the competence of elites and their leaders, the degree of responsibility of the authorities to society, the moral aspects of domination and subordination [24, 25, 26], as well as the history and culture of the development of national elitological thought [23, 7, 22]. In addition, the Russian elitological school has worked out the issue of the history and theory of political elitology quite seriously [10, 1, 15]. A separate topic in recent years has become the topic of political carnival and the steady degradation of the professional competence of modern elites [11, 14, 20]. And as an example, these changes in the quality of American elite communities are given [21, 12].

To what extent does the criticism of modern elites reflect its crisis state? The answer to this question rests on the fact that today the criticism that is heard from all sides has not yet acquired a systemic character. In other words, it is still fragmentary. However, the presence of grateful repentance of individual political leaders strengthens its positions and makes it an obligatory element of any elitist research. For the first time we have the opportunity to see the self-disclosure of the elites, at the moment of changing the axiological paradigms of industrialism to post-industrialism.

In general, we must admit that modern political elitology has very thoroughly studied *the context* of being of the ruling elites (cultural and historical background), explores the constantly updated *text* (documentary professional field of activity) of the elites, but still knows little about *the subtext* of power.

Ideological dogma (tractus). From an elitist point of view, "tractus" is the presence of certain ideological forms that give meaning to the existing power. The values professed by modern elites are conditionally divided into traditional and postmodernist. The sociocultural dispute between conservatism and liberalism was marked even by the geopolitical split of the elites of Western civilization into globalization and national projects.

Big politics, in which the world elites of the Western world we are describing and Russia that has joined them, is a "big play on words." This is an information sphere in which there are their ideological preferences, individual political ideas, texts of current current events. This is an area for the exchange of political formulas, which (according to the "Iron Lady") consist of 90% loud and

empty statements, misconceptions, stereotypes, superstitions and various kinds of fakes. A feature of the current political elites is that they have lost their bearings in the patterns of behavior familiar to the past, which no longer work.

In the professional sphere, the elites are busy exchanging the necessary political formulas, during which they identify themselves according to the principle of “ours” – “others” – “foreigners”. As a rule, these formulas are heard in the policy statements of the leaders, which determine the system of values that prevails for them. For example, the Munich speech of V.V. Putin [16] is in clear dissonance with B. Obama's regular speeches about the geopolitical superiority of the United States and their global dominance [3, 4].

The key issue of the elite is the problem of its credibility. The entire amount of fake information has been concentrated around modern elites. Elites, like a magnet, attract lies. Therefore, a clear problem of modern elite communities is the dominance of political rhetoric in them. It is increasingly difficult for politicians to hide behind the politics of political correctness (an idea that is clearly not in line with the politics they are pursuing). What they really think is sometimes sharply at odds with their official rhetoric. They try to speak in a neutral way to avoid any criticism. And this only reinforces the accusations of facelessness and dullness sounding in their direction. As a result, we see that classical personalism is generally excluded from the system of assessing the quality of political elites. And this is objective and fair, since there are almost no really real personalities left in the elites. Instead, we see a surrogate, a falsification by the elites of their elite dignity. Status once again triumphs over content. Postmodernism has completely corrupted and destroyed elite communities, washing out of them the last grains of elite dignity. Hopes for a “revolt of the elites” as a renaissance of elite quality are associated only with a meritocratic perspective.

Such practices only lose the credibility of the words with which politicians define their reality. Words lose their original meaning, becoming simulacra (simulacrum) in the hands of tricksters (trickster) and trolls (trolling) [27, 40, 38]. Restoring the trust of words is a task of paramount importance for today's elites. Without this, the elites will constantly catch society on “the lure of their lies.” By and large, modern elites are communities of trolls and tricksters.

Change of elites (“sequentia”). The most problematic issue of all elites at all times was the question of the legality (order) of the change of power. In the cycle of elites, the laws described by the classics of the theory of elite (Plato, Aristotle, Seneca), elites (G. Mosca, V. Pareto, R. Michels) and domestic elitology (G.K. Ashin, A.V. Ponedelkov, O. V. Gaman-Golutvina).

The issue of generational change and the preservation of continuity is one of the most acute issues in the history of elites. Ideally, the idea was expressed that the new generation should certainly be qualitatively better than its predecessor. What we see in practice today indicates a negative selection of elites and this is a general trend for the entire North Atlantic community of elites. The principle of inheritance of the best (lat. *sequentia*, *sequens* – sequence, next) has no effect. Modern elites have negative political genetics and negative selection.

According to A. Toynbee, the change of elites lies in the plane of the departure and return of the creative minority by the struggle of political generations. At the same time, it is the conflict that arises at the moment of transfer of power that allows elitologists to look into the eternally inaccessible (permanently closed) sphere of the subtextual existence of the elites and their leaders, to establish the truth of their innermost thoughts and desires. And in the conditions of late industrialism and early post-industrialism, there is only one such desire – how to preserve oligarchic privileges and at the same time learn how to effectively use meritocratic advantages.

The problem of privileges (“offertorium”). In the classic requiem, in the “offertorium” section, it is about the “gift”. In elitology, this problem has two sides: 1) the question of the legality of the privileges and exclusive rights that the elite has; 2) evaluation of social benefits brought by the elites themselves. Moreover, the elites are classified into those that put privileges in the first place and those for which the main thing is duty to society. Obviously, the gifts brought to the elites must correspond to the benefits they bring. In practice, this evidence is not obvious. The main discrepancy between the idea of the elite and its real state lies precisely in this discrepancy.

The history of the elites is the history of the best who managed to stand out from the good and establish his dominance over the public majority. The elite is a strong and organized minority against the backdrop of a weak and disorganized majority. Naturally, when this principle is violated, the elites are fragmented into badly managed superminorities. But the most dangerous thing in this case is the leakage from the elite (form) of elitism (content). Eliteness is characterized by a systematic increase in the quality of personality virtues. Therefore, the crisis of personalism now experienced by the elites indicates that a certain sum of gray (faceless) subjects has seized power in the elites themselves. There is a clear destruction of elite quality in the elites. Formally, they still remain elected, but they are not the best.

Glorification of the Elites ("Sanctus"). The essence of any elite is manifested in how it glorifies itself. At present, the Western elites and some who have joined them consider themselves the most advanced, the best and most powerful elites on a planetary scale. According to them, all other national elites of the world depend on their will and desire. They are the first to participate in the globalization project, trying to take the lead and be the pioneers in all new initiatives. At the same time, the status of such elites is sacralized, they are endowed with all the signs of holiness (infallibility, heralds of eternal truths, parents of new correct ideas).

In the elitological "sanctus" (holy, absolute, ideal), such categories as "best", "chosen" and "dominant" act as a fundamental triad. It is this triad that determines what is sacred for the elite. Moreover, the first two concepts provide the meaning and content of the latter. Today we see that the "best" does not at all give rise to the "chosen", and the latter does not bring domination (dominance) to its chosen ones. From the natural state, "sanctus" is increasingly becoming a far-fetched (fake) character. Especially in the glorification of the elites, official propaganda and PR technologies are zealous. This applies to both democratic and openly totalitarian regimes.

The subjects of elites are increasingly beginning to engage in an apology for their unsuccessful rule, diligently presenting themselves in their memoirs as a "victim" of some fatal circumstances [28, 29, 30]. In fact, they, as members of *the elite conspiracy against democracy*, are well aware that they did not play by the rules and now blame their more successful winners for the same [42]. At the same time, it is important for them to need to prove that their winner is a hundred times worse than themselves and that democracy has made a fatal historical mistake by making its choice not in their favor [44].

The principle of responsibility ("Agnus Dei"). There has not yet been such an elite in history that would not want to be sung "Hosanna in the highest!". At the same time, they most often refuse to take responsibility for the "sins of the world." And in this we see another negative side of the modern elite community.

Instead of being responsible for their own actions, these elites appoint a "scapegoat" instead of themselves, the demonization of which is the essence of their political activity. Lack of responsibility makes us hold a memorial service for the professionalism of the elites. Political science has long been celebrating a civil memorial service for the ruling elites, flooding the scientific space with critical articles about the degradation of the professional quality of the current ruling world elites. This is especially evident against the background of real mourning events for the departed political leaders, who have become a symbol of their time. The last such occasion was the mourning farewell to the ex-Chancellor of Germany (1982 - 1998) *Helmut Kohl* (1930 - 2017) in late June - early July 2017. **XX century. And this memorial service lasted from June 16 (the day of the death of the politician) until July 1 (the day of his burial).** It was G. Kohl in the book "Will. Protocols of Conversations with Kohl" [43] sharply criticized the current chancellor of the FRG, A. Merkel, inflicting a mortal blow on her political reputation. He actually accused her of bad upbringing and poor-quality professional education. In samurai Japan, after such a politician usually made himself "seppuku". Merkel is like water off a duck's back. To betray for the elite means to foresee. A. Merkel buried the entire policy of G. Kohl, despite the fact that he called her "my girl." The war of the German elites ("fathers and sons") ended in mutual insults and accusations of political incompetence. But what is important for us is that the politicians themselves (albeit with the prefix "ex") drew attention to the crisis in the quality of the elite in the elites.

Political leaders themselves multiply their notoriety. In 2014, François Hollande's former lover, Valerie Trierweiler, published the scandalous book *Thank You for This Moment* (*Merci pour ce moment*), which in sales of that year surpassed even such aimless as "Fifty Shades of Grey" [41]. In the book, a journalist offended by the French president spoke about some of the secrets of the Elysee Palace, which shocked the French public.

In the same unfortunate year for F. Hollande, French journalists Fabrice Lomma and Gerard Devey published the book "The President Should Not Talk About This" [32], in which the seventh president of the Fifth Republic (2012-2017) appears in a very unattractive light. The impartial assessments of the political class of France (politicians, judges, ministers, etc.) given then by the politician turned out to be the unpleasant truth that politicians had to hear about themselves from the first person of the state. The elite could not endure such an insult, and at the re-election of F. Olland, a bold cross of ostracism was put up. Interviewed by journalists, the president speaks frankly about the "rudeness and cynicism" of his predecessor at the Elysee Palace. His stream of revelations, recorded in the opus, provoked confusion and vacillation among his like-minded people. Even the most faithful of the most faithful reproached F. Hollande for the fact that the "keeper of the sacred fire" is supposed to be "restrained in his statements."

Gifts offered ("communio"). For elitology, it is important to know exactly what benefits a particular elite brings and what gifts (rewards) it demands to be rewarded for this. A feature of modern elites is that the benefits they bring are disproportionate to their needs and requirements - with minimal benefits, the elites seek to extract maximum benefits for themselves. Such a formula gives out the complex of dependency that has settled in them. Elites traditionally believe that society should automatically be grateful to them, just for the fact that they control them. But *the political Eucharist* (reverence, honor, respect) is increasingly turning out to be imaginary (fictitious), which means not salvation, but the historical death of the elite seduced by this lightness.

Elite communion is the return of the elite to universal human values, the main of which is conscience. Described by N. Machiavelli, the exit of elites from the norms of morality has turned from an exception (a temporary state) into a pattern. J. Habermas, a classic of German political philosophy, once wrote about a new kind of democracy based on ethics [19]. Only then will the elites achieve true respect for society when they reduce the use of N. Machiavelli's formula to the necessary minimum. The current immoralism of the elites, their commitment to the policy of double standards, makes their professional activities extremely cynical and hypocritical.

There is too little personalism in modern elites and a lot of declarative (PR -promised). Society is losing faith in the power of the values preached by the elites.

Side view ("antiphonarium"). Sounding in response to the claims of the elites to the recognition of their elected status, criticisms are increasingly beginning to concern their personal qualities (intellectual abilities and moral virtues). The most irreconcilable and consistent critic and enemy of the elites is egalitarianism (and anarchism in particular). The antiphon sounding from her side (antiphonarium - anti-glare) destroys all the illusions that the masses have ever harbored regarding their superiors.

At the beginning of the XXI century. increased internal criticism of political elites.

According to A. Toynbee's scheme, we observe the process of leaving the creative minority [17]. Indeed, the vast majority of modern researchers note a catastrophic decline in the creative abilities of elite subjects and the inability of their leaders to creatively rethink the current situation.

The problem of responding to the challenge of modernity ("responsorium"). How can the elites respond to the criticism leveled at them? The answer is obvious - they must answer with their words backed up by adequate deeds. The most important duty of the elites is to find an adequate response to the challenge of their historical time. And the main problem of our time is the transition from late industrialism to early post-industrialism. In other words, modern elites are responsible for the meritocratic project - the transformation of oligarchic elites into meritocratic ones. But it is precisely the response expected from the elite (*respondere* – to respond) that we do not hear today. Instead, we see how the elites are trying to slip us some far-fetched problems that they can easily cope with and declare their effectiveness and professional competence.

The elites, by the duty of their occupation, are obliged to answer for their historical epoch. But since they are not ready to bear responsibility for the transition from industrialism to post-industrialism, all their problems are only concentrated and systematized, which is fraught with a revolutionary explosion of the civilization they lead.

Motetus. Even at the end of the XIII century. French music theorist John de Grocayo (Johannes de Grocheio, Grocheo) noted that “motetus” is that part of the requiem that is performed for educated people and in general for those who are looking for sophistication in the arts. The motet should not be presented in the presence of the common people, who are incapable of appreciating its sophistication and enjoying listening to it. Therefore, “motetus” is the subtext of being an elite, carefully hidden from the public.

And the most important secret that the authorities carefully hide from their peoples is that democracy exists exclusively for elites alone. Even in the second half of the twentieth century. American political scientists found that the state policy in the United States reflects not the demand of the masses, but the interests of the ruling elite [5].

The best kept secret of today's elites is the failed elite test. The elite is just a form (status), while the elite is its qualitative content (a system of personal virtues that makes the subject the best and the chosen one, i.e., the elite). The discrepancy between form and content is the most hidden secret from the masses of the existence of modern political elites. This is the main elitist trouble.

* * *

An analysis of contemporary political literature indicates that the political class demonstrates persistent inadequacy, and the mental side of the political leadership suffers from anachronisms of caveman thinking. Such an elite is detrimental to the state of history. The elite is the wealth of history, the most important in terms of the importance of its attractions. The better the elite, the brighter the story. But with a frankly gray "elite" history ceases to look like history, and becomes a frank parody of politics. As a result, we get a political carnival and understand that we are dealing with a carnival political culture [9, 8, 13]. Negative selection of elites works. And it works very effectively and totally.

With our work, we wanted to show how non-traditional research methods can be applied. It became obvious to us that music and elitology should be united by common laws of harmony and logic. It is not for us to judge to what extent we managed to combine this in the present work. But experience suggests that we are on the right path of development ...

P. S.

In April 2023, disappointing news for the Pants came from across the ocean - the United States is threatened by an epidemic of clinical idiocy. The leading American non-profit research organization "RAND Corporation" (one of the recognized "brain trusts" of the United States, working for the money of the Pentagon) published a report, unprecedented in its revelation, " Could Dementia in the National security work force Create a security Threat? / Can dementia among homeland security personnel pose a security risk?", in which she delivered a cruel diagnosis-sentence to the American elite. IN The report noted in particular that in the United States, “persons who have or had security clearance could become a security risk if they develop dementia and unwittingly reveal state secrets” [34].

And the authors of the study believe “that an increasing number of employees who have passed the test, that is, employees who have or had access to classified documents, suffer or will suffer from senile dementia ... If these symptoms go unnoticed while the individual is responsible for protecting national security information, there is a risk that the information may be compromised. Therefore, it is possible that individuals who have security clearances and have dealt with classified material could become a security risk if they develop dementia” [34]. The point is that there are too many idiots among the advisers of leading American politicians. And then a legitimate question arises: whose advice do these politicians listen to? It turns out that the United States is actually run by crazy people. An epidemic of idiocy is driving the States crazy.

The stupidity of these people can lead to nuclear war...

ЛИТЕРАТУРА

1. Ашин Г. К. Элитология: история, теория, современность: монография. М.: МГИМО (У), 2010. 600 с.
2. Бжезинский, З. Стратегический взгляд: Америка и глобальный кризис / пер. с англ. М. Десятовой. М.: Астрель, 2012. 285 с.
3. Выступление Президента США Барака Обамы на Генеральной Ассамблее ООН. 30.09.2015. URL: <http://inosmi.ru/world/20150930/230544021.html>
4. Выступление президента Обамы на 71-й сессии Генеральной Ассамблеи ООН. 22.09.2016. URL: <http://inosmi.ru/politic/20160922/237901841.html>
5. Дай Т., Зиглер Х. Демократия для элиты: введение в американскую политику. М.: Юридическая литература, 1984. 318 с.
6. Ильин А.А. Политическое трикстерство в контексте коммуникативной политики // Вопросы элитологии. 2022. Т. 3, № 4. С. 26-36. <https://doi.org/10.46539/elit.v3i4.12>
7. История отечественной элитологической мысли. Энциклопедический словарь. 2-е издание, исправленное и дополненное / под ред. проф. А. Ю. Шутова, П. Л. Карабущенко, А.В. Понеделкова. Ростов-на-Дону: Издательство ЮРИУ РАНХиГС при Президенте РФ, 2016. 576с.
8. Карабущенко П. Л., Ильин А.А. Шуты и клоуны большой политики: политические элиты в свете карнавальной политической культуры: монография [электронное издание сетевого распространения]. М.: КДУ, Добросвет, 2022. 222 с. URL: <https://bookonline.ru/node/47976> ISBN 978-5-7913-1254-9 <https://doi.org/10.31453/kdu.ru.978-5-7913-1254-9-2022-222>
9. Карабущенко П.Л. Карнавальная политическая культура: монография. М.: ИНФРА-М, 2022. 596 с. ISBN 978-5-16-110230-5 <https://znanium.com/catalog/document?id=395290>
10. Крыштановская О. Анатомия российской элиты: монография. М.: Захаров, 2005. 384 с.
11. Лебедева И. В. Немецкий карнавал – политическая элита без цензуры // Вопросы элитологии. 2021. Т. 2, № 4. С. 85-97.
12. Лисянский И. Н. Карнавальная политическая культура США: элиты и лидеры в гротескном свете общественной критики // Вопросы элитологии. 2022. Т. 3, № 4. С. 52-64. <https://doi.org/10.46539/elit.v3i4.12>
13. Оськина О. И. Карнавальность как маркер современной девиантной политической культуры // Вопросы элитологии. 2022. Т. 3, № 2. С.114-128. <https://doi.org/10.46539/elit.v3i2.10>
14. Оськина О. И. Проблема доверия в политической культуре: от общественной поддержки до карнавальности // Вопросы элитологии. 2022. Т. 3, № 4. С.38-51. <https://doi.org/10.46539/elit.v3i4.12>
15. Понеделков А. В. Политическая наука в элитологическом измерении: монография. Ростов н/Д: СКАНС, 2010. 512 с.
16. Путин В.В. «Прошу на меня не сердиться» // Российская газета. № 4292. 10.02.2007.
17. Тойнби А.Д. Постигание истории. М.: Прогресс; Культура. 1996. 606 с.
18. Фрагменты ранних греческих философов: в 2 ч. М.: Наука, 1989. Ч. 1. 576 с.
19. Хабермас Ю. Демократия. Разум. Нравственность. М.: Academia, 1995. 252с.
20. Шебзухова Т. А. Политический исторический анекдот в системе карнавальной политической культуры // Вопросы элитологии. 2022. Т. 3, № 4. С. 13-25. <https://doi.org/10.46539/elit.v3i4.12>
21. Шишкина Д. А. Карнавальный характер современной американской администрации времен Д. Трампа и Д. Байдена // Вопросы элитологии. 2022. Т. 3, № 4. С. 65-79. <https://doi.org/10.46539/elit.v3i4.129>
22. Элитология культуры: российская культурная элита XX века: энциклопедический словарь / Ред. П. Л. Карабущенко. Астрахань: Астраханский университет, 2017. 412 с.

23. Элитология: энциклопедический словарь / Ред. П. Л. Карабущенко. М.: Экон-информ, 2013. 618 с.
24. Элитология России: современное состояние и перспективы развития: материалы Первого Всероссийского элитологического конгресса с международным участием, 7-8.10.2013 г. Ростов-на-Дону / Ред. В. В. Рудой. Ростов н/Д.: Изд-во ЮРИФ РАНХиГС, 2013. Т. 1. 928 с.; Т. 2. 832 с.; Т. 3. Донское книжное издательство. 420 с.
25. Элитология и стратегии развития современной России. Второй всероссийский элитологический конгресс с международным участием, 21-22.10.2016, Ростов-на-Дону / Ред. А.Ю. Шутов. Ростов-на-Дону: ЮРИУ РАНХиГС. 2016. Т. 1. 928 с.; 2017. Т. 2. 544 с.
26. Элиты и лидеры: стратегии формирования в современном университете: материалы международного конгресса. 19-22 апреля 2017 г. / Сост. П. Л. Карабущенко; Ред.: А. П. Лунева, П. Л. Карабущенко. Астрахань: Астраханский университет, 2017. 364 с.
27. Baudrillard Jean. Simulacres et Simulation. Paris: Éditions Galilée. 1981. 164 p. = Бодрийяр Ж. Симулякры и симуляция / пер. А. Качалова. М.: Постум, 2016. 240 с.
28. Blair T. A Journey: My Political life / Tony Blair. KNOPF Publishers, 2010. 320 p.
29. Bush, George Walker. Decision Points. 2010. «Virgin Books». 481 p. = Буш Д. Ключевое решение / пер. с англ. О. Акимовой, М. Козыревой, Е. Ганиевой. М.: ЗАО «ОЛМА Медиа Групп», 2011. 544 с.
30. Clinton Hillary Rodham. What Happened. N-Y.: Simon & Schuster, 2017.
31. Crippled America: How to Make America Great Again by Donald J. Trump. New York: Threshold Editions, 2015. 208 p.
32. Davet Gérard et Lhomme Fabrice. Un président ne devrait pas dire ça, 2014. 640 p.
33. Friedman George. The Next Decade: What the World Will Look Like. Doubleday, 2011. 243 p. = Фридман Дж. «Следующие 10 лет. 2011 - 2021». М.: Эксмо, 2011. 320 с.
34. Could Dementia in the National Security Workforce Create a Security Threat? By Kristie L. Gore, Samantha Cherney, Regina A. Shih, Richard S. Girven. – 28 p. April 2023. – URL: <https://www.rand.org/pubs/perspectives/PEA1779-1.html>
35. Hayes, Christopher. Twilight of the Elites: America After Meritocracy. Crown Publishing Group (NY), 2012. 304 p.
36. Lasch. Ch. The Revolt of the Elites and the Betrayal of Democracy / W. W. Norton & Company. New York-London, 1995. 276 p.
37. Paul Craig Roberts. How America was Lost. From 9/11 to the Police/Warfare State. Clarity Press, 2014. 465 p.
38. Phillips Whitney. This Is Why We Can't Have Nice Things. Mapping the Relationship between Online Trolling and Mainstream Culture. 2015. Wiley. 248 p. = Уитни Филипс. Трололо: Нельзя просто так взять и выпустить книгу про троллинг. М.: Альпина Паблишер, 2016. 300 с.
39. Talbott, Strobe. The Russia Hand: A Memoir of Presidential Diplomacy by Strobe Talbott (Author) Publisher: Random House Trade Paperbacks; (May 13, 2003) Paperback: 512 p. = Тэлботт С. Билл и Борис. Записки о президентской дипломатии. М.: Городец-издат, 2003. 528 с.
40. Tannen, R. S., The Female Trickster: PostModern and Post-Jungian Perspectives on Women in Contemporary Culture. New York: Routledge, 2007. 304 p.
41. Trierweiler Valerie. Merci pour ce moment. Les Arènes, 2014. 320 p.
42. Udo Ulfkotte, Gekaufte Journalisten: Wie Politiker, Geheimdienste und Hochfinanz Deutschlands Massenmedien. 2014. Issue 5. 336 p.
43. Vermächtnis – Die Kohl-Protokolle. By Heribert Schwan, Tilman Jens. Munich: Heyne Verlag, 2014. 256 p.
44. Wolff M. Fire and Fury: Inside the Trump White House. New York: Henry Holt and Co., 2018. 336 p.

REFERENCES

1. Ashin G. K. Ehlitologiya: istoriya, teoriya, sovremennost': monografiya. M.: MGIMO (U), 2010. 600 p.
2. Bzhezinskii Z. Strategicheskii vzglyad: Amerika i global'nyi krizis / per. s angl. M. Desyatovoi. M.: Astrel, 2012. 285 p.
3. Vystuplenie Prezidenta SSHA Baraka Obamy na General'noi Assamblee OON. 30.09.2015. URL: <http://inosmi.ru/world/20150930/230544021.html>
4. Vystuplenie prezidenta Obamy na 71-i sessii General'noi Assamblei OON. 22.09.2016. URL: <http://inosmi.ru/politic/20160922/237901841.html>
5. Dai T., Zigler X. Demokratiya dlya ehlity: vvedenie v amerikanskuyu politiku. M.: Yuridicheskaya literatura, 1984. 318 p.
6. Il'in A. A. Politicheskoe triksterstvo v kontekste kommunikativnoi politiki // Voprosy ehlitologii. 2022. T. 3, № 4. S. 26-36. <https://doi.org/10.46539/elit.v3i4.12>
7. Istoriya otechestvennoi ehlitologicheskoi mysli. Ehntsiklopedicheskii slovar'. 2-e izdanie, ispravlennoe i dopolnennoe / pod red. prof. A.YU. Shutova, P.L. Karabushchenko, A.V. Ponedelkova. Rostov-na-Donu: Izdatel'stvo YURIU RANKhIGS pri Prezidente RF, 2016. 576 p.
8. Karabushchenko P.L., Il'in A.A. Shuty i klouny bol'shoi politiki: politicheskie ehlity v svete karnaval'noi politicheskoi kul'tury: monografiya [ehlektronnoe izdanie setevogo rasprostraneniya]. M.: KDU, Dobrosvet, 2022. 222 s. URL: <https://bookonline.ru/node/47976> ISBN 978-5-7913-1254-9 <https://doi.org/10.31453/kdu.ru.978-5-7913-1254-9-2022-222>
9. Karabushchenko P. L. Karnaval'naya politicheskaya kul'tura: monografiya. M.: INFRA-M, 2022. 596 p. ISBN 978-5-16-110230-5 <https://znanium.com/catalog/document?id=395290>
10. Kryshtanovskaya O. Anatomiya rossiiskoi ehlity: monografiya. M.: Zakharov, 2005. 384s.
11. Lebedeva I. V. Nemetskii karnaval – politicheskaya ehlita bez tsenzury // Voprosy ehlitologii. 2021. T. 2, № 4. P. 85-97.
12. Lisyanskii I. N. Karnaval'naya politicheskaya kul'tura SSHA: ehlity i lidery v grotesknom svete obshchestvennoi kritiki // Voprosy ehlitologii. 2022. T. 3, № 4. P. 52-64. <https://doi.org/10.46539/elit.v3i4.12>
13. Os'kina O.I. Karnaval'nost' kak marker sovremennoi deviantnoi politicheskoi kul'tury // Voprosy ehlitologii. 2022. T. 3, № 2. P. 114-128. <https://doi.org/10.46539/elit.v3i2.10>
14. Os'kina O.I. Problema doveriya v politicheskoi kul'ture: ot obshchestvennoi podderzhki do karnaval'nosti // Voprosy ehlitologii. 2022. T. 3, № 4. P. 38-51. <https://doi.org/10.46539/elit.v3i4.12>
15. Ponedelkov A.V. Politicheskaya nauka v ehlitologicheskoi izmerenii: monografiya. Rostov n/D: SKANS, 2010. 512 p.
16. Putin V.V. «Proshu na menya ne serdit'sYA» // Rossiiskaya gazeta. № 4292. 10.02.2007.
17. Toinbi A.D. Postizhenie istorii. M.: Progress; Kul'tura. 1996. 606 p.
18. Fragmenty rannikh grecheskikh filosofov: v 2 ch. M.: Nauka, 1989. CH. 1. 576 p.
19. Khabermas YU. Demokratiya. Razum. Nравstvennost'. M.: Academia, 1995. 252 p.
20. Shebzukhova T.A. Politicheskii istoricheskii anekdot v sisteme karnaval'noi politicheskoi kul'tury // Voprosy ehlitologii. 2022. T. 3, № 4. P. 13-25. <https://doi.org/10.46539/elit.v3i4.12>
21. Shishkina D.A. Karnaval'nyi kharakter sovremennoi amerikanskoi administratsii vremen D. Trampa i D. Baidena // Voprosy ehlitologii. 2022. T. 3, № 4. P. 65-79. <https://doi.org/10.46539/elit.v3i4.129>
22. Ehlitologiya kul'tury: rossiiskaya kul'turnaya ehlita KHKH veka: ehntsiklopedicheskii slovar' / Ed. P. L. Karabushchenko. Astrakhan': Astrakhanskii universitet, 2017. 412 p.
23. Ehlitologiya: ehntsiklopedicheskii slovar' / Ed. P.L. Karabushchenko. M.: Ehkon-inform, 2013. 618 p.
24. Ehlitologiya Rossii: sovremennoe sostoyanie i perspektivy razvitiya: materialy Pervogo Vserossiiskogo ehlitologicheskogo kongressa s mezhdunarodnym uchastiem, 7-8.10.2013. Rostov-

- na-Donu / Ed. V.V. Rudoi. Rostov n/D.: Izd-vo YURIF RANKhIGS, 2013. T. 1. 928 s.; T. 2. 832 p.; T. 3. Donskoe knizhnoe izdatel'stvo. 420 p.
25. Ehlitologiya i strategii razvitiya sovremennoi Rossii. Vtoroi vserossiiskii ehlitologicheskii kongress s mezhdunarodnym uchastiem, 21-22.10.2016, Rostov-na-Donu, Ed. A.YU. Shutov. Rostov-na-Donu: YURIU RANKhIGS. 2016. T. 1. 928 p.; 2017. T. 2. 544 p.
26. Ehlity i lidery: strategii formirovaniya v sovremenном universitete: materialy mezhdunarodnogo kongressa. 19-22 aprelya 2017 g. / Writer P.L. Karabushchenko; Ed. A.P. Lunev, P.L. Karabushchenko. Astrakhan': Astrakhanskii universitet, 2017. 364 p.
27. Baudrillard Jean. Simulacres et Simulation. Paris: Éditions Galilée. 1981. 164 p. = Bodriyyar ZH. Simulyakry i simulyatsiya / transl. A. Kachalova. M.: Postum, 2016. 240 p.
28. Blair T. A Journey: My Political life / Tony Blair. KNOPF Publishers, 2010. 320 p.
29. Bush, George Walker. Decision Points. 2010. «Virgin Books». 481 p. = Bush D. Klyuchevoe reshenie / transl. O. Akimovoi, M. Kozyrevoi, E. Ganievoi. M.: ZAO «OLMA Media GrupP», 2011. 544 p.
30. Clinton Hillary Rodham. What Happenedl. N-Y.: Simon & Schuster, 2017.
31. Crippled America: How to Make America Great Again by Donald J. Trump. New York: Threshold Editions, 2015. 208 p.
32. Davet Gérard et Lhomme Fabrice. Un président ne devrait pas dire ça, 2014. 640 p.
33. Friedman George. The Next Decade: What the World Will Look Like. Doubleday, 2011. 243 r. = Fridman Dzh. «Sleduyushchie 10 let. 2011 - 2021». M.: Ehksmo, 2011. 320 p.
34. Could Dementia in the National Security Workforce Create a Security Threat? By Kristie L. Gore, Samantha Cherney, Regina A. Shih, Richard S. Girven. – 28 p. April 2023. URL: <https://www.rand.org/pubs/perspectives/PEA1779-1.html>
35. Hayes, Christopher. Twilight of the Elites: America After Meritocracy. Crown Publishing Group (NY), 2012. 304 p.
36. Lasch. Ch. The Revolt of the Elites and the Betrayal of Democracy / W. W. Norton & Company. New York-London, 1995. 276 p.
37. Paul Craig Roberts. How America was Lost. From 9/11 to the Police/Warfare State. Clarity Press, 2014. 465 p.
38. Phillips Whitney. This Is Why We Can't Have Nice Things. Mapping the Relationship between Online Trolling and Mainstream Culture. 2015. Wiley. 248 r. = Uitni Fillips. Trololo: Nel'z'ya prosto tak vzyat' i vypustit' knigu pro trolling. M.: Al'pina Pabliher, 2016. 300 p.
39. Talbott, Strobe. The Russia Hand: A Memoir of Presidential Diplomacy by Strobe Talbott (Author) Publisher: Random House Trade Paperbacks; (May 13, 2003) Paperback: 512 p. = Tehlbott S. Bill i Boris. Zapiski o prezidentskoi diplomatii. M.: Gorodets-izdat, 2003. 528 p.
40. Tannen, R.S., The Female Trickster: PostModern and Post-Jungian Perspectives on Women in Contemporary Culture. New York: Routledge, 2007. 304 p.
41. Trierweiler Valerie. Merci pour ce moment. Les Arènes, 2014. 320 p.
42. Udo Ulfkotte, Gekaufte Journalisten: Wie Politiker, Geheimdienste und Hochfinanz Deutschlands Massenmedien. 2014. Issue 5. 336 p.
43. Vermächtnis – Die Kohl-Protokolle. By Heribert Schwan, Tilman Jens. Munich: Heyne Verlag, 2014. 256 p.
44. Wolff M. Fire and Fury: Inside the Trump White House. New York. Henry Holt and Co., 2018. 336 p.

ОБ АВТОРЕ / ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Карабущенко Павел Леонидович - доктор философских наук, профессор, главный научный сотрудник (руководитель) Центра стратегических исследований Евразии, Астраханский государственный университет им. В.Н. Татищева, <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-2776-4089>, Pavel_karabushenko@mail.ru

Karabushenko Pavel Leonidovich - Doctor of Philosophy, Professor, Chief Researcher (Head), Centre for Strategic Studies of Eurasia, Astrakhan State University named after V.N. Tatishchev, <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-2776-4089>, Pavel_karabushenko@mail.ru

Дата поступления в редакцию: 12.03.2023

После рецензирования: 23.05.2023

Дата принятия к публикации: 13.06.2023