



ESJ Humanities

Charles Wright Mills' Concept of "The Power Elite" Triangle According to the Georgian Model of 1990-2020

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[Doi:10.19044/esj.2023.v19n26p52](https://doi.org/10.19044/esj.2023.v19n26p52)

Submitted: 15 February 2023

Accepted: 22 September 2023

Published: 30 September 2023

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Cite As:

Gamzardia A. (2023). *Charles Wright Mills' Concept of "The Power Elite" Triangle According to the Georgian Model of 1990-2020*. European Scientific Journal, ESJ, 19 (26), 52. <https://doi.org/10.19044/esj.2023.v19n26p52>

Abstract

The paper presents similarities and differences of Charles Wright Mills's concept of "The Power Elite" triangle on the Georgian model of 1990-2020. The article presents a research on the Georgian analogue of the Mills concept in the context of church power, army and, in general, force power, economic and financial elites. It is also about the promotion of the bourgeoisie in the American society and the factors of developed skills, which essentially differentiates the American existence from the Georgian existence. In the article, I discuss the conditions, which represent The Mills concept, on the example of Georgia, how the factor of church power differs, which in our case plays the role of essential influencing power, what was the condition of the rulers of Georgia over the years against the background of the confrontation between secular and clerical power elites, and what is the overall result we got today. The article provides a qualification that is derived from research and analysis. The article explains why financially powerful groups and individuals in political and governmental layers are getting stronger in Georgia, why citizens do not have the appropriate conditions for influence, what factors prevent the strengthening of civic influence in Georgia. In some cases, the Mills constructions, like the example of Georgia, even look paradoxical, declaring that the state is one, while creating a radically different reality and trend. The article studies the influence of the Apostolic Autocephalous Orthodox Church of Georgia on maintaining power in Georgia and its characteristics. There are highlighted Mills views about democracy resources,

context and content comparability, the factors impacting the bourgeoisie in the development and strengthening democracy, that is represented quite differently in Georgian model. The article discovers the theoretic factors that hinders the development of democratic values in Georgia - the historical and modern contexts of aristocracy and feudalism, superiority of church hierarchy in maintaining power, secular authorities longing for authoritarianism and mutual subordination of secular and clerical power elites with the weird synthesis of partnership.

Keywords: Power elite, Higher circles, Church., Army, Business, Government

Introduction

Charles Wright Mills, a 20th century sociologist and journalist (1916-1962), is considered the founder of the concept of sociological imagination. Mills' main area of interest is to study the meaning of connections between the daily life of the individual and social forces, to understand the content and function of society, to determine the meaning of modern life and social structure in historical context, etc. In terms of modern social theory and critical analysis, *The Power Elite* (1956) is considered one of his most important works.

According to Mills, ordinary people are surrounded by everyday concerns, but within the same circles they cannot avoid external influences that they neither understand nor are subject to. The structure of modern society forces them to serve the ideas of others. That is why they feel that in an era when they have no way to influence public life, they also have no opportunity to shape their own lives according to their own thoughts and desires. However, Mills, discussing the example of America, says that in this regard, not all people are ordinary people, some of them, by centralizing the means of information and political power, have reached a position in American society that allows them to enter the lives of ordinary people, making their own decisions, and have a significant impact on the daily lives of others (12).

In the context of informational power, the American sociologist and journalist Walter Lippmann (1889-1974) discusses the ideas created by people through the media. It remains beyond our vision or reach. Therefore, it is the mass media that help us to create a "credible picture" of this unattainable world (2). Moreover, the unavailability of the truth and, at the same time, people's perceptions are presented to a number of theorists as a factor according to which what seems to us to be true is often more influential than the actual truth. According to Lippman, "Until we know what others think they know, we cannot understand the true meaning of their actions," this passage from

Lippman tells theorists that "perceptions are far more influential than even objectively characterized reality" (2,166).

According to Mills, the power elite consists of people who occupy positions that allow them to rise above the human space and make decisions that have significant consequences. According to his explanation, the power elite does not consist of single ruling people. Their important ideas and decisions are those of their own consultants and opinion makers. Hardy Merriman also talks about consenting participation in power. He explains that "institutions, organizations, and systems depend on the continued consent, cooperation, and obedience of many ordinary people" (4, 2). Charles Mills singles out the so-called famous faces and states that although these famous faces do not stand at the top of any power hierarchy, they have the ability to divert the attention of the audience or to manipulate the masses in a way that favors those who are at the top of the power.

Mills explains that the most important hierarchical institutions of modern society, that is - state corporations, as well as the army - they form the instruments of power. Mills discusses the example of American society in the power elite and says that no church can influence the same dose as the military. Here the author emphasizes the implications for young modern Americans.

Charles Wright Mills views are very important to analyze the Georgian power elites, its theoretic constructs and content that is examined in the mentioned article. The aim of the paper is to study the context of Georgia in relation to the Millsian power triangle concept. The article explores the influence of the Apostolic Autocephalous Orthodox Church of Georgia on the army and other Millsian power triangle constructs in the context of the power characteristics. It investigates the clerical power and its influence rate on authorities.

The represented paper studies the political attitudes and relations of Georgian secular elite powers with the church elite powers, how it was revealed and why, was it a collaboration, contradiction or struggle for superior power after the restoration of the independence of Georgia.

The article examines the opportunities and factors of turning the Georgian Orthodox Church into the power elite, its historical and modern contexts, society formation conditions and roles in historical context regarding the resources, the military and economic aspects and the church elite power reciprocity in business and other modern formations.

Here is explored the possibilities of the impact of society groups, its consciousness and civic participation on power construction, the contributing and hindering factors, the state of democracy and barriers for its development. The article examines the state of power triangle in Georgia and its perspectives according to Charles Wright Mills.

Main Part

When discussing power, Charles Wright Mills also discusses the influence of the church, however, on the example of the American society, he assigns a smaller function to the influence of the church compared to the army. Before I present the discussion of the Mills model on the example of Georgia, I will touch a little on the Hatschek approach of the relationship between the church and the state. The German philosopher Julius Hatschek (1872-1926) distinguishes between the monarchical and modern democratic authors of the relationship between the church and the state. "This attitude in the monarchy, which is expressed either in the subordination of the church to the state or in the subordination of the church to the state, is something first, historically given, the heavy yoke of which was gradually eased due to the development of liberating ideals" (8, 124). In the context of the comparative analysis given below, this dilemma of Hatschek paradoxically manifests itself in modern Georgia, which has declared modern democratic aspirations, but by nature carries the content of monarchical attitudes between the church and the state. Hatschek emphasizes that in modern democracy, individual freedom of conscience and cult is predominant, and the relationship between the state and the church is represented by the protection of this freedom. "Freedom of religion becomes, in a sense, the center of all political activity, the fulcrum of all civil rights and liberties between the individual and the state. Therefore, of course, it is also the basis of relations between the church and the state" (8, 125). Julius Hatschek is against the state dominating any one church, so that the rights of citizens who do not belong to this church are protected, including in terms of financing and managing citizens' taxes. According to a German professor, "since taking the side of one church leads to its superiority over others and, in addition, to lying on the conscience of those who do not belong to it and pay taxes, therefore, in order to fully ensure the freedom of conscience and cult, it is necessary to separate the church from the state" (8,125).

Several variables, which are expressed according to the model of Julius Hatschek and Charles Mills, are mutually contradictory in the reality of modern Georgia. On the one hand, we have declared democratic aspirations - "Georgia is a democratic republic" (9), on the other hand, there is a constitutional agreement between the State of Georgia and the Apostolic Autocephalous Orthodox Church of Georgia, according to which the church and the state are separated from each other (10), however, Charles Mills In relation to the model where he notes that no church can influence as much as the military agency, the reality of Georgia is somehow inversely proportional. The Church (meaning the Apostolic Autocephalous Orthodox Church of Georgia) is considered to be the most influential institution in our country, the trust coefficients, the same ratings revolve around the Georgian Orthodox Church and are equal to, the rating of the Armed Forces of Georgia is ahead

of or slightly behind the rating of the church in society, despite the fact that in recent years in Georgia the rating of the Orthodox Church is falling, but it is still considered the main institution of influence on public opinion, which has significant trust.

For example, according to the research of the International Republican Institute (IRI), the rating of the church in Georgia for the last five years is as follows: trust in the church - 2022 - 92%, 2017 - 88% / 2018 - 89% / 2019 - 85% / 2020 - 85% / 2021 - 79 %. The rating of Catholicos-Patriarch of All Georgia Ilia II in 2021 was 89% (7). According to the trend and proportion, in many cases, the results of the National Democratic Institute (NDI) and CRRC-Georgia research show the same trend (6). It can be said that the church and the army have always been close to each other in sociological surveys, in terms of trust. They compete with each other the most. However, in our case, there is one peculiarity, the army and the church do not exist independently of each other, but coexist, it can be argued that the army is even somewhat subordinate to the church (the influence of the church on the army). It is interesting that Mikheil Saakashvili, who lost his personal rating significantly soon after becoming president (in addition to the polls and the protest processes against him, we can also take the election indicators as an official benchmark - he received 97% when he became president in 2004, and 53% in the early presidential elections in 2008), we can say that the president failed to replace the church's ranking and influence on society, at the same time he tried to increase the prestige of the armed forces to such an extent that, using the metaphor of the army, he created an increase in the ranking of secular institutions against the church in the state.

Due to insufficient results, the third president soon tries not to compete with the Church at the expense of increasing the rating of defense as a state institution, but reaches a kind of compromise and works on the policy of "winning the heart" of the Church. If we look carefully, in the same period of time, taking the period of 2008 as a sample, the relatively earlier period of November 2007 (the emphasis is on November 7 - A.G.), as well as the period of forced resignation in 2008 and the surrounding events, here it can be seen that President Saakashvili is trying to maintain power as a tool, not so much to use the institution of defense, but to find a solution to maintaining power in a compromise with the Church. In this period, the strengthening of the church with material resources by the state is particularly strong. A similar level of church support can be observed only years later, on the part of "Georgian Dream", parallel to the indirect confrontation with the church, although this is the subject and period of another study.

Parallel to Mills' view of church influences and to some extent opposite, the psychotype of Mikheil Saakashvili himself in relation to the church is interesting, as well as the psychotypes of independent Georgian

rulers and heads of state in relation to the church, especially in relation to Patriarch Ilia II, because he is considered the face and symbol of the Georgian Orthodox Church.

For example, Zviad Gamsakhurdia, who represented the society as a faithful ruler, he was a person directed against the church elite, his confrontations with Patriarch Ilia II are known. Eduard Shevardnadze, as an old communist, was a typical atheist, however, he was pragmatically connected with Patriarch Ilia II, who played a positive and outstanding role in the legitimization of Shevardnadze's government and the stability of this government until 2003. Shevardnadze was not a religious person, despite his baptism, he often addressed Patriarch Ilia II as Mr. Ilia. He viewed the patriarch as an equal, episodically partnered entity to whom he was not mystically bound. This factor, it can be said, had a significant impact on the Patriarch's attitude towards Shevardnadze, which can be considered one of the key aspects in the events of 2003, where Patriarch Ilia II gave preference to Saakashvili and played an indirect, but important role in the management of the events of the 2003 "Velvet" Revolution.

Mikheil Saakashvili tried to strengthen the church, on the one hand, (giving importance, providing material and technical resources), and, on the other hand, he fought against it (ideological, discrediting, etc.). It was done willingly - it means material support - aut.).

Mills states that the family, the church, and the school adapt to modern life, while the government, the military, and the corporation shape it. According to Charles Wright Mills, the fate of modern man depends not only on the family into which he is born or entered by marriage, but also on the corporation in which he spends his best years, not only on the school where he is brought up in childhood and thought, but also on the state that does not let him himself for the rest of his life; Not only on the church, where he hears the word of God, but also on the army, where he is trained (12).

This ranking of Mills is interesting for the analysis of the determination of the political strategy towards the church during the Saakashvili period. Saakashvili, on the one hand, tried to create a counterbalancing institution for the church (after he failed to act as a counterbalance and soon lost 97% support) in the form of the Georgian Defense Forces, however, due to his insufficient success, he was soon forced to switch to the strategy of "engaging instead of dragging" with the church. Saakashvili was not in equal or pragmatic communication with Patriarch Ilia II. In part, he attacked him not with his own statements or direct actions, but somehow with the hands of his supporters, their mouths and expressions (12).

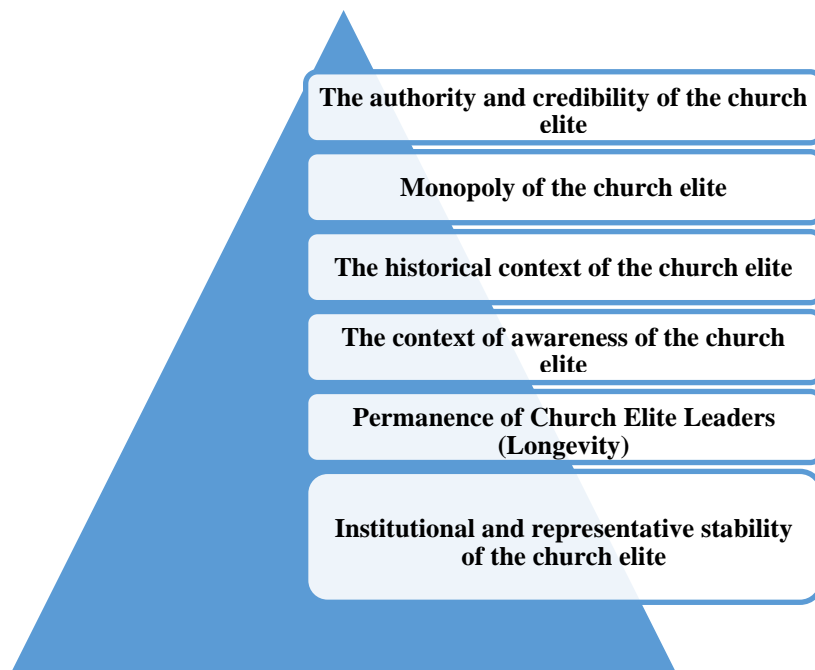
Giorgi Margvelashvili - as a non-executive president (as a result of the constitutional changes, Georgia moved to a semi-parliamentary, then to a parliamentary governance model, where the president was considered the head

of the country, although he had a symbolic function) did not give special importance to the church and its leader in official statements, for example, during the inauguration period, President Margvelashvili was not in an official marriage and considered the right to personal life, contrary to church expressions, to be an inviolable right. Margvelashvili was a judicious subject who faced the church and its leader with judgment and not so much with a mystical connection. Nevertheless, the patriarch soon managed to "tame" President Margvelashvili, instead of an interfering ideological opponent, Margvelashvili entered into more or less harmonious communication with the church hierarchs.

Salome Zurabishvili - the fifth president of Georgia, was also focused on judgment and evaluation for a while in the first years of the presidency and in the previous statements before the presidency, she came out with quite critical positions and opposed the agenda of the religious hierarchs, however, in the middle of the presidency, she also showed a harmonious, one might say, conformist attitude towards the church and its leadership. turned into a figure. Why should we consider the Georgian Orthodox Church as a new type of elite and how is power transferred to other centers of power? Can we say that the Orthodox Church in Georgia has become an independent center of power? - To determine this, I will refer to several main indicators, which, in my opinion, would give answers to these questions. I will list as indicators:

1. "Authority and credibility of the church elite".
2. „Monopoly of the church elite”.
3. „Historical context of the church elite.”
4. "Context of awareness of the church elite."
5. "Permanence (long-term) of church elite leaders."
6. "Persistence of the institutional and representativeness of the church elite."

See table 1.



The authority of the ecclesiastical elite, as mentioned above, is always high and has consistently solid **credibility**. The ecclesiastical elite, in the historical context, had a kind of **monopoly** of the visibility of the religious author. Although religious diversity exists historically in Georgia, Georgia has always been considered a "Christian" country, moreover, Orthodox Christianity was identified with ethnic and national identity, "Georgian" meant "Orthodox", while, apart from the fact that Georgia was a multi-ethnic country, its characteristic In terms of religious relations, ethnic Georgians were also characterized by religious diversity (for example, in Meskheta there are still many Catholic villages where Georgians live, and many Georgians in Adjara believe in Islam, etc.). Despite this, Georgianness is still equated with Orthodoxy (however, in recent years, we can consider the number of non-Christian Georgians relatively increased, however, not enough). This process also has its own **historical context**, the majority of Georgian monarchs were closely connected with the Orthodox Christian Church.¹

Two more indicators are important for modern Georgia in the context of the power of the church elite and its formation as a center with power, it is the permanence of the church elite, the longevity of the religious leaders and the stability of the institutional and representativeness of the church elite. Among them, it is important that from 1977 to 2022, the Georgian Church is ruled by Patriarch Ilia II, during whose church rule political historical eras, leaders, ruling parties changed, revolutions, etc. took place. However, a kind

of permanent and most stable support in unstable and often chaotic social relations was the Orthodox Church and its ruler.

¹ e.g. Even before the existence of the united Georgia, even during the Kurapalats, the clerical authorities could even direct the life of the king and nobles, e.g. In the life of Grigol Khandztel (8th century), an episode was found when Ashot Kurapalat, who was the monarch at that time, fell in love with a woman. Their relationship was unacceptable to Grigol Khandzteli, Grigol Khandzteli asked Kurapalat to divorce the woman, despite the promise, Kurapalat could not do it, after which Grigol Khandzteli himself came to the young woman and sent her to the monastery of Mere with St. Febronia. Such influence and authority of the clergy has always been high in relation to the secular authorities. We can find the influence of a clergyman in the 5th century in the "Shushanik Simplicity", where Yakob Khutsesi is the main actor along with Shushanik. Shushanik, after the change of faith by her spouse, confronts the choice of her spouse, due to which she is executed by torture. This is described in the 5th century work "Simplicity of Shushanik". In general, the history of Georgian literature until the Middle Ages existed in the genre of hagiography, which studied the historical and ecclesiastical aspects related to the lives of saints, God's speech and sainthood. Hagiographical works also often described the conversion of people of other faiths to Christianity and their persecution ("Torture of Abo", "Torture of the Nine Brothers from Kola"), **writing and literature** were the main guides of Georgian public relations for a long time, which had a special communication purpose for historical memory.

It can be said that secular authorities would not have been established in Georgia without church support, which increased the importance of striving for closeness with religious leaders for secular leaders.

We can present the relationship between the concept of the power of the church elite in the form of Table 2:

The power elite of the church

The permanence of the influence of the church elite

Historical context in governance

- Close connection with power
- Writing and public

Institutional and representative stability of the church elite.

- Stable power of the church elite
- Mainly sustainable power of the bishop

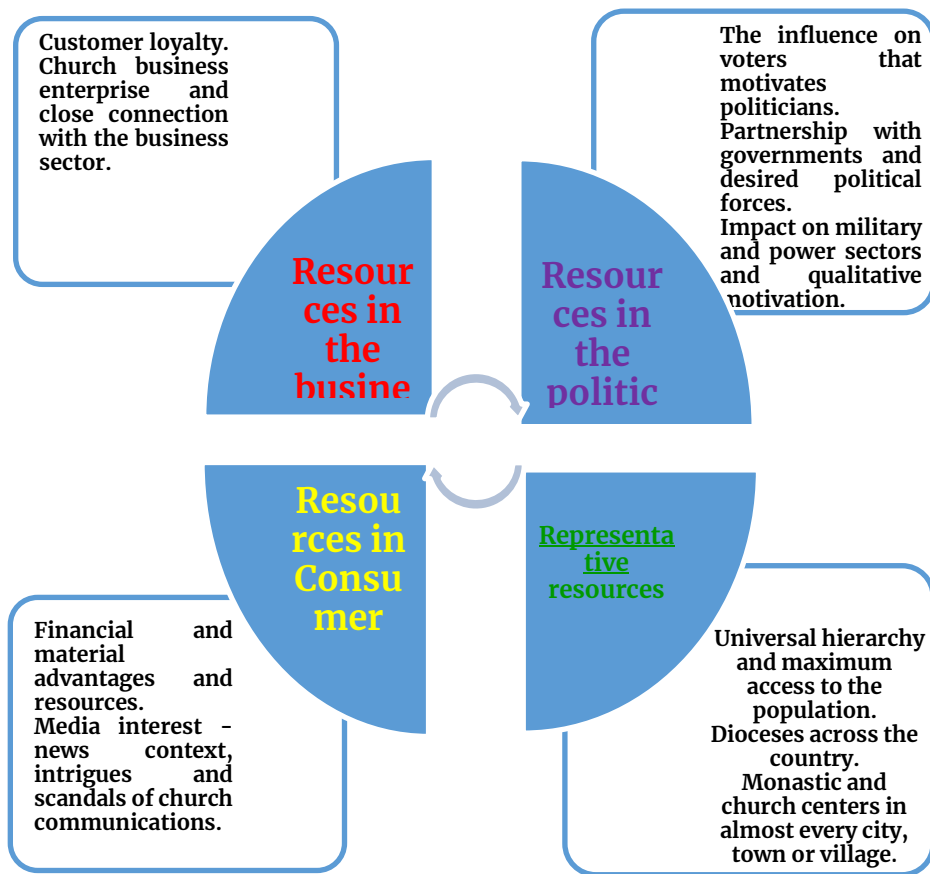
The authority of the church elite

Monopoly in relation to the religious compiler.

- Context of awareness.
- Distributed communication

What makes the Independent Church of Georgia a separate power elite today, apart from its historical concept? (presented in Table 2). The situation shows that there is an emphasis on such resource factors as:

- Resources in the business sector.
- Resources in the business sector.
- Resources in the military and political sphere.
- Resources in consumer marketing.
- Representative resources (branches - distribution - blueberry).
Conceptualization of resource factors is presented in Table 3.



By summarizing and interrelating the existing indicators, we can consider the Georgian Orthodox Church as a new type of elite and say that the Orthodox Church in Georgia has become an independent center of power, which makes the Millsian power triangle transformative in the context of Georgia due to its peculiarity.

Along with the ecclesiastical and defensive (military) influence, Charles Wright Mills discusses the economic factors, the fate of small and medium-sized businesses that have fallen under the power of large (giant) corporations. Mills explains this connection in terms of both administrative and political attitudes and relationships. Mills observes that the time has passed when there was economics on one side, and politics on the other, which included the military and had no influence on political or business life. Currently, there is an economy saturated with politics, which is connected to the power or military agencies by a thousand threads (12).

Mills points out that large corporations, as the main transmitters of directive decisions, are spillovers into different fields. According to his own

explanation, it was not always this way, when the public production was owned by many small producers. The theorist explains that political and military agencies are more involved in economic affairs, and depending on how they deal with matters, important decisions from each of the three hierarchies are controlled by the other two - in this way, economic, military and political institutions are closely related to each other (12).

What are corporate wars like in Georgia? - The political elites are trying to influence the corporate elites through this so-called influence. At the same time, they will be under mutual influence to create a "unified three". On the one hand, the elites are trying to get into political power (the lust of business sector owners for power, both in Shevardnadze's time, and in Saakashvili's time and especially in Ivanishvili's time, when oligarchic power prevails to a significant extent). Oligarchism, as a metaphor for narrow elite rule, in our case, expressed by powerful financial groups, appears to be an important, and in some cases dominant, part of the political elite of the 2012-2020 period. According to the declarations filled out by them, 23 of the 150 deputies of the Parliament of the 10th convocation are millionaires, that is, every 7th (3).

Inasmuch as the Mills power elite is presented in the form of a triple elite - economic, political and military elites (the latter military elite can be expanded and generalized in the context of power elites), according to how each of them takes away the power factor of this elite, the process is controlled by the other two - In our case, it is difficult to identify the military elite, as it includes not so much the defense agencies, but the forces in general - the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the Prosecutor's Office, the judiciary, and especially the security service, which are especially visible during the last two governments. Here, the power elite is sort of exported, assuming that the political elite rule them. However, the latter is under question due to their fragmentation, because the boundaries between the political elite and the power elite are not protected. The hierarchical size of power elites is amorphous, whether the political elite rules the powerful or vice versa, the powerful govern the political elite.

The factor of power elites in the USA is interesting, which is significantly different from the Georgian model. If in the USA the security service is idealized, in our case the security service(s) have been demonized under the last three governments (Shevardnadze, Saakashvili, Ivanishvili). A political analysis of American literature shows US policy toward power elites.²

Charles Wright Mills offers this formulation as theoretical postulates. He reviews the concept of corporations and names the factors that, according to the theorist, prevented the formation of a unified power elite, while small and medium entrepreneurship was more developed before the formation of

large corporations in the USA. The emergence of large corporations reduced the number and effectiveness of subjects of influence (means the effect of the influence and power of small and medium business representatives), and turned the managers of corporations into important participants of power (12).

²If we turn to Tom Clancy's novel, "Patriot Games", we will see that its main character, Dr. Ryan, is filled with the most noble characterizations. He teaches history at a military-naval training institution. He is a former Marine himself, which enabled him to prevent Irish terrorists from aligning with the royal family during his brief stay in London. He also knows how to shoot (this was taught by his father, who is a police officer), how to jump, he has a very quick reaction, his lectures are devoted to the issue of making decisions during sea trials. Gradually, the main thread is cut, Dr. Ryan works with the Central Intelligence Agency, first reporting to them on the problems of terrorism, and then moving to permanent work thanks to his strong intelligence and analytical abilities (11).

The work of the employees of the special services is imbued with omnipotence, mystery, and significance for the state. It is the intellectual aspect of this profession that is of special value and appears to us in a new way. These are intellectuals who are able to solve any task without leaving their office. The entire novel is imbued with the conviction that no matter how sophisticated the terrorists turn out to be, victory will still be on the side of the special services. Students love their teacher. One of the terrorists was arrested thanks to the vigilance of the patrol. The special services of Great Britain and the USA cooperate quite closely. In the novel, a clear preference is given to the faces of people from the special services. It is their intelligence that saves the nation from any oin of enemies. With Clancy as well, the terrorists carry out their intentions, which proves their real power, although in almost every case they fail to complete them as they have intended. In each case, they are faced with someone who, through the performance of their official or simply human duty (as in the case of Ryan himself in London), prevents events from developing in an unfavorable way, and the Central Intelligence Agency, in this regard, looks like a non-corrupt, incorruptible and powerful organization (11). It is interesting that Tom Clancy entered the 11 richest authors in the world in 2021. Clancy novels such as The Patriot Games, The Hunt for Red October, and The Holy Realm have become very successful in recent years. The film industry was interested in his work, and along with his worldwide success, he acquired large financial resources. Klens died in 2013, having earned \$300 million during his lifetime.

Mills states that in the imagination of the people, the power elite consists of empires that have the maximum that a person can have. This usually refers to money, power, prestige, and the way of life that allows for

the use of these goods. However, according to Mills, the people in these elites - these are not only the people who have the most, because they would not have "the most" if they did not occupy their special positions in important social institutions, because these institutions are at the same time power, wealth, prestige indispensable tools of exercising power. Mills clarifies that powerful people mean those who have the ability to exercise their will even when others oppose it. Accordingly, Mills states, no one can be truly powerful unless they have access to the management of important social institutions.

When discussing the triangle of the power elite, we can consider the triangle of power presented by the theorist and its scope for 2020 in Georgia, which at the given stage combines the influence of the powerful and the power of corporate managers. We see the process of how the owners of the business sector are replaced in political power in Georgia, where the tendency of financially strong groups to enter politics becomes more and more dominant.

Mills explains a similar trend with the prestige factor. According to him, prestige depends (and often exclusively) on access to advertising mechanisms. The theorist claims that advertising mechanisms are particularly important for the activities of all major institutions in modern America. In the process of this exchange-transition (from corporate to political power), a kind of "accumulation" of prestige is possible. Mills considers the process of transition to political power as a general indicator of accumulated prestige in various fields. He cites General Eisenhower as an example and adds that in his face, whom he represents, power and prestige are united, thus the latter's decidedly high flow (of power and prestige).

Prestige has a unifying quality like wealth and power. According to Mills, the higher the prestige you have, the more prestige you get.

Literature, as well as media, in the context of informational influence, offers a communication model with the public for appropriate positional or opinion formation. This communication can be explained by defining the communication tasks of public relations, according to which "the first task is to attract the attention of target groups of society. Second - to arouse interest in the content of the message. Based on this message, the third task is to create the desire and intention to act, and the fourth is to direct the actions of those who show behavior corresponding to the message" (2, 161)

I cited these novels as illustrative because Mills sees the US power elite as a common trend created by the results of the decisions made in the above-mentioned triad - the military control, the rulers of corporations, and the official rulers of the state unite to form the US power elite. These values can be interchanged. It is easier for the rich to get power than for the poor.

Those with high social status are more easily able to gain access to the management of resources that lead to wealth than those without this advantage (status) (12).

Mills states, "If we take a hundred more or less powerful Americans, the hundred richest, the hundred most famous, and take away from them the positions they hold in the governing social institutions, take away from them the human and financial resources at their disposal, and the means of mass advertising that work for them, they immediately become powerless, unknown and poor. According to the theorist, power is not rooted in the nature of its possessor, wealth is not in the person, notoriety is not an intrinsic characteristic that belongs to a certain person, to be famous, rich, powerful, for this you need access to powerful institutions, because the team positions in which people occupy, significantly determine the chances of receiving these highly valuable life goods (12).

These external factors - public status, status, wealth, influence, power - can they be considered as false external factors that people strive for? In this regard, the German philosopher Friedrich Wilhelm Nietzsche (1844-1900) is an interesting exponent, who ridicules this entire structure, from politicians and philosophers to poets and the rest.³

Charles Wright Mills also, in a way, indirectly echoes the Nietzschean pathos of the role of external, somewhat false factors in the social condition, where the human role is insignificant, although Mills singles out several factors due to which the American bourgeoisie managed to influence the creation of American power, the circumstance that American society did not undergo feudalism, that there was no nobility and aristocracy in America, even in the pre-capitalist era, which would have been in opposition to the big bourgeoisie. This, according to the theorist, is the condition that the American big bourgeoisie has monopolized not only wealth, but also power and prestige. Mills says that in America there were no hierarchical rulers of the church, no royal electors, no landlords with their castles, no persons who had a monopoly on the right to receive high positions in the army - that is, there were no elements that would prevent the enrichment of the bourgeoisie and the social development of the bourgeoisie through hereditary rights and He would create resistance in the name of prerogatives. However, the author also notes that this does not mean that there are no upper classes in the US. According to him, this arose from a "middle class" that had no recognized aristocratic advantages, and did not mean that they even remained middle class, while their increasing wealth helped them to achieve social advantages themselves. According to Mills, the American elite entered modern history as a bourgeois elite with essentially no historical adversaries (12).

³ Nietzsche's "Thus Spoke Zarathustra" was translated in Georgia by the Georgian literary scholar, political scientist and international law specialist Erekle Tatishvili. The famous essay "Friedrich Nietzsche" belongs to Erekle Tatishvili, where we also find a short summary of Nietzsche's attitudes. "Tarantulas", politicians who are respected because they serve the false beliefs of the crowd, like domestic cattle, easily stand on its hump, or like small cogs in the cart of big politics. He mocks philosophers, who remind us of ill-looking wild game and "wild horses kneeling by the den", despises scientists and likens them to "bags of flour covered in dust". "Zarathustra mocks the cultured and the educated, calling them "homeland of colorful pots", dangerous, Greece, the winds of thought, a skeleton worthy of extermination. It should be removed" (5, 11-12).

They had a monopoly on the right to receive positions - that is, there were no elements that would prevent the enrichment of the bourgeoisie and create an obstacle to the social development of the bourgeoisie in the name of hereditary rights and prerogatives. However, the author also notes that this does not mean that there are no upper classes in the US. According to him, this arose from a "middle class" that had no recognized aristocratic advantages, and did not mean that they even remained middle class, while their growing wealth contributed to their own social advantages. According to Mills, the American elite entered modern history as a bourgeois elite that essentially had no historical opponents (12)

Charles Mills' views on the participation of the bourgeoisie in power interestingly explain the dilemma of Georgia, why civil power cannot be formed in Georgia, and the authorities are formed in the form of thematic elites (business representatives, representatives of large corporations, recognizable faces - from sports and culture, etc.). In terms of the influence of the bourgeoisie on power and the creation of the bourgeois elite, in contrast to the history of the USA, the history of Georgia is built on completely opposite factors. If Mills considers the absence of nobility and aristocracy as an advantage of the American society, it is the opposite in the history of Georgia, for centuries, both before and after the Russian annexation, the class superiority of aristocracy and feudalism was evident. Georgia was ruled by the monarch and feudal lords in the territorial spaces, after the annexation of Georgia by the Russian side, the crown prince and those close to him, this process somewhat slowed down in the final part of the aristocracy's rule, and somewhat stopped after the Russian annexation and subsequent Sovietization, however, the models remained the same, because the traditional form of institutional influence changed its face. Within the party framework, the Socialist Soviet Republic of Georgia was ruled by the Communist Party, we can call the space of rulers a metaphor of "party aristocracy", after the restoration of independence this format changed, although the concept of

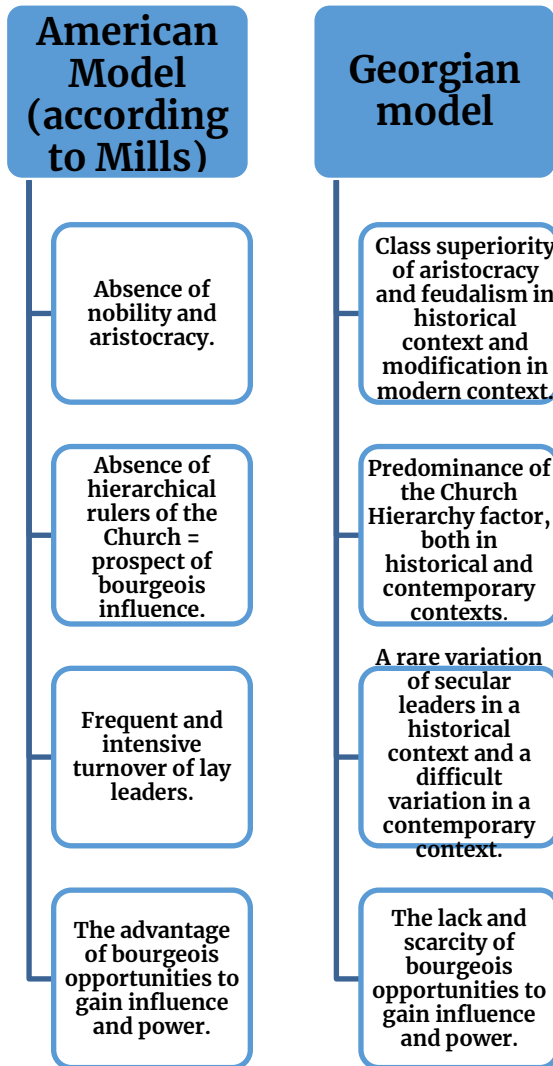
power remained the same, especially in terms of regional representations and in the form of narrow official "feudalism". This hierarchy of influence represents a modified variation of the Milsian "feudalism" and the "choice of the throne" to this day.

As noted, Mills also cites the fact that there were no hierarchical church rulers in the US, which would have reduced the influence of the bourgeoisie. In contrast to America, church hierarchs have always represented the most and sometimes the most influential subjects. The religious factor, on the one hand, attracted citizens in Georgia, and on the other hand, suppressed them, because civil behaviors were often dictated by church hierarchs. The Georgian Orthodox Church was primarily a stable influential institution with significant indirect power, where it had power but only limited responsibilities. The ecclesiastical structure created a stable power of church rulers, in contrast to secular powers, especially in recent years, when Patriarch Ilia II is the unchanging ruler of the Georgian Orthodox Church from 1977 to 2022.

Historically, Georgia has had "less variable" secular rulers, meaning representative status in the historical context and the context of maintaining power in the modern political era in Georgia. I mean in a historical context, e.g. Bagration dynasty; Crown Princes of Russia; Communist Party ruled by Moscow; After independence, Georgia's modern political era has been characterized by a context of power retention rather than democratic change, similar to some of the post-Soviet countries. Political entities in power do not yearn for democratic change, but individual political entities try to maintain power not through the desirability of voters, but through a kind of usurpation. This process is quite similar to a strange form of feudal, monolithic neo-feudalism, where political forces (Eduard Shevardnadze's rule 1992-2003, Mikheil Saakashvili's rule 2003-2012, and Bidzina Ivanishvili's force rule by 2022, in power since 2012) focus more on usurpation of power instead of competition.

Overall, Mills speaks of monopoly rights to receive power, which is conditioned by the factors just discussed in terms of influencing, receiving, and managing power. The factors that the theorist considers as preconditions for the possibilities of the bourgeoisie, according to Mills' model, are almost non-existent in our case or are small.

A comparative analysis of the components of the power triangle between the American model and the Georgian model is presented in Table 4:



In conclusion, it should be said that Charles Mills's concept of the triangle of "The Power Elite" on the Georgian model of 1990-2020 differs in many cases from Mills's American reality. Mills, on the example of the American society, slightly underestimates the influence of the church compared to the army. In Georgia, we have a different situation, the church and the army compete in the trust rating, but both the army and the church coexist so that the army is somewhat subordinate to the church in the context of influence. Instead of the separation between the church and the state, Julius Hatschek evaluates the format of subordination as a monarchical attitude, where the Georgia of 2022, which has declared the idea of a democratic state in the constitution, can also be seen paradoxically.

The research of the main trends in the governance of the ruling leaders of Georgia shows that, on the one hand, the ruling elites are in a "war" of power distribution and competition with the church, and on the other hand, the secular rulers cannot create proper trust in the citizens and, for the sake of profitability, political perspective or stability of power, are in a subordinate position. They sometimes find themselves with the religious hierarchy.

Charles Wright Mills also discusses economic factors and notes that large corporations are the main translators of directive decisions in other and even other areas. On the example of Georgia, there is an excessive tendency of financially strong groups or individuals to move into politics and governmental spaces.

Mills also singles out the factor of the power elites, which is different in this context from the example of the USA and Georgia, in terms of how public feedback is shown and processed by the power agencies in Georgia and the USA, if in the USA they are actively working on the reputation of the power elites and public needs, in Georgia, mainly , this space is either perceived as passive and less functional (eg army) or negative (MIA, security, etc.).

Mills discusses the external factors of gaining influence and power in society, wealth, public status and other types of context, however, at the same time, he emphasizes the ability of the American bourgeoisie to create influence and gives the reasons for this, where he emphasizes the absence of individuals in the United States with whom to monopolize positions in the army. There are opportunities, as well as the absence of those elements that prevented the bourgeoisie from enriching and advancing, in terms of these components, Georgia is represented more oppositely, where similar elements are more consolidated, and secular rulers are less variable, unlike the American model.

Conflict of Interest: The author reported no conflict of interest.

Data Availability: All of the data are included in the content of the paper.

Funding Statement: The author did not obtain any funding for this research.

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