

**UDC: 351.83.075.8**

**DOI: 10.5281/zenodo.2574412**

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**Political and managerial elite as a factor of state personnel security**

*The article reveals questions of the role and place of the political and managerial elite in the functioning of the modern state. The personnel potential of the political and managerial elite as the basis of national security and the guarantee of effective government are analyzed. The basic principles of the state personnel policy are formulated.*

**Keywords:** *political and managerial elite, national security of the state, personnel policy, “elite engineering”.*

In modern conditions in the post-Soviet space, from our point of view, there are still no systematic philosophical, sociological, and managerial studies of the influence of personnel policy on the problems of state security.

There is no doubt that, as it seems to us quite obvious, the leading cadres and the apparatus of state administration are the face of power and its real carriers, the most important facet of the political life of society, a special tool for the effective implementation of the state’s strategic course within the country and in the international arena.

The cadre potential of a modern political and managerial elite is the basis of national security, a guarantee of effective state administration by a modern state. Ultimately, the success of the state, the success of the development of a civilized civil society, and ultimately security depend on the level of professional competence and efficiency, progressive orientations and morality of top-level personnel, their creative activity and innovative approach to business.

In this regard, the development of a scientific concept and, on its basis, a new state personnel policy is an objective need of society. Given the trend of a number of post-Soviet countries (in particular, Ukraine) about the increasing alienation of society from the government, the elite and the government apparatus from the people. There is no doubt that from this point of view, a modern, scientifically based state personnel policy at the elite level is intended to become a leading factor in social stabilization and strengthening of statehood, and improving the management of all spheres of public life.

The formation of the political and managerial elite, as well as the top cadre of government, is a fundamental question of the strategy and tactics of power, its viability and credibility.

In this context, as G.Ashin, a well-known expert on elites, rightly noted, the so-called “elite engineering is the most important aspect of the state personnel policy and mechanisms for its implementation. It makes you look at traditional personnel technologies with other eyes in conditions when yesterday's criteria and approaches in the spirit of the command-administrative system and nomenclature approaches no longer “work”. In a free democratic society, a career can be carried out only in a democratic way, on the basis of legality, well-thought-out delegation of authorities from top to bottom, and a comprehensive scientific analysis of the situation. Only this way it is possible to free the mechanisms of personnel work from administrative-bureaucratic functions, to increase their efficiency [1, p. 24-28].

In modern conditions, it seems to us, the requirements that should be presented by society to modern political and managerial elites must meet the new philosophy of personnel work with such distinctive features as humanism and democracy, innovation and continuity, its activities should be based on the principles of legality and realism, openness and collegiality, social partnership and morality.

In this sense, the formation of modern political and managerial elites is a special system of personnel relations, which should create favorable conditions for the promotion to the highest positions of the most talented and educated people capable of real leadership. Therefore, in our opinion, the priority in appointment to political and managerial positions should not be the origin, wealth and position of the family, not proximity to the levers of distribution, not the ideological conjuncture.

Only personal merit and concrete contribution to the cause should be the main criterion for moving into the ruling political and managerial elite of modern society. It seems that only a “healthy” and civilized elite in close contact with people of science and culture, in alliance with those who have achieved high achievements in the economy, will be able to master new “innovative technologies” towards the future.

And this approach is quite real. This requires the appropriate political will emanating from the ruling or counter elite itself as well as mature institutions of civil society, competitive selection for elite positions should become mandatory when appointed to political and administrative positions, and we are talking about a real competition called "telephone" law or commercial relations. One of the important tasks of a scientific approach in the selection of political and managerial elites as a science is to identify opportunities and ways to improve the quality of the ruling elite, and not only the ruling one.

The modern political and managerial elite is necessary, if one can put it this way, “to grow”. The objective criteria of this quality should be the results of its political and managerial activities, a synthetic indicator of which is the state of the country as a whole, the quality of life of the population: the country thrives or is in decline; what is

the standard of living of the population, its culture; how free are the people and how are their creative potentials realized; how secure is its security - foreign policy, economic, food, environmental. If there is no such data for the current political and managerial elite, it is difficult to argue that such a country has a positive future.

Subjective criteria for assessing the quality of the political and managerial elite - its intellectual potential, professionalism and moral principles, cultural and educational level. The political and managerial elite in the axiomatic sense must realize the public interest and ensure the welfare of the population, since this is what guarantees the stability of its power in the state. However, very often this does not happen, one of the factors that influences such a state of affairs is, if it can be said, not the “formation” of the core of statesmen who can put the interests of the state and society above personal ambitions.

In this case, the political and managerial elite is alienated from society, realizes only personal (corporate) interests, solves all problems in the state at the expense of the population and is not afraid to lose the stability of its power. So in our opinion it is happening in modern Ukraine. Personal and corporate interests (business interests are predominant for the modern Ukrainian political and managerial elite).

In our opinion, the quality of the political and managerial elite depends largely on the principles of its formation. Personnel selection of elites as well as its political socialization, that is, involvement of people in active political life and state-management activities, through which the legislative and executive bodies of the state, the government apparatus, and the managerial personnel of state institutions are formed. In stable political systems, the selection of the elite is quite institutionalized, that is, carried out in accordance with carefully developed procedures and existing traditions, as a result of which the personal composition of the elite is updated more or less regularly, and the political structure itself remains largely unchanged.

However, everything looks quite different in the conditions of a sharp change in the political and social order of society, in periods of socio-economic and political

instability. In this case, the transformation and change of elites inevitably occurs. Many of the most famous and influential persons holding key positions in public administration are losing their posts. There are many vacancies that are often filled hastily, in violation of many democratic and scientific principles of personnel work, in violation of laws and ordinary routine norms. The society never feels a lack of willing to take an elite position. Even in the most troubled times, it is stimulated by the desire for high status, prestige and the greatest possibilities of power management, the possibility of obtaining a number of privileges, including material ones. Personal loyalty is often the main criteria for appointment.

The events that took place in Ukraine in 2013-2014, in our opinion, confirm this thesis. The principles of elite selection are of exceptional importance for the political system, contributing either to its strengthening or destruction, providing more or less equal access to power for all citizens, or limiting them, or even depriving them.

One of the characteristic features of a truly democratic political system is the creation of real opportunities for every citizen to achieve a position that gives him the right to be considered a member of the ruling elite. The most important elements of the elite selection system are its social base; the mechanisms and range of persons involved in the selection of the elite (selectorate); channels and system of promotion along the career steps; Finally, the procedure for the resignation and socio-economic protection of those who left the highest positions in the system of government.

The experience of the twentieth century shows that a closed elite, which is formed from representatives of a narrow privileged stratum, reproduces on its own limited base, inevitably degrades, decays, and sooner or later gives way to a society with a more open elite. In general, it can be said that the quality of the elite depends on the quality of social sources and the ways of its formation, on how open the elite is for the most active, educated and innovative people from all classes and sectors of society. And also on whether there are barriers in the way of vertical social mobility for random,

morally unscrupulous people, that is, mechanisms that bring the most truly professional, moral, and intellectual people to the elite level [5].

Hence the conclusion: the so-called "elite engineering" is a mechanism that constantly poses and answers the questions "What leadership positions are needed and from what sources can they be filled?", "What abilities, knowledge and skills should those who claim them have? ", "How to select and promote people to occupy positions at the level of the ruling elite? ", "What is required for people to successfully and dynamically move up the hierarchy? ", "What programs need to be armed, so that they create favorable What are the conditions for advancement to the elite?".

The openness of elites is an important element of an "open society" where the level of social mobility is high. And, accordingly, closed, non-transparent elites are an element of a "closed society" where social mobility is low or even absent. The closed type of elite selection is historically the first, while the second is the result of a long historical development of the political system, because it requires for its functioning a high level of political culture of the state and all the institutions of civil society.

The first type is characterized by the narrowness of the social base of this elite in the person of the ruling class or stratum, which monopolizes political power. All elite positions are occupied by his henchmen. The closed type of elite selection is characteristic of the political system of a traditional society, and in relation to modern political systems - of authoritarian and totalitarian political regimes. Since this type of elite narrows the social base of the latter, prevents the elite positions from being occupied by the most capable people from lower strata of society, dissidents, etc., it condemns the political system to stagnate, inevitably degenerating, losing its ability to effective public administration. Thus, in essence, it provokes the formation of a powerful opposition counter-elite, surpassing the ruling elite in its intellectual, volitional and political ambitions.

Such a counter-elite, relying on the discontent of the masses, does everything in its power to destroy the existing system of power and to change the elites. Note that

the most far-sighted ideologists of traditional society understood the shortcomings of the closed type of selection of elite strata. To break the wall of this closeness, Confucius, for example, considered it necessary to pass competitive examinations for the right to occupy a public office. This idea was realized, but only for a certain level of government posts.

Ukrainian researcher Maria Pyrene noted that “the open (transparent) and shadow groups stand out in the ruling elite. In her opinion, the ruling elite are open - these are public politicians who have gained a certain position in the government (some deputies, members of the government, high-ranking civil servants, etc.). The shadow ruling elite are those who have a strong influence on government decision-making due to their wealth, they do not act publicly, but "in the shadow." The shadow ruling elite is in all societies, but its share, influence and opportunities are relatively insignificant. In Ukraine, there are favorable conditions for the growth of the role of the shadow elite [3, p. 11-18]. So that we can observe in recent years.

Given the heterogeneity and not always the competence of the political elite, Migovich divides it into different social groups. The most numerous is the group of former party, state and economic leaders. Some came to the new power structures with reformist convictions, others (the majority), as a result of traditional adaptation, with a desire to “lead”. A separate group is represented by ideological opponents of the past communist order, some of which suffered directly or sideways from it. The author also identifies a part that consists of a new social stratum of domestic entrepreneurs, bankers. A small group is the modern political elite, which was formed from careerists and adventurers who surfaced on public life with the help of social, political, and nationalist demagogy [4, p. 15-24]. In other words, the "normal" elite can, as M. Gilas wrote, turn into a caste, which strictly adheres to its group interests, protects its feeders, creates its own "rules of good taste". It is in relation to the upper echelons of power, as well as their entourage, that powerful democratic restrictions, effective control from below, an influential opposition, a free press, moral brakes are needed. With a great

deal of confidence, it can be argued that "the only regulator influencing political elites is the wide publicity of public life and its progressive democratization.

It is obvious in this regard that as soon as the values and priorities of the elite enter into irreconcilable contradiction with the values and priorities of society, signs of immunity to the new begin to show, the intralite atmosphere of responsibility and mutual trust disappears, its authoritarian modernization and bureaucratic degeneration occur. In such conditions one can be sure: the elite is entering a crisis period, its collapse is inevitable, and a new ruling group will inevitably replace it. Still, most researchers tend to agree that the elite asserts their dominance regardless of ideological orientations, combining methods of coercion and manipulation; it reacts to the realities of life, operates in specific historical conditions and space, incorporating the deep traditions of the people and their national identity. The elite is in a certain sense, the peculiar soul of society, which absorbs the moral character of society and the level of freedom of a citizen. From this point of view, the political and managerial elite is the bearer of the basic traditions and foundations of society, its spiritual and moral values.

Perhaps those researchers are right who, like many well-known politicians, argued that the political and managerial elite is a reflection of society itself, so to say its political "mirror".

Summing up the short conclusions, we can formulate the fundamental principles of the state personnel policy, which from our point of view, may look like this:

- scientific, realistic, taking into account the needs of society in personnel during the transition period and the real possibilities of their satisfaction in strategic terms;
- systematic and comprehensive, ensuring, on the one hand, an organic unity of goals, principles, forms, methods and technologies for working with personnel, and on the other hand, a differentiated approach to the implementation of personnel programs taking into account the characteristics of various spheres and levels, including the level;
- perspectivity, anticipatory and proactive nature;

- democracy in goals and forms of work, flexibility and innovation in mechanisms for solving personnel problems;

- social equality, prohibiting any form of restriction of a human right to a career in the state or political sphere on the basis of ideological, racial, national, linguistic or religious affiliation;

- spirituality, humanism, focus on the protection of constitutional rights and freedoms of a person, the achievement of a harmonious combination of interests of a person, state and society, politics and the ordinary citizen, elite, state apparatus and people;

- legal justification, carried out within the framework and on the basis of the law, creating legal guarantees for an objective and fair solution of personnel issues in the direction of the elite's recovery and preventing those who are ready to break the law every time their views of power or wealth change.

Thus, the implementation of these principles will certainly give the personnel process integrity, essential certainty and the necessary pragmatism. It will create the necessary flexibility and efficiency of state influence on all personnel relations, ensure the continuity of the “professionalism - citizenship - justice” triad. It will guarantee that all personnel adjustments at the top will not be carried out in line with someone's ambitions and bias, but only from the standpoint of the law and in the interests of the country, will help to overcome negative public opinion that the real power in our country belongs not to the worthiest and professionally trained people.

This results in the main and quite concrete practical task: the development and implementation of a selection system in the state administration apparatus of the most qualified specialists with a state level of thinking based on an objective and comprehensive assessment of their professional and personal qualities, selection alternatives and equality of chances of obtaining even the highest state position, Regardless of national or religious affiliation, gender, political orientation, social and material status of the family.

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