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ANALYSIS OF TRANSFORMATION OF POLITICAL ELITES IN THE POST-SOVIET SOCIETY (1991-2000)

The research aim is analyzes the process of changing elites. According to the research of historians and political scientists, several models are distinguished, with the help of which one can reveal the essence of the transformation of elite groups.

The research methodology should be based on transformation models of elites. The first model is the change in flows where the transformation is presented as a sequential change of several waves of the ruling elite. The second model is political capitalism, the most common transformation model. The third model is a rebellion of the economic elite or the awakening of regional elites. The fourth model - the role of counter-elite, reflects the public and social aspects of the political process.

The scientific novelty is that the stages of the transformation of political elites, the reconversion of the Soviet party nomenclature into the political system of Ukraine are considered. The analysis of generations and ages of the political elite of independent Ukraine is given.

The article analyzes the articles of the Constitution of Ukraine, the rules of law governing the activities of the political elite. An analysis is made of the formation of government bodies after the proclamation of independence of Ukraine, the transformation of the Soviet political elite during the transition period.

Conclusions. Analysis of the events of 1989 – 2000 allows to draw conclusions about the formation of the political elite in Ukraine. We note the high degree of continuity of the domestic elite, especially its bureaucratic component.

Key words: political elite, transformation, reconversion, nomenclature, Constitution, transitional societies.

Мета дослідження – аналіз процесу зміни еліт. За дослідженнями істориків, політологів виділяються декілька моделей, за допомогою яких можна розкрити сутність трансформації елітних груп.

Методологія дослідження – теорія трансформації моделей політичних еліт. Перша модель – зміни потоків де трансформація представлена як послідовна зміна декількох хвиль правлячої еліти. Друга модель – політичного капіталізму, найбільш поширена модель трансформації. Третя модель – бунту економічної еліти чи пробудження регіональних еліт. Четверта модель – ролі контреліт відображає публічні і соціальні моменти політичного процесу.

Наукова новизна. Розглядаються стадії трансформації політичних еліт, реконверсія радянської партійної номенклатури в політичну систему України. Дається поколінний та віковий аналіз політичної еліти незалежної України. Здійснюється аналіз статей Конституції України, норм права, які б регулювали діяльність політичної еліти. Робиться аналіз формування органів влади після проголошення незалежності України, трансформація радянської політичної еліти в перехідний період.

Висновки. Аналіз подій 1989 – 2000 рр. дає змогу зробити висновки щодо формування політичної еліти в Україні. Відзначаємо високий ступінь спадковості вітчизняної еліти, особливо її бюрократичну складову.

Ключові слова: політична еліта, трансформація, реконверсія, номенклатура, Конституція, перехідні суспільства.

Problem statement. Political parties and their leaders begin to work actively on the eve of presidential or parliamentary elections. There is a large number of them, and it is simply impossible for a simple ordinary citizen to understand their program documents and analyze them. Political parties cause mistrust among citizens during difficult times for Ukraine. Ordinary citizens are waiting for a new, young political elite, capable of building a country in the modern and fast-moving conditions of the state. The analysis of the stages of the formation of the Ukrainian political elite, its influence on the processes of the formation of an independent state from the moment of its independence, remains an urgent topic. Especially on the eve of the presidential elections in Ukraine in 2019, the problem of the transformation of elites is important.

The article analyzes political science and historical research on the problems of political elite change and transformation in the post-Soviet period. The transformation of elites is a process of cardinal changes that concern the structure of elites and its interactions, the value-normative and institutional framework for the functioning of elites (Nikulin 2005, p. 92).

The political elite in the period of social transformation is undoubtedly one of the main actors in the political arena. When revolutionary changes take place in the society, the political elite has great hopes for the formation of effective power structures, stabilization of the situation. This hope was also laid during the proclamation of Ukraine's independence in 1991.

The process of forming a political elite is a top priority for the state, especially for post-communist states. It is long, even under favorable conditions, for many decades. In the post-Soviet countries, the transformation process is extremely complex. Many of them either did not have a state tradition, or it was interrupted for centuries. Therefore, the process of radical socio-political transformations coincided in time with the process of building the state. And this means that the process of becoming a national elite takes place in an extremely complex, non-traditional situation.

The transformation of the elite includes not only the coming to power of counter-elites, but also massive transformations within the ruling elite itself. In particular, the domination of a new grouping within the ruling elite or even the coming to power of the upper stratum of another social group. The transformation of the elite is associated with abrupt changes in its ideology and political course, changes in the methods of recruiting elites; sometimes admission to the elite of representatives of the counter-elite is taking place (Madzi, 2008, p. 171).

The analysis of sources recent researches. Since the beginning of the 1990s, the elite have been divided into «old» and «new». Two scientific approaches are separated in explaining the transition from the «old» to the «new» elite. The first one assumes a correlation in the newly elites between the political (party) and economic (managerial) components, which are not formally connected with the previous political system. The second one provides for either a «revolutionary» complete change of elite, or self-preservation and the replacement of «scenery» around the elite. There is the coming to power of the counter-elite.

Another basis for systematization of concepts describing a social transition may be the ratio of the role of the political (party) and management (economic) component of the Soviet elite (nomenclature) in its further transformation into the political elite (Rotar, 2006, p. 61). The transformation process is not complete and significant changes have been taking place in the elite groups to date.

In our opinion, the second concept more optimally gives a picture of the transformation of the political elites of Ukraine in the context of the transition from totalitarianism to democracy. One of the main ways of transition of the old political elite into a new political regime in Ukraine was the "horizontal" transition into the ranks of the new political elite through the entry into new power institutions. This was made possible by the proclamation of independence by the communist elite and the «postponement» of the elections. Representatives of the nomenclature quickly incorporated the national-oriented ideology into a new own image. In addition, the formation of its own state raised them from the rank of second persons in the USSR to the first in an independent Ukraine (for example, L. Kravchuk, E. Marchuk, I. Plyushch). The first independent elections in Ukraine took place in 1994, while in most Central and Eastern European countries free elections to parliament took place immediately after the country became independent (Kruglikova, 1999). The delay in the elections created conditions where the majority of the population practically could not distinguish between people, now became known as Democrats.

To characterize the essence of elites in transition societies, researchers use the term «transformation of elites», «change of elites», «replacement of elites». L. Madzi in the article «Political elite in transitional societies» states that «replacement of the elite» means the elimination of the previous elite and the coming to power of counterelites, which, in its opinion, is the consequence of revolutionary transformations [Madzi, 2008, p. 230-235]. In Ukraine, there was no 100% elimination of the old elite, and a replacement for a new one. The reason for this is the impossibility of completely replacing the professional old staff with public office.

The publication's purpose.

In the studies of L. Madzi (2008; 2008a), N. Rotar (2006) examines the analysis of the process of changing elites according to the scheme of I. Kukolev (1997; 1997a). He highlights several models by which one can reveal the essence of the transformation of elite groups.

The first model is the change of flows where the transformation is represented as the successive change of several waves of the ruling elite. At each stage of the transformation, the previous wave of the ruling elite puts forward the leadership of the ruling elite, and in turn becomes a gravedigger for those who put it forward.

The second model – political capitalism, the most common model of transformation. The content of transformation consists in converting political capital into economic capital. The political nomenclature used political power and first mastered the mechanism of privatization of state property. There is a growing power of political and economic.

The third model is the revolt of the economic elite or the revival of regional elites. The nomenclature consisted of two parts - party workers and business executives. Each of them had the power and disposed of certain resources. The businessmen were in a less privileged position than the party's top. As a result of transformation, there is a process of commissioning a certain part of the party elite to the economic, on the basis of this formed modern elite groups.

The fourth model – the role of counterrelated reflects the public and social moments of the political process. The economic elite used the counter-elite as a political ally in the struggle against the party critics (the cultural and scientific and technical intelligentsia); as a result, the economic elite and the nomenclature of the second and third echelons come to power.

Statement of the basic material. I. Kukolev highlights the stages of the transformation of the Soviet nomenclature into a new elite:

The first is the consistent loss of power of the CPSU as an organ, structured the foundations of the entire political system, the monopoly of power – from 1987 to 1989;

The second – a sharp change of the ruling elite – 1991;

The third – the defeat of the Soviet system – 1993 in Russia, in Ukraine, a new elite uses the Soviet system to legalize power;

The fourth – the legitimization of the elite through the elections 1995 – 1997 (Kukolev, p. 89).

The researchers of the problem of transformation of the political elite of Ukraine singled out certain transformation cycles. In particular, I. Goliyad focused on the following (Goliyad, p. 2007):

Latent period (1985 – 1990). Gradual changes of a general political nature, creation of conditions for the inclusion of the Soviet elite into new types of activity for it.

Conversion period (1990 – 1991). The nomenclature prepared for change is involved in creating new institutional, economic and political conditions for the development of the country. In the past, the ideological unity of the elite remains, various political and ideological camps appear. Opportunities for new spheres of activity and new forms of elite recruitment are opening up. The process of convergence of the political status of the nomenclature into economic capital continues.

Period of Confrontation (1991 – 1996). Active political fragmentation, promoted by the process of institutionalization and open transition to the market. The main branches of government are formed.

Period of stabilization (1996 – 1999). Strengthening the positions of the presidential power in the regions. Consolidation around the presidential power of economic and political capital. The pacts of elites leading to stabilization in the political space without democratization.

Further, the researcher singles out the last period of 1999-2001. It is characterized by the domination of the presidential government, around which all administrative and economic resources are concentrated. There is an exacerbation of contradictions between the oligarchs and the administrative authorities. In our opinion, this period can be extended until 2004, and the last one in this periodization to make a period that would cover the presidency of V. Yushchenko. From the analysis of existing literature, it is known that both the Ukrainian and Russian authors ignored the problem of transformation. Thus, the first time appearances and the most common approaches to the peculiarities of the transformation of the politico-management elite were linked in Ukraine and Russia with the analysis of the personal composition of the political and management elite in comparison with the previous Soviet. An analysis of the changes in the quantitative ratio of elites in Russia, conducted by A. Kryshtanovskaya, showed that changes in the politico-management elite (primarily regional and local) that occurred by the end of 1994 in comparison with the Soviet period were insignificant. Although, in general, there was a rejuvenation of the ruling stratum. On the basis of this, the conclusion was drawn that the former nomenclature

was transformed into a new elite by converting its former status politically and economically into conditions of a new political regime (Kryshtanovskaya, 1995, p. 56).

In Ukraine and Russia, the controllability and the system of effective executive authorities are gradually being restored. For example, academician P. Khrienko argues that the most important feature of overcoming crisis phenomena in society should be the presence of an extremely rigid management vertical. Strengthening the entire system of government will allow solving the tasks of implementing large-scale programs and concepts that are certainly matured in the process of transformation. Under these conditions, the question of the effectiveness of the managerial apparatus is assigned an increasing role. And for this, researchers have yet to find out the reasons for the loss of efficiency in management both at the initial stage of the transformation of the state and society, and in the conditions of the coming to power of a new political and managerial elite (as happened in Ukraine as a result of the 2004 presidential election) (Kukolev, 1997a).

In Ukraine, the political elite did not work out. She could not fulfill her inherent duties: to effectively manage the state, to make optimal decisions, to form a professional staff. The state has a political elite, which was formed under the influence of the old post-Soviet elite. There is a need to educate a new generation of managers with new European-democratic views.

A number of authors, for example, A. Obolonsky, made an attempt to understand the reasons for the loss of effectiveness of the political and managerial elite. He notes a downward trend in the quality of work of the management system and the level of the political and managerial elite in the 1990s. Compared with the Soviet period, the author states, the effectiveness of the activities of officials has decreased significantly. Other researchers have noted the loss of efficiency in the activities of civil servants of the 1990s. and consider the moral and cultural factors that determine this process. The decline in the prestige of the civil service and, accordingly, the decline in the professional level of the elite in the transformational period was one of the reasons for the emergence of negative manifestations in the field of public administration (Kryukov, 2006, p. 79).

Structural analysis of individual groups of the Ukrainian elite who worked in government bodies since the 1990s. until 2005, it makes it possible to conclude that the public of employees of the supreme bodies of state power of Ukraine was created