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ОСНОВНІ ІСТОРИЧНІ АСПЕКТИ РОЗВИТКУ ПОЛІТИЧНОЇ ЕЛІТИ В НЕЗАЛЕЖНІЙ УКРАЇНІ

Анотація. Мета дослідження. З моменту проголошення незалежності в Україні відбуваються складні політичні, соціально-економічні процеси. На різних етапах становлення незалежної держави український народ великі надії покладає на політичну еліту, пов'язує з нею всі прагнення до створення дійсно європейської державності, заснованої на принципах демократії, справедливості, європейських цінностей. **Методологією дослідження** є висвітлення основних історичних аспектів розвитку політичної еліти незалежної України. **Науковою новизною дослідження** є характеристика причин формування еліти, з точки зору організації дієвого управління державою, участі різних верств населення у керівних органах. Робиться акцент на різних шляхах формування політичної еліти у країнах пострадянського простору, таких як рекрутування – перехід (залучення) колишньої радянської, партійної та комсомольської номенклатури в еліту «демократичну», тобто більшість радянської еліти перейшли в еліту нової Української держави. Висунення на керівні посади колишніх

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від КППС партійних керівників середньої та нижчої ланки при їхньому доляльному ставленні до колишніх перших осіб області, міста, району. Зростання чисельності і поповнення еліти та номенклатури здебільшого за рахунок господарських керівників. Збільшення чисельності та впливу у складі номенклатури вихідній із сільської місцевості. За даними центру А. Розумкова, 87 % української політичної еліти – це вихідці з сільської місцевості.

Висновки. Аналізуючи дослідження відомих політологів, виділено етапи формування власної політичної еліти на початку становлення незалежності України: 1990–1991 рр. (номенклатура є формальною елітою); 1992 р. (поява вербальних політиків або політиків-ідеологів); 1993–1994 рр. (цехові політики або перша еліта); 1995 р. (інтегральні політики або власне еліта). Теорія еліт постає альтернативною ліберальній ідеї (автори навіть використовують термін «ліберальна новомова»). У дослідженні розглядаються основні акценти при формуванні еліт при президентствах Л. Кравчука, Л. Кучми, В. Ющенко.

Ключові слова: політична еліта; держава; рекрутування; номенклатура.

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MAIN HISTORICAL ASPECTS OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE POLITICAL ELITE IN INDEPENDENT UKRAINE

Summary. *The purpose of the study.* Since the proclamation of Ukraine's independence complex political, socio-economic processes have been taking place in this country. At various stages of the formation of an independent state, the Ukrainian people place great hopes on the political elite, associating with it all the aspirations to create a truly European statehood based on the principles of democracy, justice and European values. **The research aims** to investigate the main historical aspects of the development of the political elite of independent Ukraine. **The research methodology** is based on the principles of historicism, system-formation, scientific character, verification, the author's objectivity, moderated narrative constructivism, and the use of general scientific and specially-historical methods. **The scientific novelty** of the article is in considering the reasons for the formation of the elite, in terms of the organization of effective governance, the participation of various segments of the population in governing bodies. Emphasis is placed on various ways of forming the political elite in the post-Soviet countries, such as recruitment – the transition (involvement) of the former Soviet, party and Komsomol nomenklatura to the "democratic" elite, i.e. most of the Soviet elite moved to the elite of the new Ukrainian state: nomination of former middle and lower party leaders from the Communist party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) to leading positions with their loyal attitude to the former leaders of the region, city, and district; the growth of the population and the replenishment of the elite and the nomenclature is largely due to economic leaders; increase in the number and influence of the nomenclature originating from rural areas. According to the A. Rozumkov Center, 87% of the Ukrainian political elite are from rural areas. **Conclusions.** Analyzing the research of well-known political scientists, the stages of formation of own political elite at the beginning of Ukraine's independence were singled out: 1990–1991 (the nomenclature is a formal elite); 1992 (emergence of verbal politicians or politicians-ideologists); 1993–1994 (guild politicians or the first elite); 1995 (integrated politicians or the elite itself). Elite theory appears as an alternative to the liberal idea (the authors even use the term "liberal new language"). The study considers the main accents in the formation of elites during the presidencies of L. Kravchuk, L. Kuchma and V. Yushchenko.

Key words: political elite; state; recruitment; nomenclature.

Problem statement. Ukraine has been going through difficult economic and political times since independence. At different stages of the state development, it had different reasons, today it is largely caused by the conflict in eastern Ukraine and the inability of the ruling elite to fulfill their election promises to resolve it.

The purpose of the research is to investigate the main historical aspects of the development of the political elite of independent Ukraine.

Elite (translated from French – "better", "chosen"): represent group interests in politics; create optimal conditions for their implementation and coordination; form the purpose and prospects of development of society; make strategically important decisions and use the resources of state power to implement them.

An important historical aspect is the reasons for the formation of the elite. We will try to analyze them more carefully in this study.

Any society, like all complexly organized systems, requires professional management action, which necessitates the division of labor into leaders and managers.

Society needs people with special knowledge, skills, experience, able to perform managerial functions.

Political inequality in society is explained by the inequality of mental, social, and other conditions, creates different opportunities to engage in politics for different social groups and individuals.

Management work is highly valued and stimulated in society, and proximity to power opens wide opportunities for the realization of individual needs. Therefore, many people seek to get into the institutions of power.

The passive attitude of the general population who are mostly busy dealing with their day-to-day problems and usually prefer to stay away from politics (Yarosh, 2005).

The analysis of sources and recent researches.

Various aspects of the phenomenon of the political elite, conceptual understanding, and content of this concept in domestic science are presented in the works of V. Andrushchenko, V. Babkin, O. Babkina, O. Balatska, V. Bebik, V. Bekh, I. Varzar, O. Volyanyuk, K. Vashchenko, M. Golovaty, E. Golovakha, V. Gorbatenko, V. Goshovska, M. Dmytrenko, V. Dobizha, O. Kartunov, M. Kozlovets, A. Kolodiy, L. Kochubey, V. Kornienko, O. Kryukova, and many others. After gaining independence, the study of elite concepts became popular in Ukraine.

Different aspects of the problem of the elite (historical-philosophical and socio-philosophical content) are presented in the works of such Ukrainian scholars as V. Andrushchenko, Z. Atamanyuk, K. Barantseva, A. Bychko, N. Boyko, V. Gorsky, O. Dashchakivska, V. Zhuravsky, O. Zabuzhko, Y. Konotoptseva, O. Kryukov, O. Kucherenko, B. Kukhta, O. Lazorenko, L. Mandziy, M. Mikhalchenko, K. Mykhailova, O. Potekhin, O. Parokhonska, M. Pien.

Many researchers and political scientists and historians believe that the ruling elite is a small and rather atypical part of the population characterized by certain political and cultural values, norms, stereotypes, standards, and traditions in power. And such an opinion is inherent not only in the study of the elite of the Soviet period but also the elite of independent Ukraine.

The question of studying the formation of the political management elite is often dealt with by political scientists, but it is also quite interesting from the point of view of history.

Statement of the basic material.

The process of formation of the Ukrainian political elite and the elite in most countries of the post-Soviet space followed a different path from the West and the former countries of people's democracy. These are the special characteristics of such a transition.

First, the transition of the former Soviet, party and Komsomol nomenklatura to the "democratic" elite, i.e. the majority of the Soviet elite became the elite of the new Ukrainian state.

Secondly, the nomination of former middle and lower-level communist party leaders to leading positions with their loyal attitude to the former leaders of the region, city, and district.

Third, the expulsion from the governing bodies representatives of the humanitarian intelligentsia, employees of higher education, and their replacement by mostly agricultural specialists and engineers.

Fourth, the growth and replenishment of the elite and the nomenklatura is largely due to business leaders.

Fifth, the increase in the number and influence of the nomenclature originated from rural areas. According to the A. Rozumkov Center, 87% of the Ukrainian political elite are from rural areas ("Ukraina v XXI veke", 2003).

D. Tabachnyk and D. Vydrin emphasized in their research that Ukraine did not have its own political elite. The authors distinguish the

following stages of transformation of the nomenclature into the elite: 1990–1991 (the nomenclature is a formal elite); 1992 (emergence of verbal politicians or politicians of ideologies); 1993–1994 (guild politicians or redistribution); 1995 (integrated politicians or the elite itself). The theory of elites appears as an alternative to the liberal idea (the authors even use the term "liberal new language") (Vydrin & Tabachnyk, 1995).

V.A. Rykhlyk identifies the following stages of development of the political elite in Ukraine:

1990–1994. This is the beginning of the formation of Ukraine's political elite. The researcher believes that the new composition of the Verkhovna Rada, elected in 1990, is becoming a political "redistribution".

1994–1998. At this stage, the transformation of the political elite begins when the economic and bureaucratic elite begins to engage in political functions. At this stage, the trend of regionalization of the political elite was evident. On the one hand, regional political and economic clans began to form, primarily in the Dnipropetrovsk and Donetsk oblast. In 1994–1995, the Dnipropetrovsk landing party in Kyiv showed that regional elites did not mind taking a dominant position among the national elite. On the other hand, the regional factor significantly affected the factional structure of the Verkhovna Rada. At the same time, the political elite is rejuvenated.

1998–2003. The main trend of this stage is the oligarchization of the political elite, the merging of business and government. Big business came into politics. According to various sources, two-thirds of parliamentarians were legal millionaires. In the Verkhovna Rada, the number of entrepreneurs in the executive branch increased sharply. Rich businessmen are increasingly featuring among the heads of central and regional executive bodies. Even more often, senior administrators became, if not leaders, then the authorized representatives of individual business groups. Business groups began to form their political parties. The arrival of big business in politics had quite contradictory consequences. On the one hand, increased attention to economic issues evoked new management approaches, more appropriate to market conditions. But at the same time, the authorities increasingly began to use to lobby certain business interests. Semi-legal political corruption became widespread. The Verkhovna Rada was increasingly becoming an elite business and

political club. Legislative activity is often on the periphery of the interests of businessmen-parliamentarians (Rykhlyk, 2008, p. 721).

Even back in the Middle Ages, the merger of economic and political power led to the decentralization of the state, reducing the role of the central government. At the present historical stage, a certain merger leads to lobbying the interests of the oligarchic elites in public authorities.

Researchers have divided the elite since the early 1990s into "old" and "new". There are two scientific approaches in explaining the transition from the "old" to the "new elite". The first approach used the relationship in the newly formed elites between political (party) and economic (managerial) components that were not formally related to the previous political system.

The second involves either a "revolutionary" complete change of the elite, or self-preservation and replacement of the "scenery" around the elite. The counter-elite comes to power. Another basis for systematizing the concepts that describe the social transition may be the ratio of the role of the political (party) and the managerial (economic) component of the Soviet elite (nomenclature) in its further transformation into political elite (Sydorenko, 2006, p. 161).

Both the political and historical sciences use the term recruitment of elites. This study should analyze this process in independent Ukraine.

Recruitment in political science, as in history, means the process of selection and promotion of people to active political life. An essential place among the various levels of the recruitment process is occupied by the recruitment of the elite. The formation of the elite in each country at each stage of its development has significant originality. There are, however, general patterns in the process of people joining the ruling group. Universal for all countries is the channels of recruitment of the elite – those social institutions, membership in which allows people to achieve power.

The recruitment system is a mechanism for the formation and reproduction of the elite, which includes the criteria, procedure, and range of persons who carry out the selection. In the most general form, the idea of recruitment systems in the form of democratic and aristocratic tendencies was formulated by G. Mosca. Modern science interprets them as an entrepreneurial system and a system of guilds, respectively.

R.V. Balaban identifies the following models of recruiting the political elite in independent Ukraine:

1. Theoretical approach, when the first ranks of political parties included well-known personalities, but, in general, they had nothing to do with political activity.

2. The clan approach, initiated during the presidency of Leonid Kuchma and existing to this day.

3. Financial approach. Used in all lists. Invitations to participate in the work of parties, parliamentary elections of wealthy people, as an opportunity for financial independence (Balaban, 2008).

In stable political systems, the recruitment of the elite has a consistent nature, its clear mechanism, renewal procedures ensures significant stability of the political system. It is different in different periods of development of the independent Ukrainian state, the replacement of the political elite. It usually has negative consequences: little-known people come to power with insufficient moral and business qualities. Significant material resources are needed to prepare new elite. There must be continuity of power, training, and career growth (Shchedrov, 2008).

With each presidential election, the Ukrainian people have high hopes for new political elite. And precisely because it had to be formed mainly as a carrier of national and cultural ideas and values. For the coming to power of young, energetic politicians who can change the situation in the country for the better. But, unfortunately, the government is changing, economic, political, cultural priorities are changing and an important indicator of administrative activity at the current political stage is that the working population is leaving Ukraine.

The topic of the new elite encounters, first of all, the question of the fate of the old elite. According to research by Ukrainian and foreign scholars, the vast majority of the new elite who came to power in the 1990s were people who held high positions in the hierarchy of the old government, i.e. they belonged to the party – Soviet nomenklatura (Fesenko, 1995).

For members of the old elite, the mechanisms of managerial influence that are remnants of the totalitarian Soviet regime remain important, and such as law and order not only lose their value, but also any social objectivity and certainty. They are replaced by political and economic pragmatism, which does not take into account the rights of citizens, national interests, etc. As a result, the culture of power of the

Ukrainian elite is historically aimed at the constant and predominant use of administrative levers of power, regardless of the degree of their legitimacy and mediation by law.

Thus, the law as a managerial value has been and remains outside the functions of elite political culture (Kozakov, 2002).

The brightest figures of the old nomenclature became adherents of independent Ukrainian statehood – L. Kravchuk, I. Plyushch, L. Kuchma, E. Marchuk, V. Demin, V. Durdynets, V. Cherep, A. Matvienko, and others. According to researchers, representatives of the former republican nomenklatura tried to obtain and in some cases received the status of first persons, due to a simple "division operation": they were "second" persons in the state when the "first" sat in Moscow separated from Moscow, they automatically became the first" (Potiekhin et al., 1998).

During L. Kravchuk's presidency, directors of enterprises were a particularly important social and, consequently, political force. Gradually, economic, economic leaders, entrepreneurs, owners, and bankers (economic and financial clans) came to key positions, including the presidency after L. Kravchuk's re-election.

Ukraine still has two problems with forming its own political elite. The first is the formation of the national elite itself, ensuring its ability not only to self-realize, but also to be as useful as possible to its people, state, and only then to itself. Such a desire has not been demonstrated by the Ukrainian elite since the proclamation of independence; corporate, ownership interests in its actions have been dominant. The second problem is related to the inconsistency of actions of the national and regional elites, which significantly strengthens federalist sentiments and tendencies, and thus threatens the national unity of the unitary Ukrainian state. In recent years, this trend is even more evident.

Conclusions. In Ukraine, the old elite has not been totally eliminated and replaced by a new one. The reason for this is the impossibility of a complete replacement of professional old staff in public positions.

The conflict or split of the elites was traced along the lines of relations between the republican elite led by L. Kravchuk and the all-Soviet elite led by Mikhail Gorbachev. The second scenario of the beginning of political transit – the pact of elites – was realized in the relations between the Ukrainian "national communists" and the representatives of the national democratic camp led by V. Chornovil. The political result of such a pact was the formation of a symbiotic power

entity (at least for the period from 1991 to 1994), in which the National Communists were responsible for the staff, and the National Democrats for legitimizing the very fact of its existence (Polokhalo, 1995, p. 159).

The beginning of Kuchma's presidency and in the subsequent period is characterized by the formation of clannishness in the management of state structures, very often unprofessionalism, because managers were unfamiliar with public administration, the mechanism of "temporary" stay in power. With the re-election of the president, the ruling elite also changes (Naumkina & Kozlovska, 1999).

Sociologists note a decline in confidence in all politicians and government institutions. For example, in 2010 Yushchenko's electoral support decreased 10 times in five years (from more than 50% at the end of 2004 to 5.45% in the 2010 presidential election). During the same period, Tymoshenko's support decreased 5 times (from almost 50% in early 2005 to 10–13% in September 2009), but due to voter mobilization during the presidential campaign, it increased to 25% in the first round and to almost 45.5% in the second. Opposition leader Viktor Yanukovich lost the least. Back in July 2009, 26.8% of voters were ready to support him in the presidential election. But on the election day, he was supported by 35.32% of voters in the first round and 48.95% in the second. Almost one in five Ukrainians voted against all of them, which is 10 times more than in 2004, and one in two did not support the activities of the main state institutions – parliament, the Cabinet of Ministers, police, courts ("Rezultaty vyboriv 2010", 2010).

A large percentage of trust in the central government depends on the activities of local authorities, but as practice shows, with the election of a new president, the power vertical also changes.

An interesting view of this problem was given by a well-known Ukrainian political scientist, Doctor of Political Sciences M. Holovaty. He believes that an important guarantee of the progressive democratic development of modern Ukraine is not only the formation of its own new, nationally oriented elite, but also the coordination of actions of the national and local (regional) elite. Not only the result of state formation but also the unity and integrity of Ukraine as a unitary state significantly depends on such coherence" (Holovaty, 2006, p. 42).

In any case, there should be cooperation between all branches of government to carry out progressive reforms in various fields, to improve the political and socio-economic situation in our country.

Results. Today, according to a poll conducted by the Ukrainian Institute for the Future with the assistance of New Image Marketing Group, in the period from January 27, 2021, to February 5, 2021, we can see the following statistics: The highest level of trust among respondents to the proposed institutions recorded in the Armed Forces of Ukraine (as in the polls in February and June 2020) – 53% of respondents fully trust or rather trust than distrust the Armed Forces of Ukraine.

Also, a relatively high level of trust, compared to other institutions, was recorded in the Ukrainian media and the Patrol Police: the sum of responses "Completely" and "Rather trust" is 34% and 31%, respectively.

Among state institutions, the highest level of trust is in the Office of the President (21%).

The lowest level of trust was recorded in the Anti-Corruption Court (8%), the Anti-Corruption Bureau of Ukraine (National Anti-Corruption Bureau of Ukraine, Specialized anti-corruption prosecutor's office) – 11%, the Verkhovna Rada (12%), and the courts as a whole (12%).

Among some statesmen and politicians, the greatest trust is in President V. Zelensky – 12% of respondents fully trust the President, another 17% – rather than trust (in June 2020, these figures were 22% and 25%, respectively, ie the level of trust in President V. Zelensky significantly decreased). As the age of respondents increases, the number of those who fully or rather trust the President decreases, so among respondents aged 18–24, 44%, aged 25–34 – 37%, aged 35–44 – 29%, aged 45 and older – 23%. Respondents from Kyiv less often than others stated that they fully or rather trust V. Zelensky. Thus, V. Zelensky is increasingly losing influence over the situation in the capital.

23% of respondents completely or partially trust Yu. Boyko, 25% – D. Razumkov.

The lowest levels of trust were recorded for A. Shariy, A. Yermak, and D. Shmygal – the sum of the answers "I rather trust" and "I completely trust" is 10%, 10%, and 13%, respectively.

The highest anti-ratings on the level of trust were recorded in Yulia Tymoshenko and P. Poroshenko – the sum of the answers "I rather do not trust" is 80% and 79%, respectively.

At the same time, 39% answered the question "What can increase the efficiency of government?" that this should be a complete reset of

power, which implies the emergence of new faces who were not previously in politics but are professionals in various fields. 35% want to see the arrival of a strong leader.

More than half of the respondents (54%) note that extraordinary elections to the Verkhovna Rada need to be held in 2021. As the age of respondents increases, the number of those who consider it necessary to hold early elections to the Verkhovna Rada increases. Thus, among respondents aged 18–24 such 45%, aged 25–34 – 48%, aged 35–44 – 49%, aged 45–54 – 57%, aged 55 and older – 60%.

46% of respondents said that the presidential election of the president is needed in 2021. As the age of respondents increases, the number of those who consider it necessary to hold early presidential elections increases significantly, so among respondents aged 18–24, such 29%, aged 25–34 – 38%, aged 35–44 – 45%, aged 45–54 years – 48%, aged 55 years and older – 53%.

Respondents from the East more often than others noted the need to hold early elections to both the Verkhovna Rada and the President; respondents from Kyiv provided similar answers less often than others ("Sotsiologichne doslidzhennia", 2021).

Thus, the article considered the main historical aspects of the reasons for the formation of the elite, ways of forming the Ukrainian political elite, analyzed the concept of recruiting elites, as well as analyzed the governing state structures at different stages of development.

Research shows that with each year of Ukraine's independence, despite the rather complex processes of forming political elite, we cannot say that this process is complete.

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