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МЕРИТОКРАТІЯ ЯК МЕХАНІЗМ ФОРМУВАННЯ ПОЛІТИКО-УПРАВЛІНСЬКОЇ ЕЛІТИ НОВОЇ ГЕНЕРАЦІЇ В УМОВАХ ПЕРЕЗАВАНТАЖЕННЯ УКРАЇНСЬКОЇ ВЛАДИ

Анотація. У статті досліджуються теоретико-методологічні засади меритократії як влади достойних, вивчається наявний світовий досвід запровадження меритократії в публічному управлінні, зроблено висновки про можливість і доцільність формування політико-управлінської еліти сучасної України на принципах меритократії.

Ключові слова: меритократія, політико-управлінська еліта, нова українська влада.

Бардачев Ю.Н., Лопушинский И.П. Меритократия как механизм формирования политико-управленческой элиты новой генерации в условиях перезагрузки украинской власти

Аннотация. В статье исследуются теоретико-методологические основы меритократии как власти достойных, изучается имеющийся мировой опыт внедрения меритократии в публичное управление, сделаны выводы о возможности и целесообразности формирования политико-управленческой элиты современной Украины на принципах меритократии.

Ключевые слова: меритократия, политико-управленческая элита, новая украинская власть.

Bardachov Yu.M. Lopushynskiy I.P. Meritocracy as a mechanism of political and administrative elite of the new generation in terms of reboot of Ukrainian authorities

Annotation. The article examines the theoretical and methodological foundations of meritocracy as a power of worthy people, studies existing world experience in implementing of meritocracy in public administration, conclusions about the feasibility and advisability of the formation of political-administrative elite of modern Ukraine on the principles of meritocracy are made.

Keywords: meritocracy, political and administrative elite, the new Ukrainian authorities.

Formulation of the problem in general. Political governance is one of the functions of the political elite, which is realized through the political-administrative elite of Ukraine, which under present conditions to some extent

originate from the communist and post-Soviet nomenclature and to a greater extent - from the failed regime of ex-president of Ukraine Viktor Yanukovich. Since the basis of political control is direct involvement of the political elite to the most important decision-making and forming the vector (both internal and external) development, the decisive question is quality of a national managerial elite. That is why the subject of our research is to identify high-quality components in the formation of the elite, based on the individual abilities of the individual in public administration.

Analysis of recent research and publications. Recently, the question of the formation of modern government based on meritocracy treated domestic and foreign researchers, including A.Baymenov, O.Hnyedash, L.Daschakivska, M.Krol, L.Mandziy, O.Naumenko, M.Piren, I. Shevchenko etc.

Tagging of parts of the general problem not resolved before. However, their studies and other researches substantially didn't cover the role of meritocracy in attracting new political and administrative elite, able to work in extremely difficult conditions of post-revolutionary restructuring of Ukrainian society caused by the events of late 2013 - early 2014.

The purpose of the article - to define the essence of the concept of "meritocracy" and to clarify its role in the approval of the new Ukrainian government formed in early 2014.

The main material. As you know, meritocracy (literally "the power of the nobles," from Lat. Meritus - Worthy, noble, and Greek . Κρατος - power board) - control principle, according to which leadership positions should embrace most talented, the most worthy, the most gifted people, regardless of their social or economic origin[9]. Synonymous meritocracy served by "intellectcracy", i.e. society which is managed by people with outstanding intellectual abilities.

The term "meritocracy" is mainly used in two senses. The first involves the creation of the value of the initial conditions for objectively talented and hard-working people to have a chance in the future to take a high social status in

conditions of free competition. The second meaning of the term corresponds to the system, the opposite aristocracy and democracy, where leaders are appointed from among the special wards talents [7].

Social and political system in which the Board is responsible for intellectuals, was described long before the introduction of the concept of "meritocracy." Principles meritocratic control goes back to Solon (archon in ancient Athens). Plato in his famous work "The State" [10] spoke of the need to entrust governance philosophers. Confucius in his teaching [5] also preached in power need of enlightened rulers.

However, understanding and knowledge acquisition were not Plato or Confucius as self phenomena, they were closely related concepts such as integrity and achieve the common good. For example, one of the fundamental principles of the doctrine of Confucius was the principle of "jen", signifying humanity, philanthropy, charity. A supporter of public education without discrimination based on social status, education for Confucius understood the unity of two processes: education and training [5]. Thus, the first one was defined as more significant. The purpose of education Confucius considered the spiritual growth of the individual, his improvement to the ideal of a noble man or "tszyuntszy" medium of high moral character [5].

The term "meritocracy" was first used (but in a humiliating sense) by British politician and sociologist Michael Young in a satirical essay - dystopian "The rise of meritocracy, 1870-2033" (1958). This book is written in a manuscript, allegedly drawn up in 2033, where the author talks about the transformation of British society at the turn of XX-XXI centuries. Instead of the classical class division, which makes man's place in the social hierarchy of the presence in it of various resources (social origin, wealth, relationships, etc.), it's a new social order where now only skill and intelligence determine the social status of the person. The ruling class, which is formed not on the basis of competence, ceased to hold the UK and as a result a number of reforms were gradually introduced system of government

worthy - meritocracy. The value (merit) person and it was defined as a combination of a futuristic society in terms of two elements: intelligence quotient (IQ) and attachment force (effort). The book describes such a system leads to a revolution in which the masses take off arrogant and detached from the people of the elite.

Similar scenes were used in other literary works.

Later in the term "meritocracy" was more positive, which took up the supporters of equality of opportunities. Meritocracy was sought in many countries, from the UK to Singapore. Meritocracy thus acted as an ideology that masks the order of things that exists and strengthens within the neo-liberal policies.

Thus, in his book "The Future of postindustrial society" (1973), a theorist of post-industrial society, Daniel Bell wrote that meritocracy will eliminate bureaucracy, and change the social structure of society as a whole [2]. "Everyone in the community gets that meritocratic social status which he deserved. Meritocracy in favor of equality of opportunity at the beginning of the race, unlike egalitarianism, which advocates equality results at the finish. Therefore, meritocracy is the fairest social system "- so say proponents of "government of worthy ones", especially Daniel Bell [2].

Similar view had the representatives of neoconservatism in western sociology, including Zbigniew Brzezinski.

One of the analysts in meritocracy was a mathematician Alexander Hrotendik who traced the evolution of elite group of mathematicians from Commonwealth geniuses to divide the cell into two social castes: hardness "higher" and "swamp" living in fear [4]. However, according to some critics meritocracy, this concept is designed to justify the privilege of the intellectual elite. [12]

Meritocracy not only denies the importance of human qualities that are not related to intelligence, but also acts as an ideology that leaves no room for human solidarity. The basis of competition is meritocracy: in order to get a high position

in society and ensure a high quality of life, one must continuously develop their skills and they excel others. Roots of meritocracy is in individual and not collective start. In this sense, meritocracy serves as an ideology, close capitalism, with its competition and the need for constant growth to preserve the leading position. Meritocracy (quite in the spirit of capitalism) was compatible with the idea of solidarity. The ideology of meritocracy is close in nature to the so-called social Darwinism, extrapolating the biological principle of natural selection to the social development of the human race [6].

The appearance of meritocracy indicates demise of social inequality on economic considerations, building of social hierarchy on the criterion of learning. The existence of meritocracy involves creating initial conditions for objectively talented and hard-working people, giving them the chance to occupy high positions in the social conditions of free competition. Board persons who earned that right by own efforts and merits, positive impact on society as promote the development of human potential and talents of individuals. Meritocracy promotes the humanization of society, it spreads a culture of tolerance, consensus among citizens.

2011 in Ukraine was officially registered political party "meritocratic Party of Ukraine" (founder and its chairman - Ukrainian politician Igor Shevchenko). In his "January Theses" 2010, he introduces the term "meritocracy" in a very positive, programmatic sense. By I. Shevchenko, meritocracy is a new philosophy of the new state elite, which is constantly breeding honest, talented and capable individuals, and which are promoted upward social and political ladder by system according to their personal achievements and moral character. [3]

According to I. Shevchenko meritocracy - is a democratic political system (the system of power and social control), which elected to leadership positions (president, parliamentarians and other elected officials) and appoint (ministers, judges and others) solely on the basis of personal achievement of human (education, intelligence (knowledge), talent, ability, skills, achievements and

accomplishments), which are objectively the best. This system, which is constantly breeding gifted and talented individuals, and which are promoted by system upward social and political ladder according to their achievements.

However, meritocracy as a power worthy is a concept clearly profound, multifaceted, largely but not yet fully conscious, has not been studied and is not specified.

In this regard, we turn to the world of experience strengthening meritocracy in individual countries and its use in modern Ukraine.

Yes, according to some researchers, China in some periods of its history was close to realization of meritocratic system. Thus, during the reign of the Song Dynasty (960-1279) three-level exams through which the role of governors selected applicants a better way to understand art, Confucianism and administrative problems [11] were widely used.

The modern Chinese meritocratic system makes it impossible to make any incompetent person rose to the pinnacle of power. No excess noise power China introduces a system that can be called "choice plus elections» - «selection plus election»: competent leaders are selected and promoted in their careers based on their merit, gained through hard work and support through public opinion polls , internal assessment and various "local" elections. And despite a series of corruption scandals and resignations that have recently occurred in China, the Chinese political system, as the economy is still solid, predictable, controllable and stable.

This model of leadership is much more oriented to the service for the benefit of future generations but not for the next hundred days, or the next election. China Political innovations create a system that combines the well-proven option promote leaders and ensure the output of the system "talentless" leaders through collective leadership, strict terms of power and reasonable age limit.

Meritocratic China model "choice plus elections" increasingly competing with the Western model of popular democracy. China learned a lot in the West and

continues to do so for their own benefit. According to experts, the Chinese model is subject to its further improvement by 2020 will make this country a country with the world's largest economy with all economical and political consequences of this, both for China and for the world.

There is a view in the United States that the principle of meritocracy there have already been implemented, so that the personal achievements of Americans are dependent on the skills, hard work, life and ethics guidelines [13]. However, critics point out that, as before, an important role in this respect plays heritage, social and cultural benefits, the objective possibilities in the labor market and for individual entrepreneurship, success, access to quality education and discrimination [13].

The most striking example of meritocracy to legitimize neoliberal policies now offer Singapore, one of the three countries with the highest standard of living in the world, although a few decades ago it was a poor and backward state. On this occasion, Director of the Institute of World Economy and International Relations, National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, Academician Yuri Pakhomov in an interview Weekly.ua, in particular said, "When the legendary Prime Minister of Singapore Lee Kuan Yew, who made a first-class country from shelter for homeless was asked: "How do you cope with corruption?" - he said, "When I came to power, I immediately put in prison two closest friends of mine. Then, one day dismissed all judges and their places were put to the best law schools graduates. Yes, it was undemocratic. However, the same United States that teach us democracy and watching us like a cat on a mouse - endorsed our actions enthusiastically "[3].

Management of this authoritarian state with a radically liberal economic policies marked meritocracy as one of the ideological foundations of his regime. This concept of meritocracy is defined as an ideological platform both the education system and all other pillars of the policy pursued by the ruling elite.

However, this example demonstrates a faster level of political will to reform, rather than the content of the reforms. Each country must have its own meaningful and technological content of the reform.

A few years ago under President Saakashvili Georgia went on the path of meritocracy and it has already made significant progress in its development.

Ukraine certainly is not Singapore or even Georgia, but also its meritocratic path of development is very promising especially today. Therefore, everything depends on people in power. If the people in power are worthy of power, that are fair ones, responsible and significant, the country and its citizens thrive, and if on the contrary, the country is degrading, and most people - requiring that took place in the Ukrainian realities in early 2014, when the ruling elite fatten, and 80 percent of the population were below the poverty line.

Often supporters of meritocracy trying to drive to a standstill with simple question: "Worthy of what?" The answer to this question is simpler and should not be ashamed of it, "worthy of human respect and honor" [3].

Indeed, it is difficult to imagine that power, which is always a repressive element in public life can be loved. However, we believe that respect certain of its representatives on the results of their operations and actions can and must be, if they are worth of it.

So, what should be these people and their actions to cause the unconditional respect and honor the vast majority of citizens-voters?

If we agree that meritocracy is a philosophy of smart and moral people at the same time, it is clear that the activities of such people in any field should differ significantly its reasonableness, prudence, and therefore - and efficiency.

As can be seen, for obvious reasons, we have relatively few persons with such inherited and brought up from childhood qualities.

However, in various spheres of public life there are persons about which one could not say that they are very intelligent and moral - but they significantly affect the quality of our lives. And, as practice shows, the impact on the social

processes of such citizens, to put it mildly, of not very responsible category, is at least an order of magnitude greater [3].

So obviously it is not sufficient that the upper reaches of government in the state took meritocrats; it is necessary that all state and public institutions, as well as the relationship between them and ordinary citizens have been built just on meritocratic basis. These principles have become the basis and rule of public policy. In this regard academician Yu. Pahomov also notes that, obviously, this is the recipe can bring Ukraine from the list of states which have not taken place, the compound of the United Nations [3], especially after the Third Ukrainian revolution of the late 2013 - early 2014.

It is also clear the fact that political power, which can initiate and implement such radical reforms must be new, not burdened either negative own past or governmental concerns of our uneasy present days.

Many parties could - and perhaps would - take on their arms ideology of meritocracy. However, this ideology requires significant self-terminating. Simply put - the conscience of all party members and, firstly, from their leaders.

One well-known politician, summarizing two decades of Ukraine independence, once said, "The first decade was the decade of illiterate and unscrupulous, the second - literate, but also unscrupulous, I hope, he said that in the third one competent and conscientious ones appear " [3]. So we sincerely hope that our meritocratic, conscientious future is possible, starting from 2014.

To strengthen meritocracy, especially now that Ukraine faced in completely new phenomenon "Maidan" as people power, significant importance the self-organization of citizens takes place. Without this self-organization it is impossible to provide a self-confidence of the people in power, because citizens will not nominate those contenders for power who they trust. Self-organization does not deny the principles of meritocracy, but in the case of this concept in principle is the formation of the system of values in society, evaluation and selection of decent

personnel. Without a transparent and comprehensive assessment of people contenders for power idea of "decent power" can be reborn again in the recent dictatorship.

At full and final implementation of meritocracy we certainly get continuous positive for the majority of the people of Ukraine. Negative will be only for corrupt, incompetent people lazy and the rest of the villains, because some of them should go to jail, and the other ones - get rid of illegal sources of income and will have to work honestly (they want it or not).

Conclusions and outcomes. So meritocracy under present conditions is mostly just an ideology , because, apart from particular countries, where ideas of meritocratic society implemented partially, there are no historical examples of absolute implement because of social origin, wealth, relationships and other resources to continue as still to some extent determine the human capacity and therefore affect its progress up the social ladder . Also, a big question is the possibility of absolute embodiment of meritocracy in the life. However, the new Ukrainian government has to do now everything possible to give power to fair and honorable personalities, people will not give it the fourth historical chance.

Prospects for further research. Further investigation of the problem disturbed by us, we see in the coverage of the first steps of the new Ukrainian elite that came to power in the Third Ukrainian revolution of the late 2013 - early 2014, on anti-corruption fight and lustration of national authorities at all levels and as a result - bringing the leadership of the state at all levels with worthy citizens of their country.

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Statement of the problem. Political governance is one of the functions of the political elite, which is realized through the political-administrative elite of Ukraine, which under present conditions to some extent originate from the communist and post-Soviet nomenclature and to a greater extend - from the failed regime of ex-president of Ukraine Viktor Yanukovich. Since the basis of political control is direct involvement of the political elite to the most important decision-making and forming the vector (both internal and external) development, the decisive question is quality of a national managerial elite. That is why the subject of our research is to identify high-quality components in the formation of the elite, based on the individual abilities of the individual in public administration.

Urgency. As you know, meritocracy - a system in which there is always the selection of talented and capable individuals, and which system is pushing up the social and political ladder according to their achievements. However, meritocracy as a power of worthy people is a concept clearly profound, multifaceted, largely not yet fully conscious, has not been studied and is not specified and the needs of the modern scientific understanding.

The purpose of the article - to define the essence of the concept of "meritocracy" and to clarify its role in the approval of the new Ukrainian government formed in early 2014.

Our task was to study the theoretical and methodological principles of meritocracy as a power worthy ones, studying the international experience of implementing of meritocracy in public administration, compilation of thoughts on the possibility and desirability of forming political and administrative elite of modern Ukraine on the basis of meritocracy.

Summary. As you know, meritocracy (literally "the power of the nobles," from Lat. Meritus - Worthy, noble, and Greek . Κρατος - power board) - control principle , according to which leadership positions should embrace most talented, the most worthy, the most gifted people, regardless of their social or economic origin[9].

Social and political system in which the Board engaged intellectuals were described long before the introduction of the concept of "meritocracy". Principles of Management meritocratically roots in the Saline (archon in ancient Athens). Plato in his glorious book "The State" [10] spoke of the need to entrust governance philosophers. Confucius in his teaching [5] also preached in power need of enlightened rulers.

Celebrating the mind and the pursuit of knowledge, both thinkers influenced the philosophers of the Enlightenment, which sought inspiration in the ancient people. Defining value as the main reason, the thinkers of this period also contributed significantly to the understanding of the issue of inequality between people.

The term "meritocracy" was first used (but in derogatory sense) by British politician and sociologist Michael Young in a satirical essay - dystopia "The rise of meritocracy, 1870-2033" (1958). Later in the term "meritocracy" appeared more positive, which have adopted the supporters of equality of opportunity. Many countries have sought meritocracy, from the UK to Singapore. In this regard, the

article describes the establishment of international experience meritocracy in individual countries, including the U.S., China, Singapore, Georgia, and its use in modern Ukraine. Ukraine certainly is not Singapore or even Georgia, but for it meritocratically development path, especially today, is very promising.

Conclusions and outcomes. So meritocracy under present conditions is mostly just an ideology , because, apart from particular countries, where ideas of meritocratically society implemented partially, there are no historical examples of absolute implement because of social origin, wealth, relationships and other resources to continue as still to some extent determine the human capacity and therefore affect its progress up the social ladder . Also, a big question is the possibility of absolute embodiment of meritocracy in the life. However, the new Ukrainian government has to do now everything possible to give power to fair and honorable personalities, people will not give it the fourth historical chance.