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Influence of Relationship Between Federal and Regional Elite on Safety of the State

ABSTRACT

Sometimes the term “elite” loaned from foreign socio-humanistic disciplines is not easy corresponding with modern Russian realities. And more special it concerns political elite. The possession of a whole number of personal and moral qualities was a sign of belonging to elite of its representative in pre-revolutionary Russia, but elite has been depersonalized in the Soviet political model and could be described in nomenclature terms. Actually, the elite production technology has been put in motion, identification the elite was defined by a post occupied and could be lost at any time by its owner owing to these or those reasons. Thus the interests of elite were identified with the interests of the state. In the 90’s another model has come to replace the Soviet model of formation of elite on a nomenclature basis, where the political elite is recruited as a team representing the interests of the specific functionary. Such approach has resulted in a further depreciation of elite to a group carrying out functions of supernumeraries to certain charismatic leaders. Under these conditions the elite appears to be even less stable and distinctly shaped. At the moment the system of preparation of elite is in a deep crisis and that is focused not on real formation but on production of some substitute which is not possessing real attributes of elitism. In the presented theses an attempt is undertaken, ascending from the particular to the general, to estimate inductively the real condition of the Russian elite. A problem of the actual state of a political elite recruitment system in Russia is poses, its real situation is described, and the issue of need of radical improvement of quality of elite through modernization of public administration system and revision of the elite recruitment concept is brought up.

Key words: *political elite, nomenclature, recruitment of elite.*

Discussion of the Russian elite may often bring to a nonplus. It is very difficult to correlate the content of this concept loaned from foreign sources with attributes of our life. Certainly in our country we may be proud of the remarkable and outstanding personalities, such as Nobel winners, great commanders. However, as always, we will try to go from the particular to the general at discussion of any difficult question. That is, having put forward a model of studying of the Russian political elite, we will try to adjust it to the real-life persons.

With the creative, technical and scientific intellectuals everything seems to be more or less clear, but not with political elite. Basically it represents a certain fair of vanity where political characters appear, found them to be at just the right time and place as the fates decree. Historically this category was named by a simple and capacious word – the nomenclature. That is the people nominated by circumstances or leaders on top of the power. These characters always enjoyed a typical Russian dual attitude in society: While the person at the top of power, he is well respect, admired and categorized as extra figures, that is, as so-called elite. But with a careless movement, at the stroke of a pen this person can linger behind the scene for many years and even forever. That is he will lose the right to be ranked as elite. Since October revolution in 1917 the domestic political elite was formed in a directive way. Outstanding personalities of that era are forgotten, and even in the program of domestic history they are mentioned in a few words only. The reason for all this is that the political elite were very vulnerable and many people paid with life being at top.

We talk only about the political public sphere as different technologies, cynical in fact and provocative in matter, are impressively and actively used in this sphere. Certainly, political life of a country cannot exist without remarkable, extraordinary clever persons devoting the life to work for the benefit of the country. Such people were idols of the nation. The cities, plants, steamships were named after them during their lifetime... The people have literally sworn by their names: Trotsky Kamenev, Zinoviev, Bukharin, Kirov ... Who will dare to tell that they were not the elite of the Soviet society? Unfortunately, the remarkable people lives, as comets do, not a long life. But unlike comets departure of a politician during those years was a destruction of the whole Galaxy: he was destroyed along with all his relatives, colleagues and admirers. They were labelled as the members of the family of the enemy of the people, the participant of the anti-Soviet block and they were annihilated to dust in extermination camps. The change of elite in the 20’s –30’s of the 20th century resembled today’s brand change: Has got out of fashion, has been junked and utilized in the end.

Having realized this tendency, the next year’s charismatic heads tried not to be excelled. Nevertheless, there were brilliant heads in the forties. Nowadays they may be viewed with a mixed response, it is impossible to deny their ability to work for the general result to them. Years of war generally became a rising stars époque of military officials, such as marshals Zhukov, Rokossovsky, Timoshenko ... It was the real elite grown up in difficult years and succeed in solving the most difficult problem of inflicting a defeat to the Third Reich. But, with the end of war, there was no place for them in the political life of the post-war country. Moreover, even such outstanding person as G.K. Zhukov was ostracized also to political destruction.

All this proves a nomenclature essence of the Soviet elite. As pagans in the past, we worship to wooden idols and when they begin

to bother us – we burn them all.

The short period of the contemporary history 1991-1995 has brought by meetings generated passions and appearance of spontaneous leaders. There was a formation of new elite, and, substantively, of a nomenklatura. The country has faced in the person of B. Yeltsin a “selector” who has tried to grow up the new elite on an artificial way: people working not for the country, but for him personally. There was new court nobility, with old attributes of slavish servile humility. There we would like to remember that in a literal sense, Yeltsin drummed with spoons plain melodies on the heads of “representatives of political elite”. He could easily throw out outboard his press secretary, whose opinion was always constitutive for the state mass media.

It is hardly possible to imagine a similar behavior of the highest representative of political elite with reference to Margaret Thatcher or De Gaulle. At this point we cannot recall elementary human indignation of representatives of elite in connection with the facts of contemptuous wild behavior of the president. This can't be called a really elite. Servants are more than likely.

In the person of leaders of political parties we deal in modern Russia with a product of a kind of an elitological incubator. A number of parties exist exactly until the party's leader is alive or leads the party. A goodly proportion of parties, for all that charismaticness of their leaders is shown, have amorphous and absolutely faceless character. Who knows at least ten names from among members of LDPR (The Liberal Democratic Party of Russia)? Or from A Just Russia party? Or CPRF, Communist Party of the Russian Federation. This is with the fact that all parties listed above are belonging to a so-called political counterelite. How there can be a political party deprived of own elite? We may suppose that we deal with a special domestic standard of formation of elite where only few leaders would tolerate the presence of an outstanding extraordinary personality nearby. Therefore representatives of so-called political elite remind a kaleidoscope: by revolving this magic tubule you will forget the order the small crystals were positioned before. Absence of continuity as evolution forms, does not allow the new leaders even to mention the predecessors in vain.

For the understanding, what principles did promote the formation of elite layers in our Fatherland in the last centuries, we will refer to the “Recommendations for the young officer”, created at the time of Russian-Japanese war of 1904 by Captain Valentin Kulchitski. This document, in fact, became the code of honor of the Russian officer. After more than hundred years these “Recommendations” are still of current interest:

1. Do not promise, if you are not sure that you will keep the promise.
2. Behave simply, with advantage, without foppery.
3. Please have always in your head the border where politeness full of dignity comes to an end and servility begins.
4. Do not write rash letters and official reports in a temper.
5. Have less heart-to-heart talks – you will regret it. Remember: A man's ruin lies in his tongue!
6. Do not hit the big spots – you will not prove bravery, and you will discredit yourself.
7. Take your time for to be on friendly terms with the person whom do you insufficiently know.
8. Avoid monetary related matters with your companions. Money always spoils the relations.
9. Do not take personally a pity remarks, sallies of wit, the sneers expressed hard at hand that often happens on streets and in public places. Get over it! Leave – you will not lose, and you will get rid of scandal.
10. If you cannot tell anything good about a person, abstain from telling the bad if you know.
11. Do not neglect the recommendations from the sidelines – just listen. The right to follow it or not, remains for you. Manage to use a piece of good advice from another one is a kind of art of not less importance, than to give a piece of good advice to you.
12. Strength of an officer is not in rushes, but in indestructible tranquility.
13. Protect reputation of the woman who has trusted in you whoever she was.
14. There are situations in life possible when it would be necessary to force to be silent your heart and to live by taking reason as guide.
15. The secret reported by you at least to only one person, ceases to be secret.
16. Keep always your eyes skinned and keep a tight hold upon yourself.
17. Be at the pains while disputing that your words are soft and arguments are strong. Try not to annoy the opponent but to convince him.
18. Officers are not allowed to dance on public masquerades.
19. While talking, avoid gesticulation and do not raise your voice.
20. If you have found yourself to be in a room where among other guests there is a person with whom you are in quarrel, that, by greeting all in attendance, it is conventional to hold out a hand to the respective person also, of course, in case if it cannot be avoided, without having drawn attention of attendants or hosts hereto. Holding out a hand will not give cause to excessive conversations, and will not lay you under an obligation.
21. Nothing learns like understanding of the mistake. This is one of the main tools of self-education. The man who never made a mistake, never made anything.
22. When two persons quarrel, both are always to blame.
23. A great reputation can be earned only by knowledge of the case and service. It is important, that subordinates respected you, but not be afraid of you. If there is a fear, there is no love, and there is an unrevealed enmity or hatred.
24. There is nothing worse than indecision. The worst decision is better, than fluctuation or inaction. You will not be able to retrieve a missed moment.
25. The one who is afraid of nothing is more powerful, than the one whom all are afraid of.

It seems to be that everybody will find in “Recommendations” not simply the wise thoughts, but also examples as this simple truth is systematically broken by those who identifies now themselves with elite.

The reader will be astonished by the use of “elite” term with reference to “semi-finished product”. We often hear that graduates of MGIMO, the Moscow State University, the Ryazan school of airborne forces and other educational institutions to be the elite of the Russian youth, of armed forces. It seems to be very simple, according to the persons using this term, to create elite: to pay for training, to take a training course lamely and you are in elite now! Thus the sane majority of our society understands that the diploma of higher education or another kind of a certificate cannot be an admission to the establishment top. That the majority

of graduates is not elite, but just a row part, a semi-finished product, which, theoretically, can be used for something good. Or maybe not. The system of the Russian higher education, where “any whim” can come true for money of entrants, strenuously tries to impose to society opinion that the system is ready to elite reproduction. Thus the humanitarian disciplines become the main characteristic ones for the present time “elite incubators”: law, economy, management and administration. However, at check in practice, being, as we know, the best arbitrator, it turns to be that “the final product”, to be offered to society, is often much worse, than it was at entering the university. One of the reasons of such situation is that initially students became “driven into their heads” the exclusiveness of education got by them, being directly connected with a higher education institution brand. And finally, it is very difficult today to “representatives of elite” with diplomas of lawyers, economists, managers and managers, to get a job. It would seem obviously, the person cannot effectively manage and give orders until the time when he has learnt to work, to serve, do something by the hands. Therefore the majority of “elite” managers, administrators etc. are only capable to implement the Parkinson’s Law, by producing the similar persons. Today it is well known, how it worked in the Ministry of Defense. “Elite” managers and administrators have undermined combat effectiveness of Armed forces of Russia, have plundered and wasted everything that “lie in temptation’s way”, finally having found themselves in the dock.

A very special subject is training of elite in departmental higher education institutions of intelligence services, first of all, in the FSB Academy and universities of the Ministry of Internal Affairs. There are unique directions of training for specialists of operative-investigative specialization, intelligence and counterintelligence specialization, providing second higher education with foreign language skills, key and operational personnel training and retraining courses. People with basic higher technical education and education in the humanities, with expertise in working with people, wide range experts were always necessary for the intelligence services in Russia. It was practically impossible to enter the educational institutions of intelligence services after the graduation from a higher education institution or from a secondary school. The person should complete “labor training”, put up a good performance in job, and only having completed all that he could put on his officer shoulder straps. Today cadets for the educational institutions of intelligence services are taken practically from a school bench. And, not best of the best are taken, but those who has managed “to find connections” to the personnel departments dealing with the selection of candidates. Perhaps therefore, all reforms of the Ministry of Internal Affairs reform aren’t working properly, as the very same aforementioned “elite” tries to implement these reforms at different levels.

Imposing sanctions in connection with the events in Ukraine compels Russia, along with other measures, to revise the concept of a recruitment of elite. First of all it is necessary to modernize process of public administration for these purposes, to formulate an articulable program of development of the state and society on the basis of the valuable ideals, capable to unite ordinary citizens and the power, to involve if not the whole population of the country, but its majority in implementation of common goals and tasks. With other words, it is necessary to increase the quality of the Russian political elite which essentially differs today from axiomatic definition according to which “representatives of ruling minority steadily possess properties, real or perceived which are deeply respected in that society where they live .”

The moment of truth comes for an objective assessment of our elite, and a lot of things should be rethought and redefined soon.