POLITICKÉ VEDENÍ (HISTORIE, PROBLÉMU, VYHLÍDKY)

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THE THEORIES OF POLITICAL ELITE

In the main works «Social Systems» (1902) and «The treatise of the general sociology» (1916) V. Pareto (1848-1923) formulated the concept according to which balance and dynamics of some social system are determined by ruling minority – the elite passable certain cycles of the development. The elites are that the best that is created in a society subsoil; they arise from its lower class, rise during the fight in the highest circles, blossom there, and subsequently degenerate and disappear. To them the so-called counterelites, which pass the same phases of development and decline, come to change, and then are replaced by new elite formations too. Thus the change of elite, as a rule, marks itself alternation in power of the different types of elite, in particular, «foxes» (resourceful, cunning and unscrupulous) and «lions» (possessing feeling of devotion to the state, conservative-minded and not afraid to use the force), using the various methods of management and dominion.

As a whole the elites tends to decline, and the counterelites coming in stead them – to production of potentially elite elements. This circulation, circulation of elite V. Pareto called «the universal law of history», which allows the society to accumulate and to use all the best that developed in it, for the sake of own wellbeing. The circulation termination inevitably conducts to the full degeneration of ruling elite and accumulation in it negative elements for society which interfere with transition to the elite layers of the best representatives of society, and also development of the last.

Formulating the concept, Pareto recognized that the major case of allocation of elite groups are the certain psychological tendencies, personal feelings and components («резидуи») belonging to its representatives, which, actually, distinguish them from other mass of the population. Thus, Pareto conceptually issued Plato, F. Nietzsche, T. Carlyle's numerous ideas and other thinkers who pointed to existence of the certain human qualities expressing (natural) inequality of people both dividing the highest and the lower class. In this sense the elite was understood as a peculiar meritocracy, i.e. group of the best people possessing special social qualities irrespective of they inherited or got them in the course of the development.

It is interesting that to these special properties dividing people subsequently it in begun to attach not only positive significance. In the XVIII century the Russian writer P. Boborykin (and subsequently M. Bakunin) described special type of people so-called «rabble», i.e. those social outsiders who take a special public position. And in the 60th of the XX century the French thinkers Zh.P.Sartre, M. Debre and especial

ly H. Marcuse developed the whole doctrine about a leading political role in the industrial society of representatives of «a social bottom» who owing to the specific and unique experience can be only considered as original elite of society.

Thus, the emphasis on individual qualities of the persons possessing intellectual, moral or some other superiority over the others and on this basis belonging to elite groups, allows to consider V. Pareto as the founder of the so-called **aristocratic** direction in an elitology. The other qualitatively approach was offered by one more great Italian G. Mosca (1858–1941) who has put in the major works («The theory of management and the parliamentary board», 1884 and «Elements of political science», 1896) the bases, conditionally speaking, the **functional** direction considering the elite as a group of managing directors, carrying out certain social duties.

However, instead of the concept «elite» G. Mosca posessed more with the category «a ruling class» which showed that along with the properties distinguishing its representatives from the others, in particular, by wealth, military valor, an origin or possession of a management skill, the main reason of its imperious power, a high degree of *internal organization and unity* of this group was. This property also allows elite to concentrate the management of society and the state in the hands, uniting the population in the course of transition from one historical era to another.

The main task of elite as special political class consists first of all in strengthening of the domination, and it is even not so much dejure, how many defacto. The organization of ruling minority is reflected directly the so-called «political formula», meaning the set of legal and moral means and methods of strengthening of the power and situation by it. At the same time the main function of the state embodying this formula, is maintenance of balance both in the relations of managing and operated directors, and in ruling class. The absence of such balance G. Mosca considered as the reason of formation of the regimes usurping prestige of the legitimate power.

According to the representations of the Italian political scientist, owing to the organization the political class as a matter of fact monopolizes the power, supervising all actions of the majority, including election campaigns which under such circumstances aren't able to impose the will of the population to ruling groups. At the same time for the sake of preservation of required political balance the upper class is compelled to justify the domination in the opinion of public opinion by means of abstract and rational not demonstrable political images of the «sovereign people», dominating the general of the «will of the people», etc.

The close attention G. Mosca paid also to the processes of change of structure and continuity in the development of the ruling class. In particular, having allocated the democratic and aristocratic tendencies in its development, he emphasized that providence of the last group of managing directors expressing the aspiration anyway to become hereditary and constant, conducts to «closing and crystallization», and then to the clite degeneration.

In parallel with G. Mosca the German scientist R. Michels (1876–1936) developed the same approaches who has paid the main attention to the description of party

elite, but drawn thus also important generalizing conclusions. So, in his opinion, the elite domination directly is defined by the impossibility of direct participation of masses in administrative processes and control from their party. Thus, the organization of political interactions turning the mechanisms of representation of interests of citizens, inevitably nominates the minority to the leading positions. And the natural dynamics of the organizational processes by all means conducts to degeneration of the ruling groups in oligarchical associations.

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THE POLITICAL LEADERSHIP

The characteristic of political leadership has to proceed, first of all, from understanding of that leadership that it is the universal and integral mechanism of functioning of *some* human community. Thanks to it, the community of people has additional opportunities for the strengthening of internal integration, the increase of degree of integrity and, as a result, the strengthening of the resilience.

The leadership is a way of internal structuring of the social group, allocation of those fundamental elements which promote the realization of the common interests. In this sense the leadership characterizes not only personal qualities of the person (group of persons) carrying out these functions, but mainly their relations with the main part of the population. The leader is an element of maintenance of the relations of «tops» and «bottoms», their institutionalizing for self-preservation of a community and implementation of the interests by it. As a matter of fact, the leader is the institute connected by the relation of responsibility before the population.

Considering the social nature of such relations, the leader along with the status characteristics reflects the existence of the special moral and ethical relations with the population which can testify to this or that level of the authoritativeness of board. Differently, the activity of some leading person is inevitably mediated by moral estimates of the population which reflect this or that level of informal support of its ascendent position.

All called general properties of leadership are inherent also in its political form. However for the characteristic of essence of actually political leadership two components have the position of importance: the status and the moral and ethical. The first assumes existence of the formal (official) opportunities allowing this or that person (group of persons) steadily to influence the power, to head real decision-making process, to carry out certain functions and to bear a certain responsibility in their framework. The second, moral and ethical component, shows only moral responsibility of

the heads before the population as a condition of preservation and stability of the political power.

Thus, the political leadership as institute of the power possesses the double essence which is including both the institutional, and the moral aspects. From the status party the political leadership acts as the highest segment of the power completing a pyramid of management, as the decision-making center which defines style and nature of activity of all other main administrative structures and the organizations. At the same time the existence of moral and ethical communications of the leader with the population gives the power organizations additional resources for the solution of political tasks.

The distinctive features of political leadership are decided also by its scale, organic communication with interests of social groups, interaction on such social institute, as *the state*. Considering it, it is impossible to transfer to activity of some political leader mechanically those features of behavior, motivation or other lines of activity of the leader which are shown in small groups (for example, to consider it only as focus of the group relations or to cause a consent from the point of view of its art, to take a special role position, to have continuous impact on the power, etc.).

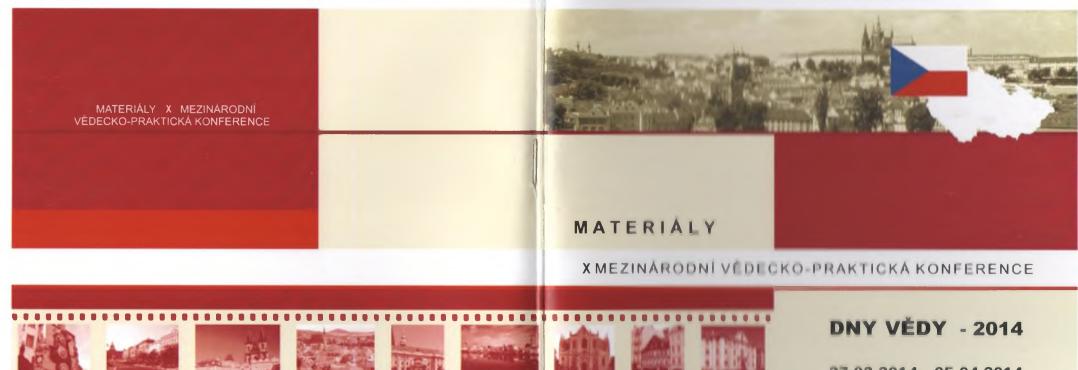
Many researchers rely on the typology of leadership developed by the German philosopher and the sociologist Max Veber (1864 – 1920). It allocated three types of leadership:

- 1) the traditional the right for leadership, belonging to elite, belief in sanctity of traditions;
- 2) the charismatic belief in ability of the leader, its exclusiveness. a cult of personality
- 3) rationally legal (bureaucratic) it is based on belief in legality of an existing order.

The political leader, especially the leader of national scale, possesses also special nature of communication with the population, mediating this process by activity of special structures – the administrative staff, the specialized political organizations, for example, parties, mass media, etc. which create special social communications of the power and society. Such «remote» information communications by time exclude direct contacts of leaders with the population, inducing the population to make a fetish of their figures, creating an inadequate image of the Supreme power.

Expressing interests of large social groups, the political leader inevitably solves in the course of power implementation the various social problems, playing multiple roles, carrying out diverse functions. And in political space multipurpose nature of activity of the leader, oriented on balance of various interests, as a rule, gives to his behavior corporate and group character.

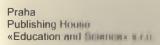
Along with these characteristics – we will call them general political – the political leaders possess also special lines and qualities which give the chance to them not only to supervise device activity, to compete with other representatives of ruling class, but also to gain authority of the population. From the standard point of view these personal qualities have to have *demonstration* character, i.e. to show to citizens

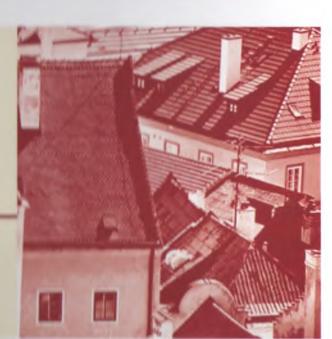


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