

# **Republican Tradition as the Organizational Ideal and Tools for its Implementation in Modern Political Parties**

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**Key terms:** political organizations, republican tradition, organizational ideal, hierarchical construction, variable structure, dynamic networks.

## **Abstract:**

The detailed analysis of all four components of the republican tradition has allowed us to determine the conditions under which they can be fully realized in modern political parties as the organisational ideal.

In the course of our research (its results are presented in a number of publications), we ran a diagnostic of Ukrainian political parties; analysed the external and internal environments; defined the prerequisites for the construction of successful ideological political middle class parties in Ukraine within the framework of the republican tradition as the organizational ideal; identified key issues that thwart this process and formulated our own conception of their solution.

This made it possible to develop a strategy for restructuring Ukrainian political parties that includes their vision; a variable structure constructed for them – i.e. a dynamic network; and the order of deployment of political organizations on its basis, the concept of their activity, and the principles of financing.

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In the course of our research (its results are presented in a number of publications), we ran a diagnostic of Ukrainian political parties [1, 2, 3]; analysed the external and internal environments [4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9]; defined the prerequisites for the construction of successful ideological political middle class parties in Ukraine within the framework of the republican tradition as the organizational ideal [10, 11, 12, 13]; identified key issues that thwart this process [14, 15, 16, 18] and formulated our own conception of their solution [18, 19, 20, 21].

This made it possible to develop a strategy for restructuring Ukrainian political parties [22] that includes their vision [23]; a variable structure constructed for them – i.e. a dynamic network; and the order of deployment of political organizations on its basis [24, 25, 26], the concept of their activity [27 ], and the principles of financing [28].

In our publication [10], we demonstrated that ideology in today's information society should be qualitatively different from its classical past counterparts. It may acquire new quality as a result of its continuous dynamic restructuring. This will make the ideology “alive” and able to change in line with the rapid changes in the external and internal environments. Therefore, the traditional approach to constructing ideological parties – “first ideology, and then – political organization” – should turn into the opposite: first, it is necessary to build “living” political organizations whose main function would consist in the real-time creation and development of a full-fledged “living ideology” involving efforts of the collective intelligence generated due to the mental synchronization of its members. The backbone component in the “living ideology” structure has to be the organizational ideal as an integral part of the social ideal. The organizing ideal should be almost fully realized in the newly created “living”

political organizations, i.e. its creators should introduce a pre-selected and coherent organizational structure.

In our publication [12], we demonstrated that the four basic components of republicanism singled out by Iseult Honohan in the book “Civic Republicanism” have been largely implemented in modern successful business corporations belonging to the 5th and 6th technological structures, using appropriate organizational tools. This indicates that these components belong to the organizational ideal, as the backbone component of the corporate social ideal that structures and defines the content and senses of all its other components, such as the goal, vision, mission, values, aims and strategies. Based on this, we hypothesized that the components of the republican tradition described by Honohan seem to be the quintessence of the organizational ideal that has to become the backbone component of the social ideal of modern political ideologies. The efforts that required to implement the organizational ideals of republicanism in a corporation are nowhere near the scope and complexity of the efforts necessary to implement it in the entire society. However, they are quite comparable to the efforts needed to realize this ideal in political parties, which, according to the constitutions of democratic countries, are the main institutions that legally form the state government based on election results.

The detailed analysis of all four components of the republican tradition [13] has allowed us to determine the conditions under which they can be fully realized in modern political parties as the organisational ideal:

The primary component of republicanism – i.e. a special concept of freedom (as non-domination) – as part of the political myth is an elusive idea that cannot be put into practice within the natural group dynamics due to the systematic reproduction of unfreedom initially by informal, and later by formal submission of interaction

participants to the leaders of small and large groups, into which entire society is dynamically structured. Therefore, the basic condition for implementing the first component of republicanism implies changing the course of the natural group dynamics in the organizations of “those who care” – that is to say in the political organizations of elite groups – in order to prevent interpersonal and intergroup conflicts as a tool for ranking candidates for informal leadership at the elementary level, i.e. in small and large groups that dynamically appear and disappear in such environments.

The second component of republicanism – citizens’ civic virtue (common interests above personal ones) – as part of the political myth is an elusive idea, which cannot be put into practice within the natural group dynamics due to the biologically conditioned passivation of public after ranking is complete; due to the fact that in the process of competitive interaction, republican game participants systematically opt for confrontation strategies; and due to lack of an entity with the necessary qualities that could ensure compliance with the rules on the republican scene. Therefore, the main precondition for implementing the second component of republicanism in political organizations involves changing the course of their natural group dynamics in a way that would make internal interpersonal and intergroup conflicts among members of these organizations impossible in order to automatically shift their competitive interaction to cooperation. This, on the one hand, would put an end to their further ranking and, therefore, would prevent the further passivation of prank-and-file party members; and, on the other hand, it would allow political organizations to systematically opt for the strategies for cooperation in the process of competitive interaction at the republican stage under representative democracy. Such systemic preference for the strategies of cooperation among interaction participants will, on the one hand, contribute to the long-term preservation of organisation members’ civic virtue

(which actually best fits these strategies); and, on the other hand, it will help establish and reproduce rules corresponding to these strategies on the Republican stage, and such rules will be complied with automatically without any external control on the part of any guarantors or arbitrators within the framework of paternalism.

The third component of republicanism – participation of citizens in determining the conditions of social life and in common practices – as part of the political myth is an elusive idea, which cannot be put into practice within the natural group dynamics triggering the law of “oligarchy” described by Michels due to its course; due to the “tragedy of the commons”, appearing as a result of the “free ride” temptation for most of “those who care”; due to the deprivation of citizens of any influence on decision-making in the republic as a result of the main shortcoming of representative democracy consisting in the automatic dependence of those who delegate their power on those to whom it is delegated. Therefore, the main precondition for implementing a third component of republicanism in political organizations involves changing the course of their natural group dynamics in a way that would avert the impact of Michels’ law of “oligarchy” by preventing initiation, progress and completion of internal interpersonal and intergroup conflicts as a tool for gaining informal leadership. This would make it possible to effectively keep up the motivation of the members of political organizations – the motivation for cooperation generated by the need for reproduction from the most energy-intensive biological level of Maslow’s pyramid. Higher levels of this motivation, in turn, would help them overcome the “free ride” temptation and thus neutralize the effects of “the tragedy of the commons” in political organizations.

The fourth component of republicanism – recognition by society of the significance and value of individual contributions – as part of a political myth is the ideal that is difficult to put into practice within the natural group dynamics due to the

fact that as a result of this dynamics power is concentrated in the hands of leaders, making them intermediaries between the citizen and society, governing the right of everyone to recognition; due to “the tragedy of the commons”, making everybody’s contributions negligible compared to the combined efforts needed, which eliminates the sense of the individual contribution; because of the tendency of the republican arena to recognize only big deeds, which undermine the sense of the daily grind for the good of the republic that should be performed by all citizens. Therefore, the basic precondition for implementation of the fourth component of republicanism in political organizations, in our opinion, implies changing the course of their natural group dynamics in a way that would prevent the concentration of power in the hands of leaders and, therefore, deprive them of the mediation function between all party members and the entire party community in the process of recognition of individual contributions.

The problem under consideration is interdisciplinary. Therefore, in parallel, we conducted research using the approaches of other disciplines.

In our publications [17, 18, 19], we demonstrated that when several hierarchically structured political organizations collide in their competition for power due to the combined action of a number of group effects and processes encompassed by mutually reinforcing inverse links, their relationships automatically shift to confrontation, which causes rapid moral degradation of these elite group organizations, and, therefore, a spiritual crisis of society, its moral and social decline.

In work [20], we presented our universal fractal model of the human psyche and its components in their dynamic interaction with each other and with the environment; as well as revealed the archetypal mechanisms of such interaction. As part of the proposed model, we illustrated the mechanisms of the societal psyche of human

communities, which largely determine same-type behavioural responses of most of its members to the same external challenges.

This helped us present a political organization as a result of the evolution of the large group subjectivity; develop the archetypal model of the collective entity; find out its key aspects and determine the conditions for creating successful subject multi-smart social model organizations consisting of large groups of people [21].

In particular, we demonstrated that when all community members have identical interaction positions, their mental activity is synchronized based on the same archetypes, which triggers the same values as the foundation for the identical behavioural patterns and strategies within the community. If the participant' interaction positions vary and represent the established functional pair of "the leader vs the subordinate", their mental activity is synchronized based on antagonistic archetype pairs, which activates different values in each interaction participant, based on which they opt for directly opposite behavioural schemes and strategies within the base community. This causes cognitive dissonance in the psyche of the collective entity as distributed among the participating, in some way violating its integrity and adequacy, which, in turn, leads to its dysfunction. Thus, interpersonal and intergroup conflicts as a tool for ranking candidates for informal leadership is the main cause of dysfunction of the communication platform in the base community. Thus leads to narrowing the range (i.e. regression) of bearers of the collective subjectivity arising in the process of its functioning.

This, as well as a systematic approach to the analysis of the psychosocial effects and processes in small groups of the primary units of social and political organizations [18], revealed the following critical point: interpersonal and intergroup conflicts make up a point for applying "leverage", i.e. systemic elimination of their likelihood with a

view to long-term maintenance of the interaction of elite environment participants in the “equal-to-equal” position.

On the basis of our model of the archetype governance of social systems [19], we developed the concept of such “leverage”, preventing the process of group development from transition to the conflict stage via its long-term retention at the clique formation stage through streamlining their creation process so that participants at each stage interact as representatives of various groups in which they worked at the previous stage rather than as individuals, which will help block interpersonal and intergroup conflicts. The long-term inability of candidates for informal leadership in small and large groups to initiate, maintain, and end the conflict will lead to their long-term interaction without determining and fixing a stable informal leader. This will make it possible to maintain the appropriate biological motivation of group members to interact again and again for the full satisfaction of one of the two components of the biologically preconditioned human reproduction needs – i.e. ranking, generating a sufficient amount of social energy that can be accumulated and streamlined to accomplish external goals of the group.

The suggested concept of restructuring political parties made it possible to formulate a vision of multi-smart (subjective) social model political organization [23] and construct a variable structure necessary for its construction – i.e. the dynamic network [24, 25].

One of the specific features of the variable structure of political institutions consists in the ability of the dynamic network to divide members of a large group into small groups of different functional designation and to restructure one group into another in an orderly and cyclic manner, based on a certain algorithm, therefore, maintaining their capacity for critical thinking in a rational plane. The latter is a

prerequisite for their acquisition of subjectivity as a result of synchronized mental processes of the collective conscious and unconscious of each such group. The lack of interpersonal and intergroup conflicts in the interaction of participants of a large group structured in such a way ensures their long-term adherence to the “equal-to-equal” position, synchronizes their mental activity based on the same archetypes, actualizes identical values, leads to opting for the same behavioural patterns and strategies within the community, makes it impossible to localize subjectness in leaders, consequently, preventing its dysfunction and regress.

The presence of sets of parallel inter-group information transfer channels realized through mutual transitions of participants regulated by the dynamic network algorithm, ensures the integrity of the collective entity consisting of a large group, keeps up its ability to think critically, and blocks the processes of its transformation into the crowd.

Our variable structure of subjective political organizations meets all the principles of the metaphor of the organization as a holographic brain outlined by Gareth Morgan (*Images of Organization/ Berrett-Koehler Publishers, 1998*): it can be reflected in each of its parts through the appropriate organizational culture – similar to DNA in biological systems; it has excess capacity for processing information and planning its activities; its internal complexity corresponds to the complexity of the environment – it has the ability to self-organize and regenerate itself, adapting to new challenges; it provides a minimum of conditions and requirements to the collective activity process; and, most importantly, it is able to effectively learn and, therefore, multiply its own intelligence. [21]

### **List of Publications:**

1. Т. Плахтій. Життєвий цикл організацій елітних груп соціальних систем. [Електронний ресурс] / Плахтій Т. – Динамічні мережі. – 12. 01. 2013. – Режим доступу : <https://tarasplakhtiy.wordpress.com/2013/01/12/metamorfoz/>
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