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Review of the Book[1]

"NEW GENERATION POLITICAL PARTIES: THEORETICAL AND TECHNOLOGICAL PRINCIPLES OF THEIR ACTIVITY, PROCEDURE FOR CREATION AND DEPLOYMENT"
by Taras Plakhtiy

Abstract

The book presents the results of interdisciplinary research in the field of constructing new generation political parties – i.e., parties with a variable structure (a dynamic network). It elaborates on the theoretical and technological principles of their activity and describes the procedure for their creation and deployment. The author developed organizational and technological tools that make up the basis of the variable organizational structure (dynamic network) and tested them in practice at more than 170 different events in various environments consisting of Ukrainian politicians, civic activists and businessmen in large groups of different sizes (10 to 200 participants).

Keywords: political parties, variable organizational structure, dynamic network

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In the distant year of 2008, I was humming Okean Elzy's song "Veseli Chasy" and suddenly felt a great need to join a political party in order to contribute to its activities, because, as the song has it, "Who if not us, brothers?!".
But how do you choose a political organization if parties at that time were already numbered in hundreds? Examining the activities of various units of patriotic parties, I suddenly realized that I did not want to become a member of any of them. This made me wonder why I was reluctant to join them, especially since, as it turned out later, I wasn't the only one.
In early 2009, I authored a rather voluminous and not exactly scientific article (published on a non-political website) describing what amounted to Michels's law of oligarchy, which was unknown to me at the time, and, most importantly, suggesting

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a way to overcome its effect. In short, the recipe was simple – the size of the governing bodies of the various party units should be gradually increased to match the size of the units themselves. To attain this goal, one should learn how to act efficiently and effectively not only in small groups but also in large groups of party members.

Having received positive feedback from several friends of mine who read the article, I sent it to the Ukrayinska Pravda, which later published a fragment of the original text[2] with the key take-aways.

After publishing several more articles on the topic in the Ukrayinka Pravda, I received a letter from Pavlo Viknianskyi, leader of the national NGO Student Republic[3], inviting me to participate in the II Winter Student Republic event, where I was given an opportunity to show in practice how the things I had described could be implemented in the environment of active citizens, primarily students. This led me to transform the results of my theoretical research into practical insights and to develop a methodology for the collective activity of large groups aimed at the making, discussion, approval and taking of decisions, which was first applied at WST II[4] on February 27, 2010.

After conducting several more events based on my method of collective activity in large groups, I came to realize that their participants had no conflicts with each other, despite sometimes holding different, even conflicting political ideas, they worked together to produce consensus solutions.

This made me interested in the processes of interaction between participants of large groups without escalation of interpersonal and intergroup conflicts within this methodology, and, ultimately, I came up with the concept of archetypal management of the functioning and development of social systems[5] and, hence, I authored a number of articles on the topic, which were published in the collections of works of participants of the workshops held by the Ukrainian School of Archetypes[6], founded in 2010 by the Ukrainian researchers E. Afonin, O. Donchenko, O. Balakirieva, L. Burlachuk, S. Krymskyi, and A. Martynov.

The practical experience acquired when moderating the work of participants of more than 150 events[7] in different environments using my method of collective activity of large groups of people in a dynamic network, as well as the archetypal principles of political party activities that had already been developed at the time,[8]

[2] Плахтій Т. Нова матриця українського суспільства [Електронний ресурс] / Т. Плахтій // Українська правда : веб-сайт. – 4 лютого 2009. – URL: https://www.pravda.com.ua/articles/2009/02/4/3709909/

[3] ВМГО «Студентська республіка». – URL: https://studrespublika.com/

[4] II Зимова Студреспубліка: «Оптимальна для українця модель соціальної взаємодії (громадські організації та політичні партії нового типу)». – URL: https://studrespublika.com/optimalyna-vzaemodiya-znayshli/

[5] Плахтій Т. Архетипне управління соціальними системами та організаційні інструменти для його реалізації [Електронний ресурс] / Т. Плахтій // Збруч : веб-сайт. – 22 травня 2014. – URL: https://zbruc.eu/node/22602

[6] Українська школа архетипіки. URL: https://usarch.org

[7] Плахтій Т. ДЕСЯТЬ РОКІВ З ДИНАМІЧНОЮ МЕРЕЖЕЮ: фото-/відео-історія 2010 – 2020 [Електронний ресурс] / Т. Плахтій // Динамічні мережі: Теорія та технологія : веб-сайт. – 16 червня 2021. – URL: https://tarasplakhtiy.wordpress.com/2021/06/16/78387838/

[8] Плахтій Т. Архетипні засади діяльності політичних партій нового покоління [Електронний ресурс] / Т. Плахтій // Збруч : веб-сайт. – 15 липня 2018. – URL: https://zbruc.eu/node/81499

allowed me to focus on the principles of construction[9] of these organizations within the framework of an interdisciplinary analysis of a conceptual network based on thirty-two approaches of twelve scientific disciplines and analyse it in connection with the previously created functional model of a political party.

Thanks to the major in Mechanical Engineering, which I received in the Lviv Polytechnic National University and later honed as a postgraduate student, I managed to analyse the political party as an industrial production unit producing management influences in the context of the organizational approach, to establish the technological processes of this production and define its structural configuration, as well as to develop a step-by-step procedure for the creation and deployment of a political party with a variable organizational structure (dynamic network).

In the **first chapter** of this book, we analyse a political party as an industrial operation producing managerial influences on its external and internal environments and examine approaches to defining this organisation from the perspective of Partology, Organisational Theory, and Management Theory, as well as state standards of the organisation and process design in industrial manufacturing.

In addition, we consider the political party as a "black box" in the context of a systemic approach, present its functional model, provide definitions of the basic concepts of raw materials – i.e., information flows from external and internal environments and end products of party production – i.e. managerial influences on these environments.

We also present details of the party production process, demonstrate the relationships among all of its components and connections with the four basic components of party building that we have identified.

Based on the standards of organisation of industrial production and their process design, we have established the basic concepts, terms and definitions of party production organisation and process design.

The **second chapter** demonstrates that the key to fulfilling the natural desire of political parties to turn into the governing subsystem for the entire social system is sufficient adequacy of perception and analysis of the external environment by their initiators or their leaders, which would allow the latter to select appropriate organizational and operational characteristics and make sure that their organizations develop such attributes.

We have singled out the system-forming part based on the entire array of the results of research into political parties' internal and external environments within the framework of various research disciplines.

It is assumed that a study of modern society in the context of the philosophical approach concepts that represent the change of historical epochs – modern into postmodern and the transition from the former to the latter; a comprehensive analysis of the "tragedy of the commons" and ways to overcome it; evolution of

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[9] Плахтій Т. Конструювання політичних партій нового покоління [Електронний ресурс] / Т. Плахтій // Збруч : веб-сайт. – 31 травня 2020. – URL: https://zbruc.eu/node/97988

ideas about organization and management; organizational and structural analysis of the external environment and its components in the process of their development; principles of choosing organizational structures; global design as a tool for humanity to shift to a new level of development.

The results of our research have made it possible for us to come up with an interconnected set of underlying assumptions that serve as the basis for our construction of new-generation political organizations – poly-structural political parties or parties with a variable structure – dynamic network.

The **third chapter** poses the following questions: what are the factors behind the ongoing disastrous fragmentation of Ukrainian elite groups, rendering virtually all the registered Ukrainian political parties incapacitated, turning the most successful ones into puppets of oligarchic clans, which reinforced the perception of politics as a "dirty business"? After all, where have all those passionate activists gone who gained Independence and participated in the two Ukrainian Maidans?

Looking for answers to these questions, we have discovered the strengths and weaknesses, as well as opportunities and threats associated with Ukrainian party building. For each weakness and threat, we have established tasks to be tackled by politicians (leaders of existing or initiators of new Ukrainian political parties) to eliminate or minimize them respectively, how these tasks can be solved and what features the party will acquire by tackling them in the way we propose.

By summarizing approaches to overcoming weaknesses and eliminating threats to party building in Ukraine, we set strategic priorities for organizational change and came up with an idealized project of a new generation political party laid down as a list of its main qualities, representing, in fact, terms of reference for its design, creation and deployment.

We have made a conclusion that the identified risks of party building are in one way or another related to organizational conflicts, which, in turn, serve as a tool of biologically determined ranking. At the same time, it is impossible to find out how to overcome the destructive effects of such conflicts and the ranking process itself, or, in other words, to establish the essence of the organizational and technological tools that make it possible to do so, in the framework of SWOT analysis alone. Therefore, to come up with ways to overcome party-building risks, it is not enough to identify the weak spots that are most vulnerable to threats, we also need interdisciplinary analysis.

Next, we have briefly described the results of our analysis and the construction of a new generation of political parties based upon it. It has helped establish four basic components of party building – the type of ideology, type of organization entity, methodology and methods of collective activity of members of different levels of party units, which fully and completely determine the variable organizational structure – i.e., dynamic network appropriate for the complex and turbulent external environment. It involves combining organizational and technological tools of direct and representative democracies, which, on the one hand, will produce the necessary emergent qualities for these organizations to succeed in such an environment; and on the other hand, it will ensure that party members behave in a

way conducive of these qualities as a prerequisite for the development and spread of the organization's own ethics.

The **fourth chapter** elaborates on approaches to choosing the first three basic components of party building that we have identified: type of ideology, type of agency and methodology of activity of polystructural political parties of the new generation - i.e., parties with variable structure – dynamic network.

Having considered the impact of postmodern information society on the essence of ideology and its main functions, we made an assumption that it as a whole and its components in particular (goals, principles and values of a political party with a variable structure – dynamic network) should be adaptive. In other words, the ideology must be "living" – that is, able to adequately change and adapt to changes in external and internal environments by restructuring all its components in the process of their streamlining and re-streamlining within strategic environmental management and distributed (participatory) strategic self-management of the internal environment of party units.

After examining the concept of the subject of organization, the nature and types of the collective agency of political organizations, as well as its social reference standard to be chosen – i.e., middle-class society, we made an assumption that the subject of new generation political parties will be an open large group integrated into their own object of management – that is, society as a multi-subject self-developing environment, and will be able to self-replicate in the process of numerical growth by involving the most active citizens in the collective activities due to blurred and vague lines between it and this environment.

At the same time, we examined the collective agency of political organizations in large groups as their emergent quality that develops as a result and persists during the processes determined by the procedure (technology) of collective activity and reflected in the organizational structure (structural scheme) of the party, which together make up its main political process as the basis of the party production process.

Considering the essence of strategic management and the approaches of other authors to its implementation in party activities, we assumed that the methodology of political parties with a variable structure – dynamic network should rely on strategic management, which involves developing a set of interrelated multilevel strategic plans and their implementation. In other words, a new generation political party, as a strategic entity distributed in a reflexively active or multi-subject self-developing environment (society), must be able to strategically manage this environment and at the same time strategically self-manage its own internal environment.

The **fifth chapter** presents the method of conflict-free collective activity of large groups of people in a dynamic network as an integral set of organizational and technological tools that prevent escalation of interpersonal and intergroup conflicts and make it possible to implement the republican organizational ideal in new generation polystructural political organizations – i.e., political parties with a variable structure – dynamic network.

We assumed that these organizational and technological tools will include: decomposition of the entire field of activity into relevant sectors and areas, methods of brainstorming, methods of cross-group work and project management, and combined these tools into an integral method of collective activity in a dynamic network.

With a step-by-step description of the method of collective activity in a dynamic network and after examining the personal protocols of its participants, we showed the potential of this method to multiply the collective intelligence of organizations, examined the circulation of communicative relations among members of different-level units of political parties with a variable structure – dynamic network, and proposed mechanisms for the numerical growth of these units without losing their basic qualities.

A three-dimensional dynamic network was considered as a set of two-dimensional dynamic networks and as a way to organize collective work of up to one thousand members of different levels of party units.

We demonstrated how the introduction of the method of collective activity in a dynamic network in political parties can solve the "tragedy of the commons" in society as a whole, and also considered the expected results of this method in different-level party units in the context of the emergence of qualities that will allow them for a long time to remain whole and competitive in a complex and turbulent environment.

The first part of **chapter six** relies on Eric Berne's classification of groups to present a poly-structural model of a unit of the political party (that we constructed) with a variable structure – dynamic network that is able to purposefully and orderly change its organizational structure in order to interact with each new fragment of the environment at any time in a form that makes it possible to attain its program goals in the most effective and efficient way. In this case, for the structural analysis of a poly-structural political party, due to the fractal properties of its structure, it is necessary and sufficient to consider the organizational structure of only one of its units, which is identical to each of the multiple party units of different levels.

The second part of this chapter examines a polystructural party or a party with a variable structure – a dynamic network within Henry Mintzberg's framework of structural configurations, and a unit of such an organization as high-variety intermittent-flow production of governing effects from an unstructured flow of information coming from a complex and dynamic environment.

In view of the volume and complexity of the material in this chapter, at a first reading we recommend familiarizing yourself only with the summary of each of its parts.

Chapter seven describes the model of activity of political party units and provides a definition of the concept of technological process of party activity as party-based industrial production of management influences on the external and internal environments.

It establishes a set of technological processes of party production and analyses their structure. In addition, a basic list of priority sectors and areas of activity of modern political parties is offered.

The author considers the technological processes of strategic planning by members of party units. The relationship between the strategic plans of different-level units is shown.

The paper presents the procedure (technology) of collective activity of members of different-level units of political parties with a variable structure – dynamic network and describes the prerequisites for the electoral success of such organizations.

The main political process is considered as a basic technological subprocess of party production, which includes technological operations of decision making, discussion, coordination and taking by members of different-levels party units. It is assumed that this process is a prerequisite for their collective agency. The real and distributed agents of different-level units of political parties with a variable structure – dynamic network are determined.

The course of the main political process and the main emergency political process in different-level units of such organizations are is described in detail.

The author analyses the principles of creation and functioning of the virtual office of a political party with a variable structure – dynamic network.

Chapter 8 focuses on the prerequisites and strategy for constructing new-generation poly-structural political parties - i.e., parties with a variable organizational structure – dynamic network.

It analyses the typical way of development of Ukrainian political parties and formulates approaches to their creation and deployment in the optimal manner based on I. Adizes' methodology. In addition, the paper identifies organizational and technological tools for the development of the management function of Integration in such organizations, as well as presents the optimal way of their development in the context of the process approach.

The author developed a procedure for reorganization of Ukrainian parties and used it as a basis for a step-by-step procedure for the creation and deployment of a political party with a variable structure – dynamic network.

It has been shown that in a new-generation poly-structural political party with a variable structure – dynamic network, a complex collective agent will consist in a set of nested multilevel nodes (party units) of geographically scattered sectoral end-to-end networks, which together make up a network of networks, while they are streamlined due to a set of unified technological processes approved by the central management, ensuring the implementation of the methodology of activity – i.e., strategic management of the external and strategic self-management of the internal environments by the method of collective activity in a dynamic network.

It has been suggested that only the political parties with this type of collective agency will be able to effectively and efficiently manage their external and internal environments due to their ability to increase their internal complexity faster than the complexity of the external environment (i.e., their society) growth.

Chapter 9 established that the key task faced by initiators of new parties and leaders who initiate reorganization of existing political parties: i.e. what source of managerial energy they should resort to and learn to use to make up for the lack of the key source of managerial energy available for business CEOs?

Two political party energy models have been examined – as a social energy generator and as a car with an internal combustion engine.

We have analysed the main approaches to analyzing motivations in business and production organizations. By transferring them onto the realm of political organizations, we have come up with the suggestion that in political parties with a variable structure – a dynamic network the set of all measures designed to motivate their members is dependent on the procedure of operation of different levels of such organizations aimed to implement strategic management based on the methodology of collective activity within a dynamic network as a set of integrated organizational and technological tools that prevent the escalation of internal interpersonal and intergroup conflicts.

We have come up with the conclusion that this procedure is a universal comprehensive motivation tool, which consists of a set of measures (tools of motivation) designed to motivate members of such parties with a relevant combination of different types of motivation, encouraging them to resort to certain predetermined patterns of behaviour.

The book specifies and discusses types of motivation which, in our opinion, play a key role in activating members of various political party units of different levels: leadership, ideological, financial, administrative, authoritative, personal, target, competitive, motivation based on strokes and recognition, based on belonging, facilitative, and retrospective.

The report elaborates on the basic combinations of the types of motivation of members of leadership-type ideological parties, investment political party projects, and a political party with a variable structure – dynamic network at different stages of their existence.

Thus, the source of managerial energy that initiators of a political party with a variable structure – a dynamic network should resort to and learn to use or, in other words, the main motivation tool available to them is the operational procedure (technology) of collective activity of members of such an organization within its multilevel units. This tool is based on the methodology of collective activity in a dynamic network.

Chapter 10 article elaborates on the four stages of the spearhead group's activities aimed at creating an organization based on the organizational principles that we have developed and presented in order to construct a political party with a variable structure – a dynamic network. And the beginning of each subsequent stage is accompanied by organizational and structural metamorphoses of the spearhead group that completely or partially change its organizational structure, operating procedures, coordination mechanisms, target audience, members, etc.

For each of the stages of activity of the spearhead group, measurable indicators of their effectiveness and efficiency are proposed, which, if measured and constantly

monitored, will allow group members (and later members of the central party unit and the entire party) to rate the capacity of these organizational entities and, hence, the level of their own activity within these entities.

We have developed and described the procedure of work of the spearhead group at the second stage (the most difficult in terms of realization and critically important for the successful construction of a party) aiming at its transformation from a small group into a big one by gradually increasing the number of its members from 3-5 to 20-30 persons.

This chapter provides a step-by-step plan for creation and procedures of work of the central party unit at the third stage. It describes the procedure of forming the statutory, executive and advisory bodies of the central party unit. A timetable and sequence of creation of collective bodies of the central party unit and start of their activity have been developed. The chapter elaborates on the processes of activity of statutory, executive and advisory collective bodies in the case of a regular extended meeting of the governing body of the party unit and its virtual extended meeting, as well as in the case of a virtual extended emergency meeting. The main functions of all collective bodies of the central party unit are described and the processes of their realization are presented.

Like any social innovation, construction of new-generation political parties with the variable organizational structure (dynamic network) described in this book will inevitably face resistance driven by social inertia (it can be defined as social resistance to change) that can only be overcome by an effort of will by leaders who realise why they, like their predecessors in Ukraine for many centuries, cannot unite into viable political organizations, how this can be changed and what they must do to unite. Leaders who will consciously accept and develop a determination to apply in practice the principles of modern leadership that are described in this book by the introducing organizational and technological tools of the structural configuration that we have come up with – i.e. dynamic network.