Taras Plakhtiy

POLITICAL PARTIES OF THE NEXT GENERATION:

theoretical and technological principles of their activity, procedure for their establishment and deployment

Monograph
Second edition, revised and enlarged

Translated by the author, Taras Plakhtiy

Published by Magnolia 2006 Lviv – 2025 UDC 329.8+65.014

The author is **Taras Plakhtiy**, an independent researcher.

Reviewers:

Galyna ZELENKO – Doctor of Political Sciences, Professor, Corresponding Member of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine;

Petro VLASOV – Doctor of Psychological Sciences, Director of the Institute of Applied Psychology "Humanitarian Center".

Plakhtiy, Taras. Political Parties of the Next Generation: Theoretical and Technological Principles of Their Activity, Procedure for Their Establishment and Deployment. 2nd ed., rev. and enl. Lviv: Magnolia 2006, 2025.

ISBN 978-617-574-311-9

Publishing House "Magnolia 2006", 2025

The book presents the results of interdisciplinary research in the field of developing the organizational framework and design of political parties of the next generation – parties with a variable structure: the dynamic network. It explores the theoretical and technological principles of their activities and describes the process of their establishment and deployment. The organizational and technological tools developed by the author, which form the basis of a variable organizational structure – the dynamic network, have been tested through over 170 different events in various environments involving Ukrainian politicians, scientists, experts, public activists, and businessmen, consisting of large groups ranging from 10 to 200 participants. The book will be useful to anyone interested in research, practical design, and organization of the internal life of political parties.

This edition is an author's translation from the original Ukrainian edition:

Political Parties of the Next Generation: Theoretical and Technological Principles of Their Activity, Procedure for Their Establishment and Deployment.

Monograph. Second edition, revised and enlarged.

Author: **Taras Plakhtiy** (taras.plakhtiy@gmail.com)

Published in Lviv by Magnolia 2006, 2025. ISBN 978-617-574-307-2

Electronic form of the book (in English) is publicly available at the link: https://tarasplakhtiy.wordpress.com/book/

© Plakhtiy T. O., 2025

© Publishing House "Magnolia 2006", 2025

© Private Entrepreneur Marchenko T. V., 2025

ISBN 978-617-574-311-9

Contents

Contents	3
Detailed Contents	4
Preface dated March 24, 2025	11
Preface dated December 18, 2022	13
Preface dated February 22, 2022	14
Acknowledgements	17
The concept of implementing social changes	20
Introduction	31
Chapter 1. Political party as an industrial production of governing influences	41
Chapter 2. External environment of political parties	87
Chapter 3. Analysis of the strengths, weaknesses, opportunities, and threats of party- building in Ukraine	162
Chapter 4. Selection of the type of ideology, type of agency, and methodology of activity next generation political parties	
Chapter 5. The method of collective activity in a dynamic network	281
Chapter 6. Dynamic network – the variable organizational structure of polystructural political parties	325
Chapter 7. Technological processes of political party production	403
Chapter 8. Establishing and deploying a political party with a variable structure – the dynamic network	455
Chapter 9. Motivation of members of polystructural political parties and financing princi of these parties	-
Chapter 10. Four stages of establishment and deployment of a political party with a vari- structure – the dynamic network and the principles of their implementation	
References	630
Publications by the author	638

Detailed Contents

(Click any section to navigate)

Contents	3
Detailed Contents	4
Preface dated March 24, 2025	11
Preface dated December 18, 2022	13
Preface dated February 22, 2022	14
Acknowledgements	17
The concept of implementing social changes	20
Introduction	31
Chapter 1. Political party as an industrial production of governing influences	41
1.1. A political party from the standpoint of partyology – the study of parties within the doma classical political science	
1.2. The political party as a collective organizational agent from the standpoint of organizational management theories	
1.3. A political party as an industrial production of governing influences	46
1.3.1. The political party as a "black box" in the context of a systemic approach	47
1.3.2. The functional model of a political party operating in an external environment	48
1.3.3. Foundational concepts of raw materials and finished products in party production	50
1.3.4. Raw materials – information, as well as people and resources at the input of the pa "black box"	
1.3.5. Governing influence on the external environment, as the main product of party production	52
1.3.6. Auxiliary product of party production – governing influence on the internal environm	
1.3.7. The production process of party production	58
1.3.8. Four fundamental components of party building	63
1.3.9. Interrelation of the used terms, concepts, and definitions of party production	69
1.3.10. Standardized concepts, terms, and definitions of party production organizing	71
Chapter 2. External environment of political parties	87
2.1. Modern society in the context of a philosophical approach	88
2.2. "Tragedy of the commons" as a system-forming problem of human civilization	90
2.3. Evolution of ideas about organization	95
2.4. Evolution of ideas about management	97
2.5. Organizational and structural analysis of the external environment of political parties	101
2.5.1. The structure of social systems as a source of their emergent properties	101
2.5.2. Typology of organizational structures	105
2.5.3. Formation of organizations at the primary level: the group level	110
2.5.4. Evolution of organizational structures and their degeneration	115

2.5.5. Organizational and structural transformation of Ukrainian political parties and corresponding scenarios of their life activity	130
2.5.6. Organizational and structural analysis of Ukrainian society and power distribution it	within
2.5.7. The lifecycle of organizations of elite groups of social systems	139
2.5.8. Organizational and structural features of the Ukrainian oligarchy as a system	145
2.5.9. Interaction among differently structured social systems	151
2.6. Types of organizational structures and principles for their selection	157
2.7. Global design as a way of shaping the future	159
Chapter 3. Analysis of the strengths, weaknesses, opportunities, and threats of party-building Jkraine	
3.1. Strengths and opportunities of party building in modern Ukraine	163
3.2. Weaknesses of Ukrainian party building	165
3.2.1. Catastrophic fragmentation of Ukrainian elite groups	166
3.2.2. Ant-like "whirlpool of death" as a mode of activity of Ukrainian politicians	173
3.2.3. Misconceptions among members and leaders of political parties regarding the significance and functions of ideology in contemporary circumstances	178
3.2.4. Zero-sum game in Ukrainian political parties	179
3.2.5. Low level of organizational complexity of Ukrainian political parties	182
3.2.6. Party leaders' incapacity to discern the differences between party, state, military, a business organizations	
3.2.7. The lack of sufficient depth in party leaders' understanding of the nature of intra-g and inter-group relations	
3.2.8. The unsuitability of classical strategies for resolving internal organizational conflict their application in different-level subdivisions of political parties	
3.2.9. Disparity between the actual agents of political parties and the ones declared in the statutes	
3.2.10. Misconception of party leaders regarding the role and position of the party in soc and the world	
3.2.11. Party leaders' neglect for the selection of organizational structure and other para of party building	
3.2.12. Failure of party leaders to accept the principles of modern leadership	196
3.2.13. Lack of funding and access to the media	198
3.2.14. Acquired passivity of Ukrainian politicians and activists without financial incentive	es . 200
3.2.15. Chaotic sporadic activity of party subdivisions in conditions of uncertainty regard product of party activity	•
3.2.16. Threats faced by politicians, specifically leaders of political parties	203
3.2.17. External management by structure by the state registration authorities	204
3.2.18. Participation crisis	205
3.2.19. Insufficient number of specialists in the organizing and technological preparation party activities	
3.2.20. Critically small amount of time that party members can allocate to pro bono active within their different-level subdivisions	

3.3. Threats to party building in Ukraine	209
3.3.1. Michels' law of oligarchization	210
3.3.2. "Founder's trap"	215
3.3.3. "Leader paradoxes"	216
3.3.4. Gradual falling into dependence of those who delegate power to those to whom it i delegated	
3.3.5. Negative selection due to leaders' fear of losing their leadership status	220
3.3.6. Intellectual degradation of party decisions under the influence of the Dunning-Krug effect	
3.3.7. Slowed growth of party members' competence due to the challenges of adult educ	
3.3.8. Manipulation of alternatives by party leaders	225
3.3.9. Merger or split of parties due to unilateral decisions of leaders	226
3.3.10. Raiding as a result of the erosion of democratic mechanisms in party governance	227
3.3.11. Moral degradation of Ukrainian society and the formation of dual morality in it	228
3.4. Approaches to overcoming the risks of party building in modern Ukraine	231
3.5. Main properties of idealized next generation political parties	234
3.6. Designing next generation political parties	237
Chapter 4. Selection of the type of ideology, type of agency, and methodology of activity of ne generation political parties	
4.1. Selection of ideology type, its principles, and values	240
4.1.1. The influence of the postmodern information society on the essence of ideology ar functions	
4.1.2. The selection of the type of ideology, its goals, principles, and values by the leader political parties with a variable structure – the dynamic network	
4.2. Selection of the type of organization's agency	252
4.2.1. The concept of the organization's agent	252
4.2.2. The nature of collective agency, the conditions for its emergence, and its long-term maintenance	
4.2.3. Types of collective agency of organizations	267
4.2.4. Middle-class society as a standard for selecting the type of collective agency of po organizations	
4.2.5. Selecting the type of agency for political parties with a variable structure – the dynanetwork	
4.3. Selection of the methodology of activity of political parties with a variable structure – th dynamic network	
Chapter 5. The method of collective activity in a dynamic network	281
5.1. The republican tradition as an organizational ideal and the conditions for its implement in political organizations	
5.2. The method of collective activity in a dynamic network and the variable organizational structure of political parties designed on its basis – the dynamic network	289
5.3. A step-by-step description of the method of collective activity in a dynamic network	295
5.4. The dynamic network as a multiplier of collective organizational intelligence	302

5.5. Communication links in a community with a variable structure – the dynamic network	306
5.6. Mechanisms for the numerical growth of different-level subdivisions of political parties variable structure – the dynamic network	
5.7. Three-dimensional dynamic network	311
5.8. Personal work protocols of participants in collective activity in a dynamic network	314
5.9. Overcoming the "tragedy of the commons" through the implementation of the method collective activity in a dynamic network within political parties	
5.10. Anticipated outcomes of implementing the method of collective activity in a dynamic network within political parties	319
Chapter 6. Dynamic network – the variable organizational structure of polystructural political p	
6.1. The polystructural model of a political party with a variable structure – the dynamic net	
6.1.1. The concept of a polystructural political party	326
6.1.2. The structural aspect of group classification and its expansion	328
6.1.3. Classification of groups of a polystructural party subdivision in the context of the structure aspect	333
6.1.3.1. The first structural plane – a statutory hierarchical structure	335
6.1.3.2. The second structural plane – an expanded meeting of the governing body	340
6.1.3.3. The third structural plane – sectoral networks	346
6.1.3.4. The fourth structural plane – society as a poly-agent self-developing environmen	t 348
6.1.3.5. The fifth structural plane – executive and project groups	350
6.1.3.6. The sixth structural plane – monitoring process groups	352
6.1.3.7. The seventh structural plane – a "living" information resource dispersed throughous society	
6.1.3.8. Polystructural subdivision of the party as a whole	355
6.1.4. Work aspect of group classification and its expansion	356
6.1.5. Classification of groups of a polystructural party subdivision in the context of the waspect	ork
6.1.6. Conclusions based on the results of classifying groups within the polystructural par subdivision	
6.2. The variable structure of political parties – the dynamic network – in the system of structure configurations	
6.2.1. System of configurations of organizational structures	362
6.2.2. Variable structure – the dynamic network – in a system of structural configurations	364
6.2.3. Coordinating mechanisms in the structural units of a political party with a variable structure – the dynamic network	371
6.2.4. Power distribution in parties with a variable structure – the dynamic network – and influence on personnel policy	
6.2.5. Political parties as strategic apexes of state and local power	377
6.2.6. Dynamic operating core as a multi-nomenclature intermittent-flow production	379
6.2.7. Design parameters of a variable structure – the dynamic network	384

6.2.8. Situational factors of the dynamic network functioning	. 392
6.2.9. Ways to overcome the shortcomings of adhocracy in a variable structure – the dynametwork	
6.3. Structural diagram (organigram) of a variable structure of political parties – the dynamic	
network	
Chapter 7. Technological processes of political party production	
7.1. Activity model of a subdivision of a political party	
7.2. The concept of the technological process in party subdivisions	
7.3. Technological processes in party production	
7.4. Sectors and directions of political party activity	
7.5. Technological processes of strategic planning	. 416
7.6. Interconnection of strategic plans of different-level party subdivisions	. 421
7.7. The order (technology) of collective activity of members of different-level subdivisions of political parties with a variable structure – the dynamic network	
7.8. Preconditions for the electoral success of political parties with a variable structure – the dynamic network	. 429
7.9. The main political process in political parties with a variable structure – the dynamic netv	
7.9.1. Actual and dispersed collective agents of political parties with a variable structure – to dynamic network	
7.9.2. The main political process in parties with a variable structure – the dynamic network	433
7.9.3. Emergency main political process in the virtual office of the party	. 443
7.9.4. Expected results of the implementation of the described main political process	. 447
7.10. The virtual office of a political party with a variable structure – the dynamic network	. 448
Chapter 8. Establishing and deploying a political party with a variable structure – the dynamic network	. 455
8.1. Prerequisites and strategy for the deployment of political parties with a variable structure the dynamic network	
8.2. Methodology of establishment and deployment of polystructural political parties	. 457
8.2.1. The typical development path of political organizations	. 457
8.2.2. Integration as a key factor in the optimal path of development of political organization	
8.2.3. Optimal path of development for political organizations with a variable structure – the dynamic network	
8.3. Establishing and deploying party subdivisions on the optimal path within the context of the process approach	
8.4. Procedure for reorganization of parties	. 472
8.5. The procedure of establishment and deployment of a political party with a variable struct – the dynamic network	
8.6. Collective agency of a political party with a variable structure – the dynamic network	. 493
Chapter 9. Motivation of members of polystructural political parties and financing principles of these parties	. 498
9.1. Motivation of members of political parties	. 498

9.1.1. Sources of managerial energy in the context of organizational approach	499
9.1.2. Energy models of the group and the political organization	502
9.1.2.1. The group as a generator of social energy	502
9.1.2.2. A model of a political party as a car	507
9.1.3. Motivation within organizations	509
9.1.4. Types of motivation and their influence on the behavior of members of political part different types at various stages of their lifecycle	ies of 517
9.1.4.1. Leadership motivation	521
9.1.4.2. Ideological motivation	522
9.1.4.3. Material motivation	525
9.1.4.4. Administrative motivation	528
9.1.4.5. Power-based motivation	529
9.1.4.6. Personal motivation	531
9.1.4.7. Goal-oriented motivation	532
9.1.4.8. Competitive motivation	535
9.1.4.9. Stroking-evaluative motivation	539
9.1.4.10. Belonging motivation	542
9.1.4.11. Facilitative motivation	547
9.1.4.12. Retrospective motivation	549
9.1.5. Basic combinations of types of motivation among members of political parties of different types at different stages of their lifecycle activities	551
9.1.5.1. Motivations of leaders and members in traditional leader-centric ideological partie	s 551
9.1.5.2. Motivations of leaders and members of investment party-political projects	553
9.1.5.3. Motivations of members of a party with a variable structure – the dynamic networ	k 556
9.1.6. Summary	563
9.2. Principles of funding for political parties with a variable structure – the dynamic network	566
Chapter 10. Four stages of establishment and deployment of a political party with a variable structure – the dynamic network and the principles of their implementation	573
10.1. The purpose of the activity of the initiative group	573
10.2. Key tasks of party building that need to be solved at the beginning of party building	573
10.2.1. Preventing the escalation of organizational conflicts	574
10.2.2. A radical increase in the amount of time allocated to party activities	575
10.2.3. Ensuring the safety of members of the initiative group and the party	576
10.3. Organizational principles of building a political party with a variable structure – the dyrnetwork	
10.4. Stages of the initiative group's activity and the goals of each of them	580
10.4.1. The first stage of activity is the creation of an initiative group	580
10.4.2. The second stage of activity is the expansion of the initiative group	582
10.4.3. The third stage of activity is the establishment of the central party subdivision and entry into working mode	

10.4.4. The fourth stage of activity is the fractal deployment of mutually nested different-level party subdivisions	
10.5. Activities of the initiative group at the first two stages	586
10.5.1. The order of collective activity of the participants of the initiative group at the first sta	_
10.5.2. The order of collective activity of the participants of the initiative group at the second stage	
10.5.2.1. Problems of the activity of the initiative group at the second stage and ways to sol them	
10.5.2.2. Potential participants of the initiative group and their expectations	589
10.5.2.3. The order of collective activity of the participants of the initiative group at the seco stage	
10.5.2.3.1. Development of draft decisions	594
10.5.2.3.2. Discussion of draft decisions	595
10.5.2.3.3. Harmonization of draft decisions	595
10.5.2.3.4. Adoption of draft decisions	596
10.5.2.4. The order of collective activity of the participants of the initiative group during inperson meetings at the end of the second stage	597
10.6. Step-by-step plan for establishing the central party subdivision in the third stage and the order of collective activity of its members	
10.6.1. The procedure for forming statutory, executive, and advisory bodies of the central passibilities subdivision	•
10.6.2. Calendar plan and sequence of the establishment of collective bodies and groups o the central party subdivision and the launch of party production	
10.6.3. Processes of activity of the statutory, executive, and advisory collective bodies and groups of the central party subdivision in the case of a regular or extraordinary in-person expanded meeting and a virtual expanded meeting	607
10.6.4. Activity processes of the statutory, executive, and advisory collective bodies and groups of the central party subdivision during an emergency virtual expanded meeting	616
10.6.5. The main functions of the collective bodies and groups of the central party subdivision and the processes of their implementation	
10.6.6. Directions for further detailing the processes of the activities of collective bodies and groups within the central party subdivision	
10.7. Fractal deployment and the order of coordination and synchronization of the activities of mutually nested different-level party subdivisions at the fourth stage	
References	630
Publications by the author	638

Preface dated March 24, 2025

"If you want something you've never had, you must be willing to do something you've never done."

(Attributed to Thomas Jefferson)

This book delves into the next generation of political parties, a concept that has not yet fully manifested in its described form today. Throughout my work, I witnessed, developed, researched, and repeatedly tested the elements of their activities within the actual and active communities of Ukrainian society.

As I wrote this book, my perspective was based on the belief that our future unfolds in the present, nurtured under conditions favorable for its nascent shoots. These shoots, rooted in our distant past, emerge through time. I have tried to identify and support the development of some of them that will determine the development and prosperity of humanity in the future.

At the core of this discussion lies a principle from cybernetics, formulated by William Ross Ashby¹, which states that the complexity (or diversity) of a governing system cannot be lower than that of the system it oversees. Hence, a political party, by its design, must embody a structure more complex than the societal system it aspires to govern.

In some respects, this book serves as a practical guide, following a "do-it-yourself" approach – its concluding chapter presents a step-by-step process for establishing and deploying the described polystructural political party of the next generation.

Writing this book required taking the position of "an insider among outsiders and an outsider among insiders." The subject of this book, the political party, traditionally studied within the humanities, especially political science, is examined here as an organizational agent within the framework of organizational theory. This approach, related to technical sciences, is inherently interdisciplinary, encompassing organization theory, management, systems theory, industrial production organization, organizational behavior, and a wide range of other scientific disciplines. This interdisciplinary perspective complicates the understanding of the technical aspects of political parties for humanities scholars while simultaneously making the nuances of political actors challenging to grasp for those in technical fields.

I believe that this book will lay the foundation for a new scientific discipline – the theory of political organizations – that will merge the humanities with technical studies, enabling the design and establishment of effective and efficient political parties in our complex and turbulent modern information society.

Once again, I would like to thank the Armed Forces of Ukraine for the opportunity to publish this book in Ukrainian and translate it into English!

¹ Ashby, W. Ross. (1956). An Introduction to Cybernetics. London: Chapman & Hall.

The electronic version of this book is available for free. However, I kindly ask all readers, if possible, to support the Ukrainian army with donations. You can do so through the official platform **UNITED24**, an initiative of the President of Ukraine. Your contributions will make a real difference in this critical time. Donation link: https://u24.gov.ua/

Glory to Ukraine! - Glory to the heroes!

П 37 Плахтій Т. О.

ПОЛІТИЧНІ ПАРТІЇ НАСТУПНОГО ПОКОЛІННЯ: теоретичні й технологічні засади діяльності, порядок створення і розгортання: монографія / Плахтій Т.О. — 2-ге вид., виправлене і доповнене. — Львів: «Магнолія 2006», 2025. — 662 с.

ISBN 978-617-574-307-2 Видавництво «Магнолія 2006», 2025

У книзі представлено результати міждисциплінарних досліджень у сфері проєктування і розробки організаційного дизайну політичних партій наступного покоління — партій зі змінною структурою — динамічною мережею. Розглянуто теоретичні і технологічні засади їхньої діяльності, описано порядок їхнього створення і розгортання. Розроблені автором організаційно-технологічні інструменти, що складають основу змінної організаційної структури — динамічної мережі, були випробувані на практиці під час проведення понад 170 різних заходів у різних середовищах українських політиків, науковців, експертів, громадських активістів та бізнесменів у складі великих груп різної чисельності (від 10 до 200 учасників). Книга стане в нагоді всім, хто цікавиться дослідженням, практичною побудовою і організацією внутрішньої життєдіяльності політичних партій.

УДК 329.8+65.014 П 37

Друкується за авторською редакцією.

Електронна версія книги розміщена у відкритому доступі за посиланням https://tarasplakhtiy.wordpress.com/387378-04-02-2022/

© Плахтій Т. О., 2025 © Видавництво "Магнолія 2006", 2025 © ФОП Марченко Т. В. 2025

ISBN 978-617-574-307-2

Монографія

Плахтій Тарас Олексійович

ПОЛІТИЧНІ ПАРТІЇ НАСТУПНОГО ПОКОЛІННЯ: теоретичні й технологічні засади діяльності, порядок створення і розгортання

2-ге вид., виправлене і доповнене

Підп. до друку 08.05.2025 р.
Формат 70х100/16. Папір офсетний. Друк цифровий. Гарнітура Calibri. Умовн. друк. арк. 41,52. Тираж 7 прим.
ПП "Магнолія 2006"
м. Львів, 79053, Україна, Перфецького 11 А
тел.+380503701957
e-mail: magnol06@ukr.net
https://magnolia.lviv.ua

Свідоцтво про внесення суб'єкта видавничої справи до Державного реєстру видавців, виготівників і розповсюджувачів видавничої продукції: серія ДК № 2534 від 21.06.2006 року, видане Державним комітетом інформаційної політики, телебачення та радіомовлення України

Видавець Марченко Т. В.

Свідоцтво про внесення суб'єкта видавничої справи до Державного реєстру видавців, виготовлювачів і розповсюджувачів видавничої продукції: серія ДК № 6784 від 30.05.2019 року, видане Державним комітетом інформаційної політики, телебачення та радіомовлення України

Надруковано у друкарні видавця ФОП Марченко Т. В.