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**ESCALATION OF CRISIS IN POLITICAL SYSTEMS**

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**Abstract**

*Transformational changes have been taking place in the political systems in many countries of the world over the last few decades. This issue arouses the great interest of scientists and researchers. In the article, I pay particular attention to the study of the “traditional” and “new” party systems and their role in the country’s contemporary political life. Given the challenge of the day, I see populism as a problem with its impact on democracy along with such issues as the role of populist parties and the citizens’ attitude to them; the analysis of problems developing in the political process, particularly, in parties and movements of the populist type; the formation and development of multi-party systems and democracy as a whole.*

*Populism is considered in the article as a political ideology. This phenomenon is investigated as a component of the political parties’ activities, especially, of the Ukrainian parties. A comparative analysis of populist parties in the European Union and Ukraine has been carried out.*

*I analyze the main factors of populism’s influence on the party-political system on the examples of the European countries and Ukraine. I also prove that populism has always occupied a special place in the implementation of programs of political leaders and parties. It is noted that populism remains the current day phenomenon of both the party-political system and the socio-economic life of the countries in the world. Having a considerable influence over the politics of the countries, where functioning of democratic institutions is relatively inexperienced, populism has a rather clear manifestation in the modern political space and the “old” democracies. There is a clear link between increasing populism and exacerbating socio-economic problems. The inability of the political establishment, including the democratic one, to respond effectively to new problems and challenges is an important factor contributing to the emergence and growth of populist influence.*

*The in-depth analysis of the populist rhetorical and political effects on the development of modern democracy is particularly important, i. e. the margins between the reality and virtuality, truth and falsehood are leveling; facts lose their value; deconstruction of truth takes place; traditional ideologies are destroyed; moral relativism, hypocrisy and double standards are spreading out.*

**Keywords:** *Constitution, Crisis, Elections, European Union, Ideology, Leader, Manipulative Technologies, Party.*

**Загострення кризи політичних систем**

**Анотація**

*Обґрунтовується, що за останні кілька десятиліть у політичних системах багатьох країн світу відбулися і продовжують відбуватися трансформаційні зміни, які викликають неабиякий інтерес науковців, дослідників цієї проблематики. Особливо зосереджується увага на дослідженні «традиційних» та «нових» партійних систем, на їх ролі у сучасному політичному житті країни.*

*Враховуючи виклик сучасності, наголошується на проблемі популізму, його впливу на демократію, ролі популістських партій і відношення до них громадян країни, на аналізі проблем розвитку політичного процесу, зокрема партій та рухів популістського типу, становлення та розвитку багатопартійних систем і демократії в цілому.*

*Розглянуто популізм як політичну ідеологію, досліджено це явище, як складову діяльності політичних партій, зокрема, українських. Здійснено порівняльний аналіз популістських партій країн Європейського Союзу і України.*

*Проаналізовано основні чинники впливу популізму на партійно-політичну систему на прикладах європейських країн і України. Доведено, що популізм завжди займав особливе місце в реалізації програм політичних лідерів та партій. Зазначено, що популізм залишається актуальним феноменом як партійно-політичної системи так і соціально-економічного життя країн світу. Здійснюючи значний вплив на політику країн із порівняно малим досвідом функціонування демократичних інститутів, популізм досить помітно виявляє себе у сучасному політичному просторі й «старих» демократій. Існує очевидний зв'язок між посиленням популізму і загостренням соціально-економічних проблем. Важливий чинник, який сприяє появі та зростанню впливу популістів, є нездатність політичного істеблішменту, зокрема і цілком демократичного, ефективно реагувати на нові труднощі та виклики.*

*Особливої ваги набуває глибинний аналіз впливів популістської риторики і політики на розвиток сучасної демократії: нівелюються грані між реальністю і віртуальністю, правдою і неправдою, факти втрачають значення, відбувається деконструкція істини, руйнуються традиційні ідеології, ширяться моральний релятивізм, лицемірство й подвійні стандарти тощо.*

**Ключові слова:** Конституція, криза, вибори, Європейський Союз, ідеологія, лідер, маніпулятивні технології, партія.

### **The Problem Statement.**

The sharp rise of populism and the associated threats to political, party and socio-economic stability have a negative impact on the lives of both individual countries and the international community. The greatest threat to populism in the country's party-political system is its appeal to simple, quick decisions, which contradicts to the objective tendency. That complicates the content of modern political processes and increases their dynamism. Consequently, the increasingly complex, large-scale problems appear to society. Populism poses a constant threat to fragile political stability, and, together with the problem of corruption, it evens out even the most constructive reform initiatives. This is a disturbing phenomenon, but at the same time, it is an opportunity for Ukraine to learn how to draw the right conclusions with a cold unemotional mind.

### **Recent Publications Overview.**

The extremely rapid spread of populism actualizes the scientific world to a deeper studying of this phenomenon and to finding ways of its minimization. Much attention has been paid to the study of populism nature and its classification. However, it became a separate object of scientific intelligence only in the second part of the 20th century. Among foreign experts, I distinguish

such researchers as M. Douglas, R. Hofstadter, J. McCain, I. Donnelly, S. Hoffman, M. Konovan, G. Ionescu, E. Gellner, D. Macrae, A. Valitskyi, M. Baranov and others.

In Ukraine, D. Vydrin, M. Demianenko, I. Kiianka, S. Myhal, M. Minakov, O. Palii, I. Pobochoyi, T. Priadko, T. Rad and others were engaged in the study of the practical application of populism.

In particular, M. Minakov suggests defining populism as "a specific extra-political logic shared by political leaders and voters" [Minakov 2010]. O. Kramar notes that "populism traditionally means rhetoric that appeals to the electorally significant social groups who are unsatisfied with their lives, fears and hopes; groups that consider their interests antagonistic to the elite interests" [Kramar 2016]. Eduard Lucas rightly points out that different populists "proclaim different statements but derive their power from the only one source that is called distrust" [Lukas 2016]. There is an opinion among French political analysts that the conflict between liberals and populists is now more important than the struggle of the right and left. In the eyes of common people, all moderate centrists, collectively referred to as "liberals", represent the establishment. Therefore, "extreme" radicals (the far right, far left, or

just populists with a mixture of ideological slogans) have a good chance to present themselves as true defenders of the people. The aim of the article is to study populism in modern party-political systems and its impact on democracy in the country.

**The aims (objectives) of the article.**

The aim of the article is to study populism in modern party-political systems and its impact on democracy in the country.

**Presentation of the main research materials and substantiation of the results.**

The process of party systems formation and the problems of establishment and activity of political parties attract the attention of both domestic and foreign scientists, as well as practitioners, analysts, experts, researchers at all times and in all countries.

Due to the rapid development of the professionalization of politics, especially in recent decades, populism is becoming a widespread phenomenon.

Populism is common to every country, every political system, but with its own characteristics. In my view, populism is based on an ideology that is able to adjust the values and practices of its adherents and to change their basic essence. Populism especially progresses in countries with liberal democracy where the rule of law and the observance of democratic principles are violated; power is concentrated in the hands of one person or group of people and where there is lacking control over the rulers and so on. Populism adversely affects the formation of all public institutions.

Populism is becoming commonplace, given social instability, the manifestation of crises in one way or another in all social spheres, especially in socio-economic, political, constitutional and legal, etc. It mostly vividly reveals as a political and legal phenomenon that “participates” in the struggle for power. Organization and conduction of each subsequent election confirm this thesis. These elections surpass the previous ones in the criteria of populism prevalence and refinement. That is, the minds of citizens are manipulated for the benefit of individual politicians or political parties.

Aristotle emphasized in his works the im-

portance of public speaking not only to win the support of the majority but also to weaken the opposition and deprive it of influence. He also highlighted some of the favorable conditions for populism, especially the polarization of the poor and the rich and the absence of the middle class. These factors remain relevant today in the form of “uncompromising” decisions.

The destruction of the social order and the loss of belief for civil society to restore this order through the institutions of the political system are among the main factors of modern populism that should be considered. That is, the new challenges that the state faces, the helplessness of political elites and existing political institutions in the face of crises of the political process have led to a breakdown in society. At the same time, there is a growing sense of political aloofness in the society; the power elites are not willing to hear ordinary Ukrainians; there is loss of opportunity to influence politics through representative institutions; and public confidence in all state institutions is going down.

There are problems anyway, and they are not only in democracy or the electoral system. They are neither in the absence of an effective and efficient party system where the most influential political parties hold on to their leaders nor in populist slogans of political forces where neither the leader nor his party bear responsibility for failure to fulfill election promises. These problems are rather in the attitude of the electorate itself to realize the impracticability of populist slogans and the simultaneous election of those who have promised more, but not from the standpoint of statehood, democratic values, etc. As the election campaign approaches, information attacks on the open society values, democracy, and a market economy are always growing. This is the basis for populism and the challenge for voters.

Representative democracy both in Ukraine and in the whole civilized world is impacted by the crisis virus. Traditional party models that are based on social and ideological interests with a clear structure and multi-membership are fading into history. This is a class ideology (the Labour and the Conservative parties in Great Britain in the 20th century) or party monopoly (the Communist Party in the Soviet Union). The class

structure has changed and lost clear boundaries over time. Thus, monopolies disappeared or were modernized (the Communist Party of China), and the development of communications led to better public awareness. As a result, the public became more demanding of the political product. The so-called far-right or far-left parties which are more like business corporations without basing on any ideology are replacing the traditional parties mentioned above.

During the years of Ukrainian nation-building, there was a permanent crisis of party models in the country. However, a critical exacerbation occurred during Ukrainian Revolution of Dignity (2013-2014), when the most existing and real political projects appeared to cease playing their role, in fact.

I emphasize that Ukraine ranks first in Europe for the number of registered political parties. According to the Ministry of Justice of Ukraine, there are 352 registered parties. 64 parties in this list (rather projects) do not participate in elections at the national level. Thus, it is the violation of the requirement of Article 24 of the Law of Ukraine "On Political Parties", which is the reason for canceling their registration.

Hopes for the approaching changes in party building in the result of the post-revolutionary elections of 2014 and 2019 proved futile. The crisis is deepening due to such contributing factors as the unwillingness of politicians to work in a new way; lack of people's trust in political parties; lack of communication, openness, dialogue and honesty between a voter and a politician. To my mind, in order to make a powerful political party, it is necessary to create such a model of communication with the society which could make mutually beneficial and, accordingly, fruitful cooperation between the party and society without populism, demagoguery, and slogans.

The long-known definition of populism as "the shadow of democracy" is extremely true in today's Ukrainian realities. In particular, using populism as a tactic is inevitable. For example, a party enjoys the confidence of its leader(s) in order to win the election. At first glance, it seems that this leader(s) pushes a powerful program, although designed as a set of populist messages containing some hidden content. The populism,

that is inherent in political parties and organized by a group of individuals without a real agenda but with a real leader who inspires trust among the voters, is more harmful. Such political parties are rather media-political projects without any ideology. Among the most prominent populist parties in Ukraine are the Radical Party led by Oleg Liashko, that exploited the aspirations of the most deprived village population; and the For life party led by Vadim Rabinovich, that "deceived" mostly city dwellers (city lower classes). Populism is also observed in the initiatives of the leaders of such political parties as the All-Ukrainian Union "Fatherland" (The Batkivshchyna Party), the European Solidarity, and the Opposition Bloc.

The program of Servant of the People's ruling party is also market-oriented. It reflected voters' sentiment (*being a candidate for President of Ukraine, Volodymyr Zelenskyi suggested that Ukrainians send the top 5 problems, mostly relevant to the country to their mind, to integrate these issues into his election campaign*) rather than suggested a balanced strategy that would include both their own visions and a long-term vision of the country's development issues in a broader sense. At the same time, it could clearly show the voters that they were the co-creators of the product, developed by the power of the new country. This is a clear business marketing approach. It confirms that under the absence of real ideological parties and their clear programs populism is inevitable. In this context, I see proper to follow the opinion of the candidate of law sciences, associate professor R. Marchuk as for the essence of a political party. He considers a party, firstly, as the carrier of a particular ideology or a special vision of the world and a human, aimed at conquering, retaining of political power and making influence on it; secondly, as a consolidation of people from local to international political levels; thirdly, as a structure that represents and protects in politics the interests of certain layers and groups of the population, as well as a political party structure with a set of such characteristics as the ideology, an organizational structure, methods and means of activity, social base and electorate, financial base and leaders [Hoshovska 2016: 359]. There is no ideology in the Servant of the People party. That is why such a crisis phe-



nomenon as a populism is progressing.

Populism is mostly inherent in the model of political marketing because populist politicians are especially sensitive to the demands and wishes of their potential voters [Winder 2015].

It is worth noting that Ukrainian political parties are more inclined to the leadership type, although there are many leadership parties and populist movements in the new and old world democracies.

For example, such populist parties as The Northern League (populism), the Five Star Movement (populism) which promised simple solutions to difficult issues achieved great success in the Italian parliamentary elections on 4 March 2018. Instead, the Democratic Party (social democratic ideology) received few seats in parliament because they were inclined to talk only about their program, instead of having a dialogue (communication) with people concerned about the masses of problems.

According to the approved changes, the Italian Parliament is elected by a mixed electoral system – about 36% of the upper and lower houses of the Parliament are elected on a majority basis, and the rest is elected on a proportional basis by party lists. However, this election also demonstrated the strength of the real parties.

The early parliamentary elections to the lower house of the Austrian Parliament on 29 September 2019 were held in a proportional electoral system with open party lists, with 13 parties and political groups participating and 183 Members of Parliament being elected. The center-right conservative Austrian People's Party (APP), led by a former Chancellor Sebastian Kurz, won the election (with 38.4% of the votes).

The Social Democratic Party of Austria (SDPA) finished second with 21.5% of the votes. The third place was taken by the right-wing pro-Russian Freedom Party of Austria (FPA) with 17.3%, which is 10% less than the result of the 2017 elections. The Greens increased electoral support, receiving 12.4%. It took the fourth place in the ranking, triumphantly returned to parliament after failing in the 2017 elections. The New Austria liberal party (NEOS) with 7.4% also enters the Austrian National Council [Partiia Kurtsa 2019].

The early elections did not lead to dramatic changes in Austria's political landscape. Certain shuffles took place only within large political camps. On the right flank, votes went from the FPA to the APP, and on the left flank, they went from the Social Democrats to the Greens. The political configuration has remained unchanged since the 1990s. Right-wing parties have a clear 55% majority over left-wing and centrist parties. Despite the defeat of the FPA, right-wing populism is firmly entrenched in Austrian politics [Rihert 2019].

Until recently, Spain was the last EU country without an extreme right party. However, the demand for conservative-minded citizens to counter left populism and separatism turned out to be very high. This explains the rapid activation of the new Vox party in the political arena.

According to the results of the last parliamentary elections in Spain, a coalition of left and far-left won, however, the far-right were the real winners. The Vox, having first entered the Spanish Parliament in April 2019, has doubled its number of Members of Parliament in six months and became the country's third political force.

The early parliamentary elections in Spain on 11 November 2019, complicated the formation of a viable government and significantly strengthened the position of the far-right Vox party. The far-right Vox party, which firstly entered the Parliament this year, gained 15.1% or 3.6 million votes, that is 900,000 more than in the April election, with 52 seats in Congress. The Podemos left-wing radicals took the fourth place with 12.8%; the Citizens liberal party came in with 6.8% and took the fifth place in the ranking. The far-right has doubled seats, and government formation is complicated, so early elections will not help parties to solve problems and unlock Spanish politics.

The study of party and electoral systems has shown that the practice of securing the electoral system in the constitution of the country is widespread in European Union countries. At the same time, they contain different information about constituencies and the number of Members of Parliament (Table 1) [Hromadska merezha «OPORA» 2019].

Table 1

**Analysis of the Constitutions of European Union countries**

Country	Electoral system	Number of Members of Parliament
Austria		the numbers of the National Council deputies is divided among the qualified electors of the constituencies in proportion to the number of citizens who have lived in a particular constituency according to the result of the last election
Albania		100 deputies of the National Assembly are elected in single-mandate constituencies; 40 deputies are elected by multi-party lists of parties or party coalitions according to their rating
Georgia	proportional	150 Members of Parliament, one multi-mandate constituency
Denmark	proportional	single-mandate constituencies
Estonia	proportional representation	101 Members of Parliament (The Riigikogu)
Spain	proportional representation	each constituency has a minimum initial representation and the rest is distributed in proportion to the population
Italy		630 – The Chamber of Deputies (12 of which are elected by the overseas constituency)
	on a regional basis	315 – The Senate of the Republic (6 of which are elected by the overseas constituency)
Latvia	proportional representation	The Parliament
Luxembourg	party-list proportional representation	60 members of the Chamber of Deputies
The Netherlands	proportional representation	two Chambers
Norway		157 of the Storting deputies are elected by representatives of constituencies, while the remaining 8 are elected for getting a greater proportionality
Portugal	proportional representation	the members of the Assembly of the Republic are elected by constituencies
Slovenia	proportional representation	90 deputies of the National Assembly
Finland	proportional	12-18 constituencies
The Czech Republic	proportional representation	the Assembly of Deputies
	principle of the majority	the Senate
Sweden	voters vote for the party, with the opportunity to express a preference for a particular candidate	349 deputies of the Riksdag
Switzerland	proportional representation	200 deputies of the lower chamber of the National Council

Ukraine is no exception. The current Constitution of Ukraine provides for the election of 450 People's Deputies to the Verkhovna Rada that is the highest legislative body of Ukraine [Konstytutsiia Ukrainy 1996]. The Draft Law No. 1017 amending Articles 76 and 77 of the Constitution of Ukraine (on the reduction of the constitutional composition of the Verkhovna Rada and consolidation of the proportional electoral system) proposes to reduce the constitutional composition of the Verkhovna Rada to three hundred People's Deputies and to consolidate the proportional electoral system [Proekt zakonu Ukrainy 2019].

The study of the political situation in different countries, the activities of political parties and their leaders, and the constitutions of different states show that securing the electoral system by the constitution is neither an indicator of democracy nor a model of socio-economic development of the country. In fact, democracy is the ability of the authorities and the community (demos) to be responsible for themselves, as well as for their families, their country, and state. There are situations where such a proportion of responsible citizens is negligible (20-25%) relative to the population of the country. So, it is very difficult to minimize the consequences of the majority activities, which in ancient Greece was called "ochlos" (English – crowd). Usually, demagogues (modern populists), who were the richest and most influential citizens, exercised the power on behalf of the ochlos.

Today in Ukraine, most citizens are guided mainly by primitive emotions. They are extremely sensitive to populist propaganda and empty promises, and approvingly responding to the contrived and widespread hatred of individual citizens and entire social groups. Thus, the cause of many historical defeats of Ukraine was not only an external enemy but an inadequate behavior of its own population. At the same time, there is a struggle and competition between oligarchic clans and higher bureaucracy in Ukrainian politics. Therefore, democracy is turning to deny itself, which proves the crisis of democracy and the actualization of populism.

In this context, I appeal to the opinion of the Belgian political philosopher Chantal Mouffe, who currently holds a professorship at the Depart-

ment of Politics and International Relations, University of Westminster in the United Kingdom, where she directs the Centre for the Study of Democracy. She states, that the crisis of democracy creates a "populist moment" in modern Western societies [Errejon & Mouffe 2019]. Groups that are unable to resolve their contradictions through representation in political institutions prove to be the most vulnerable to populism, which promises to return political agency for them. As C. Mouffe says, this is the way how Thatcher rose to power in Britain, or Trump did the same in the United States [Mouffe 2018].

Contrary to a popular belief about populism as degradation of politics, the researcher considers it as an indispensable element of democracy, "Democracy understood as "power of the people" requires the existence of a "demos" – a "people". Instead of rejecting the term populist, we should reclaim it. The agonistic struggle is more than a struggle between conflicting hegemonic projects. It is a struggle about the construction of the people" [Mouffe 2016]. *(In this context, it should be noted that the term "Hegemony" in the original Greek meaning of the word is "leadership". It characterizes the dominant positions of a particular political force, social group, class, nation, state, which allow it to enjoy all the benefits of monopoly control over the distribution of power in the public system on the appropriate level. Hegemon can be a state – a single leader or a leading state among a group of states).*

According to C. Mouffe, democracy is not threatened by populism in itself. It is rather threatened by right-wing populism, which promises to restore popular sovereignty but reserves it only to those who belong to a narrow circle of "true representatives of the nation", regarding migrants as enemies of the nation. However, the displacement of right-wing populists from democratic politics will not resolve the conflict, but on the contrary, it will promote further radicalization (non-institutional forms of policy implementation are more likely to become antagonistic) [Mouffe 2018].

Therefore, left-wing populism must be the answer to right-wing populism. The task of left-wing populism is to restart and deepen democratic hegemony [Mouffe 2018]. Restarting democratic hegemony with the help of left-wing

populism must be done according to the rules of existing democratic institutions. Left-wing populists need to go to the elections with officially registered parties, get a majority in parliament and form a government. In order to pull the supporters of right-wing populists to their side, left-wing populists should stop rejecting their claims as undemocratic only on the basis that they vote for the right. Instead, they need to try to reconceive those demands in an egalitarian way (for example, not migrants themselves, but rather neoliberal politicians supported by oligarchs are the true causes of poverty and unemployment).

In her writings, the scientist also identifies the opponents of democracy such as the right populists, conservatives, theocrats, oligarchs, but they are not enemies. In her understanding, enemies are those who do not adhere to the democratic rules of the game: “An opponent should be considered not an enemy to be destroyed, but a contestant whose existence is legitimate and should be tolerated. We will fight against his ideas, but we will not question his right to defend them. The category of “enemy” does not disappear but shifts; it remains appropriate for those who do not adopt democratic “rules of the game and thus remove themselves from the political community” [Mouffe 1993].

Those democratic rules of the game, which have been historically established in Western countries, are the result of a particular liberal-democratic hegemony or a dominant position of a certain layer of democracy, a liberal one, with certain positive definitions of freedom and equality.

On the whole, C. Mouffe seems to see securing pluralism as a tool for “deepening and expanding” of liberal-democratic hegemony and considers it more like a self-sufficient political aim. Instead, the legitimacy of liberal-democratic hegemony is narrowing because it hinders pluralism.

In my opinion, the benefit of Chantal Mouffe’s theory for any political activism lies not in normative prescriptions but in a conceptual apparatus that allows one to understand how political action takes place. Each political project is formed around a certain identity, opposed to a certain figure of the “enemy” and endowed with

certain interests. Every political project always has a multitude of competing definitions of all these elements, and the victory of any of them is the establishment of temporary hegemony, that is, of certain power relations, but not the “triumph of truth” or “historical justice”, as is often seen by those who establish hegemony.

The issues of hegemony, especially the dominant position of a particular political force and monopoly control over the distribution of power, etc., are problems for the national contemporary party-political system and a challenge for democracy in the country.

The far-sighted and current forecasts of the director of the Center for Civil Society Problems Studies V. Kulyk [Kulyk 2019]. regarding the emergence of new types of parties are noteworthy today among the numerous Ukrainian researchers of representative democracy and party systems.

As a result of the analysis of the latest trends in world party building in 2016, V. Kulyk distinguished three kinds of new type parties:

- Order-party;
- Coalition-party;
- Network-party.

The Servant of the People is an example of the “network-party” that emerged in the political arena in 2019 and now has a majority in the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine. The Party of Sharii is another example of it; however, it did not enter the Parliament.

In 2019, V. Kulyk supplemented his list with the following types of parties that may appear before the next election:

- Instagram-party;
- Society-party.

Given the realities, attitudes and diverse views of today’s civil society, the inaction of the authorities can prove a crisis of representative democracy, which has the challenge of increasing the movement for personal participation of citizens in political processes on the one hand, and, alienating of citizens from the power institute on the other hand. This crisis has to do with post-politics, that is, with the things that replace traditional instruments of classical politics (debate, press, strategy, education, etc.).

Politics in today’s Ukraine has become a



“pageant show”, where there is a parallel distrust for the representative democracy institutions and high support of some actors of this “show” who use dirty manipulative technologies.

In particular:

1. The distraction of civil society’s attention from important problems and decisions made by the authorities through the constant saturation of the information space with minor messages.

Scandals in the Parliament; a visit of Russian journalists; A. Bogdan’s tricks; populist videos and the Sheremet case that is far away for perception, all mentioned above distract attention to a disadvantageous object. Amendments to the Constitution as the main goal remain in the shadows.

2. Problem – reaction – solution.

There is a problem, a kind of a “situation” created, which is designed to provoke a certain reaction among the population so that society requires taking measures that are needed by the authorities.

It is, for example, when the ATO participants are clearly shown as the main source of violence in the country. It’s done in order for citizens to demand the adoption of laws on strengthening security measures and policies against “associative elements” in the face of veterans and volunteers, who are the patriotic nucleus of Ukraine.

3. The gradual strategy.

To adopt any unpopular event, it is enough to introduce it gradually.

Firstly, the Steinmeier formula was timidly mentioned. Then, there was an innocent discourse on the subject. Later, it came to an obligation to implement it into Ukrainian law. And finally, the Colonel of the General Staff of the Ukrainian Ministry of Defense made a statement on “the reintegration with the militants and the Russian military soldiers”. People get used to it gradually.

4. Deferring.

Another way to promote an unpopular solution is to present it as “painful and necessary” and to achieve immediate citizens’ consent for its implementation in the future. It is easier to agree on any sacrifices in the future than today.

5. Treat the people like children.

In most publicity-oriented advocacy speeches, there are such arguments, characters, words,

and intonation used as if they were addressed to school-age children with developmental delays or mentally disabled individuals.

The more one tries to mislead the listener, the more he or she tries to use infantile language turns. So, why does it happen?

If someone addresses a person as if they were 12 years old, then that person’s reaction would also be without critical assessment because that is typical for children.

6. Going the emotional route.

It is the classic technique of neurolinguistic programming aiming at blocking people’s ability to analyze rationally and, ultimately, to be able to think critically about what is happening.

To leave the true causes behind the scenes of what is really happening, someone starts crying out about what a brutal war is, how peace is necessary at any terms, and how starving and humiliated people suffer in certain districts of the Donetsk and Luhansk regions. Emotions are the enemy of logic.

7. Cultivation of the “predecessors’ guilt”.

One of the important tasks is to make one believe that only the predecessors of this power are to be blamed for all the troubles in the country. Everything they did was terrible; everything the new power is doing now is fine.

8. Trending at a pedestrian mind. Population degradation.

The government seeks to introduce the idea that it is fashionable to be dull and vulgar and even boorish. They want to say that former cooks, clowns, wedding photographers and pedophiles without professional education and practical experience can become presidents, members of the National Security and Defense Council (NSDC) of Ukraine, deputies and ministers [Chomsky 2019].

In today’s fast-paced world, degradation has not bypassed party systems. Namely, it is observed in:

➤ reduction of the number of political parties, loss of their influence in the environment of organizations of professional, age and gender type;

➤ the party press passes into history, the financing of traditional parties is totally cut down; instead, the newest parties are quite creative in

finding funds (for example, the Alternative to Germany political party, by selling gold and the collectors' Deutsche Mark via their online stores, raised more than 5 million euros in 2018;

➤ corruption scandals undermine the authority of traditional parties, while anti-system parties live in security and respond to their image;

➤ once powerful, global-scale inter-party organizations (such as Socialist International (SI)) faded into history. Inter-European party cooperation organizations have not replaced this relationship. The practice of the European Parliament shows that a large part of the decisions taken are determined not by the party, but by the "country" principle;

➤ there is a preservation of parties (for example, Ukrainian parties are becoming similar to closed joint-stock (CJS) companies, where there are beneficiaries (oligarchs), there is an omnipotent leader or a board (where every issue is decided). The party is just the vote-getting machine and the cog in the machine does not have their own opinion. This explains the desire of party leaders to impose an imperative mandate for their deputies, not only in the parliament but also for members of local councils and to limit their legislative freedom. Besides, the statute of such parties is made in such a way that there was no chance for intra-party democracy. What is more, CJS-parties have no ideological debate, and ideology in itself;

➤ the crisis of traditional parties and the demand for anti-political and anti-establishment position. In modern politics, these parties position themselves as opponents to existing political parties and the political party as a whole. The new movements are not satisfied with the ideological poverty of the modern parties, their organizational awkwardness, the separation from the people, and corruption of the elites. Moreover, they will be prone to ideological synthesis based on the lack of political correctness ("without taboo") [Kulyk V., 2019].

Therefore, parties that may appear in Ukrainian politics will try to gradually squeeze out existing traditional party organizations.

It is important to emphasize that today's political parties are gradually losing their monopoly on communication means with the help of which

society transmits its complaints, claims, and hopes. At the same time, the number of various interests is rapidly increasing and parties simply cannot physically reach them. Attempts to please everyone and immediately usually end in defeat. And here is a chance for civil organizations that are more flexible, more democratic, more open, and more diverse. If they take advantage of this, they will be able to displace traditional political parties and take their place. But for this, they should not be afraid to take responsibility for what is happening in the country and integrate into the government. The future is for professionals, even when it comes to community activists.

### **Discussion and conclusion.**

In view of the above, I can come to the conclusion that all these manifestations of irrational, populist behavior of politicians actualize the task of finding various means to counteract these threatening tendencies and crisis phenomena.

Both in most European countries and in Ukraine, there is an increasing tendency to divide society into the populist, corrupt elite, who have all rights, and disenfranchised people with obligations and responsibilities. This separation is attributed to the erosion of the representative function of party systems, including the decline of party membership and party affiliation, reduced voter turnout and increased unpredictability of voting. The decline of the representative function of parties leads to populist reactions in their traditional sense.

Examining populism and its role in the political system in different countries, I can regard it as a result of a party system that does not fulfill its representative function. Populism in many cases paves the way for authoritarian rule.

As a result of the study, I emphasize some of the trends in the political processes' changing nature that preceded the rise of populism worldwide:

➤ removal of political elites from the people, and their social problems;

➤ excessive mediation of political space; an outburst of cynicism between people and political actors; meeting the demands of the ruling elites, but not the people;

➤ collapse of the classical political parties (together with the ideologically grounded divi-

sion of the political spectrum into right and left political forces), etc.

At the same time, populism is not only a negative phenomenon. It also has a relatively positive side. By demonstrating the degree of dissatisfaction of the people with government policy, it serves as a kind of a barometer of the political

climate in the country; it draws attention to the most acute unresolved issues facing society.

Such things as the demagoguery, deception, domination of the irrational behavior of different dictators threaten democratic values and institutions and are examples of the negative manifestations of populism.

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