321.8
R797

COMMUNITY MOBILIZATION and DEMOCRATIC POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT in THE NEW NATIONS

PN ABI 219
ISN 71996

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT
Washington, D.C. 20523
July 1963

This paper is largely a compilation of views from a variety of sources, as the reader will note. However, the undersigned is personally responsible for the selection of these, their integration into the paper, and the interlacing commentaries. Some of the commentaries are a blending or reflection of the views of many other parties which were not sufficiently definite or clea to ascribe to a particular source.

The substance of this paper does not necessarily reflect the judgments, opinions, or conclusions of the U.S. Government, the Agency for International Development, the Office of Human Resources and Social Development, the Technical Assistance Study Group as a unit, or any of the members of the Study Group. It has been prepared primarily as a basis for discussion.

Paul W. Rose

Paul W. Rose
Study Officer
Technical Assistance Study Group

PN-ABI 219

COMMUNITY MOBILIZATION:

ITS ROLE IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF DEMOCRACY

I.

Forty-five countries became independent during the first seventeen years after the end of World War II. This was a great political achievement. But national independence is only the first great step toward political freedom - freedom from foreign rule. The second great step, and often the more difficult, is to achieve freedom for the nation's citizens in their everyday pursuits in a free society. To help achieve this second great step in the freedom process is one of the three major functions of Community Mobilization. It will help to accomplish this largely by institutionalizing democracy in local community affairs.

The institutionalization of democracy in local community affairs is suggested as the key objective in democratic political development in newly developing nations because:

(1) The foundation for freedom and democratic growth is sound and enduring when democratic concepts, processes and skills become the common possession of the people and their organized institutions at the local community level throughout a nation.

(2) The process of institutionalizing democracy in local community affairs on a nation-wide basis will require, and result in, a concurrent and basically comparable action on the national and intermediate levels. It cannot and it will not happen otherwise. However, the converse of this is not necessarily true.

In the consideration of any program proposal which calls for the increased involvement of U.S. leadership and other resources, it is pertinent to raise, at an early stage, the question: Will the United States support it? There are several substantial reasons why the people and government of the United States will support a program which helps newly developing nations to establish or strengthen their democratic institutions at the local community level. First, Americans know that it is safer to have democratic neighbors. Secondly, we believe democratic neighbors are likely to be more certain trading partners, particularly if good relations and understandings have been developed with them over the years. Thirdly,

Americans generally believe that free men are obligated to help develop the institutions of freedom at home and abroad. And, fourthly, some Americans get a deep personal satisfaction from sharing our democratic political heritage with others who are trying to develop their own democratic institutions and traditions.

But before going farther it must be admitted that some Americans believe that we should avoid helping directly with the democratic political development of newly developing nations. Some of their principal reasons are underscored below with brief commentaries on each:

1. Some political leaders in newly developing countries are unduly sensitive about accepting external aid for political development. Some sensitivity in this area is understandable because (a) opposing political leaders may make an issue of accepting aid for political development, and (b) the nation giving the assistance may try to exert improper influence on the nation's politics. But, as important as these might appear to be at first glance, they must be discounted because these types of problems have been dealt with successfully in many countries for almost two decades in the economic, social and military fields. And all of these types of aid have had significant political implications. Therefore, it may be assumed that truly democratic, national leaders will recognize the need, value and wisdom of promoting democratic political development and that they will find acceptable ways to use bona fide help from external sources for this purpose.

2. The leaders in control of some nations are opposed to democratic political development. These are the really tough nuts to crack. However, there are many ways to help change the attitudes and the perspectives of these leaders and we should intensify our use of all appropriate means.

3. If the United States helps the new nations with their political development it will open the door for the Communist Bloc to do the same. Without a doubt the Communists will use this as leverage. But this should occasion no great concern, for the Communists have been taking the initiative in this field for a long time. However, much of their approach has been covert, with subversion as a primary method. Democracies have a great advantage in this regard: they do not have to go underground to achieve their objectives. They may need to convert, but they do not have to subvert.

4. The United States is not prepared to help new nations with their political development because: (a) our political scientists have given but scant consideration to the specific democratic concepts, processes, skills and institutions which are suited to the current needs and present capabilities of specific new nations; (b) the Department of State is not oriented, organized or staffed to assume this operational function; and (c) the American people are largely unaware of the many specific ways they can participate through their organized institutions. In a general way the people and government of the United States are exceptionally well prepared to help the newly developing nations with their democratic political development. To illustrate:

a. We have had a long, varied and successful direct experience at all levels of government with democracy. We have achieved also a high level of democracy in our non-government institutions. When this is coupled with the capacity for innovation and adaptation which many Americans have demonstrated throughout our history, it is reasonable to expect good results from American aid in this field, provided the United States decides to undertake it on a priority basis.

b. The United States has some of the world's greatest storehouses of information about democratic political development. They are accessible, and can become more so, to scholars, students, technicians and practising politicians. With the aid of modern methods and equipment a tremendous quantity of pertinent political observation, experience and judgment can be brought to bear on political problems confronting new nations, and numbers of ways and means to consider in solving them.

c. Our national attitude, orientation and policies toward the newly developing nations have been helpful and constructive. We have wanted them to become free and independent, and we have worked to this end. We have been the leader among nations in championing their legitimate causes and marshaling external support for their development. We have no territorial ambitions.

Although we are well prepared in general terms, we have mobilized only a small fraction of our resources for this function in specific terms. Without doubt the U.S. community and its subcommunities can mobilize their resources and organize them in ways which will make a great contribution in this field. The first requirement for the necessary increase of emphasis in

this area is the go-ahead signal from our nation's top political and administrative leadership.

The remarks of the Secretary of State, Dean Rusk, are appropriate and encouraging here although they are taken out of their context:

> "We have been talking about our business of building a decent world, day after day, month after month. There is nothing easy and nothing cheap about the great tasks before us; for freedom asks a great deal from free men, and peace is not yet achieved. But those who are committed to freedom have less to worry about than those who would reverse the entire history of man.
>
> "It is not for us to fear the great winds of change that are blowing today. They are the winds we have long sailed with, the winds which have carried man on his unending journey, the winds of freedom.
>
> "For the revolution of freedom, which we have so proudly nurtured and fought for in the past, is the true enduring revolution, because it springs from the deepest and most persistent aspirations of men. And history says that this revolution will not fail." 1/

About eighteen months before his appointment, the current Administrator of A.I.D. expressed this conviction:

> "...We should embark, in partnership with scholars and government officials of the developing countries, on a most urgent effort to devise practical policies for assisting the development of free political institutions, shaped to the conditions of each country, as a necessary corollary of any successful program of economic and social progress in the developing nations...." 2/

1/ Transcript of remarks of the Secretary of State, Dean Rusk, in a State Department briefing, "Five Goals of U.S. Foreign Policy," Press Release No. 578, Sept. 21, 1962, Dept. of State, Washington, D.C.

2/ David E. Bell, at the Pomona College Commencement, June 1961. Quoted in A.I.D. Front Lines, p. 4, Dec. 20, 1962.

II.

Divergent views are to be expected initially regarding what should be included in a basic program of democratic political development in newly developing nations. Until some consensus is reached as to the fundamental elements of such a program, not much enthusiasm and support can be expected. Consequently, a few of these elements are set forth here in abbreviated form for illustrative purposes to encourage discussion and preliminary decisions.

A. Fundamentally, the program must be responsive to the political problems of the nation or locality concerned.

Responsible leaders in newly developing nations are under pressure to make decisions on many ideological and operational problems associated with the early stages of their nations' modernization and development. Many of these problems have political implications; some are supercharged politically. Many of these leaders will welcome some advice and assistance from external sources in dealing with a number of their political problems because they are short on staff with experience in handling some of these. The questions which follow reveal sketchily the nature of a few:

1. In what specific ways should citizens participate in governing themselves? When are people "ready for democracy"?

2. What constitutes the political gap between the top leadership of the central government and the rural masses? What are the logical first steps to bridge it?

3. How can democratic political development and rapid economic growth be achieved simultaneously?

4. What effects do the criteria and priority systems of the central government have upon the judgment and will of the local communities in the development process?

5. Under what conditions is it wise to establish autonomous units of local government? What measures are essential to their effective operation? What relationships should the administrative bureaucracy of the central government have to these institutions of local government?

6. What contributions can voluntary-type institutions make to democratic political development? What measures should be taken to encourage the organization and growth of these?

7. Is there any danger in creating more forums for deliberation than mechanisms for execution? Are there any sound guidelines for maintaining a proper balance between these?

8. What roles should political parties play in the different phases of a nation's democratic development?

9. How can the working relationships between the administrative bureaucracy and the political leadership be improved?

10. What are the most effective ways to involve the military in democratic nation-building without winding up as a military state?

11. How can public participation in national development undertakings be increased on a massive scale without authoritarianism?

12. How can you justify, organize and conduct a nationwide program to train local leaders: (a) to mobilize human and material resources for local development; (b) to transfer improved technology to local people to help them increase their production and raise their level of living; and (c) to institute democracy in community affairs?

13. What are the political functions of communication in a democracy? Suggest a model program to develop an excellent system of communication for the entire society and give the rationale for the respective elements.

14. What are the great long-term purposes of the nation? By what methods were these purposes determined? To what extent are these purposes known and supported by the people? To what degree do these reflect truly and adequately the common objectives and aspirations of the people?

15. Should a systematic review and appraisal of all laws, regulations and customs in a country be made by panels of the nation's ablest and most just citizens to determine in what ways the society may have outgrown these laws, regulations and customs, and wherein these may be depriving individuals of certain "unalienable rights" now recognized by the new democratic nation? In such a review and appraisal, how can the interests of the various minorities and the large underprivileged majority be represented fairly?

16. How can religious leadership and institutions be most effective in advancing democracy in the "new" or newly developing nations? How do the great objectives and purposes of the religion(s) coincide with those of democracy?

17. What are the best ways to stay in office and carry out the democratic reforms needed?

18. How can an emerging or newly developing nation protect itself from tyranny and imperialism in the new form, Communism? Have not the Communists subjugated ten countries since the end of World War II with almost as many people as in the forty-five countries which achieved their freedom from the Western colonial powers in the same period? Have their ambitions in this regard changed? Or have they been merely stalemated for the time being by the superior forces of the democracies?

19. What are the best ways for a newly developing democracy to get technical assistance and other aid for democratic political development from older democracies? Specifically, can the United States help to initiate and develop a nation-wide democratic political development program suited to the needs of a particular nation? Can the United States provide enough qualified personnel to help formulate a comprehensive plan and then stick with the operations long enough to be sure the program works as planned or is, if necessary, amended wisely? Or must the United States fall back upon a piecemeal approach with no reasonable continuity of expertise to help follow through?

20. Are there any generally accepted criteria, or is there a definitive standard, for determining to what degree a nation is democratic? Has any comprehensive comparison of all, or even several, nations been made, using these criteria as the basis? Have not judgments been made too often upon the basis of slogans, clichés and loose generalities? If an internationally acceptable, comprehensive, standard scale for rating democracies does not exist, why does it not exist? Has an effort been made to develop one? Has it been impossible to get sufficient consensus on what the criteria should be? Has the definition of terms been mastered? Is there a systematic way to indicate the extent to which specific democratic concepts, processes, skills and institutions have been introduced, accepted, developed, or adapted in a specific nation? Are there any stages of democratic political development which can be delineated clearly enough to be called a characteristic pattern? What practical uses would a comprehensive, international rating scale for democracies have? For example:

a. Would it provide a more certain and sure basis for the "democratic" newcomers to understand democracy and to further intelligently their democratic development?

b. Would it help to identify the bogus "democracies" - those which seek political advantage from the use of the term "democracy" while they make a mockery of its basic practices?

c. Would it help the fence-straddlers to make an informed choice as to which course to follow?

d. Would it stimulate a nation's leaders and people to adopt more specific goals for their democratic political development?

e. Would it help to indicate the best qualified sources of technical assistance for specific elements of democratic political development?

B. <u>The program should be geared to help a government to discharge its major political functions more effectively.</u>

"One way of clarifying the problems inherent in political development - and at the same time highlighting the areas in which U.S. assistance policy might be helpful - is to identify major political functions which a satisfactory policy must perform. There are at least eight which concern us here. A government must:

"(1) provide a minimum of public order;

"(2) provide those public services considered essential;

"(3) provide for the common defense and for dealing with other governments;

"(4) have means for resolving conflicts over public purposes;

"(5) provide for the voicing and channeling of public demands and discontent without political disintegration;

"(6) provide orderly means for replacing those who rule in ways that bestow legitimacy on their successors;

"(7) reconcile diversities so as to consolidate national unity without provoking further centrifugal forces; and

"(8) provide a sense of being recognized in the world, of pride in the merits of a people's own ways." 1/

C. The program should concentrate on building or strengthening the pillars of freedom: democratic concepts, democratic institutions, democratic leadership, and democratic processes.

Democratic Concepts

Little is achieved before it is conceived, for the idea precedes the act. Therefore it is important that the architects and builders of democracy in the newly developing nations be thoroughly familiar with the best and most effective concepts of democracy. This knowledge will help them to plan wisely; to articulate the plans of their nations understandably; and to lead their people acceptably because the people appreciate the fundamental concepts of democracy since these are concerned with their welfare, and they appreciate also leaders who are wise enough to weave these into the fabric of national and community life.

A few of the basic concepts associated with instituting democracy in community affairs are listed here to illustrate the significance of democratic concepts to the character and direction of political development in the new nations.

1. The people are sovereign in a democracy.

The elected or appointed officials are the servants of the people, not their masters. Democracy is "government of the people, by the people, for the people." There is extraordinary power in ordinary people. This is notably evident when they are organized and massed by leaders of their own selection for purposes of their own choosing.

2. People learn to govern by governing.

Two basic laws of learning are that people learn to do by doing and that they improve their skills with practice. The observance of these laws in the operations of a democracy can produce desirable results for a whole nation as well as for a select few.

1/ Howard Wriggins, "Politics, Purpose and Program," p. 18, A.I.D. Digest, Washington, D.C., August 1962.

The group is wiser than the individual when the decisions are the product of full and free discussion based on accurate information. Aristotle observed that "each individual among the many has a share of virtue and prudence, and when they meet together, they become in a manner one man, who has many feet, and hands, and senses; that is a figure of their mind and disposition. Hence, the many are better judges than a single man...for some understand one part, and some another, and among them they understand the whole." 1/

Democracy is the people's business. The people must learn a lot about the management of their business, not because it is necessary or wise for them to manage directly the whole operation themselves, because it is not. But they should manage enough of it directly to be sufficiently informed to support intelligently their representatives and to hold them strictly accountable for the functions delegated or assigned to them.

3. Practically speaking, the only place where people can govern directly is in their local community.

It is in the local community in a democracy that the governor and the governed are face to face in their relationships - where each can hold the other accountable for his proper share of responsibility in the conduct of common affairs. It is here that each can speak, if he wishes, for his own convictions - where one does not have to employ a "mouthpiece" or delegate this high privilege. It is here that one can vote directly on matters of concern, not once in two, four, or five years, as in a general election, but sometimes on several issues in a month. Here one does not have to make his choices by proxy. It is here, too, that the individual can grow as he shares in the responsibilities of managing common affairs.

The local community, if democratically organized and led, is the natural bastion of democracy because here democracy can mean so much to so many.

The local community is the logical proving ground for many of the ideas and leaders of a great national democracy. It is here that a nation can learn democracy most rapidly and its fundamentals most thoroughly.

1/ Aristotle, quoted in What Is Democracy?, edited by Richard M. Ketchum, published by E.P. Dutton and Co., Inc., N.Y., 1955, p. 185.

4. <u>There is always some type of local government in every local community.</u>

The big question is whom do the local governors represent? Who are their masters?

- the people directly?
- the people's elected representatives?
- the executive chosen or approved by the elected representatives?
- autocrats or dictators who have been chosen, and placed in positions of power, by powerful individuals or special interest groups, potentially if not actually for selfish purposes?
- dictators who have grabbed the power to govern and to exercise their wills over others?
- inheritors of the power to govern, such as kings or tribal chiefs in some cultures?
- other parties or combinations?

It is interesting to note that some of the newly developing nations are using the term "local self-government" to make a meaningful distinction.

5. <u>Much of the governing at the local community level is or can be done by non-governmental institutions and their leadership.</u>

This concept and circumstance is necessary for the rapid growth of democracy in newly developing nations. This is of course at variance with the concept of duly constituted government institutions and officials being the only governing authorities - a concept which is more in keeping with authoritarian societies.

Unfortunately, the majority of local communities in the newly developing nations do not have enough organized institutions - formal government or otherwise - to initiate and manage rapid political, economic and social development. Consequently, many communities need assistance for training local leaders to organize and lead new institutions which can supplement the efforts and resources of existing institutions and leadership.

A companion need is to help reorient existing institutions and their leaders to ways they can make greater contributions to the progress of their communities.

6. Representative government in a national democracy should be bolstered by ample provisions for direct participation of citizens in civic affairs at the local level.

Any large operation, formal government or otherwise, particularly when undertaken over a large area, requires delegation of authority and corresponding responsibility to representatives.

Some are so wedded to the concept of representative government, however, that they would have all governing done by representatives. They would limit the individual's participation in government almost exclusively to the payment of taxes, and to his vote in a general election, once in every two to five years, of officials whom he does not know normally and probably has never seen, and for offices with functions about which he is not familiar. Obviously provisions must be made for more adequate and meaningful participation than this if democracy is to grow strong and citizens are to develop their full potentials.

7. Democratic growth depends largely upon how wisely the power to govern is combined with the right and the capacity to govern.

This reality has to be dealt with continuously in the development of democracy. The problems related to getting, using and holding political power are of vital concern to the people and to both the traditional and the transitional governing elites. The question of who has the right to govern has engaged the mind, tongue and pen of man probably for almost as long as he has been able to use them. The question of the capacity to govern is often raised by the autocrats and the dictators and their supporters, usually in an effort to discredit the capacity of people in a democracy to govern themselves directly or through their chosen representatives. This question is raised, too, by people in a democracy who are not satisfied with the performance of their representatives or those whom their representatives have appointed to conduct the people's affairs. The reason the capacity to govern is not questioned much more under an autocratic or dictatorial government is obvious.

The forces of democracy have much evidence to support their case when issues arise concerning the right and the capacity to govern. Unfortunately this evidence is not always available to those who need it. And there are situations in which help is sorely needed to organize the evidence and present the case.

The power to govern is the overriding crucial element in most political situations because the right and capacity to govern without the power are futile. But the power to govern, if exercised without the right and capacity, is usually naked, often stupid tyranny. Any comprehensive program for democratic political development which fails to make available to a large cross-section of the population opportunities to learn the principles and techniques of getting power, exercising it, and maintaining it in a democracy, is neglecting a crucial essential because "Free men can vote themselves into slavery but slaves cannot vote themselves freedom."

8. <u>The major appeal of democracy is the opportunity it gives the individual to participate as a citizen in the management of common affairs.</u>

Democracy helps the individual to feel like a man - not just another animal being pushed around.

To be able to assume responsibility, as a participant in the decision-making process, for the wisdom of the decisions which govern common affairs; to be able to assume responsibility as a citizen for helping to implement decisions taken in the common interest; and to be able to accept the responsibility to serve, when chosen, as a leader to execute the group's decisions - all of these add up to a new feeling of dignity and a new sense of purpose for the participating individual. An effective democracy provides opportunities such as these for the individual to assume responsibilities and it encourages him to participate.

Undemocratic societies assign people responsibilities and hold them responsible - but they do not provide the individual with the opportunities to share responsibly in the decision-making. This is one difference between freedom and servitude.

9. "In all cultures one of the basic functions of politics is to provide an outlet through which people can resolve personal crises." 1/

"The therapeutic powers of politics are enormous, for through it people can find a sense of identity and break the bonds of loneliness; discover new and less confining roles to play and overcome the grip of emotional inhibition; learn respectable ways to express aggressiveness and hostility; and actively seek respect and deference, power and adoration, the security of subservience or the elation of command; as well as a host of other forms of gratification." 1/

10. A sound program for developing democracy in the newly developing countries must include practical ways and means to measure democratic progress.

The growth of democracy in some areas of human affairs is difficult to measure precisely. However, there are many practical ways which exist already or can be developed to measure satisfactorily the development of democracy in most vital areas.

A study of the combination of the detailed methods and devices to evaluate the existing status of democracy in a country and a local community would be worth preparing. Such a study, it is believed, would (a) furnish benchmark data for later comparisons within the country or community; (b) provide a means of informing leadership about the most widely accepted standards of democracy throughout the world; (c) indicate clearly that democracy is not the exclusive product of any single country but is the product of many countries and cultures; (d) enable leaders to note the ways in which their country or community is strong or deficient in comparison with other democracies which are more or less developed; (e) enable a cross-section of knowledgeable people in a society to evaluate the society reasonably and objectively; and (f) suggest ways whereby technical assistance of expert consultants from outside the country or community could be used with the country's own commissions or panels to make the evaluation.

It is necessary to measure the development of democracy to give it intelligent direction. It is wise to have an accurate assessment to stimulate the leadership, to encourage the people, and to confound the critics.

Other concepts of democracy are set forth in Appendix A hereto as "The Bases of Freedom."

1/ Lucien Pye, "Community Development as a Part of National Development," Community Development Review, No. 8, ICA/W, March 1958.

Democratic Institutions

We turn now to the consideration of democratic institutions in newly developing nations. Discussion of these will be organized under a series of questions.

1. Why do newly developing nations need democratic institutions and organizations?

Nearly all of the newly developing nations are committed to becoming democracies. This is the promise of many of their leaders and the desire of most of their citizens. But as important as the promises of leaders and the desires of citizens are, obviously it takes more than these to establish democracy in human affairs. One of the additional essentials in this connection is free institutions.

The building of democratic or free institutions in newly developing nations is important because:

a. People can solve many of their common problems more effectively through organized groups than they can individually.

b. The foundation of a sound national democracy is the organized, enlightened, democratic action of a country's local communities. But "a community cannot think, plan and act as a unit without its own organized institutions." 1/

c. "The newly developing countries which are committed to the developing of democratic nations must recognize that since they start with an absence of democratic institutions and traditions, the creation and development of both must be a primary objective...." 1/

d. "The learning, through local institutions, to initiate and be responsible for self-development is important." 2/ "Active participation of people in making decisions which affect them, and in the implementation of these decisions, gives their activities a thrust which is not obtainable when their activities are directed." 3/

1/ Seoul TOICA A-3693, "Some Foreign Aid Policy Implications of CD," dated 5/10/61.

2/ Carl C. Taylor, A Critical Analysis of India's Community Development Programme, Community Projects Administration, Government of India Press, p. 42.

3/ Ernest E. Neal, TASG Interview with, Dec. 1, 1960, p. 4.

2. What kinds of democratic institutions do newly developing nations need?

There is more to democracy than political freedom. Social justice and economic well-being are integral parts of the same general concept. And all newly developing nations need free institutions to develop these three major facets of democracy. However, the emphasis in this paper is placed principally upon the development of political freedom through institutions at the local level.

There are two broad types of free democratic institutions required by newly developing nations: governmental and non-governmental. In this connection, the leaders in several of the new countries have been slow to develop their organizational framework for political development in two vital areas: (1) the establishment of democratic government institutions at the local level to help solve local problems and to facilitate the political growth and understanding of local people; (2) the formation of voluntary institutions throughout the society designed to encourage widespread participation in a broad range of activities not only to help solve many common problems but also to increase the competence of the participants in the management of their own group affairs while they solve their mutual problems.

First we will consider the significance of the roles which voluntary organizations can play in the operation and management of a democratic society. These are often largely overlooked or similarly discounted. This is one reason we hear occasionally the remark: "They are not ready for democracy." Apropos of this, Senator John J. Sparkman has pinpointed a political fact which should be considered by those who are inclined to make judgments about when men are not ready to participate in the decision-making which governs much of their lives and fortunes. Senator Sparkman observes: "...even where formal institutions for local self-government have not been established, village people - through organizing and carrying out self-help projects - are gradually accumulating the experience of cooperative decision-making and action which is at the heart of a free society. It is in this context of working together with one's neighbors on problems about which one cares that civic responsibility and political maturity will grow...." Dr. Carl C. Taylor shares a similar conviction when he states that "Local institutions, even local government, must grow out of people's voluntary organizations." 1/ Dr. Douglas Ensminger, long an effective activist and perceptive observer on the American and Indian

---

1/ Carl C. Taylor, A Critical Analysis of India's Community Development Programme, Community Projects Administration, Government of India Press, p. 43.

scenes, maintains that "An essential means of developing people to play their roles as responsible citizens in a free democracy is to provide them opportunities to participate in a wide range of village organizations concerned about all phases of village life." 1/ Dr. Lucien Pye bolsters this with his belief that "The need is not for a single channel but for a diversity of organizations which would be adapted to the various social and personal needs of people who cannot for long depend upon the traditional ties of village life since these are being weakened by social change." 2/

In addition to the need for voluntary organizations, it is imperative that a sound system of democratic local government be established to accelerate economic growth, social progress, and political development at the grass roots. The newly developing nations are normally short on local government institutions concerned with, and capable of promoting, democratic local development. This scarcity, in large part, is a reflection of the former ruling elites' lack of interest in, and concern for, the welfare and development of local people.

Assuming that democratic local government institutions are lacking and the leadership and people recognize this and want to develop a sound system of democratic local government, what are some of the fundamental considerations to be borne in mind in determining the nature of the local government institutions to be established?

a. They should be a part of an organized national system which will link the capital and the countryside with mutually advantageous and respected two-way communications. They should help to integrate the nation through cooperative and coordinated local development and nation-building activities.

b. Although they are a part of a national system, they must be responsive primarily to the needs of local people. They must be built, "not merely as auxiliaries to central government activities, as is the case in totalitarian regimes, but as competent units of local self-government," according to Dr. Carl C. Taylor. They are useful chiefly because they perform functions on their own initiative and assume responsibilities for obligations which they impose upon themselves. 3/

1/ Douglas Ensminger, A Guide to Community Development, Ministry of Community Development, Government of India, Jan. 1957.

2/ Lucien Pye, "Community Development as a Part of Political Development," Community Development Review, Vol. 5, No. 4, Dec. 1960, pp. 11-21.

3/ Carl C. Taylor, A Critical Analysis of India's Community Development Programme, Community Projects Administration, Government of India Press, p. 40.

c. They must be the type which local people can operate effectively. Otherwise, the people will become frustrated and will not use them. For example, they should be organized on a unit and/or area basis which will enable people to choose their leaders or representatives from among the people they know. Furthermore, the subjects or issues which are placed before them for decision should be ones about which the majority of the people have some direct knowledge or with which they have experience. Otherwise, the people are not in a position to make wise decisions, and an uninformed or foolish decision is worse than none at all. This, of course, does not preclude the presentation of new and unfamiliar topics to people for the purposes of information and education.

d. Local government institutions should provide for, and zealously safeguard, certain fundamental rights of local people. Among these are: (1) the right to choose and to remove their leaders in an orderly manner; (2) the right to insist upon majority rule under law; and (3) the right to hold and to advocate minority views in the process of local decision-making.

e. Local government should be structured primarily to perform efficiently functions which local needs, circumstances, and resources dictate. Secondarily, it should take into account the roles and relationships which it must maintain with other elements of government. Thus, form should follow function, and not the reverse as sometimes happens. However, this principle should not be hastily considered and construed to justify a helter-skelter approach to local government organization. For there are a number of needs, circumstances, and resources which are common to many local communities, and out of these it is possible to achieve a degree of unity and uniformity which simplifies the processes of local units of government working effectively together and with other levels of government. Furthermore, there are some sound principles of human organization which have validity in a very wide spectrum of circumstances which, if observed, will add appreciably to the effectiveness of local government. Unfortunately, some of these principles are more likely to be overlooked or ignored when people proceed from the assumption that all nations and local communities are different and for this reason should have differing systems of organizing themselves. In this context, it can be both wise and productive to consider carefully another assumption: that all communities and nations have more similarities than differences.

f. "Statutory institutions like local units of government must be permitted and sanctioned by law, but they must also be understood and sanctioned by the people and the groups who are expected to sustain, maintain and operate them." 1/

g. "If local government is imposed on a community without adequate training in the community development processes, in democratic self-determination, in experience gained by trial and error, in bringing up proven leadership and in active participation of people in their day-to-day affairs, it may well become a political pressure group with little or no responsibility or sympathy for catering to local aspirations of the people it represents." 2/

h. There are three particularly interesting variations of local government systems which have been developing during the past few years in the forms of the barrio councils in the Philippines, the village panchayats in India, and the basic democracies in Pakistan.

(1) "Grassroots Democracy: Philippine Style" 3/

"...Most of the Philippines' 23 million population live in small rural communities. There are over 22,000 of these 'barrios' varying in size from less than 100 persons to more than 2000, scattered over the numerous islands of the Philippine archipelago. Many barrios are in isolated areas far from markets and handicapped by the problems of inadequate financing, poor schools and unhealthful living conditions.

"The Background

"The late President Ramon Magsaysay believed that this 'grassroots' barrio level was the most important human level in any nation that undertakes to conduct itself according to true democratic principles, and that when

---

1/ Carl C. Taylor, A Critical Analysis of India's Community Development Programme, Community Projects Administration, Government of India Press, p. 43.

2/ H.B. Minocher Homji, "Community Development and Local Government," Community Development Review, Vol. 6, No. 1, March 1961, p. 71.

3/ ICA Digest, Executive Secretariat, Washington, D.C., January 15, 1960, pp. 2-4.

the program to improve and strengthen the nation at that level succeeds, the national economic development program is bound to succeed. He felt that there must be a solid foundation upon which to base the superstructure of progress in industry and agriculture.

"In the postwar period a great era of experimentation in democracy was initiated. The barrio dwellers, 'long neglected' in Mr. Magsaysay's words, were given recognition by land reform legislation, land resettlement and irrigation projects, the extension of agricultural, health and educational services, a rural credit system, and finally in 1955 a long step toward self-help development in the form of a law establishing legal and elected barrio councils. The barrio council was to be the link with the established rural services of the central government. Locally initiated community development became a reality.

"The Barrio Council Law of 1955

"The 1955 law was a landmark in that it set up for the first time annually elected, barrio councils, which became the barrio's unit of government. Previously the village head man had been a barrio lieutenant, appointed by a higher administrative unit - province, city or municipality.

"There were, however, several drawbacks in the law; first of all the powers of the barrio council were quite limited. They could only 'suggest or recommend' improvement projects to the municipality, with whom they held a subservient position. Another inhibiting factor was the lack of a sound financial base; the barrio council had no taxing powers. And finally the electoral system reflected the Spanish tradition of male supremacy. Only heads of families, 21 or over, could vote. This effectively denied the franchise to women and single men.

"The PACD

"In 1956 the office of the Presidential Assistant on Community Development - PACD - was set up, giving the barrio council a definite job to do in a government aided self-help program of community development. The first council elections in January 1956 were not very successful, due mainly to a lack of voter information. In many cases municipal mayors continued to appoint the barrio lieutenants.

"During the 1957 elections PACD conducted a vigorous get-out-the-vote campaign which successfully sparked greater local interest and enthusiasm. By 1958 there were definite indications that a great part of the populace had caught on to the significance of elections, and by 1959 there were 12,000 elected barrio councils. PACD, realizing, however, that community development efforts of the elected barrio councils were being hampered by a lack of sufficient authority and financial resources, sparked a drive to revamp the law to correct these defects....

"The New Barrio Autonomy Law (1959)

"The significant features of the new barrio charter are: An elected barrio assembly is given very broad powers to initiate community development projects, a solid financial base is provided by giving the barrio taxation powers, and all qualified voters, including women and single men, may now vote for local officials. In short, a democratically elected village government now has the wherewithal and the authority to improve the barrio dwellers' lot.

"The barrio council, elected by the barrio assembly, is given broad autonomy in deciding on, implementing and financing community development projects...'that will improve...the well being of the barrio residents.' The barrio becomes a quasi-municipal corporation, which means that through its council it can buy and hold property, can sue and be sued, has contractual powers, and is granted the important right of eminent domain.

"The barrio is given a solid financial base with which to carry out its projects. The council can retain 10 percent of all real estate taxes collected within the barrio, and is empowered to impose an additional one-fourth of one percent tax on all real property within the barrio. Taxes can also be levied on gamecocks, cockfights and on the use of cement, billboards and so on. This tax revenue may be spent for local purposes.

"The right to vote in barrio assembly elections has been broadened to include 'all qualified voters' - presumably this would extend the franchise to women, who already can vote in national elections, and to all adult males, married or single. In barrio society, a male, regardless of his age, is considered to be a youth until he marries. These provisions may have profound social implications in the villages...."

(2) Village Panchayats in India

"Planning for development normally leads to increasing centralization and expansion of the bureaucracy. But [in India] we have deliberately made decentralization of democracy a part of our National Plan....

"The record of local self-government in our country in the past has been by no means bright....

"In the past panchayats and other forms of local self-government have been treated more as an instrument or an agency of the bureaucratic administration than as self-governing institutions of the people. This has been one of the reasons why they have not commanded the respect of the people....They should not be regarded merely as a method of decentralising the authority to local agents of the Central or the State Government but as decentralisation of authority to local bodies chosen by and answerable to local electorate. That electorate must be able to determine local policies so that Government at the level becomes responsive to the needs of the people of the locality. The Directive Principle of the Constitution [of India] enjoins on all States to organize village panchayats and endow them with such powers and authority as may be necessary to enable them to function as units of self-government. Their role in planning is as fundamental as in execution. More often than not when local programmes of development are executed with the assistance of panchayats they are used merely as agencies, particularly for purposes of collecting the people's contributions. It should be the other way about. The panchayats should plan and execute their own programme with the assistance of the Government agencies....

"Broadly the functions of panchayats fall into three categories:

"(a) Those that may be called 'representative' functions where their main role is to voice and represent the community's opinion on all matters affecting it.

"(b) 'Regulatory functions' which consist of regulating the conduct of individuals and institutions serving the village community, e.g., watching the work done in a village school, registering births and deaths, enforcing measures of safety and sanitation, securing minimum standards of cultivation, managing waste lands, etc.

"(c) What may be called 'service or developmental functions,' such as improvement of educational and medical facilities, communications, construction and maintenance of irrigation sources." 1/

"The idea of creating ad hoc bodies either at the village or the block level has now been abandoned by us. The experiment with ad hoc village councils was not successful. Instead the statutory village panchayat is being developed....At the block level the development is in the direction of converting the advisory development committee ultimately into a statutory local authority." 2/

"In the scheme for the development of local self-government and integrating it with the administrative pattern that has been evolved for the community development programme, some states are considering the creation of the next level of local self-governing authority above the panchayat at the district level which will be called the zilla parishad (district council). Other states are proposing to create three tiers of local self-government, the panchayat at the village level, the block samiti (block council) at the block level and the zilla parishad at the district level. The Indian programme has passed through the phase of attempting to stimulate community development efforts through ad hoc development bodies which met with little success. The present effort is to create or strengthen local governments simultaneously with stimulating community self-help activities. The promotion of local self-government has greater significance than merely an attempt to create people's institutions for community development. The object is to give vitality to the whole democratic process and to provide to the new democracy in this country a broader and firmer base. Of the three bodies for local self-government which are being developed, namely, the panchayat at the village level, the block samiti at the block level, and the zilla parishad at the district level, the panchayat is regarded as the most important for purposes of community development. They are to be viewed as representative bodies of the people functioning as small units of local self-government and not merely as an agency of

---

1/ B. Mukerji, "Community Development and Local Self-Government," Community Development Review, No. 10, International Cooperation Administration, Washington, D.C., Sept. 1958, pp. 38-41.

2/ B. Mukerji, "Public Administration Aspects of India's Programme of Community Development," presented at the United Nations Workshop.

the government. The intention is that the panchayat should undertake full responsibility for promoting the all round development of the village community and the area consistent, of course, with its resources, existing and potential. It will have administrative, judicial, and developmental functions, but in the initial period emphasis will be laid on the developmental functions and not so much on their administrative and judicial functions. Although there will be an organic link between the three tiers of local self-government, the maximum possible autonomy in the functioning of the panchayat would be aimed at so that the development of initiative and sense of responsibility in the rural community is not impeded in any way. The emphasis will be on establishing a partnership and collaboration between the central Government, the state government and the different tiers of local authority so that they can share between them the total burden of the development of the country." 1/

The Panchayati Raj (government by village council) was first instituted in October 1959, in the State of Rajasthan, India. This system is now being spread throughout India.

(3) Basic Democracies in Pakistan 2/

"The Basic Democracy Order of October 27, 1959, redeems the pledge given by our President, Field-Marshal Mohammad Ayub Khan to the nation on October 8: 'Let me announce in unequivocal terms that our ultimate aim is to restore democracy, but of the type that people can understand and work.' On June 12, 1959, the Revolutionary Government announced plans for the introduction of 'Basic Democracy.' A five tier system linking the people at every stage with the administration was evolved. On October 27, 1959, the first anniversary of the Revolution in Pakistan, the Basic Democracy Order was promulgated.

"Considerations Behind the Decision

"Basic Democracy as a political institution exhibits in a large measure the spirit of realism, moderation and gradualism which has characterized the Martial Law Administration in

---

1/ Ibid.

2/ Masihuzzaman, Administrator, Village AID, West Pakistan, Pakistan, Quarterly, Winter 1959, Vol. IX, No. 4, pp. 14-19: published by Pakistan Publications, Post Office Box 183, Karachi.

Pakistan. It is based on the realization that although Democracy means the rule of the majority, the majority of the people in this country lives in villages. They are illiterate and having been subject to a colonial rule, a patriarchal administration, and a feudal social order, have no experience in the art of government. They lack the confidence and initiative which could help them discharge the responsibility that democracy places on a people. In order that they do not become dupes of politicians and glib-tongued agitators, they must understand and learn what is Government, what is their role in the Government, and how best they can run it. This they can do by governing themselves at lower levels and gaining experience enough to govern themselves at higher levels later.

"It also recognizes that the most educated and enlightened class of the country is represented in the administrative services. It forms the intellectual elite of the country, and has been responsible for keeping the fabric of the Government intact during the last twelve years. It is the most valuable resource of the country not only for running day-to-day administration but also for helping the nation formulate its long term policies. The boldness of conception of the present regime consists in its decision to make use of this resource for bringing about a regeneration of national life.

"The Scheme in Brief

"Basic Democracy creates institutions at the Union, Tehsil, District, Divisional and Provincial levels to afford people forums to participate in discussions and decision making on public affairs. (The administrative units of Pakistan are the two provinces, divided successively into Divisions, Districts, Tehsils, and Villages.) It gives them opportunities to develop and improve themselves. At the Union level the Panchayat or Council has roughly ten elected and five nominated (non-official) members. Moreover, the Chairman of this body is a non-official with considerable powers. At the higher levels the nominated element increases, the elected element decreases. In District and Divisional Councils all non-official members are nominees of the Government, and hold 50% of the seats, the remaining 50% being occupied by government officials. In all councils above the Union Panchayat (or Local Councils), the Chairman is invariably the highest government officer of the area.

"To ensure that these institutions do not become mere debating grounds, and that responsibility does not become diffused, the executive functions have been vested in the chairman,

the advisory in the members. This, it is hoped, will allow the chairman to function freely and effectively.

"As a further safeguard, these democratic institutions have been placed under the effective control of the administration. The Deputy Commissioner, the Commissioner and the Governor have been designated controlling authorities in respect of subordinate councils and panchayats. They have been given wide powers over the basic democracies to see that these institutions function properly.

"The Basic Democracy Order distinguishes between three types of non-officials in its councils. Elected members are those who come in their own right in the Local Council. 'Representative' members are those among the elected who are selected by the controlling authority for participating at levels higher than that of Local Councils. Finally the 'Appointed' members are those who are nominated by the Controlling Authority to participate at various levels including the Local Council. While Appointed members can be removed by the Controlling Authority for misdemeanour, the Elected members cannot be removed except by the higher council.

"The position of the members in the Basic Democracy is not exactly like that of unpaid Government servants. They, in fact, become a part of the administrative machinery. Their position will be like that of a foreman in an industrial concern who belongs to the workers because he comes up from them and he belongs to the managers because he holds supervisory responsibility. His experience and respect among workers help him to obtain the co-operation of the workers in implementing a managerial policy. His experience as a worker and contact with them helps him to mould managerial policy. The members of the Basic Democracy, therefore, might become the bridge between the officials and the people.

"Reading between the lines one gets the impression that the allocation of power, or pattern of representation provided in the Order, has not been fixed in perpetuity but is likely to change as the capacity of the people to govern themselves increases and their administrative experience widens. The Order fixes a ceiling on the membership of official members and not on the non-official members.

"The President had promised to evolve a democracy which people can understand. The virtue of the present legislation is that it brings the elector and his representative face to face with each other. The locale of the activity of the elected

member is so near the voter than he can check up on the promises and performance of the representative. This will demonstrate to the voter both the value of his vote and the criteria of judging the most important of his representatives.

"But the most important aspect of the Order is that for the first time an attempt has been made to build up a structurally sound political system to connect villages with the capital of the province. Formerly, while the administrative structure did reach the people, the political structure did not. The present system fills the gaps that had existed in the British type of democracy we had adopted. It was democratic at the top but lacked support all the way down and so it toppled over. The new system opens up new channels of communication between the governor and the governed and introduces an element of stability in the government which had so far suffered from the weaknesses of a monolithic type of government."

3. What should be the relationships of Community Development to local government in the newly developing nation?

In each of the three country situations we have reviewed, the leadership of Community Development has advocated and helped to establish statutory institutions of local government. Rather than review the situation country by country, the following penetrating analysis of Mr. Masihuzzaman, 1/ Administrator of West Pakistan V-AID Program (Village Agricultural and Industrial Development Programme), is being presented here because it sets forth in bold relief so many of the pertinent factors which have to be considered in developing productive relationships between community development and local government:

"Community Development and Basic Democracy

"What is the relation between this new scheme of Basic Democracy and the Community Development projects that have been developing in the country for some years? Both in their own ways attempt to secure the people's participation in achieving desired social goals. Both provide forums for people to exercise a modicum of responsibility and power, and to discharge some of the functions of the Government at lower levels. Both seek to harness local resources, human and material, for the good of the community. Both provide

---

1/ Ibid., pp. 84-88.

training grounds for future leaders of the country. Finally both depend upon the bureaucracy to provide leadership and guidance to the people at a variety of levels and in a variety of ways. Both display strong democratic traits in their organizational structure, distribution of powers and administrative procedure.

"There are certain differences in the technique, approach and scope of the Basic Democracy and the Community Development projects. Community Development relies largely on certain educative processes as a means of influencing public opinion and derives its sanctions from social norms which are already in existence or which it has revived or created. Basic Democracy has as the basis of its authority the law and the will of the people expressed through its representatives or enlightened members.

"Community Development is wedded to the 'felt need' approach and is, therefore, a process which inevitably involves delay. In the Basic Democracy the representatives of the people may decide what is good for the people and give it to them. As long as the non-official members of the Basic Democracy are capable of representing the needs and aspirations of the people there should not be any divergence between the felt needs of the community and the institutional appreciation of communal needs.

"Units of operation of the Local Government are prescribed by law. The units of operation of Community Development are determined by the stage of development of society, its capacity to unify and its preparedness to identify and own up problems of which it has not been conscious because of ignorance or indifference. Community Development, therefore, might choose a group or a sub-group or a village community or more to work with. It may have as an objective a specific transitory project or a number of long term projects.

"While Basic Democracy must select its leaders according to the procedure laid down by law and at the interval prescribed by law, Community Development might, in its process of identifying, training, selecting and developing leaders, move on from methods of nomination by acclamation, to vote by voice and even to vote by secret ballot. In Basic Democracy the statutory recognition to the Chairman gives him a greater status and power. In Community Development a Chairman may lack the assurance and confidence of the Chairmen of Basic Democracy.

"Community Development and Basic Democracy, therefore, are two stages of the same process of development. The first stage is exploratory, informal and tentative. The second is regulatory, formal and firm.

"The differences that have been noticed in the technique, approach and scope of Basic Democracy and Community Development are essentially differences of degree and not of character. Basic Democracy does represent an advanced stage of development. It must take over from Community Development, and institutionalise processes that the latter has brought into existence. These differences are theoretically unimportant and practically negligible. But a recapitulation of these is necessary to remind one that Basic Democracy is a dynamic concept and the leaders of Basic Democracy at various levels must remain aware of their changing role as the community moves on towards greater self-realisation and self-reliance.

"Complementary Role

"It is, however, obvious that the roles of Village AID or Community Development on the one hand, and of Local Government on the other, are not mutually exclusive. In fact, various studies carried out in many parts of the world tend to show that a society reaches a certain stage of its development when it needs to institutionalise the functions it had voluntarily performed for self-development. People have observed a contradiction between Local Government and Community Development. Community Development succeeds where Local Government is weakest, yet Community Development must depend upon its success and continuation on the strength of the Local Government in order that it gets regular financial and other support. This paradox is resolved if we think of Community Development as the first stepping stone to effective Local Government. Therefore, it becomes a matter of the greatest importance for Community Development workers to organize support for and strengthen Local Government.

"Intimate relationship between Community Development and Basic Democracy was observed in India where the three best projects seen by the evaluation team happened to be those where the Project Officers had made the largest use of the Panchayats and Co-operatives. (Evaluation Report India 1957)

"An African study shows how reading rooms constructed by Community Development Workers decayed and the useful work failed 'due to lack of co-ordination between Community Development and Local Government' ('Advance in Africa' by I.C. Jackson, 1956, page 100).

"The Basic Democracy Order recognizes the existence of elected bodies and seeks to encourage the growth of such bodies within the Basic Democracy framework. Since the Basic Democracy units of administration have a larger framework, the administrative unit for the lowest level of Basic Democracy is likely to be bigger than an average village. Therefore, it appears that, by and large, village councils constituted under the V-AID Programme (Village Agricultural and Industrial Development Programme) will continue to function as before and support the Basic Democracies at higher levels. It is good to let the villagers develop this primary institution and its working system informally. Legal imposition of unity in villages can have adverse effects on the village society. It might, for example, solidify various factions in the villages which, according to reports by Sir Malcolm Darling, afflict 75% of villages in the Punjab. Democracy and the introduction of elections might introduce a discordant note in a society where horizontal relationships have not been developed. The V-AID Programme will educate the villagers in a system of 'work by consent,' and through stages prepare them to understand and work democracy in a way satisfying to all.

"Dangers of Rivalry

"There are, however, reasons to fear that unless institutional safeguards exist or are created, rivalry and conflicts may develop between Community Development and Basic Democracy. The U.N. Report on Public Administration problems involved in Community Development Programmes (May 1958) shows that 'In Ceylon, the Caribbean, and the British territories in Africa, there is some rivalry and conflict among Community Development Officers and those responsible for strengthening Local Government.' The first source of rivalry could be traced to lack of clear definition of functions and responsibilities. A great deal of work which Village-AID is doing cannot be taken up by the Basic Democracy. But there is a great deal more which is to be taken over by the Basic Democracy. The problem could be that while Village-AID may be competent to do a particular job, Basic Democracy may be anxious to take the work over without having the competence or will to do the job. But Basic Democracy will have the power to take over such functions. 'In Puerto Rico local political leaders want to be thought of as the sole benefactors of their communities and hence try to arrange for the Central or Local Government to do things that may be initiated on a community self-help basis.'

"There is also likelihood of officers of both the organisations coming in conflict with each other to gain status or power with the Communities. This rivalry if not arrested could extend to other members of these organisations which it may be difficult to live down.

"Finally, there is another danger. Basic Democracy because of its association with legal authority might attract traditional leaders. The U.N. Report points out that 'traditional leaders and local politicians may oppose the Community Development Programme because they regard it as a threat to their position.' They might look askance at development of a voluntary leadership outside the pale of existing power structure.

"The Present Experiment

"To resolve the conflicts which have been noticed in the Community Development Programme and Local Government in other countries, it is necessary to evolve a mechanism which emphasises the complementary rather than the competitive character of those two institutions. This could be done by integrating the responsibility for supervision, training and guidance of members of the Basic Democracy and the Community Development Administration. The advantages of this arrangement are that it will be possible for the programme executive to allocate functions and responsibilities to avoid duplication and frittering away of the resources and to ensure that people's desire for self-help is not atrophied or a diarchy created in the village. Most of all it will ensure that schemes executed by Village Councils under the Community Development Programme are maintained and continued under the aegis of the Basic Democracy. Community Development Programme then becomes an instrument for employing self-help and creating conditions which will make Local Government an efficient organisation. In turn the Basic Democracy becomes the custodian of institutions and values created by the Community Development.

"By placing the operational control of both Basic Democracy and the Community Development in the hands of the Deputy Commissioners and the Commissioners, it has been further assured that the two are fully integrated.

"By creating institutions at higher levels, Basic Democracy also secures support for Community Development at these levels. But politically more important is the fact that Basic Democracy will institutionalise a relationship that ought to exist between the Government and the people and for which no machinery had existed so far. It makes the Administrator responsive to public opinion in a manner much more satisfactory than chance interviews with chance visitors can be, or a hurried visit to selected accessible villages or an apparently spontaneous meeting planned by the subordinate officials. Moreover, it gives public opinion a certain status and ensures a regular exchange of ideas and information between the people and the Government.

"Some Problems

"The Government has placed a great deal of faith in Government servants and their wisdom and ability to nurture and develop democratic institutions. It is an entirely new task and requires a change in the outlook of officers. One of the serious defects that can be foreseen in this situation, which the administration has to solve in its own way, is how to combine the role of welfare with the role of law and order. As agent of law and order it is the duty of the Deputy Commissioner to punish a criminal, to show him no mercy, and to keep him in terror. As an agent of welfare a Deputy Commissioner should treat a criminal kindly, give him basic security, show him how he could lead a better life and thus improve him permanently. This is an extreme example but it highlights the problems which the new administration will face when the Basic Democracy comes into existence. In essence the agents of law and order provide peace and security outside, and the agents of reforms provide peace and security within. Their audiences are different, their approach complementary."

4. Under what circumstances should the coercive powers of local government be used?

One of the most important facts about the institution of democratic local government is the very real political power which thus becomes available for the use of local people. Since most local people in the newly developing nations had no political power before independence it means that the use of political power is relatively new to most of them. The exercise of much of this new power is not hazardous; but one part is: the power to coerce. The fact that it is dangerous, however, should not preclude local people from using it - but it does underscore the necessity for using it carefully and intelligently. Otherwise the results may justify Simon Bolivar's observation: "An ignorant people is a blind instrument for its own destruction."

The coercive powers of local government may be used advantageously (a) when the efficient use of education and persuasion will not achieve the objectives adequately; (b) when there appears to be no other way to distribute equitably and justly the burden for the general welfare; (c) when the total anticipated results are carefully considered and clearly outweigh the potential disadvantages, and (4) when essential functions cannot or will not be performed satisfactorily by voluntary non-government institutions.

5. What role should political parties play in the political development of the new nations?

The role of political parties in the newly developing nations is an intriguing one to contemplate because of the diversity of views held by those who have given intensive consideration to it.

Generally speaking, political parties in some of the newly developing nations have not been able to produce all of the desirable results expected of them, as indicated by the following observations:

a. "It was to be hoped that the development of political parties and the introduction of periodic elections would provide the necessary channels for the rural elements to become involved in a single unifying political process. This, however, has not been a rapid development. Party politics has had to focus mainly on intra-elite relations among the more urbanized and more Westernized segments of the population. There has been little need for the parties to maintain continuous relations with the rural population. This has largely been the case because the party systems that have evolved in these societies tend to be of two extreme types: either they are composed of one dominant party, that is more a social movement, and a number of minor parties that do not constitute a responsible opposition; or they are the kind of multi-party system in which the elite has divided itself according to developments in the history of intra-elite relations. In both of these systems rational considerations would place a low priority on efforts to maintain continuous relations with marginal participants such as the village element, unless the objective of the party is the complete overthrowal of the system." 1/

b. "A complicating factor in this Philippine-Spanish American brand of democracy was the introduction of the two party system, in which the patron relationship, previously based on land ownership and social heritage, is now relegated to competing political patrons, each endeavoring within his party structure and by the use of private and public funds to out-patron his political rival by the distribution of political and financial largesse before elections." 2/

1/ Lucien Pye, "Community Development as a Part of National Development," Community Development Review, No. 8, ICA/W, March 1958, p. 1.

2/ Harry Naylor, "CD and Traditional Behavior Patterns," Manila TOICA A-1160, dated 11/21/60.

c. "Political parties, like most other social organizations in the emerging nations, tend to be strong at the top and weak at the roots. The focus of interest is too often upon the struggle for power and position at the summit rather than upon broader and deeper organization among the general public. They are too often instruments of authoritarian domination without adequately developing their capacity for leading the public towards more effective participation." 1/

d. "It is possible to move in the direction of democracy at the local level but an effort to establish Western institutions of democracy at the national level is premature in a culture which is essential tribal. In /country X/, for example, the nation could not survive if there were two strong political parties. The effect would be corrosive. One has to live with a strong central government until democratic undergirdings have been built in the form of a broad popular democratic base. As it is today, the natural outlet of the relatively meager products of education is into government, and if there were a two-party system one would be confronted with a situation in which only half of the educated people would be participating effectively in constructive efforts to create a government and extend services to the people; the other half would be exerting their efforts toward throwing out those who are in the government." 2/

e. "The party system is not sacred, and it is not necessarily 'democratic' - no matter whether it is one, two, three, or any number whatsoever. All the hullabaloo over party systems disguises the fact that under all of them the power structure remains the same." 3/

However, despite their limitations political parties have a significant role to play in the political development of the new nations. They can serve as:

(1) public forums to consider important political issues;

(2) voluntary agencies to help with the process of discovering, evaluating and presenting candidates for public elections;

1/ An astute observer.

2/ Neal, op. cit., p. 15.

3/ Chancellor Williams, "African Democracy and the Leadership Principle," Journal of Human Relations, pp. 820-29.

(3) important channels of communication between the public and the government (since major parties are usually the largest representative institutions in a democracy);

(4) an organized means of helping to keep political office holders more responsive, between elections, to the interests of the public.

But political parties, like other democratic institutions, have to be organized and developed to serve the interests of the electorate. In the process of organizing political parties new nations are usually confronted with two types of situations insofar as the number of parties are concerned. In cases where one party played the major role in the struggle for independence, there is an inclination to have what amounts to a dominant one-party system for a while after independence. This is notably true where the struggle for independence was long and difficult, the leadership was strong and seasoned, and there was widespread identification with, and involvement in, the struggle. But, in time, the ties of the great common cause which held the party together weaken and other parties and leaders arise to challenge the revolutionary party and its leadership. The other extreme arises when a country got its independence without much effort or preparation for it. In some of these situations, before independence, political parties were even banned. This meant that neither party leaders nor party organizations had much opportunity to prove themselves and to develop the loyalties of supporters. Consequently, a rash of political parties may come into being almost immediately after independence.

Both of the situations, the one which produces the single strong party and the one which results in the excessive proliferation of political parties, are discouraging to the impatient democratic political scientist who wishes they would work like the more mature democracy with its usual two major parties and possibly one or two minor parties.

Mature democracies can help the newer nations to strengthen their democratic party systems as they develop politically. This should be done, but the timing and the agency used to assist are critically important.

6. <u>What should be the role of Community Mobilization in creating and/or developing political institutions?</u>

Community Mobilization should:

a. help to ascertain the character and capabilities of the organized institutions in the area available to carry out government and non-government programs concerned with the management and conduct of public affairs;

b. assist in determining and implementing ways, including the training of leadership, to increase the effectiveness of existing institutions to perform the functions needed and desired by the people; and

c. take such steps as may be appropriate under the circumstances to reorient existing institutions or to form new groups which will enable local people (1) to have a direct voice in the management of their common affairs, (2) to be represented ably and on an equitable basis in higher councils of the government, and (3) to hold their chosen representatives responsible and accountable for the functions delegated to them.

Democratic Political Leadership

One of the weaknesses in the concept and administration of our program of assistance to the newly developing nations is the incidental attention which has been given to helping them develop democratic political leadership. The following statements highlight this situation:

> "Throughout the underdeveloped world, there is today a real famine of experienced, able, honest, and public-spirited citizens with a working knowledge of how to run a country on modern lines....A Communist or a military regime has an advantage over a democratic government in that the number and quality of the persons needed to run the country are considerably less in dictatorial systems. Asians do not want the regimentation which such rule entails, but neither can they operate a democratic government without enough people who are good democrats. Latin American governments have long been shunted back and forth between selfish-minded civilians and military dictators. Will this be the experience of Africa and Asia? Will democracy be perverted to suit the few, or alternately, will it be shelved by military regimes, attempting, not too successfully, to do something for the masses at the cost of freedom?...
>
> "...democracy must be made to work effectively in politically backward countries...." 1/

1/ Review of Arnold J. Toynbee's Communism and the West in Asian Countries in "Library Notes," #287, The Asia Foundation, San Francisco, Cal., Aug. 15, 1961, p. 251.

"Q. Is there any way in which the AID agency can deal directly with political matters, such as training politicians?

"A. We do not undertake any programs of support for the development of political leadership or political institutions as such, but among the indirect results of many of our training programs - training programs in which young people come to our universities and learn about our democratic institutions - we do, I am sure, influence future political leaders in these countries." 1/

For as long as I can remember, this seems to have been the policy of our foreign aid agency. Therefore, I assume the present Administrator is not the formulator but the inheritor of this policy. This speculation raises three questions:

(1) Does any agency of the U.S. Government have the responsibility for furnishing, directly and dynamically, programmed technical assistance to the newly developing nations for democratic political development - assistance which is not incidental or subsidiary to the achievement of some other purpose?

(2) If no agency has been assigned this responsibility, nor been given the authority and resources to do it, what are the reasons for our policy or lack of one in this obviously important area?

(3) Is this an area which we can afford to fence off from full and free discussion and direct actions because of questionable inhibitions or lack of decisive delegations? Whose purposes are we serving in not discussing fully and acting directly?

Whatever may have been the justifications in the past for relying solely upon the incidental approach and the indirect result in the critically important area of helping newly developing nations to train political leadership to strengthen their democracy, the collective assortment of these justifications seems to be quite inadequate in formulating policies and programs to cope with current needs and opportunities.

1/ David E. Bell, Administrator, Agency for International Development, responding to newsman during interview, St. Louis, Mo. Post Dispatch, June 30, 1963.

Although the following extract from Dr. Beers 1/ is taken somewhat out of context, it nevertheless describes aptly one of the inhibitions and justifications referred to above which is partially responsible for our limited policy of providing technical assistance for democratic political development to newly developing nations:

"...a frequent evaluation cliché is that 'one has no right to interfere.' This is a piece of intellectual rubbish that needs to be cleared away....

"...in the dynamics today of [illegible] the cosmos or the community, there can be no preven[illegible] change, and the question is whether we would interv[illegible] negatively-actively by trying to stop change, (2) ne[illegible]utrally by indifference, or acceptance of what happens, [illegible]ering even retrogression, or (3) positively, by a[illegible] influence the character [illegible] change in accordance with some goals that may be sought.

"The custom-bound society, wherever it may be in the world today, will not go unchanged, howe[illegible] we may plan or neglect to plan and act. The communities in it will share in this change. Shall we then 'let change happen,' with its attendant discomforts? Ethical systems differ, but anybody's ethics, applied to this question, would now require that all possible wisdom and skill be marshaled to minimize penalties and maximize rewards by the guidance of change.

"Many of us come immediately to some conclusion as to how the guidance and control shall be exercised and in what direction. In some places and at some times the action has been by force of revolution, with reform by decree and liquidation of resistance. At other times and places, more peaceful and slower means have been tried, not always without 'liquidation,' but in such cases the executioners are disease and starvation. There has been enough social experience in the world to predict that wherever social progress occurs, there are certain inevitably disruptive changes in the old order. In fact, by definition, social change involves a form of disruption. But the point is that the changes are basic, they touch the most fundamental features of the old order, and hereto attaches the greatest cause of discomfort, pain and disorganization....

1/ Howard W. Beers, "Evaluation in Community Development - The Indian Experience," International Review of Community Development, No. 5, 1960, Piazza Cavalieri di Malta, 2, Roma, pp. 203-19.

"We know (but often forget, while in action) that the innovations we help communities to introduce will shift the patterns of social sanction from sacred to secular; we know the built-in 'social security' of the kinship group will decline; that the effort of making choices must replace the effortless acceptance of tradition; that previous orders of stratification will be rearranged; that restlessness will ensue as desires multiply; that misunderstandings and even conflict will develop between young people and old people and possibly between men and women; that individual persons will face new and uncomfortable 'role conflicts,' that life will be more and not less problematic and will require new searchings for purpose and meaning' and that there will be many results that neither were expected nor are desired.

"It must be faced that either revolution by violence or... /change by non-violent methods/, if 'successful,' is attended by at least these profound disturbances. Aware of this, the cynic asks whether one should continue his promotion of 'progress.' Of what avail that fewer people should die, that diets should improve, that illiteracy should disappear, that incomes should rise, that people should be clean, /that people should be free/ 1/, if they are going to be more restless and discomfited?...

"Various answers are involved; but they all impel us to continue our efforts, because of the estimate that both in short-run and long-run considerations in the modern world the ratio of satisfaction to discomfiture can be greater as a result of the guidance of change than as a result of obstructionism or negligence. It does not seem reasonable to conclude in the 20th century that satisfaction can be maximized by indifference to change or by the mere perpetuation of customs which were functional in antiquity but have now or will inevitably become disfunctional."

Another inhibition which has had a deleterious effect upon the growth and extension of technical assistance for democratic political development has been a phobia in some quarters about the use or association of the terms "political" or "politics" with our foreign aid program. Dr. Rustov observed that:

"...The very word 'politics'...has an ugly ring in American ears, so that we have been able cheerfully to advocate integral economic planning and comprehensive administrative reform

---

1/ Added.

as long as no conscious attention was paid to their intensely political ramifications." 1/

It would be interesting to know precisely why there is a persistent, irrational fear of using these terms in connection with our foreign assistance programs. Since democratic politics, generally speaking, is the art and science of democratic government, why should not we use freely the basic term "politics" and other terms derived from it? Is there any reason why we should not share with newly developing nations the best that we know about the art and science of democratic government? Furthermore, is any country in a better position to assist the newly independent or newly developing nations in their efforts to succeed in the development of their own democratic concepts, processes, institutions and leadership? Our long, varied, and over-all successful experience with democracy at all levels of government, in all sectors of the economy, in all parts of the society, through all stages of development, surely qualifies us fundamentally. Incidentally, would anyone argue that our experience is any less applicable, or that we are any less well qualified, to help new nations with their democratic political development than with their economic development? Even many of our trials which turned out to be errors, in our search for the best ways to manage our common affairs and to establish and maintain basic human rights, provide a sound basis for democratic decision-making in the new nations. Certainly, when the great reservoir of American democratic national, local, group, and individual experience is drawn upon intelligently and used wisely it will be of inestimable benefit to others. Wise men profit from the experience of others, as well as from their own. But the foregoing considerations, rather than explaining, make our shying away from the use of the term "political" and our restrictive attitude toward political technical assistance even less comprehensible.

One theory advanced to explain our government's seemingly lackadaisical attitude toward political technical assistance suggests that our bureaucratic government organization has been largely responsible. Elements of the thesis which have been used to support this theory are: (1) The traditional and basic function of the Department of State has been to handle political matters with foreign governments subject to the general guidance of the President. It has been supreme among departments in decision-making dealing with these. (2) The traditional pattern of organization of the Department of State in Washington and in its field institutions has been

---

1/ Dankwart A. Rustov, "The Vanishing Dream of Stability," AID Digest, Agency for International Development, Washington, D.C., August 1962, p. 14.

developed, primarily and justifiably, to discharge this basic function. But unfortunately the function of sharing, with newly developing nations, our wealth of experience and techniques in the political science of democratic government has fallen between the bureaucratic organizational cracks. (3) It fell between the cracks because there has been no clear mandate from the President and Congress to do a comparable job in the political area to that called for in the economic area by President Truman in his "Point Four," which the Congress provided for in the Act for International Development in June 1950. (4) There has been no clear mandate because the dominant career element, the political officers, of the Department of State, although comparatively willing to have a new group recruited and organized under State's general supervision to work with foreign governments on economic and social problems, were disposed to question the propriety and wisdom of either doing the political assistance themselves or employing a new group for this purpose. They thought such action might confuse the traditional role of the embassies in these countries and make them suspect, thus making it more difficult to discharge properly their long established functions of negotiating matters of U.S. interests and of observing, analyzing and reporting upon matters of concern to the United States. They apparently were not sure, either, that assistance in political development would be acceptable to new nations so soon after independence. And it seemed highly probable that the employment of a special group to provide political technical assistance might complicate relationships much more than would result from adding groups in the economic and social fields, inasmuch as the embassies' primary function was political. (5) But the supreme obstacle has been the lack of any substantial consensus as to what can and should be done to help newly developing nations with their democratic political development.

Is there any substance to this theory? I believe there has been; but I believe the situation has been changing substantially under the pressures of reality in recent months. Fortunately, realities have been changing too.

But let us focus a bit on the rationale for having democratic leaders in democratic societies.

"Every living group, human or otherwise, must have leadership, for leadership at its best is simply the most effective means through which the group organizes and implements its will. This is one of the most fundamental facts of social life, and to recognize it as such is the beginning of wisdom. People want leaders. People must have leaders. Rampant individualism is as hostile to the democracy for which we speak as is totalitarian dictatorship. Neither will serve best the emerging...societies. Leadership is

essential....No matter how highly intellectual a whole people may become, it will require leadership, the same as a society of physicians, an association of lawyers, or an academy of scientists - no matter how highly educated the group is, it seeks the ablest among its members for leadership." 1/

Philip E. Mosely believes "The middle decades of the twentieth century may be remembered, one hundred years from now,...as the time when one-third of the world's peoples straightened their backs and took their future into their own hands." Is it not reasonable to assume in this situation that one of the pressing needs of the people and their leaders is the know-why and the know-how to develop effective democratic government so as to make certain that their futures, figuratively speaking, do not slip through the fingers of their own hands? What other knowledge and skills are more important to them? Particularly this is so if they appreciate that "...political change has preceded economic change in most developing countries now striving for an increase of human and national dignity." 2/

Malenbaum is convinced that "A successful economic effort requires a program which encompasses governmental action to assure leadership for the rural areas. It requires a commitment on the part of government to provide this energizing force for a length of time sufficient to assure that the rural sector will begin to generate its own momentum. Thus, the economic answer depends on decisions with respect to administration and organization. A program for energizing rural areas and for injecting new dimensions of leadership will inevitably be a program which demands political change. The requirements for economic growth in today's world are preconditioned on the political ability and political willingness of a government to make basic decisions on leadership; the consequences of economic growth cannot be disassociated from further political and social change." 3/

"Local governments are a necessary part of a political democracy, and local leaders, by the thousands, are essential not only to the effective and efficient operation of local governments but

---

1/ Chancellor Williams, "African Democracy and the Leadership Principle," Journal of Human Relations, pp. 821-22.

2/ Harry Naylor, "CD and Traditional Behavior Patterns," Manila TOICA A-1160, Nov. 21, 1960.

3/ Wilfred Malenbaum, "The Economic Implications of Community Development," Community Development Review, December 1960.

for the management...the operation...and the promotion of every other type of local undertaking and programme." 1/

Since the needs for leadership are so tremendous in the new nations, and because most of these are required at the local level, it will be wise for the United States to concentrate much of the thought and resources of its aid program to helping the new nations to develop training programs, training institutions, and training instructors to train local leadership for the many new jobs which are being created faster, normally, by the developing democracies than they can get the leaders to man them.

The dimensions of this job of helping to train enough democratic leaders for the newly developing democracies in the short period in which it should be done are such that we are going to have to replace most of our old concepts of not only what is necessary but what is possible.

The Administrator of A.I.D. said: "...we are seeking to help in the establishment of independent, self-supporting countries, which are committed to economic and social progress through free institutions." 2/ To do this will require a variety of methods and means, but among all of these is there any that will produce a higher rate of return or be a better multiplier than training democratic leadership? Isn't leadership the master key to the total development network engaging our thoughts and efforts?

Before leaving this topic it may be well to consider what kind of leadership a dynamic democracy requires. "...The democracy in which the people actually rule can be effective only through a responsible leadership. This leadership, whether on the local or national level, whether social, economic, or political, will always seek to be representative of the people and responsible to them. Leaders of government in a democracy are recognized not as rulers but as executives of the expressed will of the nation....The people will expect a positive leadership in helping to shape and define its goals - positive, even daring proposals for their consideration, acceptance, or rejection. For this is why they have always sought the most intelligent and reliable among them for leaders." 3/

1/ Carl C. Taylor, op. cit., p. 19.

2/ David E. Bell, Administrator, A.I.D., responding to newsman during interview, St. Louis, Mo. Post Dispatch, June 30, 1963.

3/ Chancellor Williams, "African Democracy and the Leadership Principle," Journal of Human Relations, pp. 824-25.

Democratic Processes

Herculean tasks confront the new nations committed to developing democratically. For example, in 1956 Dr. Taylor made this assessment of one of India's tasks: "It would be impossible to exaggerate, indeed it is difficult to comprehend, the magnitude and diversity of the task of introducing democratic processes into an economic, social, and political structure, which has for centuries operated as an autocracy at the top, and which has had a half million separate and relatively isolated villages at the bottom." 1/ Many of the newly developing nations have been situated similarly. While many, including India especially, have been making progress in the intervening years, much remains to be done.

What are some of the democratic processes which most newly developing nations should institute and operate early in their political development? These are some of the basic ones:

1. The process of establishing and/or strengthening a system of justice under law. This involves many related actions, including among others: (a) a formal public declaration of the basic principles and procedures under which the people will be governed, such as a constitution; (b) a compilation, review, and evaluation of all laws and regulations which constitute a carry-over from the past in order to determine and eliminate any that may be inconsistent with the fundamental bases of the new democracy; (c) just and equitable means of administering and adjudicating the law, and (d) the development of a legal profession.

2. The processes of selecting, legitimizing, orienting and training democratic leadership for the new democracy.

3. The process of increasing popular participation in public affairs through the massive involvement of people in such activities as: (a) the discovery and determination of their needs and resources which may serve as the basis for joint planning; (b) the establishment of priorities among activities to be undertaken in their common interest; (c) the formation of new groups to do essential new functions or necessary old ones in areas not covered before; (d) the creation and maintenance of new two-way channels of communication between the capital and the country-side; (e) the assumption of responsibility for

---

1/ Carl C. Taylor, "Community Development Institute," January 15, 1956, p. 1

helping themselves and their neighbors by serving as local leaders; (f) the undertaking of local improvement projects on their own initiative as part of a nation-building program.

4. The process of mobilizing democratically the human, material and institutional resources of the national and local communities to achieve sound and rapid economic growth, social progress, and political development.

5. The process of restructuring the division of power between local and central governments (a) to maximize the capabilities and accomplishments of the total society, and (b) to assure more equitable representation and fulfillment of the legitimate interests of local people in a democratic society.

The above illustrative processes are obviously combinations of many steps or sub-processes which we will not go into at this time.

Since this paper is concerned primarily with development at the local level, it will be stimulating to know what one outstanding social scientist considers to be the three fundamental processes for local development: "...the successful processes for developing one local community after another are the same whether there are 1,000 or 500,000 communities to be developed. The providing of trained local workers, the development of local groups to accept responsibility, and the development of local leaders, are the necessary components of a sound local community programme everywhere in the world." 1/

1/ Carl C. Taylor, "A Critical Analysis of India's Community Development Programme," Community Projects Administration, Government of India Press, p. 16.

APPENDIX A [1/]

The Bases for Freedom

The following summaries of the elements of freedom are based on the principles and beliefs from which have grown the Constitution and common law of the United States; in other words, the rights and responsibilities of American citizens. Not all freedom-loving countries have accepted all the concepts indicated here, but by and large our bases of liberty have been the inspiration and model for many other peoples seeking national independence and personal freedom.

I. The broad outline of "Premises of American Liberty," [2/] prepared by the Columbia University Citizenship Education Project, is recommended for its simplicity:

The Free Individual
The Free Government
The Free Economy
The Free World

A. The Free Individual

1. Basic Social Beliefs

a. Every person is of importance as an individual; his well-being is vital in itself.

b. All persons should have maximum freedom, consistent with the general welfare, to develop as they desire.

c. All persons should be considered as individuals and judged on their merits; their differences should be respected, their rights safeguarded.

d. All persons should possess equal rights and liberties.

e. The rights of any person should not be exercised so as to interfere with the rights of others.

1/ The entire Appendix is quoted in extract from a paper of the same title issued by the United States Information Agency.

2/ Condensed from Resource for Citizenship, Citizenship Education Project, Teachers College, Columbia University, N.Y. (1955)

2. Basic Social Guarantees

   a. Freedom of religion

   b. Freedom of inquiry and criticism

   c. Freedom of speech

   d. Freedom of the press

   e. The privilege of a public education

3. Rights to Life and Liberty

4. Rights of a Fair Trial

5. Freedom from Unjust Laws

6. Social Responsibilities of the Individual

   a. To develop personal integrity and act with moral courage

   b. To develop his talents and his skills in the field of his interests

   c. To restrain the exercise of his rights so as not to harm the general welfare or violate the lawful rights of others

   d. In time of national emergency, to accept the restriction or even the suspension of some of his rights and privileges in the interest of public security

   e. To give direct, unselfish service to his family, his community, and his nation

   f. If need be, to take up arms in defense of his country

7. Current Issues in Individual Freedom

   a. How can individual rights be protected while national security is maintained?

   b. How can individual freedom be maintained while greater individual security is gained?

B. The Free Government

1. Basic Political Beliefs

   a. Men have the ability to govern themselves.

   b. All power belongs to and comes from the people.

   c. Public officials are responsible to the people.

   d. The people have the right to reform, alter, or totally change their government by lawful means when they so desire.

   e. Government has a responsibility to promote the general welfare.

   f. Government should be by law duly adopted, and not by the whim of any man.

   g. The church and the state should be separate.

2. Constitutional Checks on Governmental Power

   a. The powers of government are distributed among the federal, state, and local governments.

   b. The executive, legislative, and judicial branches of government are separate, each exercising its own powers.

   c. These powers are so granted that certain powers of each branch act as checks on those of the other two branches.

3. The Right to Influence Government

   a. The right to select representatives in government in frequent, certain, and regular elections.

   b. The right to run for public office

   c. The freedom of assembly

   d. The right to petition government

4. Political Responsibilities

   a. The people have the responsibility to keep informed about public problems and the action taken on them by those in public office.

b. To vote at each election

c. To accept public office when public interest requires it

d. To voice opinions and demands directly to representatives in government

e. In time of public emergency, to serve as the government may direct

f. To use democratic methods to achieve group agreement - conference, debate, compromise - and abide by the will of the majority; the majority should respect the rights and opinions of the minority.

g. To consider the common good before group and class loyalties

h. To obey the law and use only lawful means to correct injustice

5. Current Issues in Free Government

a. How can citizens form more valid judgments on matters of public policy, and how can they make these judgments felt more effectively?

b. How can citizens be brought to accept their responsibilities for maintaining free, honest, and responsible government?

c. How can the people keep control of government and still make use of the technical knowledge of experts?

d. What are the proper relative roles of federal, state, and local governments, and of executive, legislative, and judicial agencies; and how should proposals for change be judged?

C. The Free Economy

1. Basic Economic Goals

a. An increasing national productivity, made possible by technological development, that will lower the cost of goods and raise the standard of living

b. The elimination of deep and prolonged depression

c. The freest possible economic competition consistent with the general welfare

d. Opportunity for full development

e. Full employment under safe and healthful working conditions

f. Fair play

g. Sufficient food, clothing, housing, and medical care

h. Social security-protection against the basic hazards of existence such as old age, sickness, accident, and unemployment

i. The opportunity to enjoy life - no one should be so hard-pressed to earn the necessities of life that he cannot take part in "the pursuit of happiness."

2. The Economic Guarantees of the Constitution

a. No one can be deprived of his property without due process of law.

b. No one can be enslaved or forced to labor involuntarily except as punishment for a crime.

c. No property can be seized for public use without giving the owner just compensation.

d. No tax can be imposed without the consent of the people, expressed through a majority of their representatives in government.

3. The Rights of Property

a. The individual may own and use land, houses, personal property, and money.

b. The individual may own natural resources and the means of production.

c. The individual may pass his property on to others of his own choosing.

d. No one may use his property in such a way as to conflict with the public health, safety, order, or interest.

4. The Privileges of Individual Enterprise

   a. The individual may start his own business and profit financially from its operations.

   b. The individual may employ, discharge, and direct his employees providing he does not violate the law.

   c. The individual may save, spend, or invest his money as he may desire.

   d. The individual may make contracts with the assurance that they will be legally binding on all parties.

   e. The individual may profit from his ideas and inventions, protected by patent and copyright laws.

5. The Privileges of Individual Labor

   a. The individual may work at any job he can obtain and keep.

   b. The individual may leave his job whenever he so desires.

   c. The individual may join a labor union.

6. The Privileges and Responsibilities of Economic Organizations - Corporated Enterprise and Organized Labor

   a. Both may organize - business in associations and in corporations under state charters, labor in free and uncoerced unions.

   b. Both may acquire financial power - corporations through profits and sale of securities, unions by assessing members.

   c. Unions, as the representatives of all or a specified group of workers in an industry or plant, may bargain with management.

   d. Union members may strike and picket peacefully.

   e. Neither business nor labor may use its organized power in restraint of trade.

   f. Neither business nor labor may imperil the health or safety of the nation.

7. Current Issues in Our Free Economy

   a. How can we conserve and properly use our natural resources?

   b. What should be the role of the government in aiding business or in owning business enterprise?

   c. To what extent should government regulate economic affairs and how should this regulation be administered, as in agriculture, labor-management relations, business?

   d. How can we ensure responsible exercise of economic power by private individuals and groups?

   e. How can adequate educational opportunity be provided?

   f. How can equal opportunity in employment, housing, and health be provided?

   g. How can we ensure reasonable stability in the economy?

D. The Free World

1. Premises Guiding Foreign Relations

   a. The people influence the making and carrying out of foreign policy.

   b. We are a politically independent nation, and we want to remain independent.

   c. We are a nation in which the individual is allowed a large degree of freedom; we desire to retain unimpaired our individual rights and liberties; we believe that a large degree of individual freedom everywhere in the world offers the best hope of lasting peace.

   d. We are a peaceful people and we work to rid the world of war and the threat of war.

   e. We are a friendly people with no traditional enemies, and we want to have friendly relations with all people.

   f. We believe that all the peoples of the world are entitled to freedom to develop in their own way.

   g. Through the United Nations we hope to play an active and constructive part in the world community.

h. We favor the free and uncensored flow of ideas and information throughout the world.

2. Current Issues in Our Foreign Affairs

a. How can we establish a peaceful international order while maintaining national integrity, independence, and security?

b. How can we create greater international toleration of cultural differences?

c. How can we improve the formulation and administration of international policies?

d. How can we fulfill our international economic responsibilities while maintaining economic stability at home?

II. The Four Freedoms

1. Freedom of speech and expression

2. Freedom of every person to worship God in his own way

3. Freedom from want

4. Freedom from fear

III. The ten basic freedoms and responsibilities used by the Department of Defense in indoctrination of troops:

The Basic Freedoms	The Basic Responsibilities
1. Freedom of religion, speech, press, and assembly.	1. Responsibility for tolerance of the beliefs of others.
2. Freedom to choose leaders by personal secret ballot and the right to petition for grievances.	2. Responsibility to vote conscientiously and to maintain active interest in civil government.
3. Freedom of movement at home and abroad.	3. Responsibility to respect the rights and customs of others.

4. Freedom for educational, social, political and economic opportunity with equal protection under law.	4. Responsibility to assure equal opportunities and to further individual and national well-being.
5. Freedom to own property and to contract in personal affairs.	5. Responsibility to employ and conserve resources and to conduct personal affairs for legitimate and productive purposes.
6. Freedom to choose one's own occupation and to bargain with employers and employees.	6. Responsibility to contribute useful production and to resolve differences on a fair and just basis.
7. Freedom to compete in production and to bargain for goods and services in a free market.	7. Responsibility for fair and ethical business practices.
8. Freedom from arbitrary government regulation and control.	8. Responsibility to guard against the granting of arbitrary powers to government.
9. Freedom from arbitrary search, seizure or detention of person or property and the right to a speedy, public trial by impartial jury.	9. Responsibility of all citizens to assist, uphold and insure justice, law and order.
10. Freedom from torture, cruel, unusual or degrading punishment or treatment.	10. Responsibility to maintain vigilance against illegal, unfair or injurious practices.

IV. "A Credo for Democracy," by Leland D. Baldwin, quoted from his book, Best Hope of Earth, A Grammar of Democracy:

1. Definition

I believe that democracy is a positive political process for working toward liberty, equality, and fraternity, and that, though it bears in itself the means of improvement, it can never lay claim to perfection without destroying its essential nature.

2. Purpose

I believe that democracy seeks to preserve and to reconcile the rival sovereignties and moral values of the individual on the one hand and of society on the other, as positive aids toward a higher moral order.

3. Method

I believe that democracy operates by seeking successive compromises in order to maintain a balance among constantly changing alliances of social interests; and that these compromises are expressed in laws which are supreme and can be changed only by the will of the people.

4. Rights

I believe that democracy ensures the supremacy of law by guaranteeing to the people certain civil liberties which in substance are not subject to compromise; that among these are freedom of speech, press, religion, and assembly; the right to a day in court; and the right to change their government or its policies by the exercise of the franchise in order to promote the public welfare.

5. Duties

I believe that democracy depends upon the balance wheels of self-restraint and moral courage. Self-restraint teaches the people when to forego their own desires and opinions; it is the basis of social order. Moral courage demands that the people stand up for what they believe is right, whatever the consequences; it cannot function unless the people are taught to know their daily rights and duties and to exercise them faithfully and intelligently to recognize and prevent the undermining of civil liberties even at the sacrifice of consistency during a crisis; and to return to tolerance and compromise when the crisis is past.

V. Another, more simplified statement of American beliefs is from the Primer for Americans, written by Sigurd S. Larmon, President of Young and Rubicam, Inc., and his associate, Thomas W. Lapham: Why is America the way it is? What makes it a good place to live in? The answer is simply this: Throughout our history most Americans have believed that every person has certain rights and duties and responsibilities. Americans have believed that there are certain things that people should do, and other things they should not do. They have also believed in certain things that people are.

The Principles of America are these:

1. Each person is of importance and value as an individual.
2. We believe that all men should enjoy personal freedom.
3. We believe that all men are created equal.
4. The right to freedom of speech
5. The right to freedom of assembly
6. The right to freedom of worship
7. The right to security of person and property
8. The right to equal protection before the law
9. The right to freedom from slavery
10. The right to petition the government
11. The right to vote for people of your choice
12. The right to a good education
13. The right to live where he pleases
14. The right to work where he wants to
15. The right to join and belong to an organization
16. The right to own property
17. The right to start his own business
18. The right to manage his own affairs
19. The right to make a profit or to fail, depending on his own ability
20. Every man is entitled to freedom and equality of opportunity.
21. Every man may earn his living when, where, and how he wants to.

Limiting Principles

22. The rights of any individual shall not interfere with the equal rights of other individuals.

56

23. The rights of any individual shall not interfere with the welfare of the people as a whole.

24. Every individual owes obedience to the laws under which he lives.

Patterns of Behavior

25. Every man shall be judged by his own record.

26. Every man is free to achieve as much as he can.

27. To achieve anything, a man should be willing to work.

28. Achievement also depends upon the ability to do a good job.

29. Every man has the right to a fair share of the results of his work and his ability.

30. Security is the ability of a man to provide for himself.

31. When an individual cannot provide his own security, the responsibility should be assumed by others.

32. Every individual must deal fairly with other individuals.

33. Fair and free competition is a good thing.

34. Cooperation among individuals is vitally important.

35. The individual is responsible for himself and his family.

36. The individual has responsibilities to the groups of which he is a part.

37. The individual has responsibilities to his country.

38. The individual has responsibilities to the world.

For America's Future

39. The only way we can have more is to produce more; and

40. As we produce more, we must make it possible for more and more people to enjoy that which we produce.

41. We must stand firmly for our beliefs, our rights, our principles.