

SEVEN BASIC NOTIONS OF POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY

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Abstract

1. Notion: Politics

Politics; represents the ability (dexterity) to find optimal solutions for disputes in essence contradictory between individuals and groups, in the general social interest, thus ensuring the unhindered functioning of various social-state entities, where shocks and conflicts for themselves are avoided them

1.1 Definitions - Political science

Science on life in the political community.

Learning about the rules of civil-citizen life.

The discipline which together with ethics and economics make up pragmatic philosophy.

Political science studies the noblest social elements such as; good, right, justice, virtues, general utility.

In the history of ideas, political science is also defined as "royal science".

Etymology, issues related to the police, art of government with the state.

1.2 Political Systems - Gabriel Almond

Despite the relative development of American political science, until the fifties of this century, there was no complete analysis and comparative research of the problems of contemporary political systems. In the past twenty years, new analytical instruments, procedures and tools for the study of political processes have been developed in political science, and a huge amount of empirical data has been collected, empirical buildup both about political systems in developed countries and so on and about the political issues of developing countries. It made it all possible to build a method of comparative analysis in the field of contemporary political systems. In American political science, the great credit for developing the comparative method in that area belongs to Gabriel Almond. In this story, we are talking about the Israelis efforts of Mr. Almoad. J. Coleman and B. Powell to build theoretical approach that would be suitable for comparing contemporary political system.

The system is the word that in the sense of structure, method, set of rules, social order is used in many areas of life, economics, education, health, military...

A set of elements, components, objects, subjects, ideas, which interconnect, interdepend and interact with them ... make up - system.

Functioning of systems;

-Vertical – Constitutional

- Horizontal – Administrative

1.3 Political parties

Party: Part of a whole.

Prehistoric periods similar to political parties; sects, clans, cliques, currents, factions...

The creation of modern states with their structure created the fragmentary partial social interest that in the process developed social and political diversities, thus created political parties.

The union of free citizens who want to influence and change the social situation with political means, and not only, in the general national, regional, local, global interest, i.e. social change.

1.4 Electoral democracy – Parliamentarianism

The multitude of ideas as the antipode of Monism, Monolithism, Monopoly...

In the social and political sciences, with pluralism, the particularity, autonomy and distinctiveness of groups which are components of social and ideological development and of the directions and goals of social developments are accepted and emphasized.

Political competition between political parties and other entities participating in elections.

1.5 Definitions for legitimacy

The legitimacy in the broader sense marks the establishment and action of political power on the principles that are generally accepted within a political community.

Members of a (political) community do not accept order only from their habit and customs, individual interest in its validity and reasoning.

This situation constantly assumes the harmonization of the "nature" of political order and the principles of its establishment with the "way of a people" (Montesquieu).

Legitimate is the order in which there are compliance between the political formula that justifies the title and the opinion of the people (the political subjectivism of the individual) on the nature of that order.

The legitimate order constantly lies in the relationship assigned to the principles of law and justice and includes the state of "well-regulated order" (Role).

This situation is contrary to the states of illegality, anarchy, insecurity and arbitrariness.

The problem of legitimacy is an essential problem of political philosophy, it is "one of the most complex philosophical issues.

Russo marked it as a whole of the "first principles" of politics and defined it as the central problem of political theory.

1.6 Notion: Legality

Narrow meaning: legal-positivist/ hierarchy of legal norms.

Broad meaning: legal-philosophical and political-philosophical / philosophical, ethical, political lessons, social facts, which influence the determination of legal provisions.

Legality, legality represent the principle of modern legal systems and one of the basic ideas of legal and political philosophy.

The narrow meaning of two forms;

1. As a request/obligation that the legal acts of the lesser power are compatible with the legal acts of the highest legal power (formal legality).

2. As an obligation of the administration bodies, the judiciary and other bodies with public authorizations which must work in accordance with the laws and other general acts supported by the law (material legislation).

As a criminal offense can be considered only what was previously defined by law.

1.7 Ideologies & Indoctrinations

The truth must be told to those who act the truth!

We have a revolt (awareness) progress for environmental pollution, and absolutely nothing for mental, spiritual dirt!

For every day, the human body and soul is "attacked", injured, but the injuries of the soul are much more serious than the injuries of the body!

Forms of violence. Physical violence is defined as coercion, whereas violence (without violence) against the spirit is Obedience.

The notion of ideology: Ideology is a system of ideas, beliefs and values through which the basic interest of a group (class, clan, lobby) is reflected, but not directly but indirectly, that is, as a rule, the interest is more or less reflected as the interest of the majority in society so that rationally it would be easier to impose it on other social groups as their own interest, for orientation and action.

Keywords: Political system, political culture, political science, political structures, contemporary political system, political strategy, political issues, political development...

Concepts: Contemporary political systems

Despite the relative development of American political science, until the fifties of this century, there were no complete analyzes and comparative studies of the problems of contemporary political systems. In the past twenty years, new analytical instruments, procedures and tools for examining political processes have been developed in political science, a huge empirical data has been collected on political systems in developed countries as well and about political systems, topics of developing countries. It made everything possible to build a method of comparative analysis in the field of contemporary political systems. In American political science, the great credit for developing the comparative method in that area belongs to Gabriel Almond. In this

case, we are talking about research efforts of Mr. Almond, J. Coleman and B. Powell to build theoretical approach that would be suitable for comparing contemporary ones political systems. The possibility of applying Almond's concept in the advanced analysis of contemporary political systems.

In the end of the fifties and the beginning of the sixties, after the century imperialist exploitation, the process of decolonization began in African countries and Asia, interest in so-called new and specific socio-political events in the so-called underdeveloped countries. It is completely understandable if we bear in mind that we are talking about countries where more than 67% of the world's population, that these are countries with extremely important strategic positions, and many of them also have great natural resources. On the other hand, they were extremely backward, economically underdeveloped countries, without existing democratic traditions and with a very low standard of living of a large number of populations.

Growing interest in political development, political systems and transformations problems experienced by the countries of Africa, Asia, the Middle East and Latin America were evident among researchers in both the West and the East, about which evidenced by the appearance of a relatively large number of studies, monographs and other political literature that followed the development of events in those countries. Interest motives for research of extremely complex, dynamic and contemporary socio-political issues movements in underdeveloped countries, as well as the basic approach to this specific issue, were also different in the West and differed from such or similar research efforts in the East.

In this paper, we will look at the profession of some American political scientists for political systems and processes in underdeveloped countries and point to attempts to compare these systems with the so-called modern western political systems.

Despite the extensive literature and the relative development of American political science, in the fifties of this century there were no systematic interventions, comprehensive analyzes and comparative research on the problems of contemporary political systems. Scientific debates and researches in this area move within the framework of individual partial research projects. The lack of systematic, comprehensive and comparative research on this matter is the most important reason for the lack of a developed general scientific-theoretical approach in studying the problems of contemporary political systems. It is about the underdevelopment of the theory of political systems, especially the underdevelopment and lack of versatile and thorough explanations of dynamics of socio-economic and political changes and scientific processing of those parts that refer to the systematic comparison of political systems of developing countries.

That is why it is not accidental that it is one of the possible theoretical approaches to research of contemporary political systems and an attempt to apply it in comparative researches of contemporary political systems presented in the works of one of the most prominent civil political scientists, longtime professor of political science at Stanford University Gabriel A. Almond, caused great interest, but also many theoretical disputes, polemics, and even doubts about his scientific consistency and objectivity.

In American palynology since the early fifties, can be noted four theoretical approaches in comparative studies of contemporary political phenomena.

The first derives from systemic theory, the second from cultural theory, the third from theory of development and the fourth in class theory. The most important are the representatives of the system theory in American political science, David Easton, Gabriel A. Almond, and Karl W. Deutsch, although they differ considerably in their personal approaches to the application of

systemic analysis.¹All three authors use the system as a macro unit in comparative analyses. Almond's theoretical views were created under the significant influence of anthropologists Bronislaw Malinowski and A. Radcliffe-Brown and sociologist Max Weber. By Talcott Parsons, Robert K. Merton, and Marian Levy² on the one hand and David Truman's political theories of interest groups on the other hand. For these theorists, primarily for Talcott Parsons and Marian Levy, the basic assumption of structural-functional analysis is that all systems have structures which can be established and that parts or elements of these structures perform functions within the system that have meaning only from the aspect of system operation. They are dependent on the system as an active entity from the aspect of its existence and are connected in such a way that their activities are dependent on each other.

Systems cannot be defined in such a way if their constitutive parts are not functionally interdependent, and the parts of the system can be understood only from the aspect of performing functions.

The first attempt to conceptualize the political system and create a simple classification of political systems based on their structures and cultures Almond presented in his work *Comparative Political System*³ published in 1956, three years after David Easton published his very famous book *Political system*.⁴

Unlike earlier attempts to compare political systems that starting from legal-institutional aspects, Almond proposes the application of sociological and anthropological concepts that would facilitate a systematic comparison of contemporary political systems. Almond takes over the concept of the system from Easton, the system is "an inclusive concept that covers all relations of actions relevant for making political decisions"⁵. The concept of a system implies a "totality of relevant units", interactions between units within the totality and stability in these interactions, which he describes as "a changing equilibrium". In his considerations of the action of the political system Almond relies on Max Weber⁶ and Talcot Parsons. Highlighting action⁷ in Almond's opinion makes it possible to avoid the formal legal description of the system. Instead of concepts such as institution, organization or group, Almond suggests role and structure. He observes all political activities from the aspect of performing roles. Each political actor (individual or group) performs numerous roles that are sometimes complementary, and sometimes they can come into conflict with each other. The role is as Parsons and Shills point out: "... an organized sector of participant orientation (actor) that constitutes and defines his

¹ Pointing out the difference between their system analysis and the one they apply of *Political Life*, New York 1965) and Karl W. Deutsch in *The Nerves of Government* (Karl W. Easton in *System Analysis of Political Life* (David Easton, A Systems Analyzes Deutsch. *The Nerves of Government*, New York 1963), Almond wrote that his approach in the book *Comparative Politics: A Developmental Approach* derives directly from the theory of the separation of powers and moves towards empirical research. On this basis, the functions of political institutions that arise as a consequence of the expansion of the right to vote 1 industrialization, the emergence of political parties, groups pressures and mass media, Easton and Deutsch. Especially Deutsch, apply the communication or cybernetic model to politics. According to Almond's words, his approach stems from the tradition of political theory and reaches for the conceptual tools used in sociological and communication theory. Easton's and Deutsch's approach, however, in Almond's opinion, stem from sociological and communication theory and are directed towards political theory. Cited by: Gabriel Almond and G. Bingham Powell Jr. ,*Comparative Politics: A Developmental Approach*, Boston 1966, p. 12, 13 and 14.

²Bronislaw Malinowski, *Magic, Science and Religion and other Essays*, Garden City 1954; A. K Radcliffe-Brown, *Structure and Function in Primitive Society*, New York 1957; Talcott Parsons. *Essays in Sociological Theory, Pure and Applied*, New York 1959; Talcott Parsons and Edward Shils (eds.), *Toward a General Theory of Action*, Cambridge, Mass. 1951; Robert K. Merton, *Social Theory and Social Structure*, New York 1957; Marlon Levy, *The Structure of Society*, Princeton in 1952

³ Gabriel A. Almond, "Comparative Political Systems", "Journal of Politics", Vol. 18. 1956.

⁴ David Easton. *The Political System: An Inquiry into the state of Political Science*, New York 1953.

⁵ Gabriel Almond, "Comparative Political Systems" in: Roy C. Macridis and Bernard E. Brown (eds.), *Comparative Politics, Notes and Readings*, Homewood, Illinois 1977,) p. 81.

⁶ Max Weber, *The Theory of Social and Economic Organization*, New York 1947, p. 87.

⁷ A political system is a system of action.

participation in the interaction process..."⁸.

Roles are, therefore, units of the political system and they interact with each other, and structures are the relationships of these interactions. Starting from role and structure, Almond defines a political system as a set of interacting, i.e. interdependent political roles or as a role structure. Such a system concept and the roles should be further developed in Almond's opinion, adding some more other essential properties. Almond derives these new properties of the political system from Weber's definition of a legitimate monopoly of physical coercion over a given territory and population.⁹ Political systems are characterized by the existence of a specialized device that possesses a legitimate monopoly of physical coercion.

His initial idea about creating a theoretical approach suitable for the comparison of contemporary political systems was elaborated in detail by Almond and presented in a more complete and systematic form a few years later in very to the well-known collection¹⁰ dedicated to underdeveloped political systems countries. He will perfect this theoretical idea in his later works, to innovate and develop, but fundamentally it will not be changed significantly.

In the introductory part of the Collection, Almond indicates the need to create a new one terminology in the field of the theory of political systems. The new terminology expresses a new way of looking at political phenomena. It includes new names for old ones things and some new expressions that refer to activities and processes that were not previously recognized as aspects of politics. "This aspiration towards a new conceptual unity is visible - says Almond - when we compare new expressions with old ones. Thus, instead of the term 'state', limited as it is by legal and in the institutional sense, we prefer to use the word 'political system'; instead of 'government', which is an easily legal term in meaning, we prefer to start use the term 'function'; instead of 'services' (again legal), we prefer to use the term 'roles'; instead of 'institutions', which again points us to formal norms, 'organs' ('structures'); instead of 'public opinion and teaching citizens', which is formal and rational in meaning, we prefer to use 'political culture' and 'political socialization'"¹¹. Almond further points out how it is clear that they do not just add new terms to the old vocabulary, but are found before in the course of developing a new vocabulary, "and if we revealed all our cards, it is not a word only about the vocabulary; it is about the announcement of a new step forward in the essence of political science as a science"¹².

In the aforementioned paper, Almond points out that the said collection "represents the first an attempt to compare the political systems of 'developing areas' and the first attempt their systematic comparison on the basis of certain common properties"¹³. Pointing to the state of political science theory, he claims: "If, it works formulating these questions about the functioning of the political system, let us seek help in the theory of political science, we will see that we are looking into a stagnant bar. Nothing much has changed in the functional theory of politics since the time of the doctrine of the separation of powers and the lively discussion of it during the great creation era of the US Constitution".¹⁴

Almond starts from the thesis that all political systems have common characteristics which can be conceptualized and serve for the purpose of creating theory and analysis as a basis for a

⁸ Talcott Parsons and Edward A. Shils (eds.), *Towards a General Theory of Action*, Cambridge, Mass. 1951, p. 28.

⁹ Max Weber, *Essays in Sociology*, New York 1964, p. 78. The mechanism of legitimate coercion in Weber's sense is identified with political power. Political power is power exercised over a certain territory and population with the application of a monopoly of legitimate physical coercion, and power is the ability to exercise one's will even against the resistance of others.

¹⁰ Gabriel A. Almond and James S. Coleman (eds.), *The Politics of the Developing Areas*, Princeton 1960.

¹¹ G. Almond and J. Coleman, p. 4

¹² Same p.4

¹³ Same p.13

¹⁴ Same p.13

comparative study of political systems in underdeveloped countries, as well as the processes that take place in them, and enable their comparison with political systems and processes in the developed countries of the West.

Almond highlights four such characteristics: first, all political systems have political structures that can be labeled as "legitimate relations of interaction". Second, regardless of the differences between systems and structures, the same political functions are performed by all political systems. Thirdly, all political structures perform numerous functions, they are "multifunctional". And fourth, all political systems as subsystems societies are always a mixture of modern and traditional culture."¹⁵ With the development of systems, structures become more specialized, and the consequence is that traditional aspects of culture weaken, however, they will not completely disappear.

Each of the elements in the system performs a certain function with the aim of contributing to the maintenance of the system, i.e. its balance. The concept of balance subject is of many critical analyses.¹⁶ It is often said that within a system is usually to exist if "no variable changes its position or relationship with respect to other variables". It is a state in which the variables are adapted to each other so that they achieve a state of harmony, stability or balance.

Insisting on the stability of the system and opposing changes in any case is unacceptable from a Marxist point of view and cannot explain the dynamics of socio-economic and political processes. Especially with that aspect cannot satisfactorily explain the contradictions that occur in underdeveloped countries.

According to Almond, political systems can be compared in terms of aspects in a way in which (through mechanisms or structures) functions are performed. Almond first establishes the functions of the state union in modern Western systems, and then follows his analysis of political modernization in the political systems of developing countries by researching how these functions, which are related to certain political activities in Western systems, are performed in developing countries. He believes that anyone who wants to understand the process of modernization in the so-called non-western societies must first be able to understand the processes of development in societies that can be called modern or western societies.¹⁷

A political system is a system of interactions that can be found in all independent societies, which perform the functions of integration and adaptation (within those and vis-a-vis other societies) through the use or threat of using more or less legitimate physical coercion. The political system is legitimate, supporting order or transforming the system in society ... Legitimate force is a threat that drives through inputs and outputs of the political system, giving it a special quality and prominence place and coherence as a system.¹⁸

Placing the mechanism of legitimate coercion (that is, the state as the basic political institution) at the center of the political system, Almond distinguishes two basic types of processes that he calls input and output functions. The input functions include political socialization and recruitment, interest articulation, interest aggregation and political communication, and the adoption of regulations in the output function, and adjudication according to those regulations. Here, Almond confronts us with the creation of new concepts for traditionally recognized or otherwise named activities. In the opinion of Morton R. Davies and Vaughan A. Lewis, the purpose of logos is to shift the emphasis from institutions that can be called differently in various

¹⁵ Same p.11

¹⁶ David Easton, "Limits of Equilibrium. Model in Social Research" in: H.Eulau (ed.) Political Behaviour: A Reader- in Theory and Research, Glencoe, 1959, p. 397---404.

¹⁷G.Almond and J.Coleman, p.16 and 64.

¹⁸ Same p.7

political systems and replace them with categories of functional concepts, i.e. activities performed by these institutions.¹⁹

While output functions correspond to the traditional division of power into legislative, executive and judicial power, and as such are most closely related to activities governments, Almond proves the decisive importance of input functions for determining the characteristics of the political systems of developing countries.

Political socialization is a process that begins in the family and continues through schooling or under the influence of various voluntary associations, religious ones groups or other forms in which people prepare to perform certain political functions. It encourages people to participate in the political culture of society and results in the political recruitment of people for specialized roles in the political system.

An interesting articulation is the expression of political interests and demands through interest groups and political parties, while interest aggregation is connection and the merging of articulated interests and demands through political parties. Political communication serves to convey all the mentioned political functions.

Political systems can be compared in terms of the degree to which their political structures are specialized. That is, from the aspects of the development of structures for the performance of certain functions. By comparing these two groups of processes (input and output functions) in underdeveloped countries and in the political systems of Western countries, the authors came to the conclusion that in developed systems, structures are specialized, political roles are differentiated, and functions are specific. Modern polyphonic systems are characterized by a mixed character, i.e. simultaneously the existence of traditional and modern aspects, i.e. political elements cultures.

Regarding the political systems in the countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America, on the basis of comparison with modern political systems, the authors point out that political system in underdeveloped countries are characterized by existence of traditional structure. While the general characteristic of the modern political system is the existence of a relatively high degree of differentiation, explicitness and functional demarcation of political from administrative bodies, in developing countries such sharp distinctions and differentiation between individual organs do not exist.

Analyzing political socialization in developing countries, the authors noted the fragmentation of their political culture, which in their opinion is a reflection of the clash of urban, modern society with traditional societies and indigenous political cultures.²⁰ Political recruitment in underdeveloped countries is characterized by informality and particularism. Political recruitment for the performance of certain political functions is carried out on the basis of kinship, friendship, religious affiliation or some other traditional elements.²¹ Regarding the expression of interests, i.e. the political function of interest articulation, the authors point out that in most of the researched and studied underdeveloped countries there are similarities in the character of interests as well as in the degree and manner in which interests are expressed. Particularistic economic and professional interests are mostly latent and not articulated through functionally specific associations.²² The authors list four types of structures through which interests can be expressed in these countries. These are institutionalized interest groups, non-associative interest groups (ethnic, religious, status, etc.). Anomic interesting groups (demonstrations, rebellions,

¹⁹ Morton R. Davies and Vaughan A.Lewis, *Models of Political System*, London 1971 p.39.

²⁰ G. Almond and J.Coleman, p.26-31 and 544-545.

²¹ Same p.546.

²²Same p.548.

etc., which do not have a permanent character) and finally so called associative interest groups (unions, organizations of businessmen or industrialists). The importance of these four forms of interest groups is not equally significant to all underdeveloped countries. The dominant place belongs to local non-associative groups whose affiliation is determined by ethnic, religious, racial, linguistic, status or other similar criteria. A significant place in some underdeveloped countries, it belongs to institutionalized interest groups in which the military and the bureaucracy plays an important role, and in some cases religious groups.²³ The authors point out that national liberation movements in underdeveloped countries also influenced the expression of interest.

In countries such as Nigeria where the movements had a mass base, the organization of all types of interests was stimulated.²⁴ National leaders united functionally specific and functionally diffuse interests of the groups that participated in the movement "not through a compromise aimed at satisfying or harmonization of different interests, but by subsuming the goals of all interests under the new 'national interest'".²⁵

While interest aggregation manifests itself in modern political systems through political parties, so far in some political systems of developing countries (especially in authoritarian and primitive ones) they can hardly be differentiated interest articulation functions from interest aggregation and enactment functions regulations. These functions often coincide in these countries, and there are distinctions between them interest articulations and interest aggregations, if they exist, are very fluid.

Taken as a basis the differences in the character and position of the parties, the authors classify party systems into: authoritative (and these again into totalitarian), dominant-non-authoritative, competitive - two-party systems and competitive - multiparty systems. Authoritative (totalitarian) and dominant-non-authoritative type of party system, according to the author, corresponds to underdeveloped countries. Considering the method used by political parties in the process gathering of interests, the authors divide them into: secular (or "pragmatic"), absolute-value-oriented or ideological, and particularistic or traditional parties.

Finally, regarding the function of political communication, Almond points out that in those political systems that have homogeneous political cultures and autonomous and differentiated structures of interest articulation and aggregation have highly autonomous and differentiated communication media. Communication autonomy media enables the free flow of information from society to the state community. In most modern political systems, unlike traditional ones or primitive, the most modern notification mechanisms are used, and specialized communication structures are autonomous and neutral. In underdeveloped countries where the political culture is fragmented and the educational and cultural level of a large number of the population is low, the successful realization of this function is seriously difficult. In many Afro-Asian and Latin American countries there is a big discontinuity in political communications, and it coincides with fragmentary political culture.²⁶

At the end of this analysis, the authors briefly indicate the so-called output functions in the mechanism of the political system, i.e. on the adoption of regulations, the application of regulations and judgments based on these regulations.²⁷ With regard to these functions - adoption of regulations, application and adjudication - the authors point out that in this area the successful monitoring of these processes is much more difficult due to the vagueness of the formal bodies

²³ Same

²⁴ Same p.549

²⁵ Same p.550

²⁶ Same p.557.

²⁷ Same p.45-52 and 556-557

of political governance in many non-Western countries. Comparing the output of the function (enactment of regulations, application of regulations and judgment according to these regulations) in developed political systems in the West with the same political functions in the political systems of developing countries, the authors came to the conclusion that in the majority of underdeveloped countries, it feels a strong intrusion by the political institutions of Western countries on the formal authorities that make and apply regulations.²⁸ In underdeveloped countries, the formal structures of government are undefined, and the differences between the organs of political management are less pronounced as they are more traditional political systems. Legislative bodies are less successful in passing regulations than the executive, and the latter is, as a rule, the only real authority. In these countries, local authorities show a tendency to be assimilated from traditional, tribal structures.

Equating the process of modernization with the process of "westernization", the authors political systems of developing countries are classified according to the degree of similarity of their political organization of society with the formal structure of political organs management in the West (with forms of bourgeois parliamentary democracy). Based on these criteria, they list the following types of political systems: political democracy, late colonial democracy, modernizing oligarchy, colonial and racial oligarchy, and traditional oligarchy.

Political democracy as a type of political system is characterized by the harmonious connection and adjustment of the modern and traditional part of society. The political culture is homogeneous, and there is a relatively high degree of differentiation and functional demarcation between political and administrative bodies. ²⁹

Tutor democracy, according to the authors, is characterized on the one hand by the acceptance of democratic forms of state union as well as commitment to respecting democratic norms (universal right to vote, freedom of speech and association), and on the other, fragmentary political culture.

The final colonial democracy is a transitional and temporary type of a political system in which the power of the colonial administration is gradually lost: it ensures order until a new elite takes full responsibility for functioning system.

A common feature of all three oligarchic forms (i.e. modernizing, colonial, i.e. racial and traditional oligarchy) political systems is the concentration of power in the hands of the army, bureaucracy, racial or traditional elite and suspension of constitutional guarantees.

Despite common characteristics, there are also significant differences between them. While the characteristics of modernizing oligarchy are closer to tutelary democracy, in colonial and racial oligarchy political dualism functions in society, in which the majority of the population (on a racial basis) is excluded from the political process (South Africa), and in traditional oligarchy the government is concentrated in the hands of the traditional elite, that is, the absolute monarch. The majority of the population is excluded from political life.

“The functional theory of the state union, which we presented earlier - emphasizes Almond - singles out the elements of the state union in the form that it can finally enable statistical and perhaps mathematical formulations. We extracted, in fact, political functions from political structure. In other words, we singled out two categories of elements; political systems from the aspect of the possibility of performing specific functions by specific bodies.”³⁰

²⁸The authors point out that opposing Western regulations did not usually mean resisting Western institutions. Many developing countries took it as a model the parliamentary system of a western country with which they were most immediate linked.

²⁹ Same p.563

³⁰ Same p.59

Almond's concept of the political system, which we have outlined in brief, was the subject of many criticisms. Disadvantages and weaknesses of Almonds and Colemans of the concept of structural-functional analysis (which we will refer to later) they have already been observed within the framework of civil political theory itself.

Trying to take into account some critical remarks and eliminate as many weaknesses as possible his analyses, above all those that related to the understanding of the political system as a stable entity in which changes take place gradually, as and to those who advocate for static and balance or harmony of parts of the system, Almond introduces the concept of political change and political development into his theory.

One of Almond's critics, Michael Lofchie, in the article "Political Theory and African Politics"³¹ Points out that the basic weakness of functionalism analysis of Almond and Coleman understanding of the political system as a stable one creation in which changes occur gradually. "For political scientists dealing with African issues and facing the problems of determining the causes of the military coups, explanations of permanent chaos in the largest African states and widespread tendencies towards personalist or bureaucratic regimes, this analysis - at best - would have serious flaws".³²

While in the Proceedings of Politics of Developing Countries, Almond emphasized research processes that support the stability of the system, in the book Comparative Politics; the developmental approach,³³ which she publishes together with Powell six years later, allows for the possibility of system imbalances. For various reasons processes they can become dysfunctional according to the system. Dysfunctional processes lead to pressures on the mechanism of legitimate coercion (political system), and these can change the system or cause its disintegration. Almond points out that his earlier analysis of political systems did not emphasize the research of those relationships which would explain how and why political systems change.

The political system as presented by the authors consists of mutually dependent parts. These parts include government institutions but also all structures in their political aspect.³⁴ The interdependence of parts implies that a change in the properties of individual parts of the system affects the change of other parts and the system as a whole.

Second, Almond wants to highlight the dynamism of the system by introducing an element political development in his approach to the study of political systems.

Thirdly, he points out that the political system should be viewed as a whole that shapes the environment or that itself is shaped by its environment.³⁵

Almond and Powell bring into their modified concept of the political system many new terms that they define and analyze in detail in their work. The authors observe and analyze the functioning of the lithic system at three different levels (see the attached diagram). The first level refers to conversion functions: interest articulation, interest aggregation, political communication, adoption regulations, application of regulations and adjudication according to these regulations. Ways and mechanisms through which the political system transforms the input functions (e.g. the demands that come from different social groups) in output functions (e.g. decisions and actions state authorities) and reacts to the initial stimuli Almond calls the process

³¹Michael F. Lofchie, "Political Theory and African Politics" in "Modern African Studies", number 1. 1968, Zoran Atanackovič, Politickisisteminedovoljnorazvijenhzemlja, Algeria, Beograd 1971, str. 48.

³²Zoran Atanackovič, p.48

³³Gabriel A. Almond and G. Bingham Powell Jr, Comparative Politics: A Developmental Approach, Boston 1966.

³⁴ Same p.18

³⁵ Same p.13 and 14

conversions. In a political system, the process of conversion implies ways on which demands and support for the political system are transformed into authoritarian ones decisions and how they are implemented. Conversion functions are different from those functions that are aimed at maintaining and adapting the system (i.e. socialization and recruitment functions). The conversion functions are in a specific relation vs input functions (i.e. demand and support) from one. and the output function (decision and action) on the other hand. Requirements are expressed through interest articulation, and connected through interest aggregation.

The second level of functioning of the political system refers to the action "individual" political system in its environment. This aspect relates on the functioning of the system with regard to the capabilities of the system and its functions: regulation, extraction, distribution and symbolic reactions. Applying these functions on totalitarian and democratic political systems, the authors came to the conclusion that in democratic societies the output functions - regulation, extraction and distribution - are significantly more influenced by the input functions - demands - coming from different social groups than in totalitarian systems. Cause of therefore, according to their assessment, these companies are "highly responsive". On the contrary, totalitarian societies are less responsive (react less) to demands coming from society as well as to demands coming from the international environment.

These concepts of regulative, extractive, distributive and responsive capabilities of the system are ways of flow of activities in political systems from political system. They tell us how the system works in its environment, how it shapes it and how he himself was shaped by it.³⁶

And finally, the third level of functioning refers to the way in which political the system maintains or adapts to pressures aimed at changing the system through a longer period. The function of maintaining and adapting the attachment includes political socialization and recruitment.

The theory of the political system as conceived by the authors is based on the understanding of the relationship between these three levels and the relationship of functions at each individual level. Since the system operates at different levels of functioning, the "theory of the political system" forms a framework that establishes and explains the "Relationships between these different levels of functioning - ability function and function conversion, maintenance and adaptation of the system - and the operation of the functions on each level". "The theory of political change, however, deals with those transactions between the political system and its environment that affect major changes in system performance".³⁷

We have already pointed out earlier that what gives is a special feature and quality the use or threat of use of legitimate physical coercion against the political system. "Legitimate force³⁸ is a threat that flows through the actions of the political system giving it has a special quality and importance and coherence as a system.³⁹Input functions which come out of it as a result of a certain policy are in relation to legitimate physical coercion, regardless of character, intensity or quantity demands.

Another important aspect in the conception of the political system is related to the concept "borders" and surroundings. The border has gained special importance in system theory, it divides interaction processes into inputs - conversion and outputs. Processes in which input and output functions connect the political system with other social systems constitute transactions between the system and its environment, while the conversion process occurs within the political

³⁶ Same p.29

³⁷ Gabriel Almond, "A Developmental Approach to Political Systems" in: "World Politics", Vol. XVII, No. 2, 1965, p.191

³⁸ Max Weber, Politics as a Vocation in; Max Weber, Essays in. Sociology (ed.), Hans H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills, New York 1946, p.77-78

³⁹ Gabriel Almond and Bingham Powell,

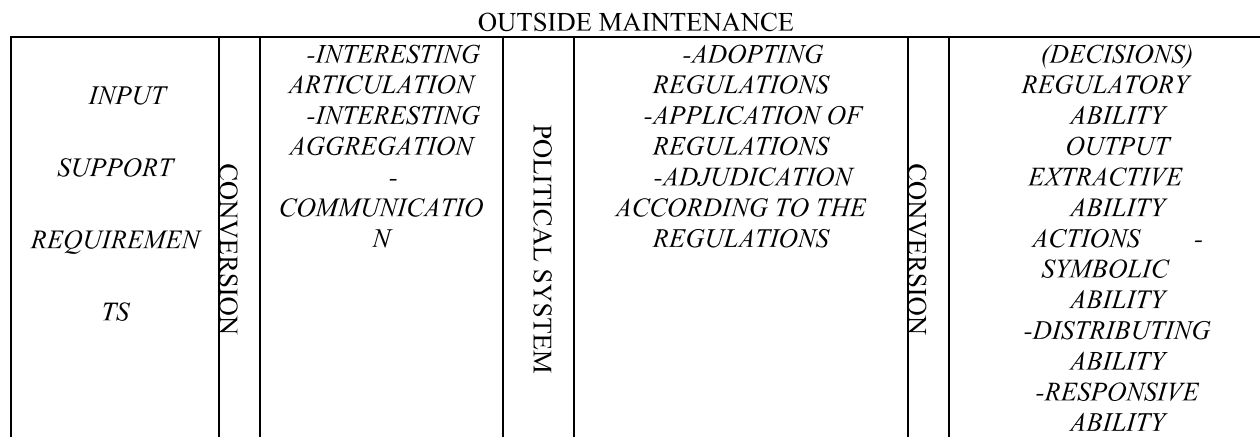
system itself.⁴⁰

Since in this modified concept of the political system the word about the development aspect of roles and structures,⁴¹ the main aspect of the development or transformation of the political system according to the authors is the differentiation of roles or structural differentiation. According to Almond and Powell, differentiation is a process in which roles change in the sense that they become more specialized, more autonomous, or new types of roles and structures are created. When the authors talk about the difference in roles, they mean the changes that occur in the relationships between the role, between structures or between subsystems.

DIAGRAM OF ALMOND'S POLITICAL SYSTEM AND LEVELS OF FUNCTIONS

ENVIRONMENT

ENVIRONMENT



⁴⁰ Same p.21

⁴¹By structure, the authors mean noticeable activities that make up the political system. A certain part of the activities of individuals who are involved in the political the process is made up of roles. One of the basic units of the political system is political the role. A certain set of roles that are in a certain relationship with each other make up structures.