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Comparative Paradigms and Human Rights in the Comparative Political and Economic Systems of Germany, Japan and U.S.A.

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ABSTRACT

For many there is a fascination and intellectual excitement in the study of comparative political and economic systems and in the discovery of different paradigms. One can better understand the underlying political and economic wisdom of his own society by noting the similarities and differences of other's comparative institutions.

This study focuses on the comparative political and economic systems of the United States, Germany and Japan. Ideas and paradigms create realities and the study has investigated the link between the comparative paradigms and the political and economic systems of the given countries.

At every stage of the political and economic processes the people of all countries confront the challenge of reconciling power and freedom. Power in the governing institutions of a society is needed in order to orchestrate the activities of millions of individuals, to avoid anarchy, and to enable the people to achieve their collective goals. But, this may also deprive people of the fruits of their labour, their freedom, and their very lives. This is the permanent dilemma of all governments (Curtis, 1993, pp. 638-639).

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Therefore, this study has also attempted to explore the important issue of human rights against economic and political realities in the given comparative systems.

INTRODUCTION

Human beings can be distinguished from other species by their ability to think and reason at relatively high levels of abstraction. In turn, ideas, ideals, values, and principles can and do play important roles in the formation and operations of political and economics systems (Stinebrickner, 1995). Understanding contemporary comparative political and economic systems is easier if the ideals and principles of the past of nations are also considered.

The Declaration of Independence document of The United States asserted the basic rights of human beings and their connection to the existence of Government. It laid down the principle that a Government must ensure the rights of Life, Liberty and Pursuits of Happiness of its people. However, if a Government fails to do so, then the People of given country must overthrow such Government and institute a new Government that better protects their rights.

On the other hard Confucians beliefs like respect for learning and unquestioned submission to the actions of state, have played very effective role in the formation of Japanese attitudes toward individual Human Rights and Government. Historically Japanese have been preferring the good of community over the individual rights. Japanese synchronous and circular view about times has consequences for wealth creation and it imparts communitarian meaning to the hierarchical structure found in Japanese institutions (Hampden & Trompenaars, 1993, pp. 137-138).

Similarly, communitarian paradigm has solid establishments in German society. Its ideology pattern stands in sharp contrast to American individualism. The combination of strong universalist, integrative, and communitarian values that Germans bring to their processes of wealth is manifested in highly codified economic system in which state and private enterprises cooperate in developing and regulating business activity to an extent unthinkable in the American individualistic culture.

Bartold Witte of German Foreign Ministry explains: "Germany's reformed capitalism offers a third way to those eager to put communism behind them but not prepared to accept the excessive Anglo-U.S. liberalism (Hampden & Trompenaars, 1993, pp.: 198-200)."

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Adam Smith described three essential duties for government: first, the duty of protecting the society from violence and invasion....; secondly, the duty.... of establishing an exact adminsitration of justice; and thirdly, the duty of erecting and maintaining certain public works and certain public institutions, which can never be for the interest of any individual, or small number of individuals, to erect or maintain (Smith, 1937, p. 651).

Therefore, though the forms of government in various democracies may differ, yet they may be legitimate as long as they operate to protect the rights of their people and exercise their protective and productive roles for the cause of their respective societies.

The structure of U.S. government is federal in its nature and is based on the separation of powers. In The United States, the branches of government, executive body, legislative body and judiciary are three distinct and non-overlapping branches. However, the U.S. constitution ensures their cooperation and sharing of functional powers in public policy decision making process. The direction of foreign affairs and war power are both dispersed and shared.

The appointing power is shared by the Senate and the President; impeaching of officers and financial controls are power shared by the Senate and House. Alexander Hamilton elaborated the role of U.s. federal judiciary in Federalist No. 78 that the interpretation of the laws was a proper and peculiar province of the Courts..... Whenever a particular statute contravenes the Constitution, it would be the duty of the judicial tribunals to adhere to the latter and disregard the former (Breckenridge, 1995).

Article, 1, Section 8 of the constitution of the United States allows Congress for organizing, arming, and disciplining, the militia; to declare War, grant letters of Marque and Reprisal, and make Rules concerning Captures on Land and Water; and to raise and support armies. Amendment 1 states that Congress shall make no law respecting the establishment of religion, or prohibiting the exercise whereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of press; or the right of people peaceably to assemble, and to petition Government for a redress of grievances. Amendment V, of the constitution assures individuals human rights for life, liberty, or property, without due process of law.

Germany is a democratic republic and its government structure is federal. In Germany "Basic Law" is the working constitution. Article 79, paragraph 3, of the Basic Law declares inadmissible any amendment that

would erode democracy or effect the division of the federation into states. In addition, the "Basic Law" guarantees personal rights and liberties, and establishes a constitutional court to enforce these rights against the state (Kommers, 1995, p. 175).

At present Japan is a parliamentary democracy. Japan's new "Basic Law" became effective on May 3, 1947. It proclaimed the sovereignty of the people, guaranteed basic human righs, and renounced war and maintenance of military forces. A parliamentary-cabinet system of democratic government was set up. The constitutionality of legislation and governmental acts would be subject to judicial reviews. Sexual and racial discrimination was forbidden (McNelly, 1993, p. 264).

The United States is a free economy. Its Gross National Product, GNP is the largest in the world. Germany is an advanced social welfare state and has a mixed economy. Gross National Product of Federal Republic of Germany ranked among top four in the world (Kommers, 1993, pp: 175-179). Japan is an organized capitalist economy and the goernment is expected to and is ready to intervene not only to correct problems but also to take the lead in directing national economic change. Japan's GNP as of 1993 was the second largest in the world (McNelly, 1993, pp: 293-296).

The study of comparative political and economic sytems helps to understand the ways in which various given governments face similar problems and respond to them and to the needs of their citizens. Historic background, geography, economic and social conditions, ethnic and caste groups, religious beliefs and ideologies, all help shaping the political and economic systems in various countries.

COMPARATIVE POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC SYSTEMS

The structure of the United States government is federal, an evolution from colonial practice and the relations between the colonies and the mother country. The division of authority between the new national government and the states recognized the doctrine of delegated and reserved powers (Breckenridge, 1995). The Constitution of the United States describes the powers and functions of the President, Congress and Judiciary. According to article 1 of the constitution, all legislative powers vest in the Congress of the United States, consisting of a Senate and House of Representatives. The Senate of the United States is composed

of two senators from each state, chosen by the legislatures for six years. The House of Represntaties is composed of Members chosen every second year by the People of the several States.

Each house is the jude of the Elections, Returns and Qualifications of its Members, and a Majority of each shall constitute a Quorum to do business; but a smaller Number may adjourn from day to day, and may be authorized to compel the Attendance of absent Members. No Senator or Representative can, during the Time for which he is elected, be appointed to any civil office under the Authority of the United States; and no Person holding any Office under the United States, can be a Member of either House during his Continuance is Office.

All Bills for raising Revenue originate in the House of Representatives; but the Senate may propose or concur with amendments as on other bills. The Congress has Power to lay and collect Taxes, Duties, Imports and Excises, to pay the Debts and provide for the common Defense and thegeneral Welfare of the United States; but all Duties, Imposts and Excises shall be uniform throughout the United States.

The executive Power of the United States Government vest in President. He holds his office during the Term of four Years. President and Vice President are elected for the same term. In the Removal of the President from Office, or of his Death, Resignation, or Inability to discharge the Powers and Duties of the said Office, the same shall devolve on the Vice President. Congress may make Law that provide for the Case or Removal, Death, Resignation or Inability, both of the President and Vice President, declaring what Officer shall act as President and such Officer shall act accordingly, until the Disability be removed, or a President shall be elected.

The President of the United States is the Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States, and of the Militia of the several States. he has power to grant Reprieves and pardons for Offenses against the United States, except in Cases of Impeachment. The President, Vice President and all civil Officers of the United States, shall be removed from office on Impeachment for, and Conviction of, Treason, Bribery, or other high Crimes and Misdemeanors.

The Judicial Power of the United States vests in one supreme court, and in such inferior Courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish. The Judges, both of the supreme and inferior Courts, hold their Offices during good Behavior. The judicial Power extends to all

cases, in Law and Equity, arising under the Constitution, the Laws of the United States, and Treaties made; to all Cases affecting Ambasadors, other public Ministers and Consuls; to all Cases of Admiralty and maritime jurisdiction; to Controversies to which the United States is a Party; to Controversies between two or more States; between a state and Citizens of another State; between Citizens of different States; between Citizens of same State claiming Lands under grants of different States, and between a State, or the Citizens thereof, and foreign States, Citizens or Subjects (Stinebrickner, 1995, p. 8-13).

Germany's main legislative institutions are the popularly elected 'Bundestag' (house of representatives) and the 'Bundestrat' the indirectly non-elected upper house, whose delegates represent the state governments called 'Lander'. The executive institutions are the chancellor and cabinet, collectively known as the federal government. The president, once a powerful head of state directly elected by the people, has been reduced in Germany to a figurehead akin to the British monarch.

The local German states are entrusted under the Constitution with the administration of national law. Finally, empowered to enforce the provisions of the Basic Law, the judiciary, at the top of which is the Federal Constitutional Court, serves as a check on the activities of the other branches of government. President's office is perceived as non-partisan office and its ocupant is elected for a five-year term. Under Article 54 of the Basic Law, the president may be re-elected only once, by a federal convention composed of party representatives from national and state parliaments.

The president is chosen as a result of bargaining between the coalition parties forming the majority in the convention. The office has been filled by respected public officials widely recognized for their fair-mindedness and ability to communicate across party lines. The president's powers include the appointment and dismissal of various public officials, including cabinet officials and military officers, and pardoning of criminal offenders. His most common official duty is to promulgate, with his signature, all federal laws. Whether he can reject a statute on substantive constitutional grounds is disputed.

The chancellor of Germany controls the federal government. He alone is responsible to parliament. He may hire and fire his cabinet members. article 65 of Basic Law lays down the guidelines for national policy. The chancellor is chosen by a majority of the Bundestag and

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is usually the leader of the largest party in the governing coalition. Parliament, however, is not empowered to dismiss the chancellor at will. Under the so-called constructive vote of no confidence, prescribed by Article 67 of the Basic Law, the Bundestag may dismiss a chancellor only when a majority of its members simultaneously elects his successor. Article 68 allows the chancellor to initiate a vote of confidence, authorizing him, if he loses the vote, to request the president to dissolve parliament and call for new elections. In an important constitutional case arising out of President Carsten's dissolution of parliament in 1983, the Federal Constitutional Court ruled that the dissolving power is limited. It cannot be exercised out of mere convenience. The office of chancellor contains departments corresponding to the various federal ministries as well as a planning bureau, created in 1969, to engage in long-range social and economic planning.

In creating the cabinet, a chancellor is constrained by the demands of coalition politics and the interest of groups. Parliamentary state secre-taries are selected from among the more junior members of the Bundestag to help ministers run their departments, defend their records in parliament, and maintain contact with public.

Basic Law elevates parliament to first rank among the FRG's governing institutions. Even in the event of a national emergency, the Bundestag's authority remains intact, thus helping to ensure that ultimate power shall always reside in the hands of civilian leaders and the elected representatives of the people. Bundestag is the parliament of a parliamen-tary system and in that it also determines the political composition and tenure in office of the government. Chancellor and his cabinet members are most important and influential members of the Bundestag. The symbiotic relationship between executive and legislatie power is wholly incompatible with U.S. notion of separation of powrs. In Germany, separation of powers is embodied largely in the role of the opposition within parliament.

Parliament checks the executive by its power to review the national budget, to pass on all bills introduced by the government, to hold hearings and investigations, and to confront the chancellor and his ministers in the legislative question hour, a device borrowed from British parliamentary practice. Most bills are the product of group negotiation in which representatives of federal government, the Bundestag, and the Budesrat participate, and they are passed unanimously.

State officials are permitted to have parliamentary careers. Such dual careers are encouraged by regulations that permit state officials to return to their jobs in government after their legislative service and accumulate pension rights from parliament as well as from civil service.

Like the United States, Germany divides power constitutionally between national and state governments. Federalism is one of the unamendable principles of the Basic Law. Each 'Land' has its own constitution based on principles of republican and democratic government. Each has a parliamentary system. The crucial distinction is that in the United States both federal and state governments exercise a full range of separate legislative functions, whereas German federalism confers the bulk of legislation upon the national government with the 'Lander' being mainly responsible for the administration of both federal and state laws.

The Bundesrat's consent is required for all federal legislation affecting the administrative, financial, and territorial interests of 'Lander'. With respect to other legislation, if the Bundesrat objects to a bill by a majority vote, the Bundestag may override by a majority vote; if the former is by two-third, the vote to override must also be two-thirds. It is authorized to elect half of the members of the Federal Constitutional Court, thus giving to this upper house and indirect influence in constitutional cases involving the interpretation of federal laws and ordinances.

Germany has a uniform and integrated judicial system. All lower and intermediate courts of appeals are state courts, whereas all courts of final appeal are federal tribunals. Except for courts of minor jurisdiction, all tribunals are multi-judge courts. In addition to the regular courts, which handle ordinary civil and criminal cases, there are separate judicial hierarchies consisting of labor, administrative, social, finance, and constitutional courts. Attorneys are also regarded as officers of the courts and their practice is limited to certain level of the judiciary as well as to certain courts within a given geographical area.

The law graduate in Germany deciding to become judges go through three years probationary period, upon the succesful completion of which they receive a judgeship with lifetime tenure and security. Federal judges are chosen by a committee of electors composed of 11 members of Budesrat together with those 'Land' and federal minsters whose authority is in the same area as the federal court to which a judge is to be named (Kommers, 1993, pp: 193—227). The Federal Constitutional Court has developed into an institution of major policy-making importance in Germany.

The national and 'Land' level constitutional tribunals supervise the judiciary's interpretation of constitutional norms, to enforce a consistent reading of the constitution, to resolve conflicts between branches of government, and to protect the basic liberties of German citizens. This system is different from the United States doctrine of separation of realm of law from the realm of politics. Caes on abstract review tend to draw the judges directly into the arena of political conflict.

To encourage Germans to view the constitution as the source of their rights and freedoms, the Basic Law, Article 93 authorizes ordinary citizens to file complaints with the federal Constitutional Court in the even that their basic rights have been violated by the state. The Federal Constitutional Court's landmark cases include decisions for outlawing the neo-Nazi Socialist Reichs Party and the former Communist Party of Germany; declaring unconstitutional a liberal abortion law on the ground of its interference with the right to life and sustaining the validity of prayer in state schools (Kommers, 1993).

Reunification of both Germanys is creating a new social and economic profile and different cultural balances. Heavy new welfare and pension costs pushed the federal budget into deep deficit. A strong majority coalition might grow more difficult to sustain. Germany's internal challenges would probably absorb its energies for several years (Kriegar, 1993, pp: 352-353).

Today Japan has a responsible government which is directly answerable to an assembly elected by the people. Japan is a parliamentary democracy very much like that of Britain. Like in all parliamentary democracies, national assembly called Diet is the highest organ of state. Unlike the United States, Japan does not have a federal system. However, Japan has a bicameral parliament. The upper house called, House of Councillor is believed to act as a check on the popularly elected chamber. Prime minster is not constitutionally empowered to dissolve the House of Councillor. The councillors' veto on a bill may be overridden in the lower house by a two-third vote. If the Councillors refuse to pass the budget or to approve a treaty, and their difference with the House of Representatives is not resolved in a joint committee, the will of the Houe of Representatives prevails.

The amendment of the constitution requires approval of two-thirds of the entire membership of each house and ratification by a majority of the voters. Most bills originate in a ministry of government. After the

ministry has approved the bill, it may be discussed with the relevant study group of the ruling political party.

After a general election, Diet designates the prime minsiter from among its members. An election is held in each house, and if the two houses are unable to agree on a single individual, the decision of the House of Representatives becomes the decision of the parliament. The constitution requires the emperor to "appoint the Prime Minister as designated by the Diet." The position of Japanese prime minister is different from the president of the United States. The American President is elected by the people via the electoral college and therefore may claim a popular mandate for his programs.

The Japanese prime minsiter, on the other hand is not directly chosen by the people but rather by the Diet, which serves as an electoral college for this purpose. It is not necessary to be personally popular or a great orator in order to become Japanese prime minister, but it is normally necessary to be a faction leader in the ruling party. The length of a Japanese prime minister is not fixed by the constitution or a statute, but depends on personal and political factors. The relationship of a Japanese prime minister to Diet is very different from that of the U.S. president to the Congress. The prime minister has majority in the Diet and may confidently expect party members in the Diet to ensure the passage of legislation that his or her government proposes. The prime minister selects a majority of his cabinet members from among the members of the Diet and all cabinet members must be civilians. Posts are allocated to members of different factions of the ruling party in such a way as to ensure maximum stability.

The cabinet lasts only as long as it acceptable to the Diet. If the House of Representatives votes no confidence in the Cabinet, the cabinet must either (1) resign, in which case a new prime minister must be designated or (2) ask the emperor to dissolve the House, in which case elections are held for the lower house. The constitution however, does not provide for the dissolution of the House of Councillor.

Supreme Court judges are appointed by the cabinet and are subject to approval of the people at the time of next general election and every ten years thereafter. The chief judge of the Supreme Court is designated by the cabinet and appointed by the emperor. Japan's legal system represents the European civil law tradition. The right of trial by jury, such as prescribed in the Bill of Rights of the American Constitution, does not exist in Japan. Jadges make decisions without the assistance of lay juries.

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The local governments called Perfectural governments are like American county governments. The constitution provide that perfectural governors and other local officials including mayors and assemblymen, will be elected. Perfectural governments do not have constitutions of their own as American states do, but exercise powers delegated to them by the national government, and the laws they enact may not contradict laws passed by the national Diet. The main concerns of perfectural and local governments are education, roads, sewage, garbage collection, police, and protection of ecology (McNelly, 1993).

A person in Japanese society is evaluated not just in how high his status is but how well he plays his particular role. Employees work hard and make sacrifices for the company. In turn. Company management looks after the interest of employees, help them grow and develop, and give a substantial share of the benefits of the company success. Those who do not cooperate are dealt with quickly and harshly. It is understood that in times of great challenge, an employee's all other loyalties may be subordinated to accord with the needs of his company and with those of the nation as a whole.

In a very important sense, the purpose of the Japanese company is to serve the interests of employees than those of its stockholders. People in various sections of a company are expected to have a good sense of the purpose of the whole company. Social security and welfare are tied to employment. Unemployment has remained low. Bureaucrats have protected agriculture and other declining sectors from imports to preserve employment opportunities.

Local government and private enterprises have sufficient leeway to run their own organizations without interference or surprises from government. Japanese companies benefit by cooperating with the sector as a whole. To meet the global competition, the markets can work hardship on individuals and companies (Lodge & Vogel, 1987).

The government and sectoral leaders try to assist enterprises in understanding trends and in obtaining access to low cost capital, technology, and human talent to hasten and strengthen appropriate competition. Government and business work toegether in promoting research and new technology to control pollution. In the United States anti-trust law and in Japan Government keeps companies from colluding against public interest. Bureaucrats try to find ground rules for sharing benefits in ways that all groups believe to be fair and that give them a stake in the success of the system.

In Gemany many economic decisions are made at meso-economic level where Government, labor groups, and industrial groups interact. Germany's financial sector remains small. Germans dislike credit cards. Stock market transactions are taxed and equity ownership by individuals remains small. The laws limiting the hours when shops may open ensure that producing dominates consuming. Profit making is on a modest scale and little valued as compared with the continuing opportunities to seek technical perfection and fulfill one's service to society through durable products (Hampden & Trompenaars, 1993, pp: 198-217).

There are three sectors in German industries: steel and textile that are likely to be contracted; fastest computers, microelectronics, and consumer electronics industry; "fulcrum" sector that is dominant component of German economy and deal in machine tools, chemicals, automobiles, and industrial electronics. By taking large minority holdings in several firms in an industry, banks can adopt a meso-economic, or "whole industry" stance toward economic development. This is a form of non-governmental sector-by-sector industrial policy by private institutions standing above inter-firm rivalry and looking for the growth of the large industry.

German economic development is less the achievement of single corporations than of clusters, the corporation, its bank, customer, supplier, unions, and local training isnstitutions (Hampden & Trompenaars, 1993, p 205). Patient rights are strictly observed in U.S.A., whereas in Japan and Germany, innovations are quickly diffused into the whole industrial sector at the cost of patient rights. Advertisements and consumption are two of the main drivers of U.S. economy. Japanese and Germans, on the other hand, put great stress on real economic and industrial growth and discourage unproductive consumption.

Stock markets are efficient instruments of capital formation in U.S.A. But, Japan and Germany have developed a sort of disliking and disapproval for stock markets. A considerable tax is imposed on all financial transactions, in an attempt to discourage the free and efficient functioning of financial markets and to ensure their stability. U.S.A. is a common law nation, whereas Japan and Germany are civil law countries (Hampden & trompenaars, 1993). In the United States semiconductor production has fallen from 60 to 40 percent of the world market in less than a decade. The three leading semiconductor companies are now all Japanese-NEC, Toshiba, and Hitachi.

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In contrast to semiconductors, the computer market has remained much of an American preserve. In 1990 America still had a 65 percent overall market share. Only in laptops do, the Japanese dominate, and even here an American design, Zenith which is now part of a French company, Bull, has the largest market share. Japanese are trying to develop computer software factories that they think will allow them to dominate the computer software industry in the twenty century. America's commercial aircraft industry grew up in symbiotic relationship with government. The American commercial aircraft industry came to be dominated by three firms, McDonell Douglas, Lockheed, and Boeing. The Europeans led by Germans attempted to break into the industry, through the development of the supersonic Concorde. Airbus Industries is being organized by the British, French, West German, and Spanish governments. The consumer electronics industry is dominated by the Japanese. American firms have retreated into industrial electronics where return on investment is better. American firms are lagging behind Japanese and German ones in steel products technologies. Germany has long dominated the chemical business. In the pharmaceutical area the American industry is handicapped by a slower approval process for its new products. The American firms have more fully developed offshore production bases, and American textile wages are well below those, found in the rest of the industrial world. Yet the textile industry has not achieved the success found in other high wage countries.

The auto industry is America's largest and the major customer for many other industries, purchasing 21 percent of U.S. steel alloy, 16 percent of aluminum, and 53 percent of rubber. Without an auto industry, it is difficult for a machine tool industry to survive. Auto imports are squeezing the American producers at both ends. Korean and Japanese imports dominate the low end of the merket, and European imports dominate the high end of the market, although Japanese are rapidly moving up scale. By copying Japanese production practices, American firms have improved in "time to market," productivity, and product quality (Thurow, 1992, pp: 177—200).

During the past three years, Japan has been locked in a full depression, with a bleak no growth outlook for at least another two years and real job layoffs threatening its fabled- "full employment"society. Large sums of money pumped by government into the economy-an estimated $300 billion- have failed to revitalize consumer spending in a general climate of gloom. Ameliorating fiscal measures have been rejected by a

combination of public outcry and partisan infighting. Banks are awash with speculatie loans that will never be re-paid, and many are kept afloat by the grace of a permissive but all-powerful Ministry of Finance.

Now Japan has become a part of international market piace, beyond the power of its bureaucrats to control. As the world move further into a service and knowledge economy, the familiar hothouse atmosphere of the "capitalist development state," founded on exports, began to blow away. Americans could now make cars and steel more cheaply than the Japanese. The speedy development of knowledge industries is putting more and more premium on American innovation rather than Japanese adaptivity in developing high tech products. Lately, the change in political climate in Japan is becoming imperative. The coalition of reigning Liberal Democrats and ruling bureaucracy is discredited, and their constituency of small farmers and businessmen is a casualty of demographic change (Gibney, 1994).

After the Cold War, the United States has become a sole military superpower in the world. However, as Thurow (1992) has argued that military power does not lead to economic power. A military superpower has to divert fund from economic research & development and make large investments in the military R&D, military equipment, military infrastructure, and military training to remain a military superpower. A country can be a military superpower for a long time, even if its economic might wanes. Economic rot at the core leads to military weakness at the periphery, but the time lags are sometimes very long.

Rome won most of the battles with the barbarians on its borders during its centuries of decline. But eventually, problems at the center of the Empire led it to withdraw from periphery. The Romans were never defeated in British Isles. One day they just left. Eventually, the Romans moved the center of their Empire from Rome to Constantinople, where they were not finally defeated by the Turks until many centuries after the fall of Rome itself. While Rome was in the economic dark ages, Roman military power was still alive and well in Byzantium.

Similarly, for about last seven centuries China remained the greatest military power in the Orient. But there came a day when that just wasn't good enough. For hundred years, China simply sat behind its Great Wall growing weaker and weaker until it had essentially rotted away at the core and nineteenth-century colonial powers could establish spheres on influence over it. Therefore, history is clear. While military

power can sometimes outlast economic power for centuries, eventually military power depends upon having a successful economic base (Throw, 1992, pp: 19-21).

IMPLICATIONS FOR POLICY MAKING

In parliamentary democracies of Japan and Germany, the executive branch plays a greater role in the formulation of public policy than in a political sytem in which there is a separation of power between the executive branch and the legislative branch, as the system in the United States. In the parliamentary systems, the governing party or coalition of parties, on the basis of previous election results, usually has enough votes in the parliament to pass whatever policies the government introduces.

If the governing party or coalition is not able to pass its policies in parliament, a new government is formed or new general elections are held. In parliamentary systems, a general policy agenda is developed by each party before the election. This policy agenda is important for voters as they decide which party candidate to support in election. When coalition of parties must be formed to create a new government, the parties forming coalition must bargain among themselves to create a combined policy agenda. Some policy proposal are also developed by career bureaucrats in individual ministries, and some are generated as responses to current events that were not anticipated or at least not discussed during the election campaign. Parliaments also have the ability to originate legislative proposals on their own, and business groups often meet with the members of parliament. However, the majority of new policies proposed originate in the executive branch. In Germany, for example, 80 percent of legislation passed by the parliament originated in the executive branch (Edinger, 1986).

The United States has four major public policy making atuonomous institutions: Congress, the President, the judicial branch and bureaucracy. A central problem of governance today in the United States is the pursuit of coherent, consistent, and stable policies fashioned out of these autonomous institutions (Chubb & Peterson, 1989). Weak party discipline exists within these institutions, which further escalates the conflict inherent in a variety of interests (Chubb & Peterson, 1989).

The president of the United States has his policy agenda and he submits legislation to Congress, however he is not able to determine the outcome of many legislative proposals in Congress. Even when the president's party has a majority of members of both houses of Congress, it is

not certain that the presient's agenda will be passed. Without strong party discipline, the members of Congress are subject to a greater disparity of interest group pressures, as was the case with the Clinton economic plan in summer 1993.

This lack of strong party discipline complicates the U.S. public policy process because many important policies originate in the legislature (Oleszek, 1984).

In parliamentary democracies of Japan and Germany, civil service careers in government ministries are among the most prestigious professions available (Wilson, 1990) and most of those selected to be career officials will work for one ministry for their entire working life (Patterson & Southern, 1991). When new parties or coalitions win election, very few changes are made in the senior positions in the ministries (Keim, 1991). In the United States, cabinet agencies, government bureaus, commissions and senior executive branch staff and other leadership ranks are filled by political appointees who often stay on the job for only 18 to 24 months.

Career civil services positions often have lower salaries than similar positions in the private sector and are associated with low prestige. The "best and the brightest" are not frequently attracted to public service in the United States (Rieck, 1990). For the parliamentary systems of Japan and Germany, business interests are often organized for political purposes into national umbrella associations that develop positions on major policy issues of interest to business. Consultation and negotiation between leaders and staff from government ministeries are important aspects of the policy-development process in leading parliamentary systems.

Because the political institutions in the United States were designed as a result of the framers of the Constitution's distrust of popular majority, a national republic was formed that subdivided society into a variety of interests and fragmented the power of national political institutions through checks and balances (Dahl, 1956; Hayes, 1992). The multiplicity of interests in the United States has led to tthe formation of fragmented special interests groups that struggle to make their interests heard above all others.

Voters in major parliamentary systems admit to knowing little about most issues considered by their government (Edinger, 1986). Organized coalitions are likely to be heard and be able to influence numerous

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decisions in the public policy process of democratic governments. In the Japan and Germany, this process takes place through strong parties and umbrella associations. In the United States, the parties are weaker, and the organized groups operate as narrowly focused interest groups. Interest groups have become even more prominent in the last 20 years in the United States (Rauch, 1992).

Thus salient features of the public policy process in the United States are largely uninformed voters, whose party identification has declined steadily over the last 30 to 40 years (Conway, 1991), and a growing number of fragmented special interest groups often seeking narrow, self-serving policies (Rauch, 1992).

COMPARATIVE PARADIGMS

U.S. Declaration of Independence asserts that the rights of an individual citizen supersede the cause of community: "we hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the Pursuit of Happiness. That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed. That whatever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and institute new Government, laying foundations on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness."

Lockean emphasis on due process for individualism and on contractual relationship among buyers and sellers as well as employers and employees, has contributed to an adversarial and ultimtely litigious society in USA (Lappe', 1989).

Japanese society is greatly influenced by Buddhism and Confucism philosophies. According to Buddhist belief, "The Eternal Life Cycle", the dead keep returning to this world to help redeem the living. Hence to live with nature is to live with spirits of those who went before you, just as those living will watch over future generations. Thus when we die, we both recede into past and decompose underground, and come back again in our genes, in the memories of our children and our students, and in the accumulated experience stored within institutions.

Neo-Confucian values like, a friend to friend, loyalty of wife to husband, of child to parent, of brother to brother, subordination of student

to teacher, and above all submission to lord, provided an excellent basis for consensus and communitarianism (Hampden & Trompenaars, 1993. pp: 137-138).

German political and economic paradigms find their roots in Fichte, Hegel and Hamilton philosophies. Both Japanese and German political and economic paradigms strongly follow holism and system theories. They prefer 'whole' on 'parts'. American social ideals were strongly influenced by Locke's individualism, Newton mechanics, Adam Smith's view about property rights, Declaration of Independence, and The U.S. Constitution. German philosopher Immanuel Kant taught that the indiviual's behavior toward others should be such that a universal law could be derived from his conduct. This paradigm provides a potential reconciliation between universal laws and particular situations, the parts of society and the whole, the rights of individual and obligation owed to the collective.

Hegel and his followers foster the belief in truth of absolute wholes, giant, all-embracing organisms, and ultimately synthesis. Mohn's philosophy represents non-statist communitarianism. He advocates strong social policies within corporation, a generous profit-sharing scheme and employee's control of their own working environment (Hampden & Trompenaars, pp: 241—245, pp: 252—266).

Outstanding individual leaders of the societies may create their own paradigms. In the United States such leaders include among may others, Abraham Lincoln for putting an end to slavery which so far had been a legitimate institution under the U.S. constitution. President Herbert ·C. Hoover created a paradigm of "rugged individualism" to discourage government role in business.

He argued that every step of bureaucratizing of the business posions the very roots of liberalism-that was, political equality, free speech, free assembly, free press, and equality of opportunity... Every expansion of government in business meant that government in order to protect itself from the political consequences of its errors and wrongs was driven irresistibly without peace to greater and greater control of the nation's press and platform. Free speech did not live many hours after free industry and free commerce die... It was just as important that business kept out of government as that government kept out of business.

President Franklin D. Roosevelt asserted for presidential powers to wage war in World War II. He appropriated additional powers on his own by invoking the president's constitutional authority as commander in chief

and by citing earlier emergency proclamations. He unilaterally created executive agencies, cumulatively controlled every activity of the economy that was remotely related to the war effort. President Truman proclaimed the doctrine of making it a policy of the United States to support free people who were resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressures. He took firm stand against communists all over the world.

In his defiance of international socialist movements, he delivered a speech before Congress. In his historical speech, he stated, "the seeds of totalitarian regimes are nurtured by misery and want. They spread and grow in evil soil of poverty and strife. They reach their full growth when the hope of people for better life has died." President Eisenhower in his farewell address warned against the acquisition of unwarranted influence by the military-industrial complex and the consequent potential for the disastrous rise of misplaced power in the organs of government in the United States.

President Lyndon B. Johnson made a paradigm of Great Society. In his own words, "the Great Society is a place here every child can find knowledge to enrich his mind and to enlarge his talents. It is a place where leisure is a welcome chance to build and reflect, not a feared cause of boredom and restlessness. it is a place where the city of man serves not only the needs of the body and the demands of commerce, but the desire for beauty and hunger for community." Responding to the paradigm of the Great Society, the 89th Congress passed a long list of initiatives: the Voting Rights Act, the Older American Act, and the legislation to establish Medicare and Medicaid, the National Endowment of the Arts and Humanities, the Department of Housing and Urban Development, the Department of Transportation, highway beautification, urban mass transit among others.

Japanese family system has been very authoritative and it tranmits behavioral norms to successive generations through education. The combination of characteristics of authoritative family system, the vertical integration of society with individuals, unconsciously elevating the respect for mother, combining discipline and individualism, rejecting all but the children, the authoritarian family sometimes becomes neurotic machine. The sense of discipline produced by a vertical family system is strong guarantee of the continuity of political and economic systems in Japan.

Most authoritarian anthropological sytems can take two forms, hysterical or stable. Violent phases always coincide with periods of

cultural transition: urbanization and industrialization in the case of twentieth-century Germany. Communitarianism and socialism are both produced by hard, vertical family systems that bring together parents and children in complex households (Todd, 1988, pp: 55—98).

Japanese education system acts for channeling the most talented to the top, where he can work for the good of the nation. Uniform national text books provide standard information for all students. The government's education policies support the idea of a meritocratic hierarchy. Traditional confucian respect for learning and self-cultivation has enforced the idea of self-improvement and training (Mcnelly, 1993).

The American-led Occupation (1945-52) attempted to democratize government and education, to decentralize industry, to strengthen labor unions, and to decentralize government power. However, after 1952, when the Japanese regained control of their own government, some companies split by the Occupation were recombined, antitrust efforts faded and labor militancy became less effective. Concern for family, company, community, and nation continued to be very strong. Japanese leaders worked to reinforce communitarian idealogy (Lodge & Govel, 1987).

Communitarinism paradigm has found strong footing in German society and its idealogy pattern stands in sharp contrast to the individualism of the Anglo-Saxon countries. Non-statist communitarianism dominates the major institutions in postwar Germany. Communitarinism evolved in German from feudalism. German leaders drew upon the theories of Fichte and Hegel for communitarinism. Germany's development like that of Japan was an organized capitalism: government, banks, industrial caretels, and states collectively decided which sectors were to evolve, adapt, and develop. Hilter's totalitarian which promised to attain mystical and glorious past was clearly the most extreme form of communitariansim (Hampden & Trompenaars, 1993, pp: 198—200).

HUMAN RIGHTS AND ETHNICITY

The idea of fundamental human rights and freedom has existed since at least Old Testament times. The Quren Magna Carta, the English Bill of Rights, the Declaration of Independence, the French Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizens, and the League of Nations Covenant, all expressed ideas of inalienable, universal rights. The Constitution of the United States, however, did not abandoned slavery and the perpetuation of slavry ensured the primary source of wealth in th Southern States, for decades.

According to article 1, section 2 of the constitution, political representation in the lower House of Congress was to be based on the population of "free Persons" in each state, plus three fifth of all "other Persons". Moral principles against slavery were compromised, with no explanation of the conflicting principles for which the American Revolution was fought. It took a bloody civil war before the 13th Amendment could be adopted to abolish slavery. The 14th amendment ensured protection of the life, liberty, and property of all persons against deprivation without the due process, and guaranteeing equal protection of laws. In fact, throughout America's history, Negroes were enslaved by law, disenfranchised and segregated by law, and, finally, they have begun to win equality by law (Marshall, 1987).

Japan, as contrasted with India and the United States, and many other countries, is blessed with the absence of ethnic strife. The Japanese society is not plural and does not seriously aspire to be. Japanese Constitution does not explicityly ensure many human rights. The right of trial by jury, such as prescribed in the Bill of Rights of the American Constitution,does not exist in Japan. In Japan, Judges make decisions without the assistance of lay juries. The Japanese Supreme Court has held that capital punishment is not unconstitutional (McNelly, 1993). Practically, Japanese viw that people are subject of the nation rather citizens with inalienable rights. Japanese leadership has tried to avoid lawyers of the Western sort, who created greater divisiveness in U.S. society and tended to pull it apart. They have avoided excessive concern for individual rights and due process, both of which they believed would make it difficult for organizations to look out for overall order (Lodge & Gogel, 1987).

The first part of the German Basic Law (Article 1 to 19) is a charter of fundamental rights and an affirmation of human personhood rooted in the natural law thesis that certain liberties of the individual are antecedent to organized society and beyond the reach of government power. Apart from the freedoms guaranteed by Article 1, 2, 3 and 5, the Basic Law's fundamental rights include the freedoms of religion (Article 4, assembly (Article 8), association (Article 9), privacy (Articles 10 and 13), and movement (Article 11), together with the right to property (Article 14), the right to choose a trade or occupation (Article 12), and the right to refuse military service for reasons of conscience (Article 12a).

Additionally, criminal defendants are accorded most of the rights and privileges as granted in U.S.A. While individual liberty and personal autonomy are jealously guarded values of the German legal order, they are also constrained by equally important values of political order and social morality. Thus, the right to develop one's personality is limited by the moral code, just as the right to freedom of speech is limited by the inviolability of personal honor.

German Federal Constitutional Court noted in the Privacy of Communications Case: "The concept of man in the Baic Law is not that of an isolated, sovereign individual: rather, the Basic Law has decided in favor of a relationship between individual and community in the sense of a person's dependence on and commitment to the community, without infringing upon a person's individual value." The Basic Law predicates political freedom on the acceptance of certain principals of political obligation. Freedom of association, for instance, is guaranteed, but associations "the purposes or activities of which are directed against the constitutional order" are prohibited (Article 9). Similarly, political parties "whos aims... seek to impair or abolish the free democratic basic order" may be declared unconstitutional (Article 21).

These provisions in the Basic Law have been created in the aftermath of Hitler's totalitarianism, that a democratic society aimed at the destruction of republican government so long as the rule of law is thereby preserved (Kommers, 1993, pp: 229—231).

Germany follows European Convention for the protection of human rights and fundamental freedom proclaimed by the General Assembly of the United Nations (Whalen, 1989). Wet German statue adopted in 1974, permitted abortion performed by a physician prior to the 13th week of pregnancy. On the other han, the debate between the preference to the sanctity of life or freedom of choice is a never ending issue in American society.

President Franklin Roosevelt's State of the Union message included one of the first references to the "Four Freedoms" freedom of speech, freedom of religion, freedom from want and freedom from fear-freedoms which he stated, should prevail everywhere in the world. Declaration of Philadelphia, The American Convention on Human Rights, The Helsinki Agreement and International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights are some examples of the developments toward ensuring human rights.

Carter Administration emphasized human rights. In his inaugural address, President Jimmy Carter made it clear that human rights would be an important factor in U.S. foreign policy. In a speech to the U.N. two months later, he stated that he would recommend the ratification of the major human rights treaties. He created the Bureau of Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs. Almost 40 years after the U.N. had approved the Genocide Convention, President Reagan signed legislation enabling the United States to become the 98th nation to ratify the agreement. The legislation amended the Criminal Code of the United States to make genocide a federal offense (Whalen, 1989, pp: 1—18).

CONCLUSION

The United States, Germany and Japan, all are republican democracies. However, differences of roles and scopes of the branches of government exist within the parliamentary democracies of Germany and Japan and between their parliamentary setups versus U.S. democracy.

In the United States the doctrine of separation of powers among the organs of governemnt and between the domains of government and business has played key role in the formation and evolution of political and economic systems. On the other hand, Confucian and Buddhist values in Japan and the philosophies of Hegel and Fitche in Germany have greatly influenced the roles of government and business in respective societies. Hard and vertical integration of both Japanese and German family systems is also one of the causes of their communitarianism.

Both the United States and Germany are federal republics, while Japan is a simple parliamentary democracy. However, upper house in Japan exists to have checks on impulsive motives of the lower house. The states of U.S.A. have their own legislative functions, but in Germany, the states administer both federal and respective states laws.

In all the three countries interest groups interact with the public policy making process. As contrast with the United States, in Japan and Germany career civil servants are the best and the brightest persons and they play very effective role in public policy making.

The confrontational nature of small interest groups in the United States may end up in negative sum games, while all inclusive national associations in Japan and Germany have better chances of positive sum results in public policy making.

The human rights were not fully ensured in the constitution of the United States and have evolved through a long period of its history. Japanese and German societies because of their communitarianism, attempt to seek a balance between the rights and obligations of individuals and the societies.

This study can be useful for international business management for its interaction with the respective governments and public policy making processes regarding its international business goals.

Future comparative studies may include sectors and industry specific policy making in the subject societies. The comparative studies may also be conducted for the emerging international markets and production centers of India, China, and other Asian Tigers, including Korea, Singapore, Malaysia and Thailand.

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Frankfurt School of Thought—
A Critical Analysis

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There had been many scholars in the history of social sciences, who, when realized that prevalent system cannot deliver goods to the society, turned against the status quo and came up with new approaches. This dissent of scholars proved to be beneficial for society especially when their ideas were translated into practice. The rise of such ideas were still valuable to the body of knowledge even if these were not materialized. The work of Frankfurt School though could not bring revolution in the world but still the work of its contributors is viewed with great dignity and honour among the community of scholars because it has drawn their attention to the areas hitherto neglected. In this article we would try to analyse the work of Frankfurt School of Thought, its main concern regarding the existing world view; its principal figures; criticism on the School and would conclude with the analysis of the criticism and with some suggestions that would be beneficial for the School.

A group of German intellectuals loosely united in their effort to develop a philosophical variant of Marxism—called critical theory—which rejected both the economic determinism of Soviet Marxism and the empirical positivism of American traditions of mass communication research.[1] The context and experiences of Frankfurt scholars are strongly evidenced in major themes and questions they choose to confront. These include explanation of the rise of fascism, the extreme right wing nationalist, authoritarian and anti-communist dictatorships that were in the Italy, Germany and other countries.[2]

Critical theory took its collective name from the Institute of Social Research founded at Frankfurt in 1923. The School was forced to leave Germany and emigrated to USA during the 1930s. Although it was later formally re-established at Frankfurt in 1953.[3]

The term 'critical' may be confusing. Several different meanings of the term come together in the field of mass media studies. Here in the narrowest sense the term 'critical' refers to work which follows in the Frankfurt school tradition by combining psycho-analytical and Marxist theory in a broad social critique.[4]

The principal figures of the School are Max Horkheimer, Theodor Adorno, Herbert Marcuse, Erich Fromm, Walter Benjamin, Friedrich Pollock, Leo Lowenthal and Jurgen Habermas.[5] All of them were Jews and those who fled the holocaust rejoined the Institute for Social Research in its new home at the centre of the capitalist world in New York City at Columbia University from 1934.[6]

The Frankfurt scholars had great concern for the decline of revolutionary movements and a focal concern for what they identify as the increasingly authoritarian and bureaucratic tendencies of modern western societies. During their period in the USA these themes were developed in their analysis of mass media, which they called the cultural industry.[7] Max Horkheimer and Theodor Adorno argue that popular entertainment, music, the movies and the comicks, spoke in a unified voice, drowning opposition to capitalism in the United States. The cultural industry, a term they coined for the whole array of entertainment industries, was an agent of mass deception, and they repeatedly drew parallels between propaganda of Hitler & Goebbels and American commercial entertainment.[8]

They argued that the culture industry had logically emerged to perform a highly manipulative role in advanced capitalist societies, serving to contain and subvert forms of oppositional or critical consciousness on behalf of the dominant capitalist class.[9] They state that mass media are ideological tools of the ruling class domination either through direct ownership or, as in the case of broadcasting via ruling class control of the state. Such a position neglects both the specific effects of subordinating cultural production and reproduction to the general logic of capitalist commodity production and the specificities of the varying and shifting relationships between economic, ideology and political levels within actual concrete historical moments.[10]

The work of the Frankfurt School has been one of the most influential interpretation of Marxism in communication studies. Critical theory sees cultural texts as an imposition of the categories of mass production onto the domain of the consciousness, imagination and thought.[11] The existing Marxist theory, the Frankfurt scholars argue, is inadequate to deal with the real practical challenge they face largely because it offers reductionist explanation which favour either a simple economic determinism or an ideological autonomy, thus failing to analyse and explain precisely that which makes the object of analysis centrally significant, namely the relationship between the economic and the ideology.[12]

Privatization is one of the key processes associated with the Frankfurt School's analysis of the media and their effect on social relationships not through the messages they carry but the type of interaction they encourage. By concentrating activities within the home, the broadcast media of radio and TV set up a type of human group which has no other connection with each other than their common use of the same service. This opens up the possibility of manipulation.[13]

Critical theory assumes: first that there is an abstract process of the "colonization of consciousness" by economic industrialized forms which defines the power of the media; second, that there are direct relations between socio-economic and socio-psychological processes and third that these can be read off the surface of the text, not as a particular signifying form but as an exemplar of an abstract category of cultural practices.[14]

The writers of the Frankfurt School have questioned the empirical and political theory from the perspective of specifically practical concern. The Marxist criticism of ideology was revived and applied to current conditions.[15]

The Frankfurt School writers have attempted to clarify a conception of *praxis* that is more than merely another version of the mechanistic instrumentalism of which they accuse the empirical theorist. Greeks distinction between *praxis* and *poieses*. *Praxis* is usually translated as "action" or "doing", *poieses* as "fabrication" or "making." Making and acting are different, says Aristotle. For while making has an end other than itself, action cannot; for good action itself is its end. Both action and fabrication are teleological ideas, but the ends associated with each are of a difference character. The end of fabrication is to create a product that represents the completion of the activity and provide its rationale: a chair, a poem; a dinner. The activity of fabricating is pursued

primarily for its results. The purpose of action, in contrast, is to act in a certain way: more precisely, it is to subscribed to certain conditions in acting. The end of action, in other words, is to do whatever one is doing skilfully, morally, lawfully, piously, or in some other adverbially qualified manner. Modern society, the Frankfurt critique suggests, has, because of the logic of scientific and commercial thinking, come to approach all of its activities through the category of fabrication. Hence Frankfurt School's distrust of instrumental reason and their perception of a strong link between it and "domination." Just as the artisan cuts and hammers the raw material into the form required by the intended result, so in politics the managerial mentality lops and chops to produce a desired state of affairs. In making this analysis, the Frankfurt writers were both aided and hindered by their Marxist premises, because if Marxist provided the concepts they required to articulate an emancipatory rather than an instrumentalist conception of praxis, it also has been made to support the very model of fabrication against which the critical theorist is reacting.[16] The "Justice among men" to which the critical theorist is committed is a substantive end to be achieved rather than a set of limits to be observed in acting; it refers to a future condition of society that corresponds more closely to human needs.[17] The critical theorist has been far more open than the empirical theorist to the suggestion that what is distinctive of human existence is that it takes place within a world of meanings which must be understood before they can be responded to. The lesson of critical theory is that we need to be concerned not only with the practical inadequacies of the substance of our theories, but also with those of their form. The practical critic is suggesting, in other words, that it is not only the empiricist's theories but the empiricist's conception of theory that supports ineffective and morally objectionable policies.[18]

We have discussed some concepts, and the main concerns of the Frankfurt School as a whole. In the following we shall try to know something about the main scholars and their work individually.

Jurgen Habermas: Jurgen Habermas was born in 1929, and grew up in Gummersbach, West Germany. He was educated at the Universities of Gottingen, Bonn, and Zurich, after which he worked for a while as a freelance journalist. In 1956 he became Adorno's assistant at the University of Frankfurt. From 1961 to 1964 he taught philosophy in Heidelberg, and from 1964 to 1971, philosophy and sociology in Frankfurt. From 1971 to 1983 he was Director of the Max planck Institute for research into the Life Conditions of the Scientific-Technical world, in

Starberg. Since 1983 he has once more been teaching at the Johanna Wolfgang Goethe University in Frankfurt.[19]

Frankfurt School has much an important influence on his own intellectual development. Since Habermas has a somewhat reserved and formal bearing, his personal and family life are not displayed for public attention and it is enough that we should know that he is married and that he has three children. His upbringing is more relevant to his intellectual work. Habermas and his generation of German Intellectuals grew up in Nazi Germany. Habermas's radical commitments developed latter in the 1950s, and after a long training in his own classical German philosophical tradition. His widening Intellectual preoccupation soon pressed him into a study of American pragmatism and into other areas of philosophy that were not ordinarily part of the experience of his fellow German philosophy students among whom he began, despite his classical training, to feel some kind of foreigner. He retains strong ties with a broad range of left social and intellectual movements. From his writing and through his relationships with scholars, activist, and friends in several countries, Habermas has acquired a reputation as a man who is extraordinarily open to criticism. Although he admits to a certain stiffness, he is obviously a person of great humility—he seems genuinely surprised by the attention he had received. For Habermas the Intellect life is not a game, or a Career, or a cultivation of wit and taste, or even learning from learning's sake, it is above all a vocation. One aspect of man that permeates every aspect to the work is his ethical seriousness. The single purpose of the work is to anticipate and to justify a better world society.[20]

The contribution made by Habermas to the development of modern sociology is both an extension of critical theory and a significant alternative to it. Whilst this may seem at first sight a contradictory statement, it does express the somewhat complicated nature of Habermas's role in contemporary social theory. It is important to note that Habermas had made a contribution in a field which is in effect much wider than that of professional sociology—for it encompasses social philosophy, the theory of knowledge and communication, Marxism and of course, sociological theory.

Habermas says that the social sciences in their interpretive as well as that empiricist forms are liable to be corrupted. Just as empirical theory can provide the basis for a manipulative approach to politics, the resources of the interpretive social sciences can be used to deceive. Under present conditions, all the sciences regardless of their character

tend to become instruments of a domination masked by ideology. The taste of critical theory is to free us from this domination by making possible the collective self-awareness that would dispel the illusions of ideology. Habermas's favoured analogy is psychoanalysis; in the same way that the analyst helps patients to cure themselves of neurosis through self-criticism leading to a more objective awareness of themselves, so the critical theorist can help foster the collective self criticism through which society might rid itself of its false consciousness. Critical theory appears to leave room for empirical theory as a valued part of the social science. If we avoid making exaggerated claims for it and recognize its limitations, empirical theory surely has a role to play in facilitating the self-awareness that, for the critical theorist, is a pre-requisite both of the pursuit of knowledge and of non-instrumentalist practice. This indeed is one of Habermas's main points.[21]

The work of Habermas provides the most recent attempt to continue and develop the School tradition. He has many books on his credit. Some of these are:

- **Knowledge and Human Interest.**
  Translated by Jeremy J. Shapiro
  The author describes this as an attempt to reconstruct the pre history of modern positivism in order to discover the connections between knowledge and human interests. This new edition of the classic work contains the afterword that Habermas wrote for the second German edition.

- **Communication and Evolution of society.**
  Translated by Thomas McCarthy
  This new book by the distinguished German thinker is taken from his *Zur Rekonstruktion des Historischen Materialismus*. It is a collection of essays including pieces on the reconstruction of historical materialism and on legitimation problems in the modern state.

- **Towards a Rational society.**
  Translated by Jeremy J. Shapiro
  In this collection of linked studies Habermas analyses the three key concepts of Knowledge. Communication and Action in industrial society by considering the roles of student protest, the idea of the university, and science and technology in the modern state.

- **Theory and practice**
  Translated by John Viertel
  In this book, Habermas continues to develop his theory within which

thought and action are rationally related. He includes three essays on Hegel and an important critical assessment of Marx's dialectical materialism and his theory of surplus value.

- **Legitimation Crises.**
  Translated by Thomas McCarthy
  This slim book has few, if any, equals among sociological writings of the last decade or two. No other book, however voluminous, has set for itself tasks of similar dimensions: to bring together an exhaustive phenomenological analysis of the conditions of social and systematic integration in general, and the empirical description of the historically specific, modern society.

- **A Philosophic Political Profile.**
  This adds a new dimension to our understanding of the intellectual odyssey of Germany's leading contemporary thinker but also provides a series of stunning insights into the thought of the generation that preceded him.[22]

- **The Past as Future.**
  Jurgen Habermas—Interviewed by Michael Haller.
  Translated and edited by max Pensky.
  In this book Jurgen Habermas addresses some of the most pressing social and political issues of our time: the consequences of the collapse of communist regimes in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union; the resurgence of nationalism and right-wing violence in Europe; and the prospects for a transformation of international relations and the building of a more just and peaceful world order.

Most of the book takes the form of an extended interview which covers a wide range of contemporary topics and events, from German reunification to the Gulf War, from the limits of theory to the role of intellectuals. While Habermas draws on ideas developed in his more theoretical works, he states his views here with exceptional clarity and force.

The Past as Future is widely read and of great interest not only to students of social and political theory, but to anyone concerned with the current state and future of Europe and the West.[23]

The other books of Habermas are:
- *The Theory of Communicative Action.*
- *Reason & The Rationalization of Society.*

- *Lectures on Modernity.*

- *Habermas—Autonomy & Solidarity:* Interviews with Jurgen Habermas. *Edited by Peter Dews.*

Theodor Adorno: Born and educated in Frankfurt, the late Theodor Adorno was a leading member of the Frankfurt School of critical theory. Expelled from Germany by the Nazis in 1934, he then spend some time in Oxford. In 1938 lazarsfeld along with Max Horkheimer now at Columbia invited T.W. Adorno to United States to direct the music division of Lazarsfeld's office of Radio Research. His interest was in sociology, philosophy, the critical study of music and popular culture. Adorno remained in America until 1949.[24] During his time with Lazarsfeld wrote a number of concrete studies of what he would later call the culture industry. Adorno himself insisted that he objected not to empirical research as such but to it primacy over theory.[25] When he returned to Germany in 1956, he was appointed Director of the Institute of the Social Research at the University of Frankfurt, and in 1963 he was appointed as president of the German Society for Sociology. Adorno says, "My own position in the controversy between empirical & theoretical sociology, so often misrepresented, particularly in Europe, I may sum up by saying that empirical investigations are not only legitimate but essential, even in the realm of cultural phenomena. But one must not confer autonomy upon them or regard them as a universal key.[26] Adorno warns that empirical social research is not a magic mirror that reflects the future, no science oriented astrology.[27] The applicability of a science to society depends in an essential way on the state of society itself. There is no general social issue which some scientific method of therapy could treat universally.[28] Adorno's position in these matters was fluid developing and conflicted. Adorno's books include *Negative Dialectics, Dialectic of Enlightenment* (with Max Horkheimer), *The Authoritarian Personality and Philosophy of Modern Music.*[29]

Erich Fromm: Erich Fromm, born in 1900 at Frankfurt—am—Mian, studied sociology and psychoanalysis. In 1933, he emigrated as a member of the Frankfurt School to the United States, moved to Mexico in 1950, and spent his twilight years between 1974 and 1980 in Switzerland. His books *Fear of Freedom* (1971) and *The Art of Loving* (1956) made him known throughout the world as a psychoanalyst and social psychologist. The alternative of *To have Or to Be?* is the title of the compendium, written in 1976, of his humanistic thought and engagement on behalf of man's survival in a world that is characterized by alienation.[30]

Max Horkheimer: Max Horkheimer was appointed as director of the Frankfurt School in 1930. The Frankfurt School as it came to be known, was the first institute for Marxist Studies in the western world. It was set up at Frankfurt University in 1923 with money provided by Felix Weil, a wealthy Industrialist. The main interests of Max Horkheimer were philosophy, sociology and social psychology.[31]

Other members associated with Frankfurt School are:

Herbert Marcuse: Main interest in philosophy and politics, has two books on his credit. *One Demension man* (1964) and *'Reason and Revolution: Hegal & The Rise of Social Theory* (1963).

Walter Benjamin: His main interest was Sociology, Philosophy, Art and photography. He has one book on his credit *Screen: A short History of photography.*

Friedrich Pollock: His main interest was Economics.

Criticism On Frankfurt School

1. Critical theory attempts to escape technological rationality by providing that empirical theory is committed by its own nature to the pursuit of certain ends.[32]

2. The critical approach fails to translate theory into practice, although intellectually convincing in its arguments, it remains relatively ineffective as an alternative to the present mode of thinking about mass communication research.[33]

3. The vocation of the theorist is not to change the world but to interpret it while Frankfurt School has turned the theorist into a revolutionary.[34]

4. Larry Grossberg has remarked the term "critical" can bear uneasy arrogant connotations; after all, is there any scholar whose work is not critical in some sense?[35]

5. The problem with some of the work of the Frankfurt School was that its members were too far outside the culture they examined.[36]

CONCLUSION

After having explored the main concerns of the Frankfurt School of Thought, we can conclude that Frankfurt scholars despite of concentrating their attention on one aspect, they have not only criticized the American tradition of Positivism at one hand and Marxist theory on the other but also the Fascist tendencies raised in Italy, Germany and other countries. These multidimensional activities of the Frankfurt School had opened various fronts which tend to have diminished the chance of any breakthrough in the body of knowledge. This is why the Frankfurt School is frequently criticized for condemning the whole world of scholarship but not suggesting any alternatives. Since the Frankfurt scholars see the communications studies with its contextual perspectives, which encompasses the human and social behaviour that can not be measured instrumentally, therefore, the Frankfurt scholars are criticized that they attempt to escape the technological rationality. But after the technological advancement when the "discretionary power" of humanbeing would be eliminated, the righteousness of the Frankfurt scholars would become true. For example, before the invention of thermometer, a person who comes from tropical areas to plains would give quite different description regarding the weather than one who have come there from hilly areas. It means that the controversies of human perception would go on diminishing along with the technological advancement. The Frankfurt School is criticized for condemning the mainstream research tradition but suggesting no alternative, we think that contribution of Frankfurt School is not of less importance because critical study of any creative and research work is in itself a creativity and a contribution to the body of knowledge. The Frankfurt School's critical dimensions to the mass communication studies has provoked the ideas hitherto neglected and undiscovered in the discourse about mass communication in contemporary society.[37] The Frankfurt School is criticized that it has turned the communication scholars into revolutionaries. In response the Frankfurt scholars argue that the theorist is necessarily committed to restructure the society so as to alter the circumstances in which knowledge is persued.[38] We think this plea of Frankfurt scholars is quite valid because the knowledge that is not beneficial to society and to humankind is of no use. Knowledge for the sake of knowledge is valueless. The mainstream theorists tried to demoralize the Frankfurt Scholars by blaming them for being involved in politics. Though politics is too a part of social life but the practical involvement is against the status of the scholars, rather they should only be confined to the interpretation of the

problems of the society but the way how to solve these problems should be left to the politicians.

Regarding the criticism on the term "critical" that it bears uneasy arrogant connotation and that the work of any scholar can be critical, we would suggest that the term "Critical Theory" should change its nomenclature as Frankfurt School Theory, Frankfurt Model or Frankfurt Approach.

The criticism, that Frankfurt scholars were too far outside, the culture they examine, seems no more valid because one can analyse any society in this age of global village at least from the perspective that is portrayed on media or in scholarship. This criticism seems to have no weight in view of the fact that Frankfurt scholars had experienced the capitalist society during their attachment with the Institute of Social Research at Columbia University from 1934 to 1953.

At the end of this article, we would suggest that after the end of cold war, disintegration of USSR and re-unification of Germany, the "Critical Theory" should be studied as classical and the Frankfurt School requires thorough reconstitution and it should search new horizons that could save it from 'its dead ends in the philosophy of consciousness.'[39]

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THE ROLE OF THE MEDIA IN ENVIRONMENTAL EDUCATION

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DEFINITION

According to prominent environmental educationist 'Russell Linke, perhaps the most authoritative and comprehensive definition of environmental education is that contained in the draft of the US Environmental Education Act:

"Environmental education is an integrated process which deals with man's interrelationship with his natural and man-made surroundings, including the relation of population growth, population resource allocation and depletion, conservation, technology and urban and rural planning to the total human environment. Environmental Education is a study of factors influencing ecosystems, mental and physical health, living and working Conditions, decaying cities and population pressures. Environmental education is intended to promote among citizen the awareness and understanding of the environment, our relationship to it, and responsible action necessary to assure over survival and to improve the quality of life. "(1)

No individual or isolated effort can alone solve the problems of environmental degradation. These problems are clearly international and must be solved through international co-operation. Such cooperative effort presupposes a common understanding of the environmental issues and challenges and an acceptance of responsibility for their ultimate solution. Russell Linke says that:

"The function of environmental education is to develop this understanding and responsibility. More specifically, environmental education seeks to develop, from the personal to the population level and for every culture, geograhpical age and intellectual group, an awareness of the complex and dynamic interrelationship between man and this total

environment, a concern for the quality of human life, and a personal commitment to environment to environmental conservation(2).

How media can help to integrate such efforts is the topic of this research paper.

As media is the main source of environmental information to a majority of the world's citizens, the media can play effective role to develop environmental education. In many developing countries still environmental education is not an essential part of the curriculum at any level. From primary to higher studies this is not introduced as full fledged subject. Many governments of developing countries are not giving the necessary importance to this subject. For example, Pakistani government claims that:

"The Government of Pakistan assigns top priority to environmental protection and pollution control programmes..."(3)

About the environmental education Pakistani government mentioned that:

"The Ministry of Education has also taken several steps. Environment is being introduced as a subject in the universities, colleges and schools. Textbooks on environment are being prepared. The Ministry of education has been asked to establish a teachers training center on environmental education. "(4)

Inspite of these claims, the Environmental Protection Act 1996 has been completed on Ist July 1996 but has not been approved in Parliament.

In such countries where literacy rate is very low, environmental education should start from public community and adult education. Russell Linke says that:

"This education may take many different forms, including structured curriculum programmes, topical lectures or symposia, workshops, discussion sessions, excursions or even protest marches, and in a more informal sense involve the resources of public libraries and the popular communication media news-papers, magazines, radio and television. Moreover each of these forms may involve a mid range of different techniques reflecting different aims and target population. But while each may contribute in its peculiar may

to environmental education certain general patterns of approach may be identified. "(5)

In any low literacy rated society, according to views of communication experts, comparatively visual media plays very effective role. As the authors of "Instructional Media" say:

"Television and new technologies of printing and reproduction have also contributed to this flood of visual messages. Illustrations (including graphics) now abound in books, periodicals, and newspapers as never before. We are surrounded by visual messages on bill-broads and posters. Advertising of all kinds has become increasingly visual. Even T.shirts have gotten into the act. "(6)

Above different kinds of visual media can use in environmental education's purpose.

T.V.

In the mid 1980s, Television entered its fourth decade as a mass medium. T.V. has been introduced in developing countries very late but now easily accessible for use in education not only via-over-the-air broadcasts but also by means of close circuit and cable T.V. systems, all of which may be linked by satellite relays., Vast libraries of programmes are now available on video cassette and videodisk. T.V. now represents many things clearly and is a rich resource of instruction and training.(7)

The professionals of first world are using this effective and powerful media not only for public awareness, but also in primary to higher education and in environmental education particularly.

Television can be considered also in developing countries as a medium well adopted to make programmes with definite problem consciousness, while a great variety of themes can be taken up. Programmes of this kind convey vivid impressions to the viewers and are highly valuable as teaching materials. Equipment and studios used for television are more expensive and complex. In this regard, governments should seriously take steps for greater investment of human resources and funding. After this, they can use T.V. to improve educational programmes very skillfully. An international organisation Television Trust for the Environment (TVE) since 1984 has produced 300 films. Raising

environmental education of decision makers, the community and the public, whether literate or not can be achieved most effectively through this media. Display of video films through satellite broadcast, national T.V. networks and local shows at the village / community level will prove to be very effective in reaching out to all sections of society. For example, the video resource center of WWF(World Wide Fund for Nature) Pakistan also assists this environmental education compaigning by providing films on environmental issues to NGOs, government organisations and television networks in Pakistan for national broadcast. This program is a joint venture with TVE and Central Television U.K. (8)

In this connection, public awareness is a less important item on Pakistani media agenda.

> For example, three T.V. Plays have been put on the air in the near past. Islamabad T.V. Center telecasted one play named, as Aasaib (آسیب) and the other as Green House (گرین ہاؤس) of "Guest House" drama serial. "Green House" was shown in those days when some fresh news appeared about environment in papers. Jamil Qureshi, Director, Nayab, did a very good creative job in that play. After this, a teletheatre (Long Play) "Mujhay Sans Lainay Do" (Let me breath مجھے سانس لینے دو) was telecasted. This was also a good presentation.(9)

It is necessary that drama writers of Radio & T.V. should write plays from some different angles. They should inject environmental issues oriented messages very skillfully in their plays. The administration and producers of this government controlled media should produce programmes in which they should communicate the environmental protection message through entertainment, which can solve our basic local environmental problem.

The documentary video films are also on extension of T.V. These video documentaries are more helpful as instructional media. For Example, WWF has produced about 65 videos only for environmental education programmes under its Video Resource Center.

Some Institutions are producing documentary video films on environmental issues like "Vanishing Shadows" by Sungi Development Foundation, Abbotabad.(10)

RADIO

Radio, because of its vast sweep relatively low unit cost, and ability to reach the illiterate masses via transmissions which do not need power links and beyond has proved to be the most useful medium for development campaigns.

> For example in a survey of housewives in aohsiung. Taiwan, 35 percent of the women interviewed said they had learned about family planning from the radio,..... (Ceruada and Lu, 1972:201). After three radio spots per day were broadcast in the Hyderabad District of Pakistan, more than half the women who went to clinics credited the broadcasts for the action they had taken. (Karlin and Ali 1971). (11)

As many farmers of developing countries, for example Northern Nigeria, India and Pakistan etc., are using the radio as principle source of information about agricultural field they as well as general public can acquire environmental education through this popular media.

An educational expert says that:

> "Radio may be considered as an extremely well adopted medium for presenting prgrammes of strong current nature and intense local colour ....Radio aided learning has certain limitations. (12)

About radio's educational role in Third World, Julian Hale said:

> "....It (Radio) also encourages an association between radio and the whole field of education. Raising the standards of education in the third world is seen as an international concern, involving not just individual foreign countries (which are tainted with the suspicion of seeking political advantage for themselves) but also international organization like UNESCO... Educational radio has to be very much a local affair. It is a case where practical help on a local scale should fit in with the capabilities of the medium." (13)

According to Hale thinking, "Local Affair" may be environmental education at the top priority of educational programmes agenda. For this purpose Radio's advance shape audio cassette's role is also very effective in every society.

PRINT MEDIA

Authors of "Communication yesterday, today, tomorrow" say that:

"In the visual systems, media such as newspapers, books, magazines, photographs, advertisements, signs and posters are transmitted to many people. Newspapers have an advantage of being distributed daily so that current information is reported very quickly. Books cannot report such current information daily. Books are used to record knowledge for long periods of time while a newspaper is out of date in one day. Magazines can be described as a combination of newspaper and book. Magazine are distributed weekly or monthly. Magazines usually contain information that is current over a shorter period of time than a book. However, magazines may contain more information than a newspaper since a longer period of time for gathering the messages is available. " (14)

For example Ministry of Environment local government and rural development Government of Pakistan is issuing its organ 'Ozane News' and EPD (Environmental Protection Department) Punjab is publishing "EPD Bulletin" A few NGO's of Pakistan are publishing their own organs. for example, World Wide Fund for nature (WWF) is publishing an English organ "Natura" and in Urdu "Qudrat"(قدرت). WWF is publishing two magazines in English and Urdu for children "Hamari Dunya (Our World هماری دنیا) and Mithu Begum (مٹھوبیگم) with colourful picto-rial touch. According to the nature and benefits of these different print media, we can use this media to develop the environmental education purpose. But printed word can be read only by literate and educated persons so this media is much more..... useful in urban areas than rural areas. For example, Pakistani English press is covering environmental issues and activities more than Urdu press. These newspapers are covering all environmental activities of government, EPD walks and prominent NGO's like WWF's Children theatre and others.

But this coverage is far less other news, it should be increased in Urdu dailies also, because readership of Urdu newspapers is much more than English papers. Perhaps, the same situation of print media may be existing in other developing countries. It should be improved, because the opinion of educated public influences other common individuals.

Pakistan National Conservation Strategy (PNSC) is publishing different four quarterly organs, in Urdu "Jareedah" (جریدہ) in Punjabi, "Pak Mahole" (پاک ماحول) in Sindi, "Mahol" (ماحول) in English, "The Way Ahead " with the collaboration of the World Conservation Union (IUCN) and CIDA, an international developmental institution of Canada.

These organs are appearing with good selected articles, reports, interviews and news. the layout and pictorial touch is very beautiful and attractive Sustainable Development Policy Institute (SDPI) has issued "Pakistan Environment Digest" in English. S. Khurshid Ali is publishing "Wild Life & Environment" an English quarterly magazine from Karachi. A NGO "Shirkat Gah" with the collaboration of IUCN is publishing an Urdu bulletion "Hamara Mahol (Our Environment هماراماحول) (15). These all publications are supporting in environmental issues, education, research and planning etc.

MULTIMEDIA SYSTEMS

Educational media experts say that:

"Combination of audio and visual instructional media is multimedia system. These combinations can be used for educational purposes. It involves integrating each medium format into a structured, and systematic presentation. The use of multimedia system in the classroom and training has received considerable inputs from the general trends toward individualization of learning and encouragement of active student participation in the learning process. Multimedia systems are especially adaptable to these current educational training concepts.... We are constantly learning via all over senses and via a multitude of stimuli - newspapers, books radio, television, pictures, slides and posters etc. (16)

For example, WWF - Pakistan has produced about 259 slides only to fulfil the requirement of enviromeneal education.

Educational media experts are using multi-image presentations creatively in a variety of instructional situations. Variable motion programmes through videos and films are also a type of these systems. Professionals of developing countries can use multimedia systems for the development of environmental education.

COMPUTER

The educational media experts say about this information technology that:

"The computer with its virtually instantaneous response to student input, its extensive capacity to store and manipulate information, and its unmatched ability to serve many individual students simultaneously is be coming more and more widely used as an aid to instruction to the computer has the ability to control and manage a wide variety of media and learning material films, filmstrips, slides, audio tapes and printed information. The computer also record, analyze and react to student responses those are typed on a key board or indicated with a "high pen" on a cathode ray tube (video display screen). some display screens even react to the touch of a student's finger. (17)

In this modern computer age, internet and information Super Highway are big achievements in media and information technology. We can feed different environmental educational messages through Internet and we can communicate our messages and educate to every subscriber in this new "global village".

Every media is applicable and useful in its capacity. Environmental educationists can be used to introduce and develop this cause with professionalism successfully.

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Character and The Social Context
in Brecht's "The Life of Galileo"

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Brecht's dramatic theory and aesthetic practice demand a critical and dialectical relationship between ideology, play and audience. A successful reading of a Brecht play depends on the audience's ability to perceive the dynamic which arises from the dialectical interplay of its elements — between the play's objective and subjective worlds, between action and language, reason and emotion, society and individual, the historical process and the experience of the moment.

Brecht claimed that the 'epic' theatre alone could present the complexity of the human condition in an age in which the life of individuals could no longer be understood in isolation from the powerful trend of social, economic or historical forces affecting the lives of millions. In the 'epic' theatre therefore human nature and human action are examined in a social and historical context and are therefore regarded as historically conditioned and changeable. In his drama there is no attempt to create fixed, highly individualized characters. In Brecht's own words:

> 'character should not be regarded like a stain of grease on
> a pair of trousers, which however much you try to rub and
> wipe it away will always come up again. In actual fact the
> question is always how a given person is going to act in a
> specified set of circumstances and conditions.'

It follows then that in his plays character emerges from the social function of the individual as determined by the social reality of which he or she is part of. In The Threepenny Opera, Mother Courage and The Good Woman of Setzuan the actions of the protagonists reflect the tension between a humanising possibility and specific social alienations they confront in the slums of London, in war-ravaged Europe and in poverty stricken China respectively. Their noblest instincts are contradicted by other for example those of survival and security. Peachum rationalizes

mendicancy and organises it on a large scale to combat the sharks around him. As he says:

'Who would not like to be a good and kindly person? But circumstance won't have it so!'

With bankruptcy and the destruction of her existence constantly threatening her, Mother Courage is determined to bring herself and her children through the war by means of her trade. That her almost legendary courage to which she owes her name has nothing to do with an idealistic, moral compulsion or even with a particularly daring personality is sharply brought out by the answer she gives the sergeant.

'I'm called courage because I was afraid of ruin, sergeant, and drove through the bombardment of Riga with fifty leaves of bread in my wagon. They were going mouldy, it was high time, I had no choice. Throughout the play she reacts entirely as the 'merchant - mother'. Her tireless haggling reflects a heroism that results from a sociological awareness of the odds she has to fight against through the war.

In shen Ie as the good woman of Setzuan is expressed the conflict between 'prudent self preservation and romantic self abandonment.' As shen Ie she cannot bear the sight of suffering and shares her possessions with the poor whom she allows to exploit her. As Shui Ta, a ruthless and hard hearted businessman (whose guise she assumes from time to time) she is compelled to be calculating, profit minded and mean in order to save shen Ie's property and thereby to make it possible for her to indulge her generosity in the future. As Shui Ta she denies her nature, in order to fulfill it as shen Te. This tragic dilemma is again clearly imposed by society and here Brecht shows the contradictory strains in human nature by splitting the character into two conflicting extremes.

In conformity with his multi dimensional portrayal of character, we find in Life of Galileo that interesting though Brecht's manipulations of the facts of his heroe's private life are, it is the rendering of Galileo's relationship to his society which has greater bearing on the meaning of the play. As he himself commented:

'It is not so much the character of Galileo that invites interest as his social role.'

The action of the play spans twenty seven years (1609—37) Galileo's age is seen as a 'new age' in which reason might have begun to control human affairs, a period that abounded with discoveries and

liberating possibilities for mankind. Though the play shows the ultimate betrayal of the new age by Galileo's recantation of his beliefs, the initial picture of the period is idealized a personal a individual level Bis characters possess a tenacity and resilience which gives them a vitality, the tone being set by Galileo's long speech in So: 1 where a vision of astronomy reaching the market places and the people welcoming the freedom and movement of the new world picture is painted.

The pattern of episodic detail throughout the play establishes Galileos as a complex character.

In 1609, Galileo aged forty five lives at Padua with his daughter Virginia, his housekeeper Mrs. Sarti and her little son Andrea already a promising pupil of the master. He earns a meagre living in the service of the republic of Vienna as a teacher of mathematics. To combat the restrictive system Galileo needs money so that he can find more time for the observation of the stars. He is confronted with a choice between Venice which welcomes scholars but pays them badly and Florence which censures their writings but offers them an easy life. He decides on the court of Florence. To escape from poverty he also claims fraudulently that he has invented the telescope when he has merely copied a Dutch invention. He makes up for this fraud immediately by discovering an unsuspected use for this stolen instrument. Thus at the same time that he is yielding to social pressure, Galileo is liberating himself from it. Here lies his first contradiction.

In Florence Galileo proves that the earth is not the centre of the universe. But although the Pope's own astronomer Clavivs confirms his findings, the Inquisition forbids him to publish them. For eight years Galileo is silent. When a new Pope, Urban VIII a mathematician known as an enlightened mind ascends the throne, Galileo sees a chance that the new science will be accepted. But the Grand Inquisitor persuades the Pope that such discoveries would undermine the basis of the Church's authority. The Pope agrees that Galileo be shown the instruments of torture.

It is now 1633. Galileo's pupils, among them Andrea Sarti, a young man now, refuse to believe that Galileo will recant his teaching. The tolling of the bell announces that he has recanted. He enters a broken man. Andrea cries out: 'Pity the country that has no heroes!' Galileo rejects this individualistic morality in a single sentence—.

'No. Pity the country that needs heroes!' Viewed in this light the problem no longer permits of a moral solution.

Years later, Galileo is shown living in the country under close surveillance by the Inquisition. His daughter—whose fiance' has broken off the engagement because of Galileo's views, is now an old maid who nags him incessantly. Galileo nearly blind, obsequiously spends his time listening to readings from pious tracts. Andrea Sarti disgusted at the old man's cowardice comes to visit him before leaving for Holland. When Galileo hands him the completed manuscript of the Discorsi which he has written secretly, Andrea's contempt changes into admiration. Now he understands why Galileo recanted—to gain time, to complete his great work. But in Sc: 14 at the end of the play, Galileo does not accept this view. He sees himself as a criminal whose cowardice has set the pattern for centuries to come. He has made science submit to authority rather than assisting its rights to transform the world for the benefit on mankind. Andrea succeeds in smuggling the Discorsi across the border.

Galileo cannot fulfill the historical heroic in which his pupils would like to see him 'because he is unable to transcend his human frailty. Brecht creates his Galileo as a man with an insatiable appetite for life. This hunger is both the source of his genius and his essential human weakness. In the metaphoric structure of the play, Galileo's appetite is the motive for his acquisition of scientific knowledge; in a sense he consumes truth for the pleasure of its consumption. Cardinal Barberini who later becomes Pope Urban VIII says of him:

'He has more enjoyment in him than any man I ever saw. He loves eating and drinking and thinking. To excess. He indulges in thinking bouts! He cannot say no to an old wine or a new thought.'

The basic conflict within Galileo's character stems from the pleasures of life both intellectual and sensual, for it makes him unable to sacrifice himself to demonstrate the integrity of the truth he seeks. This tension results in a tragic paradox, and Brecht's firm declaration that the life of Galileo does not contain a tragic action, does not alter the implicit tragedy of his conception of the recantation.

A great part of Galileo's sensuality is of an intellectual kind. He works in a sensual way. He gets pleasure from handling his instruments with elegance; from the beauty of an experiment. There is the little theatrical performance with which he gives shape to each of his lessons sometimes using the most prosaic objects, for instance an apple or the washstand as teaching aids.

An essential feature in the play's meaning is Galileo's relationship with the people. He believes in them as the future standard bearers of science. Against his friend Sagredo who accuses him of confusing the people's 'miserable cunning' with reason, Galileo invokes the everyday commonsense of — 'the mariner who when laying in stores thinks of storms and calms ahead or the child who pulls on his cap when it is proved to him that it may rain? He decides to write in the people's own language instead of in Latin in order to spread the spirit of scepticism. His ideas have already provoked them towards an awareness of scientific knowledge as expressed by them in the carnival of 1632. He believes that scepticism combined with the new methods of manufacturing, portends a social revolution.

'And because of that a great wind has arisen, lifting even the gold embroidered coat-tails of princes and palates so that the fat legs and thin legs underneath are seen; legs like our legs. The heavens it has turned out are empty. And there is a gale of laughter over that.'

The social hierarchy is questioned; the stars no longer succeed in justifying the exploitation of men by other men. The point is driven home in Sc: 12 when the Inquisitor describes the popularity among the people of Aristote's prophecy that—

"When the weaver's shuttle weaves on its own and the zither plays of itself, then the masters will need no apprentices and the rulers no servants."

The moral implications of inquiry and truth are brought out in Galileo's relationship to the Church as the embodiment of intellectual authority in his time. Here we see him as a moderate, who according to his daughter Virginia in Sc: II deplores the twist given to his astronomy by the ballad singer and the carnival crowd in Sc: 10. Indeed Galileo declares himself as a true son of the Church in the confrontation with Bellarmine and proves himself his match in the battle of Biblical proverbs. He also makes the essential point in the real man's case for reconciling the Bible with the new world picture—

'But gentlemen man can misinterpret not only the movement of the stars but the Bible too and in Sc: XIV we find him declaring his abhorrence for 'cheap lucidity in sacred matters.'

In his perspective backward into a specific social and historical context, Brecht shows a picture of the situation in which it is obvious how

even the Church, in itself the force for the preservation of the old, acquires an interest in the new and cannot escape the force of the changing course of history. A runaway monk—who after Galileo abjures the truth returns to the Church—belongs to Galileo's most intimate pupils and a cardinal favourable to the new sciences ascends the papal throne.

The arrangement and execution of the play permit us to interpret Galileo's behaviour in recanting under pressure from the Inquisition in the sense of a rational cunning which submits itself to the powerful only formally and seemingly in order to undermine their authority more effectively. For the fact that Galileo does not fear death under all circumstances is proved by his attitude during the plague when he passionately continues his experiments despite constant mortal danger.

However sharp the focus on his social role, Galileo cannot be reduced to a social type. Even though he interests Brecht as a case, the individual vital substance of the character, the basic gestus, is not sacrificed to an abstract scheme. Galileo is shown in the concrete detail of his daily, even intimate life. His child like attitude reflected in his relationship with his house keeper, his drinking of milk and love of good food along with a sensual and obsessive joy in experimentation and discovery are reinforced by the concrete imagery, diagrammatic and often humourous discourse and the intermittent chorus which has the function of locating the scene and action. These dramatic strategies substantiate the vitality and the resilience of the character.

The abandonment of the traditional division into acts, the substitution of a loose succession of scenes which seems to be based only upon chronological order corresponds to the necessity of bringing together all the evidence which enables the audience to pass judgement on the case. The dynamic tension between the scenes and the various points of view serve as an exercise in the dialectical way of looking at things which for its part determines the arrangement and construction of the scenes.

Galileo is never psychologised but depicted in his social and humane role as materialist, pragmatist, idealist and humanist. Brecht as his creator has the final word:

'The hero of this work is not Galileo but the people ———— I hope this work shows how society extorts from its individuals what it needs from them. The way to research, —— a social phenomenon no less pleasurable or compulsive as the urge to procreate — steers Galileo into the most dangerous territory, drives him into agonising conflict with

his violent desires for other pleasures. He raises his telescope to the stars and delivers himself to the rock. In the end he indulges his science like a voice, secretly and probably with pangs of conscience. Confronted with such a situation, one can scarcely wish only to praise or condemn Galileo?

Notes:

1. **Esslin, Martin. Brecht:** The man and his work. New York Doubleday and Company (1960).

2. **Sokel, Watter:** Brecht's Split Characters and his sense of the Tragic. (Brecht - A Collection of Critical Essays). Prentice - Hall, (1962).

3. **Gunter Rohsmoser:** Brecht's Galiker (Brecht: A Collection of Critical Essays) Prentice - Hall, (1962).

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Anxiety and Parent-Adolescent Interaction

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Introduction:

The family has remained fundamental to most societies. Two main family types are generally distinguished. The nuclear family consisting of parents and their pre-adult children, usually living together without other relatives permanently sharing the family life, and the joint or extended family which may consist of several generations in which a number of nuclear family units may join together. Naipauls (1961) picture of an extended family gives a compelling feeling of its supportiveness and its restrictedness and a view into the dynamics of the organisation and the interactions which keep it going.

The importance of family relationships is largely emphasized. Bandura (1978) emphasizes a comfortable acceptance of parents and adolescents. In another study 90% of the adolescents named one or both parents as people whose opinions mattered a great deal to them. Many adolescents have singled out their parents as their adult ideals (Douvan and Adelson 1966).

Mead (1970) argues that adolescents are growing up in a world that their parents have not experienced and can never experience. Theorists such as Erickson stress the need for the adolescent to become independent from parents to achieve psychological separation as part of the process of developing a sense of ego identity.

Research into the question of intergenerational conflict has covered a number of areas ranging from studying differences between parental and adolescent values and attitudes of contemporary issues, to familial disagreements over adolescent behaviour (Rosenthal 1984).

Adolescents of immigrant status or those whose parents immigrants are caught up in the problems of dealing with two cultures simultaneously the old, usually most strongly represented by parents and family, and the new the world of school, peers, and the dominant Anglo-Saxon society in case of immigrants in the United Kingdom.

There is some evidence to support that there is a heightened conflict between adolescents who are part of two cultural worlds, and their parents who emphasize a particular culture. However majority of studies have demonstrated low level of conflict among immigrant families. In one study Australian youths were compared to a sub-sample of second generation of immigrant adolescents. They concluded that Italians, Greeks, Asian and Polish adolescents showed a greater deal of alienation from parents than Australians (Connell et al 1975).

A study conducted on Anglo- Greek and Italian-Australian male and female adolescents revealed that adolescent males reported more conflict with both mother and father than did females, but parents tended to perceive greater conflict with their daughters(Rosenthal 1984). In case of immigrant groups, adolescents have the problems of coping simultaneously with new and old cultures undoubtedly have effects on their adjustment, where different norms and expectations are held by the dominant and minority groups, adolescents may find it difficult to integrate there(Rosenthal 1985) and cultural conflicts may be a factor adjustment problems.

Researchers have compared groups of adolescents in different countries or geographically separate areas. In every society some roles should be appropriate for females and some for males. The flexibility of this rule is understood by the fact that roles differ from culture to culture (Papelia and Olds, 1987), (Beagley and Verma 1973). Other studies have explored aspects of relationships between a minority ethnic group and the extent of its institutional supports. (Driedgier 1975, Rosenthal and Hynevich 1985).

It has also been observed by Harris (1980) that a person first experiences his or her own ethnic culture through parents retention or rejection of a culture.

A study was conducted on teenage children of Pakistani immigrants in U.S.A. (Hussain 1990). It was observed that cultural aspects can disturb harmony and result in conflict with parental authority. Rejection of parental authority has been reported in other studies in

U.S.A. (Derbyshire, 1970) and Australia (Zubrzych; 1960). Such problems often result from differences in emphasis by native and receiving societies.

A typical parent adolescent conflict might occur in which the immigrant objects to the adolescent adopting the ways of the native society. This might also be the case of Pakistani immigrants in the United Kingdom.

SAMPLE

The sample of female adolescents of Pakistani immigrants was obtained form various high schools in Bradford. The sample was taken from Bradford since it had the highest percentage of Pakistani immigrant population residing in the United Kingdom.

Most of the respondents families hailed from Mirpur. The Mirpur families have an orthodox traditional rural background. Members of the family emphasize respect and obedience to elders and families practice the traditional support system in which they give and expect mutual support when needed. There is also a great deal of emphasis on religion. Random samples were taken from schools in different localities of the city of Bradford (United Kingdom) and Mirpur.

Methodology

In order to obtain data regarding the home environment and parent-adolescent interaction a questionnaire was designed with questions pertaining to parent-adolescent interaction. A pilot study was conducted and a number of items on the questionnaire were deleted as they did not elicit varied responses, or were irrelevant or did not provide the desired information. Eventually a questionnaire was finally evolved. This elicited a number of varied responses that were categorised on basis of the respondents responses.

The questionnaire was administered to the female adolescents of Pakistani origin in Bradford (United Kingdom) and to the same age group and sex in Mirpur (Azad Kashmir). A comparative study was done on basis of the responses. The Chi-square was used for statistical analysis.

Result

The mean anxiety score of the two groups indicates that there is no significant difference in the anxiety level of the Bradford and Mirpur respondents.

The result among high Anxiety group indicates that out of a total number of 14 high Anxiety adolescents in Bradford 4 felt free to discuss most matters with parents while 10 indicate that they do not feel free to discuss most matters with parents(Table 1-1) In Mirpur 4 respondents feel free to discuss most matters with parents while 4 feel otherwise.

The result (Table 1-2) indicates that 11 out of 14 respondents confide only in one parent while 3 in neither, while in Mirpur 5 confide in either parent while 3 in neither. Thus p-value is not significant.

As indicated by the result (Table 1-3) 9 respondents in Bradford had a hearty chat while 5 did not feel free to chat with parents. In Mirpur 5 out of 8 had a friendly chat with parents while 3 did not feel free to do so.

Asked whether the respondents parents loved them (Table 1-4) 8 Bradford adolescents felt that their parents loved them while 6 replied in the negative in Mirpur 7 respondents felt loved and one felt other wise.

Respondents in Bradford seem to have more arguments as compared to Mirpur though the P-value is not significant. However 8 respondents in Bradford had arguments while 6 answered in the negative. In Mirpur only I respondent had arguments while 7 said they dared not argue. The percentage ratio is 2.02, more respondens had arguments in Bradford as compared to Mirpur.

As indicated in the result (Table 1-6) 9 respondents in Bradford found harmonious atmosphere at home, while 5 found it otherwise, in Mirpur 3 respondents found a harmonious atmosphere while 5 stated that it was otherwise P-value is greater than 0.05.

Most of respondents in Bradford spent their free time at home (Table 1-7) in Bradford 12 and Mirpur 5 respectively. P-value is not significant which shows that both goups indicated similar results.

It is interesting to observe that 11 out of 14 respondents in Bradford felt depressed at home while it was not so in Mirpur where only respondent felt depressed. P- value is P 0.01 which is significant. (Table 1.8)

PARENT-ADOLESCENT INTERACTION AMONG HIGH ANXIETY ADOLESCENTS IN BRADFORD AND MIRPUR USING FISHER EXACT PROBABILITY TEST

Table showing

Whether Bradford and Mirpur High anxiety respondents feel free to discuss most matters with parents.

1.1

Responses	Bradford N = 14	Mirpur N = 8	P-value
Yes	4	4	P > 0.05
No	10	4	NS.

Persons in whom the Bradford and Mirpur respondents confide in at home.

1.2

Responses	Bradford N = 14	Mirpur N = 8	P-value
Only one parent	11	5	P > 0.05
Neither	3	3	NS.

Comparison of Bradford and Mirpur respondents having friendly chat with parents.

1.3

Responses	Bradford N = 14	Mirpur N = 8	P-value
Yes/Sometimes	9	5	P > 0.05
No	5	3	NS.

Bradford and Mirpur respondents responses whether parents love them.

1.4

Responses	Bradford N = 14	Mirpur N = 8	P-value
Yes	8	7	P > 0.05
Not Sure	6	1	NS.

Argument with parents in the two groups

1.5

Responses	Bradford N = 14	Mirpur N = 8	P-value
Sometimes	8	1	P > 0.05
Seldom/Never	6	7	NS.

Bradford and Mirpur respondents revealing whether harmonious atmosphere at home.

1.6

Responses	Bradford N = 14	Mirpur N = 8	P-value
Yes/Sometimes	9	3	P > 0.05
No / Not Sure	5	5	NS.

Comparison of Bradford and Mirpur respondents spending most of their free time at home.

1.7

Responses	Bradford N = 14	Mirpur N = 8	P-value
Yes	12	5	P > 0.05
No	3	3	NS.

Bradford and Mirpur respondents indicating whether they are often depressed when home.

1.8

Responses	Bradford N = 14	Mirpur N = 8	P-value
Yes / Sometimes	11	1	P > 0.05
No	3	7	Significant

DISCUSSION

The high anxiety group in Bradford (N = 14) and Mirpur (N = 8) had a very similar pattern of interaction with parents. Both groups did not seem to discuss most matters with parents. Parent-adolescent communication was lacking as indicated in Table 1.1

They did not confide in both parents and there was parent-adolescent communication it was with only one parent as indicated in Table 1.2. Both categories of adolescents i.e. Bradford and 3 Mirpur adolescents had no such communication with parents at all.

As indicated by the result 5/14 Bradford and 3/8 Mirpur adolescents did not have a hearty chat with parents. The others had a frindly chat and quite a number indicated that sometimes they had a chat.

Most of the respondents felt that parents loved them but 6 in the Bradford sample were not sure as compared to only 1 in Mirpur. The ratio indicates that the high anxiety Bradford adolescents did have a feeling of neglect as compared to the Mirpur adolescents though P-value is not significant.

A number of Bradford adolescents were not sure whether parents loved them. Only one Mirpur adolescent was not sure. A large number of Bradford high anxiety group seemed to have arguments with parents (Table 1.5) while only Mirpur adolescent had arguments, while 7 did not have any arguments. The result indicates that though family set up emphasised great respect for authority and obedience to elders, the arguments indicate that the Bardford adolescents had other multicultural influences prevailing, that influenced their behaviour while in Mirpur some respondents said during the course of interview that they could not argue even if they did not agree on certain issues. Thus respect for elders was more evident in Mirpur as compared to Bradford.

The high anxiety group also experienced some problems at home in both Bradford as well as Mirpur. Though the Mirpur respondents dared not argue as obedience and respect were demanded in their homes and their society.

The Bradford adolescents tended to feel depressed at home (Table 1.8). Where 11 out of total number of 14 tended to be depressed. This might be in comparison to their peers belonging to other cultures who

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had greater freedom to move about and indulged in various teenage activities outside the house. The Bradford Pakistani adolescents were exposed to multicultural environment at school and this might have provided them with greater anxiety and unhappiness at home than the Mirpur adolescents who had a different socio-cultural environment.

CONCLUSION

The parent-adolescent interaction can result in high anxiety. This factor is related to the home environment, parents relationships and interaction with other children though the level of significance is not significant on the Chi-square the Bradford respondents had a higher percentage of adolescents on the IPAT anxiety scale as compared to the Mirpur respondents.

From the results obtained the home environment, family respect and parent-adolescent interaction are important variables in both groups. Where such support systems are lacking repercussions are evident and clearly reflected in the behavior and attitude of adolescents. Problems arise when adolescents fail to have adequate communication with parents and there is clash in their beliefs and value systems, specially in a multicultural society. High anxiety among adolescents is associated with a number of variables.

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