

mon framework of law or consensus – are usually power relations. Relations between individuals and groups, if regularized and subject to rules, traditional or legal, tend to be authority relations.

Force is a compulsion, sometimes physical (when it then becomes violence), invoked by wielders of power and authority. Force may be utilized in support of authority, as the spanking of a child or the imprisonment of a felon. And the threat of force often lies behind the use of power to enforce a power-holder's will. Yet there are examples of the use of power (i.e. will) in history without force, such as Gandhi's *satyagraha* (NON-VIOLENT RESISTANCE) to British authority.

In political theory, the State alone, among modern associations, can make legitimate use of police and military force in the exercise of its authority. In contemporary social theory, the important component in the exercise of authority is *legitimacy*, the rightful rule or exercise of power, based on some principle (e.g. consent) jointly accepted by the ruler and the ruled. D.B.

Bibl: B. de Jouvenel, tr. J. F. Hunting-ton, *Power* (London, rev. ed., 1952); H. D. Lasswell and A. Kaplan, *Power and Society* (New Haven, 1950; London, 1952).

power élite. A phrase coined by the American sociologist C. Wright Mills for those who stand at the heads of the major institutional hierarchies of modern society – the corporations, the military, and the State – and who, through their pooled interests, become 'an intricate set of overlapping cliques [sharing] decisions having at least national consequences'. The theory has been criticized by MARXISTS for its focus on ÉLITES, rather than on CLASSES, and by LIBERALS for preaching a conspiracy theory of POWER; for confusing *arenas* of action (e.g. the political system) with INSTITUTIONS; for loosely asserting a shared degree of interests between institutional sectors, rather than organized groups; and for failing to focus on decision-making and decisions, rather than on institutional hierarchies. D.B.

Bibl: C. W. Mills, *The Power Elite* (London and N.Y., 1956); G. W. Domhoff and H. B. Ballard (eds.), *C. Wright Mills and the Power Elite* (Boston, 1968).

power politics. An emotive phrase applied to the employment of calculations of comparative POWER and influence made by those responsible for the major powers' conduct of foreign policy, as in the phrase 'playing power politics'. Critics of power politics wish to substitute for it the rule of ETHICS, law, and justice in international relations; others hold that, so long as the world is divided into independent sovereign states, there is no alternative to international relations being based upon considerations of power, and that it is self-deception to pretend otherwise.

A.L.C.B.

Bibl: I. Claude, *Power and International Relations* (N.Y., 1962); M. Wight, *Power Politics* (London, 1946, rev. ed., 1977).

Pozner, Vladimir (Russian poet, b. 1905), see under SERAPION BROTHERS.

PPBS (programme, planning, and budgeting system; also known as *programme budgeting*). A method of determining the allocation of resources in the PUBLIC SECTOR organizations, such as EDUCATION, local authorities, and the social services, in which profit criteria are inappropriate. In contrast to the traditional budgeting of expenditure by cost item and spending department, PPBS identifies expenditures with the basic programmes of activity. Originating in the U.S. Treasury, the methods have been employed (under various names) in many organizations, including the Greater London Council. See also COST-BENEFIT ANALYSIS. R.I.T.

Bibl: D. Novick, *Program Budgeting* (London and Cambridge, Mass., 1965).

PR. Abbreviation for either PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION OF PUBLIC RELATIONS.

practical criticism, see under LEAVISITE.

pragmatics, see under SEMANTICS.

pragmatism. In PHILOSOPHY, a version of EMPIRICISM, developed in the U.S.A. by C. S. Peirce, William James, and John Dewey, which interprets the meaning and justification of our beliefs in terms of their 'practical' effects or content. Peirce's pragmatic maxim was a theory of MEANING which identified the content of a PROPOSITION with the experientiable

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difference between its being true and its being false. James put forward a pragmatic theory of TRUTH as that which it is ultimately satisfying to believe, either because the expectations a true belief excites are actually fulfilled or, in the less empirical case of the propositions of THEOLOGY and METAPHYSICS, because they contribute to the satisfactoriness of, and effectiveness in, the conduct of life. Dewey stressed that aspect of pragmatism which holds knowledge to be an instrument for action, rather than an object of disinterested contemplation. In general, pragmatists emphasize the conventional character of the CONCEPTS and beliefs with which we seek to understand the world as opposed to the 'intellectualism' which sees them as a passive reflection of the fixed, objective structure of things. An incentive to this view has been the idea that mutually inconsistent scientific theories can each be compatible with all the known empirical data so that only non-logical features of simplicity, convenience, and UTILITY can provide a reason for selection between them. A.Q.

Bibl: A. Rorty (ed.), *Pragmatic Philosophy* (N.Y., 1966); A. J. Ayer, *The Origins of Pragmatism* (London and San Francisco, 1968).

Prague. The capital of Czechoslovakia and the scene of three major crises of 20th-century European history, each of which is frequently named after it.

(1) Prague, 1939. In March 1939 Hitler ordered the occupation by force of the capital and the rest of Czechoslovakia, which had already been truncated by the MUNICH agreement of 1938. Apart from the consequences for the Czech people, who spent the next six years under German 'protection', this new and undisguised act of aggression ended any illusions that Hitler would be satisfied with the incorporation into the Third Reich of territories with a German-speaking population, and confronted the other powers with the choice between acquiescing in Hitler's domination of Europe or steeling themselves to fight in order to prevent it.

A.L.C.B.

(2) Prague, 1948. In February 1948 the Czechoslovak COMMUNIST Party, with its adjunct the Slovak Communist Party, seized power and replaced the coalition government, in which they were already