

ARTYKUŁY I ROZPRAWY
ARTICLES AND TREATISES

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**THE BORDERS OF DEMOCRACY:
THE PAST AND THE PRESENT**

GRANICE DEMOKRACJI: PRZESZŁOŚĆ I TERAŹNIEJSZOŚĆ

Amongst particularly load-bearing categories of the political life from ancient times by now a democracy is placing itself. It had and has its supporters and opponents. It is seen as the ideal of political life and the cultural practice, on the one hand, criticized, on the other, positively rooted in the consciousness of the society as a value, its aim is to achieve a common good. Its specificity reveals in the reality of the creation of the information society, what is generated by: 1. Scientific and technical progress; 2. Legal solutions oriented on the realization of human rights; 3. Permanent education, which is oriented on enlightening of the value in the informational reality, in which the most recognizable are: a) participation of the individual, b) syncretism of cultural life, c) democratic form of governance and management¹.

Democracy as the institution of political life, existed for more than 2500 years. It is stated that it was formed in the Vth century BC in Athens. Its fun-

¹ Por. L. Zacher, *Gry o przyszłe światy*, Warszawa 2006; A. Chodubski, *Wartości unifikujące i dywersyfikujące współczesne życie polityczne świata*, [w:] *Polska wobec współczesnych wyzwań globalnych i regionalnych*, red. E. Polak, M. Malinowski, Gdańsk 2007, s. 13–27; L. Zacher, *Transformacje społeczeństw. Od informacji do wiedzy*, Warszawa 2007; A. Chodubski, *Jednostka a kształtujący się ład globalnego świata*, [w:] *Jednostka – społeczeństwo – państwo wobec mega trendów współczesnego świata*, red. G. Piwnicki, S. Mrozowska, Gdańsk 2009, s. 15–29.

damental ideas were enclosed in: 1. Giving the guarantees to the cities' citizens (men over 20), of participation in both the public and the political lives; 2. The establishment of the institutional order (parliamentary, governmental and bureaucratic, normative-legislative) to enable the realization of political activity, and to decide on all matters of the state; 3. Acknowledging the values such as: "Citizens liberty, enabling individuals, to do what they want and say what they want"; 4. Promotion of debates, discussions, proposing amendments to the proposals formulated by the public authorities; 5. Making up decisions, which are preceded by the discussion based on the rule of acknowledging the will of the most people (their votes)².

The democracy institution functioned in Athens for about 100 years. Since its very beginning it was criticized, especially from the point of view of the generating the system of practical and social life – demoralization, disclaiming of the traditional principles and moral norms. It was pointed out that the promotion of the slogans of equality for all citizens is a dangerous cultural phenomenon, pointing out that people by nature are not equal, and the ordinary people cannot properly use the rights of liberty and they generate a wide range of social pathologies, Plato (427–347 BC), characterizing it noticed:

Democracy is the most unstable system, though hidden behind the most sublime laws. It is characterized by: a lack of social discipline and respect for authority, anarchy, incompetence and demoralization among people. Clever demagogue would control the mob easily. And so the historical development infallibly leads to tyranny³.

The positive image of the institution was presented by its creators, including Pericles (500–429 BC), who for 14 years was a strategist (a clerk and the officer of the army). He claimed that the democracy is a political system in which every citizen has an opportunity to socio-political realization. In this reality the most important values are: liberty, equality and the rule of majority. He pointed:

² Por. K. Kumaniecki, *Demokracja ateńska*, Warszawa 1948; M.H. Hansen, *Demokracja ateńska w czasach Demonostensa. Struktura, zasady i ideologia*, Warszawa 1990; M. Marczevska-Rytko, *Demokracja bezpośrednia w teorii i praktyce politycznej*, Lublin 2001; J. Iwanek, M. Mazur (red.), *Demokracja w dobie globalizacji*, Katowice 2006; A. Kracher, R. Riedel (red.), *Demokracja medialna – źródła władzy*, Racibórz 2007; M. Marczevska-Rytko (red.), *Stan i perspektywy demokracji bezpośredniej w Polsce*, Lublin 2010; M. Marczevska-Rytko, A.K. Piasecki (red.), *Demokracja bezpośrednia. Wymiar lokalny i globalny*, Lublin 2011.

³ H. Olszewski, *Historia doktryn politycznych i prawnych*, Poznań 1986, s. 31–32.

Our political system is not the imitation of foreign laws, we are examples for others to follow, not they for us. It is called democracy because it is based on the majority of citizens, not the minority. In private disputes, every citizen is equal to the law and if it comes to the importance of this individual, it is valuable not because of its membership in a group, but due to the personal talent, what is more, anyone who is able to serve his/her country, poor or unknown origin does not compromise the achievement honors. In our national life, we follow the principle of freedom. In private lives we are not interested in the suspicious behavior of our fellow citizens, we do not refer to the reluctance of a neighbour, if it does what the citizen feels good, and do not throw in his direction of such contemptuous glances which do not cause damage, but the wound [...] we obey the laws of leading power⁴.

Greek philosophers, defining the reality in which they lived, indicated the collapse of moral and institutional order caused by democracy. They pointed out the decrease of the authority respect, the weak position of the power in a family and school, on the other hand, the development of spying (sycophancy), the lack of skills of the people in power to fulfill their responsibilities (ignorant, simpleton).

On the other hand, the democracy was not approved in Rome. No establishment of democratic governments like in Greece took place. However, the cultural order in the country, including institutional, was created according to Greek model.

In the intellectual dimension Marcus Tullius Cicero (106–43 BC) stood against it. Politician, scholar of law, political writer, author of the treaty “On the Republic”, “On the Laws”. He treated democracy as a regime of mob, and a crowd as deceptive and unstable mass⁵. Democracy was contrasted with the state as an institutional order, revealing the need for the life of the community and the legal and business solutions, and realizing through agreements, contracts, treaties.

The idea of democracy changed further in the Middle Ages. According to Thomas Aquinas (1225–1274) in public life are important values of peace (pax), the order of the hierarchical structure of society (ordo), the state power is a creation of God. He pointed out that for human society it is good when it is ruled by one person. He claimed that the society is hierarchical by nature, and

⁴ Tukidydes, *Wojna peloponeska*, Warszawa 1988, s. 107.

⁵ H. Olszewski, op.cit., s. 47.

one person has to serve the other. He considered monarchy as a good regime, however, on the other hand he pointed to the danger of tyrannies. He claimed that among the unjust rule of democracy is more bearable⁶. Democracy was not accepted by the people in power, it was seen as an evil, governed by people who are unable to meet the challenges of the state, including creation of conditions necessary for salvation. Very often it was seen pejoratively, as the power that destroys the hierarchical social order, the order of intolerance, unjustified demands of the mob.

A revival of interest in democracy occurred in modern times as a result of the emergence of an ideology, i.e. the Renaissance and then the Enlightenment. It was associated with the development of extremely radical attitudes, for example, during the English Revolution (1640–1659): the movement of Diggers – who demanded lands and their equal division, The Levellers – proclaiming the ideas of religious tolerance, economic liberty. Those events disheartened the intellectual world for democracy. It was pointed out that the democracy contributes to negative occurrences in cultural life, including politics. Also representatives of newly emerging liberalism stood against the democratic ideals.

Different view of democracy was presented by the leading philosophers of the Enlightenment. One of them was Jacques Rousseau (1712–1788), who while analyzing the reality of France noticed its weaknesses and he undertook the challenge to indicate the spheres of repairing the system. He presented the main political ideas in *Discourse on the Origin of Inequality* (1753), *On the Social Contract* (1762). In his considerations about socio-political life he used the term civilization, understood as a level of social development, as the manner and method of the institutionalization of cultural life. He pointed out that the development of civilization is an irreversible process, and a return to ancient times is impossible.

At the concept of an ideal society and government he paid attention to welfare of each individual, which has a social contract defined by the relationship with the group. In the agreement the most important values are: freedom, equality of all men, however these values are realized in accordance with the level of civilization. The organization of the institutional role he assigned to the state. In the exercise authority he pointed to democratic governance, called sovereignty of the people, he also emphasized participation of the society in

⁶ Św. Tomasz z Akwinu, *O władzy*, [w:] *Dzieła wybrane*, Poznań 1988, s. 135–140.

creating laws and the challenges associated with their realization by the whole society. However, he was an opponent of political parties, which represent specific groups, rather than the whole population, usually falsifying its interests, aspirations and expectations.

In his project of creating a democratic order, he has attached the great importance to legal solutions. He pronounced for controlling the government, which task was the implementation, the exercise of statutory law by the whole society. In his vision of democracy the major challenges in the organization of public life are contained in:

1. Acknowledging the society as an entity of the reality and legal order;
2. Regulations of functioning in individual's life and social life, on the basis of the social agreement in which the most important value is a social justice;
3. Determining the specific capacity in the implementation of the policy challenges regions, local spaces, as in the great structures of the organization of socio-political life cannot be a direct realization of the principle of sovereignty of the people;
4. Civic activity, according to the social contract, each unit offers its skills and abilities to the community and at the same time it receives guarantees from the completion of the challenges, expectations and cultural development of civilization, it is considered in this respect the equality of all people as a fundamental value in the realization of the principle of freedom;
5. Acknowledging the volition of the majority in decision-making, which are of positive and enforced by society, the recognition of government control by the sovereign people, and this especially in the public, interests before submitting the good of society (which leads to the degeneration of cultural life). Jean Jacques Rousseau pointed out that democracy is in the opposition to the natural order. He also noticed that it is impossible to fully materialize, including the impossibility of realization, economical equality of citizens, as well as the exercise of power by the people who are not always the best, unable to meet the challenge of "wise government".

Implementation of the ideas of a particular image of democracy existed during the French Revolution (1789–1799). The challenge of putting into practice the cultural values appeared, there were: liberty, equality, property, opposition. Institutionally important event was the adoption 26 August 1789 Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen. Enclosed decisions became a foundation for later rights, including present regulation of the human rights.

Revolutionary events in France led to the empowerment of individuals and determination of its conditions in the new socio-political life. The strength of

political actions and gatherings organized by the citizens were sanctioned. The wish of the citizens (the people) became an important political institution. Citizens' Assembly was the supreme authority and it became the subject of law-making. Civic activities focused on realizing the common good and the great importance was attached to civic education, to raise awareness of the ongoing cultural change. The Constitution was implemented and regarded as a legal foundation for the institutionalization of public life. The great numbers of citizens (4 million French) involved in the generation of standards socio-political life led to the need for forms of representation. At the selection of appropriate representatives the great role played the institution of election, which has been recognized as one of the key measures of the democracy development.

Defining democracy in terms of the French Revolution was a particular challenge, since its formation took place in parallel with the process of liquidation of institutional reality, shaped by centuries of feudal formation. The most important of its distinguishing features include: 1. Recognition of the nation as a basic subject of political life. (According to Emmanuel J. Sieyes the nation is always before everything. Its role is established by law); 2. Granting new value to principles of freedom and equality, what is guaranteed in the declaration of human rights and the citizen; 3. Introduction of national representatives to the institutions of public life, which are elected by discussions, polemics, disputes in the form of the election institutions; 4. The promotion of the idea of direct participation of citizens in the political process, as implementation of the civil virtues of public life; and including the recognition of political activity, focused on the construction of the public good and for the counteraction for emerging social pathologies of the cultural life; 5. Political decision-making on the principles of a majority.

By the end of XVIIIth century with a large force, the American institution of democracy was developed, which was connected with the creation of the United States as a new type of state. Significant impact on it had the European idea of Enlightenment, and especially the English political thought. In the construction of a new deal a criticism of it also appeared. In the creation of the new system two options conflicted: liberal and democratic. Thomas Jefferson was an idealistic leader of the democracy (1743–1826) co-creator of the state (author of the Democracy of the Independence of the United States), in 1797–1801 vice-president and in 1801–1809 president of the USA. For an important challenge in building democratic accountability he recognized: 1. Effec-

tive guarantee of civil rights; 2. Granting the wide autonomy of functioning states – as federal subjects in the state; 3. Equipping the parliament with strong policy instruments, which enabled people to effectively exercise authority in the state; 4. Separation of Church and State; 5. Constitutional deeming principles for the functioning of the state and nation.

In history, the action was taken to improve the institution of democracy, which entailed the perception of people as “imperfect subjects” and generated a new order. In 1835 Alexis de Tocqueville (1805–1859) French scholar (sociologist of the politics) and politician (the Minister of Foreign Affairs) subjected to an in-depth analysis of the principle of the functioning of democracy in the USA⁷. Beyond the positive sites of the development of the socio-political life, he saw its weaknesses. He noticed that it could lead to mediocrities in the governments, since in the democratic system an authority of average people was supported. The democracy isn't supporting appearing of great champions of the spiritual and social life. In democratic societies, popularization of the average models, ideals, norms is taking place. There is no room for such notions, as honour, pride. The right demand of the equality in the inevitable way provokes the other demand: standardization. Culture of democratic societies is the popular culture (although the emergence of mass culture is closely linked with the development of democracy). Standardization and highlight crowd, the lack of higher values and the spiritual barrenness in the end of the nineteenth and in the twentieth century became very numerous and fashionable⁸.

The new reality in the development of the institutions of democracy was noticed when the development of relations of capitalist societies emerged, i.e. after 1789. Colliding businesses of capitalists and the society, especially workers, led to conflicts that often had a revolutionary character, and to radicalization of socio-political life which often referred to the construction of democratic relationships. That reality exceeded the boundaries of individual states. A large capacity gained political democratic ideas in the mid-nineteenth century, during the struggle for national liberation. More Poles revealed their interest in politics, in 1832 in the emigration society emerged Polish Democratic Society, in a manifesto called the great, it opted for freedom for the construction of Polish democracy. The programs of democratization of political

⁷ A. de Tocqueville, *O demokracji w Ameryce*, Kraków 1996; A. Moni, P. Laidler (red.), *Amerykańska demokracja w XXI wieku*, Kraków 2006.

⁸ M. Król, *Słownik demokracji*, Kraków 1989, s. 91–92.

life in the Polish lands also were formulated by other Polish emigrational organizations, such as Polish People. They called for carrying out the revolution, democratization.

Since the late XIXth century, the democratic system was defined as a solution to the political system, designed to provide citizens with equal opportunities and possibilities. In this sense, this reality was graduated as a political practice that is not possible to provide institutional opportunities.

Also understanding the democracy as methods and forms of government were taken from the World War I. It was perceived in two dimensions: as the layout of constitutionally regulated institutions and elements of the axiological and standard order⁹. After World War II constitutional arrangements, known as democracy were considered to be a kind of panacea for all the challenges of culture and civilization. Glorification of the democracy was becoming increasingly common. In the ranking of the institutions they started to distinguish: 1. The full democracies (which is performed in free elections, developed a system of law and protection of civil liberties); 2. Half – democracies (elections are held, but their scope is limited, a strong political position is the army, civil rights are realized in a limited degree); 3. Democracies by their formal names (regimes, authoritarian, totalitarian, regardless of the nature of legitimacy)¹⁰. It is estimated that in the countries with the full democracy live more than 40% of residents of the whole globe, in half-democratic circa 20% and in countries of not-fulfilling international standards of the democracy circa 40%. It is noted that the most successful democratization was in America and in the Caribbean. 23 countries are fulfilling the full democracy there, 10 half-democracies, and only 2 are not complying with the requirements of the democracy in the classic understanding (Haiti and Cuba).

At present the democracy is perceived in the world of politics as the synonym of the appropriate system. It became the value of the universalization of the cultural life of civilization. A significant role in its promotion plays the United Nations, which tries to guard the principles of democratization of cultural life, for example it participates in a supervision of conducted elections

⁹ T. Biernat, A. Siwik (red.), *Demokracja. Teoria. Idee. Instytucje*, Toruń 2001, s. 15; L. Rubisz (red.), *Idee – Instytucje – Demokracja. Instytucjonalizacja polskiej transformacji ustrojowej*, Toruń 2006; T. Buksiński, K. Bondyra, J. Jakubowski (red.), *Demokracja, samorządność, prawo*, Poznań 2007; S. Zyborowicz (red.), *Demokracja w Polsce i w świecie*, Poznań 2009.

¹⁰ P. Śpiewak, *Obietnice demokracji*, Warszawa 2004, s. 9–10.

in different states of the world what is forming with performing obligations determined in the sphere of human rights.

Along with the apotheosis of democracy and its critics, especially by the intellectuals, its researchers perceive the body in the long term, and cultural conditions in space observed the appearance of the reductionist concept of perception. Popular concepts are: procedural, consensual, polyarchy¹¹. According to the procedural concept the democratic system is more clearly identified in the dimension of the institution and procedures than in categories of ideals which it is supposed to serve. Its promoter pointed that democratic method is a solution to institutional investigation into political decisions, in which it gains the power to decide through a competitive struggle for votes¹². Institutions are comprehended in traditional, narrow defining; as the organizational structure, in which the policy-making is being taken. Systems of values, behaviors, relationships, interactions are omitted. The basic criterion for the perception of democracy in accordance with the concept of an election, and in them the principle of legitimacy is largely a political decision-making¹³. This definition stands in opposition to the traditional understanding of democracy, participation in political life, which is at the same time, education and socialization in the development of cultural life, including politics.

The consensual concept in the assumption is familiar with the structure of the democratic order in the process of cooperation fragmented societies¹⁴. For generating the democracy it is possible to achieve integration of the society through: 1. Forming governments of the wide coalition; 2. Applying the principle of the mutual veto; 3. Fulfilling the proportionality rule; 4. Respect for the high level of autonomy, each segment of the society. In fulfilling this form of the democracy the great weight is being attached to activities of leaders and politicians.

The polyarchic concept, which approves existence of many centers of power cooperating with oneself, as well as competing is familiar with fulfilling the democratic order according to principles: 1. Aspirations to producing the political activity of citizens; 2. Of entrusting with positions of the public life by the way of choices; 3. Of creating the high scale and the scope of the institutionalization of the cultural and civilization life; 4. Of conducting civil control

¹¹ M. Marczevska-Rytko, *Demokracja bezpośrednia w teorii i praktyce...*, rozdz. IV.

¹² J.A. Schumpeter, *Kapitalizm, Socjalizm, Demokracja*, Warszawa 1995, s. 337.

¹³ A. Żukowski, *Systemy wyborcze. Wprowadzenie*, Olsztyn 1997.

¹⁴ R.A. Dahl, *Demokracja i jej krytycy*, Kraków 1995, s. 353–358.

over politically motivated decisions of the government; 5. Of constitutional and legal following the order.

Democracy in polyarchic sense is considered as an active participation of citizens in the political life, as the competition in the cultural and civilization life, as following the laws and freedoms which are guaranteed for every individual.

Presented concepts of the development of democracy aren't "perfect" models. In fulfilling them numerous links of the half-heartedness are visible, conflicts of interests between entities of the political life. The level of cultural and civilizational development is an important factor shaping them, joining and inducing collision of political values set in the tradition, in the cultures of societies and with challenges of the present time and the future. The democracy as the strongly determined method of the forming of the political life is a level of economic development of nationwide, regional and local international actors, in addition the greatest possibilities of its improving are emerging spaces which aren't usually big in terms of occupied territory, have distinct determined social infrastructure which is a crucial factor of integration given to the community both in the sphere of the cultural life (of customs, customs, the education, the health care, sport and rest), as well as economic¹⁵.

In the holistic sense, the democracy is perceived as the model of the organization of the public life, in which social communication takes place. The ethicality of its functioning is the most important factor. In the organization of the society a freedom of the individual and a development of the pluralistic competition between individuals constitute the important value. In this organization, where the freedom can become also destructive power, theoreticians show the democracy for distinct determining such political principles, as: 1. Reduced majority; 2. Electoral procedures; 3. representative handing over to the authority¹⁶.

III paying attention to prospects of the development of the democracy usually it is settled in cultural – civilization reality, including influences of the globalization processes.

They notice that the contemporary world is becoming a folded structure which is preventing states from the realization of needs and businesses com-

¹⁵ A. Chodubski, *Lokalizm pod ciśnieniem unifikacji świata*, „Pieniądze i Więż. Kwartalnik Naukowy” 2002, nr 1; idem, *Czynniki kształtujące tożsamość kulturową społeczności lokalnych na przykładzie Gdyni*, „Zeszyty Gdańskie” 2007, nr 2, s. 13–28.

¹⁶ G. Sartori, *Teoria demokracji*, Warszawa 1994.

pletely autonomously. They are pointing, among others the state is too small in order to provide the sovereignty for oneself, too big however in order to guarantee economic cultural and civilizational activity for one's citizens¹⁷.

Plunging into the crisis traditional democratic institutions is noticed. They are pointing, that model of the forming of the democracy developed in XIXth and the XXth century is already outdated, is does not fit in contemporary requirements of the sociopolitical life. Principles of operation of political parties, competing for the access to the power are given to the criticism, functioning of parliaments, of responsible governments before the parliament, eligibility of authorities, not-identifying oneself of wide circles of the society with processes of political transformations (what is manifesting itself among others in the voter abstention, so-called accidental choices of individuals which the political power is entrusted in. The actions of political parties are criticized, noticing that they are fulfilling individual, particularistic businesses above all and forget about the society and duties towards it. Their political activity is perceived mainly in the period of acquiring the election electorate. In the post-election period they forget about fulfilling declared objectives of election program.

Increasingly, the media have the influence on the perceiving the political life¹⁸. The media promotion gets the priority before the knowledge and abilities. In addition, intensification of phenomena of the social pathology is noticed. Many journalists are donning robes of public prosecutors, of judges, pronounce sentences, they have no right to do so. They seek the sensational character in the communication, forgetting about reality, in addition about the duty of inquiring, interpreting facts, explaining. In Polish reality of the political transformation transformations are perceived in the assessment of heavy costs of the democratization. With great power issues are being expressed: "the Price of the freedom, values falling down, the law or the morality", disappearance authority, replacing with the market intangible assets. They show that directions of democratizing transformations caused, that "the former intelligence disappeared from TV screens, washed by politicians – of boors and business people and idols of the mass culture"¹⁹.

¹⁷ D. de Rougemont, *List otwarty do Europejczyków*, Warszawa 1995.

¹⁸ Por. J. Marszałek-Kawa (red.), *Współczesne oblicza mediów*, Toruń 2005; L. Pokrzycka, W. Mucha (red.), *Media a demokracja*, Lublin 2007; A. Chodubski, *Środki masowego przekazu a kształtowanie współczesnego życia politycznego*, [w:] *Media dawne i współczesne*, red. B. Kosmanowa, Poznań 2008, s. 33–46.

¹⁹ W. Osiatyński, *Rzeczpospolita obywateli*, Warszawa 2004, s. 69.

Transformations of the democracy depend on the progress of the globalization. Its aim is to mould the new man: enterprising, decision-making, using technology, critical towards reality surrounding him²⁰. Following it emotional bonds surround to the weakness for rationalizing attitudes, behaviours, aspiration of the society. They notice, that: 1. Traditional bonds of people replace market, commercial community which join together only for a short time; 2. Family, society, professional replace prestigious bonds, in which the socioeconomic position constitutes the criterion of the membership; they are participating in integration events, trips abroad, visiting prestigious clubs, such a person live in exclusive closed districts, the entire life undergoes the commercialization²¹. In addition, it is noticed that there are some boundaries which are fading between: reality and the performance, information and misinformation, manipulation, economic power and political, the morality replaces the effectiveness. Citizens are becoming consumers, participational democracy is being replaced by the oligarchical democracy, authoritarian order. The globalization is filling more and more large sphere of the public sphere and private sphere. There are visible signs of contemporary functioning: the temporariness, the unpredictability of events, the changeability of attitudes, behaviours, values, the uncertainty and the confusion, even in identities, barbarization of sociopolitical relationships takes place.

In such reality democracy distances from its institutional call-up. It is perceived as the power protecting entitlements and interests of the citizens from the state; it is identified with the pluralism of the organization orientated on the building site of the civil society. In this shape, it abandones traditional comprehension of the democracy as the tool constituting the sovereignty of the society and the legal order, and it becomes an element generating new values in the information society. Criteria of perceiving it don not decide about the quality of the democracy outside; democratic standards are perceived in the dimension of the ambiguity. Challenges are becoming concise flag-ness, transparency of the public life. An individualism is becoming a priority value (the individual is defining its own duties, area of responsibility, choosing cells typical of oneself, ethical principles) which generate in fact a political conflict of interests, the tension not to say conflictual situations, are violated in fact of

²⁰ A. Chodubski, *Jednostka, naród, państwo*, [w:] *Wprowadzenie do nauki o państwie i polityce*, red. B. Szmulik, M. Żmigrodzki, Lublin 2002, s. 1350–1380.

²¹ E. Polak, *Globalizacja a zróżnicowanie społeczno-ekonomiczne*, Warszawa 2009, s. 222–223.

this principle of the social justice, the rule of law, the ideological and political neutrality of political offices²².

As far as future is concerned, a question is turning up – whether the democracy will lose its glorification, position of the panacea to all problems of the sociopolitical life? questions concerning the fall of it have been asked²³ and of degeneration in conditions of fulfilling challenges of the information society?

In generalizing reflection of perceiving the development and the condition of the democracy it is possible to state:

1. Since the beginning of its existence this institution met with approval of wide social circles and the criticism of intellectuals, paying attention to the impossibility of its realization according to the ideological vocation and with assumptions;
2. From the time of the French Revolution 1789–1799 democratic ideas are closely connected with populism. Politicians and ruling use them as fulfilling the will of the majority of society, and as a tool solving all sociopolitical problems;
3. from the theory of the democracy, reflections of its development political practice is dismissed, participative democracy is replacing the oligarchical, authoritarian order; values of ethics, values are replaced by political and business effectiveness;
4. political pragmatism, and included performance of the public life, cause that the idea of the democracy is replaced by the challenge of building the civil society which is commonly accepted as sociopolitical reality;
5. The media have the great influence on the contemporary democracy, which are often supported by the science and which generate the image of the “democratic man”, of “democratic governments”, “emancipation from all the ethical obligations” (uncritical apotheosis of democracy).

²² P. Śpiewak, op.cit., s. 28–29.

²³ Por. A. Stelmach (red.), *Czy upadek demokracji? Idee i wartości*, Poznań 2007; D. Karnowska (red.), *Demokracja w Polsce po 2005 roku*, Toruń 2008; A. Chodubski, *Idea a urzeczywistnianie strategii budowy społeczeństwa obywatelskiego*, [w:] *Między historią a politologią. Wybór problemów*, red. T. Wallas, Poznań 2010, s. 293–301.

SUMMARY

The present study to shows:

- 1) since the beginning of its existence this institution met with approval of wide social circles and the criticism of intellectuals, paying attention to the impossibility of its realization according to the ideological vocation and with assumptions;
- 2) from the time of the French Revolution 1789–1799 democratic ideas are closely connected with populism. Politicians and ruling use them as fulfilling the will of the majority of society, and as a tool solving all sociopolitical problems;
- 3) political pragmatism, and included performance of the public life, cause that the idea of the democracy is replaced by the challenge of building the civil society which is commonly accepted as sociopolitical reality.

Keywords: democracy, participation of individual, citizens liberty, the public authorities, permanent education

STRESZCZENIE

W artykule wskazuje się:

- 1) od zarania swego powstania instytucja demokracji spotykała się w szerszych kręgach społecznych krytyką intelektualistów, zwracających uwagę na niemożliwość jej urzeczywistnienia zgodnie z ideowym powołaniem i założeniami;
- 2) od czasów rewolucji francuskiej 1789–1799 pod idee demokratyczne wpisuje się populizm. Politycy i rządzący posługują się nim jako spełnieniem woli ogółu społeczeństwa, jako narzędziem rozwiązywania wszelkich złożonych problemów społeczno-politycznych;
- 3) pragmatyzm polityczny, a w tym generowanie spektaklu życia publicznego powodują, że idea demokracji jest zastępowana wyzwaniem budowy społeczeństwa obywatelskiego, które jest powszechnie akceptowane jako przewartościowywana rzeczywistość społeczno-polityczna.

Słowa kluczowe: demokracja, partycypatywność jednostki, wolność obywatelska, podmioty władzy publicznej, edukacja permanentna