

# PLS 140 Introduction to comparative politics

Week 2 – August 22  
Origins of the State

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# Giovanni Sartori 1

- In the USA, everything that is not American politics is called CP.
- Why do we compare?
- To control, whether a generalization applies. How can we know if we study only one country?
- Can you compare implicitly? Yes! Single case studies are for theory-building not theory-confirming.

# Giovanni Sartori 2

- What is comparable ? More importantly, in which respect?

Systems as similar as possible excepting the one aspect we are interested in investigating.

OR

Very different systems, yet which do not differ on the phenomenon under investigation.

# The State

- Its emergence occurred for very different reasons in EU and the rest of the world.
- Democracy is now almost inconceivable without a modern State.
- States seem to have become the only legitimate political organizations.

# Origins of the State 1

- Expansionist wars of EU kingdoms led to the unification of small political entities under the authority of larger ones.
- Coercion and monopolisation.
- War imperatives of EU kingdoms triggered the need for greater **taxation**.
- Taxation demands greater **control** of the population.
- Control leads to the development of a **bureaucracy**.

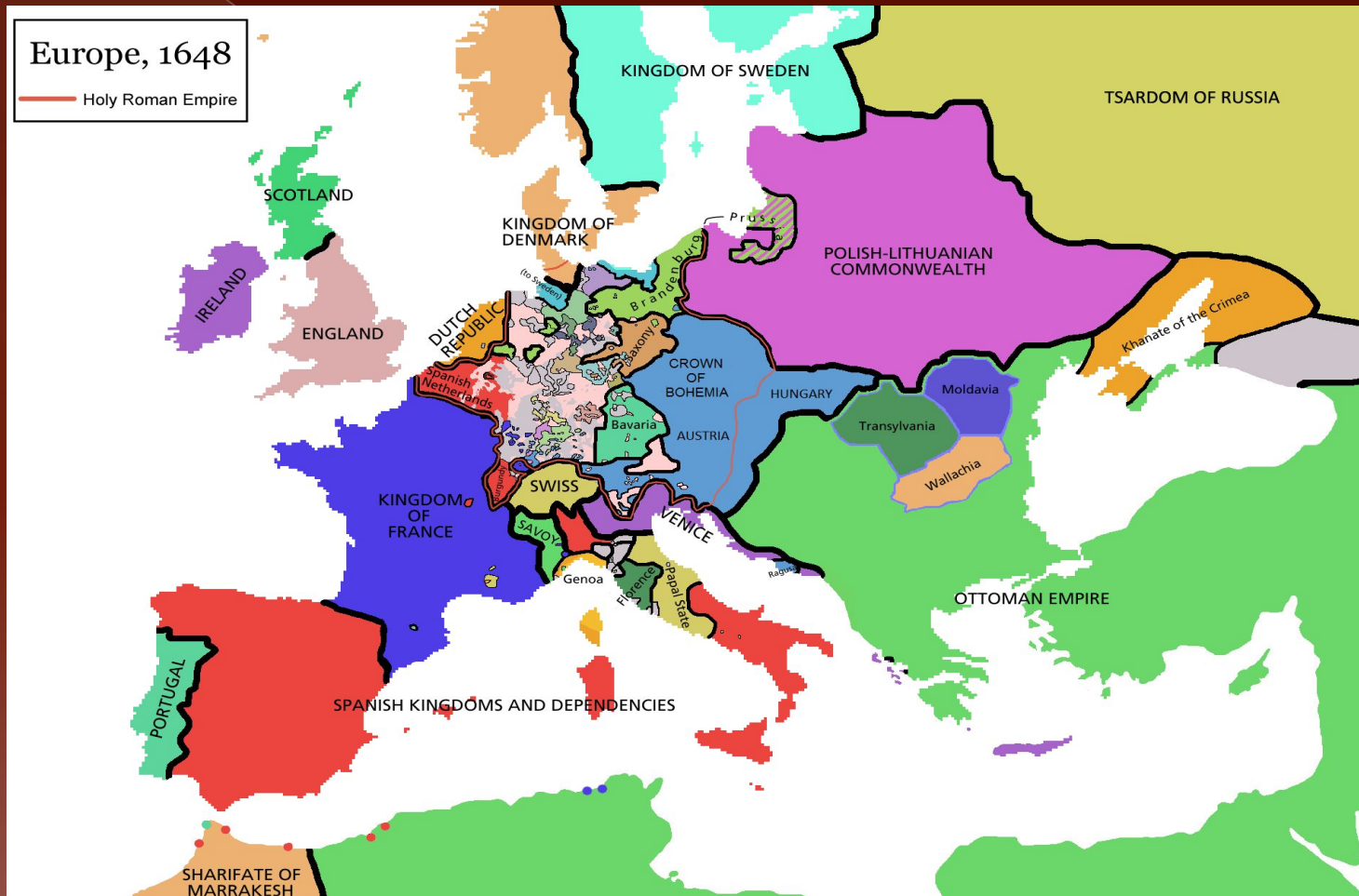
# Origins of the State 2

- Permanent hostility and rivalry in Europe.
- Declining feudal order.
- Nascent bourgeoisie and technical developments of military weapons (firearms), making obsolete the old defenses of fortified towns.

# Treaty of Westphalia 1648

- Thirty Years' War - a religious war that opposed the Holy Roman Empire and German princes, protestant States and France.
- The war became less about religion and more of a rivalry for political pre-eminence.
- Symbolises a new political arrangement: political sovereignty of the secular Nation-State.

# Map of Europe 1648





# Thomas Hobbes' Leviathan 1651

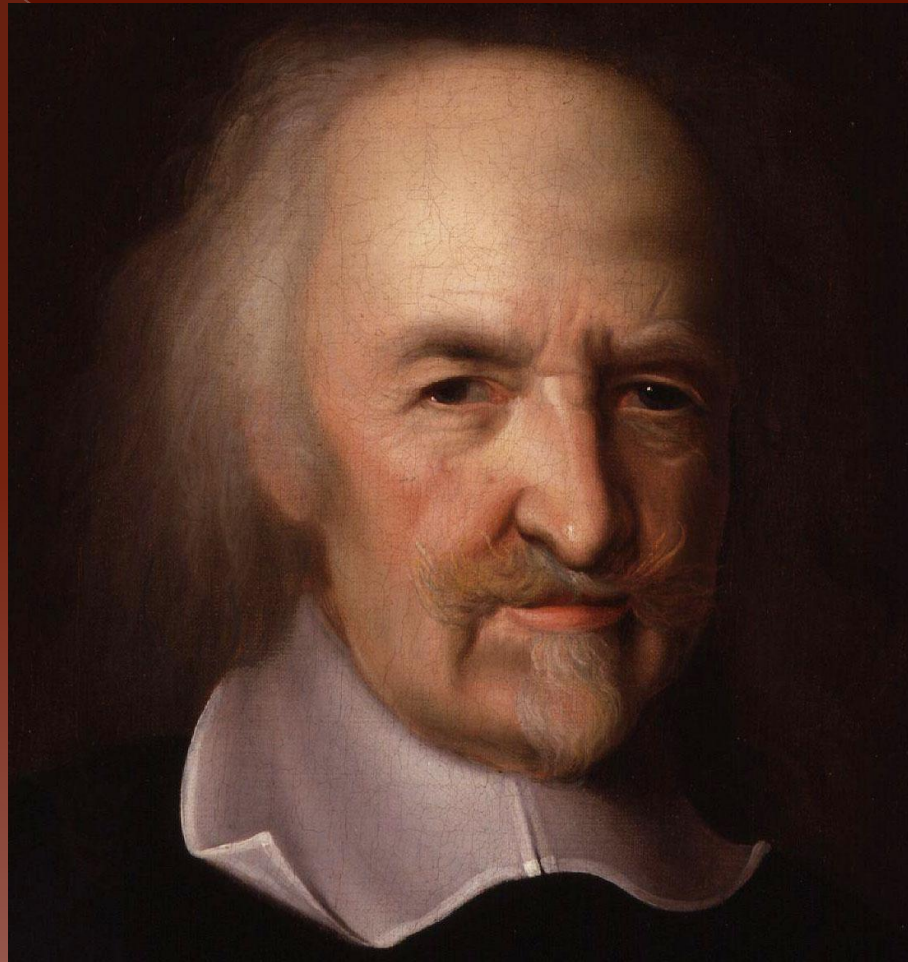


*Non est potestas Super Terram quae Comparetur ei.  
There is no power on the earth that can be compared to him.*



# Thomas Hobbes

1588-1679



# Thomas Hobbes' Leviathan

- ◉ *State of nature* defined as the war against all in an **anarchical** system.
- ◉ Fear of violent death pushes humans to surrender their freedom to the Leviathan (the State) in exchange of protection.

# Jean-Jacques Rousseau 1

## The Social Contract (1762)

- *State of nature*: People are neither good nor bad, but were born as a blank slate, and later society and the environment influence which way we lean.
- Asserts that only the people, who are sovereign, have that all-powerful right.

# Jean-Jacques Rousseau

1712-1778



# Jean-Jacques Rousseau 2

- Monarchs are not divinely empowered to legislate.
- Participants must have a right to choose the laws under which they live.
- *The Social Contract* inspired revolutionary movements in Europe, France.

# Charles Tilly 1

- New political organizations began to develop in competition with their rivals.
- Racket protection against marauders is at the origin of the State.
- Mercantile capitalism and State making reinforced each other.

# Charles Tilly

1929-2002





# Charles Tilly 2

- The intention was not to create a State but to enjoy the advantages of power.
- Debt and taxes rose enormously from the 17<sup>th</sup> century. As a function of the increasing cost of war making.

# Charles Tilly 3

- Governments stand out from other organizations by their tendency to monopolize the concentrated means of violence.
- The distinction between "legitimate" and "illegitimate" force, furthermore, makes no difference to the fact.
- Success depends on the degree of resistance of the population.

# Charles Tilly 4

1. **War making:** Eliminating or neutralizing their own rivals outside the territories in which they have clear and continuous priority as wielders of force.
2. **State making:** Eliminating or neutralizing their rivals inside those territories.
3. **Protection:** Eliminating or neutralizing the enemies of their clients.
4. **Extraction:** Acquiring the means of carrying out the first three activities — war making, state making, and protection.