

XVI -> XIX century: process of transition from traditional state to modern state and from non modern society to modern one.

Characteristics of **traditional state** (by A. Giddens):

- Unclear geographical layout (no clear borders, fragmentation),
- weak interrelations between social groups (nobility, merchants, peasants),
- sharp division between city and province,
- low influence of central government on province,
- major type of internal political actions – violence (requisitions, crime fighting, punitive expeditions),
- most common way of international competition – war.

The result of continuous state of war was constant need for resources (mostly money) and was the core reason for any reforms undertaken by European rulers in XVI – XIX century.

Three stages in formation of modern state:

- **Administrative Revolution:**
 - Stripping local elites (nobles) of their privileges,
 - enforcing one, centralized tax system,
 - accumulation of authority in central government,
 - obtaining the monopoly for using armed violence by government.
- **People's (French) Revolution:**
 - Change of legitimization of central government – from birthright (monarchy) to social agreement (republic) and election,
 - opening public (political) sphere to all citizens
- **Industrial Revolution:**
 - Invention and adaptation of modern communication methods (newspaper, radio, TV),
 - formation of modern mass culture,
 - creation of market economy, commodification of all goods.

Four main drivers in history of political power competition (by S.M. Lipset and S. Rokkan):

Division	Critical point	Problems
Centre vs. Periphery	Reformation – Counter Reformation, XVI – XVII c.	Local vs. universal religion, local language vs. Latin
State vs. Church	National Revolution, XVIII – XIX c.	Secular vs. religious control of mass education
Agriculture vs. Industry	Industrial Revolution, XIX c.	Tax level on agriculture goods, freedom vs. control of industrial production
Proprietors vs. Laborers	Russian Revolution, XX c.	Integration inside the state vs. involvement in international revolutionary movement

Main characteristics of **modern state**:

- Monopoly for using armed violence,
- usage surveillance (information gathering) instead of armed force,
- existence of clearly defined borders with other countries,
- strong interactions between social groups inside the state.

Main purpose of modern state – up keeping internal peace and laws enforcement.

Possible additional readings:

- A. Giddens, *“The Nation State and Violence, Volume Two of Contemporary Critique of Historical Materialism”*, University of California Press Berkeley and Los Angeles.
- W. McNeill, *“The Pursuit of Power, Technology, Armed Force and Society since A.D. 1000”*, The University of Chicago Press.

Meaning of politics:

- Politics as a *scene* set of institutions regulated by formal rules and designed for small portion of population to compete,
- politics as social process of *power circulation*, involving all members of society.

Common element: politics as a process of competition for power, commonly conducted by non – violent methods.

Political power:

- Ability to influence other people's actions directly,
- ability to compete efficiently (possible never-ending loop: struggling for power to get power).

State as the main political institution: in everyday life, political process is being conducted by peaceful methods. State and its institutions is the guardian of peaceful behavior, internal stabilization and general obedience to rules of political competition.

State and Law: State not only upholds the law, it is also created by them. Basic idea of the State is based on general acceptance of laws and rulers. M. Weber has defined three types of rule:

1. Traditional, based on tradition, rituals and authority of elders,
2. charismatic, based on specific person merits,
3. rational, based on set of laws and rules.

During the course of European history, first two types were replaced by third. Enacting constitution is a good example of transition between 1st or 2nd to 3rd type. **Basic features of rational rule:**

- Constant commitment to upholding laws and rules,
- division of competences of each government branch (separating parliament, government and courts),
- punishment for not adhering to the rules is exerted on the base of pre – defined code.

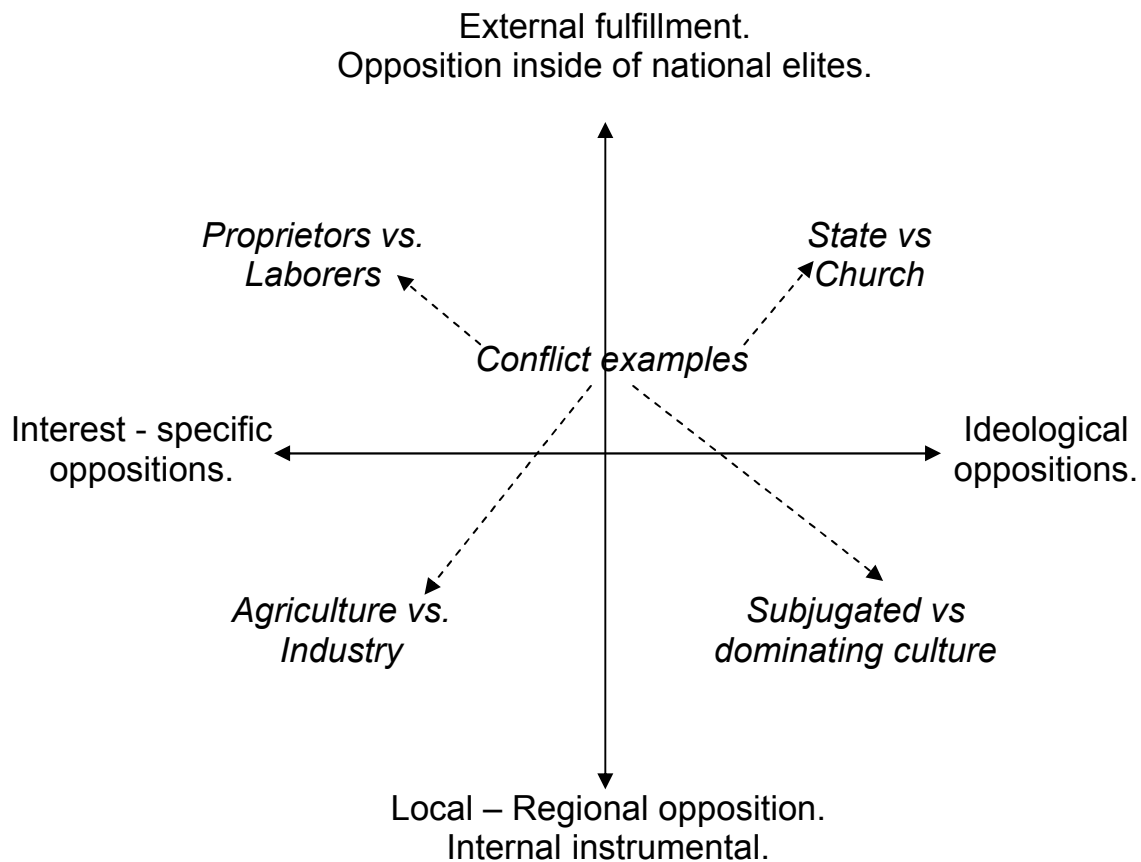
Political conflict: Internal pacification does not mean disappearance of political conflict. It is still present and may be based on:

- Interests – based on rational calculation and material needs,
- values – based on nonmaterial (moral, ideological) factors.

Various conflicts differ in terms of subject and range. Common way of interpretation of political conflicts involves using two axes:

- Subject of conflict, (interest versus value)
- Geographical range, (local versus national)

Chart of Lipset and Rokkan's political conflicts model:



Forms of political action:

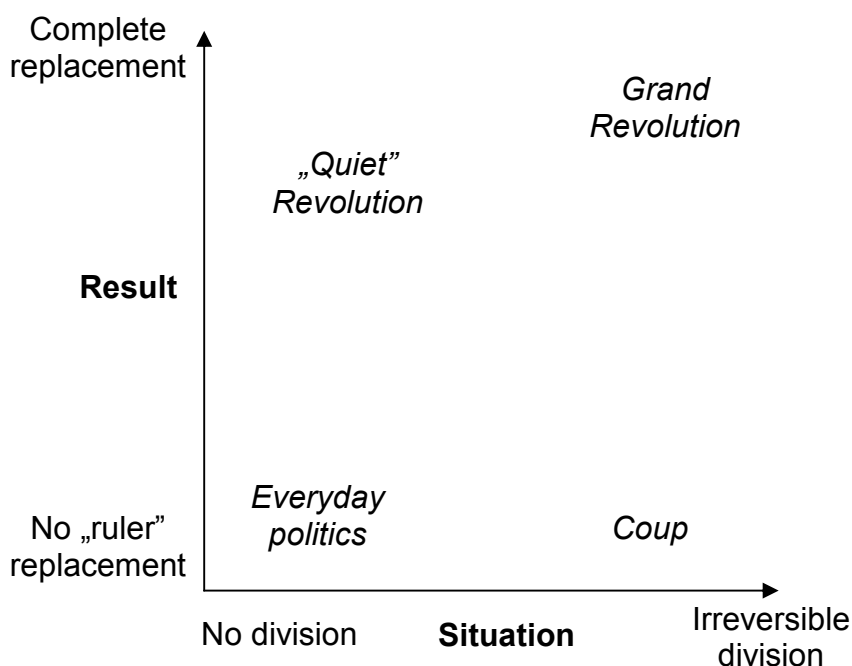
- Peaceful (elections, public support or protests), predominant in societies with common access to public sphere (**open society**), where articulation of one's issues is possible for majority of members.
- Violent (**revolution, coups**), predominant in societies with limited access to public sphere (**anomy**), where articulation of one's issues is possible only for small, privileged group.

Coup – act of power transfer from one group to another, not involving drastic rearrangement of social and political system. Connected with term of *elites circulation* – where one dominant group is cyclically replaced by other.

Revolution – act of destruction of old social and political system, often drastic and violent. Main elements, by P. Calvert:

- Process, in which state's ruling group is being discredited in the eyes of country population or its important parts,
- government change, conducted in short period of time and with use (or credible threat of use) of violence – one time, single event,
- more or less coherent change plan in political and/or social institutions,
- political myth, which serves as legitimization source for revolutionary leadership as legitimate (yet transitional) government.

Chart of possible violent types of political action, by C. Tilly:



Possible additional readings:

- D. Marsh, G. Stoker, *“Theory and Methods in Political Science”*, 2nd edition by Palgrave Macmillan, a division of Macmillan Publishers Limited.
- S. M. Lipset, S. Rokkan, *“Party Systems and Voter Alignments. Cross National Perspectives”*, The Free Press, New York.
- C. Tilly, *“Mobilization and Revolution”*, Adison-Wesley Publishing Company