I. The development of the modern state (in Europe)
   A. 14th & 15th c. European hereditary monarchies
   B. Colonialism
      1. Definition: the extension of a state’s sovereignty over territory beyond its borders by the establishment
         of either settler colonies or subsidiary states in which indigenous populations are displaced or exploited.
      2. Pre-modern empires: China, Egypt, Greece, Persia, Rome, Mongolia, Arabia
      3. 15th - 19th c. European empire states: Portugal, Spain, Britain, France, Netherlands, Prussia/Germany, Austria, Italy, Russia

II. The origin of (modern) states
   A. Non-Marxist explanation: development of new, broad, and large-scale activities
      1. Economic innovations – e.g., shift from agriculture to commerce & industry
      2. Technological innovations – transportation & communication
   B. Marxist explanation: after the invention of private ownership of the means of economic production (the foundation of society), states were part of the superstructure that is used by the dominant class to exploit the subordinate class (feudal lords > peasants; merchants > consumers; industrial capitalist bourgeoisie > workers or proletariat)

III. The state as a device to provide public goods
   A. Definition: something that benefits all members of the community but that no one can be prevented from using, whether they helped pay for it or not
   B. Examples: national security, medical research & public health programs, the space program
   C. Problem: the widespread temptation to be a free rider when public-good costs are voluntary
   D. Solution: governmental power to impose taxes, military conscription, and other forms of government policies to distribute costs

IV. “State,” “nation,” and the “nation-state”
   A. **State**: a political unit having territory with stable boundaries, population, and sovereignty over its internal and external affairs
   B. **Sovereignty**: the final say in politics (the legal capacity of a state to maintain control of its own affairs)
   C. **Nation**: a group of people sharing a common culture (and often language) but not necessarily exercising sovereignty (control of a state)
   D. **Nationalism**: a passionate identification with a culturally homogeneous nation – e.g., Palestinians
   E. **Patriotism**: a passionate identification with a state, even one that is quite multi-culturally diverse – e.g., Israel, United Kingdom, USA, or Russia
      1. Lack of correspondence between nation & state is especially problematic in former colonies in Asia, Africa, and the Middle East, whose boundaries were imposed by external rulers – e.g., Iraq whose borders were drawn by Britain without regard to Kurdish, Sunni, & Shiite nationalistic differences
      2. There is more correspondence in Central & South America (see Fn. 9 for explanation)
   3. Other areas with nation/state issues: Figure 3.2
      a. Tribes in Nigeria
      b. Black (and Aryan) nationalists in the U.S.
      c. Flemish & Walloons in Belgium
      d. Quebecers in Canada
      e. Basques in Spain
      f. Arabs & Africans in Sudan
      g. **Croatian & Slovenian** Roman Catholics, **Serbian** Orthodox Catholics, & **Bosnian** Muslims in the former Yugoslavia
   4. Both nationalism and patriotism are a basic emotional identification – more like religion – than an intellectual construct like political ideologies

V. **State building**
   A. Definition: constructing (or rebuilding) a state from scratch
   B. Difficulty illustrated by each of the following:
      1. U.S. efforts in post-Saddam Iraq
2. **Failed states**: states that descend into civil war – some examples:

- England, Ireland, Scotland (1639-51)
- France (1789-91)
- Mexico (1857-61)
- U.S. (1861-65)
- Russia (1917-21)
- Ireland (1922-23)
- China (1928-45)
- Germany (1929-33)
- Spain (1936-39)
- Vietnam (1941-75)
- Greece (1946-49)
- Paraguay (1947)
- Palestine (1947-48) (2006 - present)
- Costa Rica (1948)
- Korea (1950-53)
- Sudan (1955-2005)
- Guatemala (1960-96)
- Laos (1962-75)
- Nigeria (1967-70)
- Northern Ireland (1969-98)
- Cambodia (1970-75)
- Pakistan (1971)
- Lebanon (1975-90)
- Mozambique (1975-92)
- El Salvador (1975-91)
- Yemen (1979 - present)
- Somalia (1991 - present)
- Afghanistan (1980 - present)
- Sri Lanka (1983 - present)
- Georgia (1988 - present)
- Uganda (1987 - present)
- Rwanda (1990-94)
- Haiti (1991-94)
- Yugoslavia (1991-95)
- Kosovo (1996-99)
- Nepal (1996 - 2006)

C. **Skeleton of a state**: its police and military organizations

VI. Government and the state

A. **Government**: the people who have the authority to act on behalf of the state to make, enforce, and adjudicate laws

B. **Civil society**

1. Definition: non-governmental (private-sector) organizations (movements, interest groups, political parties) that deal with public concerns
2. Examples: ethnic, racial, religious, economic, gender, sectional, fraternal, avocational, vocational and other organizations
3. Importance: can act as an important a. **Supporter** for government – both democratic and non-democratic
   b. **Opponent** to government

VII. Challenges to the state

A. From **supranational organizations** responding to regional and world-wide problems

1. Definition: organizations that replace some functions of states and operate over wider areas
2. Examples: International: United Nations, International Monetary Fund, international courts
   Regional: European Union, Organization of American States, African Union, Asian Union, Pacific Union, Arab League

B. From below (see regional, religious, & ethnic civil wars listed in V. B. 2.) – greatly accelerated with the end of the **Cold War** (1946-91)

VIII. **Globalization**: are states losing their ability to make economic policy?

A. Definition: increasing world-wide connectivity, integration and interdependence in the economic, social, technological, cultural, political, and ecological spheres.

B. Factors:

1. Technological innovations in transportation and communication
2. Rise of **transnational (or multinational) corporations**

C. Consequence: it is now much more difficult for all states to regulate and protect their internal economies

IX. Some possible alternatives

A. Regional integration
B. The United Nations
C. Communications and a “world culture”
D. An emerging international law?

X. Examples:

A. State building in Nigeria
B. State building in the European Union