

## CHAPTER 9

### WESTERN STATE-MAKING AND THEORIES OF POLITICAL TRANSFORMATION

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#### *Europe in Theory*

WHAT if everything we have said about Western Europe is valid, but irrelevant to the contemporary world? We may have ruled out its validity already, if only by having said contradictory things about European state-making. We certainly have not ruled out the second possibility: irrelevance. In fact, we have called attention to a number of changes in the world situation which make it quite unlikely that the exact sequences of events we have lovingly reconstructed from the European record will ever occur again. Our hope for relevance to the politics of the present and the future rests elsewhere.

Three possible applications of the European experience come to mind. The first is the simple fact that most of the theories which are now available for application to the present and future build, implicitly or explicitly, on ideas of what happened in Europe; at least we can edit those ideas. The second is the (not quite so simple) fact that Europeans and their offspring played the dominant part in creating the international system within which all states of the contemporary world are now operating; most likely getting the previous history of that system right will help us understand its elements and chart the limits on its near future. The third is the chance that the relationships among variables—between the costliness of the armed forces and the extent of the extractive apparatus, for example—which held in European history will continue to hold in our own time, although the specific sequences and forms in which those relationships worked themselves out in Europe will not.

This postscript will not do justice to any of the three alternatives. I will not, for example, scan the literature of “political development”

Once again I am thankful to Val Lorwin for criticism. Gabriel Almond and I wrote early drafts of some sections of this chapter in collaboration. I have lifted a few passages from our joint work, and have built a number of ideas we worked out together into the review of the literature. But (as will no doubt be obvious to a careful reader) Professor Almond bears no responsibility for the way the essay finally came out.

to spot risky analogies and faulty inferences from the European experience. Nor will I make the faintest effort to build a theory of state-making valid for both historical Europe and the contemporary world. This book, I believe, lays some of the groundwork for such a theory. It also identifies some of the ways the new theory must differ from the schemes already on hand. In order to seize these opportunities without returning to the long-windedness of my earlier essays in this book, let me do three things: (1) state a series of positions concerning the usual run of theories about state-making, especially those that have come to be known as "theories of political development," without making a substantial effort to document or defend those positions; (2) indicate what sort of theory seems likely to fit the European and contemporary experiences better than those now available; and (3) enumerate some features of the European experience we have reviewed in this book which are particularly important for the new theories to take into account.

#### *What Theories Are Available?*

We are searching for theories which ought, in principle, to give answers to the following questions:

1. Under what conditions do national states (rather than some other sort of political structure) become the dominant organizations in an area?
2. What are the chief forms taken by national states, and what causes one or another of them to appear?
3. What determines how strong, durable, effective, and responsive to its own population a national state is?

We could ask many other questions. I single these out because they define the area of overlap between the historical questions about European experience on which this book has concentrated and the general problems contemporary analysts of large-scale political transformation have been addressing.

What families of theories, then, contain possible answers to the three questions? I see three big sets: developmental, functional, and historical. Each has a number of subdivisions. The *developmental* theories propose some sort of standard process of political transformation to which all social units of some type—societies, regions, nations, or something else—are subject as a consequence of forces

which are internal to those social units. The *functional* theories do not specify the process by which national states of a certain kind emerge, but enumerate instead what else must exist if national states of that kind are to operate. The *historical* theories account for the characteristics of any particular government through its individual relationship to some historical transformation affecting the world as a whole.

Developmental, functional, and historical theories are not necessarily incompatible. We might imagine a statement in which the standard developmental process modulates systematically as a world-historical transformation proceeds, because the functional requisites of different kinds of government appear as that transformation unfolds; Marxists have been trying for some time to build such a theory. Nevertheless, the three kinds of argument lead to rather different procedures and evidence. To deal with developmental theories, we shall have to examine the experiences of comparable political units over substantial blocks to time. Functional theories require multiple observations of particular features of national states and of their correlates. Historical theories are at once the most demanding and the least verifiable, for they call for no less than the tracing of a transformation throughout the world.

As a practical matter, then, we shall have to choose among developmental, functional, and historical approaches to our subject matter. Within each category, we may reasonably ask which of the available theories (if any) are consistent with what we know so far about state-making. When it comes to choosing *among* the categories, we must ask not which one is true, but which one leads to the more interesting hypotheses and opens up a feasible program of inquiry. Which one yields the right kinds of propositions? Since the question deals with potentialities, not actualities, any answer we give to it will be risky, tentative, and full of personal judgment. With that understanding, let me lay out opinions on currently available lines of thought.

#### *Developmental Theories*

The idea of social development following a standard path and springing from the very nature of societies (as Robert Nisbet has pointed out) pervaded the western social sciences from their nineteenth-century origins, and remained in their tissue into the twentieth century. Marx, Weber, and Durkheim were all developmental-

ists of sorts. Most of the recent theories to which we turn for accounts of the formation of national states have at least a streak of developmentalism. Nevertheless, some of them emphasize the standard path and the internal logic more strongly than others. Over the last twenty-five years, the phrases "political modernization" and "political development" have come to designate those emphatically developmental theories.

The idea of a partly autonomous process of *political* development came into being in more or less deliberate emulation of the "economic development" which became such a desirable object of public policy after World War II. It entails the same difficulties, and more. Both ideas leave uncertain whether the development in question is a continuous process, an end state or a structural transformation. Both have great difficulty with the problem of determining whether there are one or many paths which qualify as developmental. Both have gone through repeated crises of conceptualization, of definition, of identification of the phenomenon to be explained.

The analysts of economic development have at least two considerable advantages over their political counterparts: (1) relatively wide agreement that whatever else economic development may include, it certainly includes rising material well-being; and (2) the standardized means of description and measurement provided by the different versions of national income analysis. Theorists of political development have not reached consensus on any single criterion: efficiency, strength, representative institutions, or anything else. Nor have political analysts created anything remotely resembling a standard accounting scheme—although many an individual has proposed one general vocabulary or another. We should hardly be surprised, then, at the absence of generally accepted theories or of well-verified empirical generalizations. Instead, the most solid accomplishments of the effort to unravel political development have been a series of interesting case studies and intriguing comparisons; James Scott's analyses of "corruption" in Asia and the essays on Turkey and Japan brought together by Robert Ward and Dankwart Rustow come to mind.

#### *Sequence and Stage Theories*

Two main varieties of developmental theory deserve our attention: (1) schemes involving standard stages, sequences, or paths of development; and (2) statements of relationships without well-de-

finer temporal orders. On the whole, theorists have moved away from the attempt to specify stages and toward an effort to specify relationships. Nevertheless, there are still some stage schemes available. We might judge their promise by examining one which is historically well informed. It comes, unsurprisingly, from an historian. Cyril Black speaks of the general phenomenon he is seeking to account for, modernization, as

the process by which historically evolved institutions are adapted to the rapidly changing functions that reflect the unprecedented increase in man's knowledge, permitting control over his environment, that accompanied the scientific revolution. This process of adaptation had its origins and initial influence in the societies of Western Europe, but in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries these changes have been extended to all other societies and have resulted in a worldwide transformation affecting all human relationships. Political scientists frequently limit the term "modernization" to the political and social changes accompanying industrialization, but a holistic definition is better suited to the complexity and interrelatedness of all aspects of the process (Black 1966: 7).

Within the political realm, Black identifies four "critical problems" which each modernizing country faces; they mark four successive phases of modernization: (1) *the challenge of modernity*: "the initial confrontation of a society, within its traditional framework of knowledge, with modern ideas and institutions, and the emergence of advocates of modernity"; (2) *the consolidation of modernizing leadership*: "the transfer of power from traditional to modernizing leaders in the course of a normally bitter revolutionary struggle often lasting several generations"; (3) *economic and social transformation*: "the development of economic growth and social change to a point where a society is transformed from a predominantly rural and agrarian way of life to one predominantly urban and industrial"; and (4) *the integration of society*: "the phase in which economic and social transformation produces a fundamental reorganization of the social structure throughout the society" (Black 1966: 67-68). Later on Black reminds us that the phases refer mainly to political processes—not, for example, to intellectual transformations—and that they are matters of priority among problems which actually

persist over long periods of time. Furthermore, he eventually distinguishes seven different "patterns of modernization"; the distinctions rest mainly on the conditions prevailing in some major part of the world at the time of entry into modernization; since whole subcontinents and even continents have tended to enter the process together, the patterns themselves form a rough temporal sequence. So there are standard phases which differ in their specific features and outcomes depending on which of seven successive patterns they fall into.

What answers does Black's scheme give to our questions about national states? Black considers the second phase of modernization, the consolidation of modernizing leadership, to have three outstanding features: "the assertion on the part of political leaders of the determination to modernize," "an effective and decisive break with the institutions associated with a predominantly agrarian way of life," and "the creation of a national state with an effective government and a reasonable stable consensus on the part of the inhabitants as to ends and means." The answer to our first question (Under what conditions do national states become dominant organizations in an area?) appears to be: when "modernizing leaders" take power, break out of the agrarian mold, and mobilize nationalism for the purpose of modernization. The answer to our second question (What are the chief forms taken by national states, and what causes one or another of them to appear?) seems to be that two things matter most: (a) the character of the modern leaders and (b) the geopolitical position of the territory in question at the beginning of modernization. And the answer to the third question (What determines how strong, durable, effective, and responsive to its own population a national state is?) likewise comes down to the character of modernizing leadership and to initial geopolitical position.

Let me leave aside historical quibbles over the placement of the "phases" and the classification of particular countries, except to note that Black's concentration on survivors leaves out such crucial cases as Brandenburg-Prussia. In his scheme, "Germany" experiences its consolidation of modernizing leadership from 1803 to 1871. The strength of Black's scheme, by the standard of the analyses in this book, is its insistence on a systematic change over time in the limits on state-making set by the international situation. But its weaknesses are multiple: the presentation of the landlords as the fundamental opponents of the modernizing elites, the failure to specify the activi-

ties which build up the state apparatus, the neglect of class coalitions as the determinants of different political outcomes, the final appeal to the character of modernizing leadership—which simply drives us back to asking why characteristically different types of leaders appear in the different clusters of modernizing countries. Except for the broad classification by geopolitical position, Black's analysis does not give us the means (even in principle) of taking a set of areas at a particular point in time and assessing the likelihood that strong, durable, effective, responsive national states of one form or another would arise in them by some later point in time.

Of course, one stage model does not represent them all. But Black's stage model is the most sensitive to historical nuances of any I know. By and large, the others present such grossly unhistorical categories or concentrate so heavily on the nineteenth and twentieth centuries as to propose no answers at all to our basic questions concerning the formation of national states. A.F.K. Organski's sequence (politics of primitive unification-politics of industrialization-politics of national welfare-politics of abundance), for example, brushes all our state-making materials into the basket of "unification" (Organski 965). Schemes which smooth out political development into a continuous process without well-defined stages (e.g., Flanigan and Fogelman 1971) invariably begin too late or too vaguely to yield answers to our question concerning the formation of states.

The many efforts to derive a standard sequence empirically from a cross-sectional comparison of a number of states at some recent point in time (e.g., most of the articles on political development in Gillespie and Nesvold 1971) are logically inappropriate for our task, since they do not analyze change over time. Their concentration on existing states elides the problem of how national states emerge where they did not exist before, although a comparison among existing states could conceivably shed light on the sources of the different forms taken by national states, and the reasons for their variable strength, durability, effectiveness, and responsiveness. Finally, the usual results of the cross-sectional analyses—scales at one end of which stand the rich parliamentary democracies—are heavily weighted by the presence or absence of political arrangements which are currently common in the western world. Even in principle, they could not identify the paths to patrimonialism, military dictatorship, or agrarian oligarchy. So far as I can tell, the stage and sequence theories of political development now available do not of-

fer any strong and promising hypotheses concerning the emergence, forms, strength, durability, effectiveness, and responsiveness of national states.

There are, however, some related schemes which look a little more promising. In fact, those schemes had a part in bringing this book into being. They consist of the enumeration of a limited set of transitions, crises, or challenges presumably faced by any unit undergoing political development; in the company of the enumeration we often find a weak hypothesis concerning the order in which the transitions occur, and a weaker hypothesis concerning an historical change in order and pacing of the transitions as political development has moved from the West to the rest of the world. The scheme of "crises of political development" formulated by Lucian Pye, Gabriel Almond and their collaborators looks like this (in Stein Rokkan's concise summary):

<i>Crises, Challenges, Problems</i>	<i>Institutional Solutions: Examples</i>
Penetration	Establishment of a rational field administration for resource mobilization (taxes, manpower), creation of public order, and the coordination of collective efforts (infrastructure development, emergency action, defense)
Integration	Establishment of allocation rules equalizing the shares of offices, benefits, resources among all culturally and/or politically distinct sectors of the national community
Participation	Extension of suffrage to hitherto underprivileged strata of population. Protection of the rights of organized opposition
Identity	Development of media and agencies for the socialization of future citizens into the national community: schools, literary media, institutionalized rituals and symbols (myths, flags, songs)



*Crisis, Challenges,  
Problems**Institutional Solutions:  
Examples*


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Legitimacy	Any effort to create loyalty to and confidence in the established structure of political institutions in the given system and to ensure regular conformity to rules and regulations issued by the agencies authorized within the system
Distribution	Establishment of social services and social security measures, income equalization through progressive taxation and transfers between poorer and richer localities (Rokkan 1969: 63-64)

Each of these problems, goes the main hypothesis, tends to concentrate in time, and hence to form a *crisis*. From that point, which is still mainly a matter of definition, the standard formulation proceeds to the idea that the more rapidly and simultaneously these crises appear, the higher the level of strain and the greater the likelihood of intense conflict, breakdown and disintegration. Behind this idea stands an implicit contrast between the long accumulation of political experience by western nations and the recent rush to statehood in the rest of the world. In the European microcosm, we have British gradualism opposed to continental haste. In the world macrocosm, we have European cumulation versus Third World discontinuity.

In these terms, the analyses of taxation, military forces, policing, and so on elsewhere in this book deal primarily with penetration, secondarily with legitimacy, less with integration and identity, hardly at all with participation and distribution. One of the reasons we had the chance to write the papers in this book was the hope of the members of the Committee on Comparative Politics (including Pye and Almond) that a careful look at European history would help edit the scheme—not necessarily confirm it, but at least show whether its categories were historically applicable, determine whether the crises did occur somehow in each country at a distinct point in time, discover whether there were any standard sequences among them, try out the notion of a later cumulation of crises.

Nowhere in this book will you find a self-conscious attempt to match the six crises with historical data. Our analyses only challenge the hypothesis of temporal concentration of each of the problems into a "crisis" indirectly: by treating extraction, control and coalition-formation as the central state-building processes, by portraying the basic "problems" as more or less continuous rather than bunched in time, and by posing great empirical difficulties for any attempt to put the problems or processes into a standard sequence.

They challenge the historical comparisons in the background more directly. Although some of our essays view England's experience as more favorable than that of, say, Prussia, every single one of them calls attention to the immense conflict, uncertainty, and failure that attended the building of national states everywhere in Europe—including England. As a consequence, the idea that latecomers to state-making confront a "cumulation of crises" more concentrated and dangerous than that endured by early state-makers begins to lose plausibility. Perhaps that idea persists because we habitually compare the whole range of contemporary states with the small set that survived from the sixteenth century to our own time. In their days, Poland, the Two Sicilies, Burgundy, Aragon, and Bohemia—all displayed "cumulations of crises" quite worthy of the twentieth-century world. At least the survival of twentieth-century states (if not of their ruling classes or their particular forms of government) is practically assured.

Stripped of their historical references, these criticisms resemble those leveled against the very same sequence scheme by a sympathetic commentator, Sidney Verba. Verba closes a volume concerning the analysis of crises and sequences with a thoughtful critique of the penetration-participation-legitimacy-distribution-identity version of the scheme. ("Integration" has, by this point, disappeared from the set.) There is, he says, "some ambiguity as to what exactly the crises or problems are. In part, the issue is whether they are *crises* (some special kind of event that comes and goes) or persistent problems that political systems face. And, whichever conception of the item is used, they are difficult to place in a sequence because the five items seem to come together" (Verba 1971: 297).

Verba goes on to suggest that the institutions formed by the managers of a state to deal with any particular problem tend to survive beyond the acute phase of the problem and to constrain the response of the state to subsequent problems—a formulation which is surely

correct, if unsurprising, and which dovetails with this volume's insistence on the durable effects of the expedients adopted for the financing of armies, provisioning of cities, or policing of the countryside. Verba finally supports the hypothesis of cumulation: "What Britain took centuries to do—solve the problems of identity, legitimacy, participation, and distribution—the new nations have to do in the briefest span of time" (Verba 1971: 314). Despite this concession to the conventional argument, Verba's general assessment is that neither the crises, nor the sequences, nor the connections among them, have been reliably identified. I concur.

### *Developmental Models*

Within the category of developmental theories, the chief alternatives to stage and sequence models are those which posit strong relationships among different types of changes without deriving from those relationships any particular developmental paths or priorities. Outside the political realm, sociologists of development have often been content to show that urbanization and industrialization frequently occur together and reinforce each other, without insisting that one of them always comes first, or that their interaction follows a well-defined obstacle course. Similarly, many theories of political development emphasize the interdependence of a specialized governmental staff and a strong executive, without laying out a sequence in which they appear.

Most cross-sectional studies adopt this weaker (but safer) kind of developmental formulation. Phillips Cutright has, for example, conducted a series of comparisons among contemporary states with respect to political development, inequality, and social security systems. In the social security study his most general conclusion is that

national political, economic, and social systems are interdependent. Changes in the complexity of organization in one sphere are followed by changes in organization in other areas. The specific activities that engage the attention of national governments are not independent of the general level of development. Quite the contrary is true. In spite of very great differences among nations in ideological orientation as well as in type of political organization, we found that actual activities of government in the social security field were strongly related to the complexity of social organization in economic, social, and political institutions (Cutright 1965: 548).

In this particular study, comparing seventy-six governments over the period from 1930 to 1960, Cutright examined the statistical relationships among three measures of the extensiveness of social security programs, a scale of political representativeness (which essentially arrays states by their similarity to those western democracies which have at least two active parties) and several conventional indicators of wealth, urbanity and literacy. Earlier, Cutright had proposed the same scale of representativeness as a general measure of political development (Cutright 1963). There, he displays a high correlation between the index of representativeness (alias political development) and a "communications development index" combining observations on newspaper consumption, newsprint consumption, telephones and volume of domestic mail. Having plotted the regression line linking the political index to the communications index, he explicitly adopts a theory of equilibrium at the regression line: a country which has "too much" or "too little" political development for its volume of communications will tend to change in such a way as to bring the two into adjustment.

Whatever one thinks of the general validity of Cutright's analysis, it is obviously a far cry from the specific questions about state-making we are pursuing. His analysis takes the existence of national states for granted, and barely asks what determines their durability, strength or effectiveness. By extrapolation, however, it does offer a *type* of answer to each of our three inquiries:

Q. Under what conditions do national states become the dominant organizations in an area? A. No real answer, but a suggestion that the development of complex social organization in other regards determines the formation of differentiated, centralized, territorially consolidated governments.

Q. What are the chief forms taken by national states, and what causes one or another of them to appear? A. The forms range along a principal continuum from "undeveloped" (characterized by low levels of political participation, by lack of popular representation and little redistributive activity) to "developed" (extensive participation and representation, vigorous redistribution); the various forms succeed each other in an evolutionary progression whose timing depends mainly on nonpolitical transformations: the accumulation of wealth, the formation of complicated communications systems, and so on.

Q. What determines how strong, durable, effective, and responsive to its own population a national state is? A. What position it has reached in the evolutionary progression. All these characteristics rise with political development, although only some of them enter into its definition.

The hypothetical answer to the first question is too general to be verifiable on the basis of European experience since 1500. Its deterministic tone clashes with our general portrayal of the early states as fragile and of their survival as contingent. Answering the second question with an evolutionary continuum running from nonparticipant to participant politics clashes badly with our insistence on the abridgements of political rights which occurred with the formation of national states, on the resistance of ordinary people to the expansion of state power, and on the constant changes in the very units undergoing political transformation. Likewise, our analyses of Europe treat the strength, durability, effectiveness, and responsiveness of a government as (1) only weakly related to each other; (2) only slightly dependent on the wealth or complexity of the population in question with wealth and complexity operating as constraints rather than as determinants; (3) more strongly affected by the class coalitions, past and present, supporting a particular state's government, and by the relationship of that state to the whole system of states, than the evolutionary scheme implies.

Do our analyses therefore *refute* Cutright's? Not really. If they are correct, they limit the field of applicability of his generalizations to the contemporary world and/or the later stages of state-making. If correct, they cast doubt on the functional portions of his argument (e.g., the interdependence of complexity and representation) and offer some support for two alternatives to a functional interpretation: (1) the diffusion of a certain pattern of government among the richer countries of the world; and (2) the imposition of that standard pattern of government on the rest of the world by the richer powers. Finally, if they are correct, they indicate the need for a theory which has more room for expansion, domination, conflict, and destruction than appears in Cutright's.

The same might be said of Talcott Parsons' recent (1971) essay on the emergence of modern western societies. Parsons' treatment differs sharply from Cutright's in dealing extensively with changes in the western world over centuries before our own time, and in argu-

ing that the unique set of social conditions which emerged in Europe with the decline of feudalism produced a new type of society—the “modern” society—which, after considerable internal transformation, diffused to the rest of the world. What is more, Parsons has a clear conception of a system of states acting on each other and, to some extent, acting collectively. Nevertheless, Parsons and Cutright converge at two crucial points. First, they both consider the formation of governments of the twentieth-century type to be the more or less inevitable accompaniment of complexity in other realms. Second, they both posit an evolutionary path toward democracy and widespread political participation.

Parsons puts forth these points in a passage dealing with England, France and Holland during the seventeenth century:

These three nations were the “spearhead” of early modernity. The most important developments occurred in their societal communities. The variations among the forms of the three societal communities were immense, but each contributed major innovations relative to national solidarity. In particular, the English conception of national identity provided a basis for a more clearly differentiated societal community. The differentiation proceeded on three fronts—religious, political, and economic—each involving normative considerations. Legal innovations were thus critical, especially those that favored associational rather than bureaucratic potentials of the structure of national community. They were closely related to the emergence of parliamentarism and more developed market economies (Parsons 1971: 54).

If we were to apply the three basic questions about state-making to this and related portions of Parsons’ analysis, I think we would come out with approximately the same answers that I have already attributed to Cutright: (1) nonpolitical differentiation presupposes or produces political differentiation; (2) political forms belong in a continuum from undeveloped to developed; (3) the quality of a state depends mainly on its position along that continuum. The main difference is that Parsons treats the initial formation of territorial states in France and England as an outcome of renewed cultural creativity in geopolitically favorable niches within the European system. That much of the argument might, if extended, turn out to re-

semble Stein Rokkan's geopolitical analysis. But the rest raises the same objections I have already stated when dealing with Cutright.

*Some General Comments on "Political Development"*

Developmental theories have many other variants. It would be tedious and useless to review them one by one. Let me content myself with a few general reflections on the features of available theories which emerge when one grinds away at them with the grit of European history.

The literature concentrates, to a surprising degree, on political processes which only became prominent in the nineteenth century. The recurrent drama is the confrontation between a political structure presumably formed before the development of large-scale manufacturing and the complex of changes surrounding rapid industrialization. Some political structures are supposed to be readier than others to cope with those rapid changes. The readier the structure, the more likely the confrontation is to produce stable democracy. That way of putting it, of course, may simply amount to a definition of "readiness." As a general procedure for the analysis of political development, however, it clashes seriously with a number of the arguments in this book (notably Bayley's) which treat twentieth-century political patterns as outcomes of changes and struggles which occurred well before rapid industrialization.

The literature of political development is also strongly retrospective; it moves from twentieth-century political forms back to their presumed causes. Historical events matter to the extent that they contributed to the creation or survival of conditions actually observable in our own time. One result of this choice is that at its strongest the analysis could lead to a statement of the conditions under which a given political structure would change toward one of the existing models or instructions for producing that change. Such a literature seems unlikely to yield statements about the conditions under which a given political structure will disintegrate, stagnate, combine with others, or transform itself into a variety which has never been seen before. Since a large portion of the European political experience consisted of disintegration, stagnation, combination, and the emergence of political structures of a kind which had never before existed, and since the same will no doubt continue to be true of our world, the existing literature equips us poorly to deal with the analytic problems forced on us by the past and by the present.

Within the range of processes they do cover, most of these writings remain vague about just what is to be *explained*. The more sweeping and diffuse a conception of "political development" we adopt, the less likely it is that any theory whatsoever could provide an adequate account of its timing, sequences, impact, substance, or anything else. The characteristic uncertainty over the *explicandum* shows up in one of the less confused works in the field, Huntington's *Political Order in Changing Societies*. In general, Huntington is trying to lay out the alternative ways different countries have faced three fundamental political problems—the rationalization of authority, the differentiation of structures, and the expansion of political participation. He distinguishes three different Western patterns: the continental European (which he treats as a single model), the British and the American. The principal point of difference between the British and the continental European patterns is that the processes of centralization on the European Continent were focused in the crown and the state bureaucracy, while in Britain the centralization was focused in Parliament. The American pattern, which, he claims, stems directly from the sixteenth century Tudor distribution of powers, was the least centralized of the three patterns, both in the sense of regional decentralization and separation of powers. Huntington contrasts the long-time period available to the European powers for political problem-solving with the rush to modernity among the new states. His "mobilization-institutionalization" hypothesis asserts that democratic stability depends on a particular symmetry between the processes of mobilization (the breadth and intensity of demands for political participation) and the processes of institutionalization (the development of legitimate roles and political structures). The hypothesis evidently draws on nineteenth-century European history.

Important parts of Huntington's analysis—for instance, his treatment of the "Tudor Constitution" as keeping power away from the royal administration—run afoul of the arguments in this book. Instead of inspecting his historical statements, however, I want to call attention to the uncertainty of exactly what the analysis is supposed to explain. For the most part, Huntington eschews the term "political development"; instead he opposes political modernization to political decay. The basic definition is rather imprecise, but perhaps manageable: "Political modernization involves the rationalization of authority, the differentiation of structures, and the expansion of po-



litical participation" (Huntington 1968: 93). Later on, we discover that the Mexican Revolution was "highly successful in political development, that is, the creation of complex, autonomous, coherent, and adaptable political organizations and procedures, and it was reasonably successful in political modernization, that is, the centralization of power necessary for social reform and the expansion of power necessary for assimilation" (p. 324). Elsewhere we receive a warning against confusing "political modernization defined as movement from a traditional to a modern polity and political modernization defined as the political aspects and political effects of social, economic, and cultural modernization" (p. 35). Here and there we also encounter the idea of institutionalization, "Institutionalization is the process by which organizations and procedures acquire value and stability. The level of institutionalization can be defined by the adaptability, complexity, autonomy, and coherence of its organizations and procedures" (p. 12). Eventually, as in the remark on the Mexican Revolution already quoted, we recognize another simple equation:

$$\begin{aligned} \text{institutionalization} &= \\ &\text{formation of adaptable, complex, autonomous,} \\ &\quad \text{coherent political organizations} \\ &\quad \text{and procedures} = \\ &\text{political development} \end{aligned}$$

By this point, we begin to notice a certain amount of drift—not just in concepts, but in the identification of what is to be explained.

This vagueness of the *explicandum* pervades the field. In fact, the same difficulties beset a whole family of related concepts: modernization, mobilization, not to mention the now-abandoned word progress. With all of them, we attempt to explain so much that we end up explaining nothing.

The complaint about vagueness is as old as the literature itself. There is another problem which is less often noted, yet probably just as serious: the strangeness of the basic unit of analysis. Political scientists lost interest in talking about the state as such twenty or thirty years ago. As they did so, they took to the discussion of societies, political systems and nations. (An interesting example is David Apter's well-known *Politics of Modernization*, which contains absolutely no discussion of the organizational structure of states.) At least two in-

centives moved them away from the state: (1) the aspiration to "separate out analytically the structures which perform political functions in all societies regardless of scale, degree of differentiations, and culture" (Almond 1960: 5), and thus extend the geographic range of comparative politics outside of the West and into the Third World; and (2) the effort to extend the analytical scope of political analysis to include political culture, political socialization and similar phenomena relevant to government but outside the formal structure of government. This expansion brought a hidden cost: it required political scientists to work with units which were much harder to delineate than states.

One can hardly carry on a systematic analysis—especially a comparative analysis—of nations, political systems or societies without a means of identifying their boundaries. The boundaries need not be geographic; they may separate different groups of people who are scattered or mingled in space. The means may be arbitrary, permitting the political scientist to analyze *any* local population as a "political system" in something like the manner that an ecologist designates any localized set of organisms and their environment as an "ecosystem." Or the means may derive from some theory of the social bond, using common language, degree of contact with a particular metropolis, or some such criterion to separate one nation, political system or society from another. In that case, the investigator has a special obligation: he must actually use that criterion to bound his units.

What have political scientists done in practice? For the most part, they have sneaked back to the state. They have treated the people and the territory subject to the control of a particular state as the basic unit to be compared with similar units elsewhere. Colonial territories then cause a certain amount of embarrassment, ordinarily handled by relegating them to a separate analysis. Thus the immense majority of studies in recent political science styling themselves cross-national, cross-polity, comparative and so forth have taken national states (or, more precisely, the territories and populations controlled by national states) as their basic units of analysis. The procedure is convenient and even justifiable. But it has the disadvantage of begging most of the questions which induced comparative political analysts to turn away from the state in the first place.

The choice of contemporary states as units for the long-run comparison of "political development" causes grave difficulties. For

everything which is dubious about the coherence of a nation, political system, or society identified by its relationship to a particular state at a single point in time becomes much more dubious when it comes to the study of a very long span of time. Among the areas studied in this volume, England and France seem the least contestable cases; even there we must make hard decisions concerning Scotland, Wales, Ireland, Brittany, and Alsace (not to mention Jersey, Guernsey, Andorra, or Monaco). The difficulties become apparent when we attempt to analyze the development of a unit called "Germany" from, say, 1550 to 1950. What are its boundaries? All the practical solutions of which I am aware divide into two categories: (1) take the population and territory controlled by a particular state at a particular point in time—perhaps the German Reich in 1900—then work forward and backward from that reference point; and (2) choose a particular political organization—the protostate and state of Brandenburg-Prussia would be a likely prospect here—and adjust the populations and territories under consideration to its fortunes. The first choice has the advantage of convenience and the disadvantage of theoretical awkwardness. The second choice provides a better fit to the phenomena about which we are able to theorize coherently, but has two large disadvantages. First, it is hard to do. Second, it leaves aside the continuous histories of the populations and territories which only come under the jurisdiction of the state in question for part of the period being examined. One would want somehow to include the vicissitudes of Bavaria before 1871 among the determinants of German politics after that time. Yet if we are to remain faithful to the analysis of a single coherent political organization, we shall have to drop poor Bavaria and devote our attentions to Brandenburg-Prussia.

Are these difficulties surmountable? If they are, we can retain the hope of generalizing about the process of political development experienced by a nation, political system, or society. If they are not, we shall have to content ourselves with generalizing about either (1) changes in particular kinds of political organizations, including states; in this case, shifts in the sorts of territories and populations with which they are dealing will form a major part of the *explanation* of organizational changes; (2) changes in the political experiences of particular kinds of populations and territories, defined independently of the jurisdictions under which they fall at different points in time, but not (3) both at the same time.

For my part, I do not think the difficulties are surmountable. Even if I am wrong, it should be clear that little more can be done with theories of political development until the actual unit which is "developing" gets more careful specification than it has had in the past.

One more thing about the characteristic unit of analysis deserves a going-over. The extreme concentration on the individual nation, political system, society, *or* state has drawn attention away from the international structures of power within which "development" takes place. The closest most of the literature comes to the kind of analysis we have in mind is in the discussion of influences which disaggregate easily into experiences of individual units: demonstration effects, military support, development funds, external subversion, importation of political technologies. In my review of recent writings, I have encountered impressively little discussion of the way the structure of world markets, the operation of economic imperialism, and the characteristics of the international state system affect the patterns of political change within countries in different parts of the world. Our review of the West European experience, on the other hand, has often brought us face to face with these very phenomena. The interdependent changes in the political structures of Poland, Denmark, Spain, and the Netherlands during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries provide one of the clearer examples. The profound effects of the Napoleonic Wars, another.

In a few works at the edge of the political development literature—for example, the essays of Amitai Etzioni and of J. P. Nettl and Roland Robertson—one sees a deliberate effort to specify those changes and take them into account. Yet so far I detect few signs that the theory itself is shifting in response to the recognition of its weakness. Something specific about the analysis of political development appears to have blocked the effective introduction of the proper international variables into existing developmental models.

That something could be the implicit policy aims of the models. Taken as a whole, the literature of political development is rather didactic in tone. It runs together description, analysis, prediction, and prescription in a fashion reminiscent of writings on city planning or population problems. Very likely the incentive to offer guidelines for the present and the future has encouraged the analysts to concentrate on the single national states and on the decisions within the reach of its managers. At least that seems a plausible explanation of the neglect of national and international structures of power, of

the view from below, of the paths to alternatives the managers do not desire, and so on through most of the weaknesses I have inventoried. Here is one case, it seems, where the effort to produce results relevant to current affairs reduced the strength of the analysis, instead of increasing it.

### *Functional Theories*

Functional theories differ from developmental theories mainly by subtraction: they do not propose any standard stages, sequences or trajectories, but they do state what else must be present if a national state is to exist. By that criterion many of the theories which advertise themselves as developmental are actually functional; indeed, some of the arguments I reviewed under the first heading are more definite about the necessary concomitants of the national states than they are about the processes which produce it. A number of broad evolutionary statements have more to say about function than process.

That is generally the case with anthropological treatments of the state. Anthropologists have worked intermittently on the origins of the state since their discipline crystallized in the nineteenth century. The problem does not have the cachet now that it had in the heyday of cultural evolution. But the students of evolution have never quit; at this point they may well be gaining strength. Recently, for example, Morton Fried has drafted an anthropologist's statement on the evolution of political organization. Characteristically, it links the extent and form of specialized political organization in a society to the system of stratification, which in turn is supposed to depend especially on the organization of production; again characteristically, the scheme divides all societies into a small number of levels: egalitarian, rank, stratified, and state societies. The state

is a collection of specialized institutions and agencies, some formal and others informal, that maintains an order of stratification. Usually its point of concentration is on the basic principles of organization: hierarchy, differential degrees of access to basic resources, obedience to officials, and defense of the area. The state must maintain itself externally as well as internally, and it attempts this by both physical and ideological means, by supporting military forces and by establishing an identity among other similar units (Fried 1967: 235).

This definition and the approach it implies are too broad to serve our immediate purpose of analyzing the alternative patterns of state-making in Western Europe and to draw out their implications for the contemporary world. Yet they draw attention to two features of states which the theories we have been reviewing ordinarily slight: their close ties to existing systems of stratification and their maintenance by means of various forms of coercion. Gerhard Lenski, among others, has taken the same line of argument quite a bit farther in the same direction. His comparisons of the characteristic political structures of agrarian and industrial societies still fall short of the refinement we need to distinguish a Prussia from a Spain or a seventeenth-century Poland from a twentieth-century Indonesia.

Despite the fact that anthropologists are often aware of the diffusion of political forms from one part of the world to another, and of international structures of domination, anthropological theories of the state tend to treat each society as more or less self-contained. To find functional theories of state-making in which relations among states play a major part we have to turn to specialists in international relations. James Rosenau, for example, has titled a monograph *The Adaptation of National Societies: A Theory of Political System Behavior and Transformation*. The name itself announces a whole program of theory and research. In actuality, most of Rosenau's effort goes into the description of four alternative patterns by which "societies" adapt to a changing world environment: acquiescent, intransigent, promotive, and preservative. "For a national society," Rosenau tells us, "adaptation means that the fluctuation in the basic interaction patterns that sustain its social, economic, and political life must be kept within limits minimally acceptable to its members" (Rosenau 1970: 2). His avowed purpose in setting up the problem this way is to examine the interdependence of national and international affairs. What is more, he offers a set of broad, essentially functional, hypotheses which include the idea that "acquiescent" and "preservative" forms of adaptation grow from, depend on, and correspond to stronger influences from the external political system than do the "intransigent" and "promotive" forms. This argument does not quite get us into consideration of the structure of that external system. It does, however, open the way to a formulation of state-making as a function of relations between a particular population and the rest of the world.

Again, peace researchers are much inclined to connect the structures of power and control among states to their counterparts within states. In a characteristic recent statement, Ekkehart Krippendorff has recalled the close historical connection between the formation of national armies devoted to international warfare and the growth of the state apparatus. Like most of the authors in this book, he regards the building of the armies as a cause of state-making, rather than as a mere symptom of its occurrence. He goes farther; he revives the old idea that the price of domestic tranquillity within the more powerful states was the increase in the intensity of conflict *among* states:

The Hobbes-Bodin observations about the higher level of international violence being the price paid for domestic pacification can be rephrased, therefore, for our times without losing their basic validity: the increase of violence in new, historically unprecedented forms is the direct function of inter-bloc stability and social pacification within the big industrial powers, which in turn was and still is only possible by means of strengthening state forms of political organization—be it of American, the Soviet or an emerging United European type. There is no doubt that the present pathological international system, better to be called a system of organized disorder, is being maintained only because of the existence of organized states (Krippendorff 1970: 55).

Like most other statements in this field, Krippendorff's analysis obviously leads to a prescription for peace—weaken or dismantle the strong states—and stands as a justification for it. For present purposes, the policy implications of his work matter less than the logical similarity of his basic model of the world to that employed by Rosenau. In both, governments respond to outside pressures and opportunities which are largely set for them by the current international structure of power, and in responding shape the subsequent relations between the government and the people under its jurisdiction. The model assumes a more direct relationship between international and national politics than we find in the literature of political development.

None of the functional theories of which I am aware, however, yields compelling answers to our three basic questions about the

emergence and transformation of national states. Their main contribution is to call attention to variables—both national and international—which are commonly neglected in developmental theories.

### *Historical Theories*

As things now stand in the analysis of state-making, historical theories offer a more serious alternative to developmental theories than functional theories do. By "historical" theories I mean those which account for the characteristics of any particular government through its individual relationship to some historical transformation affecting the world as a whole. Perhaps the simplest theory of this type proposes a long-term trend toward wider political participation, equality and responsive government, in which different countries and different social classes join at different points in time. We have already seen some flickers of those ideas among the developmental theorists. But to find them fully in view we must turn to writers such as T. H. Marshall or Reinhard Bendix.

In his *Nation-Building and Citizenship*, Bendix sketches a general transformation of Western European countries "from the estate societies of the Middle Ages to the absolutist regimes of the eighteenth century and thence to the class societies of plebiscitarian democracy in the nation-states of the twentieth century" (Bendix 1964: 2). In his view, the transformation took place in different parts of Europe at different tempos, but eventually covered the entire continent. It entailed several different trends: individualization of authority relationships, equalization of opportunity, the growth of citizenship, bureaucratization. In one important passage, Bendix makes the connection with the formation of the state:

The simultaneous development of a nationwide authority, a corps of public officials formally insulated from "extraneous" influences, and the plebiscitarian tendencies in the political realm are accompanied by the development of functionally defined, organized interests. The efforts of public officials to obtain support, information and guidance from the relevant "publics" are matched point for point by the efforts of organized interests to influence government actions so as to benefit their members or clients. It may be considered a corollary of nationwide authority, on the one hand, and the proliferation of interests organized to influence that authority, on the other, that in



Western nation-states consensus is high at this national level. In these political communities no one questions seriously that functions like taxation, conscription, law enforcement, the conduct of foreign affairs, and others belong to (or must be delegated by) the central government, even though the specific implementation of most of these functions is in dispute (Bendix 1964: 136-137).

Bendix does not give an overly explicit account of how, why and when these new political forms developed. (Furthermore, he bypasses the problem of defining the units undergoing the transformation by confining his attention to England, France, Prussia and Russia.) But his basic sequence appears to be: (1) state-makers concentrate authority in the public sphere while authority relations remain relatively unchanged in the private sphere; (2) with the Industrial Revolution and the growth of national markets, demands for political rights and for equality undermine traditional arrangements of authority in the private sphere as well; (3) under these pressures, a more powerful, but participatory, national state comes into being.

Much of Bendix' analysis is compatible with our findings. At two major points, however, we would have to part with the argument of *Nation-Building and Citizenship*. First, if our analyses are correct, Bendix misstates the trajectory and timing of political participation on the part of ordinary people. We see a widespread suppression of political rights and participation by the state-makers, we see recurrent crises of authority (both public and private) from the early days of state-making, frequently as a direct consequence of state-making. Bendix seems to have relied too heavily on a backward extrapolation of the nineteenth-century nationalization of political action. Second, Bendix' analyses treat developments in one country as more or less independent of developments in the next. The main international connections in his scheme (and the main reasons for changes in the pattern from period to period) consist of different sorts of diffusion of models and beliefs. While our analyses concede the importance of diffusion, they also bring out the influence of the changing international structure of power. The differing relationships of a France, a Russia or an England (and, for that matter, of a seventeenth- and an eighteenth-century France) to the European state system hardly figure in his analysis.

That neglect is a little surprising, for the German scholarly tradition on which Bendix draws frequently paid attention to the international system. Hintze, for example, pointed out a long time ago that World War I transformed what had been essentially a European state system into a world system, with strong effects on all participants. Writing of the "participation crisis" beloved of later political development theorists, he declared:

It is worth noticing that the old, well-established democracies showed themselves more resistant to crises than the untested new ones. In addition to these internal sources of shock leading to crises we must not forget the external ones which issued from the transformation which took effect in World War I. With the spread of popular sovereignty, solidarity declined as national rivalries increased. As the situation since the war [Hintze writes around 1930] has shown, these circumstances threaten the survival of the modern state in its historical form (Hintze 1962: 509-510).

In Hintze's analysis, clearly, more than the context in which each individual state "developed" was changing; the world system was changing.

Similarly, analysts of the economic situation of South Asia, the Middle East or (especially) Latin America have frequently attributed some or all of their region's "underdevelopment" to the relations of economic dependency and exploitation between their countries and the major western powers, particularly the United States. André Gunder Frank's *Capitalism and Underdevelopment in Latin America* begins with the contention that

. . . underdevelopment in Chile is the necessary product of four centuries of capitalist development and of the internal contradictions of capitalism itself. These contradictions are the expropriation of economic surplus from the many and its appropriation by the few, the polarization of the capitalist system into metropolitan center and peripheral satellites, and the continuity of the fundamental structure of the capitalist system throughout the history of its expansion and transformation, due to the persistence or re-creation of these contradictions everywhere and at all times. My thesis is that these capitalist contradictions and

the historical development of the capitalist system have generated underdevelopment in the peripheral satellites whose economic surplus was expropriated, while generating economic development in metropolitan centers which appropriate that surplus—and, further, that this process still continues (Gunder Frank 1967: 3).

This line of argument links neatly to a variety of recent analyses used elsewhere in this book: Immanuel Wallerstein's discussion of the formation of the European world-economy in the sixteenth century, Clifford Geertz' treatment of the "involution" of Indonesian agriculture under the impact of plantation-based production for the European market, Eric Wolf's reconstruction of the ways the expansion of capitalism into the peripheral areas of the world organized around Europe threatened the integrity of peasant communities, and other analyses. In addition to their own intrinsic merits and analyses of particular problems, these recent efforts have the advantage of placing the experience of specific areas squarely within the large international processes which help create that experience. They avoid the characteristic weakness of the "political development" literature: the treatment of each country as a separate, self-contained, more or less autonomous case.

By no means all of the analyses fall into the Leninist tradition on which André Gunder Frank, Paul Baran, and Rodolfo Stavenhagen build their work. The non-Leninist Celso Furtado, for example, speaks of "the international system of division of labor, which enable Latin American countries to initiate their development in the nineteenth century" as creating "asymmetrical relations that were reflected in the close dependence of countries exporting raw materials on the industrialized centers. . . . What was involved was thus a form of dependence consequent upon the very structure of the world economy. By making economic decisions little more than an automatic operation involving the transfer of price mechanisms from the micro-economy to the level of international relations, liberal ideology diverted attention from this problem and hindered perception of its consequences for the national economies and the domestic plane" (Furtado 1970: 151). Furtado's criticism of "liberal ideology" resembles my criticism of conventional theories of political development.

Not that the contemporary literature concerning economic imperialism contains all the answers to our questions about the formation of national states. For one thing, analysts of contemporary economic change are just as capable of misunderstanding European history as are analysts of political development. The recurrent assumption that the actions of European states had little to do with the growth of their economies is a case in point. Likewise, the recognition of the interdependence of contemporary countries somehow fails to erase the idea that their European predecessors "solved their problems" more or less independently of each other:

What France, Britain, and America have accomplished through their own revolutions has to be attained in backward countries by a combined effort of popular forces, enlightened government and unselfish foreign help. This combined effort must sweep away the holdover institutions of a defunct age, must change the political and social climate in the underdeveloped countries, and must imbue their nations with a new spirit of enterprise and freedom (Baran 1958: 91).

Furthermore, the analysts of *economic* dependence have not formed a distinct, well-articulated and convincing theory of political dependence. The central conception one finds in the literature on dependency and underdevelopment is of the state as the instrument of a national oligarchy whose position depends on control of local land and capital—a control bolstered by the state's repressive apparatus, but exercised within stringent limits set by the outside powers to which the national economy is subordinate. That Lenin was right in labeling the capitalist state as the "dictatorship of the bourgeoisie" has seemed so self-evident that even Marxist-Leninists have not undertaken a sustained historical analysis of the formation of the state, or of the ways that dominant classes have exercised power over it. (See the complaint of Ralph Miliband at the beginning of his own effort to formulate a Marxist theory of the state; Miliband 1969: 6.)

The clearest statements of the political theory of dependency and underdevelopment have appeared in attacks on the conventional wisdom of political science. Ocampo and Johnson (1972: 399–400), for example, nail up the following theses at the start of a discussion of political development theories:

1. The basic institutional framework of capitalist societies—private property, private initiative, and inequalities in the distribution of wealth and income—generate class structures grounded in inequalities of power and privilege and therefore of antagonistic relations between classes.

2. The fundamental political entity of capitalist society is the state. Any theory of politics and development must take into account the manner in which power vested in control of the economy and power resources of social classes are reflected in the state. The major problem here is identification of the various mechanisms by which the economic power of dominant social classes is translated into institutionalized political power.

3. A crucial problem for the analysis of politics and development is the nature of objective, patterned relations between economy, society, and the state. This involves an identification of the functions, basically of system-maintenance, of the state in and for society. Developmentally, the activities of the state are subject to the structural constraints, which analysis must identify, imposed by the system of capitalism.

4. The different forms of the state—liberal-democratic, authoritarian, fascist, populist, and others—are determined by economic transformations and changes in class relations in historical and cultural contents characteristic of different countries and regions.

5. Development involves the liberation of man from conditions of exploitation and oppression. Politics is the means of human liberation.

The above theses amount to a perspective and a program for inquiry rather than a theory of political change. If we were to extrapolate the statements in the same way that I have tried to squeeze implications for state-making from contemporary analyses of political development, we would arrive at arguments something like these: (1) national states become dominant organizations as the capitalist system expands, and as particular parts of the world become integrated into that system; (2) the chief forms taken by national states depend on the identities of their dominant classes; and (3) the economic strength of those dominant classes (modified by the extent and character of their dependency on the dominant classes of other states) determines the strength, durability, effectiveness and unresponsiveness of the state. These arguments are at least

compatible with the main findings of our studies of the European experience.

Nevertheless, such political theory as we now have from the analysts of dependency leave some thorny problems untouched. In order to remain consistent with what we have learned about European state-making, the theory will have to provide an explanation of the large impact of military activity on the form and bulk of the state, an account of fiscal policy which allows for such strange phenomena as the willingness of the English aristocracy to tax itself, a set of categories allowing for class *coalitions* in the formation of different types of state, and a specification of the mechanisms by which dominant classes translate economic into political power.

Marxists and Leninists have been understandably reluctant to attribute separate importance to the political sphere. Contemporary theorists of imperialism (as George Lichtheim argues forcefully in his recent *Imperialism*) have striven so hard to connect the colonial expansion of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries with the economic penetration of the twentieth that they have blurred the relationship between the political and economic processes. That effort to make the connection has produced some interesting hypotheses, such as the suggestion that the multinational corporation is superseding the national state as a repository of power (e.g., Johnson 1972). But the closest anyone has come to a general restatement of the relationship of political and economic power is in Gustavo Lagos' notions of "international stratification" and "atimia," which allow for the deterioration of status (*atimia*) along the economic and/or the political dimension.

What, then, do we have to learn from the literature of dependency and exploitation? First, the recognition that the nature of the international structure of power, and the relations of particular countries to that structure, account for a major part of the form, change, and variation of the national economic lives of poor countries; there is no obvious reason why that should be less true of political life. Second, the hypotheses of close (but imperfect) interdependence between the international structures of economic and political power, the changes of both being important determinants of the process called state-making. Third, the argument that the class structure of a particular state depends to a large degree on the relations of each major class to the international organization of production of distribution, and strongly affects the form of government within the state. Fourth,

the more specific historical hypothesis of the interdependence of a state system forming and growing up in Europe, spreading from there under the promotion and coercion of the European states, eventually encompassing the entire world: according to dependency arguments, the process began with combinations of territory and population open, opportunities for territorial expansion available, multiple political forms feasible, and so on, but it ended with a closed situation: great restraints on the territory, population, governmental form, external relations and development policies of the new member states.

Barrington Moore's synthesis, in *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy*, stands at the edge of this literature, but not completely outside it. Moore deliberately rejects the search for a standard pattern of political development; he resolutely adopts an historicist position: each country's political experience is a specific product of its period. Yet he also tries to bring out the specific features associated with parliamentary democracy of the British type through systematic comparison of the British structural background with that of Germany, France, and Russia. He also assumes that all countries eventually face the challenge of modernization: the formation, that is, of a collective capacity for industrialization.

Where Moore differs most sharply from the theories already reviewed is in his reliance on class structure as an explanation of alternative political paths to modernization. Thus the emergence of representative democracy in Britain (and with variations in France and the United States) is explained by the earlier commercialization of the rural sector, and the dominance of the middle classes in the processes of industrialization and political modernization. In Moore's short formula: no bourgeoisie, no democracy. It is, however, the *coalitions* of classes involved in modernization which eventually turn out to be crucial. Modernization in Germany and in Japan is explained in terms of a process dominated by a monarchic-bureaucratic-aristocratic coalition in which the bourgeoisie is a weaker social formation. The patterns of modernization in Russia and China are explained by societies with extremely weak commercial sectors and dominant, centralized authoritarian regimes. Here modernization is accomplished by means of a violent revolution—led by a revolutionary elite, but supported by an alienated peasantry.

This class analysis of differences in the processes of modernization is surely the dominant theme of Moore's work. Yet his contributions

toward more specific explanations of national differences come a bit closer to the "sequence" approach outlined earlier. In the theoretical summary of his point of view (part III of his book), where he is concerned with the prospects of democracy and industrialization in India, Moore refers for the first time to five conditions associated with democratic modernization. The five conditions include other variables than those stressed in the major part of Moore's analysis: (1) the development of a balance somewhere between the extremes of a very strong crown and a very independent landed aristocracy; (2) the commercialization of agriculture; (3) the weakening of the landed aristocracy; (4) the prevention of an aristocratic-bourgeois coalition against the peasantry and the working class; and (5) a revolutionary break with the past. The first and fourth of these conditions take us considerably beyond the massive class variables with which Moore is principally concerned; they take us into the arena of political decision and political structure.

In his effort to differentiate German experience from the British, Moore again relies heavily on other variables than those stressed in his class theory: ". . . at a deeper level of causation, England's whole previous history, her reliance on a navy instead of an army, on unpaid justices of the peace instead of royal officials, had put in the hands of the central government a repressive apparatus weaker than that possessed by the strong continental monarchies. Thus the materials with which to construct a German system were missing or but feebly developed" (Moore 1966: 444). Those are themes which a number of the earlier essays in this book have taken up, sometimes with the direct inspiration of Moore's analysis.

#### *The European Experience as Guide and Corrective*

Suppose again that the analyses of European experience in this book have gotten European state-making right. (I apologize for any strain to the reader's imagination.) How would the *substance* of what we say affect existing theories of "political development?" If the world had remained the same kind of place from 1500 to now, some of the inferences would be fairly easy to make. We would return to the general conditions which appear to have favored the survival of particular political units in Europe, and their transformation into national states. To repeat the first chapter, they were: (1) the availability of extractable resources; (2) a relatively protected position in time and space; (3) a continuous supply of political entre-



preneurs; (4) success in war; (5) homogeneity (initial or created) of the subject population; (6) strong coalitions of the central power with major segments of the landed elite. We would then add some features of the European state-making process which our analyses have brought out: (7) the high cost of state-building; (8) the intimate connection between the conduct of war, the building of armies, the extension and regularization of taxes and the growth of the state apparatus; (9) the large role of alternating coalitions between the central power and the major social classes within the subject population in determining the broad forms of government; and (10) the further effect of homogenization—or its absence—on the structure and effectiveness of government.

If these were, indeed, the main generalizations one could make about the formation of national states, they would leave untouched many portions the behavior analysts of “political development” have sought to explain; our formulations hardly bear on such questions as how citizens become well-informed, efficacious, concerned, and so on. Nevertheless, they would touch available theories in some vulnerable points. They portray the main processes which bring the national state to a dominant position as coercive and extractive.

Our conclusion in that regard is not the usual observation of hard-nosed government advisers: “some minimum of order” is necessary so the regime can get on with its work of social transformation. Instead, our study of the European experience suggests that most of the transformations European states accomplished until late in their histories were by-products of the consolidation of central control; that the forms of government themselves resulted largely from the way the coercion and extraction were carried on; that most members of the populations over which the managers of states were trying to extend their control resisted the state-making efforts (often with sword and pitchfork); and that the major forms of political participation which westerners now complacently refer to as “modern” are for the most part unintended outcomes of the efforts of European state-makers to build their armies, keep taxes coming in, form effective coalitions against their rivals, hold their nominal subordinates and allies in line, and fend off the threat of rebellion on the part of ordinary people.

If, again, we were dealing today with the same kind of world that fostered the formation of national states in Europe, we would have to challenge the conventional portrait of a “modernizing” elite pitted

against "traditional" authorities and a passive, unmobilized and/or traditional mass. I have in the mind the sort of description presented by an M.I.T. study group around 1960:

A society freed from colonial rule or one which has overthrown a traditional government must create a minimally effective national government, a task which confronts such problems as these:

It is almost certain to be the case that much energy and attention must be devoted to overcoming the residues of political authority derived from the traditional society which cannot be harnessed constructively to the purposes of the new modern national government. Examples are the sects in southern Vietnam, the Indian princes, the Chinese war lords, the African tribal leaders.

The new government must also develop a minimum core of technically trained men capable of maintaining order, collecting taxes, and organizing the staff work required for the inevitably substantial role of the government in the economy and in the education process.

Modernization develops aspirations in the minds of various groups of citizens for progress toward many new goals, economic, educational and cultural, which are not regarded by traditional governments as within their responsibilities. The new government must demonstrate effective leadership in establishing programs to promote these new objectives if it is to survive. Means of communication must be developed between the government and its citizens to convey to them a sense that the national goals being pursued are ones which they would sanction.

Political development thus must contend with vested power derived from the traditional society; the lack of trained men; the low literacy rate and the lack of other facilities permitting persuasive mass communication; and the absence of a widespread popular conviction that the new national government is an appropriate vehicle for furthering popular goals.

In the process of contention there are many occasions for frustration and backsliding, many ways in which political life may be diverted to sterile or disruptive goals. The Communist appeal to the underdeveloped areas is designed to exploit precisely these possibilities (M.I.T. Study Group 1967: 32-33).

No doubt the simplicity and declaratory manner of the statement result from its being addressed to a Senate committee rather than to the scholarly world. Nevertheless, it conveys a familiar image. If the European experience were our only guide, we would have to rule the image quite wrong. For the most part, that experience does not show us modernizing elites articulating the demand and needs of the masses, and fighting off traditional holders of power in order to meet those needs and demands. Far from it. We discover a world in which small groups of power-hungry men fought off numerous rivals and great popular resistance in the pursuit of their own ends, and inadvertently promoted the formation of national states and widespread popular involvement in them. In retrospect, Colbert appears to be a "modernizer." In his time, he sought—quite successfully—to extend and regularize the power of his king. Were the financiers, jurists, burghers, landlords and parliamentarians against whom he struggled "traditional?" Our answer is that the very question obscures the process of aggregation of power that was going on.

What sort of theory would do a better job with the substance of the European experience? The theory we need differs from available theories in several obvious ways:

1. It must refer consistently to a particular kind of unit: a territory, a population, a state, a dynasty or something else, but something specific.
2. Instead of treating the political transformation of that unit as an isolated trial to be accounted for its own terms, it must explicitly relate changes within a unit to shifts in its relationship to the rest of the world.
3. What features of that unit's experience are to be explained must be explicit and limited; "political development" in general is far too broad, much too vague.
4. The theory must proceed in an open-ended and prospective fashion, turning away from the task of specifying the conditions under which stable democracy emerges toward the task of specifying what paths away from, say, traditional kingship are likely and what affects the probabilities that one or another of those paths will actually be followed.

*The studies in this book have not, of course, produced the new theory or even followed these principles rigorously. We have ma-*

neuvered uneasily between the tracing of particular organizations (the Brandenburg-Prussian state, etc.) and more loosely defined populations ("the English"). We have been more diligent in specifying changes within each unit than in dealing with relations among all the European states. We have dodged and darted from *explicandum* to *explicandum*. And our beginning with the effort to explain how modern France, Germany, or Spain got the way they were hampered the formation of prospective and open-ended arguments. In short, we are preaching about where to go next, not pointing with pride to where we have already been.

### *Two Paths to the State*

There is, however, one feature of the European state-making experience that will help us build a bridge from past to present. That is the existence in Europe itself of two large processes of state formation, and the general shift from one toward the other. The first is the extension of the power and range of a more or less autonomous political unit by conquest, alliance, bargaining, chicanery, argument, and administrative encroachment, until the territory, population, goods, and activities claimed by the particular center extended either to the areas claimed by other strong centers or to a point where the costs of communication and control exceeded the returns from the periphery. Those expansive processes dominated the state-making experience to which we have devoted the greatest attention in this book: Brandenburg-Prussia, France, England, Spain, and so on. Yet we have not been able to ignore a second large process, consisting of the more or less deliberate *creation* of new states by existing states. The carving of Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia out of the trunk of the Austro-Hungarian Empire is a relatively pure case, Napoleon's formation of the Batavian Republic, the Cisalpine Republic, and other temporary states a more special (but not uncommon) variety of the process, and the final consolidation of Germany and Italy, combinations of the center-to-periphery and external-creation processes. Even in the creation of new states by autonomist rebellions like those of Portugal and The Netherlands in 1640, the acquiescence or collaboration of existing states became increasingly crucial. From 1648 onward, the ends of wars provided the principal occasions on which the creation of new states occurred.

Let me not claim too much. The formation of Zaïre in the 1960s out of what had been for a while the Belgian Congo was not "just

like” the creation of a united Italy in the 1860s out of what had been a string of states dominated by Austria. The most important point of contact between the two processes is their involvement in the general movement toward a worldwide state system. We have discussed the movement several times in earlier chapters of this book. Schematically, it goes like this: (1) the formation of a few early national states amid a great variety of other political structures in Europe; (2) the mapping of most of Europe into distinct national states through wars, alliances, and a great variety of other maneuvers; (3) the extension of political and economic domination from that European base to much of the rest of the world, notably through the creation of client states and colonies; (4) the formation—though rebellion and through international agreement—of formally autonomous states corresponding approximately to the clients and colonies; (5) the extension of this state system to the entire world.

If we still dared call these blocks of events “phases” after the difficulties that term has already caused, we would have to place Italy in phase 2, Zaire in phase 4 of the historical movement. Phases 2 and 3 overlapped considerably in time; indeed, if we consider such cases as the geographic expansion of Russia or the dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire, the distinction between the two begins to dissolve. The extension to the entire world is still going on; Antarctica, for example, remains political limbo. Yet the distinction of that extension from phase 4, the formation of formally autonomous states, is mainly a matter of convenience. The main rhythm, then, has three beats: (1) the formation and consolidation of the first great national states in commercial and military competition with each other, accompanied by their economic penetration of the remainder of Europe and of important parts of the world outside of Europe: roughly 1500 to 1700; (2) the regrouping of the remainder of Europe into a system of states, accompanied by the extension of European political control into most of the non-European world, save those portions already dominated by substantial political organizations (e.g., China and Japan): roughly 1650 to 1850; (3) the extension of the state system to the rest of the world, both through the acquisition of formal independence by colonies and clients, and through the incorporation of existing powers like China and Japan into the system: roughly 1800 to 1950. If this scheme is correct, the study of European state-making has at least one point of relevance to the politics of the contemporary world: Europeans played the major part in creating the

contemporary international state-system, and presumably left the imprints of their peculiar political institutions on it. It is probably even true (although not for the reasons usually adduced) that a state which has adopted western forms or organization will have an easier time in the international system; after all, the system grew up in conjunction with those forms.

At the same time as the state system absorbs the entire world, the individual state may be losing part of its significance. I ended this book's introduction with speculations about the devolution of power away from the nation-state both upward and downward: toward the regional grouping and the compact of superstates above, toward the subnational region, ethnic population, or racial group below. Perhaps the two movements are complementary, with the segments of the population which were demobilized as the state became supreme renewing their bids for autonomy as they see the state increasingly constrained by powers outside it. Perhaps the European national state grew up at a scale roughly matched to the markets, capital, communications, and productive organization of the seventeenth or eighteenth centuries, but increasingly irrelevant to the scale and manner of interdependence prevailing in the twentieth century. Perhaps control of a contiguous territory was peculiarly advantageous to the land- and water-bound technologies of the European state-making eras, but an obstacle to full exploitation of technologies of flight, electric power and electronic information-handling.

For all these perhapses, we must wait and see. But remember the definition of a state as an organization, controlling the principal means of coercion within a given territory, which is differentiated from other organizations operating in the same territory, autonomous, centralized and formally coordinated. If there is something to the trends we have described, they threaten almost every single one of these defining features of the state: the monopoly of coercion, the exclusiveness of control within the territory, the autonomy, the centralization, the formal coordination; even the differentiation from other organizations begins to fall away in such compacts as the European Common Market. One last perhaps, then: perhaps, as is so often the case, we only begin to understand this momentous historical process—the formation of national states—when it begins to lose its universal significance. Perhaps, unknowing, we are writing obituaries for the state.

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