

TABLE OF CONTENTS

1.	THE STATE	9
	<i>Essential Elements of the State</i>	21
	<i>General Characteristics and Attributes of the State</i>	26
	<i>Are They a Nation?</i>	31
	<i>A Nation once Again?</i>	36
	<i>Globalisation</i>	40
2.	INTRODUCTION TO INTER-STATE SYSTEM	47
	<i>The Origins and Principles of the Modern Inter-State System</i>	48
	<i>Configurations of the Modern Inter-State System</i>	49
3.	INTER-STATE INSTITUTIONS: THE UNITED NATIONS	57
	<i>UN – Definition</i>	58
	<i>Charter of the United Nations</i>	59
	<i>Membership</i>	68
	<i>Purposes – Principles</i>	70
	<i>The General Assembly</i>	73
	<i>The Security Council</i>	75
	<i>Security Council Reform: A Transitional Approach</i>	81
	<i>The UN Climate Change Convention and the Kyoto Protocol</i>	87
	<i>UN has ‘Moral duty’ to Act on Lessons of Rwanda – Ban Ki-moon</i>	92
	<i>Security Council Urges Inclusive And Credible Myanmar Referendum, Elections</i>	94
4.	BEYOND THE INTER-STATE SYSTEM: THE EUROPEAN UNION	109
	<i>Symbols of the European Union</i>	110
	<i>The Historical Evolution</i>	113
	<i>The History of the European Union</i>	118
	<i>Common Provisions</i>	128
	<i>EU Institutions and Other Bodies</i>	132
5.	CHALLENGES FOR THE EUROPEAN UNION	145
	<i>Croatia and the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia: Progress Towards EU</i>	146
	<i>EU & Kosovo: Kosovo Progress Report</i>	151
	<i>Europe: Kosovo Grows as an EU Problem</i>	154
	<i>Just What Is This ‘Absorption Capacity’ Of The European Union?</i>	158
	<i>From the Myth of European Accession to Disillusion</i>	161
	<i>Linguistic Diversity</i>	167
	<i>Language Learning</i>	168
	<i>Agriculture and the Environment</i>	172
	<i>Agriculture and Biodiversity</i>	172
	<i>Biodiversity</i>	173
	<i>Agriculture and Genetically Modified Organisms</i>	176

PART I
THE STATE



State

(Part I)

association
enforcement
jurisdiction
boundary
sovereignty
means
whereby
cognate
polis
city-state
self-sufficiency
accurately
secure
fragmentation
feudal lord
emerge
regain
prime importance
durability
sweep aside
succession
sovereign
forerunner
divine right of kings
monarchy
welfare

Political organization of society, or the body politic, or, more narrowly, the institutions of government. The state is a form of human association distinguished from other social groups by its purpose, the establishment of order and security; its methods, the laws and their enforcement; its territory, the area of jurisdiction or geographic boundaries; and finally by its sovereignty. The state consists, most broadly, of the agreement of the individuals on the means whereby disputes are settled in the form of laws. In such countries as the United States, Australia, Nigeria, Mexico, and Brazil, the term state (or a cognate) also refers to political units, not sovereign themselves, but subject to the authority of the larger state, or federal union.

The history of the Western state begins in ancient Greece. Plato and Aristotle wrote of the *polis*, or city-state, as an ideal form of association, in which the whole community's religious, cultural, political, and economic needs could be satisfied. This city-state, characterized primarily by its self-sufficiency, was seen by Aristotle as the means of developing morality in the human character. The Greek idea corresponds more accurately to the modern concept of the nation—*i.e.*, a population of a fixed area that shares a common language, culture, and history—whereas the Roman *res publica*, or commonwealth, is more similar to the modern concept of the state. The *res publica* was a legal system whose jurisdiction extended to all Roman citizens, securing their rights and determining their responsibilities. With the fragmentation of the Roman

system, the question of authority and the need for order and security led to a long period of struggle between the warring feudal lords of Europe.

It was not until the 16th century that the modern concept of the state emerged, in the writings of Niccolò Machiavelli (Italy) and Jean Bodin (France), as the centralizing force whereby stability might be regained. In *The Prince*, Machiavelli gave prime importance to the durability of government, sweeping aside all moral considerations and focusing instead on the strength—the vitality, courage, and independence—of the ruler. For Bodin, his contemporary, power was not sufficient in itself to create a sovereign; rule must comply with morality to be durable, and it must have continuity—*i.e.*, a means of establishing succession. Bodin's theory was the forerunner of the 17th-century doctrine of the "divine right of kings," whereby monarchy became the predominant form of government in Europe. It created a climate for the ideas of the 17th-century reformers like John Locke in England and Jean-Jacques Rousseau in France, who began to re-examine the origins and purposes of the state.

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1. Pre-reading.

The word *State* is polisemic, i.e. it has several meanings. Skim through the above text and decide which of the given definitions correspond best to the meaning of the title.

DEFINITIONS:

1 state
 Pronunciation: 'stAt
 Function: *noun*
 Usage: *often attributive*
 Etymology: Middle English *stat*, from Old French & Latin; Old French *estat*, from Latin *status*, from *stare* to stand -- more at STAND
 Date: 13th century

1 a : mode or condition of being <a *state* of readiness> **b** (1) : condition of mind or temperament <in a highly nervous *state*> (2) : a condition of abnormal tension or excitement

2 a : a condition or stage in the physical being of something <insects in the larval *state*> <the gaseous *state* of water> **b** : any of various conditions characterized by definite quantities (as of energy, angular momentum, or magnetic moment) in which an atomic system may exist

3 a : social position; *especially* : high rank **b** (1) : elaborate or luxurious style of living (2) : formal dignity : **POMP** -- usually used with *in*

4 a : a body of persons constituting a special class in a society : **ESTATE** 3 **b plural** : the members or representatives of the governing classes assembled in a legislative body **c obsolete** : a person of high rank (as a noble)

5 a : a politically organized body of people usually occupying a definite territory; *especially* : one that is sovereign **b** : the political organization of such a body of people **c** : a government or politically organized society having a particular character <a police *state*> <the welfare *state*>

6 : the operations or concerns of the government of a country

7 a : one of the constituent units of a nation having a federal government <the fifty *states*>
b plural, capitalized : The United States of America

8 : the territory of a state

Source: Merriam Webster's Online Dictionary

2. Answer the following questions.

1. How is the word State defined in the text?

a) wider sense

.....

b) narrower sense

.....

c) special sense

.....

2. What are the distinguishing characteristics of a state?

a)

b)

- c)
- d)

3. Fill in the chart with the relevant information from the text:

	NAME	CHARACTERISTICS	MODERN CORRESPONDENCE
ANCIENT GREECE	<i>Polis or</i>		
ANCIENT ROME			State

- 4. When was the concept of modern state advanced?
.....
- 5. Which characteristics of state were highlighted by Machiavelli?
.....
- 6. Where did Machiavelli's view differ from Bodin's view of state?
a)
.....
b)
.....
- 7. Which two doctrines were brought about by the 17th century?
.....
.....

State

(Part II)

general will
 corrupt
 assume
 in respect of
 predecessor
 self-seeking
 brutish
 gloomy
 spring from
 social contract
 infringe on
 in exchange for
 alignment
 well-being
 moral agent
 coincide
 culmination
 enchanted with
 perpetual
 utilitarian
 device
 benign
 precedent
 apparatus
 oppression
 supremacy
 contentment
 dictatorship
 wither away
 range from ... to
 deem
 welfare state
 subsistence

Rather than the right of a monarch to rule, Rousseau proposed that the state owed its authority to the general will of the governed. For him, the nation itself is sovereign, and the law is none other than the will of the people as a whole. Influenced by Plato, Rousseau recognized the state as the environment for the moral development of humanity. Man, though corrupted by his civilization, remained basically good and therefore capable of assuming the moral position of aiming at the general welfare. Because the result of aiming at individual purposes is disagreement, a healthy (noncorrupting) state can exist only when the common good is recognized as the goal.

Rousseau's ideas reflect an attitude far more positive in respect of human nature than either Locke or Thomas Hobbes, his 16th-century English predecessor. The "natural condition" of man, said Hobbes, is self-seeking and competitive. Man subjects himself to the rule of the state as the only means of self-preservation whereby he can escape the brutish cycle of mutual destruction that is otherwise the result of his contact with others.

For Locke, the human condition is not so gloomy, but the state again springs from the need for protection—in this case, of inherent rights. Locke said that the state is the social contract by which individuals agree not to infringe on each other's "natural rights" to life, liberty, and property, in exchange for which each man secures his own "sphere of liberty."

The 19th-century German philosopher G.W.F. Hegel saw the sphere of liberty as the whole state, with freedom not so much an individual's right, but rather, a result of human reason. Freedom was not the capacity to do as one liked but was the alignment with a universal will toward well-being. When men acted as moral agents, conflict ceased, and their

aims coincided. Subordinating himself to the state, the individual was able to realize a synthesis between the values of family and the needs of economic life. To Hegel, the state was the culmination of moral action, where freedom of choice had led to the unity of the rational will, and all parts of society were nourished within the health of the whole. However, Hegel remained enchanted with the power of national aspiration. He did not share the vision of Immanuel Kant, his predecessor, who proposed the establishment of a league of nations to end conflict altogether and to establish a "perpetual peace."

For the English utilitarians of the 19th century, the state was an artificial means of producing a unity of interest and a device for maintaining stability. This benign but mechanistic view proposed by Jeremy Bentham and others set a precedent for the early communist thinkers like Karl Marx for whom the state had become an "apparatus of oppression" determined by a ruling class whose object was always to maintain itself in economic supremacy. He and his collaborator, Friedrich Engels, wrote in *The Communist Manifesto* that, in order to realize complete freedom and contentment, the people must replace the government first by a "dictatorship of the proletariat," which would be followed by the "withering away of the state," and then by a classless society based not on the enforcement of laws but on the organization of the means of production and the fair distribution of goods and property.

In the 20th century, concepts of state ranged from anarchism, in which the state was deemed unnecessary and even harmful in that it operated by some form of coercion, to the welfare state, in which the government was held to be responsible for the survival of its members, guaranteeing subsistence to those lacking it.

In the wake of the destruction produced by the nationalistically inspired world wars, theories of internationalism like those of Hans Kelsen and Oscar Ichazo appeared. Kelsen put forward the idea of the state as simply a centralized legal order, no more sovereign than the individual, in that it could not be defined only by its own existence and experience. It must be seen in the context of its interaction with the rest of the world. Ichazo proposed a new kind of state in which the universal qualities of all individuals provided a basis for unification, with the whole society functioning as a single organism.

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1. Pre-reading. Skim through the text and find a suitable subtitle for Part II.

2. Answer the following questions.

1. Which agency constitutes the ruling authority according to Rousseau?
.....
.....
2. How did Plato influence Rousseau's view of the state?
.....
.....
3. What is the ultimate goal of the state according to Rousseau?
.....
.....
4. How does Rousseau's conception of human nature differ from Locke's and Hobbes' views?
.....
.....
5. What is the reason for the establishment of the state according to Hobbes?
.....
.....

6. What is the reason for the establishment of the state according to Locke?

.....
.....

7. What does freedom result from according to Hegel?

.....
.....

8. What does the state represent in Hegel's philosophy?

.....
.....

9. How do Hegel's and Kant's visions of society differentiate?

.....
.....

10. What was the role of the state for English utilitarians?

.....
.....

11. What was the ultimate goal of the society according to Marx and Engels?

.....
.....

12. How did anarchism view the state?

.....
.....

13. What is the welfare state?

.....
.....

14. Why is in Kelsen's view the state no more sovereign than the individual?

.....
.....

15. What is the state compared to in Ichazo's theory?

.....
.....

3. Fill in the following table representing the development of the modern concept of the state.

century	doctrine/author	characteristics and purpose of the state
16th	Machiavelli	
	Bodin	in the primordial state of nature life is brutish, nasty, competitive, lonely and destructive; the role of state is to
17th		doctrine in defence of monarchical absolutism, which asserted that kings derived their authority from God and could not therefore be held accountable for their actions by any earthly authority such as a parliament
	Locke	
18th	Rousseau	
19th	Hegel	
	English utilitarians	
	Karl Marx & Friedrich Engels	
20th		political theory claiming that government and laws are unnecessary and harmful, since they are based on coercion, therefore they should be abolished
	welfare state	
	internationalism: Hans Kelsen	
	Oscar Ichazo	

4. Word formation. Insert the suitable form of the word in brackets.

state

- After the popular revolutions the idea of (that is, a country in which one nation forms a state) became widespread.
- In the Ancient Greece the ideal of polis or prevailed.
- is a system of ensuring well-being of the citizens by means of social services.
- Several European are meeting at the summit to discuss the burning issues.
- A person who is not a citizen of any state is a person.

monarch

- In the 17th c. became the predominant form of government in Europe.
- The theory of the divine right of kings supported absolutism.
- Belgium, Sweden and the Netherlands are
- After the revolution the was overthrown.

king

- In the Middle Ages power was believed to have derived from God.
- A country or a state ruled by a king or a queen is referred to as
- With the increasing secularisation of all areas of life, sacred will of necessity disappear everywhere.

sovereign

- The notion of national will have to be redefined.
- Some theories of the social compact were designed to justify the power of the

content

- He expressed his with the situation.
- He approached her with a smile.

nation

- He is a citizen of France. He is of a French
- Immigrants often acquire the citizenship of a new country without giving up the old one. They have a
- After several years of immigration he became an English