

**BORIS FRANKEL**

**BEYOND THE STATE?  
Dominant Theories  
and Socialist  
Strategies**

CONTEMPORARY SOCIAL THEORY

# CONTEMPORARY SOCIAL THEORY

General Editor: ANTHONY GIDDENS

This series aims to create a forum for debate between different theoretical and philosophical traditions in the social sciences. As well as covering broad schools of thought, the series will also concentrate upon the work of particular thinkers whose ideas have had a major impact on social science (these books appear under the sub-series title of 'Theoretical Traditions in the Social Sciences'). The series is not limited to abstract theoretical discussion - it will also include more substantive work on contemporary capitalism, the state, politics and other subject areas.

## *Published titles*

Tony Bilton, Kevin Bonnett, Philip Jones, Ken Sheard, Michelle Stanworth and Andrew Webster, *Introductory Sociology*  
Simon Clarke, *Marx, Marginalism and Modern Sociology*  
Emile Durkheim, *The Rules of Sociological Method* (ed. Steven Lukes, trans. W. D. Halls)  
Boris Frankel, *Beyond the State?*  
Anthony Giddens, *A Contemporary Critique of Historical Materialism*  
Anthony Giddens, *Profiles and Critiques in Social Theory*  
Anthony Giddens and David Held (eds), *Classes, Power and Conflict: Classical and Contemporary Debates*  
Jorge Larrain, *Marxism and Ideology*  
Ali Rattansi, *Marx and the Division of Labour*  
Gerry Rose, *Deciphering Sociological Research*  
John Scott, *The Upper Classes*  
Steve Taylor, *Durkheim and the Study of Suicide*  
John B. Thompson and David Held (eds), *Habermas: Critical Debates*  
John Urry, *The Anatomy of Capitalist Societies*

## *Forthcoming titles*

Martin Albrow, *Weber and the Construction of Social Theory*  
Clive Ashworth, Chris Dandeker and Terry Johnson, *Theoretical Sociology*  
David Brown and Michael Harrison, *Industrial Sociology*  
Chris Dandeker, *Capitalism, Bureaucracy and Surveillance*  
Emile Durkheim, *The Division of Labour in Society* (trans. W. D. Halls)  
Anthony Giddens, *Between Capitalism and Socialism*  
David Held, *Bureaucracy, Democracy and Socialism*  
Geoffrey Ingham, *Capitalism Divided*  
Claus Offe, *Structural Problems of the Capitalist State*  
Ali Rattansi and Dominic Strinati, *Marx and the Sociology of Class*  
Michelle Stanworth, *Gender and Class*  
John B. Thompson, *Language and Ideology*

# CONTEMPORARY SOCIAL THEORY

General Editor: ANTHONY GIDDENS

## Theoretical Traditions in the Social Sciences

This new series introduces the work of major figures in social science to students beyond their immediate specialisms.

### *Published titles*

Barry Barnes, *T. S. Kuhn and Social Science*

David Bloor, *Wittgenstein: A Social Theory of Knowledge*

Julian Roberts, *Walter Benjamin*

Dennis Smith, *Barrington Moore: Violence, Morality and Political Change*

### *Forthcoming titles*

Ted Benton, *Althusser and the Althusserians*

Chris Bryant, *Positivism in Social Theory*

John Forrester, *Jacques Lacan*

John Heritage, *Garfinkel and Ethnomethodology*

Athar Hussain and Mark Cousins, *Foucault*

Bob Jessop, *Nicos Poulantzas*

Harvey J. Kaye, *The British Marxist Historians*

James Schmidt, *Maurice Merleau-Ponty and Social Theory*

Robin Williams, *Erving Goffman*

# **Beyond the State?**

## **Dominant theories and socialist strategies**

Boris Frankel

**M**

MACMILLAN PRESS  
LONDON

© Boris Frankel 1983

Softcover reprint of the hardcover 1st edition 1983

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced or transmitted, in any form or by any means, without permission.

*First published 1983 by*  
**THE MACMILLAN PRESS LTD**  
*London and Basingstoke*  
*Companies and representatives throughout the world*

ISBN 978-0-333-29421-5      ISBN 978-1-349-17227-6 (eBook)  
DOI 10.1007/978-1-349-17227-6

*Typeset in 10/12pt Times by*  
**MULTIPLEX**

# Contents

<i>Preface</i>	vii
<i>Definitions</i>	ix
1 Identifying the Problems	1
<b>PART I ABANDONING THE 'SACRED COWS' OF MARXIAN ORTHODOXY</b>	
2 Against the 'Holy Trinity' of 'The State', 'Civil Society' and 'The Economy'	25
3 From 'Civil Society' to 'World Capitalism': The Reduction of State Institutions to Non-Economic 'Superstructures'	34
4 Electoral Struggles: The Limits of 'Political Business Cycle' and 'Class-Theoretical' Analyses	56
<b>PART II TOWARDS A NEW WAY OF ANALYSING STATE INSTITUTIONS</b>	
5 Introducing the Concepts of Electoral, Production, Credit and Food Production Processes	69
6 Overcoming the Dichotomy of 'The State' and 'Civil Society': The Importance of Electoral Processes	82
7 Production Processes: Beyond the Separation of 'The State' from 'The Economy'	107
8 From Abundance to Scarcity: Contradictions within Credit Processes	129
9 The Industrialisation of Food Production Processes: A Neglected Revolution	152
10 One 'World-System' or 'Organised Anarchy': The Crises of Desynchronisation	171

**PART III RECOGNISING THE NATURE OF STATE  
INSTITUTIONS: IMPLICATIONS FOR THE  
FUTURE**

11	<b>Between Reform and Revolution: 'Alternative Programmes' and their Failure to Confront the Desynchronisation of Processes</b>	191
12	<b>A Socialist Stocktaking: Against Stateless Socialism and Market Socialism</b>	223
13	<b>The Impossibility of Socialist Pluralism without State Institutions</b>	251
	<i>Conclusion</i>	279
	<i>Notes and References</i>	287
	<i>Index</i>	317