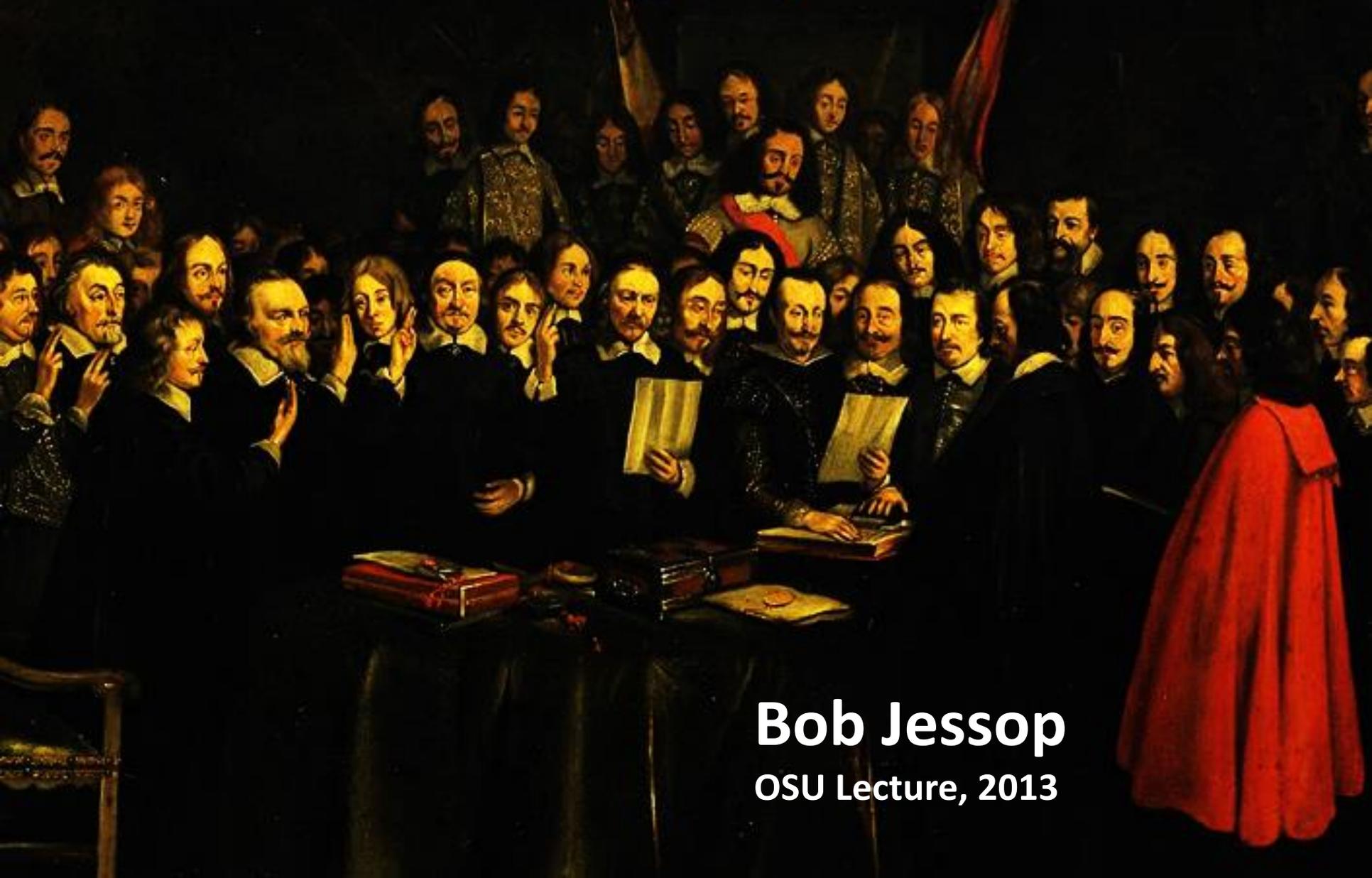


The Strategic-Relational Approach



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OSU Lecture, 2013

Outline

- So what exactly is the state?
- National state and nation-state
- Six approaches to studying states
- Historical formation: the origins of the state
- Form analysis of the capitalist type of state
- The strategic-relational approach
- Normal states and exceptional regimes
- Governance and governmentality
- Trends and counter-trends
- Authoritarian statism
- Conclusions

Problems of Definition

- All concepts in which an entire process is semiotically concentrated defy definition; only something which has no history can be defined (Nietzsche *GM* 1887/1994: 53)
- It is hard – some would claim impossible – to give a clear definition of the ‘state’ when it has such a long history, has assumed so many forms, and continues to change
- Even to assume that there is some ‘it’ to which the concept and state theory might refer is problematic
- Thus the state concept is often dismissed as ambiguous, opaque, vapid, fetishistic, empty, and so on.
- “The state does not exist”! “Nor should the concept!”

	State Territory (<i>Staatsgebiet</i>)	State Organ (<i>Staatsgewalt</i>)	State People (<i>Staatsvolk</i>)
Defining Features	A definite territory subject to control by a state apparatus	A staff with general and specific powers, including symbolic	A stable population on which state authority is binding
Similar Concepts	Frontiers, borders, borderlands, limes	Apparatus, machine, dispositive	“Nation”, subjects, residents, denizens Constituent power
External dimension	Exclaves, colonies Claims to extra-territoriality	Recognition of state sovereignty by other states	Aliens, refugees, exiles, stateless persons

	State Territory	State Power	State Population
State Crisis	Invasion, occupation, Insecure borders	Failed state Crisis of legitimacy Government-in-exile	Biopolitical decline
State Failure	Military defeat Loss of territorial sovereignty	Administrative failure, loss of legitimacy	Forcible removal, genocide, civil war, dual power, or divided loyalties
One-sided analysis	Neglect of space of flows; articulation of place, scale, network	State is reduced to mafia-like machine	Methodological nationalism
Remarks	Not same as terrain, terrestrial, telematic May be disjointed (enclaves, exclaves)	Do not reduce to organized force. Can be multi-level or multi-tiered	Not same as nation , citizenship Subjects may be corporate too

Statehood

***Statehood* = territorialized political power**

The core of the *state apparatus* comprises a relatively *unified ensemble* of socially embedded, socially regularized, and strategically selective institutions and organizations whose *socially constructed and accepted function* is to define and enforce *collectively binding decisions* on the *social agents* in a given *territorial area* in the name of the general will or *common interest* of a more or less inclusive *imagined political community* identified with that territory

All terms in italics are contested

National State



A sovereign territorial state constituted on the basis of its successful claim, internal and external, to exercise a legitimate monopoly of organized violence in its territory and to use this to govern its population

Not all national states are nation-states

Nation-State

A territorial state constituted on the basis of an actually existing form of (imagined) nationhood and/or that is seeking to legitimize territorialization of political power on the basis of (a self-constituting claim to imagined) nationhood.

Not all nation-states are national states



	Volks- nation	Kultur- nation	Staats- nation
Simple Imagined Community	Ethnos	Shared culture	Constitutional patriotism
Basis of Inclusion in community	Blood ties or naturalization	Assimilation, acculturation	Test of political loyalty
Limit form	Multi-ethnic social formation	Multi-cultural social formation	Nested political loyalties in multi-tiered state
How it may decompose	“Melting pot society”	Postmodern play of identities	Dual state in a given territory or rise of diasporas

Bertrand Badie, Pierre Birnbaum

Distinguish political systems with a centre and a state (France), a state but no centre (Italy), a centre but no true state (Britain, USA), and no centre or true state (the Helvetian Confederation). In the first two cases, the state dominates and tries to organize civil society through a powerful bureaucracy (with France the ideal type). In the last two cases, civil society can organize itself and a strong state and bureaucracy are not needed (with Britain the ideal type) (1983: 103-4).

Timothy J. Mitchell

The state should be addressed as an effect of detailed processes of spatial organization, temporal arrangement, functional specification, and supervision and surveillance, which create the appearance of a world fundamentally divided into state and society. The essence of modern politics is not policies formed on one side of this division being applied to or shaped by the other, but the producing and reproducing of this line of difference (Mitchell 1991: 95).

Michel Foucault

If the state is what it is today, it is precisely thanks to this governmentality that is both external and internal to the state, since it is the tactics of government that allow the continual definition of what should or should not fall within the state's domain, what is public and what private, what is and what is not within the state's competence, and so on. So, if you like, the survival and limits of the state should be understood on the basis of the general tactics of governmentality (2008: 109).

Antonio Gramsci

- the general notion of the State includes elements which need to be referred back to the notion of civil society (in the sense that one might say that the State = 'political society + civil society', in other words, hegemony armoured with coercion') (1971: 263).
- The entire complex of practical and theoretical activities with which the ruling class not only justifies and maintains its dominance, but manages to win the consent of those over whom it rules (ibid.: 244)

Approach	Focus	Some Key Themes	Some Disciplines
Historical formation	Primary state formation Later evolution of states Genealogy of diverse elements of state	Territorialization of political authority Core features of state State crisis, failure, revolution	Archaeology, anthropology, history, military science, organization studies, public administration
Formal composition	State as a form of domination Types of state /regime Internal organization	Isomorphism Form versus function ‘Relative autonomy’ Democracy and dictatorship	Historical materialism, international relations, law, policy sciences, political science, state theory
Agent-centred institutionalism	State managers + other state agents, political actors and behaviour, balance of forces	Leadership, decision-making, political calculation, political recruitment, social bases, hegemony	Actor-network theory, historical institutionalism, policy studies, sociology

Approach	Focus	Some Key Themes	Some Disciplines
Governmentality and/or critical governance studies	Governance techniques: disciplines, normalization, governmentality, meta-governance, collibration	Microphysics of power, anatomo-politics, biopolitics, strategic codification	Discourse analysis, dispositive analysis, public administration, policy studies
Figurational analysis	“State and Society” “State and Civilization” Social embeddedness	State in context, historical cleavages, base-superstructure, societalization	Comparative politics, geography, history, historical sociology, political economy
State semantics, political discourse	State concept, “state as idea”, philosophies and theories of the state and the state system	State projects, political imaginaries, policy narratives, ethico-political, hegemonic visions <i>Ideologiekritik</i>	Conceptual history, critical discourse analysis, cultural studies, political philosophy and theory,

Origins of the State

- Nomadic groups had recognized roaming territories (but with ill-defined outer boundaries)
- Simple and complex chiefdoms:
 - hard to control territory over 12 hours distant by foot
 - low political division of labour, so delegating authority to distant officials risks creating a potential rival chief
- Primary state formation:
 - First cases of state formation in a given region, without contact with other states (e.g., Mesopotamia)
 - Involves centralized bureaucratic administration that can overcome these spatio-temporal and administrative limits
- Subsequent state formation, including empires.

Historical Formation

- Territorialization of political power and its genealogy (e.g., the complicated history of the Westphalian state)
- State formation is not a once-and-for-all process; the state does not originate at one place/time – multiple inventions
- There are many types of state: city-states, small states, client states, empires, etc.
- There are also forms of political power that are non-statal
- No convincing general theory of origins (Marxian, military conquest, priesthood, patriarchy, political imaginaries)
- Do not assume unity of state apparatus (institutions, organizations, etc) – so include state projects in analysis

Willke on Basic State Resources

Resource	State Form	Role in State Formation, State Form, State Functions
<i>Zwang</i> (Force)	Territorial state	Claim to monopoly of organized coercion in given territorial area to secure frontiers and create conditions for peace within national territory'
<i>Recht</i> (Law)	Constitutional state	Create constitution, establish conditions for peaceful transfer of executive authority, institute property rights, gradual extension of legal, political, social and economic rights
<i>Geld</i> (money)	Interventionist state	Consolidate bourgeois tax state with state revenues based on compulsory general taxation for legitimate purposes (and as basis for repaying loans) and use control over expanding state budget to extend state's "infrastructural power"
<i>Wissen</i> (knowledge)	Supervision and "super-vision" state	State seeks <i>relative</i> monopoly of organized intelligence (information, knowledge, expertise) as basis for its powers of guidance (governance and meta-governance, e.g., open method of coordination) and for surveillance of population and other social forces within (and beyond) state's frontiers

Historical Formation and Polymorphy

- Different axes or principles of societal organization:
 - Capitalist state ('wealth container')
 - Military-political regime ('power container')
 - Nation-state ('cultural container')
 - Representative state (democratic or citizenship regimes)
 - Theocratic state (primacy of religion)
 - Security state (primacy of domestic national security)
 - 'Racialized' state (primacy of ethnic divisions, e.g., apartheid)
 -
- There can also be hybrid forms, based on combinations of principles in shadow of one; and some principles may conflict with others (e.g., apartheid vs capital accumulation)

Polymorphic Crystallizations

- Study past and present state formations as distinctive *polymorphous* (changeable) crystallizations of state power.
- There are competing axes of societal organization: states (along with the rest of a given social formation) vary with the dominance of one or another axis
- General higher-order crystallizations vs more specific conjunctural crystallizations (e.g., during wars or periods of economic emergency)
- Same power networks can crystallize differently according to dominant issues in given period; but shifting principles can also transform state power and social orders

Form Analysis and 'Normal' States

- National territorial state
 - but extra-territoriality and the 'camp'
- Constitutional State (*Rechtsstaat*)
 - but temporary suspension of rule of law
- Liberal Bourgeois Democracy
 - but exceptional regimes
- Tax state (*Steuerstaat*)
 - but predatory kleptocracies, fiscal crisis and default
- Temporal sovereignty
 - but politics takes time (even with states of emergency)

Capitalist Type of State

State in Capitalist Society

- Formal composition

- Historical development

- Formal adequacy (isomorphism)

- Material adequacy (functionality)

- Historically specific type tied to primacy of capitalist production

- Structure results from path-dependency and path-shaping

- Main principle of societal organization is accumulation

- Other organizational principles are possible (polymorphy)

- Class power is structural and tends to be obscure or else is seen as legitimate

- Class power is contingent: openly instrumental or mediated via other relations

ARTICULATION OF ECONOMY AND STATE IN CAPITALISM	IMPLICATIONS FOR THE ECONOMY AND CLASS RELATIONS	IMPLICATIONS FOR THE STATE AND POLITICS
<p>Institutional separation of market economy, sovereign state, and a public sphere (civil society) that is located beyond market and state</p>	<p>The economy is dominated by capitalist law of value as mediated via competition between capitals and economic class struggle.</p>	<p>Raison d'État (a specialized political rationality) distinct from profit-and-loss market logic and from religious, moral, or ethical principles.</p>
<p>Legitimate claim to monopoly of organized force in state territory.</p> <p>Role of legality in legitimation of the state and its activities.</p>	<p>Coercion excluded from immediate organization of labour process.</p> <p>The value form and market forces shape differential accumulation.</p>	<p>Specialized military-police organs are subject to constitutional control.</p> <p>Subject to law, state may counter market failure in national interest.</p>
<p>Specialized administrative staff with its own channels of recruitment, training, and <i>esprit de corps</i>.</p> <p>This staff is subject to authority of political executive. It forms a social category internally divided by market and status position.</p>	<p>State has specific place in division between manual and mental labour.</p> <p>Political class and officials specialize in mental labour and their power is linked to specialist knowledge</p> <p>‘Supervisionsstaat’</p>	<p>Official discourse has key role in state power.</p> <p>intellectuals formulate state and hegemonic projects</p> <p>State legitimacy based on national or 'national-popular' interest.</p>

ARTICULATION OF ECONOMY AND STATE IN CAPITALISM	IMPLICATIONS FOR THE ECONOMY AND CLASS RELATIONS	IMPLICATIONS FOR THE STATE AND POLITICS
<p>'Tax State': its revenues derive mainly from taxes on economic actors and their activities PLUS loans advanced by market actors</p> <p>State does not own property with which to produce goods and services for its own use and/or for sale to generate revenue to reproduce state and finance its activities</p> <p>Tax capacity depends on legal authority and coercive power: involves <i>Steuermonopol</i> and <i>Gewaltmonopol</i></p> <p>Private agents must earn money: state can tax or borrow</p>	<p>Taxes may be used to produce public goods deemed essential to market economy and/or for social cohesion</p> <p>Bourgeois tax form linked to the constitutionalization of the state:</p> <p>Taxes are</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • a general contribution to state revenue, • levied on continuing basis • state can apply them freely to any legitimate tasks <p>They should not be extraordinary, ad hoc, irregular, short-term, levied for specific tasks , and/or secured through negotiation</p>	<p>Subjects in state territory have a general duty to pay taxes to state, whether or not they approve of specific state activities</p> <p>State <i>fiat</i> money is means of payment for state taxes and so circulates more widely in state space (and, perhaps, beyond)</p> <p>Taxation capacity acts as security for sovereign debt.</p> <p>Tax as early form of class struggle</p>

ARTICULATION OF ECONOMY AND STATE IN CAPITALISM	IMPLICATIONS FOR THE ECONOMY AND CLASS RELATIONS	IMPLICATIONS FOR THE STATE AND POLITICS
<p>The state is based on the rule of law. This involves division between private law, administrative law, and public law.</p> <p>No formal monopoly of political power in hands of dominant economic class(es) but 'equality before the law'.</p> <p>International law governs relations between states.</p>	<p>Economic agents are formally free and equal owners of 'commodities', including labour-power.</p> <p>Private law evolved on the basis of property rights and contract law.</p> <p>State has key role in securing external conditions for economic exchange and the realization of private profit.</p>	<p>Formal subjects of state are individuals with citizenship rights, not feudal estates or collectively organized producer groups or classes. Struggles to extend these rights play a key role in the expansion of state activities.</p> <p>Public law is organized around individual-state, public-private, and national-international distinctions.</p>
<p>Formally sovereign state with a distinct and exclusive territorial domain in which it is formally free to act without interference from other states.</p> <p>Substantively, states are constrained in exercise of sovereignty by balance of international forces.</p>	<p>Tension between economy as abstract 'space of flows' in world market and as sum of localized activities, with politically-overdetermined character.</p> <p>Particular capitals may seek support in world competition from their respective states</p>	<p>Ideally, the state is recognized as sovereign in this territory by other states but it may need to defend its territorial integrity by force.</p> <p>Political and military rivalry is conditioned by strength of national economy.</p>

Capital and the State – I

- Do not fetishize the separation between economy and politics, market and state
- State power is an integral to the improbable reproduction of the capital relation (but not reducible to its role here)
- Accumulation depends on strategic use of economic *and extra-economic* resources for differential accumulation
- State is never absent from the process of capital accumulation, whether in stability or crisis
- State is active not only in general and particular material policies but also in organizing capitalist power blocs and disorganizing subordinate classes and forces

Capital and the State - II

- Capital keeps profitable activities for itself and gets state to undertake necessary but unprofitable activities – these activities change across stages and forms of capitalism
- Modern state gets its revenues from taxation – this is a cost of doing business for capital – and/or from public debt – which limits state's freedom of action (capital 'strike' or 'flight').
- So modern state's activities depend on a healthy, growing economy – which ties political programmes to economic rationality.

Economic and Political Struggles

- Economic struggle will normally occur within market logic (i.e., over wages, hours, working conditions, prices)
- Political struggle will normally occur within logic of a representative state based on rule of law (i.e., over the ‘national interest’, or reconciling particular interests of citizens and property owners in ‘illusory’ general interest)
- Class is absent as explicit organizing principle of capitalist type of state – without legal or de facto monopoly of political power, dominant class must compete for political power on formally equal terms with subaltern classes

Normal States

Exceptional Regimes

- Liberal democracy with universal suffrage
- Power transferred in stable way in line with rule of law
- Pluralistic ISAs, relatively independent of state
- Separation of powers
- Power circulates organically, facilitating flexible reorganization of power

- Suspend elections (except for plebiscites, referenda)
- No legal regulation of power transfer ('might is right')
- ISAs integrated into state to legitimate power
- Concentration of powers
- Congeals balances of forces at time that exceptional regime is introduced

The State as a Social Relation

- State is not a thing or a rational subject but an ensemble of institutions and organizations that exercises power, insofar as it does, through an institutionally-mediated condensation of a changing balance of forces that seek to influence forms, functions, and exercise of state power
- As well as its articulation to an economic basis and its contingent economic functions, state, as *official résumé* of society, has key role in socio-political domination
- This occurs through the selective impact of state form on shaping political opportunities and alliances and through specific state strategies, projects, and policies

State Power(s)

- As an *ensemble* of power centres and capacities that offer unequal chances to different forces within and outside the state, the state itself doesn't exercise power
- Its powers (plural) are activated by changing sets of politicians and officials located in specific sites, acting in specific conjunctures, with specific horizons of action
- Despite their key roles, these 'insiders' typically refer to a wider balance of forces within and beyond the state.
- To talk of the state or its managers exercising power is a convenient fiction that masks a more complex relations that extend beyond the state system and its capacities.

Strategic Selectivity

Particular forms of economic and political system privilege some strategies over others, access by some forces over others, some interests over others, some spatial scales of action over others, some time horizons over others, some coalition possibilities over others ... structural constraints always operate selectively: they are not absolute and unconditional but always operate temporally, spatially, agentially, and strategy specifically (Jessop 1997: 63)

Four Selectivities

Structural	Structurally-inscribed strategic selectivities plus structurally-oriented strategic calculation	Form analysis and critical institutionalism; focus on uneven distribution of constraints/opportunities
Agential	Attribution of interpretive and causal powers to agents to make a difference in specific conjuncture by virtue of specific capacities unique to them	Conjunctural analysis oriented to individual and social agents in a changing balance of forces
Discursive	Orders of discourse (sense- and meaning-making) limit what can be thought and said; strategic use of language can also make a difference	Critical semiotic analysis of text, intertext, and context to see how semiosis construes, guides action, and constructs
Techno-logical	Technologies for appropriating and transforming nature and/or for the conduct of conduct (Foucault et al.)	Material, social, and spatio-temporal biases inscribed in technological capacities for action and their effects

Strategic Concepts - I

- Given social contradictions and political struggles plus internal conflicts and intra-state rivalries, the state's ability to act as a unified force depends on political strategies
- Relevant strategic concepts include state-sponsored *accumulation strategies*, *state projects* oriented to state-building and institutional unity, and *hegemonic visions* of the nature and purposes of the state for the wider society
- These strategies rest on specific economic, political, and social imaginaries and depend on the deeper structure and logics of a given social formation and its place in the world

Strategic Concepts - II

- Such strategies are more likely to succeed where they address the major structural constraints in the dominant institutions and prevailing balance of forces as well as opportunities that could be opened by new alliances, strategies, spatio-temporal horizons of action, and so on.
- If an overall strategic line is discernible, it is rooted in the strategic coordination enabled by state selectivities and parallel power networks that unify its formal structures.
- Such unity is improbable because the state is marked by contradictions and struggles and the exercise of power is affected by the mobilization of forces beyond the state

Dimension	Definition	Significance for SRA	Key crisis aspect
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Three Formal Dimensions

Modes of Representation	The organization of (uneven) access by diverse social forces to <i>Staatsgewalt</i>	Unequal access Unequal ability to resist at distance from state	Crises of political representation (parties, legislature, social movements ...)
Modes of Articulation	Institutional architecture of the levels and branches of the state	Unequal capacity to shape, make, and implement decisions	Crisis of institutional integration (disunity of state apparatus)
Modes of Intervention	Modes of intervention inside state and beyond it	Different sites and mechanisms of intervention	Rationality crisis (state failure)

Dimension	Definition	Significance for SRA	Key crisis aspect
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Three Substantive Dimensions

Social Bases of State	Institutionalized social compromise	Uneven material and symbolic concessions to “population” to win support for state, state projects, policies, etc.	Crisis of power bloc Disaffection with parties, movements, and state
State Project	Secures apparatus unity of state and its capacity to act	Addresses problem of unified state by shared orientation to state agencies and agents	Legitimacy crisis (i.e., internal loss of faith in state projects, with broader repercussions)
Hegemonic Vision	Defines nature and purposes of state for wider social formation	Provides external legitimacy for state, defined in terms of illusory general interest	Crisis of hegemony (wider loss of faith in hegemonic vision)

Reworking Gramsci

- State is government + governance in shadow of hierarchy
- Government is more than state as *Gebiet, Gewalt, Volk* – state power always exceeds imperative coordination
- Government as social relation (hegemony armoured by coercion) involves *collibration*, i.e., rebalancing forms of governance in the shadow of *hierarchy* and, as such, it is linked to issues of domination
- Collibration is more than technical, problem-solving fix: tied to wider “unstable equilibrium of compromise” and specific objects, techniques, and subjects of governance

Governance and Governmentality

- Governmentality denotes discourses and practices of state formation, statecraft, state's strategic codification of micro-powers, and the projection of state power
- It also denotes the problem of the macro-intelligibility of state power as well as the nature of micro-powers: how to interpret strategic codification of disciplinary techniques and other forms of governance?
- For Foucault, state power is a key emergent field of strategic action linked to capitalist political economy and interests of rising bourgeoisie

Practices Shaping the Polity, Politics, and Policy

Level	Key Process	Primary Modes
<p>POLITY A distinct site of specific (political) relations and action</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Institutional separation and articulation of the polity • Different forms of polity inclusion and exclusion • Structuring the world of states 	<p>Politization</p> <p>Drawing and redrawing the lines of demarcation between “the polity” and its other(s)</p>
<p>POLITICS A complex ensemble of contingent, contestable, and contentious political practices</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Front versus back-stage of political scene • Altering forms and modes of political action and/or political lexicon and semantics 	<p>Politicalization</p> <p>Defining some problems or issues as proper, others as improper, themes of political mobilization. NB: identifying and naming themes is itself a political act</p>
<p>POLICY A specific mode of political action, mediated by state and governance</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Government, governance, collibration as sites of policy and its co-ordination • Altering forms and modes of policy-making and changing their policy lexicons and semantics 	<p>Politicization</p> <p>Construing problems or issues as proper (or improper) targets of official policy and, given this, seeking to shape, implement, or block these policies</p>

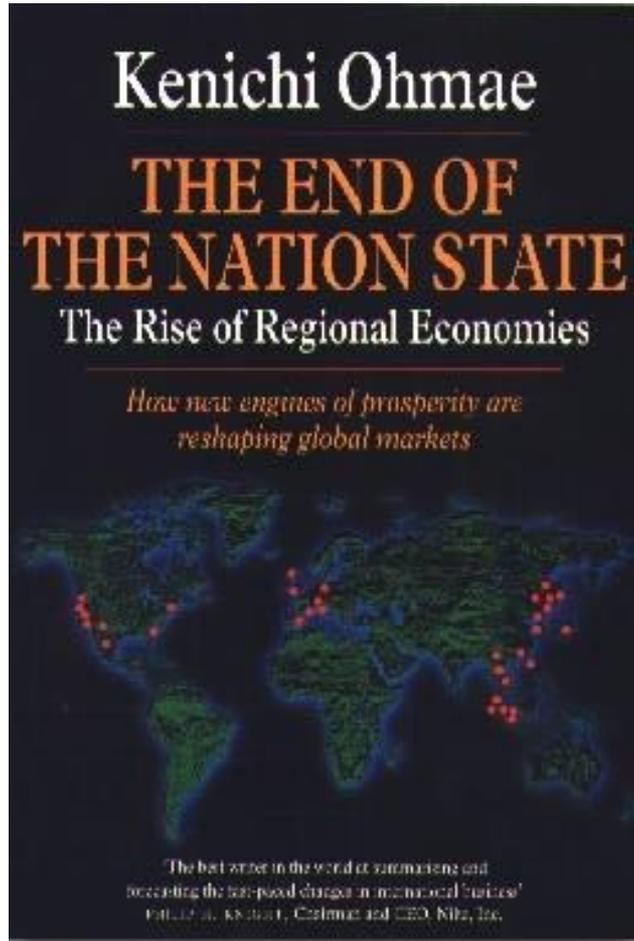
Four Modes of Governance

	Exchange	Command	Dialogue	Solidarity
Rationality	Formal and procedural	Substantive and goal-oriented	Reflexive and procedural	Unreflexive and value-oriented
Key Medium	Money	Coercion	Meaning	Commitment
Ideal type	Derivatives	Sovereign State	Open Network	Required Love
Criterion of success	Efficient allocation	Effective goal attainment	Negotiated consent	Unconditional commitment
Main sign of failure	Inefficiency	Ineffectiveness	“Talking shop”	Betrayal
Other Failings	Market inadequacies	Bureaucratism, corruption	Distorted communication	Co-dependency; asymmetry

Modes of Collibration

- Provide ground rules for governance
- Create forums and/or organize dialogue among partners
- Ensure coherence of regimes across scales and over time
- Re-balance power differentials and regime strategic bias
- Modify self-understandings on interests, identities, etc
- Subsidize production of public goods, organize side-payments for those making sacrifices
- Exercise "super-vision" (seeing more, supervising), permitting expansion, shrinkage, or adjustment
- Identify final responsibility when governance fails

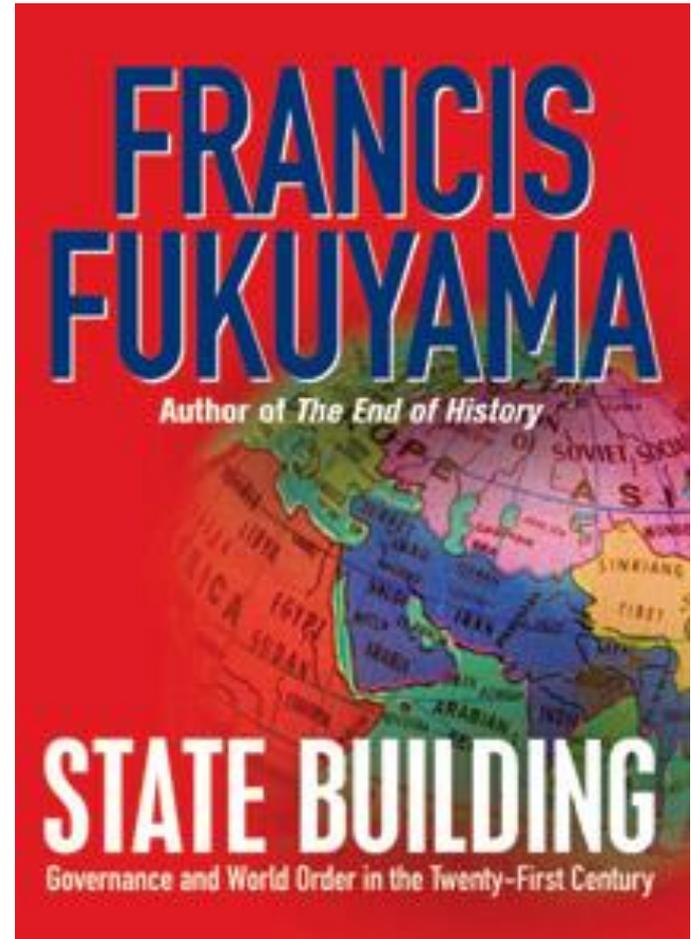
Three trends by way of response to challenges of internationalization



- The *hollowing out* of the national state – transfer of powers upward, downward, sideward
- From *Government* to *Governance* – from hierarchical command to networks & partnerships
- From sovereign states to the internationalization of policy regimes as sources of domestic policy

Three Countertrends

- Interscalar articulation – national states seek to shape what goes up, down, sideways
- From government to *meta*-governance – states seek to organize (control) framework conditions for self-organization
- Interstate struggles to shape international regimes and global governance and local implementation



The Decline of Liberal Democracy

- Liberal democracy stronger in periods when *national* was the primary scale of economic and political organization
- Keynesian welfare national state:
 - National economy managed by national state on behalf of national citizens to create conditions for growing welfare state
 - Class compromise between industrial capital and working class
- Internationalization undermines conditions for KWNS and its democratic shell
- Neo-liberalism undermines these conditions further because it promotes financialization, political capitalisms
- Together these trends undermine *temporal* as well as *territorial* sovereignty of national states

Temporal Sovereignty

- Capacity of state to make decisions according to its own criteria and temporal rhythms.
- Stop efforts to control short-term economic calculation, activities, movements; seek to control mid- to long-term
- Compress decision-making cycles to enable more timely and apt state interventions
 - shorten policy development cycles, fast-track decision-making, institutional and policy experimentation, relentless revision of guidelines and benchmarks, more discretionary laws.
- Create relative political time by slowing circuits of ‘fast capitalism’
 - E.g., Tobin tax to reduce number, turnover of financial trades

Authoritarian Statism - I

‘Intensified state control over every sphere of socio-economic life combined with radical decline of institutions of political democracy and with draconian and multiform curtailment of so-called ‘formal’ liberties’ (*Staats-theorie*: 203-4).



Authoritarian Statism - II



- Transfer of power from legislature to executive and concentration of power within the latter
- Accelerated fusion between three branches of state legislature, executive, judiciary – decline in rule of law
- Functional decline of political parties as leading channels for political dialogue with administration and as major forces in organizing hegemony
- Rise of parallel power networks cross-cutting formal organization of state, with major share in its activities

Conclusions

- The “state” does not exist: there are many forms in which political power comes to be territorialized. A more appropriate object of analysis is “state power”.
- This can be explored as a social relation, focusing on:
 - the institutional architecture of the state apparatus,
 - its demarcation from non-statal fields,
 - the changing balance of forces active in the state, oriented to it, and acting at a distance from the state
- Analyses should integrate from outset the possibility of forms of political and state crisis and, where appropriate, study their historical and conjunctural development.