

## 論文の英文要旨

論文題目      Social Antagonism and the State  
                    The Topology of the Political in Nicos Poulantzas

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This dissertation (written in Japanese) offers a comprehensive study of the theories, methods and thought of Nicos Poulantzas, a political theorist who considered the modern state as capitalist state from the perspective of a Marxist. The retreat of the state from social policies, the emergence of neoliberal policies and the impact of so-called globalization have shaken the common ideas on the state and politics since 1970s: is the national state declining? Is a new political order being constructed above or in the place of the state? Some aspects of the state, however, have not yet been transformed although such questions has been frequently posed for a few decades. The valid theoretical conception of the specificity of the state is necessary in order to tell what has changed and what remains in terms of existing political order. We can still learn a lot from Poulantzas's state theory elaborated during the 1960-70s.

This dissertation consists of three parts. Part I (Chapter 1-2) focuses Poulantzas's method of studying the state. Unlike precedence research, I stresses that Poulantzas's method comes from the unique and creative combination of Sartre and Althusser. They both refuses the architectural-topographic dualism of being and consciousness, of theory and practice, or of the economic and the political. Their ways of thinking leads Poulantzas to the conception of the state in the totality of capitalist domination. Part II (Chapter 3-5) argues the core of Poulantzas's state theory. Poulantzas's own method can be characterized as the topologic approach. According to it, the separation of the economic and the political should be recognized as real, and must be conceived not as two mutually external entities or fields, but as two relationships mutually internalizing in social processes. This approach led Poulantzas to the conception of the state as the mediated form of social relations, or as the condensed expression of the relations of force

among social classes. In capitalist society the private-economic itself constitutes a sphere of domination separated from the public-political. The state never solves class antagonism in the economic but displaces it to the political. In this sense, the state is not a mediator but an institutional representation of society. Part III (Chapter 6-7) analyzes the transformation of the state since 1979 when Poulantzas passed away, focusing on tendencies of transnationalization of the state, in terms of the mutual dependency or integration of the dominant capitalist fractions of the accumulation system in world scale, which he analyzed in 1970s. On the other hand, however, Poulantzas's limits concerning the questions on the domination of periphery by the cores of international accumulation system should be covered. I try to complement Poulantzasian approach in the terms of the separation of market from the interstate system and the emergence of informal empire since the nineteenth century.

Chapter 1 (in Part I) clarifies that Sartre's existentialist interpretation of Marx offered Poulantzas a subterranean but continuing and definitive direction. Sartre regards Marx's method as an "ontological monism" since his materialism recognizes the effectiveness of thinking as a human practice. Sartre also finds that Marx's thought has two aspects, in the one of which results of human actions appear (or are externalized) as objects indifferent to the original actions, and in the other of which an objective world is internalized in the interactions with human subjects. Poulantzas analyzes like Sartre the structuration of juridical norms as the dual process in which juridical structures come closer to social reality (internalization) by formalization of it (externalization). We can find here that Poulantzas breaks from the architectual dualism of the base and superstructure.

Chapter 2 traces Poulantzas's shift from existentialist jurisprudence to Marxist state theory. His shift is mediated by his reference to Althusser's critique of economic determinism. It should also be noted, however, that Poulantzas has never learned any "structuralist" method from Althusser since Althusser's problematic is fundamentally different from the French structuralism in general. Poulantzas begins in his study of the capitalist state from Althusser's discussion on the state as the condensation, not the mediation, of social contradictions or class antagonism. Although Poulantzas explicitly rejects existentialist terms, he effectively combines, in methodical level, Sartre's critique of dualism and Althusser's critique of economic determinism.

Chapter 3 (in Part II) discusses the basic elements of Poulantzas's state theory and his application of it to the analysis of concrete state regimes such as fascist. He studies the specific form of the capitalist political domination based on the separation of the economic and political spheres of domination that Marx clarifies as only specific to capitalist society. Poulantzas argues that the state organizes dominant classes on the one hand and structuralizes class domination on the other hand, that is, it takes the public form representing the unity of people-nation through the organization of common interests among fractions of dominant classes competing one another, and the imposition of them on members of dominated classes as disorganized private individuals. Poulantzas also clarifies from the perspective of the organization-structuration that fascist regimes or military dictatorships are exceptional forms of the capitalist state. Exceptional regimes, according to him, are not the ones that essentially lack representative democracy, but the ones that the organization of dominant classes is achieved by the prominent roles of military or political parties rather than the typical separation of powers.

Chapter 4 focuses on Poulantzas's arguments on economic domination. The domination in the sphere of capital accumulation is based on the antagonism between mental and manual labor. In contemporary production processes, various wage earners undertake the roles of mental labor controlling laborers as "hands." Poulantzas determines such wage earners as the "new petit-bourgeoisie" different from working class as manual laborers. Although his formula on this new class contains failures, he validly characterizes the domination within production process itself.

Chapter 5 traces Poulantzas's theoretical struggles in the international crisis of capital accumulation in 1970s. He finds in it a tendency toward integration or mutual dependence of dominant capitalist fractions. This tendency, however, developed with the support of national states rather than weakened them. The crisis in 1970s shook not only the existing form of class compromise maintained through social politics, but also the strategies of the left confronting questions on the way how to intervene this crisis. Poulantzas notices that these dual crises involves theoretical confusions over the state, and tries to clarify the materiality of the capitalist state in order to solve the confusions. The materiality is indicated by following categories: state apparatus that reproduces the division of mental and manual labor in social level. The modern space territorial and segmented, and the modern time unified and measured. The state monopoly of public legitime force. Unless such materiality itself is not questioned, that is, if the attempts of left are confined within the social transformation from above after the (legal or illegal ) seizure of state power, the abolition of domination will never be achieved. So Poulantzas pursues possible forms of political praxis escaping the political or the activities of the state.

Chapter 6 (in Part III) discusses the functions of the state in so-called globalization with referring to the works applying Poulantzian approaches. I reject the "government to governance" perspective in globalization theories, and the hypothesis of "Empire" as a variation of global governance approaches. Despite the retreat from social policies, the state still never loses the control of national space in order to utilize domestic conditions for the sake of transnational capital. On the other hand, however, the state itself is being transnationalized, that is, put into the network regulating the interests of transnational capitals as its nodal points, rather than it subordinates the global political order.

Chapter 7 is attributed to the complement of some theoretical lacks of Poulantzas on the domination of periphery by the cores in the international accumulation regime by adopting the concepts of world-economy and interstate system. World system approaches, however, are based on misunderstanding that capitalism is born where finance or trade is combined to political power. On the contrary, however, capitalism historically emerged where the separation of politics and economy occurred. The origin of capitalist expansion in world scale must be pointed at the emergence of the separation of world market from interstate system, and of the informal empire principally expanding by economic measures, not by official extra-economic forces. Interstate system contains from the beginning the contradiction between formal and informal measures of domination of periphery. This contradiction is expressed, in the phase of transnationalization of capital, as a gap between the transnational organization of dominant classes and the national structuration of class domination. In order to develop this gap toward emancipation, it should be pursued to overcome the contradiction between core and periphery concentrated into the social level in the core states, which symbolically expressed, for example, in the social status of immigrant workers.

The contribution of this dissertation as a study of the state is that it has: 1. shifted the question from "what is the state?" to "how and why does the political order in capitalist society take the state form?"; 2. evited the architectural-topographic representation of political space and elaborated the topological approach to it; 3. theoretically explained why the national state form basically remains the same despite so-called globalization. Farther tasks are especially: 1. to analyze the tendencies the gap between transnational dominant classes and the national class domination will take; 2. to study the relationship in state form between class domination and the other forms of domination based on social identities such as gender, race, ethnicity and so on.