To proceed more systematically, we start with the Marxist theory of the State, specifically, the bourgeois State; then we show how Borochov manipulates this theory for formulating a bourgeois, not a proletarian, strategy.

(a) The Marxist Conception of the State:

On the origins of the State, Frederick Engels says:

"It [the State] is a product of society at a certain stage of development; it is the admission that this society has become entangled in an insoluble contradiction with itself, that it has split into irreconcilable antagonisms which it is powerless to dispel. But in order that these antagonisms and classes with conflicting economic interests might not consume themselves and society in a fruitless struggle, it became necessary to have a power seemingly standing above society that would alleviate the conflict, and keep it within the bounds of "order"; and this power, arisen out of society but placing itself above it, and alienating itself more and more from it, is the State." 75

As quoted above, Engels points out the existence of a relation between the State and political class domination and the political class struggle. He also shows that the relation of the State to political class domination reflects the ensemble of the contradictions of society.

The term society seems to refer here to the concept of <u>social formation</u> defined by Poulantzas as:

"...a complex unity of instances [the economic, political and ideological]....A social formation which is historically determined consists of an overlapping of several modes of production, one which holds the dominant role, and it therefore presents more classes than the pure mode of production....Social formations are in actual fact the sites of the reproduction process; they are the nodes of uneven development of the relationship of modes and forms of production within the class struggle." 76

In this sense, the State as defined by Engels is related to the contradictions peculiar to the various levels of a formation, but only in so far as it represents the place where the articulation of these levels is reflected and where their contradictions are condensed. It is the admission of "the