

Progress in French administration: Formation of public civil servants

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Abstract: The over-accumulation of financial capital is inextricably linked to the over-delegation of political power and economic management. The power to form projects and implement them has been confiscated by financial and state apparatuses and professionals. The citizen is relegated to the role of spectator.

In the study led by Ezra Suleiman and Henri Medras on *The Recruitment of Europe's Elites*, John Scott reaffirms what we already knew since Marx: "In a capitalist industrial society..... Occupying a higher position in a large company is related to the class situation. The capitalist class represents a broader category into which the industrial elite is recruited." However, what is valid for industrial entrepreneurs is also true for the civil servant.

Taking the case of the ENA (École National de l'Administration), each subsector contributes to the strengthening of the whole.

Keywords: French Political system, Bureaucracy and State relations

Introduction

For Michael Chossichousk, a uniform ideology is expanding. More than impotence in the face of reality, class solidarity, sometimes the lack of intellectual preparation is what allows the triumph of the guardians of dogma. Although it is true that none of the opponents of single-mindedness manages to convincingly explain what an alternative would be.

According to Christian Brie, a one-party political system is being built on this basis. After having tried to persuade the peoples of the end of ideologies, and therefore of any political alternative, this leads to glimpses of the disappearance of protest parties and movements. As for the single party, the citizen must be offered a choice, the representation of formal differences is a necessity.

To maintain the cohesion of the system and the interest in public affairs, replacement "enemies" are sought or invented (Islam, drug trafficking, skins, Basques, etc.) and periodic lynchings are carried out. As Kahn explains, therein lies the function of lynching, in diverting the increasingly strong popular rejection of perverted capitalism into a scapegoat. When it is the derivations of a capitalist logic, which has gone mad, that are questioned for its perverse effects (increase in inequalities, concentration of economic decision-making powers, etc.), it is necessary to designate the origin of evil.

In spite of everything, a resistance is being organized that has no more aspect than the intellectual one in the authors who attack the single thought.

At the origin of the ideological justification of the current status quo, we find important authors such as the Greek Kostas Axelos, the American Chomsky, or the French Kahn. The last is the best known in Spain, director of the monthly *Le Monde Diplomatique* that denounces the attempt to reorder "a world without direction since the brutal collapse of the architecture built after World War II". And eliminate an entire system of values established since the age of enlightenment.

It is a unique ideology that has as its centers the market, money and communication. According to Petrella, his commandments are:

- The globalization of finance, capital, markets, enterprises, etc.
- The consequences of the scientific and technological revolutions of the last thirty years in the fields of energy, materials and information and communications require adaptation, since they will change the human condition by reducing jobs.
- The necessary ultra-competitiveness is universal and reaches people, companies, universities, cities or nations.
- As a result, it is necessary to liberalize national markets in order to arrive at a single global space.
- All this entails deregulation in all directions and widespread privatization.

The concept of unique thinking was created by Kahn. In his book, *La pensée unique*, he denounces that a kind of hidden politburo, born of the same clan, strategically distributed by the right and the left, manufactures the dominant thought, having thus established a kind of soft dictablate that excludes any contradiction and that points the finger at the fool who thinks differently.

Kahn distinguishes several causes of this phenomenon:

- The extreme reduction of the media centers of ideological production and the increase in the number and power of audiovisual roles.
- As a root cause, the fear of rethinking the world after the end of the cold war.

For the defenders of the single thought, it is not the action of men that influences the real, but the real that prefigures, produces and stages human action.

Behind these conclusions, one can ask how slavery could be abolished, feudalism overtaken, jungle capitalism domesticated, etc. There is here, a permanence of the conservative discourse according to which a single reality does not allow to leave the circle of its own determinism.

But, the problem is exclusions, those excluded in increasing numbers, without the possibility of contradicting the status quo. That's when the temptation of the anti-system arises.

France, Cold Revolt

We knew that an outburst of anger was going to happen there sooner or later. What few people saw coming was his previous electoral translation. Chirac swore that he would not anticipate the legislative elections, but he did and perhaps this has even prevented greater evils for the System, channeling something that threatened to take on the appearance of revolution. As Kahn says, we have witnessed a "cold revolution." The cause: neoliberal economic policy and its consequences.

In an interview with the conservative newspaper *Le Figaro*, Serge Dassault, boss of the well-known aeronautical group, explained that it should be said that since there are a million unemployed, all administrative, union, fiscal and financial obligations of the companies must be canceled.

The press did not see the avalanche of the response coming, in fact, it almost unanimously agreed with the government in its sanitation policy. Nor did analysts know how to link the scattered symptoms: the stock market laughed more the more unemployed they cried, 10% held 50% of the national patrimony, wage earners have lost 5.6% of GDP in 13 years, while 54% of companies do not increase wages and inequality has skyrocketed. Companies inflated with money thanks to layoffs and tax facilities, no longer know what to do with so much liquidity.

Moving on to another record, that of the truly privileged, in 1996 data were published that revealed that 28 large employers earned between 50 and 500 million, while another 75,000 benefited from preferred shares, armored contracts with severance payments varying between 5 and 30 years of salary. Higher education covers 71.1 per cent of the children of the "high cadres", only 56.7 per cent of the children of workers.

At the same time, the accusations against the political class increase while it is amalgamated with bankers and businessmen.

A 1995 poll found that 58 per cent of French people consider their elites "dishonest"; 61% "little concerned about the general interest"; 68% "closed in on themselves"; 53% consider that everything is done by plug or by money; 59% consider that it is more difficult for a child born in modest environments than in the past to access the elite. The conclusions that can be drawn are that the people feel that the elites have failed and that they benefit those who demand. According to Chirac's entourage, "the divorce between opinion and leaders began in the 90s, when societies began to announce rising profits, while unemployment continued to progress.

The complaint coming from the left, arises even from the right. The President of the Assembly of Deputies, Seguin, himself declares that the market, neither more nor less, is imposing itself on democracy.

On the other side of the barrier, there could be some threats of reaction. The election result showed that the capacity for endurance was exhausted. Already before, certain categories of workers had gone from words to action: truckers, railwaymen, electricity sector, etc., staged strikes that paralyzed entire branches of the economy, forcing governments to give in, withdrawing "social plans", in reality dismissal plans. The crisis of the middle classes has been accelerating.

El economista Samuelson había pronosticado en 1948, que el librecambio propendía a igualar el coste de los factores de producción entre los países, entre ellos los salarios. En un interesante libro titulado *L'inegalité du monde*, Noel Giraud ha recogido y actualizado esta tesis: " la igualitarización mundial conducirá a un incremento de la desigualdad en el interior de los países ricos que desembocará en la desaparición de las clases medias.

Conservadores, neoliberales y socialdemócratas se han dedicado a meditar sobre la pérdida de capacidad revolucionaria de los trabajadores debido a la irrupción de las clases medias. Estos cuadros son un conjunto humano más deseoso de medrar en el Sistema que otra cosa. Sin embargo, esos cuadros se revelan hoy como agentes revolucionarios en potencia, asumiendo tácticas de lucha propias de las épocas más combativas de la clase obrera.

Primero, por un sentimiento de desposesión intelectual ante la primacía de la rentabilidad, por un descenso del estatus, por el aumento de su jornada laboral, por el miedo al paro, etc.

Christian Bachmann ha sacado incluso las consecuencias políticas del proceso. Para él, la toma de conciencia arranca no sólo de la entronización del rentista frente al hombre que vive de su salario, sino también del redescubrimiento de la no-defunción del capitalismo hereditario del dinero. Porque ante el ascenso de las clases medias, se creyó que el capitalismo ya no era familiar ni hereditario. Sin embargo, se asiste hoy al retorno masivo de las familias a la cabeza de las grandes empresas. La conclusión es que estamos asistiendo a una descomposición de las clases medias que va a trastocar la vida política.

La evolución de estos últimos años demuestra el sentimiento creciente de la población de que sólo una protesta masiva puede obligar al poder a retroceder. En 1968 existió el precedente de la huelga sorpresa de 1963, ampliamente respaldada por la población. Tras mayo hubo un período de calma, pero la secuencia arranca de nuevo en 1986 cuando el gobierno francés, tuvo que retirar su proyecto de reforma universitaria en 1993.

¿Qué se puede decir de las elecciones de 1997? Para Girard, la primera vuelta de esas elecciones, parece más bien una revuelta espontánea. El análisis de la primera vuelta demuestra que la situación es más grave de lo que pueda parecer: la derecha parlamentaria obtiene el 21,55% y la izquierda no comunista el 18,47%. Pero los votos antisistema o no del Sistema suman el 23,42%. Si a esto se añade un 32,04% de abstencionistas y 4,94% de votos en blanco, el porcentaje de inscritos que no han votado “dentro del sistema” es del ¡60,4%! Un resultado pésimo para el Sistema.

Since the 1993 elections, political scientists have agreed that the anti-political wave continues to grow. According to them, there are already as many citizens inside as outside the System; it is a regime crisis.

There are more conclusions to be drawn. The first is that the ruling class has clearly been punished, particularly that which was in the exercise of government.

Secondly, the question of the National Front is becoming a real ticking time bomb. Not only is it growing but it is consolidating, moreover, the composition of its electorate is changing: more young men, the intellectual level rises and at the same time the number of workers, at the expense of the left. Third, the victory of the left is very relative. The right has lost 10 points in 4 years, but the left has only recovered about 8.5 points between 1988 and 1993.

And this without counting the National Front; The share of votes for this party from the right and left is 6-4. If these votes are distributed, the right with part of the National Front surpasses the left.

The left has won thanks to the majority system. The reasons why the left has won only by the hair are: underestimating the problem of emigration and citizen security and focusing the political debate on anti-fascism. If the creation of 700,000 jobs for young people, a substantial wage increase and 35 hours a week are removed from the left's programme, there is not much left.

Aunque hay una buena noticia, para el último sondeo, sólo el 43% de los franceses aprueba la actual composición del gobierno Jospin, mientras que para el 50% la inserción en él de ministros comunistas es un paso adelante.

Reflexiones Sobre La Cobardía En Política

No ven ideologías alternativas motivadoras, ni [grupos sociales](#) numerosos, concienciados y estructurados, capaces de hacer saltar la tapa de la cloaca. No ven desunión entre las subclases dominantes nacionales. El discurso único y el reforzamiento de los medios de represión directa e indirecta se han impuesto. De ahí la deserción de la mayoría de aquellos que debían guiar la resistencia, pero que ya han sido comprados o se sienten impotentes ante tanto poder. Como ha reconocido Martín Seco, la izquierda está presa de la tentación de situarse en las coordenadas de lo establecido.

Los últimos botones de muestra de la actitud cobarde de las contraélites son, por ejemplo, que el Partido Laborista Británico bajo la dirección de Blair, considerara al señor Clinton como de “centro-izquierda” y al Partido Demócrata como el socio ideal para una nueva Internacional social-liberal (¿también con el ala sureña del Partido Demócrata americano, tradicionalmente racista y de extrema derecha?).

Lo más grave es que este proyecto tenga interesados a los socialistas alemanes e italianos. En cuanto a los socialistas españoles, hace tiempo que están barajando renunciar no a ser socialistas para ser socialdemócratas, sino a esto último para ser social-liberales.

Otro botón de muestra de la cobardía es el asombroso silencio de los gobernantes occidentales, socialistas incluidos ante el **AMI (Acuerdo Multilateral sobre Inversiones)**, auténtico atraco a la voluntad de los pueblos, puesto que coloca el interés de los detentadores del capital por encima del interés nacional de los Estados.

Las Cuatro Fases

El famoso Acuerdo Multilateral sobre Inversiones constituye no sólo el intento de profundizar más en los principios de la Organización Mundial del Comercio, y de generalizar a escala planetaria los principios de

intercambio desigual, sino que es la última fase de la estrategia de sobreexplotación del factor trabajo por el gran capital.

Primero tuvimos que sufrir, en las décadas de los 60 y 70, la reconstitución mediante la importación de mano de obra africana barata.

La segunda fase permitió la ampliación e internacionalización de un volante de paro: ya no era necesario importar marroquíes para bajar los salarios de los obreros europeos, se pudo directamente importar género tirado de precio desde los países de origen de esos trabajadores inmigrantes.

La tercera fase significó la ampliación de la libertad de circulación de capitales y la generalización de las deslocalizaciones. En lugar de importar mano de obra del otro lado del Mediterráneo se trasladaron allí las fábricas.

The fourth phase allowed the globalization of the most absolute freedom of movement of capital. Under the MAI, any country that changes the current performance conditions will have to compensate affected investors.

The Manifesto of the Communist Party

Drafted by the OECD, the Multilateral Agreement on Investment extends the principles of the World Trade Organization, radicalizing and extending them. Now that the text is public, criticism has skyrocketed. For French trade unions, the MAI implies a risk of vassalage, and the adoption of a social clause that obliges respect for fundamental international labour standards is demanded.

According to Marianne magazine, the MAI is "a secret treaty that abolishes nations for the benefit of Trusts.

150 years after the Manifesto of the Communist Party, we are witnessing, with the AMI, the birth of an authentic Manifesto of Radical Capitalism. The most important features of the text are:

- International companies and investors only have rights while the obligations are borne by governments.
- In the chapter entitled "Investors' Rights", we find the absolute right to invest without any restriction, and governments must also guarantee the full enjoyment of these investments, with numerous clauses of defense and compensation of investors and companies in the event of breach of conditions by governments. It is the absolute prohibition of nationalization of the goods of production. These compensation rules are the most dangerous, as they give each company the right to challenge any government policy or action that constitutes a potential threat to profit.

Not only does the MAI call for a global programme of aid to multinationals, but it encourages that losing an opportunity for profit would constitute a type of injury sufficient to entitle the investor to compensation. Practical examples of the consecration of the Capitalist-King: "the investor does not have to indicate the origin of the funds, there will be no possibility of fighting against narco-capitalism by investigating its financial flows. But there is more, under "equal treatment", States are prohibited from vetoing foreign investments, or preferring those of one nationality to another.

The Destructuring of the World

The MAI means a real outrage that advances through the corridors of International Organizations. Under the pretext of removing any obstacles to investment, the MAI, GATT and WTO attack the original policies of growth and the freedom of peoples to choose their own path. In the case of the AMI, if it is signed, it would establish the absolute power of money. For investors all rights; for States all duties. Public sovereignty shall be transferred to private persons; National laws protecting the public interest, such as employment policy, environmental protection, limiting foreign investment in vital sectors of national economies, will be directly jeopardized.

Companies deemed to have been injured will have the possibility to appeal to ad hoc tribunals and demand substantial compensation, including the cancellation of the implementation of nuisance national or Community legislation. Moreover, the power to choose to which jurisdiction to appeal will rest with the investor. The draft clearly threatens the European Community, as it could call into question the principle of regional economic integration.

The MAI is reinforced by the "New Transatlantic Market", sponsored by one of the most radical apostles of Free Trade, Leon Brittain, which suggests establishing a free trade area for trade in services, the political commitment to eliminate customs barriers and the implementation of a transatlantic body to resolve differences.

This fashion of absolute consecration of the predominance of capitalism has been joined by the Spanish politician, Marcelino Oreja, who together with Martin Bangemann, is the author of the "Report on Media and Information Technologies; and its implications for Regulation". The central idea of this report is to reduce the protection of the aforementioned sector.

Favourable Structural Objective Conditions

What are the reactions to this new phase of the advance of capitalist globalization? Very weak and suspiciously late.

No one has any doubt that we are in a pre-crack situation. In fact, some increasingly compare what is happening now, and which began in 1990, with the crash of '29; that is, with a real depression. In 1992, Pierre Pascallon dared to draw the first serious parallels with the crisis of '29.

- Taking the industrialized world as a whole, there is a decline in economic activity as intense as in the 29th.
- The corresponding rise in unemployment is equally intense.
- Deflationary phenomena have appeared, as in 29.
- Even though there are glimpses of turns towards neo-protectionism, imports have not yet fallen as they did in '29.
- Domestic consumption does not recover, as in 1929.
- The latter, plus the complete non-collapse of domestic consumption, is due to the fact that current economies are endowed with institutional stabilizers, such as insurance systems, general Social Security, unemployment insurance, etc.

What has prevented the fall of the economy is the much reviled by the liberal welfare state. Of course, the worsening of the current economic situation may lead us in one direction or another. But it should be remembered that Franz von Papen, had carried out an economic policy of reducing unemployment benefits, so his government worsened the lot of those most affected by the crisis. The result of that crisis was fascism.

The Return of the "Very Great Depression"

It is possible that the structural changes will be so intense that very different times are coming. The thesis of Gombeaud and Decailiot is that we are approaching very busy times, so much so that in the history of Europe there are only two precedents for something similar. These authors state:

- Processes of globalization (defined as the **dismantling of all protections, triggering the war of all against all, and causing the appearance of a macro-depressive spiral**) prior to the current one, there have been two, specifically in the fourth and fourteenth centuries.
- Each of these two previous processes was followed by its corresponding "macro-depression".
- From these two macro-depressions it was only possible to get out of re-establishing protected spaces.
- The current process of globalization is of the same intensity as the previous two and is already producing its corresponding macro-depression.

The two authors then go on to list the very serious analogies between the three "macro-depressive" processes:

- Initial growth of commercial traffic, which causes a cramming of the market and the slowdown of economic activity: "we live, with the arrival of the products of computerized industry together with low wages". The overall effect can only be market saturation.
- In periods when the slowdown is prepared, a deflationary temptation occurs. Inflations of this type are observable at the end of the thirteenth century, as well as in the 30s.
- The price war is intensifying. When the slowdown in activity restricts outflows for products, prices begin to fall as a whole.
- The products see their quality decrease.
- Increasingly, low-paid labour is being used.
- Increasing competition will be fought through wealth concentration and, today, business concentration.
- Muchos creen hallar la salvación en el endeudamiento, alimentando los riesgos financieros. El peso de los tipos de interés es algo más que un síntoma del endeudamiento, y denuncia la saturación del mercado.
- La ley se hace más dura.
- La ausencia de mercados de salida provoca el retroceso de la actividad económica y la continuación del descenso de los precios y de los salarios. La marginación se extiende, produciendo capas sociales que hoy se denominan de excluidos.
- Surge el síndrome del "hombre sobrante".
- Se multiplican los conflictos; las formas criminales de actividad económica se multiplican....
- Se disparan los movimientos migratorios.
- Possible return of the Black Death? : There we have AIDS, Ebola, Malaria, as well as diseases derived from poverty: tuberculosis, cholera...

- For centuries, the public authorities have lost their footing in the face of economic imbalances. Today's states do not stop renouncing their attributes.

In addition to European society being increasingly immersed in a "logic of oppression", we are going to face planetary fissures because a double movement is developing. The market unifies worldwide procedures, prices and deadlines, management rules; In a word, it settles into the realm of competition. The opening of markets, the movement of capital, the expansion of world-class companies are necessary.

An apparent consensus makes us accept the mercantilist game, however, the imbalances of exchanges and situations and clashes of interest manifest themselves as open conflicts.

In short, for Gombeaud and Decailot, the greatest depression is not only a descent of curves, but a de-structuring of society as a whole.

Towards Revolt

As Gaston Bouthoul explains, in his work "Le Phénomène Guerre", wars and internal conflicts derive from structural variations in the relationship between the various elements that make up the social structure, leading to an explosive structure, which causes "external destructive drives": **wars**; or "internal destructive drives": **revolts and revolutions**.

There is a problem of time in the perception of structural variations, a perception that occurs relatively slowly since, in the passage from the structure to the drive there are two degrees: one in which the drive is resentful; and a second in which variation becomes conscious.

It took us a long time to see how the first extension of the unemployment flyer, which brought the immigration of extra-European labor in the 60s and 70s, worsened the logic of oppression. However, Marx already pointed it out; it was not necessary to resort to Kahn's cry of alarm to recognize that failure to fight extra-European immigration would result in:

- Offer a reserve army (of unemployed) to the most oppressive actors of the pre-capitalist logic.
- Favor the neoliberal enterprise.
- Increase poverty in the most deprived neighborhoods.
- Give a little more grain to the slave traders.
- Weaken and destabilize the millions of legal immigrants.
- Swell the sails of the neo-fascist ship among the weakest.

It took a long time, but it seems as if today the consciousness is accelerating: while in Germany and Spain the movement of the unemployed spreads, in France the specter of revolution appears more and more clearly.

Revolution is necessary to break the dynamics of an increasingly unequal society. It has even found the substitute revolutionary agent of the classical proletariat: the youth.

Other more serious approaches from the left are based on several observations. The first is that, there are not only negative structural variations for the system, such as the imminence of a crash.

There are also more negative factors, such as globalization, and it is recognized that there is no room for social progress if the current process of globalization continues.

Revolution, Democracy and Suffrage

After several revolutionary processes it seemed as if the advent of universal suffrage ended revolutions. But as Kahn explains, "today we vote on what everyone wants, but among those proposed." Counting is free, and suffrage universal. But once the vote is over, nothing will change fundamentally because the constraints of globalization make it possible only to have a single policy legitimized by a necessarily single thought. However, since it seems to the citizens that it is not possible to modify a regressive socio-economic logic by means of a ballot paper, then it is permissible to resort to other means.

Using the years 1848-1998 as an analogy, Kahn argues that in 1848, the world was ruled by a single ideology, in which the Holy Alliance defined principles and dictated rules. Nothing could be done against this European order. Today, the same thing happens.

Again in 1848, in the midst of growing misery, capital privileged speculative investments; Quick profit was sought. As for the ruling class that then ruled, its indifference and vices had made it incapable and unworthy of governing. Today, we already know what there is, but what will happen tomorrow, when the number of unemployed continues to increase along with inequalities, the misery that is installed and the dangerous return of the class struggle.

Revolutionary yearning, new motor class of revolution, favorable structural and conjunctural conditions, something is changing. It remains to be seen what will happen to the cowardice of a considerable part of the leaders of the left. More clearly: if the revolution is not made by the left, others will do it. In any case, we must remember that every Revolution is a response to a regression considered intolerable.

Del Pensamiento Único Al Partido Único

Varios son los factores que han contribuido al actual descrédito de la política y de los regímenes "representativos". Primero, el aumento de la exclusión socioeconómica debido a la insistencia en combatir el ciclo económico a través de la inversión, del endeudamiento empresarial y del comercio exterior, en lugar de hacerlo por la vía de la expansión salarial o la reactivación del consumo.

En segundo lugar, por el incremento no sólo hacia abajo de la segregación social, con la aparición de un "cuarto mundo", sino también hacia arriba con el creciente cierre sobre sí mismas de las élites. La homogeneización de las élites se traduce, en el hundimiento de los rasgos ideológicos diferenciadores que podrían definir diferentes alternativas de poder. Se iría así, hacia una especie de partido único, en el que las antiguas formaciones políticas quedarían rebajadas al nivel de tendencias.

Si cada vez hay menos donde optar, simplemente se deja de hacerlo. Este "pensamiento único" descalifica cualquier crítica radical de la situación reinante.

"Single Thinking" finds its first public formulation in the World Bank's 1991 World Development Report, in which, after an economic definition of development, development is conditioned to the main role in all circumstances; increased productivity; the external opening of markets; the reduction of the budget deficit, inflation and consumption, and the expansion of investments.

There are fewer and fewer doubts about the move towards the "One Party", the final consequence of the "Single Thought": according to a 1995 poll, 55% of French people were convinced that a left-wing government would do "neither better nor worse" than a right-wing one.

Kahn took advantage in October 1995 to launch an enumeration of the growing number of taboos aimed at defending the "System".

Thus, since the bankruptcy of the Soviet system, designating the real source of evil makes an accusation of anathema, and it is the drifts of a capitalist logic that are called into question through its perverse consequences: exacerbation of inequalities, concentration of economic decision-making powers or institutionalized dictatorship of a single ideology.

At the origin of the denunciation of "Single Thought" we find four authors: Ramonet, Chomsky, Ward and Kahn. Ramonet's conception of single thought is basically economic, and has been brilliantly developed by Ricardo Petrella, in a work entitled "The new tables of the law", in which the new commandments would be six:

- Globalization of finance, capital, markets, companies and their strategy.
- Adaptation to scientific and technological revolutions in the fields of energy, biotechnology and communications, taking into account that these are innovations in processes and manufacturing, which leads to job losses.
- This forces ultra-competitiveness and this to nations included.
- We must go to a single global space where there will be no protections.
- To do this, the mechanisms of direction and orientation of the economy must be deregulated. It is not up to the citizen or the State, but the producer.
- And finally, the privatization of the economic structure.

The real father of the denunciation against "Single Thought" is Kahn, who denounces as the main causes of single thought, on the one hand, the concentration of the media in fewer and fewer hands; and on the other hand, the refusal by elites to rethink the world despite the end of the Cold War.

After which, he defines the phenomenon as "**one that identifies the current neoliberal options and measures in politics, economics and social, as the only possible ones, without alternatives, all product of a kind of hidden politburo, born of the same clan, distributed both on the right and on the left.**"

A conservative clan that has produced a conservative thought that does not allow any possibility of alternative. All this produces, rejects and favors the emergence of ultra, populist or radical protests.

The Casino Economy

The latest survey published in France on the mood of its population shows that 72% of those interviewed oscillate between fear and revolt, before the system as it currently works. There is a propensity to consider economic discourse as false or disconnected from reality, asking for the opposite of what this discourse defends.

This is the product of a capitalism that has gone mad, of a decade that has seen capital incomes soar while labor incomes have fallen, of the increase in social inequality.

The reaction to this phenomenon is treated in the book by the French novelist Vivianne Forrester, entitled L'Horreur Économique. Being neither an economist nor a sociologist, she ignores Schaff's theses on the technological causes that are producing the emergence of a society without work. For her, the essential cause of the phenomenon lies in "that regime that was never proclaimed and that holds the keys to the economy", in a disheveled neo-liberalism that leads to a casino economy.

Markets that lead to wealth creation, that do not even need headquarters and that employ almost no staff. But those markets do not involve the labor of another. In this context, creating jobs from wealth creations would be a product of humanitarianism. "We live in the heart of a vanished world, which artificial policies try to perpetuate." Work linked to all the intimate or public mechanisms of our societies is already a myth. The unemployed are no longer subject to temporary removal, but face a general implosion; The worker is absolutely left over and left over.

For the System its existence is indifferent; Beyond the exploitation of men there is something worse, the absence of exploitation. In addition, this is going to increase.

To make matters worse, today the masters of the situation are not easily identifiable, not only are these private economic networks increasingly dominating the state powers, but in the past we knew where the leaders were and today it is not so easy. In addition, the indifference of the population reigns, the masses no longer claim.

Forrester does not intend to write a new Communist Manifesto, it does not offer a solution. But it does vindicate the class struggle, in Marxist terms, as it does when it refers to a "growing over-appropriation of surplus value."

Finally, Forrester relies on thought to subvert that imposed order, "because nothing is as mobilizing as thought." Hence, the struggle took place in our days against thought, against the ability to think. It is not a question of resurrecting the obsolete, but of demanding respect for the person.

A Pioneer in the Denunciation of Single Thought

Since Marx and Pareto we know that every process of social domination has its ideology justifying the new class relationship it seeks to establish. El *Viejo Topo* was the first magazine in this country to give an account of this ideological justification of the Party of Order, called Pensamiento Único.

The Single Thought in question is something very old and its only novelty consists in a generalization derived from the absence of alternatives. In Hirschmann's book, Rhetoric of Reactionary Intransigence, it is denounced that any revolutionary approach has been the object of a reactionary discourse against it. The identification of single thought is preceded by reactionary rhetoric. From this perspective, there has been no qualitative leap: **the message is the same**; But there has been a quantitative rupture: **before reactionary thinking competed with others, today capitalism no longer has competitors**. Reducing concepts to their proper level, globalization is capitalism alone, without rival, and therefore, without limit. Globalization means having no alternatives and being guided in its action by the Single Thought.

Hirschmann starts from Marshall's typology of the three revolutions, distinguishing three dimensions of citizenship: **civil, political and social**. Marshall demonstrated how the most advanced countries had successfully undertaken the realization of each of these three aspects. The Marshallian scheme reserved for each stage about a century. Thus, the eighteenth century was the century of the great battles for the establishment of civil rights, more or less the "Rights of Man", as defined by the French and American revolutions. The following century was with the extension of suffrage, the turn of the political dimension, that is, the right to participate in the exercise of political power. Finally, in the twentieth century, the notion of citizenship will be extended in the economic and social sphere, recognizing that the minimum conditions in terms of education, health, economic well-being and security condition civilized life, as well as the exercise of civic and political rights.

For Hirschmann, each of these three stages was followed by a violent ideological counteroffensive (**Restoration, Fascism and Globalization**) and these counteroffensives have been the origin of social and political struggles that have hindered the implementation of progressive measures.

Hirschmann's thesis is that "reactionary counter-discourse has been articulated in three axes: the perverse effect, uselessness and risk. All three are development of the unwanted effects of human action, a concept developed by the French philosopher and economist Mandeville in his work "The Fable of the Bees" and later by Jaspers, who explained that "every action has consequences for the agent".

Let's see what each of these variants of fear of the unforeseen consists of:

- **Thesis of perversity:** Any action aimed at improving an aspect of the political, social or economic order only serves to worsen the situation that is being corrected.
- **Thesis of uselessness:** Any attempt to transform the social order is in vain.
- **Risk thesis:** The cost of the reforms envisaged is too high, as these reforms may harm previously acquired advantages or rights.

Hirschmann shows the application of each of these three theses relating them to each of the three phases of historical development of citizenship.

Perversity Versus Civil Equality

Schiller: "The attempt of the French people to install the rights of man and to conquer political freedom has only brought to light impotence and invalidity; the result has been that the people and a considerable part of Europe and the entire century have fallen back into barbarism and serfdom." The same arguments are found in Burke and De Maistre.

Perversity Versus Political Equality

Burke (in Reflections): "The occupation of a hairdresser, or of the worker, cannot be a matter of honor to any person.... The state suffers oppression if people like that... They are allowed to rule.

Buckhardt: "The word freedom sounds rich and beautiful, but no one should speak of it who has not seen and experienced slavery under the masses, called the people.

Perversity Versus Social Equality

Edward Bulwer-Lytton: "The laws of the poor are intended to end beggars; They have made begging a legal profession." The minimum wage laws are the clearest case that can occur of a measure whose effects are contrary to what the men of good will who support them propose."

In Spain, the arguments used are that too long unemployment insurance encourages laziness. Other authors who have recovered this argument against social equality are Burke, Tocqueville or Disraeli.

Futility Versus Civil Equality

Lewis Carroll (in Alice in Wonderland): "You need to run as much as you can here to stay in the same place."

T. di Lampedusa (in El Gatopardo): "If we want everything to remain as it is, everything must change."

Futility Versus Political Equality

J.F. Stephen (in Liberty, equality, fraternity, 1873): "Legislate as you please, establish universal suffrage.... You are still as far away from equality as ever. Political power has changed its form, but not its nature. The strongest man will always rule.

Futility Versus Social Equality

On the uselessness of the welfare state, **Milton Friedman:** "Social measures benefit the middle or upper classes more than the poor." The poor lack not only the skills valued by the market, but also the political qualities required to contest public funds.

According to **Martin Feldstein:** "Wage earners from the poor most often have professions not covered by unemployment insurance. On the contrary, higher-income employees are engaged in occupations covered by insurance and are in paid employment long enough to qualify for unemployment benefits."

Risks Versus Political Equality

Finally, there is **the Unacceptable Risk Thesis**, according to which the proposed reforms and changes involve too high a cost. In other words, good advice for a young politician will be: "Do not act justly now for fear of raising expectations that you could act more justly, expectations that you fear may not have the courage to satisfy." The argument of risk was mostly used against universal suffrage, that is, against political equality.

Henry Mainer (in Popular Government): "If for four centuries there had been in England extended political rights and a larger electoral body, there would have been no reform of religion, no change of dynasty, no tolerance of dissent; The spinning machine, the mechanical loom and the steam engine would have been banned."

George Cuning: "Let us be sensitive to the advantages we have the joy of enjoying. Let us guard the flame of genuine freedom, of which our Constitution is the sacred deposit, and let us not sully, with the eventuality of making it more intense and radiant, its purity, nor risk it becoming extinct."

The other followers of this thesis are, among others, Constant, Sieyès, Burke, Disraeli, etc.

Risks Versus Social Equality

The theses of F. **Hayek** and his followers are known, with which they bombard us, on the relationship between the Welfare State and economic ruin via the increase in deficit, the fall in productivity, inflation or over-taxation. Perhaps the one who has summed it up in a more lapidary way is the conservative **S. Huntington**: "The vitality of the democracy of the United States produced a considerable increase in government activity, and a considerable decrease in governmental authority."

The Panorama

Prolegomena

When we were still australopithecines, partly because of genetic conditions inherited from animals, partly because culture was already leading us towards initial appropriations and sexual and class division, there are: exploiters and exploited. And, logically, dissidents, rebels, revolutionaries, who denounce the established order and propose different social relations. And, also, marginalized who, faced with social systems that deny the condition of humanity to a part of it, choose to get off.

The sociologist, Jules Monnerot, said that Marx did not arrive at the concept of proletariat empirically, but by the application of the central postulate of Hegelianism (dialectics): the existence of the bourgeoisie and the possessing classes could not but produce the deduction of an exploited class, an anti-system class, with characteristics opposed to those of the dominant one.

But Hegel's intervention was not necessary to account for the existence of counterclasses: the enrichment of the bourgeoisie implied that a part of humanity was denied its condition as such, making it the object of a process of expropriation-exploitation, which could only raise these men and women against the system.

The Marxist assertion that the history of humanity is also the history of man's expropriation-exploitation by man and his consequent anti-system reaction is true. But it is a mistake to link capitalism exclusively, why capitalism is but one of the many forms of expropriation-exploitation.

And one of the mistakes of historical Marxism was not realizing the complementary character that the thought of the sociologist Pareto had in relation to the thought of Marx. "Paretianism" asserts that expropriation-exploitation based on private appropriation of the means of production was not the only one; Therefore, Socialism is not something that is achieved once and for all and with irreversible character, but a permanent, constant effort for human dignity and against inequality and privilege.

Every System thus generates its antithesis; or at least their opposition to the established order. Moreover, the twentieth century can be considered as the end of empires. The American Empire itself has already entered into agony.

As D. Bensaid explains: "In the 70s, the hegemony of the USA seemed to crack both economically and politically. In the 80s, its trade and budget deficit transformed the US into the main debtor nation, but the monetary deregulation favorable to the dominant status of the dollar, the defeats inflicted on the working classes by liberal policies and the relaunch of the arms race, have allowed to stop this trend.

Economically weakened vis-à-vis Europe, the USA retained the advantage of being a centralized state, an inconvertible currency and an unrivalled military might. A recovery like this, being a declining Empire, is unprecedented. But, declining Empire, at last; Empire that is generating its anti-systems.

The end of Communism has broken the pincer that condemned the peoples to a back and forth between two equally unsatisfactory solutions. We are moving from a world of bipolar dominance to a world of unipolar dominance. Today, only two ways remain: the liberal mercantile system and those who reject it. The fundamental opposition is that between the center and the periphery."

What is happening today within the so-called 'Western' societies may seem to some to be a simple anti-government reaction: governments do not get it right and economic and social difficulties are increasing."

We are therefore faced with a complex picture. And the lack of coordination between all the "Anti-systems" should not make us forget that: "Noteworthy revolutions have an initial "anarchic" phase.

Is Revolution Possible?

As soon as the May 68 movement ended, most of the economic and social advantages wrested by the workers from the French bosses were sterilized by inflation and other measures of expropriation. De Gaulle could have led the movement but had to leave power, in addition, it was followed by "pompidolism", which gave the terror that the bourgeoisie had felt the occasion to provoke an intense police of the country.

However, even today, the myth of the "missed opportunity" lingers in the minds of a large part of that generation of students. Moreover, the theories of one of the main inspirers of those students, H. Marcuse (MARCUSE protests against the maintenance of high levels of social, political and economic repression, because of the need for capitalism to maintain levels of scarcity that allow high rates of profits, have never been so topical. If the scarcity of goods justified social repression, the arrival of abundance should allow the reduction of a part of the over-repression.)

Was May '68 an anti-system movement? No doubt it was, even if its values were canceled by the System.

Why was May '68 an anti-system movement? Beyond its political repercussions (shaking of the French Fifth Republic, distancing France from the United States, and the fall of General De Gaulle), May 68 constituted a questioning of the capitalist system, as well as the rejection of the Soviet model; But above all, it represented the revaluation of demands such as greater economic and social equality, and more unity and solidarity with the depressed classes. In addition, it meant the vindication of Feminism, Environmentalism, a certain solidarity with the Third World, as well as the breakdown of intransigence in the traditional paternal authority in the family relationship.

The great hope of May 68 today lies in whether a revolution is still possible from within the System, and in front of it.

The most complete work on this subject is that of one of the great French conservative thinkers of the 70s, Jacques Ellul. In his *De la révolution aux révoltes*, he begins by asking: where are the revolutionaries?, to reach the conclusion that "nowhere".

Ellul uses various arguments to claim that revolution is impossible.

1. "There does not seem to be in our society forces, nor organization, nor potentials capable of undertaking a revolutionary process"; This is also because two essential features have appeared:
 - a) All groups visible as revolutionary constitute social minorities.
 - b) Moreover, the principle of proletarianization could no longer be applied to them. There is no proletarian majority that can have the possibility and legitimacy to make revolution.

But in the 90s, the unemployed are no longer a weak minority and, the latest events in France have shown the strength not only of workers but of students. The emergence of a new proletariat is in sight, only definable, not according to classical criteria. The new proletariat would be the group of people who do not receive their income mostly from the possession of capital goods.

2. Third World revolutions have nothing to do with ours. Moreover, its outbreak and even its settlement do not imply that the movement will spread to the West.

But nothing prohibits movements of Third World origin from having their influence here. While it is true that, at present, there is no possibility of a socialist encirclement of the System, it may have a more destructive effect on it if certain countries become new competitors of the dominant countries (it would not be an ideological fence, but an economic one).

In its day, there were very serious problems caused by the incorporation into the System of new industrial superpowers such as Germany or Japan.

Now, the problem looms with the move to commercially aggressive capitalism of countries like China, the Philippines, Indonesia, India and Pakistan. Of the way that, of those countries mentioned, three are already nuclear powers.

3. There are other reasons for declaring revolution "impossible." Firstly, the lack of objectives. Although, it is true that, a general movement of socialization is still in force.

However, making revolution requires a program; This could be articulated around new axes:

- a) The revolution could consist in establishing relations that are not subject to the market in any way. Here it would be a revolution by reaction to an excess: a movement aimed at limiting the market to the strictly economic sphere.

For Ellul, "the growth of the technified society produces a certain sweetening of customs." Now, the problem for Ellul's thesis is that this "sweetening" can also reach repression.

- b) The technicians "are disinterested in political problems, they are only interested in the effectiveness of the technique". That rationality can lead to the questioning of the System. And, of course, disinterest in politics can lead to the non-defense of the System.
- c) If progress is continuous, then why revolution? But there is no incompatibility between progress and revolution; but even a certain inevitability. But, moreover, if progress were an antidote to revolution, what progress should we refer to today? Unless the growing savagery of capitalism without an enemy, the growth of inequalities, overexploitation, "so much you have, so much vouchers", etc. are considered progress.

- d) If revolutionary consciousness is essential to reach revolution, "how can it be born in a society that directs all its efforts to conditioning consciousness?" But events have shown that resistance to conditioning is much greater than anticipated. In addition, there are biological constants that make it difficult to cross a certain threshold of conditioning.
- e) The revolution constitutes a totality and more today: "the globality of society implies that everything is dependent on everything; every element is within the System." But it is not so: every System involves more integrated parts and not so dependent parts (the outer periphery).

The truth is that we should abandon not only the primitive Marxist approach to socialism as something that is obtained irreversibly, but also the very concept of total revolution, even that of irreversible revolution.

And yet, whether Ellul is right or not, at least it must be granted that in the absence of revolutionary possibility, there is only room for "revolts."

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