

افغانستان آزاد – آزاد افغانستان

AA-AA

چو کشور نپاشد تن من مباد بدین بوم و بر زنده یک تن مباد
همه سر به سر تن به کشتن دهیم از آن به که کشور به دشمن دهیم

www.afgazad.com

afgazad@gmail.com

European Languages

زبانهای اروپایی

Rebellion

20.08.2023

Interview with economist Claudio Katz

"The right will have to deal with social resistance"



Sources: Rebellion

The end of the political cycle of the last two decades began, with the consequent exhaustion of its two protagonists: Kirchnerism and Macrismo.

How do you explain what happened to Milei?

He channeled with ultra-rightist messages, weariness and frustration with the disaster facing the country. The same trend is verified in numerous countries, but Milei is more unpredictable. It was manufactured by the media and came to politics without any trajectory. It does not sit in a traditional party like Trump, nor does it sit in a traditional party. in the ideological-social base of Kast or the evangelical-military support of Bolsonaro. That uniqueness can erode or catapult it. Still We don't know.

He has an ultra-reactionary discourse, but he captured followers with Poses and outbursts. Many of their own voters responded polls approving public education and rejecting privatization of Airlines. It has created the illusion of charging high Salaries with the dollarization adventure. It's a character potentially more fragile or more dangerous than peers in others Latitudes. These are open questions.

There are already many explanations circulating about what Milei represents...

Yes. It's true. Some interpretations underline its anchoring in major changes in subjectivity, communication, or behavior juvenile. These are interesting considerations, if we do not forget that It mainly emerges from the monumental deterioration of living standards. The government is responsible because it consolidated the fall of the wages, job insecurity and the expansion of inequality. Milei channels the discomfort generated by that degradation.

And what about the traditional right?

Bullrich's victory confirms the rightward shift of his coalition. He replaced Macri's false promises of happiness with a Epic adjustment. Larreta's failure shows that the The current center-right has lost gravitation. It's the same erosion that suffered the party of FH Cardoso in the climate introduced by Bolsonaro.

The Milei barrage has created a more contradictory scenario for The establishment. On the one hand, the powerful celebrate the rise of the legislators they would get, to introduce the agenda that have in folder. On the other hand, the current course leads to Risky clashes, which they preferred to avoid with the adjustment government consensus that propitiated the viceroy Stanley. They are also uncomfortable with the dispute between Bullrich and Milei for the same Conservative clientele.

What has happened to Peronism?

He suffered a greater collapse than expected, he was third, on the floor lowest in its history and resigned to the symbolic governorship of Santa Cruz. Two possibilities open up for the coming months. If Massa continues with the redoubled adjustment demanded by the IMF, he will dig His own grave as a candidate of the ruling party. That has already begun. Burial with the devaluation that promised to avoid and ended Accepting. He validated Washington's blackmail, to obtain the credit that the Fund uses to pay for itself. Argentina is subjected to an endless ordeal for having legitimized the fraud of debt.

Massa's image as a shrewd negotiator tends to fade, with Inflation that is skyrocketing and that in August would cross the threshold of the two digits. The government lost authority to negotiate with the companies some brake on the remarking, while the price of the The

dollar has no ceiling. Between a rock and a hard place, Massa resorts to Called "adjustment without plan". It devalues without reservation, while improvises measures that aggravate the economic crisis and the consequent Government paralysis.

Can such a deterioration lead to the exit scenario? What hasty Alfonsin faced?

We are witnessing a double tension. There are sectors that have promoted a Debacle of this kind. But at the same time, much of the power They want to protect big business with gas, the lithium and the foods they foresee for the coming years. Therefore promoted the foreseeable adjustment of Larreta and Massa.

This contradiction has surfaced after the PASO. The Electoral rightward shift that should make the capitalists happy It generated the opposite effect of a big bond crash. There is a Climate of extreme tension and whether in the coming weeks it extends The superinflationary resurgence, the outcome of October will be more uncertain.

Can the ruling party rebound before October?

It will depend first and foremost on the capacity it maintains to contain the Derailment of the economy. It is the condition for attempting a reaction that turns the results of the PASO upside down. Need Win back absentee voters and capture the vote they fear to Milei or Bullrich. In addition, a resistance should break out. defensive to the reactionary danger that is coming. That reaction is produced recently in Spain, when the arrival of Vox was contained at the ballot box.

The respectable election of Kicillof already introduces a brake on the wave of Milei...

Yes, but it was the only significant exception to the violet tide. It indicates that, unlike in 2015, a right-wing president must fight with an opposition stronghold in the province of Buenos Aires. This result also portrays the paradoxical adversity that introduced Milei, to the traditional conservative project. They couldn't repeat Vidal's governorship because Piparo divides the front right-winger.

In any case, Argentina faces an unprecedented mutation.

I seem to notice that there are two readings of what is happening. In The first of these would be a political back-and-forth. There was a three-thirds vote in the PASO, preceded by several elections and it was seen that many voters modified their preferences throughout those elections. From that perspective, the Vote for the far right was just a warning that could still dimming in October.

The second look suggests that the end of the political cycle of the last two decades, with the consequent exhaustion of its two Protagonists: Kirchnerism and Macrismo. The

decline of the binomial of the crack detonated by the extreme right would inaugurate a deep crisis, both in Peronism and in its traditional antagonists.

This look would be fertilized with the sudden inverted resurgence of the cry that inaugurated the current period. Milei has converted the slogan "Let them all go", in a furious challenge to the "Caste". It has transformed the revulsive and hopeful motto of the 2001 in a totally regressive flag.

Is it enough with the electoral triumph of the right to impose the adjustment that economic power aspires to?

No; It's just the first step. A battle will begin that will be It will settle in the dynamics of resistance. The result It will come from the confrontation between adjusters and adjusted. The Popular reaction against the outrages is a major concern of on the right. They have long discussed how to bend the pickets, stop strikes and prevent mobilizations. Are obsessed by the traditional resilience of our village.

Argentina has the main movement of workers of the continent and with the most unionization loud. The largest organized grouping of unemployed and The democratic force of the country has kept the genocidaires in prison. The right will have to deal with this social resistance. This Once they go all out and try to liquidate the collective agreements, the compensation, with pardons for the military and annulment of the abortion. They have already tried in Jujuy the criminalization of protest.

It is evident that under the Fernández government a Popular reaction much lower than usual. But unlike Brazil, the rightists would not come to government here in a state of reflux or popular disarticulation. In addition, for now Milei and Bullrich has a great electoral support, but not street. Not accompanied by the cacerolazos of the pandemic or by the marches of the Nisman era.

How do you see the situation on the left?

The FIT obtained a percentage very similar to the last elections of the same type. Its figure was low, but it was among the five lists In the race for October. Other groupings did not pass the filter. With a minority base, but solid they resisted the adverse electoral gale. They face the objective difficulty generated by the channeling the vote-anger by the extreme right. In addition, the Discontent within Peronism was contained by the list alternative to Massa and the inopportune internal within the FIT resulted incomprehensible to his own followers.

What do you think of the immediate options for militancy?

For the space of critical Peronism, the left and the There are several issues at play. The first is the Definition of turnout at the polls. Some currents encourage blank ballots, regardless of the changing meaning of that option. While in 2001 he formed Part of the popular rebellion, now expresses apathy and Depoliticization. It is a passive response to adjustment that does not prepare the resistance. On the contrary, it reinforces hopelessness and promotes Tricky message that "politicians are all the same".

The second issue is the Members at stake. I think that a Expanding the number of legislators on the left would be very positive. As the adjustment is coming and it will have to be resisted, that support Legislation would be very beneficial. The same cannot be said for the List offered by Peronism, with countless conservative figures and dubious behavior in the face of social mobilization. The Strategic problems of the FIT will remain pending, but it will have More strength the support for the hard struggle that lies ahead.

Finally, the campaign to vote for Massa complying with the The compromise that Grabois adopted when presenting his own list, is a toad difficult to digest. The day after introducing you to your candidate a proposal to cancel the agreement with the IMF, the The minister devalued at the request of the Fund. Grabois will have to decide whether silences or denounces such outrage.

How to contain the right at the electoral level is a debate Open with many nuances, especially in front of a ballotage. But The need for deputies of the left is a forceful priority.

Claudio Katz is an economist, researcher at CONICET, professor at the UBA and member of EDI.

Rebelión has published this article with the permission of the author through a [Creative Commons license](#), respecting his freedom to publish it in other sources.