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## *Argentina|Between the Known Bad and the Unknown Bad: The Challenge of Transforming Despair into Hope*

The challenge of a new utopia requires, therefore, to generate an intermediate horizon between the Argentina of full employment and the threat of labor uberization. In conclusion, whoever bets on a bright future must demonstrate – no longer promise – how to multiply the loaves and fishes. Until then, all hope lies in the common sense and dignity of the wise Argentine people. –



A tactical offensive of a disciplinary nature accompanied the flood of libertarian votes, as if prefiguring the Argentina that is coming: An [internationalist militant induced to death in the middle of the Buenos Aires Obelisk](#), the infantry evicting between roosters and

midnight the [cut of Purmamarca](#), the club against the [tertiarized railway workers](#), the negationist escrache against several secondary schools, constitute milestones that find their immediate antecedent in the [Hunt of anti-reform activists in Jujuy](#) during the last Flag Day. Nothing seems more sensible in this scenario than the active – and supra-electoral – confluence of all the popular forces that resist our country becoming a maquila of global mega investment funds such as [Black Rock](#).



[BlackRock, the global emporium that advances in Latin American pensions](#)

"A swallow does not make summer"

Assimilated the initial shock of seeing our map dyed purple, advantageously placing in the race for the presidency of the Nation the most *outsider* of the candidates – and whom many pollsters gave in low -, it begins to be understood that what the vote of the majorities produced was not a blank check but a warning to that political class that turned its back on them.

Among so many opinions expressed, we will highlight one produced from critical thinking, which interpreted this phenomenon as a kind of passive 2001 against the referents of "La Grieta" (Macri and Cristina), given that both defrauded their respective electoral contract.



[Neither Macri nor Cristina, the anti-crack discourse began to win elections](#)

The political currents that emerged from the 2001 crisis ([Kirchnerism and Macrismo](#)) had to accept that the significant triumph in almost the entire federal spectrum of a candidate without a national structure cannot be explained without the betrayal of governors and mayors to their own parties of origin.

In reference to the last two administrations of the State, at first glance it could be inferred that a highly dissatisfied society seems to have raised – even before the commitment to vote (remember that the winning candidate counted around 7 million votes and between abstention and annulled votes the figure amounted to about 13 million) – something like "why am I going to respond to a State that does not respond to me".

Peronism/Kirchnerism retains the Buenos Aires bastion as a rearguard to crane its countercoup. If instead of making the iron it is able to value its three historical flags, perhaps it has a chance to demonstrate its proverbial resilience. For the time being, the three labor confederations and other union spaces self-convened "an assembly for labor rights" in the National Congress in an attempt to guarantee "care in the world of work." It is a virtual response to the proposal to eliminate labor rights.

The fate of Juntxs por el Cambio, playing as the "second brand" of the right, is much more uncertain.

In recent days, the most alarmist voices – which brand Milei as a fascist, ignoring the nationalist base of that movement – have predicted the inauguration of an era of unprecedented obscurantism in case the anarcho-capitalist economist prevails in the general elections. In turn, with extreme lightness, he has been compared to two anti-globalists like Trump and Bolsonaro, who came to the First Magistracy riding on social movements, sustenance that this media character lacks.

In a videoconference organized by Editorial Siglo XXI immediately after the PASO, social scientist Andrés Malamud ended his speech risking an extremely accurate comparison: "Milei is not Bolsonaro but Collor de Melo.



To understand it, it is worth remembering that the mandate of that former Brazilian president was marked by the implementation of the most severe restructuring plan in the history of the country: privatization of companies, deregulation of wage negotiations, temporary confiscation of savings and bank deposits, cuts in social programs, etc. Unemployment rose, wages fell, and the country found itself in economic recession. These imbalances in the economic field and the accusations of corruption that came to light in 1992, led to the presentation of an *impeachment* in parliament, which removed him from the presidency.

To recap, it is as reasonable to assume that Milei reaches a *ballotage*, as it is hasty to consider that he will repeat in the October elections the same blow he gave in the intermediate elections.

In the worst case, anyone who has carefully reviewed his government program – and keeps in mind the inescapable tradition of struggle of the Argentine people – will surely conclude that a triumph of La Libertad Avanza in the presidential elections augurs a fragile horizon for governability.

#### *The exhaustion of the twentieth century*

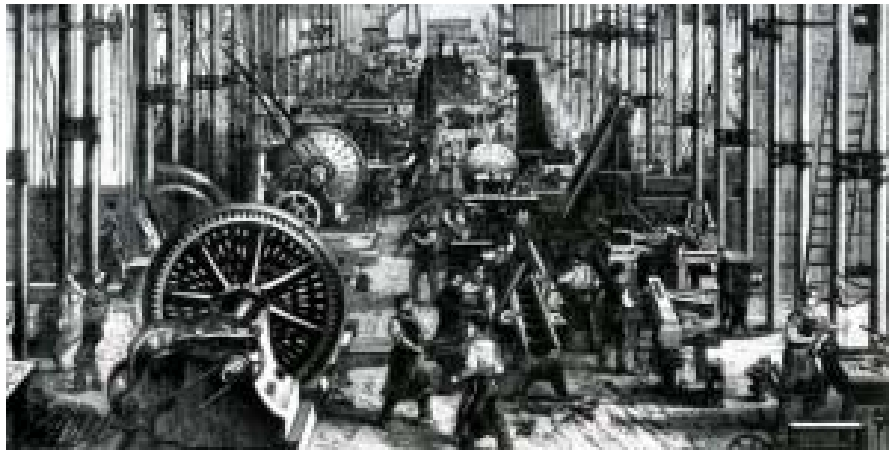
If the electoral campaigns carried out in our country to date have shown anything, it has been the repetition of old clichés that were effective in another historical context.

To define what society politics speaks to today, it is worth reviewing what scenario we are in.

In economic history, industrial capitalism is the stage of development of the capitalist system of production that corresponds to the advent of the First Industrial Revolution

(between the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries), and that replaced the so-called commercial capitalism of the time.

The fundamental feature of industrial capitalism was the replacement of artisanal production methods through the use of machinery, which allowed a mechanized production that went hand in hand with scientific and technological development. This means that production became faster and more efficient through the implementation of industrial machines, and that this replacement became greater and greater as new and better machinery was invented.



The impact of industrial capitalism on the world was enormous. The success of his model gave economic dominance to highly industrialized European countries, such as Britain, Germany, and France, far above the world's agricultural powers. This brought with it a significant migration from the countryside to the cities and the transformation of the old peasantry into the working class, as well as the abandonment of artisanal methods of industrial production. In this, the new technologies of the moment, such as the steam engine, were of great importance.

But – and here is "the mother of the sheep" – industrial capitalism was replaced in the twentieth century by financial capitalism and computer or digital capitalism, a key process for the construction of a globalized economy like the contemporary one.

With the passage from industrial capitalism to financial capitalism, the regime of accumulation changed and what sustains it is no longer the exploitation of living human labor but directly the destruction of social institutions.

Thus, the current accumulation is carried out on the precariousness of millions of workers and the displacement of a large part of them towards permanent unemployment, disarticulating the protection of rights. So today the adjustment variable is not the salary

but the very existence of the wage earner, since in Argentina 50.2% of the population is immersed in informality.

And precisely this gregarious social subject no longer constitutes the captive clientele of the political parties that had their maximum gravitation during the last century.

To this is added that throughout the quarantine the purchasing power of those informal sectors that opportunely constituted the social base of the current government deteriorated severely. The first manifestation of this phenomenon was the very high abstention in the 2021 primaries.

If you look at the map of Argentina, in ten provinces there are more inscriptions in the register of the popular economy than in the private one. Tucumán, Chaco, Salta, Santiago del Estero, Misiones, Jujuy, Formosa, Corrientes, Catamarca and La Rioja. In half of them Milei won. On the other hand, in 12 provinces the registered popular economy exceeds in quantity the registered wage earners of the public sector: Buenos Aires, Tucumán, Chaco, Salta, Santiago del Estero, Misiones, Jujuy, Mendoza, Corrientes, San Juan, San Luis and Santa Cruz. In seven of them, the libertarian deputy won.



PASO | Provincias donde ganó Javier Milei | Sergio Piemonte / Twitter Datoworld NOTICIAS - @DatosArms34

### [Libertarian map of the PASO: these are the 16 provinces where Javier Milei triumphed](#)

The supposed leap into the void of that electorate that in the recent midterm elections opted for who knew how to differentiate itself clearly from what it calls "political caste" finds some of its motivations in that basic reality, given that traditional political parties speak to a social subject that was hegemonic during the twentieth century, but that in financial and computer capitalism tends to contract.

Another influential factor is super-devaluations and hyperinflations, quintessential features of monetary violence, and their disciplining effects on society, given that these phenomena are at the service of fears and depoliticization.

In the context of the social atomization that often accompanies economic chaos, many people can only take refuge in private life, in the vain hope of finding some security. When you are at the peak of a crisis, people feel threatened their sense of order, what makes their life in society intelligible, due to which they tend to become more obedient to adjustment programs and supposedly savior economists.

However, in this monetary violence there is a brutal transfer of resources into the hands of those who trigger and operate this process, increasing the unequal distribution of income. Without going any further, in the last five years, the richest 10% of the population became the owner of 49.8% of total income.

Consequently, the scenarios of financial globalization favor that societies tend to organize themselves dually. On the one hand, there is a highly educated sector with access to complex technology, integrated into the world, and on the other those who have none of this knowledge and practices and who with their old trades are socially excluded.

The present shows that we have reached the end of adjustment programmes. If this is not the case, we will have to resign ourselves to the regulation of poverty, the administration of precariousness, and to live at a considerable distance from the desired social cohesion.

The Minister of Economy candidate for president has already applied the measures agreed with the IMF, such as the new agricultural dollar, taxes on imports, removal of subsidies on electricity and gas tariffs, assuming the risk of social reaction a few weeks before the elections – the first looting of supermarkets has already been registered in the town of Las Heras (Mendoza) and later in Río Cuarto (Córdoba) – and acceleration of the devaluation rate of the official exchange rate.

In this kind of unequal relationship, the debtor's demonstration of goodwill seeks to get the creditor to "believe" that the terms of the agreement will be fulfilled.

If evaluated in historical perspective, this behavior of international creditors was expressed in an exchange period (first half of the year) in which reserves were accumulated, but now this has not been the case due to the negative impact of the drought.

That bleak picture exhibits a record loss of export dollars. However, despite this negative impact, there was a demand for regressive bias measures and, to tighten the noose around the debtor's neck a little more, the disbursements of dollars were delayed until after the elections.

By the end of the year Argentina is expected to maintain a negative balance with the Fund of approximately 4300 million dollars. The vote of the organism is sung and exercised without any shame.

*"He who fights is not dead"*

One lesson that militancy in general should take into account, from the overwhelming result of the PASO, is that the word seems to be in penance.

In fact, a large part of the young electorate has opted for gestures.

But even on the latent threat posed by the result of that vote, the only alternative remains to move towards a model of society of similars, within which no one is excluded and where a reform of the productive and distributive matrix is imposed, the implementation of policies of full employment, deprecariousness of labor, guarantee and educational quality, and vocational training for employability, in the face of a world in which several countries are dealing with reducing working hours so that more excluded people are integrated into the production process, an initiative that still aggravates the business bosses around here.

The challenge of a new utopia requires, therefore, to generate an intermediate horizon between the Argentina of full employment and the threat of labor uberization.

In conclusion, whoever bets on a bright future must demonstrate – no longer promise – how to multiply the loaves and fishes.

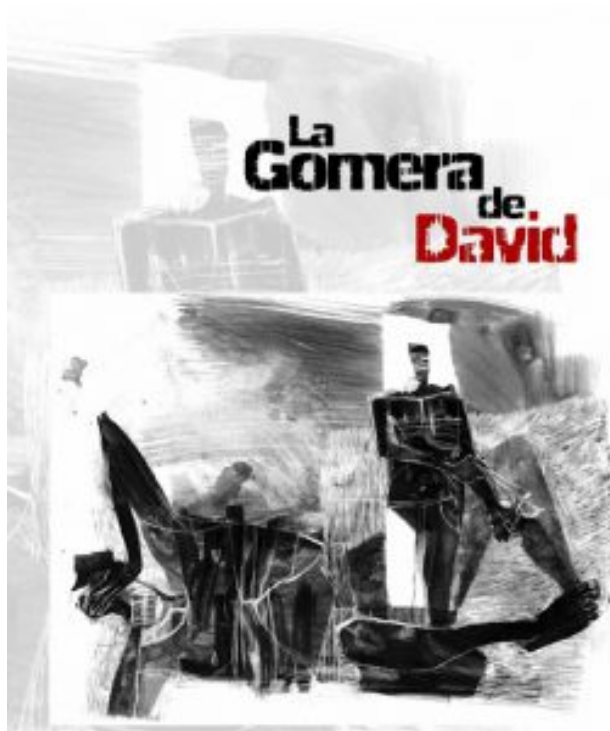
Until then, all hope lies in the common sense and dignity of the wise Argentine people. –



*Jorge Falcone for La Pluma*

*[La Gomera de David](#), August 21, 2023*

*Edited by [María Piedad Ossaba](#)*



JORGE FALCONE'S BLOG / A CRITICAL LOOK AT NOSTRAMERICAN EVENTS

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