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Politics without classes and corporations, political science without political economy.

The science of the political or politics?

Abstract

The article shows the weakness of mainstream Polish political science. Its main weakness, according to the author, is omitting the industrial and corporate power conflict among the factors determining the contemporary politics. As a result, the relations between political science and political economy have become weak. Its place as a source of inspiration for political scientists has been taken by social philosophy. It seeks the various non-economic sources of politics. The postulated critical political science puts in the spotlight the main processes of the global capitalist economy located in a phase of stagnation and closing in on the natural limits of its duration. In particular, closer attention should be focused on tracking a new, already the fifth configuration of the market society. It will be the several partial processes weave; the recovery process of autonomy by the state to corporations and the financial sector (deglobalisation); the process of recovering control of the state by the old and new social movements (democracy participatory), and the process of transformation of the energy economy, coupled with the process of changing lifestyles: from consumerism to paideia as a human community responsive to its activity on the development, openness and creativity in shaping new rules for civilization.

Keywords: the political character, politics, industrial conflict, corporations power, state functions on the economy, social movements, social protest.

**Polityka bez klas i korporacji, politologia bez ekonomii politycznej.
Nauka o polityczności czy nauka o polityce?**

Abstrakt

Artykuł ukazuje słabości mainstreamowej polskiej politologii. Główną jej słabością według autora jest pomijanie wśród czynników determinujących współczesną politykę konfliktu przemysłowego i

władzy korporacji. W efekcie osłabły związki nauki o polityce z ekonomią polityczną. Jej miejsce jako źródło inspiracji dla politologów zajęła filozofia społeczna. Poszukuje ona różnych pozaekonomicznych źródeł polityczności. Postulowana politologia krytyczna umieszcza w centrum uwagi główne procesy globalnej gospodarki kapitalistycznej, znajdującej się w fazie stagnacji i zbliżającą się do przyrodniczych granic swego trwania. W szczególności bliższej uwagi wymaga śledzenie nowej, już piątej konfiguracji społeczeństwa rynkowego. Będzie to spólot kilku procesów cząstkowych; procesu odzyskiwania autonomii przez państwa wobec korporacji i sektora finansowego (deglobalizacja); proces odzyskiwania kontroli nad państwem przez stare i nowe ruchy społeczne (demokracja partycypacyjna), a także proces transformacji energetycznej gospodarki, sprzężony z procesem zmiany stylu życia: od konsumpcjonizmu do *paidei* jako wspólnoty ludzkiej ukierunkowującej swoją aktywność na potrzeby rozwojowe, na otwartość i kreatywność w kształtowaniu nowych zasad funkcjonowania cywilizacji ogólnoludzkiej.

Słowa kluczowe: charakter polityczny, polityka, konflikt przemysłowy, władza korporacji, ekonomiczne funkcje państwa, ruchy społeczne, protest społeczny.

Tabooisation of the industrial conflict

Intellectual and theoretical liberation from the yoke of the industrial conflict as a source of any serious politics, has resulted in appearance of the One Thousand and One Nights fairy tales of postmodern post-politics, parapolitics, subpolitics, 'political life', ultrapolitics... until all the creativity of human speech is exhausted. A political scientist of 'second modernity' got over the dusk of redistribution policy and emancipation. Now it draws inspiration from the work of social philosophers who stretch the limits of politics, including the new dimensions of political life (politics of recognition, identity, media, hegemony, lifestyle, politics of fear, etc.). They are inspired by especially C. Schmitt, in the light version Ch. Mouffe, so agonistics, J. Beck, A. Giddens, so subpolitics, 'politics of life', discipline and supervision of M. Foucault, P. Bourdieu's symbolic violence. In the 'world full of vampires', as stated by Szymon Wrobel, the body political entity disappears overwhelmed by the multitude of determinism, which were discovered by the social sciences. The instruments of power have disappeared in the expanded relationships of biopolitics, discipline, internalized control of conventional wisdom or teledemocracy (Dybel, Wróbel 2008: 242-243). The problem of eliminating between the interpersonal relationships of socio-economic inequality, exploitation, oppression because of a family biography, gender or skin colour, disappeared from the agenda. The repercussions of commodity-monetary exchange and the market economy interest unfavourable for the working-classes also disappeared.

In its place appeared a unit autonomy dimension and chances of implementation the **Self-**

complacency through the choice of the hierarchy of values and lifestyles. The disappearance of ideological commitment to disalternativity sense of democratic capitalism, the decrepitude of hope for a radical change, brought about technoliberalism of new public management ‘without politics’. The ultra-modern, network ‘new public management’ should bring politics to the daily administrating the machinery of the state together in a team with civil society, although this machinery, after all, ultimately regulates 'knowing best' market. Here the traditional autonomy of politics disappears as a realm of articulation and coordination of collective rationality, and even planetary. In this narration the conflict of ideologies is replaced by cooperation of enlightened technocrats (economists, mediocrats, marketing specialists, liberal multiculturalists, since recognition costs less than sharing income, as noted by Slawomir Czapnik). In the era of blurring the borders of politics the public discourse, mechanisms for consultation and negotiation permit the responsible, of course, citizens to reach a compromise in the form of more or less universal consent. In this situation, post-political scientists seek now for the political character under the ‘anti-metaphysical currents’. Not considering the hegemonic neo-liberal doctrine as the panideology, they talk about the fall of this form of articulation of social consciousness. The dead ideology resurrected, however, in a rich palette of private glances at the politics. And so far the class politics has moved into another dimension of the social game, ‘beyond the Left-wing and the Right-wing politics’ dimension. Therefore, the politics based on ideological oppositions, conflicting interests belongs to the ‘first modernity’. The urgent research task in this situation has become a search, often very imaginative, for new political rates in subsequent mutations of modernity. For example, according to Ulrich Beck subpolitics is a field, where the economy, education, work, interpersonal relationships are changing the social conditions. All of them using own means create the politics. The crisis of the parliamentary democracy muted by the teledemocracy, waves of protests made by robots and cheaper Asian workers, increased social inequalities within national societies and between regions of the world – give birth to the need to resuscitate the notion of the lifeless politics. The news of its descent proved, as it happens, greatly exaggerated. The society of the second, and later, the reflective modernity is nothing more than just another development phase of the capitalist market economy. Currently it is a global capitalist economy, the capitalism without borders. The political is entangled here in the consequences that entails not only the division of the surplus produced in the economy, but also to approach the limits of the natural economy (the Meadow’s trap). This fact raises a fundamental contradiction and antagonisms between consumerism, behind which stand corporations, coercion of capital accumulation, and seduced by the ‘shopping world’ - and those which satisfies the prosperity without growth. Indeed, they develop non-material needs, and in addition they must make energy transformation, alteration of consciousness idolaters, to create a civilization in which the people will be more important than objects. Traditionally

understood politics concerns in this context the changes in the state-economy relationship. These changes will involve determining the boundary conditions of operation of the market and the capitalist economy through international conventions, let's add the content of the TPP, CETA and TTIP agreements. It has to be a low-carbon economy. While the political character in the broad sense today comprises primarily the struggle to change the lifestyle of the inhabitants of the Earth. This will be probably the evolution from parasitic (ecologically, energetically) consumerism to the Greek *paideia* - as a human community responsive to its activity on the development, openness and creativity in shaping new rules for urban-industrial civilization and a new lifestyle. In this struggle the front is created, it is divided into creator of civilization of sustainable development and into hedonists, who find it difficult to leave the paradise of symbolic consumption.

Mainstream Politics

Were the boundaries of politics in modern market societies significantly shifted? Open societies on the movement of goods, capital, but also of information, ideas, and ... people. The question has become important socially with the current stagnation of global capitalism. It is accompanied by a crisis of representative democracy. This, in turn, is a consequence of personalisation and mediatisation of politics, as well as its 'labour drawbacks'. The social function of this form of political system was and still is a 'dangerous' classes neutralisation. The crisis of stagnation of the global market economy and the twilight of neoliberalism hegemony opened chances of correction stable political scene. Both previously marginalized by the centrist consensus radical parties and non-politicised demonstrators were faced with a historic opportunity to correct a society under the pressure at decreasing the consumption of wage income. Does this question go to the Polish political scientists' research workshops? Current image of politics by political scientists is the result of pluralism of research approaches. Because of that there is now another internal dynamic of cognitive progress in a complex political scientists research community. Functioning knowledge is always limited, partial, approximate, often unilateral (when dominated by one paradigm). These paradigms are commonly inconsistent, disproportionate and even conflicting (e.g. psychodynamic and humanistic paradigm in psychology, liberal and critical theory and the theory of Wallerstein's world-systems in the science of international relations). Therefore, the knowledge of political scientists community is poorly structured. According to the appeal of Barbara Krauz-Mozer, a political scientist has respect for the postulate of openness to confront arguments, estimate empirically individual paradigms. Contextuality and situational of cognitive acts entails contextuality both, the entity and the object. The researcher here is a participant in the cognitive practice. As a specific entity he speaks the language of discipline, uses a certain type of rationality of belief, meets reality in the framework of an objectifying project often because of the NCS's (the

National Center of Science) money or think tanks. Therefore, the object of cognition is only a correlate of cognitive activity of political scientist, focused on understanding within the specialized cognitive practice. That is always the only link in the human struggle with matter and nature of the dependence of his own existence from the community life and work. From the ontological point of view the same nature have both conviction and knowledge, as well as the importance and truthfulness. Cognitive situation has many aspects: not only epistemic and language, but also the social, psychological, historical, normative, etc. (Tuchańska 2012: 220-223).

Popular among Polish political scientists is the concept of policy embedded in the line of development reached from Carl Schmitt. Directly, however, more power of inspiration has contemporary adaptation of the Schmitt's concept, made by Chantal Mouffe. It presents the concept of agonistic politics, policy vision without enemies, typical for the Western liberal democracies. In this vision neoschmittianic understanding politics with constitutive for its role of the antagonism and the enemy, Mouffe turned into a respectable political adversary agonism. This does not prevent the persistence of the conflict, which manifests itself in the education of identity classified by 'us / them'. At this point, the authors of this concept are moving away from the liberal tradition. As a result, because 'the indeterminacy of society' cannot maintain a liberal hegemonic order. This order, necessary for the duration of the social order, is also difficult to reach. In this situation lasts rivalry of hegemonic projects, which is at stake temporary universalization of the whole society. Therefore, in this circle of reflection on the shape of contemporary politics were both apologists of postpolitics, subpolitics, lifestyle politics (U. Beck and A. Giddens), the proponents of the belief in the saving power of governance, new public management neoliberalism. It is promoted mainly by the EU bureaucracy, multilateral agencies like the World Bank. It obtained the theoretical framework in the work of D. Osborne, T. Gaebler and Ch. Hood. "Democratic" will crystallizes in the quadrilateral: the government, experts, business and civil society. This set should also consist a concept of Jürgen Habermas of the communication reason and political liberalism of John Rawles (Moll, 2015. Morawski:157-161).

However, in practice it may last only a pluralism of identity. It allows to achieve the unity of the society at the highest level of doxa. On the cognitive structures of common sense the symbolic order (myths, religion, ideological options, collective identity) is built. It ensures the legitimacy of the social order, but as far from 'free act of clear consciousness'. "Doxa is a particular point of view, the point of view of the dominant, which presents and imposes itself as a universal point of view," writes Pierre Bourdieu (Bourdieu 2009: 98). The authors of discussed postpolitics concept do not say, however, how this multiplicity and the impossibility of working through the ongoing political antagonisms. By highlighting the role of pluralism, it does not involve here the analysis of the ways by which carried out construction of temporary and always precarious hegemony.

A philosophical concept of politics is Heidegger's ontology and Gadamer's hermeneutics. They develop the political in the structure of social existence, i.e. being. On its basis the socio-historical (cultural) ontological perspective is formed. In this perspective, the truth is recognized as the ontological structure of the human being. It involves dialogue the language, the tradition of interpretation, as well as with social institutions and normative systems. Therefore, has a community and history nature. Dialogue, public debate is an *agon*, struggle, social game. What counts here is the power of persuasion, pressure of authority. Still is ongoing intersubjective communication, during the particularity of individual 'notions' are abolished (Tuchańska 2012: 159-168). Politics in this concept has the ontological basis of the human being in the world of market society, which shapes the socio-biological existence of people. Here human activity targets are created which make sense of axiological reality; values are the effects which satisfy the needs and create satisfaction. Politics here is the act of creating new beliefs about future *oicumene*, model society and lifestyle. It would be a private matter, if it would not inspired to new collective actions.

The concept of German philosophers is directly applied to the language by the Mouffe's conceptual popular motto that "politics refers to the 'Ontic' level, while the political has to do with the ontological level" (Mouffe 2008: 23). This currently popular distinction agrees to accept specified philosophy of man and society. Moreover, adoption of a broader base of social philosophy provides the right theoretically correct dimension to current in humanities concept of the political. It refers to the structure of social existence and it is responsible for who we are, in what condition our existence lasts and how we can change it while using appropriate measures to this sphere of social life, mainly instruments of the state. We can set free from this structure only on the condition of becoming someone fundamentally different. E.g. Changing hierarchy of values, lifestyle, type of life activity or obtaining influence to shape a societal rationality formula. The difference between the traditional metaphysics existence and hermeneutics existence reduced to two levels of human functioning: the ontic and the ontological. Ontology considers various types of existence, models of individual and collective existence, above all, human existence (his being). These dimensions of the structure of the human being are universal. In this structure they are presented as basic dimensions: language (e.g. the ideological struggle begins with the language), understanding, community and historicity. They provide the necessary properties of each situation, which runs the socio-biological existence of man. In fact, we all coexist always against the Locke's concept of the social atom. In contrast, the ontic level is the level of research on real, specific and historical human existence here and now, the level of real existence of beings and objects, phenomena of everyday experience of the material world and the human race. It is external to the consciousness. This field of presence as fundamental determines what exists, and also things and forms of thinking about them, space for values etc. The task of the researcher is to contemplate the concept of ontological discovery of what

is hidden in existence, and as a result of faulty practices has been forgotten (Tuchańska 2012: 188-192). For political scientist socio-historical situation of existence, or involvement in activities and social relations, needs to find the axis of potential conflict that can be solved by confrontation in the public area. The confrontation leads to a qualitative change in the institutional order, another alignment of mechanisms of social life in order to realize on a new level reformulated life strategies of people. Such a universal property is the ratio of members of the community of life and work to the prevailing social order: if they only maintain its duration by their activity, or, on the contrary, its innovative activity they change its mechanisms. In short, on the one hand they are Bentham pioneers, Carlyle's heroes, Schumpeter's captains of industry, Veblen's engineers, holy men of all religions, etc. On the other hand – free riders (not incur greater costs, using the work of others), useful idiots (they do a lot of good for others, and the total work on their own detriment, because the effects of their actions reflected backfire on their situation), capitalists (benefit for free from the work of others, the cultural heritage of mankind and the wealth of nature), stockholders, provisioners, working from morning till evening with a break for lunch, to get the coveted ticket to the consumption paradise most often of a symbolic nature.

An interesting concept of the political in mature capitalism was developed by Lukasz Mlynczyk (2015). The author puts the category of the political in the field of politics of lifestyle. Implementation in the social life of a particular model of consumption and activity of life has become today's political phenomenon due to consequences for the global ecosystem and the duration of the modern capitalist civilization. The Mlynczyk's theory of the political creates the following relational system. The group of individuals involved in the political relations. These include, on the one hand, the creative individuals, on the other hand, idle ones. Between their attitudes, orientations of life, results of operations in the private sphere contradiction occurs and consequently antagonism in the public sphere. They form there two invisible camps, affecting the evolution of global capitalism. The creative ones, try to transform the nature of the functioning of the system by changing lifestyle and conduct energy revolution. As a result of the low carbon economy of the future, offering specific comfort to satisfy the necessities of life, but subordinating the existence of people the higher needs - artistic creativity, cooperation, sharing, activity to the community. On the other side of the barricade stand those who benefit directly from the neoliberal globalisation: the great machine operators, financial managers, shareholders of global corporations, and also specialists (middle class) support in the form of legal services, accountants, media big business. It is also those who indulge in the cult of material consumption, regardless of external costs for nature, regardless of whether any consistency of the societies in which they live. Together, they literally 'overeat' our future. For them the matter in the form of the free market gifts is god, and materialism – the religion, the worshipers of goods and

money, commodity fetishists (to use the language of Marx). The faith in the Holy Spirit of Market permeates them. They offer to HIM a sacrifice – in the morning hours until lunch break, late afternoon they do good deeds in shopping malls, in the evening they relax in front of the altar TV. Any failures will be calculated by the clock in the factory hall, the camera in the office, the lady on TV. According to Mateusz Janiszewski, from this deity "can expect blessings - holidays in warm countries, large-screen televisions, cars with high-capacity engines" (Janiszewski 2014). In all, they form together a land of hedonistic happiness, that is, pleasures that brings daily consumption and solemn, mainly to demonstrate the social position. For Thorstein Veblen the creative are mainly innovators, captains of industry, people with personality of the financial manager and personality of the manufacturer. Among them featured positions include engineers-technicians, educated in parallel in science and applied sciences. While the super-creative core of Richard Florida are scientists, engineers, artists, opinion leaders, publishers, promoters of high culture (Florida 2010: 86-89). It is worse with creative professionals, specialists with diplomas from prestigious universities. Those working mainly in the high-tech sector, the financial sector, they create managerial staff of corporations. While using synergy cities and regions, they make, sell and consume products for all and for selected. On balance, they are after all the creators and the beneficiaries of the System, operators of the great machine processing the energy, raw materials, labor, gifts of nature on products for further multiplication of the capital resources. Without consumption of produced mass products would not have been accumulated indexation of previous savings. They stand in one line, and the work of their creativity it is not only a scientific and technological progress, but also financial engineering, tax optimization, stultifying pop culture, ubiquitous advertising. They abolished the natural, social, cultural and political boundaries for the great corporations. They can now penetrate the globe in pursuit of pension.

Politics in the perspective of critical political science

The hallmark of mainstream political science is a kind of economical escapism. Here disappears the capitalist economy, yet still focused on accumulation, fades the class conflict, although the idea of the political still binds to antagonism. Is it possible to doubt the testimony of a champion of entrepreneurship Warren Buffett, who declared: "There's class warfare, all right, but it's my class, the rich class, that's making war, and we're winning". The indicator of this state of affairs is growing inequality of income and assets between 1% beneficiary and the rest of capital holders in the form of their hands and minds. Therefore, in the social equations, arranged by post-political scientists, hits one unknown. Corporation hides there, its president, its board, its shareholders even in the form of insurance funds. But the big absent in the image of post-politics is inseparable companion of the life of each of us. Blessed corporate gifts drips television, in which between

screenings advertising are presented also series and news. If so, it turned out to be unnecessary for political scientist, to analyze the relationship between the state and the economy, i.e. political economy. The promise to abolish antagonism encourages this orientation through expert managing 'out of politics' and 'beyond the Right and the Left-wing'. Then politics is replaced by parapolitics (S. Žižek). Then the conflict may appear only in the form of competition, ongoing between the parties and elites in a representative democracy. The aim is to take place at the Helm of government at the time provided by constitution. The focus is on economic growth and efficiency of liberal democracy, human rights, legitimizing the ruling system. Moreover, Polish political scientists, from mainstream politics stream, renounce the research about the relationship between the trade policy and business. What's more, there are even some discipline prophets who are calling for the separation of economics, sociology, psychology and history. They want to condemn political scientist to *selfhelp* in the ocean of knowledge. Consequently, the field of modern Political Science research is shredded into separate plots, well separated from the neighboring specialties (political systems, political thought, international relations, political marketing, geopolitics, etc.). Narrow specialization, like the technical division of labor, raises the mosaic knowledge of the 'micro-worlds'. It can provide a theoretical explanation of an important phenomenon after switching to a broad system of social knowledge. And the narrow specializations make it impossible. Therefore, Czapnik says, "The more limited object of study – more and more often: little subject – the more worthless books and articles can be produced. Wherein even doubtful whether they increase knowledge. It seems that the best are the team information - facts and their narrow translations" (Czapnik 2012). In addition, popular opinion among political scientists the institution of a democratic capitalism state is neutral in the sense that it provides instruments to guide the social life.

This instrument goes into the hands of voters endowed with the greatest confidence. Political scientist occupies an important place in the social division of labor, as he provides valuable practical knowledge to civil society. This knowledge teaches how to rationally debate, negotiate, seek a consensus formula. This is how Bronislaw Lagow evaluates, also Polish political science became again an ideological instrument, it changed only the patron (Lagow 2014). Also Krzysztof Jasiocki points out the weakness of Polish political scientists. He indicates that the " political science studies on Polish political system are focused on, according to preference and the methodology of this study, on the institutional aspects of the consolidation of democracy, the electoral system, political parties and the party system and the perception of democracy " (Jasiocki 2013: 178).

The flow of inspiration ceased, posed research questions between categories reflection of political scientists and achievements of political economy, or macrosociology

macrohistory. Polish political scientists are not intellectually bothered by economists (J. Hausner, A. Karpinski, G. Kolodko, K. Grace, J. Wilkin, W. Szymanski), or sociologists (J. Tittenbrun, J. Sowa, K. Jasiocki, W. Morawski, T. Zarycki) nor a lawyer Dawid Sześciło (Sześciło 2015). Meanwhile, without any new inspirations from these disciplines it is difficult to track the evolution of the process of governance and functions of the state. Wherein a choice remains conceptualization of the process. Should it be the transition from government to co-governing and governing global or rather the national strategy out of the trap of the average income. The firsts guide by maxim more steering – less rowing. “The state should be limited to control (steering), and rowing (rowing) should leave to others” (R. Rhodes).

So there is a new political economy treated as a subset of institutional economics, limited to the study on "interactions between political institutions, economic institutions and behavior various social groups, from the political class, starting by businessmen, ending with ordinary consumers" (Falkowski 39, Kargol-Wasiluk: 98-119, Tanzi, 2011: 107-128). This trend cannot satisfy a critical political scientist, in fact it is only an arm of the mainstream reflection on functions of the economic liberalism state. The second trend is the subject of reflection of macro-social functions of the state to the economy. They aim to raise the level of its competitiveness, not only the quality of governance. The activity of state in this area must be recognized multidisciplinary. Contrary to formulaic notion the control functions of the state, such as "management, organization, economy regulation on a global scale, should in fact turn the precinct structure economic, regardless of the legal characteristics of their performers" (Tittenbrun 2012: 108). At the core of this opinion is conviction that the actions of business administration are the work of indirect production. This conviction takes into account the complex nature of the modern economy. Its functioning requires a connected revenues circulation, circulation of goods, technical progress, qualified personnel, etc. Also, the non-economic effects (demographic, ecological, cultural) require macrosocial coordination. Only at the level of the social whole are possible activities integrating functioning of the economy in the perspective of the society-wide rationality. They include the regulative state activities as shaping using the rules of administrative and legal time and work conditions, duties and labour legislation, legal protection of ownership processes. Next, will be activities such as long-term strategic planning structure of the modal balance of the economy, solve the problem of its supply energy carriers, rules for the distribution of income, the acceptable range relative poverty and social exclusion, the scope of social intervention of the state, the tasks of social-wide (education, research, health protection), etc. The authority of the dispositive legal means enforcement and financial resources indirectly shaping behavior of ‘market’ entities do it. E.g. with interest rate, exchange rate, selective development policy and subsidies to foreign

capital. But they do not lose purely economic nature. Therefore, the researcher of society cannot avoid the questioning, which type of social change is desirable from the point of view of social-wide rationality and which long-term strategy can bring it closer. However, more and more Polish political scientists do not go that way. Among opening signposts, such as at the Tatra Mountains pass, the views on various territories of political field there appeared another one. It's old-fashioned political field analysis perspective, which includes extinct entity-dinosaurs. Next to radical right movements, women's movements or employee, the states is also visible. It is not only a guarding judge looking after the rules of play between competing teams. It is still a partial engine and a regulation order designer, including economy (S. Czapnik, R. Chwedoruk, J. Golinowski, F. Ilkowski, M. Karwat, A. Laska, F. Pierzchalski). The pioneer was an American political sociologist, David Ost (Ost 2007). The justification in this research trend thesis lead to the conclusion that the political scene perched on pillars of the market society, and therefore, which is characterized by imbalance the forces of capital and labor. The functional imperative, which is the subject to society is a compulsion to accumulate capital. The share of profits in the US GDP increased from 2% in 1994 to 16% in 2014 while the share of wages decreased in the years 1981-2010 from 69.2 to 63.7%. In the European 'old' fifteen the decline was from 73.6 to 66.1% (Klementewicz 2015: 193-199). Consequently 0.01% owners of big capital, provisioners often entrepreneurial differently, has the property, which remains at the disposal of the poorer half of humanity.

In many ways, in various institutional forms and with different effects, including symbolic coercion (historical politics), it's part of the task is completed by the state. Politics and in its essence is a form of crystallizing a common strategy of the ruling class, the strategy of shaping such social order in which wealth comes from capital, work control conditions, distribution and exchange, exploitation of the biomass. Thus, functions of the state, the final result of politics as a game and fight, is possible to know only indirectly, using a wide range of indicators and data. It is a deeper layer of social reality, which we know, among others, analyzing the structure of distribution of income and assets, examining the scope of the social power of different active subjects on the parliamentary tribune and on the sidelines of the political scene. Only in this way we can determine the extent of economic power of corporations, political influence of various interest groups (foreign investors, coal sector), the effectiveness of lobbying and clientelism, the degree of overwhelmed minds because of widespread ideology at the school and in the media.

Non-political nature of economic processes is essentially an ideological illusion. The domain of management is still a key for decoding the political struggle of the tax burden, working conditions, the size of minimum wages, the quality of public services. The free market economy still has the same problem with overcoming barriers to global demand, with selling commodity. There is no demand, there is no consumption, no investment. And there is a syndrome

of stagnation. No growth destroys the whole system. That is why those who are changing the energy, social and political parameters of its functioning, become major new politics stakeholders. They are all collective actors, but also ordinary, single citizens rival between themselves and with the traditional groups in order to influence the organization of social life. This raises a further problem of subjectivity in the situation, when the private sphere becomes political. The desirable today subjectivity acquired in the context of creative new protest movements: alter globalist movements, city movements, indigenous, ecological movements, feminist, protests against GMOs, CETA, TIPP, previously against atomic power stations. At the same time, their creativity manifests itself in the structure of the actions program. They must expose so important demands, so that they can attract the most voters. Then is created a mix of socio-economic demands with the cultural aspects, concerning e.g. the rights of minorities. From this point view, paradox of different concepts of post-politics is about that the authors renounce from class conflict as a social central antagonism, and at the same time insisting on the inevitability of antagonism. Simply looking for any proposal of theory, which can indicate unclassified sources of contradictions, conflicts and antagonisms.

To squeeze the essence of politics, we must therefore return to the basics of the global capitalist economy. At the beginning of the repeal the curtain of neoliberal hegemony, which legitimizes it. Capitalism growing according to prescriptions from Washington got into a blind alley of stagnation, industrial maturity and it is rapidly approaching natural limits of its development. The large potential of the political is contained now in new functions of countries. They must create by contracts and conventions new boundary conditions for corporations and financial-industrial groups, to limit the power of corporations over the world. Taking environmental property rights leads to this aim. The costs of using the services, and, in practice, pollution will be sustainable position in corporate account. Louder is now postulated the package of solutions that would effective strategy of deglobalisation. It includes: effective supranational control of banks and financial institutions, reduction of interstate fiscal dumping, elimination of offshoring, global property taxes and income, as well as putting under the democratic controls unilateral organizations, including the European Commission. They have become janitors of corporations. The political dimension inherent in the realities of market society, which is under the pressures of globalisation must create the kind of politics emancipated from the neo-liberal canon. Only in this way the state can represent a societal rationality. The condition for this is to recover the autonomy of decision-making by the state, but without the pressure of outraged masses, *furor populi*, it will not be possible. In conditions of the global capital economy the logic of a societal rationality, must be enriched by the planetary logic. This would be the economic policy of 'second modernity' on the global level, and therefore the politics of allied countries. In contrast, a completely different question is, who would make this qualitative change? Paradoxically, both sides of ideological

barricades fall firecrackers, angry gestures and sings. The beneficiaries of global capitalism should feel like their customers. The immediate objective of the outraged are present self-attached elites representing the ruling class (resurrection, J. M. Barroso in service of Goldman Sachs). Corporations, their boards of directors, and shareholders tactically are silent. They prefer to tinker with successive treaties abolishing another, more lower barriers to their sticky tentacles.

The process of reaching consciousness of partly indignant can take a long time. Created and imprinted into the consciousness the view of the social world, ensures the hegemony of culture to liberal economy and corporations. The frame still exists, because the substantial postulates of capital are built into the system (e.g. private property as the basis of liberal democracy).

In this picture the state has to wait until everything will be settled by invisible hand of the market, which are now the financiers. Above all, the message has to create a sense of lack of alternatives to neo-liberal road to the kingdom of freedom and abundance. This image paints a consumer paradise on the Earth. This paradise is founded by the capitalism, thanks to its social ethics, blessed entrepreneurship, and above all the magic of private property, which itself, in the words of Arthur Young (1787), turns sand into gold. News of this paradise it communicated by neoliberal newspeak: market system instead of capitalism, instead of the state budget transfers welfare, freedom instead of economic freedom, the investor as savior privatized factories and unemployed, civil society in place of classes and social conditions, human capital, creativity and flexibility of the company, consumer rather than citizen, the taxpayer instead of the employed person or rentier. The halo of solemnity surround the beneficial actions and words such as structural reforms, job creations (which is true only for lawyers and accountants in Luxembourg and New Caledonia), GDP growth, raising the value of human capital, low inflation, a wide range of products, national security, material success. In this language bank economists pray for Providence, which enlightens their daily flickering cipher of exchange rates. Diagnosis of social problems are formulated in imposed concepts, in the circle of certain assumptions that are never expressed directly, but also define the boundaries of responsible opinion, worthy a rational man, a member of civil society, 'honest people and minded'. It is possible to discuss about the amount of the tax rate of the Central Bank, but not about why such a decision is ultimately up to several appointed liberal economists. It is possible to think about the kind of sanctions for Russia, but not over their meaningfulness, unless as an agent of influence of empire. As is accepted axiology of eclectic liberalism. According to Andrzej Walicki it is created by widespread in scientific discourse, media and everyday thinking the set of following beliefs: 1) Private ownership and free market (free-market capitalism of the 'new Right-wing') are holy, 2) depleted rhetoric of human rights (civil and political, and not socio-economic), 3) the belief in a universal salutary of political democracy and human rights that precede capitalism (opposition against autocrats) (Walicki 2013: 338-339, Szahaj

2014: 16).

The basic social engineering of liberal capitalism naturalization is a pushy popularization of individualistic strategy of material success, of hiperindividualism – and you will become Henryk Bochniarz or Leszek Czarnecki. On the success of the material they build the vision of happiness achieved through consumption. They promise endless quizzes, which are, in fact, gambling establishments. For the price of a text message you can get reward in cash. This strategy recommends enterprise and creativity as a compass in life, not the collective cooperation, such as, in Scandinavia or post-Confucian civilization. School education excels in silhouette of creative entrepreneur, although only 2-3 per 100 has a chance to become one, to create his own company and through the use of not earned income accumulate a fortune. Rest of the people will continue their lives as a wage-workers in a private corporation, or the special area, or, God forbid, in the public sector. More useful, therefore, than the enterprise courses would be getting knowledge about the labor legislation, improving interaction skills to defend stable conditions of employment, ability to articulate political and economic interests, ensuring a fair wage or a sufficiently high quality of public services. The current model of public education is shaped as a result of focus on domination, the desire to step out at any price, highlighting differences in social status and maintaining social distance, further underlined by a style of consumption. In wealthy humans, material success is dominated by fear of losing position, distrust of the protest movements, the reluctance to the ‘people who claim’ and condemning social transfers, as well as the pride of regaining freedom and belonging to Europe. The lower standing failures are dehumanized. It leads to blocking the empathy and sharing success with a tribute tax. The success people became a leading group, pointing to the others the way of promotion. Everybody, who strongly desires, and dedicates their *ergodynamis* to the employer, especially Western corporations may join the middle class. Opening the gates of promotion, which in television costs a few seconds, removed from public discourse the problem of degradation of the class of big industry employees, as well as ‘citizens’ inherent in the sphere of poverty. Identification with the model of social life typical for the middle class explains the approval for the transformation and new system. In this way, the huge numbers of useful idiots for the system were created, especially among the younger generation – being victims of the system, they accept its values and rules of the game that support it. According to Nancy Fraser, the feminism is also currently strengthening individualistic strategies of personal success and the value system. It draws to seek the promotion through your own talents and merits, at the expense of participatory democracy and social solidarity (Fraser 2013: 46-47). Being alone as a woman and also being a woman against the labour market is fostered by the material living conditions (low wages in the service sector, the twilight of family) and criticism of the traditional family model. The tone of the debate gives the narration about the empowerment of women

(‘sparrow to become a canary’). The flagship issue of social equality, was replaced by the politics of identity, in this case the gender identity. Criticism of paternalism of the welfare state (‘nanny-state’) served as a pretext for transfer its rights to NGOs in order to marketization and reduce the costs of the public sector. This aim is supported by the idea and micro-credit institution and its business, which is understandable, addressed mainly to women in the Global South. In this group of social engineering is compromising the solidarity of generations and salaries from the public budget. The addressee of these interactions is the youth. The fast rhythm of civilization changes will break the continuity of generations and the collapse of authority of older people. The young catch waves, and the older flood. The young generations are more adapted to the changing information technology, the flexibility of the labor market, new products and fashions. Young people are counting on defeat the hard life alone, without regard for the state and the solidarity of generations. This is done through the pressure consent or lack of reaction to privatization of common public issues. Individuals become consumers, and their solidarity does not exceed the threshold of their family home.

The media reality is therefore socially, discursively constructed. To illustrate: in a popular journal under the heading EBRD: Reform! we read: "According to the bank's priority for 2012 should be for Poland the introduction of a strategy to consolidate public finances. This is essential in maintaining investor confidence, but it will require social costs restriction [emphasis – YES] Another goal for next year should be continuation of the privatization program, "even if the market conditions will be less favorable" and completion of pension reform. And that is it! The editor of Economy supplement of "Gazeta Wyborcza" believes, therefore, that the information that the lead began: "Poland should complete the consolidation of public finances, reduce the role of the state in the economy and end the pension reform – the economists of the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development instructs us" (Gazeta Wyborcza. 15th November 2011, "EBRD: Reform", printed by LEZ). Additionally persuasiveness of the message reinforces the authority (?) of the implementing institution over the years the rules of the Washington Consensus, jointly responsible for casino-capitalism. You can see in this example, the role played by media economists. Each ‘structural reform’ increasing ‘flexibility’ of labor relations, limiting costs made on public services, saving on the expenditure side of the state budget always promises benefits for the whole economy (GDP growth, new work places), companies (increase in the volume of trade), consumers (higher offer products, lower prices).

Other important tasks for critical political scientist is to develop a theoretically important category in the face of the national populism enhance. It is about the category of a useful idiot. The effects of his actions save others under the heading of assets, while his liabilities are charged to his account. Opposite silhouette of manipulator,

using national emotions, ethnic, against immigrants, threats of terror, media authorities – for years unmasks Mirosław Karwat (2012).

It is particularly useful for the analysis of contemporary political science of fear, and as a result of the security policy. The rulers and their little helpers create atmosphere of fear and threats, transforming citizens into mindless safety consumers (Pierzchalski, Golinowski 2016).

The invisible power of corporations?

Social power of corporations is growing more and more powerful. Mergers and acquisitions have replaced industrial investments. The appropriate pricing policy, and a higher threshold for entry of new firms perpetuates oligopolies in key sectors of the economy. According to the high-profile Swiss scientists' research, currently 737 groups of financial capital controls 80% of other economic operators. What is even more interesting, 147 of them creates a control tower, as it disposes of intersecting capital of 40% other 'competitors' (Glattfelder). Parallel the holders from the created narrower group are the owners of corporation fortunes. For example in the USA only five people are the owners of about 1/4 of assets, which belongs to the top 500 US corporations. Sad news for Polish apostles of free of market. The wealth accumulated by the global financial corporations were earlier in a common hand of the public and on the private accounts of industrial enterprises. Many mechanisms make easier to flow it to an account of the financial sector. It captures un-profit industrial sector, which rotates on the financial 'products' and is increasingly direct in participation in the profits (interest, dividends).

The industrial sector receives income, which were possible because of the technological advances. Innovative products, inventions, new technologies are co-financed by the state budget (usually 75%). All private companies take over also the financial resources, that the state budget spent on health care, education, science, technical infrastructure, and so they capture the public property (national, non-corporation 'state' property). To this must be added the interest on the debt public. The amount is about 5% of the Global Domestic Product. In peripheral countries debt service rate reaches 40% of gross of national income. Further, popular 'juicers' of common ownership are the subsidies for the industry, often hidden (e.g. GM in the US), government subsidies to support the export, the tax advantages (e.g. in special zones) and other subsidies to attract foreign investors (eventually they are taken over by the owners of the foreign companies shares), loan guarantees, loans below the market interest rate, etc.

Indicators of corporate power over the globe are processes of gradual dereference of disposal decision, which had been, at least in part, the institutions of the democratic legitimacy of the voters. The most important are:

- a dense network of business and politicians. At stake is the traditional lobbying, campaign financing, opaque finances of public-private partnership, the flow of personnel from the corporations to the state and back (G. Schroder, J. M. Barroso, L. Summers, H. Paulson, M. Morawiecki);
- dependence of the state on creditors, the voice of 'the markets'. The reason for this dependence is an obligation according to the rules of ordoliberalism embodied in the constitution of the EU states; debt of the countries on the private financial market. This allowed to get control over the economic policy of the state by the international financiers through the 'independent' Central Bank. Wherein financial corporations dispose of the massive consolidated assets. The average amount is 1.82 trillion dollars in the case of banks and 0.61 trillion dollars in terms of insurance corporation. For example, the UN has a budget of \$ 40 billion (Dowbor 2016: 37);
- progressive capturing the judiciary. This involves, among others, the increasingly procedure under agreements between corporations and government bodies in the case of violations of various laws protecting quality and the environment. Processes replace criminal fines. Additionally, the agreements, such as CETA, TIPP, TPP provide the arbitration between the state and the corporation handed over to corporate lawyers (International Centre for the Settlement of Investment Disputes, ICSID);
- planned economy through the information and emotions, shaping the 'public confusion' (A. Badiou). The control of the conventional wisdom about the 'healthy' economy, 'healthy' economic policy, dangerous populism, feared fundamentalists' radicalism - is written out for many entities. The ideological state apparatus is supported by think tanks. They sow doubts about the ecological crisis, they praise the blessing of private property and free enterprise. They are financed by corporations operating in the mining industry, armament, automotive, ICT, food. It is hard to spread the news about health effects of the chemical and food industries. Rather, every day sitting before the altar of the TV, says Jan Kurowicki, learns about the mission of creating jobs by employers, their charity and social liability of business;
- systematical commodification of education and science. It becomes a branch of market society. Dangerous from this point of view is also creation of market access for diplomas in contrast to free education, as one of the pillars of an egalitarian society. Also the aim of Polish Science has to be according to plan of responsible development 'ability to create ready-made solutions for use in conditions of the competitive international supply of socio- economic innovation'. The particular

disciplines are pushed to the margins, the disciplines which correspond for the education of critical attitudes and the development of political consciousness of citizens. But at the same time is visible progressing of degradation of diplomas, instrumental knowledge, not subordinated directly to the needs of business and corporate career. Due to the main functions of the legitimizing current role is played by the cathedral economics and its militia banking and consulting. They replaced erstwhile political commissars, they turned into telemarketers of economical liberalism. Yet the education system should develop the self-realization and higher needs. It cannot just be subordinated to the current needs of the labour market. If the citizen has to be a subject and not an addition to the machine, nor culture, nor education, should not exist in the form of exchange value (of goods). Furthermore, participation in culture, including high culture, could be an alternative for the consumer's lifestyle. These values are included in the concept of paideia as a sum of terms of the creation of 'cultural personality configuration'. It will be a difficult test for all reformers. Then, it will turn out whether people can live 'good and wise' (J. Hartman).

As a result, capitalism is less and less democratic. According to Wolfgang Streeck, instead of category attributed to liberal democracy, should be used new, more precise categories in the state on a corporation-supplied drip. And so, instead of the will of the people – the wishes of investors, rather than voters – creditors, civil rights were replaced by the agreements and the public opinion – by interest rates (Streeck 2014: 99-105). The former people, *Staatsvolk*, was replaced by *Marktvolk* – 'institutional investors' in the neoliberal inmates, it means financiers, known by name CEOs, board members, great managers of global banks, insurance funds, trusts, shareholders and owners of huge blocks of shares, financial capital. Ladislau Dowbor writes, "Today, the central challenge is to construct democratic processes of control and resource allocation" (Dowbor 2016: 39). This will happen only under capitalism for the fifth time configured, and probably in lengthy process of deglobalisation. Thus, the humanity awaits for the Second World War with corporations.

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