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The construction of a libertarian-liberal epistemology by theorists of the left-wings thought Frankfurt School, Paris School : the representation of the collective imagination in the face of the great global market

Marie-Christine Seguin ( 10 novembre 2024)

The belief in a crisis of unity is constructed, whereas the process of unity through the monopolisation of a cultural and political consensus of the bourgeoisie cannot be denied. The conquest is achieved through the signs of power, the new sacralisation of the modern world : then the wordly signifier through the exchange of signs, becomes reality itself. In this construction which desacralizes the relationship to the other into a pure artifice of relationship, the other is reduced to the expression of the production process or of exchange value.

In short, the thinking of the Ecole de Francfort and the Ecole de Paris (German and French Marxists), flagships of a hegemony of thought from the Cold War to the hard line of neo-liberalism in the 1980s, will structure a way of thinking that supports the construction of a European Union of neo-liberal technocrats for countries, annexed willingly or by force into a concert idealizing vice and deifying the market. (President Sarkozy's betrayal after the referendum on the Lisbon Treaty in France in 2005 comes to mind). The common denominator of the theories that will emerge from these institutes and schools around the desacralization of moral values and

the divinization of the market, lies in the understanding of the ends materialized by an ideology of consciousness and the production of knowledge (consciousness and unconsciousness are major, since it is a matter of subjective division) and concretely present even before the Enlightenment, which is its apogee.

there are several epistemological breaks that were that have be caused by the annexation of academic fields in the process which consisted of the extension of the influence of economic activities to communicational activities, that is to say cultural activities known as the “soft power” management while the epistemological break imposes a new anthropology of extreme violence. This is the whole ideology constructed by the New Philosophers or the thinkers of the so-called French New Left (Foucault, Sartre, Bourdieu, Castoriadis, Deleuze, Derrida) Whom we called Freudo-Marxists that I develop further, after the "carboard" Revolution of 1968, who followed in the footsteps of the Social Sciences thought since the 1920s (between the two world wars) and materialized in the 1950s by the Frankfurt School (end of the Second World War and beginning of the construction of a European Union based on the Marshall Plan) it is important to link it to the temporality of the wars which established the hegemony of the United States economy with the construction of the European Union. (with the 80s software revolution = Margaret Thatcher with this TINA (There is no Alternative) and Jean-François Lyotard French authorship with La condition postmoderne of 1979.)

It took a psychodrama to move from a savings society to a party society (alcohol, drugs) , a radical break with the world before the Second World

War. The thought of '68 was to offer hedonistic sub-products that were in fact a new bourgeois pact with the classes that had emerged from the Marshall plan. While Leftist paranoia sees power only as the repression of the libido, the French sociologist Michel Clouscard shows how power became attractive and as an invention and produced the appropriate libido, as Michel Foucault tells it in his *History of sexuality*. To change traditional models, you need fairly violent models: dying at 27, destroying your guitar... We are witnessing the mutation of the small craftsman and petit bourgeois from poujadism to generalized wage employment and an economy of non-productive services.

It is the emergence of state monopoly capitalism or the step towards global fascism with a recolonization of the world under the subjection of the IMF. The Marshall Plan led to the emergence of the new market of desire, which promises the end of taboos and prohibitions but within the framework of a two-speed economic system.

Capitalism at the beginning of the 20th century told how to produce, state monopoly capitalism will tell how to consume and beyond that how to live.

Marcuse's libidinous nature and Deleuze's desiring machines are only the way of life of careerists in the new capitalist system.

In fact, desire as an abstraction divorced from production serves the propaganda of the cultural artists/managers who have presented and continue to present this model of transgressive consumption as a revolutionary model, while in reality it only describes the careerism of the middle classes.

The discourse that allows the libertarian consumer of the new social strata (from 68s onward) to enjoy a narcissistic status of a self-styled

revolutionary at the expense of the proletariat who would have betrayed their social strata to join the system that must sell ideology and lifestyle.

The Marcusean's song that sings that the working class has sold itself out for a plate of green lentils is matched by an ideology that says that social conquests are gentrification. In reality, if workers had access to the goods they produce, that would be socialism.

Contrary to the epistemological construct of thinkers of the Left, the crisis of unity does not reside at the betrayal of proletarian class, at the end of belief in the stories of emancipation, at the end of belief in progress due to new technologies, it is quite a contrary, because as that the French sociologist Michel Clouscard denounces in his state thesis "*Being and the code*" by proposing a critique of the Sartrean system, in "*Being and Nothingness*" (Jean Paul Sartre was on his dissertation thesis jury) it is an epistemological invention orchestrated by the reality of the horrors that the two wars generated, or the third world revolution in the 80s with computer technology, would be what would schackles us, whereas, logically these technologies are only what men planned to do with them. This is an epistemological setup designed to make people accept (without seeing it) the new framework of the bourgeois and capitalist hegemonic infrastructure.

If we want to understand the construction of this epistemology we have to go back to the construction of the subjective division put in relation to the class division by the theorists of the Frankfurt School. The subjective division is none other than the play of consciousness and unconsciousness

or even the existence of a passion in man not to want to know. Since the observation made by Doctor Bernard de Mandeville in *The Fable of the Bees*, we have witnessed a protohistory of the unconscious which will be stretched even into the theses of Freud and Lacan.

We are endeavouring to test this immanence of the construction of the consciousness of class being, which constructs a social signifier based on representation which becomes the only signifying material. This representation reduces knowledge to a signifier which has the consequence of transforming the social into the societal, the moral into morality, that is to say moral into a matters of morals (manners) in a modern society of perpetual reporting and judgement, a society where we point out the other, having evacuated moral education and the ethical question, ultimately a society where the social has been evacuated.

Criticism allows us to demonstrate that this construction is developed from the perversion of the philosophy of the French Revolution (notably Rousseau and Kant) and becomes the ideological cement of libertarian social liberalism; that is to say of all French thought after the Second World War. Therefore this philosophy is based on 4 constructions = 1) dichotomy of the noumenon and the phenomenon, 2) dichotomy of empiricism and formalism, 3) including meaning according to predicative or ante-predicative anteriority, 4) therefore meaning according to the signifier. And it is based on 3 axioms = a) desiring subjectivities b) the unconscious and c) structure.

Concluding

Driving forces is in the construction of the game of consciousness and

knowledge. What is happening with the philosophy of Edmund Husserl and Jean-Paul Sartre? They Both exploded the relationship between the noumenon and the phenomenon. Husserl says that the transcendental ego prohibits meaning because it results in duality. Consequently the subject of knowledge becomes the object of knowledge or even consciousness as subject becomes the object of the thing to be known. This construction has serious consequences because consciousness is no longer anything other than a relation of consciousness.

This is the whole ideological challenge of postmodern theories. Sartre, for his part, will only recognize noumenal reality, as a pure self, and will denigrate the phenomenon as consciousness of the thing, of the other which for him is only an artificial representation.

What is the consequence in our current way of thinking? The world is reduced to a noumenal representation which that will turn the reductive material of sociology into a factory of opinion instead of knowledge.

We see the emergence of key notions which touch on the history of ideas and more precisely on an aesthetics of the imagination which articulates a system which structures an economic superstructure on a biased infrastructure, in order to incline towards the acceptance of capitalism as a whole.