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MODERNIZATION

Why are we Greeks discussing about modernization

Contemporary Greek society is preoccupied with an intense awareness of its own weakness. This is a phenomenon perpetuated by the conduct of our public services, private enterprise and individual citizens alike ~~whereby each materially contributes to the problem rather than facilitating solutions.~~ Everyday life ~~would appear to verify~~ the conviction that we live in a world of misfortune. Yet it is generally realised that the potential for improvement does exist ~~that there is a great disparity between what is achievable and current social reality.~~ The conflict which this implies is at the very heart of the problem ~~in respect of modernization, in that societal norms, practices and institutional infrastructures do not permit us individually or collectively to realise our desired goals.~~ *Greeks wish a radical change*

M Modernization is the political expression of this quest ~~of our society towards~~ a new mode of functioning ^{of our society} which in turn will ~~pre-facilitate~~ our further development. It also has the ~~secondary~~ aim of ~~securing~~ an increased competence - ~~with respect to all dimensions of the development process~~ - in addressing evolution-related problems.

Modernization is the means ^{by} which we may overcome the present crisis ~~whereby the individual is in perpetual conflict with the social and economic environment.~~ Such a crisis is ^{the} ~~primarily~~ the consequence of a political and administrative system characterised by authoritarianism and patronage; ^{an} economy dominated by oligarchies ^{of policies} whilst the majority of the self-employed function at survival level; and finally a lamentable lack of education on a national scale.

M Under such conditions modernization is involved in the interrelated struggle for democracy and social justice. It requires the following:

- Education. Economic growth and government intervention alone are not capable of procuring the rational values and sense of social solidarity by which we may express our needs.
- The broadening of social choices which have become severely restricted as a result of inaction. This depends upon the existence of a scale of articulated alternatives.
- The promotion of stable principles with which to equip the citizen in order that he may confidently work alongside the state machine. Contemporary politics operates on the contrary assumption: for example each year new tax exemptions and burdens are devised in a transparent attempt to decrease the public deficit whilst simultaneously creating a favourable impression. The result for the ordinary citizen is confusion and uncertainty.
- Orientation towards the future. Society cannot alter overnight and long term planning is essential. The ground must be prepared today if we hope to exercise control over future developments. Without long term planning we will continue to slide blindly into the unknown.

- An objective and strictly neutral public system. Existing highly personalised networks based on connections and patronage are anathema to democratic development and must be eradicated.

- A new attitude to the distribution of the social product and the reduction of inequality. We should devise criteria according to which levels of contribution and compensation may be assessed. At present many such assessments are made on the basis of political clout or the special relationship which a certain group enjoys in relation to the government's goals. Consequently justice sits with the shrewd and the powerful and the spread of inequality continues unabated.

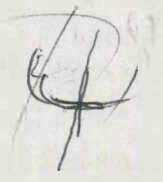
The points I mentioned are nothing new. However nothing has been done up to now why?

If modernization is to be effective we ought to direct a critical eye toward those archaisms which determine both the pattern of our behaviour and our way of thinking. We consider our society to be totally modernised yet our working-practices, life-styles, political institutions and concepts ~~at economic necessities~~ are the product of ~~an on-going cycle of development.~~ *the past* yet we behave as if we have reached the inevitable end of an evolutionary chain and, whilst we accept that everything changes, we continue to think along traditional lines. Thus the elements by which we try to capture reality today remain the same as those of fifty years ago - we are ~~caught in a paradigm~~ dominated by antiquated conceptions of class, business enterprise, paid-employment, the family unit, and constituted political parties. But it is clear that these elements of societal life have a very changed aspect and function in the modern Greek world. *The concept of nationhood, of national sovereignty, and independence is a good example of the changes occurring* ~~taken on a wholly new dimension~~ within a network of increasingly interrelated European economies. The world has altered beyond recognition but we have failed to keep pace with that change.

The natural losers in our present arrangement are of course those without a claim upon its patronage - society's outcasts, the elderly, the underpaid, the unemployed, the young, the physically and mentally handicapped. And it is the glaring inability of the Welfare State to provide a financial safety net for the underprivileged when coupled with a low level of development which truly distinguishes our society, rather than any conflict between the state and free market forces.

It is imperative that we come to terms with the fact that we have reached the end of an era: that the society currently under formation is quite unlike the one it is succeeding. *It differs because it encompasses both the present and the future, and it cannot operate on the basis of former guidelines and values.*

Two developments have prescribed the end of the established order. The first in 1989 was the collapse of the Soviet bloc and the end of the East-West conflict. The new decade ushered in a new world order just as the two world wars had done before it - an era not exclusively identified by the eruption of nationalism and the creation of a new alliances but also by intensive economic integration and the formation of supranational policies. ~~The unprecedented challenges facing us in this new era are of significant magnitude and our options are inextricably bound up with the nature of those challenges.~~



briefly

- 400 billion agreement between
- vocational training part Polytechnics - t
- how is the cost money spent

State - Social partners - Chamber of commerce
 - Self government
 - We have a discussion Industry

- Brussels

can not do the job
co-sponsorable - technocracy

- Greek student. insultant - insulted the gr
Pride of being Greeks.

- Prospects of modernization
Proud of being of Greeks
as though studying!

politics fault -

- Communication
Dialogues
Criticisms

- You are bitter that we are not happy
- university discussion
- political rally

Politics

→ Nationalism endorager
Modernist-reformist

→ extreme nat
 defensive nationalism - extreme nationalism - West European
 creative nationalism - opposing changes invade us - international
 → positive aspects
 L> try to find an identity to collaborate with
 give a push to our collaboration. creation of Euc
 by contribution

What are the main issues involved in this discussion?

One could mention a number of major crucial issues, we ought to consider, in order to establish a potential for a way out:

a) The relations among political parties, government and public administration: The possibilities for a policy of favouritism should disappear. The administration should immediately be protected from any sort of intervention of this nature.

b) The relationship of political parties with economic authority: The possibility of influencing the decisions of government and administration should be restricted. The relations between political and economic interests should be defined (delimited) in a way that would make them transparent and controllable.

c) Decentralization: By means of decentralization practices, one intends to strengthen society. It is not guaranteed by the introduction of local government at the second level or even by the transfer of resources and administrative units to the regions alone. It presupposes that all new administrative units of local and regional influence as well as social institutions ought to express a new perception about the role of the public sector. They should not reflect the centralized administration which pre-existed.

d) The relation of government and political parties with the mass media: It is necessary that such relations ought to be discriminant. Mass media ought to be independent and autonomous. The ^{political} authority should not interfere with and should not be subjected to the will of the other. At the same time there should be rules of general conduct, rules about advertisements and promotion and there should be no control and censorship in any way. But in no case any type of censorship.

e) The framework of policies for development: There is a general consensus that there should be macroeconomic stability, growth and financial balance, productive competitiveness in an environment of an open economy. However, there is a total vagueness about the way human resources could be enhanced, research could be promoted and technology could be transferred. It is also not clear what type of relations should be established between enterprises and the state and what type of a system of rules should be defined that would allow the functioning of established comparative advantages and the creation of new ones.

f) Special planning: The precise definition of land use in the country is of special importance for the protection of the environment. It is the way constant friction and interference between administration and the citizens will cease (come to a halt). due to obsolete rules should end.

g) Education: The school is not adapted to the modern world of television technological changes, in created responsibility. A new approach is needed.

The political and administrative system is characterized by patronage and favouritism. This should end.

Local and regional

1 owners of mass media
2 self restraint

vis a vis
A new attitude to the distribution of the social product and the reduction of inequality is necessary. The question how this should be done is not clear.

patronage as an obstacle to democratic development and must be eradicated

Γ₄ The existing

Γ₃ intervention

of the citizens

~~All~~ ^{The} solutions ^{we have to find} ~~should guarantee development and should allow the~~ ^{look for} amelioration of their capacities and abilities. ~~They should~~ ^{of our personal problems and} guarantee an increased possibility for the handling of the problems of the country. ~~for all of us.~~ They should restore respect for all citizens ~~and should correct the way citizens are treated by the administration.~~ They should promote cooperation instead of subordination.

~~Solutions should make the citizen a subject of rights and responsibilities instead of an object for exercising authority.~~

~~Solutions should restore national respect, they should broaden the country's possibilities, they should make the country and its citizens able to have a say and participation in international developments.~~

5'

We have reached a compromise between private and public initiative widely accepted. The main problems are to be found elsewhere

The second development is the erosion of the historic contrast between the state and the market; the private and the public sector; and between private and public initiative. The present social system is the product of attempts by means of state intervention to strike a balance between decisions taken on the basis of private maximization criteria and social need. The major problem as regards social organisation today relates to the power accorded to the economic and political apparatus. Given that these mechanisms shape the lives of ordinary people to a large extent by restricting their options, it follows that at present they are a contributing factor in the general alienation and individualism which characterise our contemporary society. The crucial question facing us is to what extent the outcome of such an arrangement ought to be accepted, and to what extent the rights of the citizen ought to be enlarged. We have to control these mechanisms

The twentieth century has confirmed the role of the welfare state in limiting market malfunction, and that of state justice in easing and confining the high-handedness of bureaucratic and administrative mechanisms. What has also been confirmed is that the welfare state and the rule of law do not constitute a proposition against capitalist or bureaucratic development. To substantially diminish or confine does not necessarily mean that the causes of malfunction are removed. Indeed the complex question of how to eliminate public deficits whilst at the same time maintaining and even enhancing social justice remains unanswered. To a certain extent the twin propositions of a more efficient system and the development of social solidarity are contradictory, yet we ought to seek a balance within the given framework...but how?

How will we achieve modernization

We need a vision to inspire our people if we are to be successful in our quest for modernization - a persuasive and rational vision capable of justifying the necessary exertion required - a vision which will generate hope: a vision of a strong Greece - united, democratic and just - capable of being a front-runner in Europe. To be a front-runner in Europe would mean that we will have a say - the opportunity to influence development; that we will be an integral part of Europe and most importantly that we will be in a position to reverse the present trend towards our country's marginalization. We would then also be in a position to influence and direct developments in the Balkans and the Eastern Mediterranean.)

A national strategy is absolutely vital if we are to advance in the direction of our goal and construct a dynamic country which is open to the outside world and capable of defining a new course. This presupposes an overall perception of the way in which we intend to expand the power components of the country. The national strategy must address itself not only to the country's international relations but also and primarily to internal economic and social evolution as a basis upon which we might establish a more significant international role. build a strong country

It is only from a coherent alternative proposition that a national strategy will emerge, a prerequisite being the analysis and elaboration of each aspect and every element which determines the present situation. The role of public debate, confrontation and the eventual synthesis of all opposing views is of paramount importance. However it would seem that the progressive end of the political spectrum is in great difficulty. The recipient of various special and in formulating a national strategy

However political parties

~~Contradictory demands~~ It ^{avoid} ~~the~~ ^{up to now} formulation of proposals to conciliate the differing views of all the forces ^{they} ~~it~~ represent. Instead ~~it~~ follows the easy route of declarations of intent. Political parties are not planning institutions which ought to prepare 'five year plans'. They could and should however have at their disposal dossiers on every important issue. They should restrict ~~all~~ possible alternatives, reconcile differences, define priorities, evaluate policies and be ready to implement a consistent policy. Otherwise when the crucial moment of responsibility arrives embarrassment, perplexity, inertia and submission to the established mechanisms of power will prevail. The need for a policy with a ten-year horizon is greater now than at any other time in our past.

Greece should become a member of the Economic and Monetary Union ~~but~~ it will not be easy for us to achieve this goal. It requires that during the next few years the tax system, the price and incomes policy, state intervention for redistribution purposes, ~~the~~ distribution of wealth, social compromises in the form of special privileges and other measures ~~each~~ undergo substantial changes. ~~Membership of the Economic and Monetary Union also means that choices need to be made with respect to laying claim to the European Community.~~ We must ^{also} decide what we are trying to strengthen and promote. Whether it be agriculture, industry, infrastructure, or services the decision stands to be made.

These sweeping changes cannot come about without the agreement of the forces of labour ~~along general lines~~ as to who ought to contribute, in what manner, to what degree, and at what stage in order that we may become both a more just and a more competitive society. Such a convergence presupposes a social dialogue, consecutive approaches by means of continuous debates, the drafting of development plans followed by their constant review and revision - ~~the implementation of which will bring us closer to the economies of Western Europe.~~

Modernization makes necessary the establishment of a strong society as a bulwark against the mechanisms of the state and the economy. In order to limit the abuse of power/independent bodies must be in a position to enlighten public opinion and to mobilise it. Society must also be in a position to impose solutions ~~and to create binding rules and standards in order to secure a wide social acceptance of any appropriate measures.~~ A strong society will result from decentralization, the transfer and separation of power, plus the creation of new centres of decision-making, ~~representative of a cross-section of society.~~ The ~~second and third degree of~~ local and regional administration could contribute to this end, as would the establishment of auditing and controlling authorities responsible for public administration and banking. The independence of the media from government interference or intervention would also need to be assured.

We need to communicate. Dramatic confrontation, ~~the arraying of~~ slogans and misleading political explanations are nourished by centralization and secrecy. We have a false impression of our world and an ^{our} ignorance ~~which~~ will ~~only~~ diminish if we promote communication on a wide scale. This should be the immediate goal of any progressive element within our society. ~~(Admittedly conflict is an inherent part of any multi-faceted society and communication is not a cure for all ills. However, the vital role communication has to play inheres in its ability firstly to expose and wear out the ideological support~~

mechanisms of the status quo, and thereby undermine the walls of rejection which are the prerogative of anything new. Communication then, may facilitate transformation as well softening contrasts. The social state is another area in dire need of reform. The social state ought not to be a state patron which secures preferment for the membership of the party in power. Neither should it protect any existing situation merely on the pretext of political expediency. It is not an institution for the distribution of wealth and privilege to anyone capable of influencing decision-making. It is not a pay-out office for the support of certain social groups by way of securing political submission. The social state ought properly to be a state which formulates and imposes policies on the basis of equality and social solidarity. It should not differentiate or discriminate but rather maintain an objective stance according to known criteria. The advancement of education, health-care and the improvement of everyday living conditions should be its main priority.

We must develop a sense of social responsibility. Greek society today condones anyone who succeeds contrary to existing legislation by demonstrating moral indifference and negligence - the man who succeeds in evading taxes, who builds without permission, who obtains approvals which ought not to have been issued, who accepts bribes and inducements, and who bribes others in order to have his job done. Our society tolerates all those who neglect their social obligations, from the teacher more interested in his private lessons than the education of the nation, to the lawyer who multiplies unnecessary lawsuits in order to increase his fees; from the farmer who sprays his crops with toxic chemicals the day before the harvest to the entrepreneur who utilises degraded materials. Society manifests its tacit approval of such practices by issuing no complaint. It accepts as a legitimate goal the pursuit of personal gain via the utilisation of every possible means. The lawyer, the doctor, and the teacher can each be assured that any attempt to curb their ^{various} immunity from sanction will be fiercely resisted by their ~~various syndicates~~. But any citizen worth the name ought to take into account the effects of his actions upon society at large. Without individual social awareness we will never create a responsible society.

We need to encourage new standards of political action. The refusal of the current political scene to respond to the expectations of ordinary people is at the root of increasing indifference and fatigue toward politics and politicians. But this trend ~~would appear to be~~ a matter of little concern to those on both the Left and the Right who continue in the time-worn fashion of treating politics as a series of tactical manoeuvres. Their sole aim is the exposure of the opposing ^{party} via smear campaigns and scandal-mongering. Thus they promote the intensification of conflict by projecting a picture of generalised degradation and discord. Such politicians merely sow the seeds of their own undoing - but more importantly they do very real harm to the political process by alienating those whom they profess to represent. Public opinion wants solutions and real progress, not accusatory denunciations which only serve to underline the unprofessional character of public life.

Worn prescriptions without strike
 of the people
 The main obstacle of the state

The state is not bad not good. What to do with it.
 Modernisation is it the same word - (it) not the same concept.

- Reform bureaucratic economy +
 - Corporatist society = General Confederation of labour at a coherent alternative proposition
 Bad unions + Bad workers. Working in the public sector organised

For politicians themselves the meaning of 'modernisation' is a point of contention. It is a term often used by the Right as a catch phrase for increased management efficiency. Yet modernization is not a technocratic process for the procurement of increased market efficiency. From a socialist perspective modernization is a social process aimed at reducing alienation, oppression and exploitation through the reinforcement of democracy and social justice. Socialist modernization also differs from the isolated demands of left wing pressure groups and self-interested trade unionism. Given that society is the sum of many constituent parts - where developments in one area necessarily have a corresponding impact on other sectors - our strategy for modernization should contain an overview. It should not be simply an accidental accumulation of disparate policy decisions based on the influence of entrenched power groupings and short term convenience.

political
 economic
 cultural
 clear

15'

Despite the verbal debate as to the meaning of the word each end of the political spectrum seems to avoid the necessity of modernization: each side justifying its stance on the wholly negative assumption that modernization is not popular. The conflict here is that populism rejects critical rationalism. It utilises at convenience wholly unrelated issues with differing historical origins for the ingenious purpose of self-justification. Thus highly emotive issues - such as poverty, injustice, immigration, international and domestic conspiracies, exploitation, the inertia of the work force etc. - are mobilised at will without thought to the true origins of any given crisis. The overriding interest of populism is the degree to which dissatisfaction maybe stupified into a total negation - the ability to rule with the aid of fear and misinformation. Populism hides real problems by presenting reality in a superficial way and thereby contributes to the disorientation of public opinion. It does not enlighten in order to act, hence its ultimate failure is guaranteed.

All those who see the advent of modernization with fear and suspicion, who agonize over loss of privilege and a weakening of their personal influence over the state - all those who are in favour of stagnation and maintaining the status quo - are in reality pitting themselves against the inevitable. We cannot afford to allow these negative and rearguard actions to haphazardly determine our future. We must make way for modernisation, drive a considered strategy forward and place our faith in those committed to progress if our battle for justice, democracy and equality is to be won and our place in Europe assured.

17'

According to them

Modernization is the declared enemy of populism and of the populists. Populists are the bulwark of the existing order, conservative or progressive. Modernization is not possible. It is a race. However society evolves, to the good or to the bad. We have to make choices. We cannot abstain and wash our hands.

- deregulation
 - privatization
 - badly conceived trade-unions

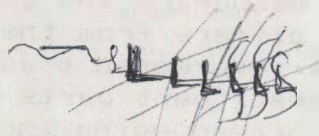
means of restructuring sector of industries
 Who owns - What I want
 Incentive - competition
 redistribution - labour relation

X main problem is the
 bureaucratic state - bar. economy
 more market
 Who has organized this society
 this state

Nationalism

- clientelist statism

~~main problem~~ Conservatives were in power
 state working on ~~more~~ for certain
 interests. These interests that have
 created the b.s. - ~~patronage~~ control society through
 They feel they don't control



- growth - ~~maximization~~ maximization
 maximize ~~appeal~~ redistribution
 distribution with respect of
 social rights. how to what extent
 to

cultural problem
 Social structure
 technical limit
 equity - social justice
 redistribution

- fiercely resisted.

individual rationality
 collective irrationality.

universalistic measures
~~being~~ plan

free institutions function
 civil service cost transfer

die - redistribution
 process
 extension of
 clientelism state

a - national-social copyright
 - free rider rationality
 hell ~~paradise~~

incapable - broke the dead lock.

- urgency

public universalism
 outright recession
 welfare state extended - rationing

transformation
 cultural engineering
 social credibility
 historical social responsibility

declientelization
 Post-modern anomaly

