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RED DAWN

Workers of All Countries and All Oppressed, Unite!



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**The Existential Crisis of Capitalism
Economical Material Basis of the Existential Crisis
Collapse of The Bourgeois Ideology
Theoretical Premises of Regional Revolution
Democratic Regional Federations
Working with A Plan and A Goal**



**MARXIST LENINIST COMMUNIST PARTY
TURKEY/KURDISTAN**

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Preface

Marxist-Leninist communists from Turkey and Kurdistan continue fighting fiercely against the fascist dictatorship in Turkey. After the June 24th elections, another phase of dictatorship has taken off, a constitutional one. Yet, it keeps all its contradictions both inside and outside. Staggering economical, social and ideological crises add up to these contradictions. With a cracked imaginary legitimacy, Erdoğan is aware he has no chance but to attack what is left against him. From Erdoğan to Esad, from Trump to Putin, from Orban to Duterte, from Xiping to Merkel, bourgeois states, whether imperialist or financial-economic colony, cannot overcome their separate -yet integrated- crises in all regions. This aggressive behavior of dictators all around the world has become more apparent as a new tendency recently. But why is that? In this issue of Red Dawn, we humbly try to find answers to the ongoing crises of imperialist capitalism. The claim here is simple: squirming capitalism, with its current crisis, has lost its ability to heal. It has exhausted all its possibilities for concessions or simply, it can't find a new form of capital accumulation. The sea is over. MLKP added its programme in its 5th Congress the following:

“Despite the demagogy of implementing democracy and welfare through scientific technical revolution, capitalism has not given humanity anything but war, hunger, poverty, aggressive nationalism, fascism, immoderate destruction of means of production, moral and intellectual degeneration, environmental pollution and it will never give. Humanity will not accept annihilation and will head towards socialism.”

First article gives a general outlook of the crisis with the definition of “existential crisis”. It analyzes the current political issues in relation with their economical basis.

“Today is a time characterized by the total control in production, trade and capital export, of the international monopolies and world monopolies, which are the biggest ones of those, over the integrated world market; a time in which the production process itself has also globalized, which speculative capital has gained a significant position within the total capital movement, which international monopolies and imperialist states enter into a violent competition with each other and struggle for re-division of the world on the basis of this competition, which neocolonialism was transformed into a heavier form of yoke, financial-economic colonialism. Today, with all these distinctive features, world capitalism has reached another stage of imperialism: the stage of imperialist globalization.”

Second article explains why this last economical crisis has no exit and how it differs from the previous ones. It explicitly gives the distinctive features of imperialist globalization stage.

“In the stage of imperialist globalization, the ranks of proletariat has broadened; the material basis of international identity has become stronger; the difference between manual and mental labors' societal positions has shrunk; proletariat, the oppressed and the exploited laboring strata of the non-proletariat population have got closer to each other, the possibility of working class' unifying the other oppressed around its own program has grown stronger.”

In the third article, the need and possibilities for a proletarian ideological hegemony over the collapsing bourgeois ideology are laid bare. Gramsci with his historical contributions on the issue of hegemony is a frequent reference here.

“Just as the revolution can outburst in the weakest link of the imperialist chain; the level of imperialist capitalist system today has created regional revolution opportunities. The same situation matures the objective conditions of each country's revolutions' turning into regional revolutions and tides of world revolution; it strengthens the possibility of triggering revolutions in many countries.”

This is how the 5th Congress approached to the practical questions of revolutions, how, in this decaying world, we urgently reach a social and political revolution. The fourth and fifth articles explain our understanding of regional revolution. Theoretical background of this route is well delved into.

And the last article is about the importance of ideological strength of a revolutionary. Tough times require tough revolutionaries. We need to keep up with the pace of the world and the struggles and for that, a comprehensive working style with plans and concrete goals is a must. Have a good reading.

Long live Marxism-Leninism!

Long live proletarian internationalism!

Long live the revolutionary struggle of the workers and the oppressed!

March forward along the path of the Worldwide Democratic & Socialist Revolution!

The Existential Crisis of Capitalism

Chaos, anarchy, confusion... Rising racism, fascism and political Islam. Hopelessness and helplessness... Ideological, political and cultural degeneration. Uncertainty and loss of meaning... Means of violence in the forefront of political struggles... An insurmountable economic crisis, growing wage inequality, unemployment and poverty... Aimless and disoriented uprisings, counter-revolutions... The awakening of women...

Today, the world looks like this. Whether in the USA, in Syria, in England or in Turkey, we can find a piece of today's landscape of the world. The emergence of the ISIS, the election of Trump as president of the United States, Tayyip Erdoğan's aspiration for a one-man dictatorship, the rise of the fascist party in France, the referendum decision of the British for Brexit, the seizure of power by fascists in Ukraine... These are not isolated, independent events, but different phenomena of the same tendency and the same global situation. They arise on a common ground. They thrive on the same soil. The same analysis can also be done on its opposite side. The uprisings of the Arab peoples, the Gezi uprising in Turkey, the Indignados in Greece and Spain, the Occupy movement in the USA, the Rojava revolution and the proclaimed Soviet republics in Ukraine are also different manifestations of the same tendency and are product of the same ground.

Can we describe this as the tendency of a general polarization of society, or as a distancing from the center? Of course. Because that's obvious. Bour-

geois democracy has decayed. It grapples with the economic crisis of capitalism. The bourgeois ideology has collapsed. It is natural that under these conditions, the class contradictions are sharpening, the workers lose their faith in the state and the bourgeois parliament, the bourgeoisie can no longer rule as before and the oppressed no longer wants to be ruled as before. It should therefore not be



surprising that under these conditions, the bourgeoisie turns to fascism and the oppressed to the revolution and that the tendency of a two-sided polarization arises.

Still, these are all only phenomena that are far from taking us to the truth lying behind these phenomena. For example, bourgeoisie's leaning towards fascism is a phenomenon, but the truth is more than that. This or that hostile statement of Trump against blacks, women, migrants and Muslims are not that tragic for the US monopolies, but when he talks about imposing 35% tax on German automobiles, the situation changes. In

present days when the dependence of nations on one another is concentrated to such a degree, when the world market is integrated so much and rates of profit are determined on a global scale, such protectionist tendencies can't be tendencies of the world monopolies. However, it can be a regressive reaction of the bourgeois strata, which are just dissolving. But this also shows that the world monopolies are preparing for a much more violent competition over the world market.

This depression isn't new in bourgeois society. Throughout the history of capitalism, there have been many economic and political crises in bourgeois society. The economic crises that recur every 8-10 years may bring to mind the great economic depression of 1929-1930 that shook the world. The revolutions and counter-revolutions of 1848 in Europe, fascism and socialism in confrontation as two big blocs of bourgeoisie and proletariat in the imperialist stage of capitalism, the smash of the colonial yoke of the imperialists through national liberation struggles, the '68 youth movement that shook the world... More can be enumerated, all these are some of the phenomena of the political polarization within bourgeois society.

All the crises experienced so far are the crises **within** bourgeois society. For this reason, the bourgeoisie has managed to overcome these internal crises each time. Whenever the bourgeoisie was under pressure, it has thrown overboard liberalism and democracy, thereby managed to uphold fascism against the revolution-

ary socialism of the proletariat. When fascism endangered also the bourgeois society, they did not shy away from forming alliances with communists against fascism. Where the contradictions got most acute, bourgeois states have broken each other through world wars. In the end, the capitalist production relations and bourgeois form of society have always been successful to organize themselves economically as well as politically on a higher level. The bourgeoisie has not been able to prevent the socialist revolutions, but the imperialist bourgeoisie has been able to strain the socialist states to dissolve internally by unifying against them. The imperialists have failed to stop the smash of the colonial yoke, but by keeping the countries which gained independence in the capitalist system, they have succeeded in putting them under the yoke of neocolonialism. In '68, the French bourgeoisie and French state almost came to a position where they started fleeing from Paris, but in the following years, the bourgeoisie was able to drag a large number of the leaders of this rebellious generation into the abyss of bourgeois parliament.

The Crisis of Society Form

Today, there is another situation. Today we are not experiencing a crisis ***within bourgeois society***, but ***of the society*** itself. It is the crisis of the bourgeois ***form of society***.

The difference between these two situations is this: in a crisis within so-

ciety, the dominant production relations and their corresponding political and ideological superstructure still have the capacity to reproduce themselves. For example, the bourgeoisie had overcome the economic crisis in the capitalist world in the 1870's, when it waged a transition to the monopolistic stage and colonized the non-capitalist areas of the world. At this time, capitalist relations of production were only dominant in Western European countries and in the United States. In turn, petty commodity production was widely dominant in these colonized countries. In the rest of the world, the capitalist production relations were not dominant, in some places, people were even not integrated into the system of private property relations. In some places, the feudal relations of production were ahead. For the rest, capitalism was still at a very limited level. For this reason, when the economic crisis hits, it was possible to expand within the national market and to concentrate and centralize capital. Also, there was still an immense world for the capitalist goods trade to extend. Once the conquest of this world was completed, the redistribution of the world was brought to agenda by wars. When the fire of socialist revolution in Russia flared up, the imperialists supported fascists like Mussolini, Hitler and Franco and took on them to the communists and the Soviet Union. After the great economic crisis of 1930, they left ideological temples, such as economic

liberalism or the free market, behind and led the state into the market as a capitalist. When the Second World War (for the bourgeoisie, a re-division war, for the communists, an anti-fascist war) ended and new countries joined the caravan of socialist states, this time they stopped competing with each other and united under the leadership of the United States, to encircle the socialist states economically, politically, militarily and ideologically. When confronted with a new world economic crisis in 1974-75, they removed the state as a capital accumulation apparatus, but plundered it through privatization, lifted the barriers against capital movements and thus ensured that the path for concentrating and centralizing the capital on a new level was clear and the world monopolies were thus able to dominate the world market. With the liberalization of the speculative flow of capital, they have greatly accelerated the accumulation of finance capital. Just as the economic crisis of 1870 became a step for the transition from capitalism of free competition to imperialism, the crisis of the 1970's has ushered in the transition to imperialist globalization. As the states, which were ravaged from inside by the capitalist encirclement and had nothing socialist except their name, were subjected to a kind of primitive capital accumulation, and a huge market like China opened up for capitalist plundering, the imperialist globalization received a new impetus.

From the point of view of the working class, the situation looked similar. Strikes, occupations, resistance, councils, rebellions and revolutions have not been lacking in the history of the working class and its allies. Each time the bourgeoisie had succeeded to suppress the working class movement, keeping it inside the system, or reintegrating it into the system. This is because, in spite of economic crises, wars and revolutions, the bourgeoisie could continue to develop the productive forces of capitalism in the long term. The working class has grown continuously. The



educational level has increased. As a result of the struggles, the living standard of the working class has risen so that the workers of the developed capitalist countries experienced the best periods of their class history in the 60's and 70's. Keeping in mind the last 150 years in history, until the 1980's, we see that working class children expected a better life than their parents. Likewise, we can say that both the level of education of a generation and its overall quality of life were more advanced than those of its previous generation. It is obvious that the struggles of the working class have been decisive. But one cannot handle things unilaterally. If the bourgeoisie wouldn't have pursued the policy of concessions, if it wouldn't have preserved the ability to produce ideological consent, in short, if it hadn't had a maneuver capability then we could now have faced a very different situation.

And today, we are facing *this very different condition*. The maneuver capability of the bourgeoisie is at its lowest point. The conditions to produce consent, as it used to do in any difficult situation with concessions policy, is now limited to the utmost. The bourgeoisie is unable groom the world. It cannot produce the hope that everything will get better. For the first time, the children of the working class, who are more educated than their parents, don't carry hope to have a better life than their parents. Today's generation of workers is condemned to more backward conditions compared to the previous generation and tomorrow's generation will seek long for today's conditions.

To this day, whatever the level of the struggle between the working class and the bourgeoisie reaches; in the last analysis, this struggle has taken place under conditions in which the bourgeois social structure, despite interruptions by crises, materialized ex-

panded reproduction, developed the productive forces, protected the foundation of their own reproduction and continued their rule. This also applies to the countries where the working class has carried out the most revolutionary initiatives and to the countries which began socialist construction even under capitalist encirclement. That is why the bourgeoisie has repeatedly managed to crush the working-class movement, to divert it from its path and to integrate it into the ruling order.

That's right, the working-class movement is at its lowest point today. But capitalism, on the other hand, does not have the ability to conquer the working class. Maybe the working class is living its weakest moments as an organized force. Maybe its politi-



cal class consciousness is stunted. Maybe defeats of the historical gains and socialist construction experiences have become heavy ideological burdens in its mind. Yet, how much real these are, it is that much clear that the working class no longer has anything to do with capitalism and that no better life can be achieved with its existence. For the working class, capitalism has come to an end. This reality cannot be changed by that it has not yet been reflected in the political class consciousness and has become an ideology.

What applies to the working class also applies to the bourgeoisie. Even the bourgeoisie can not reproduce itself as before. It cannot overcome crises. It can no longer create new ideas or ideology. Only pessimism

and hopelessness determine the bourgeois world. Capitalism is also over for the bourgeoisie. Just as the feudal lords lost the power to maintain feudalism once, so did the bourgeoisie also lose the power to develop the productive forces and thereby maintain capitalism. Moreover, now bourgeois society, itself, has become an obstacle to the development of the productive forces.

In today's world, where the appearance is that the working class is weakest and the bourgeoisie is the ruler of everything, objective reality is just the opposite. The reality behind this appearance stands exactly upside down. The destructive consequences of imperialist globalization have obscured and blurred the consciousness of the working people and also the bourgeoisie and led to a loss of sight and orientation. For example, within the dispossessed middle class and the workers of the developed capitalist countries, who are now losing their social and economical rights, protectionist, racist and nationalist tendencies occur quickly. Yet, the basis on which bourgeois nationalism rises was

actually removed by imperialist globalization. Today's bourgeois nationalism is a past consciousness, it belongs to the past and has no material basis. Their foundations are hanging in the air. For this reason, it is an address and shelter of depression, despair and impossibility.

The current crisis can not be overcome by staying in bourgeois society. The problems can not be solved either through struggles or compromise policies within this form of society. Because it has reached its economical development limits, political maneuvers are always partial, limited, and short-termed, without leaning on ideological arguments and they have the character of being lost within a short time due to actual political and economical developments. Precisely for

this reason we call it the crisis of the bourgeois society form. It is also the reason why we call it the existential crisis. The capitalist relations of production have abutted their own limits. You can not go beyond the current level. There is no chance for it.

The Historical Adventure of Existential Crises

Let us deepen this matter. Every form of production has a historical role that it played. This role is their reason for existence. There is a social material basis, a stage, for this historical role. If the given form of production becomes an obstacle to the development of more advanced productive forces, it loses its historical right to exist. "Losing the historical right to exist" is not realized at one swoop, it also requires a historical process. In times when depression within society transforms into a crisis of society form, civil wars and outward wars, political polarizations, uprisings and counter-blows, economic-political-ideological depressions aggravate to utmost and render as a permanent state.

The primitive communal society defines the transition of human from a herd to a social form. That is its right to exist and its social material basis. The same basis leads to the development of the productive forces of human. The productive power of human reaches such a level that it could produce much more means of survival than it needed at that time. There emerges extra labor time. The primitive communal society form did not have the ability to use this extra time. The emergence of extra time and the lack of ability of primitive society to realize it became its existential crisis. The struggle to appropriate this extra labor time shook up all social relationships and all modes of thinking. The basis on which the primitive communal relations formed had been shattered. Some of the people have enslaved the others and usurped their extra time through appropriating their existence directly. Ultimately, as a higher level of social organization than the clans, the state emerged.

Seizing human, which is the fundamental productive force, and rendering it a private property caused a minority of slaveholders to accumulate great wealth. Living without working and through appropriating the work of others meant, at the same time, the appropriation of the free (empty) time of the slaves. With this accumulated free time, the necessary time to be productive in the fields of culture, art, science, religion and philosophy was created thereby. The slave state or Asiatic state arose on this basis. Inevitably, there were slave revolts. Peasants who rejected slavery but were unable to oppose the attacks sought refuge among larger landowners, preferring to take their protection. As this mode of production based on half-slaves was proven to be more productive than that based on slaves, it became a historical tendency to let people work as half-slaves dependent on their masters and land, rather than enslave them completely. It remarked that the existential basis of slavery had collapsed. Glorious slave states, which were stuck on this basis, such as the Roman Empire, could not resist against the assaults of the primitive-barbaric tribes and were destroyed.

By contrast, Asiatic countries were hit much later by the existential crisis. The main reason for this is the different development of private property relations. Slave societies were formed through disintegration of communal-common land property and converting it into private property. However, in the Asiatic societies, the right of use of land without any disintegration was taken first by the ruling class layers, then it became their private property.

With the emergence of capitalist relations of production, feudal society has been dragged into an existential crisis. The feudal lords themselves initiated the crisis. The struggle for the governance of trade routes has driven the central state forward. The central state, the central army and the centralization of taxes meant that weakening the power of the feudal lords in favor of the crown. The

strengthening of the central state required that national trade must be conducted without obstacles and within the borders of central state, and that the people within those borders must be subjected to the king. This unity around the king, created against the other states, has laid the foundation of the formation of nation and nation-state. Thus, the feudal lords offered this with their own hands to the bourgeoisie.

Accumulation of wealth over trade subrogated the wealth accumulation over land property. This tendency has promoted the development and spread of commodity trade and exactly as a product of this, it caused the enrichment of bourgeois class. When money became the source of wealth instead of land, the existential crisis of feudalism was inevitable. The feudal lords itself began renting their land to the bourgeoisie in order to earn more money. The serfs were thrown out from the lands they depended on. Millions of peasants thronged to the cities, unemployed, hungry and miserable. As the free trade developed, the small industries and trade units dissolved, and these, as unemployed past masters, also joined the ranks of vagabonds and beggars. The feudal lords have personally destroyed their own livelihood. The feudal form of society could no longer be continued. The ruling class of this society, the feudal lords, itself had expelled the peasants and put their land for rent for the accumulation of wealth. Even though they remained feudal, the feudal relations of production based on the expropriation of surplus labor time of serfs, were being overthrown. There was no longer any need for the feudal form of society for the serfs, who were the other side of feudal relations, for the small peasants and merchants who stood under the protection of feudal lords. They were pushed out of the feudal reach.

Under such conditions, it was not possible for the feudal lords to maintain their political rule as before. The belief in lordliness and religion were shaken. The economical, political and

ideological depression had shaken feudalism for a few centuries. A big convergence, cultural, intellectual, political and revolutionary dynamism arose in society as if a great burden had fallen off from their shoulders.

The capital, which now became the actual source of wealth, was in the hands of the bourgeoisie and the masses pushed out of the extent of feudals, now entered the extent of bourgeoisie as a proletariat under the control of capital. Feudalism had lost its historical reason for existence, it was about to collapse and wither away and it did.

The "collapse" occurred in two ways. First one was through a political revolution like in France, and second one was through feudals' getting to become bourgeois like in Italy and England. There were many revolutionary uprisings in the second ones as well, but political power continued to be held by the feudal lords for a while. In any case, the revolution lies in the production relations. When the feudal society form became an obstacle to the developing bourgeois relations of production, it was thrown aside.

The Existential Reason of the Bourgeois Society Form

The historical condition of existence of capital lies in the emergence of the free laborer, who has freed himself/herself from the feudal fetters.¹ Without this, the flow of com-

modity and money can not create capital accumulation. In order to realize capital accumulation, the capitalist had to expropriate the worker's surplus labor time. Commodity and money circulation are the means to capture this surplus labor time. Only when capital, in the form of commodity and money, meets labor force, it is possible to realize the production of surplus value. Also, the labor force only manages to obtain its means of subsistence when it enters under the command of capital, because the worker has nothing to sell but his/her labor force. When he/she cannot sell it, he/she will lack his/her sole livelihood, the wage.

Wherever capital flows, it dissolves the old relations of production, makes them dependent to itself, and then de-

surplus inevitably lead to extra labor surplus. Because when the capital is not invested in the production, industrial reserve army gets larger than necessary and unemployment peaks. The capitalist has capital at its hand but can not invest it, the worker has labor force ready for sale but can not sell it. At such times, capital and labor can not produce each other, capital and labor becomes no longer each other's existence conditions.

This is only temporary. As long as capital in the form of commodity and money does not meet labor force and remains at hand, it is inevitable that both capital and labor force will lose value. The price of commodity-capital and the interest rate of money-capital fall. With shorter words, the capital cheapens. Due to extreme unemployment, the price of the labor force declines. Under these conditions, the rate of profit rises to an investable level, and capital tends toward production again. The crisis is overcome.

From every crisis, capital stands out even more accumulated and even more centralized. The area of bourgeois production relations expands and the number of workers increases with each ascent after crisis.

Another inherent tendency of capital is to create a world market.² The more capital is accumulated, the more the capital's spread around the world accelerates. However, this does not work like first, the exhaustion of the expansion possibilities of the national market, then opens up to external market; even if there are opportu-



stroys them. Ultimately, capital allows no other production relations other than its own. One of the main tendencies of capital is to turn any kind of ownership over the means of production into capital and to turn any kind of labor into wage labor.

Wage labor and capital are each others' conditions of mutual existence. They produce each other. Wage labor and capital is the contradicting unity of two opposite poles. However, this unity, through which capital and labor produce each other, experiences a crisis in every 8-10 years on average. Capital that needs to be invested in production for the reproduction of surplus value remains at hand due to the fall of profit rates. There realized extra capital surplus. Extra capital

Publishers, Marxists Internet Archive (marxists.org))

¹"The historical conditions of its existence are by no means given with the mere circulation of money and commodities. It can spring into life, only when the owner of the means of production and subsistence meets in the market with the free laborer selling his labor-power. And this one historical condition comprises a world's history. Capital, therefore, announces from its first appearance a new epoch in the process of social production." (Marx, Capital Vol 1, s. 120, Progress

²"The need of a constantly expanding market for its products chases the bourgeoisie over the entire surface of the globe. It must nestle everywhere, settle everywhere, establish connexions everywhere." (Marx-Engels, Communist Manifesto, p.16, Progress Publishers, Marxists Internet Archive (marxists.org))

nities for expansion in the national market, capital tends to go outside if profit rates there is higher.

The capital production process runs in two phases. The first phase is the phase of production of surplus value. The boss exploits the worker and seizes his/her surplus labor time. This extra labor time is materialized in the produced commodity as surplus value. The surplus value is in the form of the commodity-product. For it to be converted into profit, it must be sold. This is the second phase.

In this second phase, the surplus value gained through exploitation by the capital accumulates in the pot called market. The capitalists compete for surplus profit. At the production field, the bosses exploit the workers. In the market, on the other hand, the bosses rob each other.

The value of a commodity is determined by the average necessary social labor time required for its production. Labor-intensive capital has more surplus value per unit commodity in the market. High-tech capitals bring less surplus value to the market because its unit of production needs less labor force for the commodity compared to the others. As the value of the commodity is formed by the average social labor time, the ones, whose commodity has less value than the average social value, sell it above its own production value as if they produced the commodity on the average labor time. The production value of commodities, which are produced with technologically backward labor-intensive capital, is above average, but they also compulsorily go down to the market average. In other words, technologically advanced commodities are sold above their value and technologically backward commodities are sold below their value. Thus, capitals, which have higher technological equipment, snatch a part of the surplus value produced by the technologically under-resourced capitals.

The value of a commodity consists of three parts: constant capital + variable capital (what is paid to the labor

force) + surplus value. When a commodity, which is produced on average social labor time, is sold, the surplus value becomes profit. Since the average social production value is already decided, and by assuming that the surplus value rate is constant as well, the only way to gain more profit is lowering the price of the labor force per unit commodity. A capitalist who, in comparison to others, recruits workers to work for longer hours and with even less wage, produces his/her commodities cheaper, but since he/she sells them with the average value, he/she gains surplus profit. But through the application of science in production, it has become possible to reduce the labor force required per unit commodity and thereby much higher surplus profit can be gained. Reducing the necessary labor force through more intensive application of science in production means increasing the social productive power of labor.³ For this reason, the continuous reduction of the cost of production of unit commodity and for this, the constant increase of the social productive power of labor⁴, and ***making permanent revolution in production*** are the existential basis and the historical existence reason of capital.⁵

³“Development of the productive forces of social labor is the historical task and justification of capital.” (Marx, Capital Vol. 3, p.181, Progress Publishers, Marxists Internet Archive, marxists.org)

⁴“This reduction of the total quantity of labor going into a commodity seems, accordingly, to be the essential criterion of increased productivity of labor, no matter under what social conditions production is carried on.” (Marx, age, p.182)

⁵“The bourgeoisie cannot exist without constantly revolutionizing the instruments of production, and thereby the relations of production, and with them the whole relations of society. Conservation of the old modes of production in unaltered form, was, on the contrary, the first condition of existence for all earlier industrial classes. Constant revolutionizing of production, uninterrupted disturbance of all social conditions, everlasting uncertainty and agitation distinguish the bourgeois epoch from all earlier ones.” (Marx-Engels, Communist Manifesto, p.16, Progress Publishers, Marxists Inter-

The thrust for this existential basis is the greed for more profit.

This greed triggers the centralization and concentration of capital. Investing in technology requires from the beginning a much larger amount of capital than others. Smaller capitals will either go bankrupt or join the larger one. Big ones unite in order to be superior in the competition. This, leads to the emergence of national monopolies first and then causes each one to become world monopolies.

In any case, capital needs a market ready to conquest for its expanded reproduction. Areas that have not yet been capitalist and all other capitalist enterprises are always areas ready to conquest in the eyes of every capitalist. Monopolistic capital accelerates this war of conquest. Capitalism quickly spreads around the world, and bankruptcies multiply among the small and medium capitalists. The necessary amount for the initial capital gradually grows. The possibility of small and medium capital's independent existence disappears, these become dependent on big capital. Eventually, there comes a moment where there is no place in the world left non-capitalist, and the already narrowed spaces of small-middle capitalists are no longer enough to satisfy big capital's expansionist needs. The capital has grown so much that the market's expansion potential falls below the capital's necessities. The possibility of surplus profit extraction through the application of science in technology has decreased. The market has reached its limits compared to the size of capital (the monopolization level). When the monopolies dominate the world market alongside with the national market, the possibility to obtain surplus profit is narrowed. Because surplus profit emerges from the difference of the production values between the big capital groups and the smaller ones, as well as between the developed capitalist countries and the backward capitalist countries. Due to this difference, the bigger capitals rob the smaller ones, the more developed

net Archive, marxists.org)

capitalist countries rob the more backward ones. When the number of smaller ones diminishes due to monopolization and the world market is dominated by world monopolies, the possibility of robbing through developing the productive forces also reduces. The capital builds a barricade on its own path. Capital becomes no longer able to produce its own existential basis. Its historical reason for existence, namely, to develop the social productive force of labor, to apply science to technology, that is, the permanent revolution in production, can no longer be realized. Instead of developing the social productive forces of labor, it becomes a hindrance to it. That is the objective basis of its existential crisis.

Because this happened, capital does not give up on surplus profit. When capital is unable to develop the social productive forces of labor, this time it tries to lower the price of labor in order to reach the surplus profit. It recruits workers longer and cheaper, and by doing that, goes in a competition of gaining surplus profit. Yesterday, production capital has been concentrating on where the application of science to technology was better possible, but now it flows to where cheap labor can be found. Historically, this reversal leads to the abolition of its historical reasons for existence.

The monopolies achieve surplus profit not only through this path. There are two ways for capital accumulation. The first proceeds through surplus-value production, the second through robbery of accumulated surplus value produced by others through financial means. In the stage of capitalism of free competition, the former, that is, the surplus value production, is decisive. In the stage of imperialism, accumulation through financial means has gained importance, but the former was still predominant. In the period of imperialist globalization, accumulation through

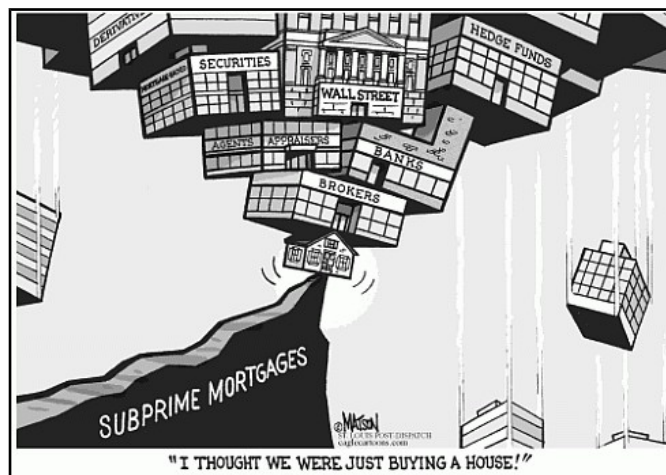
financial means has accelerated and began to dominate the first one. This means nothing but the decay of capital. In the end, the limit of accumulation on this path is anyway the produced surplus value. If there is a slowdown on that end, then someday the possibility of robbing the existing surplus value by financial means weakens.

When cheap labor and robbery through financial means become the two main routes for surplus profit extraction, unemployment and misery grows like avalanche, the shrinkage of intermediate layers accelerates, inequality between classes grows immeasurably, culture and ethics decays more and more, hopelessness and helplessness become the prevailing

conditions are changed.

In the crisis of 1876, the conditions for capitalism of free competition lost their validity, and the travail of the birth of monopolistic capitalism became palpable. This crisis could only be overcome by colonizing the non-capitalist areas of the world by the capitalist countries. That was the transformation of capitalism into a competition for monopoly capitalism, imperialism. Even before 1876 many crises arose. They were all overcome within free-competition capitalism. On the other hand, this crisis could not be overcome in the given circumstances, the conditions had to change and that's how it happened.

The crisis of 1930 was the depression of the conditions created after the crisis of 1876. Monopolistic capitalism, leaning on capital export, was stuck. Monopolistic capitalism lacked the strength to overcome the crisis with its own internal dynamics. The bourgeois state was called to rescue in times of need. The bourgeois state was until then the collective ruling apparatus of the bourgeois class, it had the function of a lever for the capital. It was a bourgeois ideological



feeling and the form of consciousness.

Minor and Major Cyclical Crises

Apart from classic cyclical crises in every 8-10 years, even more shocking and protracted big cyclical crises have emerged. The crises of 1876, 1930, 1974 and 2008 were just such crises. Except for the last one, the consequences of these crises lasted 5-10 years. In the classic cyclical crises, there is no significant change in the conditions in which capital moves and stands. The capital independently continues to produce its own conditions of existence. But this is not the case with the big cyclical crises. Capital can no longer reproduce in the given conditions. The crisis can only be overcome if the given

dogma that the state was not allowed to interfere in the economy. That the USSR did not suffer a crisis and the successes of the planned economy of the socialist state shattered this dogma. The bourgeois class has thrown aside this ideological dogma according to their interests. The bourgeois state then went into the field as a collective capitalist power. Monopolistic state capitalism has driven monopoly capitalism out of the crisis. After the 1950's, this has become much clearer. The main objective of the bourgeois front was to keep the socialist giants surrounded and lead them to destruction. National liberation struggles, national-democratic revolutions and the socialist states have pretty much limited and narrowed the world market. The capitalist states, on the other hand, placed

the competition among themselves in second place and expanded their own national markets. Just as the crisis was overcome by exporting the surplus capital outside after 1876, this time, the crisis was overcome by using a large part of the capital surplus in the developed capitalist countries and enlarging their national markets. Even if the capitalist world market has narrowed geographically at this time, the capital accumulation has gained great rapidity.

The crisis of 1974 announced the end of this phase. The accumulation of capital has again congested. The crisis '74 was reminiscent of the crisis of 1876. In 1876, there was no great destruction, but the capitalists were unwilling to use their capital surplus in the national market, because the rate of profit had fallen. The growing greed of the nascent monopolies has led them to search for new markets. 1974 was somewhat like this. Between 1945-1970, capital accumulation accelerated. The national monopolies have begun to turn into world monopolies. The capitalist world market became too narrow for world monopolies. Above all else, the bourgeois state occupied an important place in the capitalist market. Now, the state became an obstacle to capital accumulation. This obstacle that the monopolies of private capital confronted in the national market had to be lifted. On the other hand, the customs walls and national legislations, which limited, the rapid flow of surplus capital and its export. Instead of a world market constituted of interconnected national markets, an integrated world market is needed to emerge.

Out of the crisis of 1974, imperialist globalization was born.

The crisis of 2007-08 was the offshoot of the accumulated contradictions of imperialist globalization. This crisis was different from the previous major cyclical crises.

The capital concentration and centralization of world monopolies had reached such an extent that their bankruptcy would have devastated

the capitalist economy and torn down the states. That could not be allowed. With resources from the state budget, they were saved.

The fundamental feature of any crisis is that capital investment has become cheaper through capital destruction and that new capital investments and demand have been revived. Not letting the monopolies that fell into crisis go bankrupt prevents devaluation of capital, thus prevents the revival of new investments and demands. In addition, chronic unemployment and decrease in wages due to crisis have also reduced demand. The same conditions increase chronic capital surplus⁶ and chronic unemployment. Large amounts of capital, which are not invested, flow all the more into the financial resources. The inevitable consequences of this are the acceleration of the expropriation of the intermediate strata, the incredible degree of inequality between classes, the spread of misery and decay around the world.

The capital itself, has exhausted the possibilities of crisis management under the conditions of the bourgeois social structure. With the extreme concentration and centralization of capital, capital has lost its productive quality more⁷ and tends more to the

6“‘The so-called plethora of capital always applies essentially to a plethora of the capital for which the fall in the rate of profit is not compensated through the mass of profit – this is always true of newly developing fresh offshoots of capital – or to a plethora which places capitals incapable of action on their own at the disposal of the managers of large enterprises in the form of credit. This plethora of capital arises from the same causes as those which call forth relative over-population, and is, therefore, a phenomenon supplementing the latter, although they stand at opposite poles – unemployed capital at one pole, and unemployed worker population at the other.” (Marx, Capital Vol. 3, p.176, Progress Publishers, Marxists Internet Archive (marxists.org))

7“‘And as soon as formation of capital were to fall into the hands of a few established big capitals, for which the mass of profit compensates for the falling rate of profit, the vital flame of production

financial robbery, but on contrary to this, an ever-growing section of the growing proletariat is unable to find place to sell labor force. This has detached capital and labor force from each other more and weakened the possibilities of mutual production and alienated each other even more. The steady detachment of capital from its productive quality led it to become an ever greater obstacle to the development of the social productive forces of labor.⁸

The more capital dissolves from its productive quality, the more dominant its character will be in **robbing surplus profits rather than producing it**. Instead of producing surplus value, it began looting accumulated surplus value and the accumulated funds of the laborers with financial means and speculative capital. Instead of increasing surplus labor by reducing the necessary labor through the development of the productive forces, it began to plunder labor by increasing working hours and lowering effective wages. So, the capital has returned to its primitive accumulation age, the age of savagery and barbarism. Nature, too, is more than a means of production; now appears to capital more as an object of plunder. Water, forest, land and living nature are getting plundered. Apart from the fact that the women's labor is drawn in the area of the exploitation more widespread, the women's sexuality is more exposed to the exploitation of the capital than ever. Capital has become, in all respects and with the everything related to it, to produce only reaction.

The Material Technical Basis of the New Society

would be altogether extinguished. It would die out.” (Marx, age, s. 181)

8Here the capitalist mode of production is beset with another contradiction. Its historical mission is unconstrained development in geometrical progression of the productivity of human labor. It goes back on its mission whenever, as here, it checks the development of productivity. It thus demonstrates again that it is becoming senile and that it is more and more outlived.” (Marx, age, s. 183)

The existential crisis is not an economic crisis form. It is the crisis of a mode of production which has lost its historical basis of existence and the form of society which corresponds to this mode of production. The existential crisis is the sum of economic, political, ideological crises. This crisis can not be overcome within the conditions in which it originated. In other words, bourgeois society no longer has the ability to overcome this crisis with its own internal dynamics. It can only be overcome if an "external" force abolishes the given conditions and puts new conditions into its place, that is, by substituting a new form of society for the old.

No form of society can abolish itself. The "external force" repealing any form of society stuck in an existential crisis is a product of the respective world. In societies before capitalism, new production relations arose from the given society, from the world at that time. Before the old society was abolished, alongside it, has sprouted the new form of society. In the primitive communal society, slavery society was born, from this society, feudalism and from his bosom, capitalism was born.

In capitalism, the situation is different. ***"The real barrier of capitalist production is capital itself."***⁹ Capital abolishes all forms of private property except itself. It transforms the means of production into social means of production and the individual labor into social labor. For this reason, no new mode of production grows in the bourgeois society, which is leaning on the private ownership of the means of production. Elimination of the capital, which slid into an existential crisis, cannot be realized through sprouting of a new mode of production within the bourgeois society. In order to move into a new form of society, the capital must be repealed. For a revolution in the production relations, first, the political power of the capital must be overthrown. When this political power has been seized, the old form of pro-

⁹Marx, age, s. 176



duction is not lifted by economic means, but through political means. The society expropriates the capital and socializes it. Private ownership over the means of production is abolished and they become social property. Transition to the new mode of production can only happen with this condition.

The material-technical basis for this new form of society is prepared by the capital itself. Capital itself abolishes private property, the big fish swallows the small ones, and at the end a few hundred monopolies remain, dominating the world market. Now it's their expropriation turn. The capital produces those who will expropriate it with its own hands. By dissolving the intermediate strata, transforming all working people into wage laborers (working or unemployed) capital upends a huge army against itself.¹⁰

¹⁰"One capitalist always kills many. Hand in hand with this centralization, or this expropriation of many capitalists by few, develop, on an ever-extending scale, the cooperative form of the labor process, the conscious technical application of science, the methodical cultivation of the soil, the transformation of the instruments of labor into instruments of labor only usable in common, the economizing of all means of production by their use as means of production of combined, socialized labor, the entanglement of all peoples in the net of the world market, and with this, the international character of the capitalistic regime. Along with the constantly diminishing number of the magnates of capital, who usurp and monopolize all advantages of this process of transformation, grows the mass of misery, oppression, slavery, degradation,

In the absence of new relations of production in capitalism, and through the fact that the force which will abolishes capital will not be the element of a newly created relation of production, this army (the proletariat) can only become an "external force" as a political army. The working class and the oppressed, organized as a political army, will crush the state, seize power and convert capital to social ownership. Only in this way, the existential crisis of capitalism can be overcome.

Conclusion

The condition of existence for capital, and thereby also for bourgeois society is the free, unrestricted and universal development of productive forces. Capital strives for the universal development of the productive forces. This tendency is immanent to the capital, but at the same time, that drives it into dissolving. This ten-

exploitation; but with this too grows the revolt of the working class, a class always increasing in numbers, and disciplined, united, organized by the very mechanism of the process of capitalist production itself. The monopoly of capital becomes a fetter upon the mode of production, which has sprung up and flourished along with, and under it. Centralization of the means of production and socialization of labor at last reach a point where they become incompatible with their capitalist integument. This integument is burst asunder. The knell of capitalist private property sounds. The expropriators are expropriated." (Marx, Capital Vol. 1, p.542, Progress Publishers, Marxists Internet Archive (marxists.org))

dency differentiates capital from all previous modes of production. The development of new productive forces on the old foundation has also been developing the existing basis, but that has also caused the existing mode of production to be buried in this foundation. For example, *the feudal system, for its part, foundered on urban industry, trade, modern agriculture (even as a result of individual inventions like gunpowder and the printing press)*.¹¹ With the development of wealth, meaning the productive forces, the economic conditions the society relies on dissolve. The political relationships of the constituent parts of society, as well as the prevalent forms of social consciousness, develop parallel to these economic conditions. With the dissolution of economic relations, the political relations and ideology which are embodied according to these economic relations also start to dissolve. The characters and understandings of individuals formed in these economic conditions, begin to dissolve too and emerge in a new form. *Considered ideally, the dissolution of a given form of consciousness sufficed to kill a whole epoch*.¹² Development of science, as an expression of the intellectual and practical enrichment of the productive forces of human, had the same influence on the previous forms of society, especially on the feudal system. New productive forces, new relations of production, new human beings and their new forms of character, comprehension and consciousness, develop the basis of the old society, change it and eventually dissolve it on the basis of new economic conditions and parallel to it, new political conditions and ideological forms prevail. The old society dissolves, the new development takes on a new foundation.

Unlike the other societies, the bourgeois society, leaning on capital production, the development of productive forces is the capital's condition of existence. *Capital posits the produc-*

*tion of wealth itself and hence the universal development of the productive forces, the constant overthrow of its prevailing presuppositions, as the presupposition of its reproduction. Value excludes no use value; i.e. includes no particular kind of consumption etc., of intercourse etc. as absolute condition; and likewise every degree of the development of the social forces of production, of intercourse, of knowledge etc. appears to it only as a barrier which it strives to overpower.*¹³ For capital accumulation, this is a compulsory phase. The labor force, corresponding to a one workday rented from a worker by the capitalist, is divided into two parts. The first is the necessary labor corresponding to the wage paid to the worker, and the second is the surplus labor shared by the capitalists in the market. The compulsory condition for the increased reproduction of capital is to constantly reduce the necessary labor in order to increase the share of surplus labor. That is the reason why it develops productive forces. But there is a limit for the reduction of necessary labor through the development of productive forces. If the necessary labor is reduced to zero, also the surplus labor is also zeroed. In this case, surplus value and profit also reduce to zero. The goal of capital is not the universal development of the productive forces, but to obtain more profit. The productive forces are developed to reach surplus profit. When it becomes clear that not enough surplus profit can be gained with this way, the enthusiasm to develop the productive forces breaks, first it stagmates and totters and at the end it dissolves. In parallel with this dissolution of the economic basis, political conditions, prevailing social consciousness forms which mean ideology, characters and comprehensions of individuals also dissolve. The bourgeoisie itself gets politically confused and ideologically scattered. A different voice pops up from every mouth. A collage (cut-paste) composed of hopelessness, loss of

hegemony, lack of clarity, breakage of strategy, etc. has become a reality of the political world of the bourgeoisie. The ideological apparatuses of the state no longer function. It is no longer possible to produce new bourgeois ideas that enthrall people.

Expressing once again, capital creates the material forces for the new society with its own hands, but for the free development of these forces, capital must be abolished. Therefore, it's a direct political action. The future material forces that capital has produced can only and firstly design the new society in mind, and this design can be a universal design because of the universal quality of the development of the productive forces. The first point of design involves the removal of obstacles against the development of the productive forces. After this is realized, so after production is removed from being the purpose for profit, then the removal of the obstacles against the development of productive forces is provided. In this case, there will no longer be any obstacle for zeroing the necessary labor in the production phase.

The common feature of all societies leaning on private property over the means of production is that the surplus labor time is expropriated to accumulate wealth. What is distinguishing them from each other is the various forms of this collection or exploitation. In these societies, the source of wealth is unpaid surplus labor time. Capitalism is the last of these societies. In communism, the source of wealth will not be the surplus labor time, but the free and **disposable** time.¹⁴

¹⁴“The development of the power of social production will grow so rapidly that, even though production is now calculated for the wealth of all, disposable time will grow for all. For real wealth is the developed productive power of all individuals. The measure of wealth is then not any longer, in any way, labor time, but rather disposable time.” (Age, p. 640)

¹¹Marx, Grundrisse Notebook V, p. 473, Marxists Internet Archive(marxists.org)

¹²Age, p. 474

¹³Age, p. 474

2. The Economical Material Basis of the Existential Crisis

Existential crisis is not a form of economical or financial crisis. It is the crisis of the capitalist order which has become contradictory to its own existential conditions after completing its mission of developing material forces of production and creating a world market accordingly as its historical duty.

It is already known that capitalism is an order of crises. cyclical crises (overproduction crises) are not only a layout of capitalism's all internal contradictions, but also an element of its healthy mechanism, an internal regulator. They are one of its motive internal laws which moves it forward even though towards the end of itself. So, why does a situation of any crisis gain a meaning as an existential crisis for capitalism? It had succeeded to overcome all the troubles brought by each of great cyclical crisis though they also brought big troubles to bourgeoisie with both its economic and political consequences. What is more is that these kinds of periods of big periodical crises became a sort of a source for regeneration (although again towards its own end). So, why does today's crisis mean a different situation than others?

Isn't this today's situation which we define as existential crisis only a much heavier version of the classical periodical (cyclical) crises? What is the economic material basis, situation or level which separates today's situation from capitalism's internal crises, and makes it an external one; a crisis residing be-

tween capitalism and the progress of the history, rather than being within capitalism?

Crises of Capitalism

The main contradiction of capitalism is the contradiction between the social character of production and the private character of the ownership of the means of production. Capitalism has no other



option but to advance through increasingly socializing the production in order to accumulate more private property in fewer hands. And this main contradiction takes capitalism to completing its own historical function as much as it develops. All the internal laws of capitalism function antagonistically on top of this main contradiction and make it deepened. That is why capitalism always bears various types of financial and economical crises, it develops with crises.

Financial Crises

Including the pre-capitalist periods, there is always possibility of financial crisis in all the periods in which the money continues to exist either

in the forms of commodity-money or nominal-money. Possibility of crisis appears at the same time with the appearance of commodity (as the producers and users get independent from each other, whereas the market appears as the meeting point of them) and the circulation of commodity through money bears the possibility of crisis since the begin-

ning. Financial crises gain a special quality in capitalism. However, until accumulation with monetary tools becomes dominant over the accumulation with production of surplus value, the real stagger of financial crisis does not emerge in the mechanism of capitalism. In the stage of imperialist globalization, accumulation with monetary

tools has become dominant because technical innovation of production has strengthened the tendency of profit rate to fall and for this reason, profitability of investments for producing surplus value has decreased. Effect of financial crises has also increased correspondingly. The fact that accumulation with financial tools gets ahead of accumulation with producing surplus value, means both the expansion of intervention opportunities to the cycle of crisis with financial tools, and the strengthening of the possibility of serious bottlenecks and crises to trigger a financial crisis. The intervention opportunity of the possibili-

ties of smaller crises returns to the capitalist class as a triggering risk of possibilities of bigger, denser and more centralized crises.

Economical Crises

Economic crisis (overproduction crisis) is a basic law of the capitalist order, an internal element of it. On total social base, the capital invested to production (regeneration of fixed capital through physical and mental degeneration by extracting its full value to the total product has a cyclical quality corresponding to a full cycle of itself. The crisis of 1825 was an expression, that manufacture stage of capitalism was over and transition to modern machinery industrial production had become primary. With this crisis, the capital starts its cycle and once it started that, it has to continue this cyclical motion.

Until the stage of imperialist globalization, economic crises were in the form of classical periodical (cyclical) cycles: depression – recession – recovery - expansion. The general logic of economic crises is devaluation of capital through capital destruction (bankruptcies) in the period of crisis, cheapening of investment capital to create a basis for new investments and emerging of conditions for the next recovery.

In the stage of imperialist globalization (since 1970's), on the other hand, capital accumulation model is characterized by two basic changes. One is capital's heading to the speculative field with an increasing rate, 'accumulation with financial tools'. And the other one is internationalization of production process in all of its stages. This situation causes mainly two consequences in the cycle of crisis: a) increase of the effect of financial processes over the economic crisis, b) blurring of period through acceleration and flexibilization of capital cycle.

How this happens is like that: to-

gether with the dominance of accumulation with financial tools, the intervention opportunity to the possibility of crisis with financial tools contains the opportunity of directing both the problems due to overproduction in intermediate stages of production (overproduction of intermediate products) and the consumption through various types of consumer credits (the most striking example of this is housing credits, which the limitation of this intervention was obvious in the crisis of 2008.) And this prevented the accumulation of overproduction at specific times to cause crises. It strengthened the possibility to delay the crises for specific periods. On the other hand, periodical mechanism broke down even more. Just as delaying the crisis means the accumulation of crisis (concretely, just as it fermented a very severe financial crisis in 2008), it spread the facts of the crises out to the crisis times and spread the facts of non-crisis times in the crisis times. That is because overproduction is always relative; it means producing more than to be sold, not producing more than to be consumed. It is resulted from the existent relations of production and the order of capital and it is inevitable. Suppression of its self-expression in an outbursting way during specific periods even strengthened the poverty whose character became independent from crises, rather than preventing it. Relative and absolute impoverishment became faster and chronic. Above all, this means the possibility of heavier overproduction crisis.

Internationalization of production is, on the other hand, the other factor that caused the cycle of crisis to change radically. In the end, the production cycle and the full cycle of capital got speed, whereas the realization time of profit shortened. Moreover, the expansion of world market through integration, and the

physical integration of production, 'the factory', with the market by the expansion and fusion of the factory in the same way, provided a flexible order of production-stocking-circulation and prevented the accumulation of crises and local 'overproduction' bottleneck. This also caused the facts of the non-crisis times to spread into the crises times and vice versa.

What is essential in this table is that the stages, especially the crisis stage, are still distinguishable, but the recovery stage isn't. This actually means the elimination of recovery stage, the decrease of the growth data and the spread of the facts of non-crisis times into the crisis times, etc.. On the other hand, this situation is not a result of the disappearance of contradictions which cause the crises, on contrary, it is because the contradictions increased so much that they caused the cycles to lose their meanings. It created an accumulation from which the contradictions can explode violently and instead of a typical periodical crisis, an extreme 2008 crisis came up. This was the crisis of imperialist globalization and an expression of the existential crisis.

This period of break down in the crisis cycle were interpreted by some others saying that capitalism had finally found a solution for its crises. Yet, the issue was exactly the opposite: capitalism has fallen from strength and health to sustain a proper cycle.

Essentially, we are talking about the accumulation level and model of capital (the shrinkage of the conditions for capital centralization and capital destruction) that reach to a limit where it can no longer carry periodical crises. The amount of capital in question of a crisis is so much that destruction of capital has become impossible and like so, the updated industrial production to complete the classical cycle has got

weaker. Until the stage of imperialist globalization, like a clockwork machine, we see these crisis elements: the economic crises for capitalism to clear its guts from time to time with a regular proper cycle. The financial crises whose regulative side stands out during the formation of average profit and whose destructive sides are less traumatic in terms of a complete cycle, but generally more effective with respect to single capitalists and single sectors. The Big, special periodical cyclical crises which emerge in the times of qualitative changes bringing big transformations into being on its own development course of capitalism.

But, after a certain stage, these cut-offs which can be seen at the beginning as a reflex of a unexpired machine who protects itself from high voltage (it also causes increasing abrasion and at the same time, a sign of fragility) become the reminders of the period of a broken machine when it cuts off all the time and will never function with full productivity again and it is about to be thrown into junk.

As the cycle of periodical crisis becomes indistinct, different types of crises merge into each other. As their interaction increases, the whole mechanism starts to seem like a crisis image within this existential crisis.

What is standing at the center of this table is this fact: excessive capital surplus is becoming chronic and the cycle is exceeding outside the stage of crisis; and on contrary, unemployment is also becoming chronic and the cycle is exceeding outside the stage of crisis. These acute ruptures between labor and capital which emerge in the periods of financial crises could be prevented through devaluation of capital, cheapening

of investment capital and appearance of new investment fields all due to capital destruction and therefore through absorbing the relative over-population by employing. The main change with respect to capital cycle, is related to the removal of this opportunity. And hence, it is the essence of existential crisis, like we will explain below.

Special Periodical Crises (Big Cyclical Crises) and the Renovation of the Capital Accumulation Model

Some of the periodical crises are characterized by the reaching of capital accumulation level in a given period to the size which makes some qualitative changes both possible

such periods. Which line will be followed, by the way, is decided by effects of political processes as much as the laws of capitalist order. (For example, whether the inevitability of wars between imperialists and revolutionary wars can meet with the politic subjects of the wars; whether the existence of these politic subjects can meet with the victory of wars, etc.)

Since these big cyclical crises bring and requires the leaping advancement of capital accumulation under the updated conditions, it is also characterized with large scale renovation of production model (organization of production and production technology). For this reason, each of

them has accelerated the decaying of capitalism by giving rise to the result of working of the declination tendency of profit rates in a leaping way in total of the process.

Therefore, it will be beneficial to say a few words about the differences of today's existential crisis with the big cyclical crises which burst out in previous periods and opened new paths for capitalist order with a conclusive renovation.

The crisis of 1873-76 was one of those big cyclical crises. The source of the bottleneck (the obstacle against the advancement of capital accumulation) was free competition. Free competition had completed its motive mission running for a certain stage in which the capital accumulation with centralization was ahead. It had become not a motivation but an obstacle against a more advanced accumulation which obligatorily included the accumulation via centralization. The quantitative level of capital accumulation had reached the quality where it could absorb and had to absorb more raw mate-



and compulsory. In such periods, features defined as possibility or tendency up to that day, become laws. Inclusive political developments triggered by the sharpening of contradictions rooted from there (wars, revolutions, big mass movements and uprisings...) deepens the depression. Together with the bottleneck of specific accumulation model of capital (by reaching the limits of accumulation under those conditions and by requiring other conditions to move forward), they violently come in view by integrating with the large scale political consequences or by being effected by those. It is certain that there can no longer be a way to move forward in the same line in

rial, more labor force with more developed production tools (which means more developed means of production as a whole). The existent accumulation model was not enough. To absorb such scale of production forces, higher amounts of capital needed to be collected in each hands. Liquidation of free competition in order to centralize the capital more (monopoly) and widening to non-capitalistic fields through exporting capital in order to get more centralization (imperialist colonization) had become a must. This crisis became the starting process of the stage of imperialism.

The crisis of 1929-33 was also that kind of a crisis. The bottleneck was caused by getting the impossibility of the evolutionary progress of accumulation based on capital export due to monopolistic competition. After the re-division of world market with the 1st re-division war, the law of uneven development had brought out a new table of uneven distribution of colonies, competition among imperialists had sharpened, accumulation via capital export had entered into a bottleneck. The capital was forced to obtain a leap through both becoming preponderant at the re-division and an internal deepening, but not ex-

panding outwards under the current division conditions. To clear its path, a) the issue of re-division came into question, b) these pushed the capital to a centralization leap for an intensification leap. There occurred a need for collective capitalist ownership to be developed through monopolization with leaps in the forms of relatively big trustifications. What is more important, is that there also occurred a need for bourgeois state as collective capitalist to be developed by undertaking big investments. This financial obligation had found its meaning in various forms of political programs of bourgeoisie (developing monopolistic state capitalism which was embodied with the Keynesian model or fascist political programs inside, programs of war for re-division of colonies or programs of reconstruction of colonies outside).

There was a very basic political factor which deepened the crisis, accelerated the process forward and pushed the transformation of the capital accumulation model into a specific form during this period. As the expansion of the market had been limited due to the victory of the October revolution, increasing the absolute surplus value exploitation in order to

develop the current markets in depth had also been limited again due to political conditions (revolution threat). Freedom struggles regarding opening the fields, which had not been ruled by the capitalist relations yet, to capitalist exploitation and the risk of full detachment of those from the capitalist system came into question. The real unconditional development ability and possibility of the productive forces were embodied in the name of October revolution.

Under these conditions, capital accumulation could only proceed through two contradicting, but unified channels, and it did. Decaying side of this proceeding were re-division of colonies appropriate to the current distribution of the capital accumulation, overcoming the geographical limitation of the market through defeating socialism militarily and developing fascism and an imperialist re-division war in order to suppress the revolutionary struggles.

The war option did neither become a mean of such re-division of colonies, nor expand the market geographically; it rather resulted in even narrowing it (new revolutions). Under these conditions, bourgeoisie's collective voluntary inter-

- * More than half of the total wealth is in the hand of the richest 1% population since 2015.
- * The wealth of world's richest 8 families (426 billion dollars) equals to the total wealth of world's poorest 50% population.
- * The wealth of poorest 50% has never gone above the 1,5% since 2000. Between the same years, the wealth of richest 1% has never gone below 46% and always been in rise.
- * According to this, the world's poorest 50% owns less than the quarter of 1% of the world's wealth in total.
- * Between the years of 1988-2011, annual income of the world's poorest 10% showed an increase less than 3 dollars, while the income of the richest 1% increased more than 182 times.
- * For the year 2015, the rate of total assets of world's poorest 50% was estimated 0,7%, but this rate became 0,2% in reality.
- * This number did not show any increase also for 2016. This number was realized as -0,4% for the poorest 10% (negative wealth due to debts)
- * 70% of the poorest 50% lives in the low income countries.
- * The poorest 10% of the world population earns less than 1,90 dollars per day and this income is below the limit of extreme poorness.
- * There happened a 7,3% regression in the land ownership of the poorest 20% between the years 1990-2000.
- * 59% of the agreements about lands between these years were executed in the extent of land expropriation of peoples.
- * In Latin America where the distribution of lands is the most uneven, 1% within the whole farms holds more fertile lands in hand than the other 99%.

Source: Oxfam report of 2017

vention came up in the fields of economics, military and politics. Leaving the political goals and results aside, economically, it meant the following: collective capitalist (monopolist state) had to intervene in the situation for more centralization and intensification. Economically, this also covered overtaking the large scale investment needs in the name of whole capitalist class and this was the productive side, the productive channel of the proceeding.

There was no time for accumulation based on capital export to progress globally with an evolutionary way. Capital had to quicken its own decaying speed. It had to unify and upsurge its forces against the socialist forces by centralization and intensification.

When it comes to 1974, accumulation model based on capital export reached its limits. Domestic markets could no longer expand with the current conditions.

The source of the bottleneck this time, was basically the division of the market. The level of the capital accumulation was too big to have new conditions to develop the productive forces on national bases. Domestic markets had grown up to their own borders. The current centralization and intensification of the capital made the intervention of state to economy as a collective capitalist unnecessary. Single capitalists became available to do these on their own, bourgeois state became a redundant competitor. The current accumulation model was once more not enough to move forward.

This level also brought progressing through two contradicting, but unified channels whose decaying side again was dominant. The productive side of the progress was the development of a production system which was socialized enough to carry all stages of production to an international level and create an in-

tegrated world market. The non-productive, the decaying side, on the other hand, was the expansion of excessive capital surplus and getting of accumulation with financial tools ahead (profit through usurpation, not through productivity).

When it comes to 2008, this time, a situation different than all previous big cyclical crises was in expression. The bottleneck was ultimately related to the limitations in the context of "capitalizing the non-capitalistic relations" in all previous processes. This time, there were non-capitalistic obstacles causing the accumulation model to choke.

Today, what is causing the accumulation model to choke is just the level of current accumulation itself. The capital can not jump to a higher accumulation model not because of being unable to centralize or intensify enough, but because of over-intensifying and over-centralizing. It is not carrying out more advanced technologies, the production models which develop the labor productivity not because of insufficient centralization and intensification or lack of accumulation. It is not carrying out these because it is not interested due to excessive accumulation even though there is no indirect relation in between. As expressed in the crises of 1930 and 1974, since the stage of imperialism, since the dominance of the financial capital, the capital accumulation has been developing in the direction of decaying. However, today, the decaying is the basic side, but the development has become an auxiliary and deficient feature.

As follows, the saying "the real obstacle of capitalist production is the capital" has no longer been an insight, a tendency, but become an actual reality, an actual law. The 2008 financial crisis was a crisis symbolizing and expressing that imperialistic world capitalist system has been in an existential crisis for a while. We can find all the data about this

existential in the 2008 crisis, but we can not identify its existence only with this crisis. So, we will discuss it in a separate context as existential crisis.

The Existential Crisis

The existential crisis is the name of the reality that capitalism is heading towards the last limits of its inner tendencies, towards the quantity limits where a qualitative change can only happen by transforming into its opposite.

Detachment of Labor and Capital From Each Other

We have already mentioned that excessive capital surplus and mass unemployment throughout the stage of imperialist globalization became accelerated and chronic.

Inability to destruct capital through bankruptcy, war, etc. (at a meaningful amount regarding today's capital accumulation level) and the fail of crises in this regard, have become characteristic during the whole stage of imperialist globalization. It is no coincidence that the trademark of the 2008 crisis was saving the big monopolies from bankruptcies by nationalizing the debts. It was announcing that this tendency has become a basic feature from now on.

Chronic mass unemployment stands at the opposite pole of this reality. Proletariat is expanding in amount. However, during this expansion of the proletariat, the increasing speed of the unemployed ones is starting to exceed the increasing speed of the number of the employed ones.

Yet the whole deal of capitalism is just to ensure the free laborer and the capital owner to meet and to constantly find more profitable ways for this meeting in favor of the capitalist!

On one side, there is excess capital and on the other side, there is the chronic excess labor force. So, this situation has no longer been an acute

situation as an internal element of the mechanism of capitalist production relations which bursts out during the periodical crises. Labor and capital is in a phase of detachment, not temporary, but systematically. And the whole objective basis, all the internal lawfulness now serve for deepening this situation. The power of influence of all the tendencies working opposite to this situation have weakened (foreign trade due to integration of world market and reaching its limits; devaluation of the capital due to reaching its own limits through distortion of periodical crises; increase of absolute surplus value exploitation due to coming to the limits of slavery labor, etc.)

In summary, meeting of labor with capital (the main condition for the capitalist production) does not secure the maximum profit (the main goal of the capitalist production). Existential conditions of the capitalist production have become in a state that it cannot realize its existential goal, and this situation is chronic.

Chronic mass unemployment, which means that an ever-growing proportion of the labor force is never able to meet with the labor conditions, thus with the capital, is forming one of the limitations of the development of capital accumulation through increasing the absolute surplus value. Its weakening, as a reverse law balancing the declination tendency of profit rates, deepens the decaying of capital.

There is also a limit for increasing the relative surplus value. So, if you push the surplus labor towards 6 hours of a worker who is working for 12 hours, then towards 11 hours, and then towards 11 hours and 45 minutes, you will get closer to zero

line regarding the necessary labor. Developing the productivity of labor increases the relative surplus value so limitlessly that the production of surplus value advances to the limit where it turns into its opposite and disappears. Constantly increasing the relative surplus value also gives birth to a declination tendency of profit rates which is gradually getting closer to the zero line. This declination tendency of profit rates is alarming for single capitalists and in the end for the whole capitalist class. In regard to the labor of slavery, the whole labor is the surplus labor and the whole labor is the necessary labor. Such that, the condition for surviving is its surplus labor. Its whole surplus labor is the necessary labor for its survival. Straining the neces-



sary labor to the zero line means straining the free laborer to the labor of slavery limit.

On contrary, excessive increase of the labor productivity is heading towards the limit of robotic production, which means, this time, towards the limit in which the surplus value is zeroed by being made absolute and the machine can deliver only and only its own value to the product.

The fact that the free laborer works for his/her own account in some part of the workday and for a capitalist, who he/she chooses freely in the market, in some other part of the workday (the distinction between the necessary and the surplus labor) is the main difference of capitalism from the previous production rela-

tions. As the capitalist production develops, the difference becomes distinctive. However as the development progresses in the direction deepening the decaying, we can see that historical development opportunity has lost correspondingly and searchings opposite to historical development has become the dominant tendency.

This 'turning into its own opposite' limit is expressed in the form of accumulation of conditions in which the 'free laborer' will either be a laborer and not free (the limit of slavery labor), or be free but not a laborer (being free to sell the labor power but inability to find a place to sell it). This situation draws the lines of development of capital accumulation. The tendency of shifting the industrial investments from technology intensive fields to labor intensive fields becomes a sign of vacillation of capital accumulation as hitting and crashing into these lines.

Opportunity to Develop the Market – Capitalization of the Non-capitalistic Relations

We have summarized which bottleneck points were overcome, which tendencies turned into laws and which quantities turned into a new quality and their roles in each of the fundamental qualitative jump periods during the progress of capitalist order.

What is the reason behind the bottleneck of capital accumulation today? In which forms can the development be from now on? Are there possibilities to find an answer to this within the capitalism's own lawfulness? This is the question with respect to the existential crisis.

All the bases for it to move forward are not qualitative but quantitative and only cause the crisis to blow

more. Let's look at the possible development bases within its own internal lawfulness.

What is the situation for the market regarding its expansion opportunity? Today, there is no piece of land left in the world outside the capitalist exploitation (as in the pre-capitalist or socialist forms). A restriction of capital movement due to national borders is out of question. And there isn't any obstruction in front of the development of capital centralization (each monopoly 'smaller' than the monopolist world bourgeoisie, each corporation is either integrated with the monopolist bourgeoisie or there is nothing to stop them from drifting into bankruptcy; monopolist world bourgeoisie as the ruling class of the stage of imperialist globalization is actually sovereign over the whole world market, etc.)

Then, there is only one possible way for the market to expand (to progress outwardly): to complete the process of financial-economical colonization (integration of regions which were not outside capitalism but unable to be integrated into the process of imperialist globalization). Although monopolist world bourgeoisie has overcome the confronting obstacles here (bourgeoisies historically representing a more backward position by resisting against changing or applying more backward development models as they see the crisis as a chance; struggles of working class and the oppressed historically representing a more progressive position) without getting a heavy damage, this is not a qualitative change. Without a doubt, the opportunity to move forward from here is important (but it is not easy in this crisis situation and in the case of failure, there will be drastic political consequences in

the forms of revolutionary waves), however it will not be a support of a new qualitative jump, a financial upsurge move.

Such that, even though the contradictions between the imperialists get sharper and it goes forward along with the realities and the possibilities of regional wars, a 'war for re-division of the colonies' with the meaning in the past periods is not a contemporary renewal opportunity. As colonization has advanced up to the form of financial-economic colonization, as all the regions of the world have opened to the world monopolies for indirect exploitation, how can 're-division' have a revival meaning 'from the standpoint of people' but not from the eyes of single or group of bourgeoisie? At this



quantitative level of socialization of production, the ones, who may be interested in whether the regions to be redivided will be its own market or not, can be financial-economic colonies at most, who are dreaming of becoming imperialist itself. Imperialist monopolist world bourgeoisie, on the other hand, has grown so much that interest to its childhood toy, 'own market', does not even cross through its mind. The only thing which can be removed about the nations is the obstacles in front of the circulation of labor force commodity, which removing these means destroying the opportunities of increasing the absolute surplus value exploitation which has already been restricted.

One step forward from the financial-

economic colony can be historically a few steps backward at most, a medieval style empire order, which is by the way, a non-capitalistic relation form anymore.

Opportunity to Deepen the Market - Progress of Monopolization

Opportunities to progress in depth in the current market is also extremely limited. This seems like a contradiction at first. While there are lots of wide regions which are bound to the imperialist world system but still in a backward level of capitalist development, why can't the opportunity for deepening the world market be an exit point and why does it become a sign of the closeness to the limits where it turns into its opposite?

Deepening of the integrated world market means the progress of monopolization even more.

Monopolization is progressing through two ways. One is towards the absorption of the monopoly indirectly by destructing all small producers.

And two is towards keeping small producers alive and binding them to the monopoly. In the first one, the progress (in which we have to assume that 'progress in depth' inevitably corresponds to progress of absolute monopolization) means the liquidation of the second one at the same rate, which is the form of monopolization based on the production chains.

However, today, the basis which the whole world bourgeoisie stands on, is the system of production chains. And if we want to mention about a maneuver field, a concession opportunity for capitalism, the only field would be actually the realization of the current monopolization in such form. Because this form pulls the

constant capital down to the minimum required level for the world monopoly to produce with such a great scale. Thus, by also pulling the technical component of the capital down, it balances the declination tendency of profit rates and makes the technological renovation still available through creating the basis where the surplus profit can still be realized.

Unless the production chains mechanism as today's monopolization form functions as a mechanism to leak additional profit from the producer at the lower phases of the chain towards world monopolies, in other words, if all the capital investment controlled by a world monopoly is realized by this monopoly indirectly, the profit rate will fall largely from the rate of today.

The same system is also the main condition for national borders to function as the outer walls of the cheap labor force pools. It is the order, in which the tendency of production capital heading towards labor

intensive fields, not towards technology intensive fields, that this opposite historical tendency, which is a sign of existential crisis, can be sustainable with.

Then, although the tendency towards absolute, 'pure' monopolization continues functioning inevitably (speculative capital, capital usurpation via plundering -usurpation of surplus value- is even enough by itself for this tendency to develop), the dominant one for the world monopolies is the other one, which is the tendency to develop conditions for cheap purchase from sub-producers instead of monopolization to keep the profit rates high. And this means keeping the capitalists at the

lower phases of the production chain alive.

Such that, when looking from this standpoint, there is a limit of turning into its own opposite, where the monopolies are the obstacles themselves as much as they are the real propellers of the monopolization. As much as they starve, monopolies do also fear from monopolization. Within the tendencies working in the same and opposite directions, the effective power of the tendencies slowing the monopolization has increased because of the monopolies themselves.

Opportunity to Renew the Technical Basis of Production

Monopolization based on the pro-

does not attempt to this. Technological renovation opportunities do not get into usage unless it becomes compulsory due to exacerbation of the competition. In this situation, the tendency to keep the additional profit in hand with the current monopolistic model is ahead of the tendency to keep it in hand through a big scale technological renovation. Technological renovation comes into use indirectly from the production chains. As a result, the content of the technological renovation gets weaker and its speed in terms of coming into use decreases.

Competition among the biggest monopolies also obliges the technological renovation for them. They re-

spond to this obligation by keeping the channels open to overcome this on the basis of international division of labor and by this way, the first solution in the competition among the biggest monopolies is not the technological renovation, but the expanding of economical and political conditions to get an advantageous

position in benefiting from the international division of labor.

Besides, the need for technological renovation is partially revolving considering the fierce competition (for the sake of being a sub-contractor firm) among the producers at the lower phases of the chain. Their first move is the exploitation of cheap labor under the wildest conditions. But the competition is pushing the ones at these lower phases for technological renovation. So, technological renovation comes into agenda of the ones at the upper phases not directly, but through wandering all the way from these lower phases indirectly. Of course, a meaningful renovation in regard to capitalist produc-



duction chains as the system to increase the additional profit functions as follows. A capitalist is not voluntary to use a new technology as long as it lowers the profit rates, no matter how much it increases the exploitation of surplus value. The propellant power of renovation of technical basis of production is the law of competition and the possibility to obtain surplus value which provides superiority in this competition. In today's conditions, the possibility of surplus value through renewing the technical basis of production requires the progress of monopolization via absolute forms, an accumulation model which extremely decreases the profit rates. However it

tion demands the centralized and intensified capital accumulated in the hands of the ones at the upper phases.

We have said that without the possibility of surplus profit, technological renovation cannot draw enough interest for the capitalist. Yet, the level of monopolization provides a long term basis for leaking additional profit from the lower phases of the production chain. Then, technological renovation which causes the monopolization to get deeper draws less and less attention of the capitalist as it monopolizes more and more. Its tendency heads towards buying cheap raw material, cheap intermediate products and cheap labor force. This is how it is for each single world monopolies and because of that, for the world economy as well. The world monopolies, which are sovereign over the world economy, that means they are in a decisive position for a conclusive renovation of the world economy, are the least interested ones for a conclusive renovation.

When looking from this angle, the general tendency of the monopolist world bourgeoisie is in the direction strengthening the factors decelerating the absolute monopolization speed. Monopolization tendency is getting closer to the limit where it will turn into its opposite.

The capital cannot progress without constantly renewing the technological basis of production and constantly developing the productive forces. But the basis of this is fact depends on developing production for the sake of developing capital. This equation does not work in the other way as such developing capital in order to develop production. Since the development of production methods is not a goal but an instrument, as the instrument develops, it tends to develop beyond the limit of 'for capital development'. The goal enters into a conflict with

the instrument. Today, this conflict, together with the formation of the integrated world market, has matured completely. The question of the development of productive forces stands not as leaning to the capital limit, but as a sheer issue.

Opportunity for Accumulation with Monetary Tools and Its Limits

There are also limitations for the accumulation with monetary tools which means the flow of capital into the speculation field. Since the surplus value, which is usurped via speculation and change hands, is obtained from industrial production, shrinkage and restrictions in this field also become the limitation for the accumulation through speculation. Such that, surpass of this kind of accumulation causes the capital accumulation to get closer to its opposite and to appear like a historically more backward kind, 'accumulation as wealth'.

Capital Destruction and Exodus of Capital Backwards

OK, if the roads in depth and in width open to the dead-ends and the forward direction is congested, is it a solution to escape backward? "The Backward Exodus" is a given fact within capitalist system in terms of a progressing opportunity. Each of the periodical crisis is a backward exodus in order to move forward. However, the situation on this matter is also different than yesterday. Not only the roads of a backward exodus are congested, but also they are not a progressing opportunity anymore. Materializing a meaningful destruction of capital cannot happen without heavily damaging the system in terms of political and economical consequences. It also cannot happen without putting the rulers of the system (monopolist world bourgeoisie) under an actual risk. Even if it happens, it will not be an opportunity for capitalist order for a historical progress. Each capital destruction

brings more centralization and intensification along. It works for something to move forward. But the question is: more centralization and intensification for what? Of course, as a last evaluation, each bourgeoisie considers its own account and the answer will be: for maximum profit (for the maximum profit of 'x' bourgeoisie). It can be considered like this. World bourgeoisie will act according to this mentality. But this is only quantitative. As a whole, what are the results from the viewpoint of the society, as a feature of the system? Yesterday, more centralization and intensification meant the ability to carry more technological renovation and/or renovation of organization of production (a production organization which requires a larger scale of capital investment). However, in today's situation, we have already seen that the current level of the accumulation is the main reason to make such a renovation impossible.

In lieu of Conclusion

Transformation of capital into its own obstacle unveils an existential crisis. In this crisis, every step forward will rebound back since it gets close to its own opposite. While each capitalist is looking for ways to increase their profit and is looking either ahead or back to do that, they will have to start back after crashing and burning at the objective limits of capitalism; yet they will not give up searching. In total, class of the capitalists is in between the devil and the deep blue sea in this crisis. The proceeding direction is not the direction from which a more advanced capital accumulation can give rise a new quality. Therefore, until the conditions of capitalist production will reach its own end with a political revolution led by the working class, the portrait of the bourgeoisie will be economical, political and ideological exitlessness, conflict and repression.

Collapse of the Bourgeois Ideology

To what should we ascribe that the most genuine bourgeois economists, even the big corporate bosses said “Marx was right” during that big crisis of 2008 which has crackled the world economy? How about today's flag bearers of the state intervention for the crisis and bankruptcy, who were once exalting the free market almost to the level of god and counting the words mentioning about the state intervention as a sin?

Marx said this: *“At a certain stage of development, the material productive forces of society come into conflict with the existing relations of production or – this merely expresses the same thing in legal terms – with the property relations within the framework of which they have operated hitherto. From forms of development of the productive forces these relations turn into their fetters. Then begins an era of social revolution. The changes in the economic foundation lead sooner or later to the transformation of the whole immense superstructure.”*¹

When the dominant material relations of the society, which means the economic foundations of it, goes into a deepening crisis; law, politics, religion, art or philosophy forming its superstructure, that is to say, the ideological formations which people give meaning to their social existence and relations in their own consciousness, also go into a process of chaotic inversion.

The existential crisis of capitalism, of the last exploiting and class-based social formation, is the exposure of the society be caught by a deadly crisis thoroughly with all economical, political and ideological dimensions. The dissolution of the bourgeois ide-

ological hegemony along with a chaotic situation that the superstructure gradually arrives is one primary stratum of this crisis.

Let's begin our analysis at this stratum by having a short trip in the notebooks of Gramsci and borrowing a decisive concept from there.

Bourgeois Ideological Hegemony



Bourgeoisie sustains its sovereignty through both the domination and the hegemony. Gramsci emphasizes this fact by explaining that sovereignty is identical with coercion but administering requires the consent. While domination means to coercion, hegemony means the production of consent. As the coercion, which means dictatorship, is concretized in the armed suppression apparatuses, the production of consent, which means hegemony, is concretized in the ideological apparatuses. With a more complete expression, hegemony is the sustainability capacity of the power of ruling class over the oppressed classes, mainly through their consent.

Rising of the bourgeoisie to the position of sovereign class and its consolidation of class sovereignty, substantiate through its universalizing its own class interest and presenting that interest as identical with the interest of the whole society. Because, in the modern history, a class that assumes the role for administering must persuade the whole society that it has the

strength and capability for administering, and must convince the other classes that it practices its own interest as the interest of whole society. This states that the class which gathers the economic-material power at its hand and takes up the administration of the society, becomes the hegemonic.

Individual interest in society is the particular appearance of the general class interest abstracted from individuals. The interest of the bourgeois individual, therefore, independent from his/her personality, is the objective expression of the general interest of the bourgeois class. However, when this general class interest is fictionalized as the interest of whole society on the ideological level, all members of the society are needed to be objectified through being linked to this general class interest. The worker is the one who produces the capital, that is to say, the money, but his/her labor power is bought by the money that he/she produces. Money rules over the worker and gains a personality. The worker who is alienated to his/her own labor, on the other hand, transforms into an appendage of means of production, into a labor power object which money buys, and hence, he/she becomes a reified. In this case, individual interest of the worker, does not spontaneously emerge as the particular expression of the general interest of the working class. While money, as the materialized focus of the fictionalized general social interest, is subjectified, the worker is objectified. Individuals making up the working class, by this way, constitutes a mass which actually internalizes the viewpoint of its class opposite.

Hegemonic bourgeois ideology plants the sovereign class ideas and values to the consciousness of all members of the society. People under the influ-

¹Karl Marx, A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy, Foreword, Marx-Engels, Selected Works, Vol 1, Sol Publications, 1976, s.609.

ence of ideological hegemony, evaluate the social incidents with an adopted viewpoint. This viewpoint which they consider as their own, with the words of Gramsci, is the commonsense and natural for them. Here, the commonsense is the transformed version of the sovereign bourgeois class philosophy, which infiltrates through various simplifications and turns into the philosophy of average masses as the deep-rooted behavior stereotypes of society, virtues, moral norms and religion forms. Oppressed people thinking within the boundaries framed by the commonsense, become the bearers of the thinking of the sovereign class, which is transformed into commonsense, and thus the re-producers of the existing social relations. The tendency to question this social relations and to change them gradually, for instance, the awakening of the idea and will which comprehends that the unlimited wealth of a parasite minority versus the ever increasing poverty of the vast majority is no way natural and that must absolutely be changed, can only spread among the masses when the commonsense, this alienated consciousness, crackles down.

Those words of Marx and Engels, tells exactly about this situation: *"The ideas of the ruling class are in every epoch the ruling ideas, i.e. the class which is the ruling material force of society, is at the same time its ruling intellectual force. The class which has the means of material production at its disposal, has the control at the same time over the means of mental production, so that thereby, generally speaking, the ideas of those who lack the means of mental production are subject to it. The ruling ideas are nothing more than the ideal expression of the dominant material relationships, the dominant material relationships grasped as ideas."*² Law, art, religion, philosophy, politics, which are stamped by the bourgeoisie, are functional in binding the working class and the oppressed to

the bourgeois world view. The means of mental production are the ideological apparatuses with a wide range from school, academy, family, media, church and mosque, law, party, trade union and association, think-tank institution, theater and cinema.

Hegemony, pulls the dictatorship to the background and hides it. Moreover, it creates the legitimacy thought of the coercion apparatuses like army, police, jurisdiction, and prison, for example creating a belief that the monopoly of using weapons for political purposes can only belong to the state, and makes oppressed classes accept this thought. Thus, the oppressed classes are rendered as convinced that those who don't give consent to the power and become targeted by the state force, have already deserved this, thereby they get ideologically disarmed.



As Gramsci said, the state is not only an apparatus which founds and protects the sovereignty of the ruling class, but at the same time, is a totality of practical and mental functions producing consents of those who it keeps under its administration, it is *"the hegemony which is strengthened by force."*³ The state, itself, is a source of hegemony as much as it manages to present itself as a being which stands above the society, looks after the interests of all classes and keeps them in balance and controls the social conflicts without bias. Voluntary participation to the bourgeois parliamentary system may be the primary form of ideological hegemony over the oppressed classes. Therefore, bourgeois democracy itself is one single ideological factor. Even the bourgeois army is not only effective as a military organization, but also as an apparatus spreading the

dominant ideology.

The stratum of intellectuals provides the organic connection between infrastructure and superstructure. Intellectuals, form the ideas and institutions which composes the ideological and political identity of social integrity, carry out the ideological hegemony and political administration duties of the ruling class. Politicians, religious authorities, teachers, journalists, broadcasters, artists, writers, academicians, philosophers compose this intellectuals stratum. Shortly, organic intellectuals build the collective consciousness of their own class, operate the ideology of their class at social, economical and political levels. The world view of the ruling class is spread to the whole society by the organic intellectuals who work as its officers and brought in as the commonsense of average people.

A social integrity based on a continuous coercion of the bourgeois order, is not economically and politically sustainable in long terms. Because, capital is produced by the relationship between free capital owner and free labor power owner. This, is a business contract between lawfully free and equal individuals and one of the main distinctions of capitalist productions from the other exploitative class societies. And bourgeois state, claims to represent the whole population constituted of single equal and free citizens in terms of a formal-lawful equality. Of course, there will be no reproduction of the capital relations without the acceptance of these general norms which actually belong to capital class by the whole sides. Bourgeois ideological hegemony, ensures the voluntary acceptance of this norms by the laboring majority. But, once the hegemony is constituted, there is no guarantee for an everlasting voluntary obedience. Since the social conflicts and clashes are continuous, the capital class needs a continuous ideological bombardment in order to infiltrate the ideas and emotions of the laboring classes. Hence, the hegemony needs to be produced over and over again.

²Karl Marx – Friedrich Engels, the German Ideology (Feuerbach), Sol Publications, 1992, p.70.

³Antonio Gramsci, Notebooks from Prison, Onur Publications, 1986, p.186.

In order to sustain the hegemony, it is necessary for the ruling class to do material maneuvers which help creating illusions as if they are representing the interest of the whole society beyond their own class interests, and to make concessions. Bourgeoisie, if it supplies the continuity of social consent, needs to take care of the basic demands of the oppressed classes which are under its hegemony, through keeping and reproducing a compromising balance. Because the laborers and the oppressed give consent to the power of the ruling class only when they find correspondences to some of their demands and desires in the existing social order, when they keep their hope for a prosper life alive, at least their hope for leaving a better future for their children. It is not logical to think the continuity of the consent of the oppressed classes to the ruling without providing any of the demands and expectations of various forms of movements of the working class and the oppressed, trade unions and mass organizations, or directly masses of people. For the bourgeoisie to have the capacity of concessions is all about its ability to restrict the struggle of the working class with the economical field, to quench the oppressed classes' reaction with reforms, to prevent the dissolution of the bourgeois ideological hegemony and thus to prevent falling the capitalist order itself into danger.

Organic depression, as in the conceptualization of Gramsci, is a crisis influencing all the dimensions of a societal form. Different than the conjuncture crises which have no deep historical-social roots, organic depression is a detachment stop between structure and superstructure. Bourgeoisie, which cannot produce its own existence as it used to do, also loses its ability and legitimacy of administering other social classes. There appears ideological cracks and breaks in the superstructure institutions. The traditional bourgeois representation mechanism, bourgeois parliament and mainstream bourgeois political parties experience a persuasiveness erosion and thus loss of

function. Oppressed classes start to see mainstream bourgeois parties no longer their representatives. Bourgeois political order becomes unavailable to structure itself as it used to, there emerges a crisis of representation. Decaying and dissolution examples affecting each other in all superstructure institutions and ideological apparatuses spread over. Oppressed classes head to an unprecedented independent mobility.

Characterized by the ripening and unearthing of the incurable contradictions in the structure of society, the organic depression also appears as a hegemony crisis. Bourgeois legitimacy and authority, the bourgeois belief system attributed to all society goes in a crisis. The consent of the oppressed classes to the ruling class becomes unreproducible. The social basis of the conflicts and dissolutions in the superstructure is the conflicts and crises in the economical structure. As the relations of production, which is the material support of the ruling class' dominance, are stuck in crisis, its dominance over the means of mental production is also shaken. The power of ideological apparatuses to subject the oppressed classes to the interest of ruling class as before erodes. The activity of the apparatuses of coercion and methods of dictatorship come to the fore. Dissolution of ideological hegemony brings in not only the leaving of the oppressed classes out of the ideological orbit of the ruling class, it brings in, at the same time, the leaving of a growing section of the intellectuals from the dependence on the ruling class. Also, the ideological integrity among the ruling class itself also breaks apart, incoherence spreads and deepens.

With the emphases of Gramsci, if the ruling class loses its existence as a consensus and becomes only a ruler rather than an administer as a result of leaning only to the absolute coercion, then it means that large masses do no longer believe in the traditional ideologies anymore and already detached from the influence of

them.⁴ According to this, dissolution of the bourgeois hegemony on the ideological level is an abstraction of the formation of a situation in which the dominants can no longer able to rule as before and the oppressed does no longer want to be ruled as before on political level.

Bourgeoisie, without a doubt, at the first chance they get, aims to crash and dismantle the political focuses against the order. Still, it is a must to have material concessions and maneuvers tying the oppressed class to the order again. The ruling class tries to overcome the hegemony crisis through program change and regaining the ideological and political control by giving some concessions to the oppressed classes. A cure is sought to the depression through unification of mainstream bourgeois parties who lost their power to influence people or emergence of a third power which is generally symbolized at a charismatic leader at a point when progressive or reactionary forces are not able to surpass one another.

At a point where providing the expanded reproduction of the capital relations and restructuring capitalism in the forms opening the development path of productive forces are still possible, when the working class who gathers all the oppressed around cannot reach a strength to take the political power as a class subject of revolutionary counter-hegemony, bourgeoisie will elude the organic depression and reconstitute its ideological hegemony.

However, where there is hegemony, there also are opportunities for the counter-hegemony. Because, as can be seen, the hegemony can only be defined in the context of ideological struggle relationship. Ideological struggle, on the other hand, is nothing but carrying on the class struggle at the front of social consciousness. Since the organic depression is a moment where bourgeois ideological hegemony experiences a dissolution and where a hegemony crisis bursts

⁴Antonio Gramsci, Notebooks from Prison, Onur Publications, 1986, p.125-140.

out, opportunities to form and expand the counter-hegemony in such periods are more available than ever.

The Hegemony Crisis

In today's conditions of the imperialist globalization, chronic mass unemployment, absolute impoverishment and hunger, war and migration create consequences which socially exclude a growing section of the world population. Masses of the excluded and cursed, this sediment of capital relations are growing ceaselessly. The mentioned consequences of the capital's loss of ability to develop productive forces are also the supports of the fact that it gets caught to an existential ideological hegemony crisis.

With the words of Marx and Engels, *"The dominant thoughts, are nothing but the expressions of dominant material relations; dominant thoughts, are the material, dominant relations comprehended in the form of ideas, therefore they are the expressions of relations which make a class a dominant class; in other words, these thoughts, are the ideas of its dominance."*⁵ From the existential crisis of the dominant material relations, there also arises the existential crisis of the dominant ideas.

Bourgeoisie, which had come in view in the stage of history with a claim to be the speaker of the universal interests of all humanity, can no longer put forth an ideological packaging capacity which presents its class interest as identical with the universal interests of all humanity. In its existential crisis, the capital does not only fall into a legitimacy loss in the eyes of the working class and the oppressed, but also extremely strains even for bourgeoisie to provide a general common direction, a clarity in thinking and an ideological integrity. Therefore, ideological objections with anti-capitalist discourse can arise from the bourgeois intellectuals stratum.

On the one side, there is the extensive surplus of capital and on the other, there is the chronic surplus of labor. Capital surplus and labor surplus cannot meet, capital production gets weaker and weaker to expand itself. The unity of the opposites is cracking, labor and capital become no longer each other's condition for existence. Labor and capital, which are in constant contradiction with each other, but produce their common existence conditions reciprocally, are getting independent at the point we reach, their existence conditions objectively detach. And since it is like that, the capital lacks the conditions to ideologically tie its opposite to itself. At its own peak, the kingdom of money, now throws up its producer, the labor, out of the kingdom.

Today, the world monopolies hold such a big capital force that the bankruptcy of the ones in crisis means squashing the whole capitalist economy under the wreckage of this bankruptcy. Thus, the arguments such as the exclusiveness of free market, the untouchable private entrepreneurship and the hazard of the state intervention, which are furbished as the ideological dogmas of the imperialist globalization, were thrown away in 2008 all of a sudden. Yes, the state intervention to the bankruptcies happened, but the bourgeois ideologues cannot replace the thrown-away ideological arguments with new hegemonic ideas.

Where the laborers' hope for a better life both for themselves and their children isn't consumed yet, even when the daily contradictions sharpen most, reproduction of the bourgeois ideological hegemony is possible. However, this hope is being consumed today. New generations who get better education than their parents and who are raised with a higher cultural level cannot reach better jobs or higher incomes than their parents. Compared to the increase of the material and cultural prosperity level of the society by the advancement of the social productive forces, the growing laboring majority of the population becomes unavailable to benefit from

this prosperity.

As the bourgeois state retreats from its function to supply free social services and from being an economical actor, as it says goodbye to the "welfare state" forever, as it loses its national basis economically embodied in domestic market, it gets completely peeled off its social crust. Today's bourgeois state stands out as a bare coercion and usurpation apparatus of the ruling class against the oppressed classes. It becomes unable to produce the misconception of national interest unity and the illusion of its publicity feature coming from its undertaking free social services anymore. It loses its quality of being the primary ideological glue. As the bourgeois state alienates people on such scale, the antagonism between state and people sharpens on the same scale.

Conjoining of both right conservative and social democrat labeled mainstream bourgeois parties at the same program of the imperialist globalization eats up their credibility in the eyes of the oppressed classes. The consciousness telling people that participating the parliamentary bourgeois democracy doesn't mean the same with freedom is spreading everyday. But the crisis of the bourgeois representation isn't only resulted from here, it is also resulted from the fact that the bourgeois state is taken over by a handful of world monopoly and that it has lost even its function as a collective management organ of the capital, almost completely.

Profiling, surveillance cameras, tapping telephones, social media and e-mails, extending the time of custody, normalizing the state of emergency, restriction over the freedom of traveling, the police assaults getting ordinary to the right demanding demonstrations are a short summary of the political route of the bourgeois state in the period of the imperialist globalization. Bourgeois democratic laws and norms are being cut down, political role of the bourgeois parliament is decreasing. And when the state appears as a pure guardian of the ruling class against the oppressed

⁵Karl Marx- Friedrich Engels, the German Ideology (Feuerbach), Sol Publications, 1992, p.70.

classes in these forms, it demolishes its ideological legitimacy, the charm of parliamentary representation, the belief for its existence as a socially necessary organization with its own hands. The paradox here, is that for continuation of the bourgeois dominance, the gap arising from the decline in opportunities to generate consent can only be filled with practices of coercion but the sum of these practices, on the other hand, mutilates the role of bourgeois state as an apparatus of hegemony for good.

The state bureaucracy is a stratum maintaining the indirectness between the economical structure of the society and its ideological-political superstructure. The variety of the social classes and strata which the composition of bureaucracy is collected, equally brings persuasiveness to the state's claim to represent the oppressed classes. When bourgeoisie collects the primary bureaucrat cadres mainly from the middle class, this, especially, contributes the ideological and political articulation of the middle class to the ruling class' state.

However, today, as this collection decreases and the state administrators are started to be constituted of managers of the capital monopolies directly, this articulation and illusion also start to fade away. Compared to the persuasiveness of the above-the-classes ideological arguments of a state whose cadres are usually collected from middle class and which acts relatively autonomous from time to time, the persuasiveness of the ideological arguments of a state whose cadres mostly come directly from inside the bourgeoisie and whose space to act independently has been narrowed, seems very weak. Through democratic election, parliamentary representation and equal citizenship law, but at the same time,

through collecting intellectual bureaucratic cadres from every classes and especially from the middle class, covering the state's feature as the ruling class and the success of this mystification can no longer be possible.

Property owner petty bourgeois stratas of urban and rural are going under a fast devastation, being pushed towards the ranks of the working class. Big capital's stomaching of the petty property ownership, expropriation of the laboring peasantry, becoming wage laborers of city's self-employed majority who is experiencing a class segregation and petty merchant's inability to withstand against the capital competition, are all mean to the vanishing of the opportunities for petty bourgeoisie to

class.

For the youth, getting higher education doesn't assure better life conditions or guarantee higher wage jobs than their parents. Already, yesterday's well-educated self-employed people are gradually turning into wage workers today. Education lost its quality as a lever for students from people's youth to jump upper classes. Capitalism doesn't cheer the youth with a hope for a privileged future in the current order. It gathers them, usually as low wage workers or as unemployed, within the ranks of the proletariat. This, from the angle of the youth, means an objective rupture from the bourgeois order. Since the effect of traditional belief dogmas and moral norms over young generations

and their dependence on traditional bourgeois mainstream parties are more restricted than other sections of the population, and also with the development level of communication and transportation tools today, enormous opportunities for fast dissolution of old thinking mode and fast universalization of new thinking mode everywhere



increase its income and life standards under capitalism and to develop its existence as a property owner in an objective sense. For this reason, at this point where it thins out over and over, the middle pillar of capitalist society is living a breakage now. But this melting of the middle class brings in the drying out of the main source of capitalism's class compromise and the knockout of the main class carrier of the bourgeois hegemony. Because the middle class in capitalist society is the basis for reformism, for keeping hopes to get better in the current order and for spreading the dream of climbing up the social ladder. The capital itself dynamites this ideological hegemony bridge between the upper and lower

pile up. The objective rupture of the youth from being bounded with capitalism and the birth of a universal "rupture generation" symbolize the collapse of bourgeois ideological hegemony and the start point of the rupture of the working class and all the oppressed from the bourgeois order.

As the fields of intellectual creativity become the fields of capital and individual mental labor turns into wage labor, the culture, art and literature dry out in the dependence relations to a bunch of monopolistic capitalist. For real, an innovative bourgeois art or literature trend can no longer flourish, pessimism and skepticism, a melancholic fatalism spread from the

bourgeois art and literature field. Beneath the innovation and fashion sheathe, there grins the banality of the repetition. The buyers of the babbling of the postmodernist philosophy on the denial of universality, the impossibility of grasping the objective truth and the expiration of big narratives, of its philological games around the metaphysical abstractions or of a nihilist mental conformism decrease day by day. As the congestion in the productivity of capital breaks down the application of science to the production, more hideous anti-scientific declarations from the bourgeois-minded scientists such as ending the worldwide hunger via genetically modified food spread out. Religion, is rushed into the help of bourgeois ideological hegemony in crisis, and presented as a saving shelter to the oppressed classes who feel desperate.

This worldwide hegemony crisis is not the crisis of the ruling class hegemony in single countries; it is the bankruptcy of capitalism's power to ideologically bind the laborers and the oppressed humanity to itself. Bourgeoisie's worldwide hegemony crisis, of course firstly and strikingly, appears very specific in the swift loss of altitude of US imperialism. Yet, both in imperialist countries and in dependent or financial-economical colony countries, of course as an abstraction and on uneven levels, the bourgeoisie is under the influence of the same hegemony crisis. Since each country has unique history, tradition and ideological variance, and since each country's position in the world of the imperialist globalization has its peculiar dimensions, the spread and effectiveness of the hegemony crisis is uneven. But, while the integrated world market fact of the imperialist globalization, internationalization of capital, social-economical integration of capitalist countries and transportation and communication technologies connecting all people with each other mean that capitalism, with all these dimensions, more than ever, creates a world society; it also ensures that its hegemony crisis carries an integrated

character on a worldwide scale more than ever.

Hegemony Clashes of the 20th Century

A big general depression that capitalism was caught by a crisis with all dimensions - economical, political and ideological -, took place in the period between the first and the second imperialist re-division war. In 1929, the capitalist world, which had been shaken by the destruction of the 1st World war and by the rupture of the October Revolution, entered into an economical crisis which swiftly created a huge wave of unemployment and poverty. The bourgeoisie sank into the deepest ideological hege-



mony crisis ever seen. While capitalist states were floundering in crisis, the successes of the socialist construction in the Soviet Union were forming socialism as a material alternative for laboring humanity. The laborers in USA, where the unemployment rates were breaking records, were admiring the socialist program of the Soviet Union which had abolished the unemployment. The Soviet Union and the Komintern were standing as a proletarian counter-hegemony base, an ideological magnet for the workers and the oppressed living in the capitalist countries, the strongest blasting agent that exploded the bourgeois ideological hegemony caught up in crisis. Besides, after the

Soviet Union came of the 2nd World War triumphant, the hope of the laboring humanity for establishing socialism through a revolutionary path grew even more, Western European communist parties grew stronger as ever, new revolutionary power were established in Eastern Europe and in Asia and many colonized countries took the route towards winning their independence through national struggles. It was the time where socialism had stabbed capitalism with the knife of "welfare state", right on its bosom.

The order of the capital, however, managed to overcome this staggering general crisis. Because even though the capitalist development was interrupted, the revolutionary working class failed to present a historical move that would end capital relations on a worldwide scale, and capital still had the ability to develop productive forces. This was the material basis of bourgeoisie's success to overcome its great ideological crisis, as well as to create its ideological hegemony again. Up to 1930's, there emerged two negations of the hegemonic ideological arguments of free market. The first one was the socialist denial, the one outside the bourgeois order, which was being manifested in the socialist construction of the Soviet Union, as well as the revolutionary powers spreading after the 2nd World War. The second one, on the other hand, was the Keynesian negation extending from the New Deal in the United States to the West European notion of "welfare state", as being within the order. For the bourgeois school, Keynes was the new prophet from now on until he would leave his chair to Friedman 40 years later. He was the one who formulated the necessity of the capitalist state to make demand-generating and market-regulating interventions, to present itself as a shareholder that keeps the multi-competitive environment of the capital in balance and prevents the extreme speculative movements of the capital.

As the bourgeois state joined the game as a shareholder, and as the world market, which was narrowed

by the revolutions, were expanded and deepened through swallowing individual small properties which had not been industrialized yet, the capitalist development accelerated. Thus, in order to prevent working class to break off with the order, the “welfare state” was put forth as a concession and the Soviet Bloc's sphere of influence was limited by the universal positioning of the Cold War under the US umbrella. So, with all of these, capitalism managed to find a way out from that general depression. The acceleration in the capitalist development after the 2nd World War, transition to the “welfare state” form in the capitalist metropolises, increase in the real salaries of the working class and a relative improvement of their life conditions were all allowed bourgeoisie to re-create its ideological hegemony. The picture became upside down; it was the laborers of the socialist countries who were admiring the laborers living in the capitalist states. And this time, capitalism stabbed socialism with the knife of “market”. The revisionist Soviet ad-

ministration were going off the revolutionary rails of socialism, the European communist parties were transforming into the reformist political fractions of the working class and thus, the proletarian counter-hegemony were dissolving.

This fall and rise of the bourgeois hegemony did also lead to an hand-over in the ideological leadership of the imperialist capitalism. After the 2nd World War, USA came up as the leading power that would re-organize the relationship among the bourgeois states, universalize the new model of capital accumulation based on state monopoly capitalism, re-establish the “world currency” system again, de-

velop and institutionalize new colonialist relations, re-unite the capitalist world and militarily protect it against the socialist world. As being the promise of raising freedom and welfare, the symbol of the individual entrepreneurship which was expressed by the “American Dream”, the USA was the ideal model for bourgeois civilization. The worldwide bourgeois hegemony was being identified almost with the re-creation of the whole capitalist world from the US image. The ideological hegemony of the US was depending on its political leadership capacity over the world bourgeoisie. And this capacity was about its supremacy of military power to restrict the Soviet Union



and the Warsaw Pact during the Cold War period, and of the financial-economical power for making US dollar the global currency. Those slogans of “free world”, “parliamentary democracy”, “freedom of enterprise” and “creative power of competition” were setting its hegemonic ideological arguments.

Another hegemony crisis of the capitalist world during the 20th century, exposed itself with the '68 uprising. The wave of the '68 student movement burst out in the Western capitalist countries and soon it spread to all continents and became blended with the particular social-political contradictions of each countries. The women liberation struggle and black

rights movements were growing and developing. Correspondingly, the myth of the “welfare state” were weakening, the ideological apparatuses of the bourgeois order were dragging into a turmoil, the imposed social value judgments were losing favor, that is to say, the bourgeois ideological hegemony was becoming to dissolve. The wave of the '68 was the expression of a massive rupture out from the bourgeois order at the level of consciousness but this rupture was limited mainly with the student youth. The anti-capitalist characterized student movement came to the fore as the focus center of the counter-hegemony. The ideological rupture of this politically responsive

ranks of the intellectuals, was perhaps a warning itself for a further shocking universal crisis for capitalism, a new choke in the capital relations that would arise couple of years after. However, this manner of the student movement positioning in the realm outside the order, failed to incite the oppressed classes in general to rupture out from

the bourgeois hegemony. Because the working class ranks which had widely jump on the stage of the struggle were actually in a search to expand their rights on the basis of “welfare state” within the capitalist conditions. Correspondingly, the ruling class was able to respond this demand with the capacity to maneuver and make concessions in this regard.

While the student youth was leaving the field of the ideological hegemony and arming themselves with the revolutionary consciousness, the working class continued to remain under the bourgeois ideological hegemony due to their reformist consciousness and action line that was bound to gain

better conditions within the order. This allowed the order of the capital to re-create the bourgeois ideological hegemony in crisis. So, together with the aid of the communist parties which had become totally reformists, it succeeded in holding the working class bounded with the limits of the order as well as absorbing the anti-capitalist students into the capital relations and policies back again. The challenge of the student movement's uprising against the traditional bourgeois values was cooled down by changing the overdue traditional value judgments. The black rights movement was rendered ineffectual and even gained by the order, through oppressing the Black Panthers with counter-revolutionary violence, but moreover, through raising many black people up to the levels of bourgeoisie and of state along with the legislative regulations done in favor of equality. The women's liberation movement as well, was temporarily removed from being a threat for the bourgeois order, as a result of pulling a number of women to the ranks of the bourgeois class and politics, as well as doing some legislative regulations concerning their rights.

The crisis of 1975, which shook capitalism and push it for a new capital accumulation model, was also not enough to drag the bourgeois hegemony into a crisis again. Yet, The Pentagon-Wall Street hegemony got hurt by the defeat of the gigantic US military power in Vietnam and by the collapse of the Bretton Woods System which was symbolizing the power of the US dollar. Nevertheless, as being the driving force of the transition to the period of imperialist globalization and the actor of the counter-revolutionary triumph that gave an end to the Soviet Bloc, the

USA managed to keep its ideological leadership position until the 2000's. Since the gate of the imperialist globalization was opened in the period of the universal American hegemony and since the world monopolies had been intensified at most in the USA, the leadership of developing political strategy and financial model for the interest of the international capital also belonged to the USA.

The collapse and dissolve of the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact led to a new impetus for the existing ideological illusion of the laborers. In the eyes of an average person, capitalism was eternal and without any alternative. The fall of the Soviet Union together with the East European states on its orbit and the de-



struction of the majority of the Western Communist Parties led to a break in the belief and sympathy for socialism among laborers and intellectuals. The ideals of world revolution and of socialism were defeated even in the consciousness of the majority of those who were once fighting for these ideals. On the eve of the 21st century, bourgeois hegemony was much like enjoying its strongest days in the organizational sense. Well then, why does today's hegemony crisis, which has been fired only ten years after those happy days, carry an existential character unlike the previous ones?

Where Is the Difference?

The essential difference of today's

bourgeois hegemony crisis from the the past is not related with the intensity of these ideological quakes but of their qualities. There is no indication that today's bourgeois hegemony crisis, which has not yet reached to its peak, can be overcome. On the basis of the success of the bourgeoisie to overcome yesterday's hegemony crisis, there lays the fact that the dynamics of capitalist development was not at the stage of reaching its own limits and capital's ability of developing productive forces has not exhausted yet. For the serious congestions in the social production relations, there were still some existing remedies that would clean the way of the production of capital again. Correspondingly, the ruling class, which had not lost its capacity to make concessions and to maneuver yet, was able to head towards for some reforms that would serve to regain the consent of the oppressed classes. The difference is exactly right here!

Yesterday, the working class of the capitalist countries was able to benefit from the surplus profit flowing from the colonies into the capitalist states and this was creating the basis for the ideological illusion that the interests of the working class and the bourgeoisie could be common. In the case of the dependent countries on the other hand, the national capitalist development path was able to respond the expectancy of the working class and the laborers. It was possible to pack the bourgeois state, which depended on parliamentary democracy, carried out social services and formed the compound of the bureaucracy from the whole society, as a common organism that protects the interests of the whole nation. The "welfare state" phenomenon was providing material opportunity for the

inoculation of the bourgeois ideology which was dazzling the eyes of the whole world's oppressed classes with fake glow of the capitalist development. Again, the atmosphere of the "social consensus" spreading from the middle class was giving a fresh breath to the dominant class. Thus, on this social basis, it was possible to repair the disrupted apparatuses of the bourgeois ideology and by substituting their overdue discourses with the new ones, the ideologists of the capital were succeeding in convincing the majority of the society.

The 20th century had witnessed all these happening. Some part of the profits obtained from the colonies were distributed to the workers of the imperialist countries. There also existed post-colonial countries which managed to maintain their capitalist development based on an internal market relatively independent from imperialism. The "welfare state" did actually bring considerable improvements in the living conditions of the working class. However today, at an increasing pace, factories are moving from capitalist metropolises to the markets of cheap labor and social services are becoming marketable. The imperialist financial oligarchy is now having an eye on the last leftovers of the "welfare state", the domestic market of a country has become a free field for the movement of the world monopolies and the dependent/subordinated countries have become the financial-economic colonies. Rather than being consequences of subjective choices of the ruling class, these changes are being experienced as the consequences of capital's objective laws of motion. And the same objectivity is echoing on the fact that the bourgeois thought is no longer able to create an essential cure for the existing general depression, neither to put forward a

new Keynes anymore.

The faith to the US capitalism, which was once freshened up with the fall of the Soviet Union and the rise of neoliberalism, is now gone with the wind. In 2008, when the millions of workers and the middle class from USA were facing with the risk of losing their jobs, retirements and houses, the so called "American Dream", which used to promise them to climb up the social ladder, did collapse upfront. USA is no more a role model of the imperialist globalization, of the whole capitalist world. If it still seems to preserve its leadership over the capitalist world, it is because there is no chance for any other country or a unity to reconstruct capitalism with an alternative and re-



demptive model, so that they would embody the creation of the bourgeois ideological hegemony in their existence, and in parallel, the anti-capitalist alternative has not been formed yet as a socialist model in the consciousness of laboring humanity.

Today, even though the political organization of the capital still presents itself as separate bourgeois states, the production and the trade have completely been globalized along with the formation of the integrated world factory and world market. This deadly corrosion in the social material base of the bourgeois nation-state does not allow one state to create a global hegemony anymore; neither for the US hegemony to maintain itself as used to be nor for another im-

perialist state to take that overdue role alone.

When the bourgeoisie reaches to the limits of the economic and social possibilities that allows to absorb the demands of other classes, the hegemony's pillars start to crack. Consuming those maneuvering possibilities, indeed, does not mean that you cannot make any actual maneuvers in terms of ideological, political or economical sense. But it means that you no longer have a chance to respond the basic social-economical demands of the oppressed classes enough to hold them in balance with the social consensus. For this very reason, all those ideological compliments for capitalism have already become history; the concept of "New World Order" failed to keep up, the rhetoric that imperialist globalization will bring more wealth and freedom has already become implausible. Because the capital and the state have essentially lost their capacities to produce minimum solutions within the borders of the order for the basic problems and demands, to do maneuvers of making concessions in order to gain at least

some part of the working class and the oppressed, as a result, to hold the contradictions between capital and labor, and between state and people within a manageable context in terms of soothing and dissolving various social struggles by pulling them inside the order.

It is ironic that Fukuyama's prophecy, "the end of history", which puts forward capitalism as an eternal system, is now manifesting itself as the end of the capitalist history, by the dialectic law of turning into the opposite.

The Pangs of Counter-Hegemony

Engels warned: "According to the materialistic conception of history, the production and reproduction of

*real life constitutes in the last instance the determining factor of history... The economic situation is the basis but the various factors of the superstructure – the political forms of the class struggles and its results – constitutions, etc., established by victorious classes after hard-won battles – legal forms, and even the reflexes of all these real struggles in the brain of the participants, political, juridical, philosophical theories, religious conceptions and their further development into systematic dogmas – all these exercise an influence upon the course of historical struggles, and in many cases determine for the most part their form.”*⁶

As much as thought follows practice, ideology reflects economy. But, just as how the matter does not determine the idea exactly same, the economy does not determine the ideology as the same. Since those who create and spread the ideological hegemony are the individuals and institutions producing ideas, the hegemony is a phenomenon that exist within the domain of social and political subjects, that is to say, it is about subjectivity. And since it is about subjectivity, it is not a passive replica of the changes or transformations taking place in the social material basis. In that sense, the hegemony's role differs; sometimes progressively realizes the opportunities that the objective material reality has for a change, whereas sometimes cuts them back in a reactionary way. Ideological efficiency may accelerate or decelerate the development of the social events. In order not to fall into a mechanistic deterministic approach and a pure reductionism, it has to be taken into ac-

count that the ideological field is shaped by subjective interactions and struggles, by frictions among various wrong, defective, twisted or relevant perceptions of the material reality arising from both realistic but also absurd thoughts and interpretations as well.

On the basis of a hegemonic ideological system, there exists the dialectic unity of the consent and the dissent. As much as to keep the consent, the struggle of ideological hegemony, is a struggle also for convincing those who oppose. However, this nature of the hegemony struggle includes the approval that each hegemony could only exist together with the possibilities of the counter-hegemony. Because creating hegemony, is a goal that is given in the ideological strug-



gle which constitutes one of the layers of the class struggle. Just as the hegemony, the counter-hegemony is produced and spread in various fields such as family, education, press, art, religion, culture, ethics, daily life, parliament and parties, unions and associations, sport clubs, etc...

The bourgeoisie, of course, continue to use its ideological apparatuses in order to keep laboring humanity deprived of the envision of future. However, the capital-labor and state-people contradictions all over the world, are immensely intensifying in objective terms. And the laborers and the oppressed are turning towards increasingly radicalizing quests.

It is true that, the proletariat is also experiencing a deep pang of the cre-

ation of the counter-hegemony. Resistances of the working class, social movements of the oppressed, international struggles against imperialist globalization, the Latin American popular left wave, “Indignados” and “Occupy” movements, the revolutionary process of the Middle East and the North Africa, the search for “another world is possible” are all stood not enough yet to create a counter-hegemony. Because those social movements and people's uprisings do not meet directly with the goal of socialism. For the expanding ranks of the working class and the oppressed to be united under a programme and thus to have the clearness of goal, is still not the case. However, even though the hegemony crisis of the bourgeoisie stands as an unsurmountable objectivity arising from the material conditions, the proletariat's pang for creating counter-hegemony is a matter of a subjective insufficiency deriving from the confusion in consciousness which can be overcome by the solution of the question of organization and political program.

This is a symptom of an interlude where a society form has actually been expired and experiencing the pang of the transition to a new society form, whereas the question of how that new form would be has not been explicitly fallen into place. While the capacity of the capitalist society to keep all classes together on the basis of capital production is vanishing, its reflection on the social consciousness occurs primarily as an ideological confusion. The working class and the oppressed are tried to be separated by being pushed to the ranks of racism and nationalism, as well as to the reactionary religious movements. Workers are losing their jobs to the cheap labor of the immi-

⁶Letter from Friedrich Engels to Joseph Bloch on September 21-22, 1890; Marx-Engels, Selected Works, Vol.3, Sol Publications, 1979

grants, the middle class has already been wrecked, small peasantry are losing their lands, medium sized shareholders are facing bankruptcies, but all the reactions arising from these cases can be easily flowed into the racist-fascist channels, with an illusion as if they would manage to defend their position through protecting the national state and national economy. However, at a time where the social material basis of the bourgeois states are fading, the racist and nationalist forms of consciousness, as the reactionary responses against imperialist globalization, can only function as a temporary ideological attraction.

When the social basis turns upside down, then it is inevitable for the traditional forms of ideas, which owe its existence to that social basis, to turn upside down as well. The weakness of the hegemony in crisis allows the counter-hegemonic undercurrents to leak from each cracks and finally rise for a counterattack.

Under an existential hegemony crisis, an average person's consciousness starts stirring and mobilizing. As it starts breaking off the dominant forms of consciousness, the spread of the revolutionary consciousness accelerates by leaps. Developing social movements within the international struggles against imperialist globalization, extending from "Occupy" and "Indignados" movements to the Arabic uprisings and even to Turkey's Gezi uprising, are constituting of signs of a rupture from the dominant form of the consciousness, even though they have still not managed to own a unity of goal and direction. New conditions are providing a source for the creation of the idea among the laborers that the social revolution is nothing but a necessity, and this process will be accelerated. Because any quest that is not aiming to end the capital relations, has no chance to bring any solution to the fundamental problems of the workers and the oppressed and day by day this fact becomes much more clear.

The class contradictions sharpening in an antagonist manner, are bringing

about new class struggles. Class contradictions and class struggles, also reflect the battles in the field of ideological hegemony. And developing class struggles step by step fills the pool of the class consciousness formation with the drops of consciousness. The objective ground for the working class, whose intellectual capacity has notably much more developed than yesterday, to gain the socialist class consciousness is much more strengthened, in today's conditions where capital relations are pushing the layer of intellectuals more and more towards proletarianization, the high educated youth, deprived of the opportunities to climb up the social ladder through the education, are joining the working class, and the share of the intellectual labor in the ranks of working class has been immensely expanded. Moreover, the disastrous level of the commodification of the women's sexuality and of the plunder of natural and historical environment, make both the women's liberation and ecologist struggle a direct compound of the struggle for socialism in objective terms. In the conditions of capitalism's existential ideological crisis, all of these quests of liberation are moving day by day outside the realm of the order. The counter-ideological currents rooted in the class, gender, national or racial basis, are squeezing bourgeois ideological hegemony in crisis.

There's no social movement law such as having the consciousness first and get into action afterwards. Rather, the social rupture from the capitalist order are pushing the masses towards the action, and the action creates its own consciousness. For the masses to transform an essential revolutionary perspective into a form of consciousness can only be possible within the action. The masses can change its consciousness only through the action. In a place where solution possibilities within the order are wiped out, it is inevitable for the actuality to deepen the questioning the order and derive solution perspectives outside the order, just as how these move-

ments create their own new revolutionary leaderships within themselves. But the counter-hegemony can be established by depending on an ideological and political leadership practice, which possess the actual essential consciousness of contradictions and antagonisms existing both in the economic and political grounds, as well as be able to illuminate the necessity of a totally new social consolidation of a new structure and the superstructure. The will struggle of such a leadership, is the element itself that accelerates the collapse of the bourgeois hegemony, as well as the founder and the center for the counter-hegemony.

If the existential crisis of the bourgeois production relations means to the crisis of the whole bourgeois society, then the emancipation of a class is identical with the emancipation of the whole society from this weight of the crisis. While ending the capital relation, the proletariat will also abolish its own existence but together with itself, it will emancipate the whole society.

Yes, Marx was very right. And he also wrote this: "*Mankind thus inevitably sets itself only such tasks as it is able to solve, since closer examination will always show that the problem itself arises only when the material conditions for its solution are already present or at least in the course of formation.*"⁷ The question of establishing the socialist counter-hegemony, together with the conditions that will solve this question, is at the current agenda of the struggle against capitalism.

⁷Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy, Foreword, Karl Marx, Marx-Engels, Selected Works, Vol.1, Sol Publications, 1976

Theoretical Premises of Regional Revolution

In the twentieth century, revolutionary communists had the foresight to realize revolutions by shattering the chain of imperialism in its individual links. This revolutionary theory was based on the idea that the imperialist world system, which concatenates the individual economies of the countries due to the contradictions and struggles between the imperialists and the law of uneven development of capitalism, can be shattered in its weakest link. The October Revolution, the revolutions of the 20th century confirmed Lenin. This doctrine continues to be valid under the conditions of imperialist globalization.

In today's phase of imperialist globalization, capitalism has expanded and deepened so that capital, trade and technology have become highly internationalized. Internationalization is so advanced that it is no longer just a world market made up of the individual interconnected economies. There is now an integrated world market. This new phase in the imperialist world system has brought about some significant changes and new qualities. The high degree of internationalization means that in addition to the increasing possibility of revolutions in individual countries, revolutionary developments influence each other even more and trigger new developments on a regional scale.

Our party, the MLKP, in the early 2000's, in line with the revolutionary experiences and gains of the 20th century, as well as the materialist analysis of the fundamental developments of the world, emphasized the

increasing possibilities of the regional revolutions.

"Today's realities bring forth the international actions and unity of the revolutionary proletariat, peoples and their communist vanguards much more needed for the victories of revolutions. Due to both these reasons and against the imperialists and local bourgeoisies dragging peoples into chauvinist clashes, regional federations gain a special significance



as a form of fraternity of peoples . This is much more necessary for the Middle East-Balkans-Caucasian regions where the imperialist aggression and wars are intensified today. Our party, defends our peoples' revolutionary federations to be built in our region. Despite the increase in the conditions for united and international action, revolutions will develop unevenly. However, our party puts the federative unity of peoples as programme for the revolutions of peoples of the region which prevail simultaneously or non-simultaneously and it will work in order to materialize this achievable goal." (Documents of 3rd Party Congress of MLKP)

Our understanding of revolution and our revolutionary program have been further developed theoretically through the perspective of the regional revolution. The goal of a world revolution was thereby emphasized again. This line of defense of a world revolution is all too often forgotten by communists or neglected because of ideological fears (for example, the fear of Trotskyism!). Our claim of world revolution, however, is a strengthening of the revolutionary quality of the communists.

The Concept of Regional Revolution

The concept of the regional revolution is not new. Already the Third International had the perspective of regional revolutions. The proposal of a Balkan Federation was a product of this approach. These regional federations were linked to the communist program with the goal of "the dictatorship of the world proletariat".

Starting with Che, the revolutionaries from Latin America also had the concept and perspective of the regional and continental revolution. The concept of "continuity of the revolution" of Marx and Engels, as well as the "world revolution" of the Second International, were based on the experiences of the revolution of 1848 in Europe. The perspective of the world revolution of the socialist movement in the late 19th and early 20th centuries involved a kind of regional or continental revolution, the revolution of Europe.

Our understanding of the regional revolution came at the beginning of the 21st century, based on the discussions on "contemporary imperialism", as well as on the conditions and possibilities of today's revolutions. The perspective of the regional revolution has led us to the approach and endeavor to concretize the general anti-imperialist struggle on a regional level. Following to this, with the participation of revolutionary and communist organizations, the Balkans and the Middle East conferences were organized. From these conferences there has emerged the initiative for the establishment of regional anti-imperialist struggle coordinations, in order to put forth concrete efforts. Although these structures have not been filled with life and made functional, we have gained experience.

The Regions are not Indefinite

The concept of the regional revolution seems vague and confused at first sight. But of course, regions are specific places. There is no doubt that regions are based on their geographic basis, but most of all, they are localizations that lean on the historically developed economic, social, cultural and even political characteristics.

But it is not a political, cultural and socio-economic location, like a nation state or a regional federation or a confederation. A region is in relation with other regions. They influence each other and there are smooth transitions among them. Their limits are not determined and they are changeable. We see this reality in the most diverse countries and nations, each of which has different languages, cultures and religious communities.

Despite some socio-economic and political similarities, they are not homogeneous. Nevertheless, in each region, there are certain characteristic

lines and peculiarities that have developed historically and that characterize a region.

The Law of Uneven Development

The deepest roots of the "regionalization" lie in the uneven developmental reality and law that spread over the entire history of human existence.

Human communities have developed in extreme dependence on the natural conditions in different regions. The extreme dependency on the conditions of nature meant that geographically "distant" communities were less interacted with each other. Throughout the history, experience of pro-

flows, wars, conquests, the development of commodity economy and trade, as well as cultural influences have taken place in these historical places, which have crystallized the "regional lines".

The Uneven Development in Capitalism

The law and the reality of uneven development is not limited to capitalism. Even before capitalism, there was never a single and bodily development. The world folk communities had been in different phases of development before capitalism has emerged, so that capitalism was built upon this uneven reality.

Capitalism created a world market and it integrated, subjected and appropriated all existing structures into the world market and the capitalist system. Capitalism "conquered" the world and became a world system that reproduced the uneven development. But unlike before, the unequal development has gained a combined quality.

Colonialism has both developed the capitalist mode of production and made the uneven development even more violent. From the transition of capitalism of free competition to monopoly capitalism, the world was divided between a few major imperialist countries, with which the imperialist world system emerged. This imperialist world system has linked the nation states and the individual national markets like a chain. The uneven development that has taken off after two imperialist world wars and the revolutions of the twentieth century has gained a tremendous and leaping quality.

The Uneven Development in Imperialist Globalization



duction, of knowledge, of labor productivity, of science and technological development has reduced dependence on natural conditions. At various stages of history, the regions have expanded and changed "structurally". But the uneven development and the trend of regionalization have been preserved. Uneven development is a fundamental reality of the entire history of human existence.

Depending on the possibilities on geographies and depending on the difficulties that had to be overcome, certain large locations were created in which people could come together more. Throughout the centuries and millenniums, countless waves of migration, uprisings and population

The competition between monopolies and monopoly groups, as well as the tendency towards internationalization, are among the pushing forces of capitalism. Internationalization is developing both locally at the regional level and generally at the global level. It runs on two sides. In the phase of the imperialist globalization, this two-sidedness becomes even clearer.

The world market, composed of individual national markets, no longer exists in this form. Under the rule of the world monopoly bourgeoisie, a unified, integrated world market has emerged. The competition between the monopolies is widening between a few world monopolies. The world monopolies are leaning against the economic and political power of a particular nation-state and increasing economic integration, thereby strengthening and developing their influence over the unified world market.

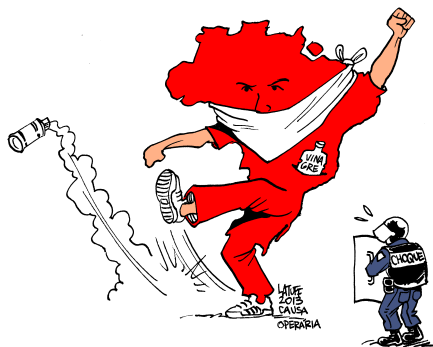
The competition between the monopolies and the imperialist states has intensified. Regional integrations have become characteristic of this competition. As the national states were restructured, the imperialist global order ensured that the obstacles to its unfolding had been removed. Thus, it gave a push to the economic integration of the "regional localizations". At this stage, the law of uneven combined development is all the more erratic in its "leaping" character.

The Locality of Internationalization

In the phase of imperialist globalization, the local scale of internationalization at the regional level is gaining importance. Competition through regional integration, for example through NAFTA, the EU, or the Shanghai Agreement, is becoming characteristic. The countries where capitalism developed in the twentieth century, accumulating noteworthy capital, may not compete on a global scale, but rather they do regionally. These countries seek their place in the global imperialist order and find themselves forced to become active

in their region. The tendency of regionalization is strengthened by these countries as they try to become active in their region through leaning on international alliances, on certain imperialist countries, on monopolies and monopoly groups.

Of course, the place of each individual region is not equal in the imperialist global order. For example, the place of Europe in this order is very different from that of the Middle East. Europe is at the center of the global imperialist order, while the Middle East is exploited and robbed by this center. The differences among the regions show antagonistic contradictions. The historically originated Middle East has been under the rule of capitalist imperialism for 100 years. The "inner borders" that subdivide the area into political areas or countries were largely determined by



the imperialists at the beginning of the 20th century and during and after the First World War. This order imposed by the region's imperialist robbers leaned on the collaboration of the local ruling class, in this case the modern feudal aristocracy and collaborative bourgeoisie. These modern, despotic states of the Middle East keep remain standing with the help of the imperialist world order. They owe their existence to the imperialists. This is reciprocal; the same modern, militaristic, bureaucratic despots are the fundamental pillars and means for imperialism to hold the region under its hegemony and continue its exploitative order.

The imperialists and reactionary ruling classes of the region have common interests, such as the distribution of gigantic oil and gas resources. Controlling these natural resources,

along with their transport routes, is the basis for cooperation. But there is an even deeper and inclusive problem. In the veins of the economic gears of the imperialist world order, flow oil and gas. The oil and gas reserves are the focus of the imperialists. For this reason, the Middle East is one of the centers for the struggle for world domination between the imperialists. When you talk about the "question" of Middle East, the survival of the imperialist globalization order is the issue at stake.

Saudi Arabia, Kuwait and Jordan are typical examples of modern, militarized and bureaucratic despots. The dominant Arab Islamic nationalism is the legitimacy pillar of the despotic regimes. Even in Egypt, whose militarily bureaucratic quality and reactionary Arab nationalism are distinctive, a similar despotic state form prevails. From time to time, the military or even semi-military character comes to the fore, as it is the case for today. Syria has a similar structure.

Even racist Israeli Zionism, which preserves the appearance of bourgeois democracy, and the mullah regime in Iran, which rules upon the Shiite Sharia, are very similar in their state structure, characterized by militarism, bureaucracy, despotism and so on, despite their very different ideologies. The militaristic, bureaucratic and despotic states have made it one of their existential reasons of existence to prevent the development of a democratic consciousness and culture inside the society. Even more, the dictators see the peoples of the region as the most prominent and closest danger to themselves. They are anti-people and collaborate as henchmen of the imperialists.

The imperialist rulers of the world and the local ruling classes know very well that the existence and continuation of the imperialist world order is tied to the control of the peoples of the region. Strategic approaches such as the Great Middle East Project was an expression of colonial imperialist consciousness. Because of its central position in today's global imperialist world order,

the struggles in the Middle East have the potential to determine the future of the world and humanity.

Revolutionary Situation in the Middle East and the Issue of Regional Revolution

The Middle East makes all the contradictions of the phase of imperialist globalization very clear. As if these were not enough, the consequences of the 100-years-old, protectionist hegemony of imperialist colonialism are felt with all force. Through the local, collaborative ruling classes, ancient contradictions between religions, sects, nations, and genders, as sediment of history, have been blended, mixed, and got complicated.

This condition leads to a dialectic of the revolution and decay in our region. The contradictions between the world monopoly and monopoly groups are in full focus. The same is true for the contradictions between imperialist and imperialist groups. The world monopolies and monopoly groups are in a similar competition with the international monopolies and monopoly groups around the regional markets, as well as the rich oil and gas sources. On the one hand there is an handful of bourgeois, modern aristocrats, modern usurer money barons of the region with their henchmen, the ruling classes sitting on the big fossil fuels of the world, on the other side is the poor people. On the one hand, imperialism, world monopolies and international monopolies plundering natural resources, on the other, there are tens of millions of poor. On the one hand, the most luxurious hotels and the vilest bourgeois life; on the other hand, chaos, war and destruction, poverty and misery. The abyss between the rich and the poor has reached incredible proportions in the region.

It is noteworthy to consider and record contradictions between the rulers of this world, imperialists, world monopolies with international monopolies and reactionary, nationalist collaborators. Again on the one side, the production of world capitalism whose veins are fed by oil and natural gas in the region has reached an extreme level. The industrial and agricultural development of the Middle East, on the other hand, is not at all well-developed. The economy is based on oil revenues and trade, it is a kind of rentier economy. It has a structure in which the contradiction between labor and capital is blended by the locally underdeveloped form and the most developed forms. In this region, the contradiction between the colonialism of the phase of imperial-



ist globalization and the peoples is very much sharpened. The wars of the region are not only internal contradictions affecting the region, but they are also consequences of extremely knotted contradictions of the phase of imperialist globalization in the region and are consequences of the struggle of the imperialist robbers for world hegemony.

In many situations, the old contradictions and struggles between three great monotheistic religions of Judaism, Christianity and Islam, which gather different languages, peoples, nations, and national communities, as well as the inner struggles, conflicts and the historical division of Islam between Shiites and Sunnis, influence all other contradictions in the re-

gion. The contradictions within Sunni Islam itself including various jihadist radical structures inspired by Sunni Islam, complete the picture.

The contradictions and enmities unfolded from the region's historically evolved social realities, such as the tribes, national communities, nations and countries are strong and widespread. As we see it from the regional international policies based on the Shiite-Sunni axis, they are quite sharp. In Egypt, there is the polarization between Muslims and Christians, in Palestine between Jews and Muslims. Although these are extensions of the ancient history, they are at the same time current problems, interests and contradictions going along with it.

The social gender conflict and division in the region and the patriarchy are implemented in the coarsest and most primitive, so even equality in front of the law is not accepted.. The Saudi dynasty is not only the center of the Islamic reactionism with its most reactionary interpretation and application of Islamic sharia, but also of the woman's

slavery. As wealth, money and luxury accumulates in the hands of masculinity, what is left to the women as their destiny is ignorance and misery, circumcision of any human rights and slavery to the same men.

All these contradictions have intensified in the form of contradiction between people and state in almost all the countries of the region. As much as for the Saudi kingdom of the Sunni sharia, this is valid also for the Islamic Republic of Iran based on the Shiite sharia, as well as for the Zionist Israel. Of course, the degree of the depth and severity of the contradictions between people and state varies depending on the country.

So, this means that it was no coinci-

dence when Mohamed Bouazizi's protest in December 2010 in Tunisia, in which he set himself on fire, turned into a wildfire throughout the Middle East. If his flames had not been, another fire would have pulled the trigger of the regional revolution.

Undoubtedly, the Palestinian resistance, and especially the national liberation struggle in Kurdistan, were preserving their position as the leading revolutionary centers of the region, but this was now implying to a new historical phase; it was the the regional revolution that has begun. Rojava became a tangible reality, attracted the revolutionary Kurdistan to its magnetic sphere and thus tied itself firmly to the regional revolution. Kurdish people stepped up to the leading position of the peoples of the region.

The fire of Bouazizi have inflamed in the Mediterranean Africa and the Middle East. Including Libya, Egypt, Jordan, Bahrain, Saudi Arabia, Iraq, Yemen, Syria, it has spread throughout the Arab territory. It has extended all the way to Kurdistan and Turkey. Its influence was also seen in Iran.

These popular uprisings was the outcome of a maturity that the regional revolutionary situation had reached.

The regional revolution has overthrown some despots but has not achieved its goal. Its most advanced gain as a popular-revolutionary power has been achieved in Rojava, Kurdistan. Bouazizi's fire converted the faulted lines of the Middle East imminent to crack down. Conditions of chaos, war and revolution are de-facto abolishing the borders of the first imperialist war of division.

What is questioned and what can no longer stand on its feet is the imperialist order that has ruled the region for 100 years. The imperialist world order is in crisis in the region. It can no longer control the region and can not reign with old means. Even the collaborative bureaucratic and despotic regimes charged by imperialist colonialism to get the consent of the people can not fulfill their function. The collaborating ruling classes can no longer reign with the old forms of administration.

The imperialist colonialists and their regional pillars, the collaborating classes, can not provide any other way out than chaos and war. What the historical reality of Bouazizi's action has been, that the peoples of the



region no longer bow and do not want to live as they did before. The peoples of the region have gone into insurrection, destroying the collaborative despots and calling the will of a free, honorable new life into the world.

After the imperialist Ottoman Empire, the Middle East was re-designed and Kurdistan was divided into four. Today's borders over divided Kurdistan have become a great revolutionary volcano, threatening the imperialist order in the region and the despotic, reactionary, nationalist dictatorships. In the last decades of the

twentieth century, there were major struggles in the south, east and north of the Kurdistan. The most advanced level and the most wonderful work of the regional revolution and the Kurdistan revolution became the revolution of Rojava, Western Kurdistan. As being a direct popular organization itself standing for the equality women and having not a predominant but pluralistic and democratically coherent approach towards the issues of language and national communities, the Rojava revolution builds up a popular democratic power. The imperialists and their supports have nothing to offer the region but war and chaos, whereas Rojava has proved to be the revolutionary choice of the people. The Kurdish people, who were expelled from the history at the beginning of the last century, are now breaking the colonial yoke and fighting for their self-realization.

They are in this battle in a time of chaos and wars in the Middle East, history has thrown them forward and put them in a position to march before the peoples of the region and the world. One does not know how long our

Kurdish people will be able to walk in this position. The law of uneven development persists. In a revolutionary way, the revolution of Kurdistan carries its unresolved problems to Turkey, and a second revolutionary front in the west part of Turkey is increasingly coming into focus.

The revolutionary push in Turkey, the building of a second revolutionary front, the great success of the Kurdistan Revolution, the united revolution of the peoples of Anatolia and Mesopotamia will open the door to a unified revolution for humanity.

Democratic Regional Federations

Engels Understanding of Federations And Local Governments

In the Erfurt program, Engels has stated that, with the exception of two forms, federal republics or confederations were wrong. One of these exceptions is the following:

"In the gigantic territory of the United States, the federal republic is still, on the whole, a necessity, although in the Eastern states it is already becoming a hindrance."⁸

Switzerland is also a federal republic, but according to Engels, this quality does not stem from a necessity or a progress, but rather because "Switzerland is content to be a purely passive member of the European state system."⁹, this situation of it was condoned.

Thus, according to Engels, a federal republic; a) might be a compulsion for a state covering large lands, b) could be a useful method in solving national questions. Other than the exceptions above, Engels saw the bourgeois state as a historical progress. He considers the federal state as a sub-level of the transition to the bourgeois state. He pointed out that different criminal laws and civil structures of each canton of each federal state are not progresses, but a remnant of the feudal past. For this reason, he stated that a federal solution for Germany would

be "an enormous step backward".¹⁰ Germany was neither too large to govern centrally, nor was there more than one nation, unlike in England. A bourgeois revolution from above established the central bourgeois state. Therefore, Germany should not be divided again into small feudal states, but the bourgeoisie must be overthrown to democratize the state. That's exactly what Engels meant with his words, "in my view, the proletariat can only use the form of the one and indivisible republic."¹¹



Moving on from Engels' regarding the bourgeois centralist state as a progress compared to feudal disintegration, claiming that Marxists defend a bourgeois centralist state system, and are on the side of "the one and indivisible republic" is just ridiculous. Engels did not defend the one and indivisible bourgeois republic. He discussed in what form the proletariat can benefit from this republic. Instead of regressing "the revolution from above" like in Germany to feudal disintegration, he proposed to complete it with "a movement from below" with a democratic revolution. He formulates this proposal clearly: "Complete self-government in the provinces, districts and com-

munes through officials elected by universal suffrage. The abolition of all local and provincial authorities appointed by the state."¹² In Engels' central republic, all local and provincial authorities appointed by the state are abolished and replaced by the elected attendants from below. This is the central unity of the communes or cantons, which are formed on the basis of democratic self-government. This is what Engels meant by "the movement from below". When he was saying "from 1792 to 1799 each

French department, each commune, enjoyed complete self-government on the American model, and this is what we too must have."¹³, he put the issue very clearly, leaving no space for discussion.

Lenin's Approach

Lenin draws the following conclusion from Engels views:

"It is extremely important to note that Engels, armed with facts, disproved by a most precise example the prejudice which is very widespread, particularly among petty-bourgeois democrats, that a federal republic necessarily means a greater amount of freedom than a centralized republic. This is wrong. It is disproved by the facts cited by Engels regarding the centralized French Republic of 1792-98 and the federal Swiss Republic. The really democratic centralized republic gave more freedom than the federal republic. In other words, the greatest amount of local,

8"Critique of the 1891 Social Democrat Programme Proposal", Engels, Progress Publishers, Marxists Internet Archive (marxists.org)

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regional, and other freedom known in history was accorded by a centralized and not a federal republic.”¹⁴

As you can see, the discussion here is about which form is more democratic. Like Engels, Lenin also puts to the fore a democratic centralized state form based on local self-government of communes.

In the end, Lenin considers the federal republic as an exception, a form of “transition from monarchy to centralized republic”.

“Approaching the matter from the standpoint of the proletariat and the proletarian revolution, Engels, like Marx, upheld democratic centralism, the republic—one and indivisible. He regarded the federal republic either as an exception and a hindrance to development, or as a transition from a monarchy to a centralized republic, as a “step forward” under certain special conditions. And among these special conditions, he puts the national question to the fore.”¹⁵

Later, Lenin changes this view, because he had not taken into account the new conditions of the period of imperialism while discussing the issue in *The State and Revolution*. The era of capitalism of free competition, in which Marx and Engels lived, was over, and in its place came the stage of imperialism. New conditions require new types of solutions. The solution forms of the conditions of yesterday, are not valid in the new conditions. Lenin acts exactly according to this reality.

Along with imperialism, two major changes have occurred in connection with our subject:

1) As capitalist imperialist colonialism has become a world system, national questions have become not an exception, but a generalized issue. From the Balkans to India, from the Middle East to Africa and Latin America, federations have been brought to agenda as a solution to national questions. Instead of small bourgeois states strangling each other, a voluntary and equal unity

with a federation model was representing a real step forward not only for the oppressed peoples, but also for the proletariat. For example, the Bulgarian Communists had expressed this view even in 1910's. In the age of imperialism, a “one and indivisible bourgeois” republic alone no longer meant a historical progress. On contrary, under the conditions where national questions have become a worldwide phenomenon due to imperialist colonialism, a “one and indivisible republic” results in nothing but the oppression of other nations by the dominant nation.

Lenin corrects his previous view taking into account the imperialism age as follows:

“Federation is a transitional form to the complete unity of the working people of different nations. The feasibility of federation has already been demonstrated in practice both by the relations between the R.S.F.S.R. and other Soviet Republics (the Hungarian, Finnish 52 and Latvian 53 in the past, and the Azerbaijan and Ukrainian at present), and by the relations within the R.S.F.S.R. in respect of nationalities which formerly enjoyed neither statehood nor autonomy (i.e., the Bashkir and Tatar autonomous republics in the R.S.F.S.R., founded in 1919 and 1920 respectively).”¹⁶

As can be seen, federation have no longer been a “transition from monarchy to centralized republic”, but turned into a “transitional form to the complete unity of the working people of different nations”. In other words, it has extended beyond being a bourgeois solution to the national questions and become a real laboring solution.

2) Capitalist imperialism has created a world market that has merged into one another. This was also a new phenomenon. The proletariat had to take this phenomenon into account. The proletariat had to put forth federative units based on a voluntary equal unity as a transition form against the national economies, which were

linked by imperialism from the weakest to the strongest. This should be an intermediate form of the goal of a single world economy under the leadership of the proletariat. Lenin describes this new reality in this way:

“In recognizing that federation is a transitional form to complete unity, it is necessary to strive for ever closer federal unity, bearing in mind, first, that the Soviet republics, surrounded as they are by the imperialist powers of the whole world—which from the military standpoint are immeasurably stronger—cannot possibly continue to exist without the closest alliance; second, that a close economic alliance between the Soviet republics is necessary, otherwise the productive forces which have been ruined by imperialism cannot be restored and the well-being of the working people cannot be ensured; third, that there is a tendency towards the creation of a single world economy, regulated by the proletariat of all nations as an integral whole and according to a common plan. This tendency has already revealed itself quite clearly under capitalism and is bound to be further developed and consummated under socialism.”¹⁷

The Balkan Federation Attempt

At the beginning of the 20th century, “The Balkan socialist parties raised the slogan for a democratic Balkan federation against the growing imperialist aggression. In a strong united federation, Balkan peoples could have more easily defended their freedom and independence against any aggressive moves from imperialist powers. Also, federation, including Macedonia, could have solved all the existing national questions.”¹⁸

After the October Revolution and the founding of the Communist International, the goal of a democratic Balkan federation has gained a firmer basis.

14V. I. Lenin, Collected Works, Vol. 25, p.454, Progress Publishers, (marx2-mao.com)

15Age, p.451

16V. I. Lenin, Collected Works, Vol. 31, p.146-147, Progress Publishers, (marx2mao.com)

17Age, p.147

18Central Committee Political Report delivered at the 5th Congress of Bulgaria Worker's Party (Communist), Georgi Dimitrov

After the Second Re-division War, people's republics were formed in the Balkans, which allowed the Bulgarian Communists a step towards a Balkan federation that they had expressed at the beginning of the century. Yugoslavia and Bulgaria have made a preliminary arrangement for the establishment of a South Slavic Federation. Two years after the necessary steps have taken for the infrastructure required for the federation, Yugoslavia, first, postponed the arrangement of founding the federation, then laid it on the egg and in the end, they completely abandoned the project.

The South Slavic Federation could have become a Balkan federation and its closest target would have been exactly that. The bourgeois nationalist path taken by Yugoslavia under Tito's leadership has left the efforts of a Balkan Federation in vain.

Dimitrov said: "South Slavs, sure of the support of USSR, people's democracies and world democracy forces, will be able to break the opposition of imperialists and materialize the necessary vital unity. Today, the real barrier against the South Slavic Federation...is those who betray Marxism-Leninism... Slavs' unification cause, including Macedonia, will be victorious."¹⁹

We know that this cause didn't reach victory. The efforts of the imperialists to counter this and those who betrayed Marxism-Leninism had a great deal on them. But is this enough for an explanation?

First of all, we must ask why the goal of a Balkan federation, which was raised since the beginning of the century, was limited to a South Slavic federation. Secondly, we must ask why, with the other Balkan states that

have embarked on the path of socialist construction, a unity of federal republics has not been established, even though Yugoslavia has committed treason.

It is obvious that not enough efforts were made for the federal units formulated by Lenin and adopted by the Communist International as one of the fundamental views, which were presented as an intermediate form for the transition of the socialist world republic. Although there were appropriate conditions after the Second Re-division War, there was no inclination in this direction. It would have taken steps to create federal units covering areas as vast as Eastern Europe and China. The socialist construction could be realized both in individual

or through weak units. It was obvious that no success could be achieved in this way. Ultimately, the already weak socialist bloc broke away with the revisionist deviation.

Lenin's two basic theses on the importance of federations have found appropriate opportunities in the age of imperialism, but they have not been materialized, and although a federative unity of all countries on the path of socialist construction was not formed on the first blow, just like the attempt of a South Slavic federation, inability to utilize the opportunities for regional federations, and the fact that it was not discussed enough about the issue must be recorded as a weakness of the communists.

Yesterday's Objective Obstacles And Today's Objective Possibilities

One can say that the weakness of the proletariat and the preponderance of peasants in the countries where the revolution is realized has led to the tendency that national development has outweighed the federation idea.

Likewise, the revolutions of some nations for independence have inspired them to start socialist construction on a national state basis and this situation was even declared to be an ideological stance which "roasts in its own oil and paves its own way". Undoubtedly, this objective reality has a part in not paying enough attention to building federations and confederative units. But that does not mean that the communists must surrender to this objectivity. Federation-type units are intermediate forms for the transition of a united, single socialist construction state, which corresponds to that objective realities exactly. Regional federations were well possible. As a result, different nations would have their own state as



countries, and as formulated by Lenin through federative units, these countries would have a minimal basis for a common economic sector consisting of the various parts of the socialist bloc, and form a minimum ground for common planning of production. More importantly, the socialists have not been able to form strong units against the capitalists who have gathered behind and around US imperialism to limit the impact of socialist construction on ideological, political, and social issues. As a result of the unity of the capitalists, the social productive force of labor increased in these countries, but the countries on the path of socialist construction have attempted to oppose the capitalist imperialist encirclement, either isolated

¹⁹Age

well as the possibility of unified development, which would allow them to lift capitalist blockade and attacks. The objective obstacles of that time are nearly abolished today. The petty bourgeoisie and the working peasants, the social mainstay of the nationalist idea within the working people, are subject to a large expropriation attack and are dissolving day by day. Even if the proletariat objectively has an international class character, it was under pressure of national development before the stage of imperialist globalization. Because the level of capitalist development had not yet exhausted all the opportunities of the national state. We can say that this is completed with imperialist globalization. The existence of a integrated world market is the main proof of this.

The nation state is not an economic but a political necessity for the bourgeoisie. The nation state is a necessary means to secure benefits over the world market and to keep the working class trapped. For this reason, there were earlier objective conditions for the proletariat, under the influence of nationstatism, to be the remnant of bourgeois ideology. Today we can not speak of such objectivity.

On the other hand, a very large part of the world nations have gathered the experience of an independent state in capitalism. At the stage of imperialist globalization, it became clear that this independence, regardless of its point of view, is not in the interests of the working people. The working class in the imperialist countries was formerly able to take its share of the plundering of the imperialist bourgeoisie. This is the most important reason why the proletariat there clung to the bourgeois nation and nation-state. This reason is no longer present. Instead of the "prosperity society" of yesterday, the unemployment and impoverishment has come. The "welfare state" was re-

placed by economic and political laws of attack. The working class of countries dependent on imperialism has also set itself one of its main goals, to throw imperialist capital out of the country and start a national development. In the state of imperialist globalization, the dependent countries became financial-economic colonies. Production, trade and finance are largely under the control and direction of world monopolies. National markets are tied to the world market. At such a stage, there are no conditions for national development on the bourgeois road. In addition, these countries can be exposed to an economic disaster if these monopolies are thrown out. The definitive only way out is the beginning of socialist construction, but in the long



run that can't succeed, if these countries stay alone on their own. Only by establishing regional units, one can raise the productivity of social production of labor to a higher level than in capitalism and increase the war against imperialist globalization.

In the light of these objective realities, we can once again look at Lenin's theses in this regard.

The Importance of Federative Units in the Stage of Imperialist Globalization

Are the two distinctive features, that Lenin has mentioned in connection with the imperialist stage, still valid today?

1) Lenin said, "*Federation is a transitional form to the complete unity of the working people of different na-*

tions." Here, what is actually mentioned is the unity of different nations based on complete equality of rights within a certain state boundaries. In states where national questions have not yet been resolved, this solution is still valid. The Kurdish question in Turkey or the Tamil question in Sri Lanka can be solved through this path.

In the world of imperialist globalization, the need for democratic federations goes beyond that. The oppressed must form opposite units, regional federations as a transitional form against the hegemony of the imperialist world monopolies and their political representatives, the imperialist states and their native collaborators.

In the stage of imperialist globalization, the contradiction between labor and capital, as well as between state and people all over the world, has a decisive position. The places where these two contradictions are most sharpened are the regions where imperialist plundering and hegemony are intensified. These contradictions spark revolutionary explosions. These explosions are rapidly

gaining regional quality. Democratic popular powers that arise from these revolutionary explosions quickly have to form regional units to crush imperialist interference and blockade. On the other hand, the imperialists and their collaborators are widening religious, confessional, denominational, tribal and national divisions and conflicts in order to avoid the upheavals that have arisen due to the deep inequalities and repressions of reactionary fascist states caused by imperialist globalization to regain control. Democratic federations on a regional scale represent a real progress in overcoming these divisions and conflicts. In the Middle East, the Caucasus, the Balkans, Saharan Africa and Latin America, as well as some regions of Asia, re-

gional democratic federations can be a transitional stage for even more advanced units.

2) Lenin explained that the tendency of a single world economy is clearly manifesting itself in the imperialist stage of capitalism. The proletariat as a whole must also be in the "tendency to create a single world economy organized according to a common plan and as a whole composed of parts." He saw the federation as an intermediate on the way to a complete unity. In the former case, the need for a federation is political. In this second case, the federation is an economic necessity. The proletariat is opposed to the tendency of capitalism to create a world market made up of parts, but stands out with the tendency of creating a world market that is again divided into parts, but this time according to a common plan.

At the imperialist globalization stage of imperialism, the tendency of a world economy consisting of parts has replaced with the tendency of an integrated world economy. Another main tendency of imperialist globalization is the increasing violent competition for regional hegemony.

Against an integrated world market on the one hand, and the tendency of creating regional hegemonies on the other, the proletariat can compete with the goal of a socialist world economy and regional economic and political hegemonies. It is obvious that it can only be succeeded by smashing bourgeois political powers in the individual countries. Nonetheless, in comparison to units of states,

broader regional units are needed for the revolutionary democratic regimes to withstand, and to advance to a socialist world economy throughout this process. Democratic or socialist regional federations as transitional forms may be appropriate political forms for regional units.

Today, from the beginning, the regional revolution must find room in the program of the proletariat and its political strategy. It is a current issue to be solved, to lead revolutions in individual countries quickly to regional revolutions and from there to the goal of a world revolution. While in the Arab territories alone the overthrow of some despotic dictators had the effect of a sudden earthquake in the region, these events inspired the up-

cratic Middle East federation would have shaken imperialist globalization, the international financial oligarchy. It should also not be hard to imagine how such a revolutionary-democratic regional federation would inspire the oppressed people of the world for the construction of revolutionary-democratic regional federations all over the world.

Since there is an integrated world market and the world is divided into regional hegemonic areas on this basis, riots in one place can quickly spread to other places and regionalize, after which they lead the waves of a world revolution, which is the meaning of the matter. This foundation was created by the capital with own hand. This foundation is its own grave.

Nobody should think that the world bourgeoisie is unaware of this. While the horizon of the bourgeoisie has long since overcome national boundaries and become on a worldwide scale, the bourgeoisie tries to confine the horizons of the workers and the oppressed to the narrowest limits. Civil-societism, as a means to turn away from the goal of political power, and nation-statism which

leads to the inability to seize the possibilities of regional revolutions and the world revolution are two phenomena of this narrowed, in other words, restraint horizon. This is a direct ideological attack of the bourgeoisie. For this reason, the struggle for regional democratic and socialist federations is also an ideological counter-offensive of the working class and the oppressed.



risings of indignant against capitalism from Greece via Spain to America. Of course, the revolutionary phase in the region, which started in Tunisia, reached Syria and, with the Gezi-June uprising, also harnessed Turkey, would have been crowned with revolutionary powers. In such a situation a Democratic Federation of the Middle East could have been founded. It is not hard to imagine how strongly a revolutionary-demo-

6. Working with A Plan and A Goal

You are always in bustle, you have hardly have time to breathe, you are in a situation like burning the candle at both ends. Yet, despite all this hustle and nonstop work, you can't get the success you want and can't achieve the productivity you expect. You can't catch up with the pace of the political developments, you are confused about how to react to which developments and you are exhausted running from one action to another! Is that so?

Like a ship lost her route, are you heading wherever the tides and wind brandish you, do you find yourself dealing with whatever the issue knocks your door?

Do you find yourself struggling with an unexpected technical problem instead of being prepared for a meeting which will play an important role in political and organizational work?

Do you catch yourself dealing with daily chores suddenly instead of participating an important educational work?

Is the feeling of failure, unproductiveness and dissatisfaction not letting you go even though you are always on the move and you put an intense effort?

If you don't stick to a goal and you are lack of a plan, then working hard, being in a constant bustle don't give any revolutionary results. It is very normal that an aimless, horizonless, visionless praxis would create such

that feelings and thoughts. There is no doubt that you act completely with revolutionary intentions. The revolutionary character of the content of your actions is crystal clear. However, like any other unplanned action and tendency which do not stick to a goal, your praxis as well becomes doomed to affect as a narrow practitioner.



Because it is like this, it is an energy-wasting mode which develops neither the individual nor the action. The deadlock resulted by this narrow practitioner mode awakes a feeling of repetition in the cadres and generates an image of 'failure' and 'incapability'.

Although the narrow practitioner mode of working is actually a projection of the individual and his/her action, it all starts in the mind. Despite the dimensions regarding changing the external conditions surrounding the individual and the organization, essentially, a mentality change is a must for a radical rupture.

Without creating a transformation in the essence of the viewpoint, no matter how deeply the external conditions and the basis producing the narrow practitioners constantly are changed, the same horizonless bustle continues. As long as the narrow practitioner mode is not defeated in the mind, even if the conditions are changed, the individual continues to carry the same mentality to every field he/she goes.

Working with A Plan and Goal is the Antidote of the Mode of Narrow Practitioner

Working with a plan and goal is one of the main factors conditioning the revolutionary productivity and success. The success of the organizational leadership and of each cadres is directly dependent

on settling and developing the mode of working with a plan and goal.

Working with a plan and goal is the claim of winning the future on contrary to the narrow practitioner mode which actually focuses on saving the day.

What should we understand from working with a plan and goal and what should we be careful about?

Above all, it is needed to believe the necessity and benefit of working with a plan and goal. As the mental clarity brings the self-control of the individual, an opposite situation

brings the surrendering the conditions quickly. We can put our central point as this: 'the worst plan is better than no plan'. Without considering whether it is good or bad, if you have a plan, this means you know what you want and where you want to reach. Yet, if you don't have any kind of plan, if you are lack of clarity about goals, you either join the plans of others or flow towards wherever the life drags you. Like a tiny branch dropped on the river, you keep rolling tied to the direction of the water and the speed of the wind.

Being dragged, as a matter of fact, conditions quitting from being a subject and becoming an object.

You have to have a plan no matter what. This plan may carry some holes, some missing points, etc. Holes and missing points can be recovered in the movement of the political work and in the richness of life and the organizational work. As long as we have a plan we believe to get results.

We must have daily, weekly, monthly, six-monthly plans.

From where to where do we want to reach in six months, what goals do we want to achieve?

How many books do you plan to read?

What do we put ahead of us to develop our writing skills? How many writings do we plan to write in a month?

In which educational works are we going to participate in a week? In our organizational unit, how many meetings will we realize in fifteen days? With which comrades are we going to make bilateral meetings in a one-week time and what will be the content of these meetings?

Do we have a concrete idea how we spend one day? Starting from the time we wake up, to the hours we read, including the time of each of our rendezvous, technical practical works, etc., do we have concrete plan for all of these?

More questions can be enumerated depending on the tasks we undertake

or the genuineness of the field we work or our experiences, etc. What is important here is having daily, weekly, monthly, six-monthly, yearly plans in the context of our revolutionary tasks.

We need to have a mechanism, a method of a self-control for our plans in order not to let any kind of spontaneity. This is necessary to check the harmony of our praxis with our plans and to see the results we reach. Such a control activity lays bare the harmony and the conflicts between our plans and praxis, and is important in terms of consistency and a continuity of will.



Order of Priorities

Another necessity as important as making plans and the quality of planned working, is defining the priorities correctly. Ordering priorities is a sign of the clarity of goals. And clarity of goals conditions locking on the target. Do we have to solve an organizational problem in this week? Then, that organizational problem is our first priority in weekly planning. Is some organizational issue not tolerable with the time? It must get the value it deserves in our priority order.

Order of the priorities ensures to separate what is essential and what is

subsidiary, what is time-tolerant and what is urgent, and provides us to use our energy efficiently.

While making a plan, we must keep a good balance between realism and the claim. Those plans detached of the reality of cadres and organization, exaggerated, claiming to be perfect are not only fail to be carried out, but at the same time, they cause demoralization and loss of motivation. For this reason, the correctness is not rated with its perfection, but its applicability. Of course, it has nothing to do with legitimizing the claimlessness in the name of 'realist' plans. The plans must be in a mode which is appropriate to the realities of the cadre and organization and also challenges this reality. The path for development opens as much as this balance is held.

Making daily, weekly, monthly plans is important as they show a claim and tendency, but clearly, what has the main importance is the determination of realizing the declared plans. Because making plans and defining goals are not so difficult. What is difficult is developing a will to realize the plans. Revolutionary will and determination put forth in bringing plans to life is the insurance of the success of them. For instance, it is not that much rare among us, coming up with 'perfect' plans almost every week or every month with a claim saying "This time, I will realize them all" but then forget all those at one side.

Even, it is known the existence of those who spend incredible times on writing what they will do hour by hour, day by day, yet leaving there instantly without even ink dries out. Clearly, it is nothing but the loss of credibility of words. And it does not result in anything but revolutionary verbalism.

We may have a clear mindset in both making plans and being loyal to these plans and may perform a serious will of their application. But, despite all these, the speed and the course of political developments or other emerging organizational problems

may cause us to make compulsory changes in our plans. Certainly, we will not think mechanically but quickly organize ourselves or the organizational unit that we belong according to the developments. Giving quick reflexes to the new developments, responding to the need of the processes are as important as the uninterruptedness of the plans. Our main criteria here is not deviating from our main target and not detaching from the goal. If we are clear on this issue, momentary disruptions in our plans or changes will not be decisive and we will not fall into any kind of spontaneity in the process management.

***We are not Discussing A
Technical-Practical Issue, No!***

Both the narrow practitioner mode and working with a plan and goal fall onto an ideological stance. As the cadres of a party which are depicting the actuality of the revolution all the time and organize their existence and opportunities according to this reality, we are talking about a completely ideological field.

Defined with the different tones and types of horizonlessness and aimlessness, the narrow practitioner mode cannot go beyond saving the moment, saving the day and it creates a cadre type who cannot escape from the claws of revolutionary spontaneity.

Working with a plan and goal, on the other hand, ensures the strategical viewpoint and non-detachment from

the goal and creates cadres who adapt their actions and mode of thinking according to this viewpoint.

The question is this; will we let our energy or even our revolutionariness be consumed inside the gears of the narrow practitioner mode of working or will we show a will to manage our individual development or the development of the organizational unit we take place in a revolutionary mode by insisting on working with a plan and goal?

As a revolutionary cadre, it should be clear which way must be followed. Beyond that? What is beyond is the richness of the revolutionary activity and the experience we get in the struggle.



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