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MARXIST LENINIST COMMUNIST PARTY
Turkey/Northern Kurdistan

ABOUT THE MEMORANDUM OF APRIL 27 AND THE FOLLOWING DEVELOPMENTS*

The fascist dictatorship's new concept of denial and annihilation that appeared with the "Anti-terror law" (TMY) launched in June 2006 has two aims: The first aim is to annihilate the Kurdish national movement. The second aim is to suppress and make the movement for freedom, democracy and socialism that has developed in the West^[1] ineffective.

The relations between the institutions in the state's high ranks have lately come to a dead-end. The polarisation between the president and the chief of the general staff on the one hand as well as the prime minister and the head of parliament on the other hand has deepened. This "dogfight", which is carried out in the state's high ranks, actually displays the conflict between the opposing sides of the bourgeoisie. Using the presidential elections this conflict has been continued between the parties in form of a verbal duel which became more and more violent. The bourgeoisie and the whole regime forces concentrated themselves on the presidential elections. It is clear that this election should redefine the balance of power. This is one side of the question.

The other side of the question is about the fascist dictatorship that did not get the results by its new game aiming at suppressing and annihilating the revolutionary and patriotic movement^[2] in Turkey and Northern Kurdistan.

The fascist dictatorship's new concept of denial and annihilation that appeared with the "Anti-terror law"

(TMY) launched in June 2006 has two aims: The first aim is to annihilate the Kurdish national movement. The second aim is to suppress and make the movement for freedom, democracy and socialism that has developed in the West ineffective.

In some way the regime has achieved some "victories" since the law was introduced. However, the regime understood that with this law it will not get any result within a short time. Because of the law applied neither the Kurdish national movement, nor the revolutionary and communist forces in the West have regressed, surrendered or given up due to the state's oppression. Likewise, the dictatorship did not get any results from the attacks on September 8-10 and September 21, it remained an observer of the militancy and mass activities of the March-May period (March 8, Newroz, April 13, Mayday).

Since 28 February 1997 the army that considered itself responsible for the continued existence of the state declared its dissatisfaction with the developments at the patriotic and revolutionary front, first on April 12 using harsh words.

* This article was written in May 2007.

[1] "West" means "West of Turkey"- The East and South-eastern part of the official Turkish Republic is in fact Northern Kurdistan. However, the existence of the Kurdish nation and Northern Kurdistan are totally denied by the Turkish state. We use this phrase to distinguish the Turkish land and the colonised Kurdish land.

[2] Patriotic movement is the Kurdish national liberation movement.

At a press conference at the general staff's headquarters on 12 April 2007, where also the commanding officers of the army were present, chief of general staff Y.Buyukanit emphasized some points that would later become part of the memorandum on April 27:

He mentioned the "PKK terror", "a separatist movement based on ethnic nationalism... with a political aim". He claimed that "nationalism in Turkey is nationalism of Ataturk, patriotism" and "the Constitution of the Turkish Republic (...) covers all people living in this geography at once", that there is "no ethnical discrimination"; that "a huge campaign is organised against the Turkish Armed Forces that defends the Ataturk system of thought", that "the armed forces are being attacked through different means (...) by the enemies of Ataturk and the Republic who have entered secretly into the Turkish Armed Forces as well as into every post of the state" and by this the aim would be "to discredit this holy organisation."

Yet after the AKP had formed the government on its own, these "unarmed forces" had started to put the army into the fore again and to make plans to overthrow the AKP government with their shouting "Our homeland is taken away from us" and that the regime's permanent existence is in danger.

He also expressed the following on the political will concerning the presidential elections and cross-border operations:

The presidential elections:

"...The president elected is also the commander-in-chief of the Turkish Armed Forces. In this way the president would be of direct interest to the Turkish Armed Forces. I want to note that I believe that a president will be elected to this position who is bound not only in words but in fact to the main values of the Republic, to the ideal of secular, democratic and social state governed by the rule of law and to the unitary structure of the state and who shows this with his acts. I hope this both as a citizen and a member of the Turkish Armed Forces. (...) The Congress is the one to decide it."

The political will and the question on the operation:

"...Is there a need for an operation in Northern Iraq? Yes, there is. For two reasons: Firstly, (...) will it be useful? Yes, it will. The second point is (...) There must be a political decision for a cross-border operation. The Turkish Armed Forces have more power than needed to realise these operations if they get this duty on the legal basis."

Of the memorandum of April 27:

"It is observed whether some groups that constantly strive to corrode the main values and first of all secularism of the State of the Turkish Republic have increased their effort recently."

Those who are involved in these activities do not hesitate to use the holy religious feelings of our people, they try to dissimulate their real aim by hiding these efforts that have turned into an open challenging of the state behind their religious vestment."

"The question that has come to the fore during the presidential election period has been centralised on the discussion of secularism in the last days. This situation is watched by the Turkish Armed Forces with anxiousness. It shouldn't be forgotten that the Turkish Armed Forces are a side in these discussions and are a staunch defender of secularism. Furthermore, the Turkish Armed Forces are against these discussions and the negative comments and will display their position and attitudes openly and strictly when necessary. No one should have any doubt on this."

Actually, the memorandum of April 27 is a result. The statement of April 12 must be considered as the real memorandum. The understandings of both the memorandum of April 27 and the statement of April 12 are conveyed in another form. It is clear that the army is quite dissatisfied with many things and has said what it had to say considering the political atmosphere appropriate. Suddenly it has changed the political life in Turkey. Now all parts of the Turkish bourgeoisie and in addition the EU have once more understood that politics in Turkey do not work without the army. According to these gentlemen, a big part of the Constitution which is a product of the fascist coup of 12 September 1980, had been changed to adapt to the EU. The interference of the army into politics could not be stopped totally, but was limited to an acceptable level. So the army did not have the chance to realise a coup, interfere or announce a memorandum. And, the general secretary of the National Security Council (MGK) was no longer a soldier but a civilian. However, with the memorandum of February 28, as well as its statement on April 12 and the mem-

orandum of April 27, the army showed that it has the power and talent to realise a "post-modern" coup even without tanks and guns.

By re-organising the government on February 28 1997, the army guaranteed the permanent existence of the regime for itself. In the following period the army had more or less retired to their barracks, in terms of active intervention in the politics the way they do today. During this period, the army got the understanding that the "non-governmental organisations" that are defined as "disarmed forces" were a very important means for realising the coup and announcing the memorandum. The rallies, which were started on April 14 in Ankara and were continued in Istanbul, Manisa, Izmir and Samsun and which were joined by millions of people, show openly to what extent the army has understood the importance of the "unarmed forces".

When the statement of April 12 was made, some organisations, especially those headed by retired generals, had already planned the above named rallies. From liberals to civil fascists, bureaucrats to universities and NGOs, all forces that were against the AKP and in favour of a "secular" Turkey were in fact mobilised by the NGOs that follow the army strictly. Yet after the AKP had formed the government on its own, these "unarmed forces" had started to put the army into the fore again and to make plans to overthrow the AKP government with their shouting "Our homeland is taken away from us" and that the regime's permanent existence is in danger.

The statement of April 12 is the starting point for the attempts to overthrow the government. It is clear that the statement, as explained above, once again proclaims war against the Kurdish national movement and the denial and annihilation policy is once again mentioned. The statement fulminated against the EU accusing it to claim that there are minorities in Turkey, which, according to the army, do not exist. It contains self-criticism towards the USA for the cancellation of the decree^[3], and it also talks about the fight to be continued against political Islam aiming at the AKP, about what kind of a president must be elected, about the army's prestige, the operation in Southern Kurdistan and the political will required for this.

The ideas that are presented in the memorandum of April 27 and the statement of April 12 have two cer-

tain crucial points stressed: "The struggle on the basis of defending the current secular understanding against political Islam as well as focusing on the hostility against the Kurdish national movement and the revolutionary struggle.

The dog fight between the cliques of the bourgeoisie or the struggle to overthrow the government found its expression in the understanding that was described in the memorandum of April 27:

"It is observed that some circles who have been carrying out endless effort to disturb fundamental values



Yasar Buyukanit, Chief of the General Staff

of the state of the Republic of Turkey, especially secularism, have escalated their efforts recently" and "Those who carry out the mentioned activities which have turned into an open challenge against the state, do not refrain from exploiting the holy religious feelings of our people, and they try to hide their real aims under the guise of religion."

Related to this, the struggle to guarantee the permanent existence of the regime:

"The main problem that has been on the agenda during the period of the presidential elections has been

[3]The decree of sending troops to Iraq in response to the demand of the USA. This decree came to the agenda of the National Congress on 1 March 2003 and it was not approved there as an achievement of the pressure formed by one hundred thousand people who made a huge rally outside the congress-tn.

concentrated on the discussion of secularism in the last days. This situation is being watched by the Turkish Armed Forces with anxiousness. It shouldn't be forgotten that the Turkish Armed Forces are a party in these discussions and the absolute defender of secularism. Furthermore, the Turkish Armed Forces are against these discussions and the negative comments and will display their position and attitudes openly and strictly whenever it is necessary. No one should have any doubts on this."

Total war against those who do not say "How happy is the one who says I am a Turk"

"To summarise, those who oppose the Republic's Great Leader Ataturk's or the concept "How happy is the one who says I am a Turk" are enemies of the



Tayyip Erdogan and Abdullah Gul

Republic of Turkey and will remain so."

"In fact...to fulfil this duty the Turkish Armed Forces have rights that are based on the law and they are strong enough to make use of these rights."

"The Turkish Armed Forces maintain their sound determination to carry out their duties stemming from laws and their loyalty to this determination is absolute." (from the memorandum of April 27)

The developments following the memorandum show that those announcing the memorandum have taken steps which lead to results for them and they are determined to apply the memorandum in course of the two basic concepts that were mentioned in it. Together with the memorandum the presidential elections were postponed officially, the parliament was virtually suspended and attacks on the Kurdish

national movement continued increasingly.

The statement "All those who do not say "How happy is the one who says I am a Turk" are and will remain our enemies" is an open war declaration against the Kurdish people and progressive, revolutionary and all other groups; it is the concept of denial and annihilation, oppression and limitation within the borders wanted by the bourgeoisie that is expressed in the Anti-terror law. The army has declared all those who do not support the official ideology as enemies.

The presidential elections were a good opportunity used for the realisation of the memorandum of April 27 and with the memorandum that was announced in the middle of the night after the first round of the elections on April 27 the fight between the ruling class` cliques started as "the Cankaya^[4] wars".

In Turkey's history of coups and memorandums, the AKP government was first to have the courage to give the army an answer. Prime Minister Erdogan said in a statement on the memorandum: "The country's political structure experiences catastrophes from time to time."; "Our nation has not given a chance to time-servers who expect catastrophes and lead to disasters and will not do so." After the meeting of the ministers` council the spokesman of the government Cemil Cicek expressed his determination by saying: "The use of an expression by the chief of general staff, an institution affiliated to the prime minister, against the government cannot be accepted within a democratic constitutional state." By this, he showed that his determination to stand up against the army. Cicek also said that he finds the date and time of the announcement of the memorandum appropriate and explained that the memorandum "appearing during this tender period while discussions on the constitution are made must be considered as an initiative to impact the holy judiciary".

With the demagogy of "secularism is in danger" the army, that had influenced millions of people, as the above named rallies showed, and tried to establish a legal basis for the memorandum, became active to hinder that it loses Cankaya, which it considered as the last stronghold of "secularism", the president's institution, and to use it as a means for the interference into politics. In the end, it got the result it wanted to have by influencing the Constitutional Court and entered the early general election period.

Although it was not discussed in the presidential elections before, the CHP (Republican People's Party), that this time has acted in line with the army to pre-

[4] Cankaya is the residence of the President of the Republic.

vent the election of someone not wanted by the army and to keep Cankaya as a political post, put its view on the agenda at the Constitutional Court that there must be at least 367 deputies of the parliament present to elect the president. The Constitutional Court decided that 367 deputies are the quorum to realise the elections. The Constitutional Court made a political decision and opened the "legal" path for the army, the CHP and the "disarmed forces" to achieve their aim with the memorandum.

After these developments Prime Minister Erdogan had to declare that the early elections were a "need". Erdogan started an attack from his own front and demanded that the president should be elected by the people, that the president could be chosen twice one time after another and that his office should be limited with 5 years every time. He said: *"We are in favour of deputy elections every four years."*

Erdogan, who said that they will not bow in front of the general staff but act as they consider it appropriate, made the following statement: *"We have made our call and with this call we will start this march. During this march (for changes of the constitution) we also count a referendum."*

The first answer to Erdogan's statement was given by CHP president D. Baykal saying *"The president cannot be elected by the people"*. ANAP president Mumcu declared instead that they will support the proposal. (The AKP and ANAP's share of the votes are sufficient for changes of the constitution.)

In a statement later made by Erdogan he described the Constitutional Court's decision as "a shot at democracy". Then the Constitutional Court made a statement in reply and said that Erdogan showed the Constitutional Court as a target. The Supreme Court of Appeal's former chief prosecutor Sabih Kanadoglu declared to be against Erdogan who had said after the decision of the Constitutional Court: *"We will decide on early elections" and "The president will be chosen by the people"*. The former chief prosecutor said that the parliament cannot decide on early elections while the presidential election period continues: *"The election of the president by the people is a problem of the system. The proposal on changes of the constitution also can not be realised during this period. This would be kidding. Within this period, there cannot be realised any changes."* By that, he rejected the effort of the AKP and explained his understanding: *"I am afraid to enter a new crisis"* and gave the message that he will not agree this easily with the initiative of the general staff.

The changes on the constitution in terms of the elec-

tion of the president were finally accepted with the votes of AKP and ANAP in parliament. This law will only come into force when signed by the president and Sezer is not in favour of approving such a law. However, with his declaration on May 25, president A.N.Sezer vetoed the changes on the constitution that contained the election of the president by the people and send this point back to parliament to let it be discussed once more.

The dog fight on the judiciary level is at this level

The memorandum of April 27 has openly shown how things will become and which means will be used again and to what extent. This could be seen in the Cankaya elections. During this period the fascist dictatorship experienced a crisis on the basis of the following points: The fascist dictatorship could not

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reach any achievement from its new concept, it couldn't make the revolutionary movement give up, make it move towards the post it wants and it could not oppress the Kurdish national movement. The crisis appeared in form of the fight for "secularism" and against "the danger of reaction" and triggered the struggle between the cliques of the bourgeoisie. With the interference of the army the polarisation between the bourgeoisie parties reached a new level.

The AKP, which was founded by those who declared that they had taken their lesson from February 28, departing from the fact that the internal and international conjuncture was in favour of them, and trying to liquidate the army completely from the political life, started to act in a way as if they want to become free from a nightmare.

This is clearly shown by its attitude concerning the candidate for the presidency.

Just like the other parties of the bourgeoisie, the AKP is a party that defends the interests of the international capital and realises the neo-liberal attacks. Just

like the others, this party is the enemy of the working class and labouring masses, too. It is a party that stands hostile towards the Kurdish national struggle and applies the bourgeoisie's traditional concept of denial and annihilation, just like the others. Its program is not different from the other parties' programs in terms of quality. For today, it is a bourgeois party that tries to apply the economical and political program of TUSIAD as best. Like the others, the AKP is a party that fulfils its duty to protect the interests of the imperialist masters and acts on orders of the international capital. To become free from the army's pressure, it is a party that aims at becoming a unity with the EU and tries to apply extensive reforms in this sense. The increasing number of the cadres of AKP at the state institutions and its intents to create an area of ideological hegemony in the social life bother also TUSIAD. There is no doubt that such acts and measures create an area for the social reaction, too. But TUSIAD takes all these as acceptable.

There is no doubt that the AKP is a party that corresponds to the main principles of TUSIAD and its worldview. However, its power in parliament did not give TUSIAD another chance to make the AKP apply its program. There was no other party that was strong enough to apply its program; besides the realisation of the program, the fact that there was no other party that could be the government was the real reason for the AKP and TUSIAD to act together. Both sides have their own clear interests in this ensemble: On the one hand, the AKP believes that it will get free from the army's pressure; on the other hand TUSIAD will have guaranteed the realisation of the economical program that is the expression of the interests of the local and foreign capital. As the common act because of the interests is a must, the groups in favour of the EU have done nothing else than tolerating some understandings and practices that correspond to the religious beliefs of the AKP.

The AKP trusted TUSIAD, the USA and EU. It was, somehow, supported by TUSIAD which considered it as "the lesser of two evils" and it was no obstacle in front of the native collaborationist capital and the international monopolist capital. On the contrary, it was the insurance of the success of the plans of native and foreign capital. For this reason the AKP planned that the army would no longer go beyond the limits of the present constitution and believed that they could make the candidate of their choice be elected as president. It becomes obvious that the AKP has trusted the inner and foreign forces that supported this party too much. The AKP played for

high stakes and lost -for now.

After A. Gul was declared a presidential candidate, the situation changed and the army started to talk about the regime question, how interested it is in the future of the country and that it takes a side in these elections. The loss of the last stronghold was not something that could be accepted by the army.

Cankaya is quite an important post for first of all the army and the "secular" group. This has been the fact since the foundation of the Republic. After the fascist coup in 1980, Cankaya, which was the place of the last "duty" of the commanders that were pensioned until 1989, was strengthened in its actions and was no longer just a symbolic post. From the point of view of the regime, Cankaya was somehow made a place of insurance. Just thinking of the loss of such a post is a crime for the army.

With the memorandum and leading the following period, the army threatened not only bourgeois parties, but also the society, and said "It is my will that counts". It is clear that the early general elections and the presidential elections will take place under the army's threat of realising a coup.

The EU announced to be against the memorandum. The USA did not stand against. TUSIAD, however, first criticized the memorandum openly by saying "*One must respect the decision of parliament*" and by this it showed its courage to oppose the government as well as the army. A few days later it changed its mind and declared that parliament must adjust the demands of those announcing the memorandum.

The liberals, the pro-EU forces or anyone thinking that "everything has changed completely", "democracy has come" and "the time of military interference have passed" have understood that they were totally wrong. Those who thought that the army could not act as it wants and has no power while the EU, USA and TUSIAD still exist, once more understood that they were wrong.

The army has partially reached its aim from the point of view of leading the period:

►The mass participation in the rally on April 14 played an important role for the army to announce the memorandum. This participation which was estimated at about 700,000 or 1 million encouraged the army. The rally in Istanbul played an even more important role. Following the stance of union confederations, such as DISK and KESK, who did not stand against the rally and even somehow participated, workers and labourers as well as some parts of the Turkish petty bourgeoisie also took part in the rallies. The other rallies

were crowded as well.

►The use of religion for hegemony has become the AKP`s basic policy, since it is a political Islamic conservative party. The religious radical past of the AKP cadres and the tradition they still follow today have constantly been used by, first of all, the army, as well as the "secular" group. It is also used for the polarisation of the society in terms of "secularism-Sharia". With this kind of demagogy, of a "secular Turkey" the army has made millions of people become active, such as the rallies mentioned above, have shown.

With the above mentioned rallies, the army managed to organise the "disarmed forces" and to make them go on the streets. It also put huge pressure on the AKP and the political Islamic forces. It polarised the society by forcing them to choose between standing in favour of or against secularism, or in other words, through the slogans "secularism is in danger" or "secularism against the Sharia".

►It poisoned the million of masses that were gathered together with certain slogans with more and more chauvinism and managed to create a broader basis for acting for chauvinism.

►During this period and especially at the respective rallies, the polarisation in terms of "secularism - Sharia" was carried to the society. Millions of people participated at the rallies, which was an expression that this polarisation was generalised and broad masses of workers and labourers were driven to decide on supporting one of the two bourgeois poles. Today political reaction in terms of this polarisation finds its expression on the basis of the polarisation between the army-CHP and the AKP.

►After the memorandum of April 27 the attitude of "neither Sharia nor coup" gained quite a lot of interest at the respective rallies and among the "left" groups. By this, they had shown an attitude against the Sharia, as well as the coup. Such view does not do anything other than supporting the putschists. Right, there is at least the theoretical danger of the Sharia because of the fact that the oppressed majority of the people in Turkey are Muslims. However, the most important danger nowadays is not the Sharia because of the existence of the generations that grew up under the influence of the Kemalist ideology since the foundation of the Republic. There is no doubt that there are forces that want the Sharia and fight for it in this sense, are organised and strong. But the ones that do not want the Sharia are stronger than them. As the Turkish bourgeoisie has still its mentality of "if necessary we will construct communism, too", it will be them too constructing the Sharia



*Rally organised by the "unarmed forces".
The slogan written on the banner calls the army to
launch a military coup.*

if necessary!

As the memorandum has also shown, the real obstacles in Turkey for social improvement in any form are the forces that are represented by the creators of the memorandum, which are the army and the forces led by it. There is no doubt that both of the parties meant by the expression "neither Sharia nor coups" are the enemies of the working class and labouring masses. Each party tries to pull the working class and the labouring masses to the ranks of its own hegemony policies. Doubtlessly, the alliance with one of these parties against the other is no choice. However, those who do not want to become a part of the fight between these two cliques of the ruling classes must prefer the struggle against the putschist, racist-chauvinist-fascist aggression that is on the agenda of the army to the struggle against both parties in the same way. One should not get ambushed by the slogan "neither Sharia nor coup" which is prepared through the Memorandum and should act with the consciousness that this trap was set through the Memorandum. The gravest error of the masses who participated in the meetings in Caglayan on 29 April, Canakkale and Manisa on 5 May, in Izmir and Samsun on 13 May was not to have seen this trap.

►The army has made the parties of the bourgeoisie, whom it put under pressure, enter a period of unification. The memorandum increased the polarisation on the bourgeois front. This must have been the result so that those forces that did not cooperate until now, that did not even greet each other but were not different in terms of programmatic differences faced unification and forming a union of powers: While DYP and ANAP merged quickly, the CHP and DSP declared

that they will form a "union of powers" at the elections. The polarisation on the bourgeois front will not be restricted with what has been achieved now. By these means, it is planned to limit the power of the AKP that could become the government on its own.

►The army and the CHP, use the "disarmed forces" and the masses led by them with demagogies, such as *"Everyone rejecting the understanding of the Great Founder of the Republic Ataturk 'How happy is the one who says I am a Turk!' is the enemy of the Turkish Republic and will be treated likewise", "defending the Republic", "defending secularism" and "uniting under the flag"* to stand up against the revolutionary movement and the Kurdish national movement and will continue to use them in the future.

►The army leads the most apprehensive operations in Northern Kurdistan. With ten thousands of soldiers and arms that are the product of developed technology it continues to kill without making any difference between guerrillas and civilians. However, it cannot cross the border, since the USA has not given its permission for that and the government has not shown a political will. Because of this, the memorandum of April 27 expresses at the same time an initiative to create a "political will" that follows the line of the army concerning the attacks on the Kurdish people that are also defined by *"Those who do not say that they are Turkish are our enemies"*.

►With the memorandum the army had forced the working class and the labouring masses to take a side. The society struggles to prefer either the CHP, the party of the army, or the AKP. The struggle for hegemony between these two fronts of the bourgeoisie will continue with violence. The forces behind the memorandum will continue with their planned activities to strengthen the partnership of the CHP and DSP, to make the AKP shrink and to hinder that this party will again achieve the absolute majority during the general elections.

There is no doubt that the current regime is too strong to dissolve. However, it is decayed enough to dissolve. Because of the struggle for hegemony

between the different cliques of the bourgeoisie and the fact that such a regime will only bring unemployment, pressure, plundering and massacres to the working class and labouring masses, as well as to the Kurdish nation, the regime cannot be led anymore and experiences a crisis of ruling.

The limited power of the communist vanguard and the scattered position of the forces that could unite against fascism and imperialism, to summarize the situation of the subjective factor, limit the conditions of interference into the memorandum and the political crisis. The struggle of the revolutionary movement in Turkey not giving up against the fascist attacks must be strengthened with the united revolutionary movement that has existed for the last few months.

We could not stay silent and watch the working class and labouring masses giving preference to one of the bourgeois fronts as the army is forcing and pushing them to do so. The united revolutionary movement must involve all forces that could unite against fascism and imperialism acting together. We have experienced this during the funeral of Hrant Dink and we have experienced this on Mayday. And today we face another situation where we could do this. The united revolutionary movement under conditions of early general elections means the establishment of a third front against the two fronts of the bourgeoisie. This front must be strengthened on the basis of the struggle against social and political reaction, chauvinism and militarism; the struggle for freedom and democracy, against imperialist occupation and plundering, unemployment and poverty and on the basis of the liberation struggle for the Kurdish nation. All progressive, revolutionary, patriotic forces, political parties and organisations, trade unions and mass organisations must participate in this front and unite against the fascist dictatorship and in the struggle risen from the elections following the ideas stated above. It is a need that all patriotic, democratic, antifascist, revolutionary parties and organisations come together at this front. Opportunities of such a united struggle are more likely than ever and have emerged and exist more than ever. ◀

OPPORTUNITIES FOR THE UNITED STRUGGLE IN TURKEY AND NORTHERN KURDISTAN

A period of an antifascist anti-chauvinist polarisation with the revolutionary and communist forces building their core and which comprises all the relevant progressive forces is both obligatory and possible. The struggle of the working class, the labouring masses and the oppressed Kurdish people contains these opportunities more than enough.

"The alliance of the communist movement with petty bourgeois revolutionary groups, its action units, blocks and the development of a common front are not only the question of tactics but rather strategy. It is a concrete way of realizing the main alliance of strategy. Because of this reason the communists must give the alliance with these groups the strategic value they deserve. It is the same for the united actions, as they are the concrete form of this alliance today." (Documents of the Unity Congress, p.73)

Our party, which defines the first step of the revolution as the "anti-imperialist democratic revolution" in its programme, considers the development of action units with petty bourgeoisie revolutionary groups to form blocks and common front not only as a question of tactics but of strategy, too. Considering the core of the anti-imperialist democratic revolution as winning political freedoms, in its 12 years of history our party has tried to use every opportunity to mobilise the other revolutionary parties and organisations to act together. The idea and efforts for a united struggle that have been developed since the middle of the 90ies of the last century have created positive experiences in many fields of the struggle. This idea of an organisational front led our party to the thought formulated as the construction of a

"united revolutionary leadership" or "a front of revolutionary party and organisations", and in this sense concrete plans and tendencies were developed to start moving on.

Our party does neither consider the question of constructing a united struggle and front to be its own question nor limit it with certain forces: Our party has tried to construct a freedom front that aims at the revolutionary solution in the struggle against the fascist dictatorship led mainly by the communist, revolutionary and patriotic revolutionary forces. Our party has tried to construct a freedom front that aims at the revolutionary solution led mainly by the communist, revolutionary and patriotic revolutionary forces in the struggle against the fascist dictatorship. Our party finds it important to strengthen the relations with progressive, anti-fascist parties and organisations -even when they are reformist and legalist- for the revolutionary development and by this, to prevent them from being a part of bourgeois liberalism's ranks. The fascist dictatorship makes every effort to isolate and marginalise the revolutionaries by organising the progressive reformist forces, reformist trade unions and the leaderships of mass organisations whenever possible within the ranks of bourgeois liberalism or poisoning them with chauvinism.

In this context, our party has organised numerous actions and activities for the development of the united revolutionary struggle. Although there were some revolutionary forces that had sectarian, negative and obstinate approaches regarding only themselves as the revolutionary movement and all this made it impossible to organise such united actions, all these efforts have let the revolutionary movement gain important experiences.

The Central Coordination of the Prisons^[1] has become an experience where the united revolutionary leadership works concretely. Many other platforms that were founded locally or centrally at different fields of activities such as youth, women and boroughs, are other examples.



"You are not strong enough to defeat us!" - MLCP

With its characteristics to unite and its initiative our party played an important role in organising many temporary platforms and some permanently existing organisations dealing with certain concrete topics. The foundation of the Platform of the United Revolutionary Forces^[2] was another quite important example for the revolutionary leadership in practice. Our party aims at realising the revolution within the present borders of the Turkish state. At the same time our party defines the revolution that will be realised in Turkey and Northern Kurdistan as a united revolution, based on the idea of the special situation that Northern Kurdistan is under colonial yoke.

During the period until 1999, when the PKK leading the Kurdish national movement followed the petty bourgeois revolutionary line, our party was of the opinion that the united revolution had started in Northern Kurdistan and cared actively for the formation of a second front in the West in the centre of which were the workers and labourers. With the detention of PKK leader Abdullah Ocalan in 1999, a new period started during which the Kurdish national revolution faced a defeat, the PKK started to follow a petty bourgeois reformist line, but the Kurdish national movement continued and revolutionary dynamics among the Kurdish labouring masses have been still present. Under all these present conditions our party continued to show solidarity with the Kurdish patriotic forces who followed the reformist line. Our party played an especially important role in raising the fraternity of the people with the united struggle in the West against the chauvinist aggression increased by the dictatorship on the Kurdish national forces.

The fascist dictatorship's biggest nightmare has been the foundation of a bridge between the Turkish workers' and labourers' resistance against the fascist oppression and neo-liberal attacks against the Kurdish nation's struggle for freedom against the colonial yoke, which is defined by our party's understanding of the united revolution.

This means that the dictatorship's leading strategy is based on dissolving the opportunity of any united struggle of the peoples and working class of Turkey and Northern Kurdistan. Besides national divisions, it tries to divide the power of the working class and labourers with reactionary polarisations such as Allevite-Sunni and secularism-Sharia.

"Nationalism and chauvinism are a big threat for the union of the proletariat and the labouring masses as well as an important arm to make the proletariat and the labourer masses be organised within the ranks of the ruling classes and the state and to prevent them from diverting from the bourgeois ideology and its policy. The systematic ideological strug-

[1] The Central Coordination of the Prisons is the coordination that was founded by 7 revolutionary parties and organisations to give a common answer to the decree introduced by the fascist dictatorship on May 6 1996 containing different attacks on the revolutionary prisoners.

[2] The Platform of the United Revolutionary Forces was a revolutionary alliance whose foundation was announced in June 1998. Together with our party MLCP, there were the PKK, TKP(ML), TKP/ML, TDP, DHP, TKP (K) and the Revolutionary Left participating. The platform lost its function and was dissolved later when together with the statements of PKK leader Abdullah Ocalan taken hostage, the PKK changed its petty bourgeois revolutionary line into a petty bourgeois reformist line.

gle that must be lead against the fascist ideology that is based on Turkish nationalism and chauvinism among the broad proletarian and labourer masses plays an important role for the foundation of the revolutionary union of the masses." (Documents of the Unity Congress)

For this reason, the anti-fascist and anti-chauvinist axis has always been an important line when organising the united struggle.

Although there is an important inner concurrence, a struggle for hegemony at the bourgeois front in a country where a fascist dictatorship is governing, all wings of the bourgeoisie unite and act together when there is the question on the agenda to oppress the communist and revolutionary movement and finish the Kurdish national movement. To get the support of the masses or reorganise the support by the masses it has lost, the bourgeoisie makes use of all means and first of all of the bourgeois media. With the means used, the dictatorship deceives the masses and manages in making them have hope in different wings of the bourgeois system and the army, its militarist force. The communist and revolutionary movement, however, that leads its struggle under unequal conditions in terms of force, are not able to always use the opportunities it has in an appropriate way.

The attacks of the counter revolutionary front to finish the revolutionary and communist movement and, if needed, to liquidate the vivid dynamic forces of the Kurdish national movement continue in an increased way. To continue with the realisation of its policy of neo-liberal attacks, the fascist dictatorship tries to hinder the development of an organised force on the basis of the dissatisfaction developing at workers and labourers` front. And for this, the dictatorship increases its attacks against the leading forces of the working classes and labourers, revolutionary organisations and the national movement.

The fascist dictatorship displayed its strategy most precisely during the current period with the statement made by the general staff on April 12, 2007. According to this statement the main aim of the coup is to oppress the Kurdish national movement or to break their will for a war. For this reason, the

operations in the North^[3] will continue, and in the meantime, Kurdish organisations will be oppressed or made to lose their function and by this logistic sources will be liquidated; this approach will be completed with a military operation in Southern Kurdistan, as a result of which the movement will have to struggle for a long time to overcome this heavy stroke. During this period the revolutionary forces will not stay in the background, on the contrary, the oppression of these forces plays another important role in hindering the struggle of the Turkish workers and labourers uniting with the struggle of the Kurdish people. To isolate these forces in this context, the other reformist forces will be held away from the united struggle by threatening them or by manipulation.

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Since the provocation in Mersin^[4] that the fascist dictatorship organised with this aim in the month of Newroz^[5] 2004, it has strengthened its initiative on the other forces of the regime, as well as increased its attacks against, first of all, the Kurdish people and the revolutionary, progressive and communist forces. The provocation in Mersin was the starting point for the lynching attempts of the Kurdish workers, youth, patriots and Turkish and Kurdish revolutionaries in the West. During this period, which is named the new concept of attacks, arrests and detentions as well as closures, bans and oppression on the labourers' freedom of speech, action and

[3] Northern Kurdistan

[4] 21 March, Newroz- the national feast of the Kurdish people

[5] During the celebrations of Newroz 2005 a provocation act was realised in Mersin with the claim that a Turkish flag had been thrown on the ground and tramped down. The provocation in Mersin was the starting point for the lynching attempts on revolutionaries and Kurdish patriots that were later carried out in many cities.



"We want freedom!"

The ESP's campaign against the September attacks

organisation have increased, such as the example of the closure of the trade union Egitim-Sen^[6] showed it. In Semdinli, Yuksekova and Amed^[7] bombings were realised by the counter guerrilla. Liquidation attacks on the revolutionary forces were increased. In an operation against the leading cadres of the MKP in June 2005 17 comrades-in-arms of the MKP were killed.

Especially since the provocation in Mersin the fascist dictatorship has tried to organise the Turkish workers and labourers within an active counter-revolutionary mass movement based on Turkish nationalism and chauvinism using racist and fascist organisations named "unarmed forces" and chauvinist provocations.

While the fascist dictatorship riotously continues to apply terror in Northern Kurdistan, it tries to brutally attack revolutionary forces and revolutionary searches in the West and to organise progressive reformist forces within their ranks. By this, it also aimed at marginalising the revolutionary forces and restricting the field of united resistance. With this aim, it uses the tactics of keeping open the way for making politics in a legal manner and within the bor-

ders of the system and attacks every attempt for illegal actions with the total power. These tactics are united with the chauvinist hysteria created among the Turkish workers and labourers, and this is how the growing resistance of the workers and labourers against the neo-liberal policies is surrounded and limited within certain borders. These policies also have an important influence on the participants of the united struggle including mainly reformist trade unions such as DISK and KESK and mass organisations.

In June 2006 the fascist dictatorship launched the anti-terror law with the aim to create a legal basis for the attacks and massacres bound to this concept. This law considers all labourers and, first of all, the Kurdish national movement and the revolutionary forces as potential terrorists and had been prepared in an appropriate way to the laws applied in the UK and other imperialist countries. With this law, a green light was given to a broad wave of attacks.

During the period when the anti-terror law was discussed in parliament and later, the Marxist Leninist Communists have tried to create a united struggle on the basis of political freedoms against fascist oppression. They declared that this law on the agenda means new preparations for broad attacks.

However, despite all efforts, the progressive and revolutionary forces did not manage to create a struggle on the level to make enough pressure to cancel the anti-terror law. The law was approved by parliament.

September attacks and the united struggle

The first big attack carried out by the fascist dictatorship on the basis of this law was the attack in September. This was a wave of broad attacks for which the preparations took 2 years, according to the statements made in the media and which were realised in dozens of cities at the same time throughout Turkey and Northern Kurdistan. In the first statements made after the attacks, which

[6] In 2004 a trial was opened to close down the trade union Egitim-Sen (Education Workers/ Union) following the order of Ankara Governorship with the reason of the union's demand for "education in the mother tongue". Following the wish of the general staff, it was decided to close down the union within one year.

[7] On November 9, 2005, the counter-guerrilla organisation JITEM (Gendarmerie Intelligence Organisation) bombed a bookstore in the provincial city of Semdinli, Northern Kurdistan. While one Kurdish patriot lost his life, two people were injured. Determined and bravely, the people of Semdinli caught the responsible forces of JITEM and handed the weapons, plans of attack and black lists over to its owner, the state. With the Kurdish people's common sense and determined stance, the provocation in Semdinli was busted in the hand of the murderers. The counter-guerrilla that got into trouble opened the fire on the state's prosecutor who had been instructed to investigate this case and was on the ground for the investigation, deputy Esat Canan and the people. Another patriot was killed here.

ended up with the detention of dozens of revolutionaries and communists, the spokesmen of the fascist dictatorship announced that the "MLCP has been defeated".^[8]

The stance of the communist vanguard towards the Kurdish national movement, its efforts to raise the fraternity of the people in the centres of the West against the chauvinist provocations by the fascist dictatorship, and the fact that the communist vanguard took place in the first ranks as an influential and uniting force in every field of the social struggle, especially since the 3rd Congress, made it a target of the enemies' broad attacks.

However, it answered the September attacks which aimed at repelling this stance with its same influential and uniting line. Although the September attacks were carried out against our party, revolutionaries, democratic circles and many progressive forces have seen that the attacks were not restricted only to us. It became clear within a short time that if this attack was not fought off, then other parts of the revolutionary movement and finally the whole opposition would be targeted. The communist vanguard that analysed the attacks from the beginning on right way knew that it faced the duty not only to defend its own and historical right of existence, but at the same time the revolutionary movement's right of existence.

The party did not make a step backwards after the wave of September attacks and broad arrests and detentions. With a reflex that was developed immediately our party displayed the practice of defending all posts. Those posts which became empty because of the detentions were filled with communists who made a step forward. While our party entered its 13th year of history under heavy attacks it faced the attacks standing tall. "Hope is standing tall" and "You are not strong enough to defeat us" became the main slogans. This resisting stance of the communists and their call for solidarity found great sympathy within short time. From revolutionary and progressive circles to an important group of the intellectuals, a movement of defense and solidarity was developed that let the friends hope and the enemy fear. This movement even managed to get the support of reformist and liberal groups from time to time.

The attacks on the communists and their resisting stance created a huge solidarity wave internationally, too. The international solidarity that could be considered as the display of the party's approach to international relations and the importance it pays to these relations was shown by many countries, from Latin America to Europe, from the Balkans to Asia.

The common act that could not be created when the anti-terror law had been launched was, however, successfully displayed with the fight against the first broad attack on the basis of this law. Here, an important role was played by the past efforts of the vanguard which had established mature and constructive relations and alliances with the other revolutionary forces, the forces of the Kurdish national



Action in front of Bayrampasa Prison on the anniversary of the prison massacre on 19 December 2000

movement and the progressive intellectual circles, on the basis of its understanding of a united revolutionary struggle.

The vanguard whose posts were attacked answered the fascist terror in many cities with the political campaign developed immediately after the September attacks and was led until the beginning of this year with the aim to defend the political freedoms with the main demand of "freedom". The vanguard understood that the attack on it was at the same time an attack on the freedom of speech, organisation and freedom of all progressive, revolutionary forces, as well as the workers and labourers. For this reason, the demand for political freedom for

[8] Between September 8-12, 23 revolutionaries and communists were imprisoned after operations carried out in 7 different cities. The forces of the fascist dictatorship called the operation "Gaye" (Engl. Aim, tn.), and with this operation it was announced that our party MLCP had been "defeated".

the broad masses was put in the centre of the struggle against the September attacks. The aim of the September attacks to make the vanguard marginalised and isolated and to make it concentrate only on themselves and deviate from the line of the masses was revealed with this way of acting. Due to this stance, the September attacks were the basis for the line of a united struggle that had been created against the terror of the anti-terror law and was later also defended to some extent concerning the topics of social struggle. While at the same time its area of acting politically on the revolutionary and democratic opposition was enlarged, it aimed at restricting the area of attacks of fascism and chauvinism. The communist vanguard that managed to

The united struggle should create an anti-chauvinist and anti-fascist front with the masses` demand for "freedom" and "peace". In this sense, a proposal was made to the revolutionary, progressive forces and the Kurdish national movement.

resist the September attacks concentrated on the aim to repel the attacks. By repelling the attacks it acted with the consciousness to prevent the attacks oriented towards other parts of the revolutionary movement. The line of the united struggle that was developed against the September attacks managed to create the foundation of organisations. The experience of the "Emergency line" that consisted of dozens of organisations to show an urgent reaction to the attacks of the anti-terror law was an example of this. However, the attacks on HOC and different organisations on December 7 showed that by this line, many steps have already been taken.

While the anniversary of the massacre of December 19 was in the near future^[9], social awareness that had been increased concentrated on the question of isolation. The death fast held by the lawyer Behic Asci, the revolutionary prisoner Sevgi Saymaz and the relative of a prisoner Gulcan Goruroglu caused a lot of trouble for the state. The state had already before carried out a bloody operation^[10] on the house where Behic Asci carried out his death fast. This operation was the trial run of the state's raids on more than ten revolutionary associations at the same time in Istanbul. At some places the communist and revolutionary forces surrounded the enemies` forces with street actions and made the enemy abandon its attack, forcing them to retreat.

In some quarters of Istanbul street battles took place. This played an important role for the organisation of the "Emergency line" developed after the September attacks to be able to oppose. The response developed was a new experience for the revolutionary movement for the united struggle and the comradeship-in-arms, as well as the power of resistance. The raids in December were important, since the united response against the anti-terror law made the attacks of the dictatorship stay incomplete and in the streets of the labourers it was shown that victory could also be achieved. Therefore, this was important, since the struggle reached a new level.

On the other hand, the support for the resistance created by the death fast of the lawyer Behic Asci and developing towards December 19 managed to make trade unions, some intellectuals and different democratic mass organisations that did not care for this topic until then join this movement. The lawyers went on the streets with mass actions against isolation. The unions conducted actions with press statements and made solidarity visits. This common resistance reached a level where it made the dictatorship take a step backward, albeit limited, in its 6-year isolation politics. With a decree published in January by the Minister of Justice the state accepted that 10 prisoners could gather for 10 hours per week and the death fast was finished.

[9] On December 19, 2000 the fascist dictatorship realised a bloody massacre in 20 prisons of Turkey and Northern Kurdistan in which thousands of gendarmes, special unit members and different military forces took place. The aim of the massacre was to transfer the revolutionary prisoners to the f type isolation cells and by that, to break their will. As a result of the massacre, 28 revolutionaries were killed by heavy weapons, nerve gas and different chemical substances, dozens were injured and became disabled. The revolutionary prisoners answered the massacre with the resistance of death fast.

[10] As a result of an attack of the state with heavy weapons, gas bombs and machines on November 5, 2001 on a house in Kucuk Armutlu in Istanbul where the death fast was realised, four revolutionaries lost their life. Later on, police attacks continued to be carried out against houses in Kucuk Armutlu and Alibeykoy where the death fast was taking place.

United struggle for freedom and liberty

The Marxist Leninist Communists have foreseen that the attacks on the Kurdish national movement, revolutionary forces and the whole social opposition will continue in an increased way on the basis of the concept of attack started with the flag provocation in Mersin by the dictatorship and accelerated with the provocations in Semdinli and Amed and the approval of the anti-terror law. How about this version: The state answered the ceasefire announced by the Kurdish guerrillas in September 2006, which was to continue until May 2007, with attacks by arrests, imprisonments, closures and bans of publications and organizations, as well as military operations in the Northern Kurdistan. It showed once again that the denial and annihilation will continue without cease. Yet in April, the month during which the presidential elections were due to be held, there were the signs of clash between the ruling forces becoming stronger.

It was necessary to develop the united struggle line and create a freedom front against these attacks of the fascist dictatorship. The united struggle should create an anti-chauvinist and anti-fascist front with the masses' demand for "freedom" and "peace". In this sense, a proposal was made to the revolutionary, progressive forces and the Kurdish national movement.

The proposal was made for the period of March to May and aimed at creating a united anti-fascist movement dealing with the demand of our Kurdish people for "peace" and our Kurdish and Turkish peoples' demand for "freedom". It was said that the demands for peace and freedom are two uniting demands covering the struggle of the workers and labourers of Turkey and Northern Kurdistan, and that these two demands would represent the basis with which the Kurdish people with the Turkish workers and labourers' needs would be expressed together, where they could meet and lead a common struggle.

Turkish chauvinism is the main obstacle for the Turkish workers and labourers starting to fight for their own demands against the capitalist exploitation and fascist oppression. Because of this, it is vital that they understand the Kurdish people's demand for an honourable and just peace.

For the Kurdish people, it is stressed that the real addressees of the demand for an honourable and just peace are the Turkish workers and labourers,

and that the addressees of this question are not the state or imperialist forces such as the EU or the USA, but the Turkish workers and labourers.

The proposal has foreseen that all progressive, revolutionary forces, political parties and organisations, intellectuals and artists could participate in the broad alliance of "peace and freedom" that is planned to be founded and that will be constructed for a specific period. This proposal that concentrates on the action and mass activities has foreseen to unite the dynamic forces of the Kurdish people that it saved and that could not be destroyed so far, with



Armenian intellectual Hrant Dink murdered

the potential in the West, the field where revolutionary and democratic forces are influential. The communists emphasized that a third front could be created against the efforts of both cliques of the ruling forces to make the workers and labourers organise within their ranks in case the forces could be united on the basis of the demand for peace and freedom and could be directed in a creative activity. If this could not be achieved, an important opportunity appearing during the period from January to May would be missed.

This proposal suggested by the communists around the end of 2006 did not find its practical implementation. However, their efforts for a united struggle by revolutionary, progressive and Kurdish-patriotic forces have continued.

United anti-chauvinist struggle on the streets against counter-guerrilla massacres

With the murder of the Armenian intellectual Hrant Dink on January, 19 in front of the office of the newspaper he worked for, the level of previewing of the proposal of the Marxist Leninist Communists aiming at "creating a union of a anti-chauvinist movement around the demand for `peace/ by the Kurdish people and a antifascist movement around the demand for `freedom/ of our peoples" has been proved once more. The line of the united struggle reached in the period of September-December entered into a new phase with this political murder. The chief editor of the newspaper Agos, a true



Rally for Hrant Dink on the day of his murder

democrat and Armenian intellectual Hrant Dink is one of dozens of intellectuals assassinated through counterrevolutionary murders in the history of our country. By attacking the Armenian identity of Hrant Dink, the state signaled that in the ongoing period the chauvinist provocations would increase, the counterrevolutionary actions and the methods of the dirty war would be intensified. This political murder was a threat against the sensibility of the intellectuals which has developed in the last months. That also included the aim of making them step back from some concessions that they had made to the Kurdish national movement and the revolutionary and progressive forces, and of hindering the relations between the more reformist sectors of the intellectuals with the revolutionary forces and the Kurdish national movement. In our country being Armenian has been converted into an offence, they are aiming at creating a reactionary polarisation into Turkish-Armenian-Kurdish in the society and also

within the social opposition.

But the results of their plans were all the contrary of what they wanted. The political response to the defence of Hrant Dink on the day of his murder was a strong answer to the fascist dictatorship. The signs of the brotherhood of the peoples against racism and chauvinism expressed in the slogans "We are all Armenians, we are all Hrant Dink" were first defended by tens of thousands and later at the funeral by hundreds of thousands and thus turned into a great antifascist and anti-chauvinist mass meeting. The state has been exposed and caught red-handed once again.

In our country, innumerable progressive, revolutionary and patriotic intellectuals from Sabahat Ali to Musa Anter became the victims of counterrevolutionary murders. Also, the dozens of massacres and counterrevolutionary actions carrying the mark of the state from the massacres from Mayday 1977, March 16, Beyazit massacre, the massacres in Corum and Maras to the massacre in Gazi and the dozens of secret counterrevolutionary actions, which have been revealed, from Susurluk to Semdinli in which the state and the army were involved, and which showed the existence of the state gangs and the anger that had developed over dozens of years are the reasons for the massive action. None of the trials of these massacres ever ended with sentencing and punishing the counterrevolutionaries, by responding to the demand of the workers and labourers for justice. When Hrant Dink was murdered, the struggle united on the axis of the anti-fascist struggle against the counterrevolutionary state and the anti-chauvinist struggle against the chauvinist provocation. The accumulated anger against assassinations and counterrevolutionary murder turned into an anti-chauvinist, anti-fascist flood of the masses on the basis of the Turkish-Kurdish-Armenian fraternity comprising hundreds of thousands. This street movement became also in the period afterwards the main channel through which the united struggle flowed. In this time, one could feel the opportunities for the united struggle in the strongest form.

In this period, the mass struggle did comprise very broad parts from the liberal intellectuals up to revolutionary organisations, trade-unionist confederations and professional organisations. Even some bourgeois parties tried to make the anger against counter-guerrillas unclear in order to organise the reaction against the murder in their ranks. But the

happiness of these sectors was interrupted when tens of thousands of people raised the slogan "We are all Hrant Dink, we are all Armenians". As this slogan is one that none of the representatives of the rulers could accept, it became an element of demarcation and left its mark on the movement and made vain all the efforts of forces, which tried to profit from the murder.

This broad composition, naturally, was made up by forces, which approached the murder of Hrant Dink from very different points of view and tried to give very different directions to this mass movement and it was inevitable that certain strata would separate within little time. Precisely this happened. The anti-chauvinist anger of hundreds of thousands could not be organised. It stayed a loose coalition.

The Marxist Leninist Communists parted from the aim to canalize the defence of Hrant Dink by the masses and the progressive parts of the forces into the struggle to be carried out into the March-May period^[11] under the slogan "Ask account from the counterrevolutionary state" and thus to develop further and consolidate the line of the united struggle which had appeared, to obtain new positions by getting concrete results.

When the celebrations of Newroz, one of the central events in March, were approaching, it was the principal task of the revolutionary and progressive forces to strengthen the anti-chauvinist struggle and the fraternity of the peoples. This had to be united from March going on until Mayday with the anger on the streets breaking out on the anniversaries of the massacres.

The day of uprising of the Kurdish People: Newroz

With the assassination of Hrant Dink the attacks against the Kurdish people were intensified even more. In the whole time before the celebrations of Newroz on March 21, offices of the DTP and the houses of its members were raided several times and dozens of its leaders and members imprisoned. In many cities lynch attempts developed against Kurdish workers. The Kurdish press was exposed to attacks in the form of publication bans. It would have been necessary to continue with the practice of

broad defence that developed after the murder of Hrant Dink against these attacks.

The state concentrated on preventing a mass participation in the Newroz celebration. However, in spite of all attacks, Newroz was celebrated by the masses. The practice of defending Newroz has developed well among the most progressive parts of the Turkish workers and labourers, even though, in

Armenian intellectual

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the previous years their participation had been weak. It was seen once again that strengthening the consciousness of the embracement of the peoples and the feeling of fraternity is the principal task of the revolutionary movement.

However, the revolutionary and progressive movement did not manage to carry on the solidarity movement and the "united active defence", which it had established after the September attacks, in March. This fact has shown once more that social-chauvinism has still not been destroyed in the revolutionary and progressive ranks and that this is an important and urgent task in order to build the united antifascist struggle in our country.

[11] The March-May period includes the March 8, Day of Labouring Women, the anniversary of March 12, 1995, the massacre of Gazi and afterwards the kidnapping and murdering of our comrade Hasan Ocak, the commander of Gazi, the anniversary of the massacre from March 16, 1977 in Beyazit, the anniversary of March 15, 1988 in Halabja, the holiday of brotherhood of the Kurdish people and the peoples of the Middle East, Newroz on March 21 and the anniversary of the massacre in Kizildere on March 30, 1972 until Mayday and is a period in which the social struggle flares up.

The efforts of the dictatorship to pull the masses to its side

The polarization at the front of the fascist dictatorship, which started around the presidential elections, continued and deepened. The army started its manoeuvres in order to prevent the AKP from electing the president of the republic and to organise the anger existing in the society against the AKP and the state at the same time for itself and to prevent this anger from going to a third front.

The General staff defended its Cankaya post on the streets. From April 14 on they brought millions of people to the streets by organising "Republic Meetings" through "NGOs", which they named "the unarmed forces". The masses, which had a great

There were two axes of street actions: on one hand, the developing antifascist, anti-chauvinist street axis, especially against the counter-guerrilla attacks and chauvinist provocations, and on the other hand, actions organised by the general staff.

anger against the collaboration with the US imperialism and which accumulated their protest against the neoliberal politics of the government, participated in these meetings. The participation was thousand times higher than the masses belonging to the supporters of the putsch, who organised the meetings and the racist and fascist organisations themselves. These meetings appeared to take place in the framework of the polarisation between secularism-sharia and also included leftist and anti-imperialist words. They even managed to include DISK and similar circles, even shortly before Mayday, in spite of the de facto existing alliance with progressive, revolutionary forces they were in. The meetings organised support on the streets for the putschist generals. In spite of its topical content to prevent Tayyip Erdogan from becoming the president of the republic and bringing to the fore political parties, which are taking a stand on its side like CHP-DSP and MHP, and to present them as alternatives in the

elections, these meetings were part of a more long-term plan of the militarist fascist front. The plan consisted in making these masses, which today are on the streets to protest against the presidency of Tayyip Erdogan, in the future a part of mass provocations against the Kurdish people.

When the government presented Abdullah Gul as its candidate and thus insisted on a president from its own ranks, which means on the Cankaya post in spite of these meetings, the April 27 memorandum was issued. By that the army fully continues to follow its concept, which also contains the plan for an operation in Southern Kurdistan and absolutely dominated the government.

One of the most important aspects of the April 27 memorandum was also that it was a *"breaking the will concept"* against the national Kurdish movement and the communist and revolutionary movement. The memorandum, which was discussed before at the meeting of the MGK (National Security Council) and which contains the words *"to continue the struggle against terror with all determination"* was the continuation of the claims that the Kurdish, Allevite and similar minorities in Turkey are enemies and that one could not even speak of any existence of them and of the denial and annihilation of the Kurdish people, the concept to oppress the communist and revolutionary movement and not only a continuation but also a step further. Starting with the memorandum, the process of the military intervention concentrated rapidly on the attacks and operations against the Kurds. The memorandum declared Kurdish people the enemy and reintroduced to the agenda the topic of a military operation against Southern Kurdistan. The army prevented the election of the president of the republic from the ranks of the AKP. Then the parliament took the decision to hold early general elections on July 22, 2007.

To put it in a nutshell; the situation was as follow before Mayday:

Since the September attacks the line of revolutionary solidarity and united struggle developed on a new level. In December, it reached the level of resisting on the street barricades against the repression of the police and achieved some success. The developments concerning the topic of the F-type isolation has been an important motivation for the movement on this line and in January, after the murder of Hrant Dink, hundreds of thousands took to the streets on an anti-chauvinist, anti-fascist line and the conditions for the united struggle devel-

oped. In spite of a certain drop in the actions during March they still continued on this line. The internal crisis of the regime and the confrontations among the rulers heated up so much, that the army, for the first time in many years, took the highest measure and issued the memorandum, revealing itself and its sinister intentions in the full light. During April, it was the pro-USA army that organised mass street actions with anti-imperialist slogans but on a reactionary, chauvinist basis. The military, juridical, physical attacks against the Kurdish people intensified a lot and the bellicosity was reached to peak on the basis of a possible intervention in Southern Kurdistan.

There were two axes of street actions: on one hand, the developing antifascist, anti-chauvinist street axis, especially against the counter-guerrilla attacks and chauvinist provocations, and on the other hand, actions organised by the general staff - consisting of the same sectors who are, in fact, the base of the struggle on the first axis- against the wing of the government in order to get them to move later during chauvinist provocations.

It was a task of main importance to follow a united, mass and militant line in Taksim on Mayday on the anniversary of the massacre of 1977 at the prohibited square.

The attitude of the communists towards the period and the trial of April 13

Under these conditions, the Marxist Leninist Communists focussed on the aim of a Mayday in Taksim on a united, mass and militant line on the anniversary of the massacre of 1977.

During the whole period the Marxist Leninist Communists raised solidarity with the DTP, which was attacked, and strengthened the fraternity of the peoples in the West against the provocations and lynch attempts and by this way, they tried to finalize March-May period with success in building of the untied struggle against chauvinism and fascism.

When it was announced that the trial of those, who had been detained at the operations of September 21 in Istanbul, would be on April 13, the task to transform the trial into a tribune where fascism will be accused became the agenda of the Marxist Leninist Communists.

It was a political duty for the whole revolutionary movement to continue with the solidarity and the line of united struggle, which had been developed

against the September attacks, and to defend the communists, the representatives of socialist organisations, who had been imprisoned during the September attacks, at the trial in a massive and united way.

After the campaign, which was launched after the September attacks focussing on the "freedom", demand of the masses, the Marxist Leninist Communists put the demand for "freedom and justice" in the centre in the period of the April trial. Around the idea that the rulers cannot sentence the socialists and socialism with their "justice", the demand for justice of the masses, which has not been fulfilled for decades concerning the counter-revolutionary massacres and the other crimes of the



Police attack on the 13 April Meeting

fascist dictatorship, have been raised. By underlining that the one, who had to sit in the dock in which they put the socialists, should be the counterrevolutionary state, which killed 36 workers and labourers on Mayday 1977, they combined the activities for the April 13 with those of Mayday and the process was treated as a whole.

Lessons were taken from September and Marxist Leninist Communists tried to organize and institutionalize the achievements of September. The aim was to go on with the solidarity and defence movement beyond September on the axis of the trial.

In this range, a broad mass work was organised. They called upon the workers and labourers to support the socialists, to defend the idea of socialism. The work treated together with the day of unity, struggle and solidarity of the working class, Mayday, intended to bring the idea of socialism to the work-

ing class. Strong efforts were undertaken in order to make the revolutionary and democratic organisations start actions with their demand for justice in order to condemn the counterrevolutionary state.

On April 13, inside the court and also outside in front of the building in Istanbul, a war of wills between revolutionary forces and the forces of the state took place. Meanwhile the socialists defended the legitimacy of their actions from the tribune of the trial. Communists, revolutionaries, comrades-in-arms, democratic and progressive intellectuals from all over Turkey and Northern Kurdistan and an international delegations with dozens of observers from different countries stood up for the September 10 prisoners. In order to prevent the expression of revolutionary solidarity, revolutionary posts in front of the court, the enthusiastic and militant defending of the socialist ideals and the proudly raising of the flags which they try to ban, the fascist dictatorship brutally attacked the masses gathering in front of the court building. The attack was a test of the police terror on Mayday. But the masses responded to this attack with a resistance, which was also a test of the determination of the masses which they were to show on Mayday. In spite of dozens of detentions and imprisonments they did not retreat.

The communists moved uninterruptedly on the way opened on April 13 with the perspective to get ready to go to Taksim on Mayday and to win Mayday with the united struggle and also made this call upon all their friends.

On the line of the united struggle to the Taksim victory

During the whole month of April the contradictions around the presidential elections at the front of the

inner forces of the regime became more and more fierce and proceeded with street posts in the form of the Republic meetings with which they pulled millions of labourers on their side and it became an even more vital duty to show a strong attitude in favour of the working class and the labouring masses on Mayday. Many revolutionary and progressive forces announced for months that this way went through conquering the square of Taksim against the counterrevolutionary state on the anniversary of the massacre of 1977.

The vast majority of the revolutionary and progressive forces announced their determination to celebrate Mayday in a united way with masses of people in Taksim. The revolutionary organisations and even some reformist organisations stated officially, independently of each other, their will to be in Taksim. DISK was under the impact of the pressure of their members accumulated for years. It became obligatory for them to submit to the will to be in Taksim at Mayday and to get through with as little damage as possible. KESK, as a reformist but to a certain extent still energetic trade-union, showed its tendency towards participating at Taksim. They took a stand on the side of this "will for Taksim", formed also by the engineers' chamber TMMOB, doctors' chamber TTB and several democratic mass organisations. Finally, the celebrations of Mayday 2007 turned into an important confrontation between the state and labouring masses. In spite of all the prohibitions and their efforts to transform Istanbul into a prison it was the militancy of the mass and the revolutionary determination which left their mark on Mayday 2007.

The state tried to divide the class by making the yellow trade-unions like Turk-Is organise a meeting at another place, but it was not successful. The com-



Mayday 1977, Taksim Square



Mayday 2007, Taksim Square

munists, revolutionaries, progressive organisations and trade-unions resisted by insisting on Taksim. Almost all the reformist forces also took part in the ranks of Taksim, except EMEP (Party of Labour), which did not dare to go to Taksim but tailed after Turk-Is.

The celebrations of Mayday have been the most advanced example of the united struggle and the polarization in the last period. The trade-unions, democratic mass organisations, reformist parties moved on the grounds of the slogans of the revolutionaries. Doubtlessly, this happened not through the direct influence of the revolutionaries, but showed that the social struggle has reached a considerable level concerning its development and the revolutionary opportunities.

Mayday 2007 entered into history as an important achievement of the united struggle. The state interrupted the public transports (ferryboats and buses) in Istanbul in order to impede Mayday and thus paralysed traffic and exerted terror. Under the leadership of the revolutionaries, the neighbourhoods of the workers and labourers were turned into arenas of struggle as a response. In spite of these measures by the state, more than ten thousand workers and labourers besieged the square of Taksim and fought with the police. Despite more than 800 detentions and hundreds of people hurt thousands of workers and labourers took the police barricades, conquered Taksim and burst the Taksim prohibition.

For the rulers, Mayday 2007 was a political defeat. However, for the front of the workers and labourers it was a political triumph.

Despite the confrontation of the inner cliques of the regime advancing to its crisis, the presidential elections, and the general staff making millions of people demonstrate on the streets, the mass militancy and the revolutionary determination of Mayday have shown that under the surface there also exist many opportunities.

An important element was the success that the progressive trade-unions and the professional mass organisations moved together with the revolutionary parties and organisations. The victory of Mayday strengthened the progressive, revolutionary forces and the class itself and also the confidence in unity. The togetherness achieved on Mayday has shown once again the opportunities of the united struggle, the orientation towards a polarization, in which all the forces of the workers and labourers, the revolu-

tionaries, the progressive and patriotic Kurds may participate. This was an important proof that it is absolutely possible to proceed this period towards revolution.

A new chance for the united struggle: elections

Immediately after Mayday, the crisis developing around the presidential elections between the cliques of the army and the government unavoidably brought early general elections to the agenda and this caused conditions for a special form of the united struggle: elections.

Mayday 2007 entered into history as an important achievement of the united struggle. For the rulers, Mayday 2007 was a political defeat. However, for the front of the workers and labourers it was a political triumph.

The elections were an important channel to develop in an organised form the spirit of the united struggle which developed during the whole period from the September attacks to the murder of Hrant Dink until Mayday. Facts also showed that a lot had been achieved already concerning that topic. The fact, that progressive intellectuals made a common call for candidates in a way that had not happened for years, is one example of that.

The Marxist Leninist Communists stated that it is an important chance to intervene in the elections with a block of independent candidates, to build a third front against the confrontations between the two cliques of the ruling classes, which they present to the workers and labourers as different alternatives. They underlined that it is necessary to break the chauvinist mass mobilization of the huge agitation and propaganda apparatus carried out by the clique of the army with a broad front alliance of the revolutionary forces, progressive reformist parties, progressive intellectuals, progressive trade-unions and democratic mass organisations. This alliance had to be built, first of all, on the streets. It was necessary to respond with the voice of the street to the juridical manoeuvres and physical attacks of the dictator-

ship aiming at keeping away the Kurdish patriotic, the progressive and the revolutionary forces from the parliament and to make them superfluous. The street movement was the principal tool in the hands of the social opposition, which it could use against the fascist dictatorship. In a period, in which the dictatorship tried to organise the workers and labourers taking to the streets on a reactionary basis against the revolutionary and patriotic forces in mass actions this was even more urgent. In such a period, it was not possible to undertake decisive leaps through concentrating on the ballots without the power of the united struggle on the streets.

However, the attitude towards elections, first of all, of the DTP to focus on the field of parliament and not the street and to exclude the revolutionary forces and the negative attitudes of many other forces impeded the formation of such a front. The fact, that the revolutionary and progressive forces were not able to develop a common intervention in the early general elections of July 22 showed a considerable weakness of the social struggle.

The direction of development of the united struggle

Today, the concept to destroy the will to fight of the Kurdish people and the revolutionary forces, of which also the discussion about a military interven-

tion in Southern Kurdistan forms an important dimension, is applied with all strength in Turkey and Northern Kurdistan. However, this situation also bears important revolutionary opportunities.

A period of an antifascist anti-chauvinist polarisation with the revolutionary and communist forces building their core and which comprises all the relevant progressive forces is both obligatory and possible. The struggle of the working class, the labouring masses and the oppressed Kurdish people contains these opportunities more than enough. In order to rescue the Turkish workers and labourers from the quagmire of chauvinism and to make them move based on their own demands it is necessary to unite the struggle of the Kurdish patriotic masses and the Turkish people and that the progressive, revolutionary and communist forces create a united resistance and institutionalised united posts.

Such a polarisation will be created inside the street movement itself. Every strong response given to the fascist attacks, the chauvinist provocations and the state terror as a whole will be a step towards this polarisation.

As they have been doing during the 13 years of their history, the Marxist Leninist Communists will continue mobilizing their energy to fulfil their task in this process. ◀



Mayday Celebrations at Taksim Square

THE DREAMWORLD OF NEGRI: "THE EMPIRE" AND THE "MULTITUDE"

Using also the weakness and weak points of the international communist movement, they present their utopia as the way of emancipation. Their utopia, the Empire refuses the reality of today's world, darkens the real life, hides the source of exploitation and oppression, and satisfies only the petty-bourgeois anarchian-autonomist sectors. Negri and Hardt develop the theory of disregarding the working class under the conditions of capitalism/imperialism.

We will not deal with a general criticism of "The Empire" written by Negri and Hardt, which is described as the "Manifest of the 21st century". We will only discuss some of the theses put forward in the book. So, the content of this article will be limited to the role of the state, the "evolution" of labour; consequently, with the classes and the "multitude".

The theory defended in the book "The Empire" is generally defined as "post-operaismo". The theory has its roots in the operaist movement of the 60s and 70s of the last century in Italy. One of the foremost leaders of this movement was T. Negri. According to operaismo, the motive force of the capitalist development is the struggle of the working class. However, the motive force of development in the Empire is the struggle of the "multitude". According to the theory of Empire, all sectors of the society have completely been subjected to the developing structure of control of capitalism. The nation-states have lost most of their functions and the functions that they have lost have been assumed by different social groups and movements. By this way, a new re-construction of the organization of oppression and exploitation has become inevitable.

Without a change in the relations of labour in comparison with the past, it is not possible for the Empire to be established and to develop further. In other words, the work in the factories, the industrial production which stands in the centre of the capitalist production must have left its place to "immaterial labour" in the Empire. In the Empire, dominant form of labour is "immaterial labour". In these relations of labour, the products are knowledge, communication, feelings and relationships.

We can formulate the theses put forward in 'the Empire' as follows:

- ▶The nation-states are loosing their functions, their tasks are changing and their sovereignty is disappearing in favour of the Empire, which begins to contain the whole world. The nation-states can only be the components of the Empire.
- ▶The Empire is a new stage of capitalism. The characteristic of this stage is "immaterial labour", "post-modern" life style and dominance of the "society of control".
- ▶The motive force of development or of the development of capitalism is the resistance/struggle of the "multitude", thus in this system, the capital

always responds to the resistance of the "multitude" by re-organizing the conditions of production. The development of capitalism is guaranteed by this.

►The "multitude" and the Empire represent the antagonist contradictory forces in the Empire.

►Immaterial labour forms the centre of the production process in the Empire. The collaboration which is dominant in this production process presents the elements of re-organizing itself.

This is the framework of the theses defended in 'The Empire' in the context of this article.

Capitalism-Imperialism-Globalization-the Empire-Biopower-State

Negri and Hardt do not see the power as a centralized force. According to them, the Empire is a whole which is formed by different power structures. What keeps the Empire on its feet is not the state but an information network formed by linguistic codes. The state is an instrument of discipline, it is imposed on society from outside, its construction is national and it stands upon the society.

In the class societies, the state is an instrument of oppression. In the societies based on exploitation, the state is a mechanism in the hands of the ruling class, who use it as an instrument of exploiting and oppressing the exploited and oppressed classes. Capitalist system needs the state in order to defend the interests of the bourgeoisie. It is impossible to think of capitalism without state.

But Negri and Hardt do not think so. They present state and society as two separate things. By this way, the violence of the state on one hand and the violence of the society on the other hand are defended. According to these authors, the modern state stands "upon the society and the multitude"* just as the bourgeoisie claims, and it has the monopoly of legitimate violence.

"Postmodernization and the passage to Empire involve a real convergence of the realms that used to be designated as base and superstructure" (p. 385).

According to Negri and Hardt, the state, which is an instrument of the bourgeoisie to oppress the working class and the labouring masses, leaves its place to a type of internal instrument in the Empire. They explain this as follows:

"In other words, discipline is not an external voice that dictates our practices from on high, overarching us, as Hobbes would say, but rather something like an inner compulsion indistinguishable from our will, immanent to and inseparable from our subjectivity itself." (p. 329).

In other words, we are face to face with such a situation: The prisons have no command upon the prisoners. The prisons are places where the prisoners discipline themselves. (p. 330). Such that, *"Carceral discipline, school discipline, factory discipline, and so forth interweave in a hybrid production of subjectivity" (p. 330).*

The claim that the state loses (!) its character of being a repressive tool upon the society and of being an instrument of internal oppression is commented by Negri and Hardt as *"the decline of nation-states as boundaries that mark and organize the divisions in global rule" (p. 332).*

According to them, *"...the decline of the nation-state is (...) a structural and irreversible process." (p. 336).* *"The decline of the nation-state" must also be commented on as a change in the tasks of it, in such a manner that the international monopolies have converted the nation-states into their secretaries. The state has been turned into the institutions which record various activities and commercial activities of the international monopolies.^[1]*

According to Negri and Hardt, state and nation have been declining! And the most important indicators of this decline are some international organisations of the capitalist world system. This means, GATT, the WTO, WB, IMF and other international "juridico-economic bodies" lead the nation-states to decline!^[2]

Negri and Hardt are not interested in the fact that the nation-states compete against each other mer-

*The Empire, p.328. All quotations are from the same book unless another one is mentioned.

[1] *Transnational corporations "... tend to make nation-states merely instruments to record the flows of the commodities, monies, and populations that they set in motion. The transnational corporations directly distribute labour power over various markets, functionally allocate resources, and organize hierarchically the various sectors of world production." (p.32)*

[2] *"The declining effectiveness of this structure can be traced clearly through the evolution of a whole series of global juridico-economic bodies, such as GATT, the World Trade Organization, the World Bank, and the IMF. The globalization of production and circulation, supported by this supranational juridical scaffolding, supersedes the effectiveness of national juridical structures." (p.336)*

cilessly, that they defend their own interests against each other and that they even accept the risk of a war to get the biggest share from the world market.

These authors are not interested so much in the fact that these "juridico-economic bodies" act in the name of the imperialist "nation-states" and in the name of the capitals of these countries when plundering the dependent countries and imposing on them the neo-liberal policies/programs.

The opinions of Negri and Hardt on the question of state do not correspond to the reality in any terms. They see the state as an obstacle in front of the development of the capital, without showing any reason for this. But it is the state itself that develops the capital and guarantees its hegemony. These authors see the state as the controller of the differences; they do not consider it as an instrument of oppression.

The fundamental thesis of Negri and Hardt is that capitalism evolves from the imperialist stage towards the "postimperialist" stage. The name of the new stage is "the Empire". In this stage, nation-state and national sovereignty have been passed beyond. According to these authors, what has created/formed imperialism is the nation-state. Imperialism signified the domination/command of the state upon the society within the country. And abroad, it was the exporter of everything that could be exported, including culture.^[3] Of course, this includes war and occupation. At least, we guess so. According to Negri and Hardt, this era has become history now; *"Imperialism is over"* (Preface, p. xiv).

It seems that, because of globalization, the borders which signify nation-states are no longer unsurpassable, they have lost their importance and the differences among the countries have become relative.^[4] It seems that, because of these reasons and developments, *"Imperialism is over"*. Have the borders of the EU or the border between the USA and Mexico lost their importance? Or have they become more unsurpassable? Or is the difference between Germany as a metropol country and Zanzibar in Tanzania just a simple difference of degree?

One cannot claim that all the ideas put forward by Negri and Hardt are new.

In the Empire, the newest, the most modern aspects of the capitalist mode of production have spread all over the world just like couch grass and these relations have caused a new and full polarization of classes among the Empire and the proletariat. These relations have born the "multitude".

We can explain the other opinions put forward in "The Empire" as follows:

The important opinions of these authors have been formulated in the preface of the book:

"Empire is materializing before our very eyes. Over the past several decades, as colonial regimes were overthrown and then precipitously after the Soviet barriers to the capitalist world market finally collapsed, we have witnessed an irresistible and irreversible globalization of economic and cultural exchanges. Along with the global market and global circuits of production have emerged a global order, a new logic and structure of rule -in short, a new form of sovereignty. Empire is the political subject that effectively regulates these global exchanges, the sovereign power that governs the world." (Preface, p. xi)

"Our basic hypothesis is that sovereignty has taken a new form, composed of a series of national and supranational organisms united under a single logic of rule. This new global form of sovereignty is what we call Empire." (Preface, p. xii)

In the Empire, national sovereignty and limitation against outside have been surmounted and thus, the hegemony of the imperialist centres begins to disappear.

"In contrast to imperialism, Empire establishes no territorial centre of power and does not rely on fixed boundaries or barriers. It is a decentred and deterritorializing apparatus of rule that progressively incorporates the entire global realm within its open, expanding frontiers." (Preface, p. xii)

The inevitable conclusion of this understanding is that the USA is not an imperialist centre.

[3] *"Imperialism was a creature of the nation states. (...) internally, imperialism stood alive through the sanctification of sovereignty of states and externally, it was a form of the export -naturally, a type of export that destroys the others of power, culture and economic interests."* (*"Es herrscht noch zu wenig Globalisierung"*. Interview with Toni Negri und Michael Hardt, by the newspaper "Die taz", 18 March 2002).

[4] *"As the powers and boundaries of nation-states decline, however, differences between national territories become increasingly relative. They are now not differences of nature (as were, for example, the differences between the territory of the metropole and that of the colony) but differences of degree."* (p.384)

"The United States does not, and indeed no nation-state can today, form the centre of an imperialist project. (...) No nation will be world leader in the way modern European nations were. The United States does indeed occupy a privileged position in Empire, but this privilege derives not from its similarities to the old European imperialist powers, but from its differences." (Preface, p. xiv) These two professors claim so.

By the understandings that we have mentioned above, Negri and Hardt draw the picture of a system beyond imperialism, which they call Empire. This is a new world order and one can no longer speak of

In contrast to what these authors claim, globalization is neither new nor a stage beyond imperialism. Globalization is not a new stage of quality of the capitalist society. Globalization is typical for capitalism; it is an objective law of the action of capital.

the sovereignty of the nation-states within this order. In this order, the existence of a decentred power expanded all over the world; the existence of the domination of the Empire is on the agenda. One can not speak about the dependency of the Empire on a certain place. It is everywhere, it does not have an inside and an outside; the United States, which occupies a "privileged position" but does not claim the world hegemony, stands on the top of the "pyramid of global constitution".

This pyramid is in fact a world-state. Although they claim that the nation-states have lost their importance, they accept that a nation-state, which occupies a "privileged position", the USA, stands on the top of this pyramid. So, nation-state does not lose its importance; the strong one continues to be the important one. Indeed, with this understanding, these authors give the USA the role of world-police. Maybe for this reason; for the reason that he has taken orders from Negri and Hardt, Bush plays the role of the chief police of the world-state!

In this order, military interventions, competition among the nation-states, conflicts based on interests are not seen as wars but as the detective events within the Empire.

For the reason that "Imperialism is over", -at least we suppose so- Negri and Hardt announce that the new world order can no longer be explained by following the analysis of Lenin on imperialism. In other words, they express that one cannot defend both Leninism and a new stage beyond imperialism at once. They are supposed to surpass Lenin, to have passed him in terms of ideas, and they try to say that there has remained no reason to be Leninist!

There is no doubt that the world has changed a lot since the analysis of Lenin on imperialism. But even despite the fact that these changes are of great importance, they have not caused capitalism and imperialism to become something else. The five characteristics of imperialism defined by Lenin are still valid; these five characteristics are still determining also today's imperialism.^[5]

The development of capitalism, the increasing concentration of capital and of production, the monopolization that develops further, the hegemony of the finance capital and of the export of capital, the share of the world among the foremost imperialist forces and the wars and competition for its re-division show how valid is the analysis of Lenin.

[5] "But very brief definitions, although convenient, for they sum up the main points, are nevertheless inadequate, since we have to deduce from them some especially important features of the phenomenon that has to be defined. And so, without forgetting the conditional and relative value of all definitions in general, which can never embrace all the concatenations of a phenomenon in its full development, we must give a definition of imperialism that will include the following five of its basic features:

(1) the concentration of production and capital has developed to such a high stage that it has created monopolies which play a decisive role in economic life; (2) the merging of bank capital with industrial capital, and the creation, on the basis of this "finance capital", of a financial oligarchy; (3) the export of capital as distinguished from the export of commodities acquires exceptional importance; (4) the formation of international monopolist capitalist associations which share the world among themselves, and (5) the territorial division of the whole world among the biggest capitalist powers is completed. (Lenin: *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*)

According to Negri and Hardt, *"the globalization of economic and cultural exchanges is irresistible and irreversible."* So that, *"the sovereignty of the nation-states declines"* and the strong international monopolies have left the phenomenon of nation-state behind. According to these authors, globalisation is a new stage of quality of the capitalist society; it is a stage beyond imperialism.

In contrast to what these authors claim, globalization is neither new nor a stage beyond imperialism. Globalization is not a new stage of quality of the capitalist society. Globalization is typical for capitalism; it is an objective law of the action of capital. Yet in 1848, Marx and Engels, in their Manifest, had evaluated the internationalization of capital and production (or in bourgeois terms, "globalization").^[6]

That is to say, the capitalist mode of production was representing an international system from the beginning; export of commodities and capital, international commerce, the formation of the entire world in accordance with the action of the capital; in other words, this phenomenon called globalization is, as we can see, as old as capitalism.

It is just a fabricated claim that multinational monopolies do not need a national base, a national port to refuge, a state. It has nothing to do with the reality. Only a few monopolies, such as Shell, Unilever and ABB are based on more than one nation-state: Shell and Unilever are Hollandaise-British monopolies and ABB is a Swiss-Swedish monopoly again in terms of property. That is to say these monopolies are based on more than one nation.

According to Negri and Hardt, international monopolies "stand on the air" and the state has lost its power. This is a ridiculous interpretation which does not comprehend the role of the state in capitalism. One cannot think of capitalism which is not based on nation-state. However, forget thinking, Negri and Hardt make the theory of this in order to make the class enemy invisible. Forget the working class, they

even do not show their "multitude" what their target should be. They carefully hide the state as a class enemy; as a target that should be destroyed.

The capitalist class do need the state. In general, the state has the task of defending the bourgeoisie in face of the fight of the working class and against the other states. The one that forms the conditions to obtain the maximum profit and that guarantees its continuity is the state. To believe that the nation-state could disappear in the capitalist system, or in fashionable terms in the neo-liberal system, is just a utopia as well as to believe that there could exist liberalism without state.



The decline of nation-states or colonialist barbarity?

Negri and Hardt claim the end of the "industrial society" and related to this, they claim that we have passed to "postmodernity". In this era, *"the central role of production of surplus value"* loses its importance and its place is *"today increasingly filled by intellectual, immaterial, and communicative labour power"*. In the "postmodernity", the service sector and immaterial labour becomes determining. *"Today information and communication have come to play a foundational role in production processes and they are the very commodities produced"*. Undoubtedly, they do not write so, so that no one can understand anything!

[6] *"The bourgeoisie has, through its exploitation of the world market, given a cosmopolitan character to production and consumption in every country. To the great chagrin of reactionaries, it has drawn from under the feet of industry the national ground on which it stood. All old-established national industries have been destroyed or are daily being destroyed. They are dislodged by new industries, whose introduction becomes a life and death question for all civilized nations, by industries that no longer work up indigenous raw material, but raw material drawn from the remotest zones; industries whose products are consumed, not only at home, but in every quarter of the globe. (...) In place of the old local and national seclusion and self-sufficiency, we have intercourse in every direction, universal inter-dependence of nations. And as in material, so also in intellectual production. The intellectual creations of individual nations become common property. National one-sidedness and narrow-mindedness become more and more impossible ..."* (Manifesto of the Communist Party, Karl Marx and Frederick Engels)

It goes without questioning that the basis of every economy is formed by the production of the material values. It is obvious that one cannot speak of immaterial production and of the use of immaterial labour without the existence of the production of material values. Beyond that, neither can the service sector exist without the production of material values. In fact, forming the base of every economy, the production of material values also forms the base of the service sector. But these two authors defend that this is not so, and this understanding is not valid in the Empire. In other words, they say that the base of economy is not formed by the production of material values, but by service sector.

According to them, the world has changed so much in structure in the globalization process that a new global form of sovereignty has arisen. We have been living in an era that goes beyond the nation-state; in the era of the Empire. And in this new order, there are no limitations/borders such as inside and outside, in contrast to the order of nation-states. For there is no inside and outside; for that the Empire signifies a whole, the politics in this order inevitable consists of only internal politics. Consequently, military interventions, wars of occupation are considered as detective acts which serve to validate the universal "values" of the Empire. So, these two sharp people explain, for example the occupation of Afghanistan and Iraq, not as acts in accordance with the interests of the US imperialism and with its efforts to establish its world hegemony, but as detective acts carried out in order to make the dissidents accept the universal "values" of the Empire. Remember, among the pretexts of the attack on Afghanistan and Iraq by the US imperialism was also the aim of "defending and protecting" the universal "values" in the name of "humanity" and "democracy"!

The imaginary world of Negri and Hardt is quite rich. This world rises upon a certain structure. According to Negri, "on the base of the biopoliticization of production, the Empire creates a biopolitic order". Negri and Hardt have taken the concepts "biopolitics" and "biopower" from Foucault. Biopower have the function of administering life, guaranteeing it and investing it through. This power administers, guarantees and invests life through spontaneously, automatically and without any organisation! By this way, the "highest anarchist values" are guaranteed.

In terms of their evaluation of the question of power in the capitalist system, Negri and Hardt are the students of Foucault. Foucault theorises the passage

from the "disciplinary society" to the "society of control". In the "disciplinary society", domination is implemented through mechanisms. These are the mechanisms which regulate the acts and behaviours in the society. These include, for example, schools and factories.

However, in the "society of control", the mechanisms of command become continuously more democratic. These mechanisms are "distributed throughout the brains" (p.23) of those who are commanded. Control does not depend on the measures caused by external factors:

"Power is now exercised through machines that directly organize the brains (in communication systems, information networks, etc.) and bodies (in welfare systems, monitored activities, etc.) toward a state of autonomous alienation from the sense of life and the desire for creativity. The society of control might thus be characterized by an intensification and generalization of the normalizing apparatuses of disciplinarity that internally animate our common and daily practices." (p.23)

This is exactly what Negri and Hardt understand by biopolitic power.

An imaginary, untouchable and invisible power; the biopower organises and regulates the social life in all aspects! As if it is an automatically observing and regulating order!

"Biopower is a form of power that regulates social life from its interior, following it, interpreting it, absorbing it, and rearticulating it. Power can achieve an effective command over the entire life of the population only when it becomes an integral, vital function that every individual embraces and reactivates of his or her own accord." (p.23/24)

"Power is thus expressed as a control that extends throughout the depths of the consciousnesses and bodies of the population-and at the same time across the entirety of social relations." (p.24)

In the "society of control", all political, economic and cultural relations of capitalism have completely been materialised and are in accordance. Infrastructure and superstructure have combined; there has remained no difference among them; and the obstacles that divide them have been destroyed. It is no longer possible to speak of an interaction between infrastructure and superstructure; these structures have been combined; have become one single body! Marxists had discussed this issue so much! It seems that all were in vain!

Negri and Hardt base their understanding of biopower on immaterial labour. So, the changes in the production form the material essence of their concept of biopower.

According to Negri and Hardt, since the "industrial society" is over and the "informational society" has emerged, relations of labour have also changed inevitably. "The third sector" (service sector) has left behind the industrial and agricultural sectors and with all its typical branches; it has come to play a foundational role in production processes. This sector includes the fields such as education, advertising, music, transportation, finances and health. There is no doubt that neither of these authors defend that these fields are new. But what has an importance is that this sector plays a central role in the relations of labour, in production. This role is something new. In the imperialist centres, labour moves towards the service sector and physical labour moves towards the dependent countries. According to Negri and Hardt, industrial production does not cease to exist, but with the information revolution, it changes into a hybrid economy expanded throughout the world.

These gentlemen claim that "immaterial labour" has two faces: One face consists of the increasingly extensive and continuous use of computers. To such extent that, familiarity with computers is defined as the primary qualification for work. They carry it so further that they claim that machines become a new prosthesis integrated into our bodies and minds. We are becoming aliens or the society is alienating!

Thus, these authors have re-created on their own the understanding "*machines are organs of the human brain, created by the human hand.*"^[7] which was put forward by Marx in his "Grundrisse"

The other face of "immaterial labour" is that the human interaction and human relations between both sides have an affective face; it is the "affective labour". The products are not material, they are not physical, and they cannot be touched by hand: Relaxing feelings, to feel oneself good, excitement, passion and etc. This must be including fear and

love! All these are the products of "affective labour"; "affective labour" produces social networks. Different forms of collective life and biopower are the products of "affective labour".

Then, in terms of affectiveness, what does a poor young man, who bears a great "passion", "feeling" and "excitement" towards the girl he loves, but who cannot dare to (this is also a type of excitement) open her his feelings, and who, despite this, continues to live this feeling on his mind, produce? If everybody is supposed to be productive in the Empire, then, this young man produces a commodity by his act of lack of courage (this is also a type of excitement)! He must be producing the commod-

On one hand, they claim that the working class has disappeared, on the other hand, they make the theory of "multitude" and they say: "The working class has died! Long live multitude!" It is necessary to adopt oneself to the new developments!

ity of not being able to express his feelings! Or, what do the passengers, who fear to death in the midst of a great "excitement" in a plane that has lost great altitude, produce? Or what does the person, who is about to drown in the middle of the sea, produce? Or what do the people who pray in the mosque or church produce? Are they not full of the deepest feelings in terms of religion, do they not experience very intense "feelings" and "excitement"; do they not feel as if they are flying? This means, they are in a process of production! So, what do they produce?

Who is clever enough to understand this?

Toni Negri! This is too much!

[7] *Nature builds no machines, no locomotives, railways, electric telegraphs, self-acting mules etc. These are products of human industry; natural material transformed into organs of the human will over nature, or of human participation in nature. They are organs of the human brain, created by the human hand.* (Marx, *Grundrisse der Kritik der politischen Ökonomie*)

It is not the articles made, but how they are made, and by what instruments, that enables us to distinguish different economic epochs. Instruments of labour not only supply a standard of the degree of development to which human labour has attained, but they are also indicators of the social conditions under which that labour is carried on. (Marks, *Capital I*).



"The exploitation globalises, our struggle as well!"
Action in Argentine against the imperialist globalisation

The source of the understanding that takes everything as a commodity is this piece of nonsense of Negri.

According to Negri and Hardt, immaterial labour has three types:

"In short, we can distinguish three types of immaterial labour that drive the service sector at the top of the informational economy. The first is involved in an industrial production that has been informationalized and has incorporated communication technologies in a way that transforms the production process itself. Manufacturing is regarded as a service, and the material labour of the production of durable goods mixes with and tends toward immaterial labour. Second is the immaterial labour of analytical and symbolic tasks, which itself breaks down into creative and intelligent manipulation on the one hand and routine symbolic tasks on the other. Finally, a third type of immaterial labour involves the production and manipulation of affect and requires (virtual or actual) human contact, labour in the bodily mode. These are the three types of labour that drive the postmodernization of the global economy. We should point out before moving on that in each of these forms of immaterial labour, cooperation is completely inherent in the labour itself." (p.293/294)

This is what happens to labour power! Naturally, when it is defined in this way, the working class becomes history as we will see below, and it leaves its place to a "multitude" which corresponds to immaterial labour.

Biopower has a sense when it is considered in terms of the potential of the "new revolutionary subject"; of "multitude". Negri and Hardt claim that "multitude" is a "cooperative power". Under this power, every single subject keeps its own characteristics. Biopower, with all its ontological richness, opportunities and necessities, contains the whole life. In the Empire, "immaterial labour" creates the conditions of communist society. In this order, the productive forces carry a communist character, but only the relations of production still have a capitalist character. See! It could only be Negri and Hardt who make the productive forces communist, while leaving the relations of production as of capitalist character!

The working class and the "multitude"

These authors affirm that labour continuously becomes more and more immaterial: *"The central role previously occupied by the labour power of mass factory workers in the production of surplus value is today increasingly filled by intellectual, immaterial, and communicative labour power. It is thus necessary to develop a new political theory of value that can pose the problem of this new capitalist accumulation of value at the centre of the mechanism of exploitation (and thus, perhaps, at the centre of potential revolt)."* (p.29)

"After a new theory of value, then, a new theory of subjectivity must be formulated that operates primarily through knowledge, communication, and language." (p.29)

That is right; if one refuses the Marxist theories of economy politics, society, classes and of production of the values, and constructs an imaginary society on the basis of this refusal, then, one must develop a new "theory of political values" that corresponds to the functioning of the new order. Negri and Hardt do so. But it is not enough to develop these theories. After that, they have to develop a theory of subjectivity that could put these theories into function. After throwing away *"the central role previously occupied by the labour power of mass factory workers in the production of surplus value"*, it comes to defining that *"the central role is today increasingly filled by intellectual, immaterial, and communicative labour power"*, disregarding the fact that hundreds millions of workers produce surplus value. But this definition cannot save itself from being so abstract. Then, a subject which corresponds to this abstract theory is found: The "multitude" which takes the place of the working class!

Negri and Hardt try to integrate the three aspects of "immaterial labour": *"the communicative labour of industrial production that has newly become linked in informational networks, the interactive labour of symbolic analysis and problem solving, and the labour of the production and manipulation of affects"* (p.30)

According to their theory, cooperative, affective and immaterial labour prevails in the Empire. Under this order, the borders between life and production have disappeared. All labour is under the control of the capital. Thus, they mean that the composition of the proletariat has transformed in the Empire.^[8]

Defining that the composition of the proletariat has transformed or that the "classic" working class is becoming history, these two authors inevitably come to the conclusion that the productive, industrial working class had formed just one moment in the evolution process of the proletariat.

"In a previous era the category of the proletariat centred on (...) the industrial working class (...) Today that working class has all but disappeared from view. It has not ceased to exist, but it has been displaced from its privileged position in the capitalist economy (...) The proletariat is not what it used to be..." (p.52/53)

According to these authors, this evolution process ended right after the World War II and the industrial working class began to lose its position. Naturally, the "multitude" took its place. That is to say, the old slogan "Workers of all countries, unite!" is not valid any more. Now, it is time for the slogan "Multitudes of all countries, unite!" Do you see the propaganda of those imperialist bourgeois ideologists?! We had always thought that they were the ones who had produced the slogan "Goodbye proletariat!" For this reason, we took them as the main target. But now it seems that it is Negri, that anarchist-autonomist who has lost his hopes towards the working class at the 70s of the last century, is the one who leads this process!

Of course we will not try to refute this piece of nonsense. The main errors of these authors in their analysis of the working class have their roots in the fact that they have closed their eyes to the real world and in their erroneous understanding of labour and the character of the capital. We should



Miners' action in Bolivia

also take into consideration the earlier militancy of Negri against the capitalist system.

"The lines of production and those of representation cross and mix in the same linguistic and productive realm. In this context the distinctions that define the central categories of political economy tend to blur. Production becomes indistinguishable from reproduction; productive forces merge with relations of production; constant capital tends to be constituted and represented within variable capital, in the brains, bodies, and cooperation of productive subjects." (p.385)

Thus, the characteristic concepts of the capitalist economy are made unrecognisable; the borders between constant capital and variable capital, the relationship between the productive forces and the relations of production, and the borders between various types of concrete labour are eliminated at once; the objective laws of the capitalist economy and society are disregarded. Disappointed and hopeless Negri turns capitalism into something else. But let us not humiliate him. There are many sharp people, who writhe in the midst of a great disappointment and hopelessness but who still claim to be "Marxists". They have established "the Empire" in their minds: On one hand, they claim that the working class has disappeared, on the other hand, they make the theory of "multitude" and say: "The working class has died! Long live multitude!" It is necessary to adopt oneself to the new developments!

[8] *"The composition of the proletariat has transformed and thus our understanding of it must too. In conceptual terms we understand proletariat as a broad category that includes all those whose labour is directly or indirectly exploited by and subjected to capitalist norms of production and reproduction."* (p.52)

After bringing the end of the "industrial society" and establishing the Empire by making the service sector and "immaterial labour" prevail, and after material production becomes secondary in the whole economy, -this is their theory- after refusing the working class or refusing that it plays a central role in production, Negri and Hardt put the "social worker" or the "multitude" instead of this class. According to these authors, what a normal human being who lives on this earth understands that the working class has lost its position to play a role as a revolutionary subject. "Goodbye proletariat!" Its place has been filled by the subject called "social worker". This subject includes everybody but the

Negri and Hardt say that "multitude" cannot be understood as the working class, as the proletarian masses who have to sell their labour power to survive and who are subjected to the conditions/relations of production imposed by the capital. The means of production that are necessary for production are under the control of the "multitude". "Multitude" does not sell its labour power, but its products, services in the market.

capitalists. So, the society has been purified from all class differentiations in front of the capitalists; there remain no workers, labourers, engineers, doctors, bureaucrats, teachers and etc! In front of the capitalists, everybody has become subject in the same level, keeping also their differences; they have become the "multitude"!

These authors affirm that bioproduction, which also signifies the production of human life, is being developed everywhere by everyone. Negri has been defending such petty-bourgeois, anarchian dreams/understandings since the 70s of the last century.

Yet, in the middle of the 70s of the last century, Negri had begun to use the term "social worker", leaving the terms that were defining the "industrial worker", or the worker who produces material values. In his opinion, the materialisation of the capitalist exploitation was carried out through the whole society. So, the working class had lost its privilege. Now, everyone was a worker, everyone was being exploited. Yet, in those days, Negri did not see the relation of exploitation among capital and labour as a determining factor and he did not define the working class according to its place in the production process. What Negri understood under "social worker" was a student or a housewife, as well as an unemployed person, an engineer and a teacher. That is because, according to him, all of them are exploited by capitalism as "social workers".

While defining the "social worker" or the "new proletariat", these authors produce the theory of "multitude": As we have mentioned above, these two professors claim, that the class composition of the proletariat has changed. They use one more new concept instead of the proletariat: those whose labour power is exploited directly or indirectly. They put those who are subjected to capitalist norms in production and re-production in this category. That is to say, in the era of "globalisation", in the era of Empire, capitalism has turned everybody into workers; now, everybody is a part of the proletariat. It does not matter in terms of quality whether one works in the factory, the other one is a doctor or engineer, and another is a petty-producer. Now, all of us have been turned into the "multitude" as "social workers" or the "new proletariat".

You can also use the term "expanded proletariat" instead of "multitude". Mr. Michael Hardt expresses his ideas as follows: *"When we take the proletariat, in the most expanded meaning of the word, as all the working people, we will reach the multitude"* (*"Es herrscht noch zu wenig Globalisierung"*). Interview with Toni Negri und Michael Hardt, by the newspaper "Die taz", 18 March 2002).

In other words, when compared with the "people" or with the political demands of the people, "multitude" is a sum of the "singular" ones; of every single subject. "Multitude" is a sum of many singulars; this means: it is a crowd consisting of singular ones. No component of the "multitude" has to draw a border between itself and the others. "Multitude" is a sum of differences; it is not homogenous; the com-

ponents of it are not similar to each other. "Multitude" tries to contain those who are outside; those who are not inside the "multitude".

While the working class is the grave-digger of capitalism, "multitude" is the grave-digger of the Empire!

"Multitude" is not just a multitude! Just as the proletariat reproduces itself, this subject called "multitude" also produces itself. Since the production of the material values is secondary now, the working class is also over and the material conditions of its reproducing itself are disappearing. So, the working class is about to die in its bed! (And exactly for this reason, the Marxists are dinosaurs!). But the "multitude", which signifies "immaterial labour" does have the conditions of reproducing itself. According to these authors, the fundamental, the most important productive force in the Empire is the "multitude". The working class represents the past/the old, while the "multitude" represents the future/the new. This is a question of dialectics. And this law of the dialectics says that you must base on the new, even if it is yet just an embryo.

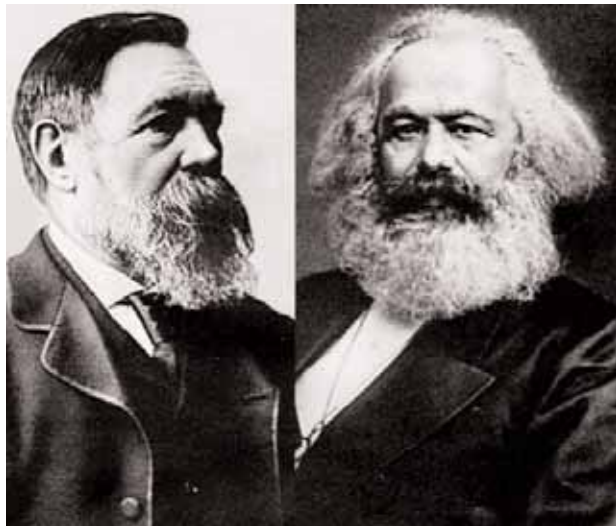
Negri tries to explain the "multitude's" reproducing itself as a subject, departing from the immaterial labour which is dominant in the Empire. He states the following:

"We should point out before moving on that in each of these forms of immaterial labour, cooperation is completely inherent in the labour itself. Immaterial labour immediately involves social interaction and cooperation. In other words, the cooperative aspect of immaterial labour is not imposed or organized from the outside, as it was in previous forms of labour, but rather, cooperation is completely immanent to the labouring activity itself. This fact calls into question the old notion (common to classical and Marxian political economics) by which labour power is conceived as "variable capital," that is, a force that is activated and made coherent only by capital, because the cooperative powers of labour power (particularly immaterial labour power) afford labour the possibility of valorising itself. (...) Today productivity, wealth, and the creation of social surpluses take the form of cooperative interactivity through linguistic, communicational, and affective networks. In the expression of its own creative energies, immaterial labour thus seems to provide the potential for a kind of spontaneous and elementary communism." (p.294)

Or:

"Empire takes form when language and communication, or really when immaterial labour and cooperation, become the dominant productive force. The superstructure is put to work, and the universe we live in is a universe of productive linguistic Networks. (...) Social subjects are at the same time producers and products of this unitary machine. In this new historical formation it is thus no longer possible to identify a sign, a subject, a value, or a practice that is "outside." (p.385)

So, from this point of view, "multitude" has already found its "International"! This is where the importance of the WSF comes from. This is why this social movement led by old reformist and pacifist ideologies and leaderships is exaggerated so much.



Yet in 1848, Marx and Engels, in their Manifest, had evaluated the internationalization of capital and production.

Under the conditions where there exists no "external", nothing outside economy and the Empire, Negri socialises the productive forces completely.

"The difference between working hours -8 hours for production- and the remaining 16 hours is ever more disappearing. There exist no outside and we mean biopolitics with this. The difference among production and life disappears. ("Es herrscht noch zu wenig Globalisierung". Interview with Toni Negri und Michael Hardt, by the newspaper "Der Taz", 18 March 2002).

As a result, "multitude" can be summarised as follows: "Multitude" is different from the social subjects

such as people, working class, labouring masses. "Multitude" is a mass/crowd that will never form a whole, that consist of numerous differences and that cannot be reduced to a certain identity. The differences are innumerable: ethnic, cultural, religious, sexual, social differences, difference in forms of working, differences in the points of view, difference of wants and etc. "Multitude" consists of the sum of all of these single differences.

Among the "multitude", social difference is always considerable. "Multitude" is like a rainbow. It is typical for it to interact and act in common and at the same time, to keep all the differences! The difference among the "multitude" is a motive force to discover the commonalities and to interact and act in common.

The class character of "multitude"

Negri and Hardt affirm that there is a relation between "immaterial labour" and "multitude"; a relation in which one requires the other in order to exist. The dialectics of these two authors says so. Since the waged labour disappears and the relations/conditions of production loose its capitalist form, what remain are those who act and serve in an independent manner; this is the "multitude". We see in the understanding of Empire the social movements, the anarchian-autonomist and feminist dreamers who form the World Social Forum and who struggle to turn back to 200-300 years ago in the history, these elements of the international mass movement.



Mercedes-Benz factory worker

In the Empire, the character of property has lost its importance. In the Empire, the world of "immaterial labour", the production of material values has no importance. According to these authors, "immaterial labour" has a cooperative character. Cooperation is immanent to labour processes. Immaterial labour takes the necessary base for private property because of its collectivising character; it turns it into an "abstract concept" and a "juridical power". (p.302). This "juridical power" cannot have a real economic power/effect in the Empire: *"Private property of the means of production today, in the era of the hegemony of cooperative and immaterial labor, is only a putrid and tyrannical obsolescence."* (p.410)

"Multitude", produces what is common and what is common forms the base of the future production. This is a spiral and expanding movement. What is common appears in both two axes of biopolitic production: *"Only when what is common is formed can production take place and can general productivity rise"*. In this biopolitic process, "multitude" establishes relationships with the other "multitudes" through thousands of links and networks. These relationships bind the production of the "multitudes" and a "multitude life" is born inevitably! We see in the Empire the anarchian-autonomist current that expresses itself within the WSF that produces in a separate manner, that puts an end to Money and competition and that reminds us Proudhon.

In the dreamworld of the imaginary Empire of Negri, every single element of the "multitude" can any moment be related to the means of production. It seems that "multitude" is not broken off with the means of production in the Empire. Every single "citizen of the Empire" who wants to work can have any moment the conditions of production, appropriately for the job he wants to do! Of course, no one would be unemployed in such a society. At most, there could be ones who take work as a trouble!

Since the conditions/means of production are in the use of every single member of the "multitude" in the Empire, they become economically independent from the beginning. Theory says so. Under these conditions, "multitude" can be oppressed and exploited by the Empire only outside the process of work. Theory says so. In other words, oppression and exploitation take place outside the direct production process. This hocus pocus has a meaning: when you put oppression and exploitation outside the direct production process, there remains no role

for property to play in the process of oppression and exploitation; property loses its importance. For, when the capitalist, or the one who has got the private property of the means of production, loses his right of direct dominance upon the conditions/relations of production, he cannot use these means as a capital. By this way, capitalist loses its power upon production, and consequently, upon the living labour.

"The multitude is biopolitical self-organization." (p. 411). When they turn the character of property into an unimportant factor, there appears the conditions of production of the "multitude". Using the term "self-organization", these authors express that there is a difference in quality between the capitalist organisation of production and the "multitude's" organisation of production. In the capitalist system, the capitalist or the monopoly buy labour power in the labour market; let it work as much as they need, and then throw it out onto the street. In the capitalist system, the worker works under the control of and for the interests of the capitalist and creates surplus value. But in the Empire, one cannot speak of working under somebody else's control and for somebody else's interests. The producers organise their production on their own!

The "highest" anarchism is this one! A "noble" anarchist would only be like this!

In the Empire of Negri and Hardt, the "immaterial labour" of the "multitude" is not subjected to the capital, or to the process of its validating itself. The "multitude" uses its labour for itself. It is not so important whether the very life outside is like this or not! These authors disregard hundreds of millions of people who have to sell their labour power to survive. They are like the poor young man who, with closed eyes, writes "I love you" on the sand at the shore.

Negri and Hardt say that "multitude" cannot be understood as the working class, as the proletarian masses who have to sell their labour power to survive and who are subjected to the conditions/relations of production imposed by the capital.

The means of production that are necessary for production are under the control of the "multitude". "Multitude" does not sell its labour power, but its products, services in the market. Beyond that, "multitude" buys no labour power to exploit. In this sense, the "multitude" is not a capitalist class. It does not own capitalist work places. In the Empire, the "multitude" is neither the bourgeois class nor the



Exploitation of cheap labour power in China

working class; it is neither capitalist nor worker. It has a middle position. In the Empire, the "multitude" is a mass, formed by all classes since these classes have lost their character/conditions of being a class but every single member of these classes have their personal character/differences. In fact, what is mentioned here is the petty-bourgeoisie.

It is true; there are really important similarities and differences between the "multitude" defined by Negri and Hardt and the classic petty bourgeoisie:

The petty bourgeoisie believes that it is exploited and oppressed by the state and big monopolies. It has a reaction against the system, such as an anarchist. Negri and Hardt also confirm that the "multitude" carries such feelings in the Empire; they theorise that the unilateral dissatisfaction of the "multitude" in the Empire and they theorise that there is a similarity among the classic petty bourgeoisie and the "multitude" in terms of relations of exploitation.

In the Empire, "multitude" owns de facto the means of production. In this sense, it is similar to classic petty bourgeoisie. These authors sometimes speak of the proletariat, but only as follows: according to them, since the sale of labour power, the workers' and the waged labourers' being subjected to capital are history in the Empire; since the property of the means of production plays no role, to be a "proletarian", it is enough that labour power is exploited "directly or indirectly" in any manner. In the Empire,

exploitation takes place anywhere in any manner in relation with production. Everybody is somehow exploited.

There are no classes that the classic petty bourgeoisie has an antagonistic contradiction with. Or we can say, petty bourgeoisie has no concrete contradiction as it is in the antagonist contradiction between the bourgeoisie and the working class. The "multitude" in the Empire neither has a concrete contradiction. Negri and Hardt hide with great care who the contradiction is. They make it invisible and unrecognisable.



Opel workers' historic strike

Conclusion:

What do these authors suggest?

"We must push through Empire to come out the other side. (...) Empire can be effectively contested only on its own level of generality and by pushing the processes that it offers past their present limitations. We have to accept that challenge and learn to think globally and act globally. Globalization must be met with a counter-globalization, Empire with a counter-Empire". (p.206)

In order to do that, they demand that "multitude" should act in common, keeping its differences, without integrating, and to carry out this acting in common without any certain defined centre. They say: "Establish networks! Establish networks!" The theory says so! It is understood why that "network" question is so popular and important instead of establishing parties.

This is what they suggest!

These authors tell the following to the working class: Your struggle in the past was successful. But from now on, you do not have the capacity to fulfil your historical task. Imperialism has transformed into Empire. You are over; "multitude" has taken your place. Goodbye proletariat!

In the Empire, the whole society has become productive. The difference between the productive and non-productive has disappeared. For this reason, the organisations of the working class, such as parties and trade-unions have lost their meaning in the Empire. For, the production of the material values has lost its hegemony and "immaterial labour" is now hegemonic. This is the theory.

There is no doubt that there exists hegemony in the Empire, too. The Empire distributes hegemony throughout the brains and the bodies of the "multitudes". A "society of control" is being established. Through the networks established all over the world, that is to say, throughout the whole Empire, the "multitude" is exploited. But the Empire is a more progressive process when compared with capitalism/imperialism. For, the Empire means new conditions of emancipation. This is the theory!

In the Empire, the conditions of work are totally different. "Multitude" is no longer a waged worker, a factory worker. "Multitude" consists of the elements of the creative service sector. The labour of the "multitude" is immaterial. In this type of work, the private property of the means of production plays no role. For this reason, "multitude" has provided itself an economic emancipation. What is now important is to achieve the political emancipation.

Negri and Hardt make the following call:

"Multitude"!

You can establish a "counter-Empire" step by step through the "communist networks" that you form. Now the slogan is no longer "Workers of all countries, unite!". It is now, "Globalisationists of all countries unite against the negative forces of globalisation!"

"Multitude"!

Power is not outside us, it is immanent to us, it is in our brain and body. We produce power continuously, unawarely, through our affective labour. Oh, at last we have understood. This means that the people that we had mentioned above were producing power through their actions of discourage, fear and intense feelings!

This power subjects us to itself, makes us slaves of it, independent from what our position in the society is. This biopower belongs to, is carried by and is used by no one. This power is independent from classes. It stands upon the society. It obligates us, the "multitude" to obey its order. This power has become the subject and it forces everybody, without making any difference among them, to be subjected to it.

By this way, Negri and Hardt give the "multitude" the message that there are no dominant classes in the Empire. Since they bring the end of waged labour, they have brought the end of the relations of capital, too. Thus, the owner of the capital who exploits labour is over.

"Multitude"!

Capital plays no role in the production process in the Empire. For, there is no need to waged labour. Capital does not divide the society into classes in the Empire. It does not bear the contradictions of capitalism among the society. Thus, all people are exploited to the same degree in the Empire. They all suffer from the same power.

In the Empire, capital continues to dominate without having an owner. It implements its domination upon the whole society. But there is no one who could use the power for his own interests. So, the real owners of the Empire, -if we save us from the Empire of Negri and think like we live in the real world- the capitalists are being made invisible for the "multitude" who fight for liberation from this power. Power and who is in power have a metaphysic character in the Empire. Negri and Hardt know very well who lead the power but they make them invisible in the eyes of the "multitude". So the "multitude" fights against windmills.

These authors present no strategy to liberate from the Empire. The Marxist-Leninist understanding of revolution, the Communist Manifesto, Marx, Engels, Lenin, and above all, Stalin, are history for them.

They advice us that there is only a new alternative and to believe that, but they do not have any idea. They say that parties, trade unions and organisations do not function. They want a future where any kind of organisation is refused. "Movement is everything, conclusion is nothing", they say. This autonomist, anarchist understanding consists of a call to "establish networks". So, these networks will spontaneously unite and globalise and a world society will be born from this! The only basis they rely on is

the "multitude" and the social movements. They advise us to hold many demonstrations, to cause chaos, and to implement the idea "Movement is everything, conclusion is nothing".

Negri and Hardt quickly loose the importance of the working class who works in the production of the material values, they say that it has no longer revolutionary capacity and they see a great revolutionary potential in the "multitude" that they replace with the working class. But it is interesting, that this "multitude" does not know what its opposite is. It is not organised; it does not act in a collective manner. Moreover, does not speak the "same" language. They have no "constant model" for this great power to mobilise. These authors do not even know when the "possibility" will change into "reality".

They want a future where any kind of organisation is refused. "Movement is everything, conclusion is nothing", they say. This autonomist, anarchist understanding consists of a call to "establish networks". So, these networks will spontaneously unite and globalise and a world society will be born from this!

They suggest the following:

"Whereas in the disciplinary era sabotage was the fundamental notion of resistance, in the era of imperial control it may be desertion. Whereas being against in modernity often meant a direct and/or dialectical opposition of forces, in postmodernity being-against might well be most effective in an oblique or diagonal stance. Battles against the Empire might be won through subtraction and defection. This desertion does not have a place; it is the evacuation of the places of power." (p.212)

Yes, state is unnecessary; private property is unnecessary! What is to be done in order to achieve the slogan "all power to multitude" is as follows: "The refusal of work and authority, or really the refusal of voluntary servitude, is the beginning of liberatory



The World Social Forum seems to be the "International" of the "multitude" from the point of view of Hardt and Negri.

politics. Long ago Etienne de La Boetie preached just such a politics of refusal: *"Resolve to serve no more and you are at once freed. I do not ask that you place hands upon the tyrant to topple him over, but simply that you support him no longer; then you will behold him. (...) Our lines of flight, our exodus must be constituent and create a real alternative. Beyond the simple refusal, or as part of that refusal, we need also to construct a new mode of life and above all a new community."* (p.204)

So, the political concept consists of disobedience, run-away, abandoning!

Negri and Hardt call the world society consisting of the "multitude" to establish "anarchism". They call those who were disappointed in their struggles until now, those who have broken off with social life, those who have broken hopes, those who put individualism above all kind of high ideals, those who

run away from being organised, those who refuse such a struggle, those who do not believe in the working class and its struggle, to follow the bourgeois "philosophists" and sociologists such as Foucault and to show of disobedience, to leave the political scene and to run away.

Using also the weakness and weak points of the international communist movement, they present their utopia as the way of emancipation. Their utopia, the Empire refuses the reality of today's world, darkens the real life, hides the source of exploitation and oppression, and satisfies only the petty-bourgeois anarchian-autonomist sectors.

Negri and Hardt develop the theory of disregarding the working class under the conditions of capitalism/imperialism.

They tell us not to form parties, not to organise. They speak of the possibility of reaching the communist conscience within the spontaneous movement and to form the nucleus of communism within this system, within the Empire (*"in the expression of its own creative energies, immaterial labour thus seems to provide the potential for a kind of spontaneous and elementary communism."*).

For that purpose, they act exactly like Rumi^[9] and say "Come, whatever you are, come to us. It does not matter whether you are unbeliever, Mazdean or heathenish. Come. In other words, they say that everyone, no matter whether it is a worker or an unemployed, student or housewife, peasant, engineer or a doctor, everyone but the capitalists, whoever it is, from whatever class it comes, is a part of the "multitude"; they call all of them to build up networks, to expand all over the world through these networks and to form a global network by combining these networks.

And Marx takes the last word:

[for the German ideologists] *"This conception is truly religious: it postulates religious man as the primitive man, the starting-point of history, and in its imagination puts the religious production of fancies in the place of the real production of the means of subsistence and of life itself."* (Marx-Engels; German Ideology). ◀

[9] Mawlana Jalal-ad-Din Mohammad Balkhi, known as Rumi, is a Persian poet and theologian who lived between the years of 1207-1273.

SOCIAL MOVEMENTS AND CLASS CHARACTER

The course of development of the capitalist economy from the 1970s until today has been discussed intensively by the bourgeois ideologists and the economists. We can also mention the discussions of the world of science of the monetarists and fiscalists. In these discussions, the neo-liberalists (monetarists) defended a market system with no rules left, without the intervention of the state, where everything has turned into commodity; meanwhile the Keynesian fiscalists defended the intervention of the state, the "welfare state".

The term "globalisation", especially since the dissolution of the Soviet Union and the revisionist block until today, has been commented in very different ways and according to each comment, also different political conclusions have been drawn. In order to obscure the ideological and theoretical dimensions of the problem, the objective laws of social development were also denied. Even the fact, that the capitalist society is formed by two irreconcilable classes (proletariat and bourgeoisie) and social intermediate strata, has been disregarded and the problem has been reduced to those, who are in favour of globalisation and those, who are against it.

According to the ideologists of the imperialist bourgeoisie, "globalisation" means democracy, freedom, and prosperity. According to the reformist and paci-

fist leadership of the World Social Forum (WSF) and the European Social Forum (ESF), the personification of the international mass movement, the social movements of today, and of ATTAC, which is also under their influence, it means the ruining of the "welfare state".

According to some petty-bourgeois circles (the followers of Negri f. e.), "globalisation" is a new order, the expression of a new era and according to some other petty-bourgeois circles, it is a new, the last phase/level of the development of imperialism (one part of the Maoists f. e.).

"Globalisation" is one of the first topics analysed by Marx. Marx and Engels explained already in the Communist Manifesto the meaning of globalisation.^[1]

[1] *"The bourgeoisie has, through its exploitation of the world market, given a cosmopolitan character to production and consumption in every country. To the great chagrin of reactionaries, it has drawn from under the feet of industry the national ground on which it stood. All old-established national industries have been destroyed or are daily being destroyed. They are dislodged by new industries, whose introduction becomes a life and death question for all civilised nations, by*



The alternative presented by the World Social Forum is a partly reformed capitalism

Globalisation is nothing else but the internationalisation of the capitalist mode of production; of the capital; capitalist production; of the movement of the capital as a whole. According to Marx, globalisation is the obligation of the capitalist mode of production to expand, it is characteristic of the building of a world market^[2].

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Keynesianism, expression of the social politics of the movement of the capital until those times, did not correspond anymore to the course of movement of the capital and therefore has been rejected and replaced with neo-liberalism.

Keynesianism began to retreat "fighting" as Neo-Keynesianism against neo-liberalism, which had begun to predominate in the form of monetarism.

industries that no longer work up indigenous raw material, but raw material drawn from the remotest zones; industries whose products are consumed, not only at home, but in every quarter of the globe. In place of the old wants, satisfied by the production of the country, we find new wants, requiring for their satisfaction the products of distant lands and climes. In place of the old local and national seclusion and self-sufficiency, we have intercourse in every direction, universal interdependence of nations. And as in material, so also in intellectual production. The intellectual creations of individual nations become common property. National one-sidedness and narrow-mindedness become more and more impossible, and from the numerous national and local literatures, there arises a world literature.

The bourgeoisie, by the rapid improvement of all instruments of production, by the immensely facilitated means of communication, draws all, even the most barbarian, nations into civilisation. The cheap prices of its commodities are the heavy artillery with which it batters down all Chinese wall, with which it forces the barbarians/ intensely obstinate hatred of foreigners to capitulate. It compels all nations, on pain of extinction, to adopt the bourgeois mode of production; it compels them to introduce what it calls civilisation into their midst, ie, to become bourgeois themselves. In one word, it creates a world after its own image.

The bourgeoisie has subjected the country to the rule of the towns. It has created enormous cities, has greatly increased the urban population as compared with the rural, and has thus rescued a considerable part of the population from the idiocy of rural life. Just as it has made the country dependent on the towns, so it has made barbarian and semi-barbarian countries dependent on the civilised ones, nations of peasants on nations of bourgeois, the East on the West.

The bourgeoisie keeps more and more doing away with the scattered state of the population, of the means of production, and of property. It has agglomerated population, centralised means of production, and has concentrated property in a few hands. The necessary consequence of this was political centralisation. Independent, or but loosely connected provinces, with separate interests, laws, governments and systems of taxation, became lumped together into one nation, with one government, one code of laws, one national class interest, one frontier and one customs tariff." (Marx/Engels, The Communist Manifesto, p 8-9)

[2] *"The capitalist mode of production is (...) a historical means of developing the material forces of production and creating an appropriate world-market and is, at the same time, a continual conflict between this its historical task and its own corresponding relations of social production." (Marx/Engels, Capital, vol. 3, p. 250)*

Engels had announced already in 1845, which kind of relations Neo-liberalism, which we experience with all its dimensions today, would develop and what would the basic point be.^[3]

At that time, just as today, everything is evaluated according to its material value. All the social relations are organised according to that. On the one hand the dominance of property over all fields of social life, and on the other hand, or as control against that, the orientation of economy. To be pro or contra! To be pro or contra means here to be in favour or not of the "new" social movements^[4], the social movements of today. We do not talk about the working class or the labouring masses. We do not talk about the struggle of those being for Neo-liberalism or "welfare state". We talk about the reformist and pacifist forces, which politically and ideologically direct the social movement, which demands from the ruling politics of neo-liberalism of today's capitalism and against the "welfare state". In the begin-

ning, the contradiction between neo-liberal capitalism (neo-liberalist bourgeoisie) and Keynesian capitalism ("welfare state") gave birth to the social movement of today, finding its expression in the WSF and the ESF, which is to say the internationalised social movement.

Within this movement, reformism and pacifism is organised, therefore the struggle against neo-liberalism (the IMF, WB, WTO, the US imperialism, international monopolies) and for a reformed capitalism, the struggle for the "welfare state" is represented in the WSF and also at the ESF. The contradiction between the WSF and neo-liberalism is the contradiction between neo-liberalism and Keynesianism. We can see this in the political, theoretical and ideological attitudes of the basic forces, which are forming the WSF.

A part of the theories of the "new" social movements is based on the theories of a "new class", which the imperialist bourgeoisie admires so much.

[3] "I have never seen a class so deeply demoralised, so incurably debased by selfishness, so corroded within, so incapable of progress, as the English bourgeoisie; and I mean by this, especially the bourgeoisie proper, particularly the Liberal, Corn Law repealing bourgeoisie. For it nothing exists in this world, except for the sake of money, itself not excluded. It knows no bliss save that of rapid gain, no pain save that of losing gold. In the presence of this avarice and lust of gain, it is not possible for a single human sentiment or opinion to remain untainted. True, these English bourgeois are good husbands and family men, and have all sorts of other private virtues, and appear, in ordinary intercourse, as decent and respectable as all other bourgeois; even in business they are better to deal with than the Germans; they do not higggle and haggle so much as our own pettifogging merchants; but how does this help matters? Ultimately it is self-interest, and especially money gain, which alone determines them. I once went into Manchester with such a bourgeois, and spoke to him of the bad, unwholesome method of building, the frightful condition of the working-peoples quarters, and asserted that I had never seen so ill-built a city. The man listened quietly to the end, and said at the corner where we parted: "And yet there is a great deal of money made here, good morning, sir." It is utterly indifferent to the English bourgeois whether his working-men starve or not, if only he makes money. All the conditions of life are measured by money, and what brings no money is nonsense, unpractical, idealistic bosh. Hence, Political Economy, the Science of Wealth, is the favourite study of these bartering Jews. Every one of them is a Political Economist. The relation of the manufacturer to his operatives has nothing human in it; it is purely economic. The manufacturer is Capital, the operative Labour. And if the operative will not be forced into this abstraction, if he insists that he is not Labour, but a man, who possesses, among other things, the attribute of labour-force, if he takes it into his head that he need not allow himself to be sold and bought in the market, as the commodity "Labour", the bourgeois reason comes to a standstill. He cannot comprehend that he holds any other relation to the operatives than that of purchase and sale; he sees in them not human beings, but hands, as he constantly calls them to their faces; he insists, as Carlyle says, that "Cash Payment is the only nexus between man and man." Even the relation between himself and his wife is, in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred, mere "Cash Payment". Money determines the worth of the man; he is "worth ten thousand pounds". He who has money is of "the better sort of people", is "influential", and what he does counts for something in his social circle. The huckstering spirit penetrates the whole language, all relations are expressed in business terms, in economic categories. Supply and demand are the formulas according to which the logic of the English bourgeois judges all human life. Hence free competition in every respect, hence the regime of laissez-faire, laissez-aller in government, in medicine, in education, and soon to be in religion, too, as the State Church collapses more and more. Free competition will suffer no limitation, no State supervision; the whole State is but a burden to it. It would reach its highest perfection in a wholly ungoverned anarchic society, where each might exploit the other to his hearts content. ..." (Frederich Engels, *The Condition of the Working Class in England*, MECW Volume 2)

[4] By "new" social movement or social movement of today we refer to the "anti-globalisation" movement with all its organisational, political, theoretical and ideological components and all its variety.

The common point of those theses, most popularly and stimulatingly expressed in the book "Empire" by Hardt and Negri, is the assertion, that in the era of imperialist globalisation, "structural" changes occurred in the society and that therefore the working class had lost its historical mission and gave over its place to new classes, or new identity groups or, as formulated in the Empire, to the "multitude". Some people characterize this society "post-modern", "post-industrial society". According to these claims, these "structural" changes resulted into a redefinition of the civil and political areas and putting into the centre as an important element the term of the "non-governmental-organisations", outside from government and the states.

Allegedly, this movement is open for everybody. In general, the church is the "global player" in the movement of the social forum, and therefore also of the WSF. There is a place for religious circles, but the participation of Marxists-Leninists, communists, is hindered.

As the society is now a "post-industrial" society, as we live now in the epoch of the "Empire" and the phase of production of material values -this means industry- lost its importance, those who produce the "material" values, in other words the working class, are replaced with those, who exert "immaterial labour", the ones "producing" "post-material" "values", which is to say by the "multitude". Parting from these theses, these ideologists of the bourgeoisie are claiming that Marxism or "classic Marxism" as they put it, were inadequate, insufficient or out of time in order to understand and characterize the new social movements. It is claimed that the old social movements, which Marxism was able to characterize, were movements characterized economically (characterized on the bases of material values), movements based on classes, but that the "new" social movements of today were movements based on different classes, arising from "post-material" values, that they were movements based on identity, they claim that the basic axis of these movements were marked by diversity and being

"the other". This means, that the transition from the "industrial society" to the "post-industrial society" corresponds to the transition from the class-based social movements to the social movements with "other" bases. According to these theses, the problem is not that the working class received a political defeat. On the contrary, the working class had lost its importance through the imperialist globalisation or the conditions arose from the imperialist globalisation; through the expanding of the "immaterial labour" and the central role it had won (!). It is not a political problem, it is a structural one. Different types of wage-workers arose. Exploitation can not be reduced to the pure production of surplus value (as if the Marxists ever had made such a restriction!). The service sector prevailed over the industrial production. A "new middle-class" has emerged. Marx did only characterize the middle-classes of the old deposed systems (Slavery etc.), but he did not preview this "new middle-class". For this reason, the Marxist theory is not able to understand the movement of this "new middle-class". In the face of the "new" social movements or the needs of the new era, the Marxist theory is said to be in a crisis. The political polarizations are not based on classes anymore, but on "values". The class exploitation has been replaced with the exploitation of everybody save the capitalists themselves, of the "multitude", the "others" or with the oppression based on identity. There is no privileged part or class anymore, which can be the vanguard of social transformations. The place of the revolutionary subject is now occupied by the "social actors" or the "multitude".

The theorists of "new" social movements bind them to "radical democracy projects" or to "disobedience", "abandoning" and "run-away" (Negri)! The essence of these theories is to put on the agenda again the classic discussion of the possibility that capitalism could be transformed and exploitation and oppression abolished without a social revolution, sometimes even without questioning private property, in a new way. The most radical demand of the theories of "radical" democracy is to extend the democratic rights and freedoms to the highest dimension possible. They present these outdated reformist demands as an alternative to the classic bourgeois liberalism and the Marxism-Leninism.

When we look at the components of the social movements of today, we see that this movement is in fact a "rainbow": *"we are very diverse: Women and men, old and young, indigenes, peasants, peo-*

ple from the cities, workers, unemployed and homeless, seniors and students, people of every faith, of all colours and with different sexual orientations. This diversity is our power and the basis of our unity" (Charter of Principles of the WSF). Well, they are those who call themselves "leftwing", ecologist groups and organisations, organisations of a new type like ATTAC, trade-unions, small peasants groups, human rights organisations, initiatives for fair trade, religious (church) groups etc. As we can see, the components of this movement are very numerous, because every group, every initiative, every committee etc. considers itself as a constituent of this movement (Remember the estimated 30.000 NGOs existing worldwide).

Allegedly, this movement is open for everybody. In general, the church is the "global player" in the movement of the social forum, and therefore also of the WSF. There is a place for religious circles, but the participation of Marxists-Leninists, communists, is hindered. This is because the social movement of today considers them not as "respectable" and "to be tolerated" and does not accept them. Only for the revolutionaries and communists there is no place within this movement.

One of the foremost forces directing this movement is ATTAC ("*Action for the Tobin Tax for the Citizens*" or "*Union for the taxation of financial transactions for the citizens*"). ATTAC defends the control of the movement of the capital and demands taxation of the speculative capital permanently going around the world. It is obvious, that ATTAC does not want to curb the movement of the capital with this project but to hinder the poor to take the streets against the existing order resulting from the growing gap between the rich and the poor. The project aims at reforming the imperialist state by making it a trustful institution in the eyes of the broad masses.

Another fundamental force is the classic bourgeois liberalism becoming a symbol in the person of Lula. The Trotskyites, whose eyes are dazzled by the huge masses of the movement, continue their work with the aim of sneaking into the movement and by that bringing it under their control and transform the WSF into a world party. The Trotskyite forces, who do not assign any revolutionary or even progressive mission to any kind of social stratum except the working class, are in a position very far away from reality explaining to their own masses their big hopes for this movement by claiming that the whole movement consists of the working class.

Outwardly they do not even defend openly Trotskyism within the movement. The attitude of Trotskyism within this movement is a policy of mass tailing, by tactics like entrism they try to follow in the wake of the movement until the end and thus open up a way for themselves.

The attitude of the anarchist and autonomous groups to be against any type of authority and state meets with the alternative of the social movement of today of "globalisation against hegemony".

If we look at question not from a point of view of numbers but in terms of the ideas defended there, we see that this movement is formed by petty-bourgeois, reformist, social-democrat, anarchist, feminist



The "new" social movements are reformist and pacifist in terms of politics

and Trotskyite, circles, parties, trade-unions and mass organizations. In terms of its class composition, we can express this definition also as follows: Reformist and pacifist sectors of the working class, the peasantry, petty-bourgeoisie, national bourgeoisie, and the imperialist bourgeoisie of European origin are taking place in the "new" social movement. If we look from the point of view of political orientation and the prevailing ideas, we will see that reformist and pacifist ideas are dominating. However, by organising an "Anti-imperialist Space" as a means of struggle within the Forum at the ESF in Greece (4th European Social Forum, 2006, Athens), the communist and revolutionary organisations have shown that it is possible to conduct a struggle against the dominance of the pacifist and reformist ideas also within the Forum.

For what does the "new" social movement fight?

Porto Alegre, from the very beginning on, did not want to remain as a protest movement only. The WSF or Porto Alegre announced that their aim was to demand and realize "another world is possible". Actually, this meant to challenge politically the imperialist globalization, neo-liberalism and at the same time Marxism-Leninism. They are challenging them by saying: You are responsible against the defenders of imperialist globalisation and neo-liberalism, the "evil of today's world", of misery, unemployment etc. We will bring another world instead of this order. This world is the world of the `welfare state". They consider the communists as class enemy and they consider the relations and fights from this point of view. In this sense, the political position of the social movement is very open; there is no unknown point in the matter why they are fighting and against whom. The statement "Resistance against Neo-liberalism, militarism and war, for peace and social justice" made in the framework of the II WSF has shown sufficiently what the aim is:

"We came here to continue our struggles against neo-liberalism and war, to confirm the decisions we agreed on last year and to show once more that another world is possible. (...) Our struggles and actions of resistance are against sexism, racism and systems based on violence. The WSF is a broad unity against the system who systematically makes

the capital ever more privileged against the need of the people (...) We are yet confronted with a permanent global war of the USA and its allies for their hegemonic interests (...) The opposition to the war (the Afghanistan war) is a constructing element of out movement (...) Solidarity with the Palestinian people (...) IMF, financial crisis (...), environmental problems (...) meetings of the G8 states, global economic crisis, neoliberal economic model (...) struggle for peace and collective security (...) cancelling the debts of the third world countries (...) to safeguard water, soil, food, seeds, culture (...) struggle against the WTO (...) safeguarding social justice and the rights of citizens and freedom, struggle for equality (...) cancelling the foreign dept (...) fight against speculation, struggle for the implementation of the Tobin tax^[5]. The abolition of the "tax paradises" (...) The responsibility of the governments to the peoples. Because we are fighting for participative democracy with elections all over the world. The democratization of state and society as well as the struggle against dictators is obligatory (...) Struggle for the right of information (...) The right of free education for the youth (...) the abolition of the universal compulsory military service, the right of self-determination of the native peoples (...)"^[6]

The assertion is obvious: this movement is not against capitalism, imperialism or globalisation. It is merely against some consequences of the neoliberal-

[5] In the December 1997 issue of *Le Monde Diplomatique*, Ignacio Ramonet put up very aggressively and fiercely the demand for the "disarmament of the markets", "disarmament of the finance markets" and the application of the "the tax of solidarity". Well, in order to make another world possible, one should start with the Tobin tax. Ramonet wrote: "If we want to hinder in the 21st century definitely that the world turns into a wild forest where the bandits have the word, then it is first duty of citizens to disarm the financial markets" (See: Ruth Jung; "ATTAC: Sand im Getriebe", 2002, p., 18.)

In the context of "globalisation" and the corresponding discussion, "the proposal made by James Tobin in 1972 is gaining more and more sympathy. The Nobel Laureate (J. Tobin) proposed to impose a small tax on the money transactions. According to Tobin, temporary investments affect the finance market in a way destroying its stability and causes their continuous fluctuation at the exchange rate of currencies. 80% of the 1.5 trillion dollar turning around between the finance centres of the stock market every day are investments for less than one month or even for only two hours". (Peter Wahl; "Tobin Tax (Tobin Steuer)", "impose a tax on the fifth power (Besteuert die funfte Gewalt!)", The newspaper "Taz", January 29, 2001, p. 11)

[6] In the WSF charter of principles it says also the following:

"From now on, in the certainty proclaimed at Porto Alegre that "another world is possible", it becomes a permanent process of seeking and building alternatives (...)

The alternatives proposed at the World Social Forum stand in opposition to a process of globalization commanded by the large multinational corporations and by the governments and international institutions at the service of those corporations' interests, with the complicity of national governments. They are designed to ensure that globalization in solidarity will prevail as a new stage in world history. (...)

democracy, peaceful relations, in equality and solidarity, among people (...)

(...) and condemns all forms of domination and all subjection of one person by another (...)"

(Approved and adopted in Sao Paulo, on April 9, 2001, by the organizations that make up the World Social Forum Organising Committee)

al impositions of imperialism. They think that these consequences could be eliminated through some measures, through the good will of the politicians. An alternative to the imperialist globalization is presented. This alternative has two meanings: according to some circles, "another world is possible" is a new level in the world history; it is a level of the human history beyond the imperialist globalization. Some social democrat and reformist circles understand "another world is possible" as a return to the "welfare state". The example of the first meaning is supporters of Negri and some other petty-bourgeois circles, who claim that the imperialist epoch has been left behind. The example of the second meaning is ATTAC in France and Germany.

The organisers, propagandists, theoreticians and the politicians of the social movement know very well for what they are fighting. The important point is to convince millions of workers and labourers of these understandings as a "new" world outlook. This movement has extraordinary possibilities. It gets support from everywhere. People provide material and visual support, some in order to pull the movement towards their own line, others to dissolve it, but in general, to take the working class and the labouring masses away from socialism as alternative. This movement tries to put the "possible other world" into practice with its press organs like *Le Monde Diplomatique*, its mass organisations like ATTAC, with the Trotskyites, anarchists, feminists, with the holy places like Chiapas (Mexico) and Porto Alegre (Brazil), with fathers of the idea like J. M. Keynes, J. Tobin, its leaders like I. Ramonet, its theoreticians S. George, P. Bourdieo, M. Mies, T. Negri, R. Konten, V. Forreeste, its organisers like B. Cassen, its members and representatives being MPs in the German, English and French parliaments, in the European parliament and senators in the French Senate, with their foundations, with the Foreign Ministries of the developed imperialist countries (or rather the EU), neoliberalism, with terms like "welfare state", "civil society", "Tobin tax, the central role of "immaterial labour", "bio-power", with slogans like "disarmament of the finance markets", to "restrain", "democratize" capitalism and imperialism, to "restrict the power of the international monopolies" and "another world is possible", and finally with the IMF, which seems to be responsible for everything, with the World Bank and the WTO.

There is no doubt that this movement has no proletarian character. This movement is a spontaneous petty-bourgeois one and the bourgeois and petty-



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bourgeois ideology prevails there. The leadership of this movement directs a broad mass directly in terms of politics and its ideological formation is deepening. Both ATTAC and the participants of the movement all over the world are, as a rule, in their majority of proletarian origin and not having anything to do with ideologies. It is a real "multitude" in the real sense of Negri. Their points of view of socialism, the leaders of the world proletariat and revolution show that. The leadership of the movement is aware of this fact and therefore carefully tries to maintain the diversity and unite them with common reformist demands and takes as bases the actions on certain fixed dates and in a political sense it protects the rainbow-character of the movement. The leadership of the movement obstructs that a revolutionary anti-imperialist consciousness is brought to the masses - let alone bringing class consciousness to the working class - and that the masses are formed in the spirit of anti-imperialist ideas. There is no place for terms like imperialism, anti-imperialism in the literature of the movement - and not at all for revolution.

What are the main characteristics of the "new" (today's) social movement?

► The criticism of today's social movement towards imperialism-neoliberalism and "globalization" is a petty-bourgeois and conservative criticism. It is limited to the abolition of the exaggerations of "globalisation". For this social movement the problem is not capitalism itself. Far from opposing imperialism, let

alone the capitalist system, it defends the idea that capitalism can be democratized, controlled and civilized, with the slogan "another world is possible".

►For the social movement of today, the problem is speculation, profit, not maximum profit.

►The social movement of today demands an "era of globalisation" being just and democratic, as the imperialist bourgeoisie imposes and the foolish petty-bourgeoisie accepts.

►The social movement of today idealizes the "welfare state" and the bourgeois democracy and presents them as the only alternative for the liberation of humanity.

►The social movement of today concentrates mainly in criticising the finance capital and turns against the "holy alliance" consisting of the IMF, World Bank and the WTO. It does not struggle against the dictatorship of the capital in general.

►For the social movement of today, the problem is injustice, but not the bourgeois order, the bourgeois relations of property, which are the source of it.

►For the social movement of today, it is never the problem that the means of production are in private property, but the division into poor and rich, which is caused and deepened by these relations of property, is a problem for it.

With this or similar fundamental ideas, the social movement of today is anti-communist and therefore reactionary, illusionist in terms of ideology, and in terms of politics it is reformist and pacifist.

The social movement of today reduces the problem of the effects of "globalisation" which it criticises, as if it were only the avarice of some monopolies, cap-

italists and speculators, as if it were just a problem of wrong policies or the wrong implementation of correct policies. They advice that the important thing is to turn away from these wrong things, to reject what is wrong, but by doing this, we have to keep these wrong elements separate from the capitalist system. The system is clean. The crucial point is to act basically against some wrong policies of some elements which blacken this clean system.

The internationalisation and reorganisation of the capital and the production, the destruction of the "welfare state" did awake the anti-globalizer of today, the petty-bourgeois circles with their critics of globalisation and the Keynesians from their deep sleep. They started to say it does not work like that, let us turn back to the old, let us put on the brakes, let us democratize (just exploitation, just plunder).

The understanding of organising of the "new" (today`s) social movement

In the "Charter of Principles", the WSF has adopted in 2001, in order to "realize another world", it explains what kind of understanding of organising it has.^[7] In order so say that they do not have an organisational structure, a hierarchy, this movement presents itself not as an organisation, but as a "connection", a network". But its relation with the state and partiality are essential.

In Seattle, the organisation was still very unclear and its political and social composition also, but it got a clearer line with every year passing. The unification of the movement against globalization with the anti-war-movement at the occupations of Afghanistan and Iraq was a crucial point for these sep-

[7] "The World Social Forum brings together and interlinks only organizations and movements of civil society from all the countries in the world, but intends neither to be a body representing world civil society. (...) The meetings of the World Social Forum do not deliberate on behalf of the World Social Forum as a body. Noone, therefore, will be authorized, on behalf of any of the editions of the Forum, to express positions claiming to be those of all its participants. (...) It thus does not constitute a locus of power to be disputed by the participants in its meetings, nor does it intend to constitute the only option for interrelation and action by the organizations and movements that participate in it. (Article 6)

Nonetheless, organizations or groups of organizations that participate in the Forum's meetings must be assured the right, during such meetings, to deliberate on declarations or actions they may decide on, whether singly or in coordination with other participants. (...) (Article 7)

The World Social Forum is a plural, diversified, non-confessional, non-governmental and non-party context that, in a decentralized fashion, interrelates organizations and movements engaged in concrete action at levels from the local to the international to build another world. (Article 8)

The World Social Forum will always be a forum open to pluralism and to the diversity of activities and ways of engaging of the organizations and movements that decide to participate in it, as well as the diversity of genders, ethnicities, cultures, generations and physical capacities, providing they abide by this Charter of Principles. Neither party representations nor military organizations shall participate in the Forum" (Article 9) (WSF charter of principles approved and adopted in Sao Paulo, on April 9, 2001, by the organizations that form the World Social Forum Organising Committee)

arations. The question, which arose together with the Iraqi resistance, whether the movement was against the violence of the ruling classes or against any kind of violence, inevitably got onto the agenda of this struggle and became a divisive element.

The anti-war-movement became a movement with demands having a more international and more concrete character. Meanwhile the anti-globalizers continued with their understanding of organising actions against the international imperialist institutions in certain countries and on certain dates, the anti-war-movement developed in the form of actions in every country against their own government. Thus, it was more political, clearer about its goals and opponents; in its development it gave clearer answers to the questions what for, against whom.

By means of the social forum organisation, reformist and pacifist forces continue to direct the movement. It became ever more obvious that the prohibitions of political parties, which were shown as the enthusiastic expressions of "diversity" and "difference" at the beginning and sanctified as the efforts of "making free the way for the NGOs", were a manoeuvre of hegemony of these forces. The participation of collaborating government parties from the type of the PT of Lula in the WSF showed openly the hypocrisy of this attitude. We should also mention that some of the anarchist-autonom petty-bourgeois elements, which are represented by Negri and his followers have ideological reasons to refuse the organisation of the working class movement (trade-unions, parties). Moreover, these elements call upon the "multitude" to rebel against the Empire within the WSF by calling for the "building of networks" instead of getting organised and by calling for "globalising these networks"! And by rebellion they understand "to disobey", "to abandon" and "to run away". Well, that means passive resistance!

This social movement claims that it does not direct the actions of the participating organisations and movements in a central way from above but on the contrary only coordinates them. But how is it fixed? What would the forum program be like? And who will speak on which topic? If it is so, why then every organisation or movement cannot speak on the topic of its choice? This means, there is a certain organisation, a certain hierarchy structure and those who participate in the forums have to obey fixed rules.

The proposal of the "International" of the social movement of today, the WSF, is "globalisation against hegemony": *"The WSF is the first opposi-*

tional utopia of the 21st century and aims to break with the tradition of the critical utopias of western modernity, many of which turned into conservative utopias..." The duty to create this is given to the NGOs, the principal organisation form of these "new" movements. In this sense, parties and political subjects have become history: *"...the WSF rejects the concept of a historical subject and offers no priority to any specific social actor in this process of social change"*.

The assertion is obvious: this movement is not against capitalism, imperialism or globalisation. It is merely against some consequences of the neoliberal impositions of imperialism. They think that these consequences could be eliminated through some measures, through the good will of the politicians.

The direction of development of the "new" (today's) social movement

Does this structure have a future? According to itself it does! With its understanding of today it will not reach anything. This has been seen at the 4th WSF in India. In spite of all efforts it could not give a human face to "globalisation", today's capitalism. The demands they had formulated were made impossible by the neoliberal measures. Therefore, there are no more objective reasons why the known demands of the WSF should be successful. These demands do not have any attractiveness anymore in order to convince millions. For this reason, the WSF is looking for a new theory. W. Bello, an outstanding organizer of the WSF in Asia, announces that with the following words: "We need now a new theory and a new criticism of imperialism. Our movement has to tackle this problem rapidly."

These words are enough to show that criticism of imperialism until today is not of any use and that it is necessary to find something new in order to influence millions of people. This movement criticizes imperialism - the imperialist globalisation - from a reformist, pacifist, and petty-bourgeois point of

view. What kind of theory could a new theory be? At the most, it could be a more progressive theory. And a more progressive theory can be one based on the Leninist analysis of imperialism. Out of its class character, this movement is not able to reach such a stage as a whole. The facts that at least the Maoist radical petty-bourgeois trends appeared at the WSF 2004 (India) as an alternative, that the WSF 2006 was organised at three different continents, that H. Chavez made efforts in Venezuela to give an anti-imperialist character to that WSF, that the WSF 2007 passed without any enthusiasm, without hope and with the calls to the imperialist bourgeoisie and to the states, and that the organizers refrained from

Is it not the fundamental problem of all social struggles, if the classes forming them would gather under their own flags and under the leadership of their own political representatives, and not under the one of other class/classes, fighting with other ideological definitions and various identities?

holding the WSF every year (the 8th WSF will be held in 2009) have to be considered as signs of the search of these movements for a new theory. Moreover, the innumerable kinds and theories of imperialism produced within this movement parting from the claim that the analyses of imperialism of Lenin is not sufficient to explain the current developments, show that this movement is in a feverish search for a new theory.

First of all, the WSF is a structure under the leadership of the petty-bourgeoisie, reformism and pacifism of the European imperialist bourgeoisie. Its aim is very obvious: to defend Europe's "social" character of imperialism by *"another world is possible"*, *"another Europe is possible"* against the US imperialism, or as they say, against the neo-liberalism, the globalisation of the US imperialism. The defence of the position of the EU, above all by means of ATTAC, for example at the period of the Iraqi war, shows this obviously. To give priority to the IMF, World

Bank and the WTO, to direct the arrows of attack against the USA and to protest the EU in this sense (India, 4th WSF) are indisputable facts.

Walden Bello said the following at the 4th WSF: *"the regional markets of the 80ies and 90ies are uniting in a world market. Therefore, the interests of the global capitalist class are common... Now we are confronted with a form of globalisation marked even stronger only by the political interests of the USA and the US monopolies"*.

The crucial point here is not the (wrong) evaluation of the "regional markets of the "80ies and 90ies" and the world market. The essential point here is the understanding of the WSF. These words show very openly that the WSF essentially fights the US imperialism. When they speak of exploitation, plunder, imperialist war and tyranny worldwide they only see the US imperialism. In other words: actually, if there were some restrictions imposed on "globalisation", if the "Tobin tax" were applied, if neo-liberalism were forced back and capitalism were democratized, so no problem would be left. Every kind of evil is caused by the US imperialism. Therefore, the essential is to fight against the US imperialism. This is a method to clear capitalism as system. That means that certain institutions and monopolies are not supporting the WSF for nothing!

What happened to the peace and disarmament movement, which was at the agenda at the end of the 1970ies and in the 1980ies and grew on the bases of ecological problems, indicates the future of this social movement. In a situation where one has to say "there is no other way", it will be forced to clearly assume an attitude and a political position or various national components of this structure, for example organisations like ATTAC, will join the parliamentary life. The rest the "independent" NGOs will be disillusioned and those in charge of the governments will continue to fulfil their duty as if nothing had ever happened.

To conclude:

International mass movement existed also before. The anti-fascist peace movement in the 1930s developed under the leadership of the Comintern. The social-democrats and the trade-unions under their influence also played a certain role. The impact of revolutionary forces on this movement was reflected in all aspects, from its way of organising up to its political aims.

The peace movement in the 1950s was led by the socialist countries and the communist parties. The imperialist camp tried to divide and manipulate this movement with the ideological arguments of the cold war; the "socialist countries" under slavery and the "free" Western countries, but it was not successful. The movement continued to create special interest among the socialist intellectuals and those feeling sympathy with socialism and to strengthen the alternative of socialism in the West.

However, the peace movement of the 1970ies and 1980s was directed by petty-bourgeois pacifist forces and some circles under the influence of the modern Soviet revisionists. These movements were mainly engaged with the struggle against nuclear power and linked with the ecological movement. This movement also started to be divided into its components after a certain time. Above all in Western Europe the ecological movements became important components of the bourgeois system organised as "central leftist" bourgeois system parties.

The social movements of today are forming in certain way continuity especially with the ecological, anti-war and other movements of the 70ies and 80ies. One fundamental difference of today's social movement compared with those before is that neither communist and revolutionary parties nor modern revisionists still speaking apparently of socialism are leading it.

In the second half of the 70ies and the first half of the 80ies the massive disarmament and peace movement developed. The new aspect is not, that in the 90ies, especially after the second half of the 90ies, again a massive international movement developed. The new aspect is that this time the reason for the development of the movement was the imperialist globalisation. This means, the struggle against "globalisation".

On the contrary to the claims of the "post modern" ideologists of imperialism, the complex appearance of the rising mass struggles are not caused by any structural changes in the society which made class struggle history, but because of the fact that we live in the most unorganised, ineffective and dispersed period in the history of the international communist movement and this fragmentation goes together with the ideological attacks, which developed after the collapse of the revisionist block. Those forces say that the "post industrial society" started in the 60ies of the last century. The most important quality of the period, which started in the 1960ies, had

some impacts on the 1968 movement, got stronger in the 80ies and reached its point of stagnation after the 90ies, is that it had occurred when the international communist movement was suffering a dispersed situation and had received some hard strokes by the modern revisionists since 1956.

They claim eternity for the imperialist capitalist system, but the social movements of the new period are, exactly as those of the old period, developing against the disasters caused by the imperialist capitalist system itself.

There is one main difference between the social movements of today and those of the past, after the 90ies, the leadership is made up by forces, which propagate thesis like "socialism has died, end of history has come, there is no working class any more", we live in a "era beyond imperialism", in the "era of globalisation" or of the revival of the "welfare state".

These forces also distort the Marxist attitude in the field of the relations of the economic and the political struggles. They present national struggles, the struggle of national minorities for cultural demands



According to "post-modern" theories, today's social movements emerged out of identity-based differences and not of class contradictions.

and the women's movement as movements "based on identity". They reduce class movements to the economic struggle of the working class. There was never ever such an approach concerning the class struggle in the Marxist theory.

Every social movement is the expression of the movement of different classes and strata, with sectional demands which differ from stratum to stratum, with different programmes, but in the same direction. *"To imagine that social revolution is conceivable without revolts by small nations in the colonies and in Europe, without the revolutionary outbursts of a section of the petty bourgeoisie with all its prejudices. without the movement of non-class conscious proletarian and semi-proletarian masses against the oppression of the landlords, the church, the monarchy, the foreign nations, etc. - to imagine this means repudiating social revolution. Only those who imagine that in one place an army will line up and say, "we are for socialism," and in another place another army will say, "we are for imperialism," and that this will be the social revolution, only those who hold such a ridiculously pedantic opinion could vilify the Irish Rebellion by calling it a "putsch." Whoever expects a "pure" social revolution will never live to see it. Such a person pays lip service to revolution without understanding what revolution is."* (Lenin, Collected Works, vol.XIX, pp.301-302.)

Has it never been seen in the other periods of history that a class was not under its own class identity and under its own flag, but under the one of other class/classes, fighting with other ideological definitions and various identities? On the contrary, is it not the fundamental problem of all social struggles, if the classes forming them would gather under their own flags and under the leadership of their own political representatives?

The movements with cultural, sexual, moral demands, which are the topic of the differentiation of identity-based and class-based movements, have always existed. Therefore, the thesis that these movements emerged out of identity differences and are heterogenic is nothing but an empty dream. The "diversities" forming the movement are each corresponding with a certain class.

Is it a problem to respond to the question, which class interests the subjects within the "diversity" in the movement defend? Of course! Before you file away the ideologies and classes and replace them with "identity labels" you have to answer this ques-

tion. The answer of the question brings us either to the ideology of the bourgeoisie, the petty-bourgeoisie or the proletariat. All the trends, which characterize the movement as "diverse" are the different colours of the bourgeois ideology. Just as the same products are put on the market with different and very colourful packaging, these movements are presented to the "market" like the fan of the rainbow.

As long as the bourgeois society exists, philosophical trends, religious initiatives etc have existed. All of them are components of the bourgeois ideology and they go not further than changing their colour. The theoreticians of the "new" social movement, who want to cut off the today's social struggles from their class basis, are taking the ideas essentially from those trends. They try to legitimate themselves also by turning back to those trends. They try to include again the already surpassed topics from Bernstein to Kautsky and from Luxemburg to Gramsci on the agenda of the social struggles and even of the international communist movement. They repeat them with some nice phrases and present their new theories of new circumstances.

On the one hand, these movements are seen as the product of the conscious relations established through "speech" by the identity groups that form them, the correlation of them with causality and history is denied and subjectivism is made everything. On the other hand, the subjective factor is negated, the conscious role of the vanguard is denied. The movements are totally based on subjective reasons. The unavoidable consequence of this subjectivism is the negation of the subject and worship of spontaneity. The movements are characterized on the base of their "actors" or "participants"; their quality is defined by the identities of the individuals participating in them. The ideologies which direct the movement and the political subjects carrying these ideologies are left aside. The most typical example of this are the voluntarist, anarchistic-autonomist illusionist ideas, which are not linked with the facts of the real world, presented by Negri and Hardt in their "Empire".

One should not be misled by the anti-imperialism of this movement, which is limited with being against the "holy alliance of the three" formed by the IMF, WB and WTO. The leadership of the movement and the sections it influences are satisfied with that. It is obvious that they do it out of the necessity of their class position. Our task is to overcome this given limit. In order to be able to overcome this

limit, the revolutionary and communist forces have to act together on the international scale.

If we consider this movement, we objectively see the following: On one hand the world of the exploited, plundered people and on the other hand the world of those exploiting and plundering. On one hand, those who defend and impose neo-liberalism, and on the other hand, those resisting it. On the one hand, the international political, military and economical organisations and states in the service of the international monopolies, on the other hand, millions standing up against them. On the one hand, the reorganisation of the international capital and production, on the other hand, the masses suffering from the tyranny of these organisations.

The leadership of this movement tries to reconcile the working and labouring masses, who believe that enough is enough, with the capitalist order, with the imperialist globalisation. This leadership represents a side. It is a Trojan horse of imperialism wrapped in the dress of reformism and pacifism. It is in charge of conquering the international front of the working class and the labourers, which is not formed yet organisationally, from inside, and work in that way. The organisational form of the movement as a whole is absolutely appropriate to the role played by the leadership. With its current organisational structure, it serves the efforts of retreat of defenders of the "welfare state" and state capitalism, a part of the social democrats, the reformists, the "lefties". Apparently, they are retreating "fighting against neoliberalism"! This movement is an open expression of how unorganised labouring masses can be orientated to follow reformist, pacifist trends and the counterrevolutionary ideologies. The current leadership of the movement and its organisation is an obstacle in front of the revolution. In the name of progressiveness, the most up-to-date and modern defenders of the imperialist world system have nested in the movement. We have to expose this character of theirs, this mission of theirs, to expose their practical, political, theoretical, ideological and organisational inconsistency in the eyes of the masses listening to this movement, show the masses that they are on the side of the system before we will be able to influence the working and labouring masses following them all over the world.

No, we cannot ignore this movement in any way. The grass-root-level bears in its essence an important anti-imperialist potential. It is in our hands to really anti-imperialize, to revolutionize this potential.

The reality of this movement from Seattle until today is not an anti-capitalist one, but, even if it may be poor and shallow and almost only restricted to the IMF, WB and WTO, it bears an anti-imperialist content. The important point is that we bring this content to the foreground. We have to struggle in order to give an organisational structure to this movement, even if it is in a petty-bourgeois reformist understanding, which is far away from being organised, which is organising from an action on international level to the other. We have to struggle for a structure going beyond international coordination, which aims to continuity and is able to direct. This movement is the strongest international mass movement of the last years.

Internationalism has an ideological meaning. Without answering the question, based on the ideology and policy of which class an International is rising, it cannot be said which kind of international movement it is. In whose name is it speaking, whose policy does it formulate and organise? This is the question. This movement does not speak in the name of the world working class and the labouring masses; it does not represent these classes. The act of uniting some demands does not make this fact disappear. From the point of view of the class interests of the working class and the labouring masses, this movement is not internationalist. It could only be the International of the petty-bourgeoisie, of reformism and pacifism.

We should not confuse this internationalism with the one of the working class. First of all, there is a class difference. There are classes standing against each other in antagonism. The one wants to save the capitalist order, to reform it and, therefore, tries to use the mass movement as a tool in order to create some tension. The other one wants to overthrow the system. This is the difference between them. Without being aware of this difference you cannot understand the class character of structures like the WSF, ESF or ATTAC and because the demands seem to be the same, it makes it even easier to follow the line of reformism and pacifism.

The call of this movement upon the international institutions (IMF, WB, WTO, UN) and imperialist states to "govern" more does not mean anything else but to give more power/authority to these institutions and imperialist states. It does not mean anything else than call upon those, who plunder the world and organise this plunder, to "govern" more.

The differentiation of the classes in the "new" social movements will continue: in the world of today, where the political representatives of the working class, in other words, the international communist movement, is disorganised and dispersed, the subjective conditions continue to be inconvenient, but in terms of the objective conditions it is very convenient for the movement of the working class.

Flexible production, the new international division of labour and similar facts really require new trade-unionist strategies, new organisation tools and forms. But, as it can easily be understood, these are only renovations of forms of struggle. The means of organisation being appropriate to the needs of this new situation are becoming visible in the spontaneous actions of the working class in the whole world. It is now the duty of the communist forces to develop these means and to give consciousness.

But at the same time, the existence of the movement defined as "new" social movements does not show that the axis of the struggle is moving outside the working class or the classes in general, but on the contrary, it shows that the grounds for the working class to take over the leadership of the social struggles of different social strata is today much stronger than in the past.

The capitalist attacks of destruction, or in other words, neo-liberalism, accelerates the impoverishment of the youth, women, peasants and landless, as well as extending the ranks of the working class, those strata become a strong component of the struggle against imperialist globalisation. Furthermore, the destiny of those strata are bound more and more to the victory of the working class and the conditions for them to move under the hegemony of the working class are developing more and more.

Although the bourgeois ideologists understand the demands of the movement only superficially and base them on identities, objectively, every struggle is a factor giving force to the working class in the historical mission it took over in the way of the definite emancipation of humanity.

The "post-modern" theoreticians, for example, are embracing most strongly the movement of the Zapatistas, which defines itself as "movement of the others" and carries out "the other campaign". Even though this movement of the natives of Chiapas defines itself with cultural concepts and consciously stays away from the perspective of overtaking the

power, it was born as a result of the destruction in agriculture, which arose from the neoliberal attacks developing in Mexico and had its most devastating effect on the natives. As natives were already nationally and culturally discriminated and oppressed throughout the history, this process of destruction has been the last spark that caused the rebellion of them. The social alliance of the coca-peasants, the natives and the workers/ unions in Bolivia are another example. The class content of the movements of the natives in Latin America, which are said to be "based on identity", is as obvious as never before in history.

One side of the struggle against globalisation in Europe are the militant actions against the imperialist summits and another side the big resistances, especially of the automobile and dockyard workers. These resistances are still spontaneous and due to the leadership of the reformist trade-unions they do not obtain important victories. However, as their development has shown, they became an important element of the worldwide resistances against the attack of capitalist destruction. According to the theoreticians of the "new" social movements, the labourers from the service sector, defined as "new middle class", that developed over the movements based on identity, or the "multitude" of Negri, are participating side by side with the industrial workers in the strikes and resistances.

The developing armed anti-imperialist resistances in the Middle-East cause a difficult situation for the reformist pacifist leadership of the WSF.

Within the social struggles as a whole, the percentage of those movements, which express themselves only with a sexual, cultural etc. attitude, is actually not very high. But be it like that or not, all those struggles are part of the resistance we talked about and in general their social masses are petty-bourgeois and they are bourgeois liberal or petty-bourgeois radical trends.

The development of the social struggles of today will result in the continuation of the class differentiation of its components. It is the principal task of the international communist movement to develop its links with the working class and labouring masses in order to deepen this differentiation in favour of the dream of socialism, to give answers appropriate to the needs to the important theoretical, organisational and political problems facing the movement. ◀

Today, the concept to destroy the will to fight of the Kurdish people and the revolutionary forces, of which also the discussion about a military intervention in Southern Kurdistan forms an important dimension, is applied with all strength in Turkey and Northern Kurdistan. However, this situation also bears important revolutionary opportunities.

A period of an antifascist anti-chauvinist polarisation with the revolutionary and communist forces building their core and which comprises all the relevant progressive forces is both obligatory and possible. The struggle of the working class, the labouring masses and the oppressed Kurdish people contains these opportunities more than enough. In order to rescue the Turkish workers and labourers from the quagmire of chauvinism and to make them move based on their own demands it is necessary to unite the struggle of the Kurdish patriotic masses and the Turkish people and that the progressive, revolutionary and communist forces create a united resistance and institutionalised united posts.

Such a polarisation will be created inside the street movement itself. Every strong response given to the fascist attacks, the chauvinist provocations and the state terror as a whole will be a step towards this polarisation.

As they have been doing during the 13 years of their history, Marxist Leninist Communists will continue mobilizing their energy to fulfil their task in this process.