

T.C.
ISTANBUL AYDIN UNIVERSITY
INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL SCIENCES



**CAPITALISM, NATIONALISM AND CONFLICT:
WORLD-SYSTEMS ANALYSIS**

THESIS

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Department of Political Science and International Relations
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Thesis Advisor: Assist. Prof. Dr. Filiz KATMAN

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Bu belgeyi tez savunma ve onay belgesi olarak kabul etmiş ve onaylamış olarak kabul ederim. Aksi takdirde sorumlu tutulmamı sağlar.

DECLARATION

I hereby declare that all information in this thesis document has been obtained and presented in accordance with academic rules and ethical conduct. I also declare that, as required by these rules and conduct, I have fully cited and referenced all material and results, which are not original to this thesis. (./../2017)

Zeki Şafak TOPTAŞ

Signature



To my family,





FOREWORD

First of all, I would like to thank Istanbul Aydın University for providing me this opportunity and supporting me, especially my advisor Assist. Prof. Dr. Filiz KATMAN for her full support help in presenting this thesis, to my father and my mother, to my sister, and to my family for their valuable contribution and support; and I wish that it would be useful for further studies on related subjects.

The idea to study this subject was crystallized in Master's of Political Science and International Relations at Istanbul Aydın University in Istanbul. World-system analysis is a multi-disciplinary issue and that includes history, anthropology, economy, political science, and sociology. At the level of the world-system, modern state is the basic unit of analysis.

The structure of the modern world-system consists of capitalist world-economy. This is an integrated system of multiple states and division of labor. Nowadays, economic inequality and internal conflicts are growing up as well as ethnic fascination came to encompass the entire globe. World-system analysis was one of the outgrowths of these problems. In this study, a theoretical framework by drawing between capitalism and nationalism, the factors affecting the behavior of states and their status in the world system will be analyzed.

SEPTEMBER 2017

Zeki Şafak TOPTAS



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ABBREVIATIONS

AIDS	: Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
AIG	: American International Group
BIS	: The Bank for International Settlements
CENTO	: Central Treaty Organization
CIA	: Central Intelligence Agency
EU	: European Union
G7	: Group of Seven
GNP	: Gross National Product
HIV	: Human Immunodeficiency Virus
IBRD	: International Bank for Reconstruction and Development
IMF	: International Monetary Fund
LN	: League of Nations
NATO	: North Atlantic Treaty Organization
SEATO	: Southeast Asia Treaty Organization
UN	: United Nations
USA	: United States of America
USSR	: Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

KAPİTALİZM, MİLLİYETÇİLİK VE ÇATIŞMA: DÜNYA SİSTEMLERİ ANALİZİ

ÖZET

Beş ana bölümden oluşan bu tezin temel sorusu dünya politikasının temel bileşenlerini oluşturan kapitalizm ve milliyetçiliğin nasıl bir sistem yarattığıdır. Birinci bölümde tezin temel sorusu ve araştırma metodolojisi açıklanmaktadır. İkinci bölümde kavramsal bir arka plan oluşturularak milli aidiyetin en küçük parçası olan bireyin doğasından bahsedilmektedir. Ayrıca sistemin temel unsuru olan devletin siyaset felsefesi açısından varlığı ve amacı ile kapitalist iktisadın başlangıç kitabı tartışılmaktadır. Son olarak ise sistem kavramının tanımı yapılmaktadır. Üçüncü bölümde kapitalizmin esas unsurları, neo-liberal küreselleşmenin sınıf çatışması, bilim ve cinsiyetler üzerindeki etkisi ile kapitalist ekonomi politiğin yarattığı devlet-piyasa bağının sebep olduğu çatışma ortamı incelenmektedir. Dördüncü bölümde milliyetçilik kavramın tarihsel analizine ve modern ulus devletlerin temel sorunu olan kültürel ve etnik çatışma sorunsalına yer verilmektedir. Beşinci bölümde kapitalizm ve milliyetçiliğin yarattığı dünya politik sisteminde devletlerin güç kazanma, demokratikleşme ve kalkınma çabaları ele alınmaktadır. Altıncı bölümde kapitalizm, milliyetçilik ve çatışmayla ilgili hipotezlerdeki sorulara yanıt verilmektedir. Sonuç bölümünde bütün bu bilgilerden yola çıkılarak dünya politik sisteminin ortaya çıkardığı düzen değerlendirilmektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: *Kapitalizm, Milliyetçilik, Dünya Sistemi.*

CAPITALISM, NATIONALISM AND CONFLICT: WORLD-SYSTEMS ANALYSIS

ABSTRACT

How capitalism and nationalism which are the basic components of world politics create a system is the main question of this thesis consists of five main sections. In the first chapter, main question of the thesis and research methodology are explained. In the second chapter, the nature of the individual who is the smallest part of national belonging is being discussed by creating a conceptual background. Also, in terms of political philosophy the presence and purpose of state which is the main part of the system and the starting book of capitalist economy are being discussed. Lastly, the concept of the system is being defined. In the third chapter, the essential parts of capitalism, neo-liberal globalization effects on class conflict, science and genders, with conflict environment caused by state-market connection created by capitalist economy are being examined. In the fourth chapter, it includes historical analysis of the concept of nationalism and the problem of cultural and ethnic conflict, which is the main problem of nation states. In the fifth chapter, it contains the efforts of states to gain power, democratization and development in the world political system created by capitalism and nationalism. In the sixth chapter on capitalism, nationalism and conflict the questions in the hypothesis are answered. In conclusion, order which in the world political system outcomes are evaluated in the light of such information.

Keywords: *Capitalism, Nationalism, World-System.*



1. INTRODUCTION

Capitalism and nationalism are two constitutive elements of nation-state system. Although the main purpose in this system is nation building and capital accumulation, rising conflicts give the impression that the system has a chaotic characteristic. Based on a theoretical framework on capitalism and nationalism, this study analyzes the factors influencing actions and statuses of the states within the world system.

First of all, the study builds a conceptual and theoretical framework. Conceptually, the notions of race and nation are discussed regarding human nature and origins. After that, the study examines the existence and purpose of the state regarding political philosophy and it makes a brief definition of the modern state. Lastly, the fundamental text of political economy, *The Wealth of Nations*, is summarized, and the notion of system is explained.

In the next section on capitalism, a definition of the term is given and its elements are examined. The free market, the interaction of Protestant ethic and capitalism, and the rise of Islamist Calvinism are discussed. Diminishing of class struggle following the empowerment of capital by neoliberal globalization, transformation of science and technology as tools of surplus value production for the industry, and commodification of sexuality as a result of permeating of capitalism through social relations, are argued. Market's need for states, the dilemma of liberal economy regarding freedom and equality, and contentious environment arising from the capitalist entrepreneur's search for profitable markets through capital export, are explained.

In the section regarding nationalism; notions of language, territory, and culture, and religion, which functions as paradoxical cement for the built nations and nationalism, are examined. Capitalism as a topic is also involved in this section, and the influences of print capitalism in local languages on the process, politicization of the culture, and the consequences of nationalist conflicts between contending parties striving to build their own states, are discussed.

In the section on world systems analysis; the new understanding of power among nation states within the global establishment, and the transformation of underdeveloped states within the system into anti-democratic units by the hand of finance-capital, are examined. The underlying structure and ideology that makes the system work, and the origins of anti-systemic stance are discussed.

In the last section on capitalism, nationalism and conflict the questions in the hypothesis is answered. These questions are about the basic components of the world system, human race and nationalism, the connection between capitalism and nationalism, collaboration between the state and free market, politicization of culture, also development and democratization.

This study investigates the notions of human nature and race on individual basis. Also, it inquires the factors constituting national identity and belonging for an individual. In order to understand the individual, social formation is also need to be analyzed. It is crucial to explain the reasons that cause cultural differences turn into taboos, and that foreground discourses on cultural difference against class conflicts. The effect of the politicization of culture and rise of tribal nationalism on the system are examined on the social level.

The factors related to globalization and their effect to central states, shift of power, and issue of sovereignty are subject matters of the examination on the state level. The diminishing of state's role related to neoliberalism and the influence of increasing conflicts on nation states are examined in this section.

Lastly, regarding the examination on the system level, it is argued to what extent the existing system enables endeavors for development and democracy. The insufficiency of "Conflict of Civilizations" and "the End of History" thesis in explaining the system, and the world system of historical capitalism are investigated in this section.

In the conclusion, based on all these, the basic components that enable world system work are presented, and causes of conflicts that are part of this process are assessed. In this study was used qualitative research method and in this eclectic, inductive, and existential study, the data is obtained via books, journals, articles, news articles, and websites.

Statement of the problem: This study examines world political system according to the concepts of capitalism and nationalism. It is inquired what kind of a world system occur as part of the interaction between modern "communities" –i.e. nations- and the

invisible hand of the market, and the factors that are effective in the process are examined.

In this study investigates the human nature and its origins; the relation of bourgeoisie with religion, race, and culture; economic and political effects of globalization on nation states; and endeavors for development and democracy, and the essence of world capitalist system.

Purpose of the study: Nation states, which include capitalism and nationalism, are chosen as the focus of the study, because they constitute the grounds of political activity in the modern world. This study tries to explain the world system that creates weak states, underdevelopment, poor masses, and conflicts.

Literature review: This study investigates the components and proceeding of the actual world system. In order to understand the policies of modern states, which are fundamental elements of the system, the study is based on a theoretical framework regarding capitalism and nationalism. For this end, it starts with examining the nature of the individual, which is the smallest unit of the system and the nation. In her documentary film titled “Origins of Us”, Dr. Alice Roberts demonstrates based on anatomy science that modern human (*homo sapiens*), as the only specie surviving within its genus, is the most successful specie in the entire planet after its 6 million years of evolution. In this regard, despite geographical adaptations and various physical differences, there is no any subspecies within the human race, as shown by Çağrı Mert Bakırcı in his book “*Evrım Kuramı ve Mekanizmaları*” (The Theory and Mechanisms of Evolution). Franz Oppenheimer’s expression in his work “The State” is explanatory regarding human nature: “If we go back enough in history and obtain a universal outlook, we will understand that human self is same in any corner of the World.”

Adam Smith, a moral philosopher, published his book “The Wealth of Nations” in 1776. In his work, Adam Smith explains how self-interest and selfishness prosper the society. According to him, self-interest, division of labor, capital accumulation, and productivity, result in together the social order and prosperity through the “invisible hand” which work according to the natural laws. However, in “Anthropology Confronts the Problems of the Modern World,” Claude Levi-Strauss highlights that unlike the primitive societies where adult members feed all the family by working only a few hours a day, in advanced societies poverty and homelessness increase despite minimum work duration of eight hours.

In order to invert this condition, Joseph E. Stiglitz suggests in his book “Price of Inequality,” that a democracy should be established where it is humanity not dollars that matters. It is certainly demonstrated that markets do not function properly by themselves. The goal should not be protection of interest groups but the society as a whole. However, Milton Friedman states that there is a contradiction between equality and freedom. Because one cannot be the egalitarian and liberal, Adam Smith’s statement “interests of those who live up to profits are different than public interests and even at odds with it” turned out to be right. Because, expansion of the market and diminishing of the competition are in line with interests of businessmen and contrary those of public.

So much so that, Wallerstein defines capitalism in his work “Historical Capitalism” as the endless process where individuals and firms accumulate capital for the sake of capital accumulation. Moreover, in his work “Political Economy of International Relations”, Robert Gilpin demonstrates the interaction and parallel existence of state and market in a capitalist system creates political economy. This shows that state and market do not exist in pure conditions.

Capitalist notions had been influential during the inception of modern nation states. For instance, in his book “Two Centuries Look Back on the French Revolution”, Eric Hobsbawm mentions that the slogan “*laissez faire, laissez passer*” first occurred in France. Moreover, Adam Smith had been very popular both before and after the French Revolution.

But what is nationalism that enables nation-state building? In his work “National Identity”, Anthony D. Smith states that if we take nationalism as resistance against the foreigner in cultural and political terms, then we will come across nationalism throughout all history. But nationalism is an ideology and movement, which sees the nation as a *sui generis* category, which is the original element of world system and political power. Therefore, Weber’s definition of history as the stage of struggle among races and nations, which Taner Timur quotes in his book “*Felsefe, Toplum Bilimleri ve Tarihi*” (Philosophy, Social Sciences and Historian) lost its validity.

As Benedict Anderson states in his work “Imagined Communities”, first nationalists are part of bourgeoisie. This is so because it is the first class to establish solidarity on an imagined basis. The leaders of this movement, which spread out along the 19th century, are those who studied marginalized folk languages. But nation-states are gradually weakening today. Oswaldo de Rivero mentions in his book “Myth of

Development” that International Money Fund, World Bank, and World Trade Organization are keeping developing countries under control. Although it is said that each country has the capacity to develop, in fact, development is a myth. Accordingly, although liberalism is presented as the solution, and despite Francis Fukuyama in his “End of History and Last Man” declares its victory, this is only “wishful thinking” as Baskın Oran states in his book “*Türk Dış Politikası*” (Turkish Foreign Policy).

Samuel Huntington who explains world system by “clash of civilizations” claims that cultural relativity will determine the alliances in global politics. But Bukharin demonstrates in his “Imperialism and World Economy” that what really determines the alliance is the capitalist interest. He gives the British-German competition as a historical example of this thesis.

In the literature, capitalist economy, order of nation-states, and human origins, all are taken together as factors that constitute the world system. A full explanation regarding the system is not possible unless these three elements are taken together in studies trying to explain the system. Therefore, this study aims to contribute to the literature with its analysis on the levels of individual, social, state, and system, and thus provide a new approach.

Questions: The following questions constitute the main problematic of this study: What are the basic components that constitute the world system, and what sort of a system do these create? The secondary questions that follow these are: Is humanity divided on racial basis? Is nationalism an imaginary ideology?

Is there a connection between capitalism and nationalism? If so, what are its consequences?

Is there collaboration between the state and free market? If so, what are its consequences?

Is politicization of culture affect the world system? If so, what are its consequences?

Is it possible for underdeveloped countries to develop and democratize under the existing system? What is the purpose of anti-systemic movements?

2. CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK: MAN, STATE, SYSTEM

2.1 Who is man?

All human have inner nature rooting from biology. In addition to this, all individuals have inner nature partially personalized and partially common within all humans. According to current level of intellect, it might be said that this inner nature is not essentially or necessarily evil. Human nature is essentially neutral. Destruction, sadism, cruelty, grudge and hatred are not among the basic features of human and are violent reactions which surface with the result of deprivation, feeling and prevention from use of skills (Maslow 2013, 8-9).

Thus, all personalities are same around the world and they present the same behaviour all around the world. If we would go back enough and lose the details we would be able to have an angle on the main course. Then, it would be able to see that human kind has shown its core based on exemplary laws of continuous changes while the emigrating fighting humanity fades away (Oppenheimer 1997, 71-72).

Then, based on having a look on existence of humanities, nature besides good, evil and neutral. Sartre says existence comes before essence. So what does this mean? Foremost there is human, meaning, human first comes to the world, exists and then he is to be defined and presents its essence (Sartre 2000, 28).

According to Aristoteles, the nature of something is not foremost but the last status (Aristoteles 2014, 12). As per existentialist philosophy, the final status of man is formed by not its nature but by its essence. Meaning, essentially being good or evil is not the foremost state of humans but is the last.

2.1.1 Homo sapiens as a part of nations

Humans are the member of primate family as species. The term primate which derivate from the Latin word “Primus” was firstly used by Carl Linnaeus who is known to be the founder of taxonomy. Linnaeus who published his work named

Systema Naturae in 1735, has defined primates as intelligent creatures under the sub-species of Prosimii (Lemuroideas, Lorisideas, Tarsioideas) and Anthropeideas (monkeys of the old and new world) within the scope of classification system and has added the humans to this group (Savaş 2015, 5). Humans are species of the homo species. All species within the homo specie are human¹ (homo erectus etc.); human being is not the only human kind but the last human kind surviving (Bakırcı 2014, 174).

About this subject, the issue under discussion is that most is the concept of race. The concept of race in biology is used to define groups of beings in species, which do not mix each other genetically, isolated from one another by some ways and look alike in means of genetically and morphologically. If, living beings that separate and evolve befittingly to their environments, diverge enough without losing their fundamental similarities, these two new distinct groups are called “sub-species”. Even so, it must be noted that sub-species are not different species.

As for the modern human, they belong to one specie, which is homo sapiens. Within this kind, there is not only one specie or race. The main drawback here considering the physical difference is not because of difference in evolutionary path but the difference in geographical adaptation. Eventually, evolutionary path of the homo sapiens kind has ended without causing a speciation. But the features acquired (black and white skin colour, blonde hair, slant eye, etc.) within this 100,000 years have survived up to this day (Bakırcı 2013, 51).

Furthermore, in means of speciation, the basic concept is evolutionary independence. For example, in a population that reproduces sexually if gene flow is cut because of reproductive isolation with other populations, then, the new diverted issue is defined as a species (Karaytuğ 2015, 28). Since all living humans are homo sapiens, this kind of isolation of reproduction does not exist. If there would be, then people from two different nations would not be able to have a healthy children.

On the other hand, according to racist theses, human communities have different intellectual abilities and moral behaviours due to their genetic inheritances. Thus, an inequality is present among human communities. But, according to the evolutionary theory, the base of cultural inequality is not biological but historical. Some

¹ For more information on evolution see Roberts, A. (2013). Origins of Us, DVD, BBC Media, Tiglon.

communities advance, some remain stable and some regress. At this point, what is important is to understand and to find out the historic reasons why some communities advance or not (Strauss 2014, 77).

Therefore, culture is a sun, nutrition and water but it is not the seed (Maslow 2013, 172). As it is known that humanity shares the common seed. If the culture and society to feed the seed is out of sun and water, then, the seed would never grow. Therefore, no nation is superior to another one biologically.

What is more, the human mind is a clean slate (*tabula rosa*) and with experiences, with data gathered from the world it develops (Anlı 2014, 77). Thus, humans do not learn speaking and gain the ability of thinking pre-birth but from cultural acquisition (Şenel 2015, 15). Humans evolve culturally after biologically but the cultural evolution is not inherited by birth. If it could be inherited, it would be witnessed that the baby knowing a few words of the language of its' biological parents have been speaking for thousands of years (Şenel 2015, 19).

Such is that, since the nationality would not be chosen, the concept would thrive from skin colour, generation and parents or to the homeland, thus a choice of interest would be considered as not possible. Because every natural event involves non-selectivity. Hence, the nation can always demand sacrifice from you. Moreover, the uniqueness of the modern wars is not the number of deaths but the number of people whom have been prepared to die. The belief in fate promotes the people for dying but it was not their choice. Thus, death gains a noble aspiration and magnificent meaning (Anderson 2011, 162-163).

2.2 The state

The concept of state is formed from four elements: country, people, political authority and sovereignty (Sur 2010, 98). In addition to these, for the international laws, the most significant matter is to be legally recognized by other states (Tuncay 2008, 110). Even though it would be easy to define the existence of the state in means of law, it is quite difficult in means of political philosophy. The basic questions for the existence of state are why it is established, how it is established, and for whose interest it works for, what the purposes and functions are?

Hobbes says “without the state, everyone is in a war with everyone”. According to him, without a power that would cause fear to everyone, there is the status of war. This is the war of everyone against everyone (Hobbes 2013, 101). That is why “the justice and ownership begin with the establishment of the state”. Without the state, there is no justice or ownership. Because justice begins only with the power of a state that enforces people to obey the law, which is only then the right of ownership emerges (Hobbes 2013, 114). The reason of state is personal security. Thus, people can protect themselves and live a happier life. But because of testaments (covenants) would become only words without the enforcement thriving from the sword, they would not be enough to secure the people. That is why the powers of state are always needed (Hobbes 2013, 133). Where there is no state, everyone owns whatever they can lay their hands on. At that point, there is no ownership or community only uncertainty (Hobbes 2013, 188).

What Engels refers to the question of the existence of the state is that, the state is an organization of a limited group of people and a certain period of history. Thus, state is not something that has always been. In history, there have been societies without the knowledge of the organization of state. But with economic developments dividing the society into classes, the state has become a necessity. That is why the state is an outcome of an eco-politic society. When these conditions are exceeded, the state will be removed (Claessen and Skalnik 1993, 5).

In addition to this, the state is established to protect the private ownership, which is on the rise. This would mean the state was developed to protect the class-society. The state is the state of the class that weights the most. Consequently, this class will be politically stronger than others. Thus, this class will keep other classes, which are under pressure, below and exploit them by using the state (Claessen and Skalnik 1993, 8).

What is more, each state from past to present is a class state. Lower and upper groups are formed by the hierarchy like rank, degree or difference in ownership. This organization which is a topic of history is to be called state (Oppenheimer 1997, 37). From Milton Friedman’s liberal point of view, the state is a mean to protect and utilize freedom but by concentrating the state power in political figures the state may become a threat against freedom (Friedman 2008, 2). The reason of this status, which

Gramsci named it as bureaucratic centralism illness is because lack of initiative and responsibility meaning the permissivity of environmental facts (Gramsci 2014, 339).

These different approaches may merge in different ways. Liberals would support the night-watchman state and would want the state protect the “fairness of the game” and “the rules of the game”. Within these approaches liberals could support economic independence and even culturally interventionist.

Within the debate on the functions of the state, with the night-watchman state expression, it is meant that the mission of the state is to protect the order and provide respect to the law. The night-watchman state expression is more sarcastic than the police-state or militaristic-state expressions. The contrary expression to these could be moralist-state or interventionist-state. The base of the moralist-state would be philosophy and reasoning. The base of the interventionist-state would be economical.

The mission to direct the historical developments within the night-watchman state is on the “civile” the society. This society in a way is “the state” itself. Usually, the words state and government are considered identical. Actually, this is because interfusion of “civile” society and political society. In this case, it can be said that state is an enforcing hegemony that has been combined from political society and “civile”. The fundamental clause of the liberals is that this hegemony will thaw within an organised society. For this to happen, the people will have to adopt the laws by themselves without the enforcement of another class (Gramsci 2014, 354-356).

However, Max Weber denotes that the purpose of the modern state is to establish sovereignty. That is why the state tries to monopolize the legal violence as a tool within the borders of a state to reach its’ sovereignty aim. So, it gathers all the material opportunities in the hands related with governance (Weber 2006, 35). The tool of a class’s political sovereignty and economically exploiting is more relating to “the social contract” assumption rather than a class-state (Oppenheimer 1997, 45).

Although Jean-Jacques Rousseau says that sovereignty is nothing more than a people vote and the general demand is always true (Rousseau 2012, 23). But this does not always mean that the public always makes the correct decision because people may be tricked by others (Rousseau 2012, 26). Nevertheless the sovereign means recognises only the whole of the nation and does not practice favouritism among

those, which form it. Thus, if a person is sacrificing its own life for one's country, the only thing (s)he does the repaying of the debt of life (s)he had for one's country (Rousseau 2012, 30-31). This means that the state acts for the common interest of all. Even so, Marx defines the capitalist state as an irreconcilable division in class. For this reason, when the state claims to be the mean to protect the common interest, it actually tries to keep the status quo and works for the interest of the governing class (Swain 2013, 56).

Also, Bukharin considers Rousseau's definition as a feature of the modern societies. Moreover, the basic characteristic of the modern societies deny the class structure. It is so that, this characteristic structure presents the class interests of the upper layers of the society are the common interest of all (Bukharin 2009, 133). When mentioning a state order, the founders of that order, the authority and the ones who legislate are all the people. These people have some certain opinions about the world, ideology and political preferences. They either represent a class within the society or are closer to one. Thus, some groups will benefit more than the others from the decisions made in the name of the state. Although they will claim that the decision that was taken was to the interest of the nation. But claiming such thing will not change the truth. Yet, since the decision carries the official seal of the state, it will be acknowledged within the society. In any case, it should not be forgotten that political preferences are effective when decisions are made by the governors of the state (Kapani 2011, 47-48). Aristotle said that on criticized the constitution of Phaleas, he denotes that this constitution will provide protection only for petty crimes. In his example, even though killing a tyrant would be more honourable than killing a thief, the laws would not allow for that (Aristoteles 2014, 58).

2.2.1 Modern states

The rise of the modern state, which is the centre of the political system, roots from 12th century Europe. In 14th century the Renaissance developments in art, philosophy, science and trade have caused a population explosion in Europe. This process has provided the monarchs to gain power against the nobles and helped for centralization. With the political system weakening feudalism and evolving to autocracy, the 15th century Europe was at the edge of a revolution. One of the main catalysts of this process is Turks using cannons to demolish the walls of the

Constantinople in 1453. European monarchs, whom gained this weapon quickly, have managed to subjugate the nobles and to strengthen their kingdoms. Consecutively with Gutenberg printing with portable letters in 1454 has kick started all other processes and regional languages have gained importance over Latin. While with this development the absorption speed of the knowledge accelerated, printed materials provided central governments to reach out to the locations away from the capital.

The very first event that effected developments economically is Bartolomeu Dias's voyage around Africa. With the discovery of the New World in 1492, Spain, Portugal, England, France and Netherlands sweep down on Asia, Africa and America to colonize. The second economic development was the invention of accounting in 1494 by the Italian monk, Luca Pacioli. In this way while controlling massive businesses became easier, new enterprises became possible.

At the same time, social incidents and political changes with these incidents have begun. Protestant kings separated from Rome and established their own churches just as in England and Sweden. With Schmalkaldic War in 1545-1555 war over religion has begun and in 1618-1648 The Thirty Years' War took place. This period of conflict has caused increase in state power and loss in power of the church and led it to secularism.

Consequently, the Thirty Years' War in the period of 1618-1648 which had a significant effect on the evolution of the modern state has developed the state management. With the money becoming an issue during the war, kings have found the need of trustable taxable subjects and tax collectors. Richelieu in France and Oxenstierna in Sweden have established modern tax systems that would control the whole country. Eventually, the state has established a budget separated from the kings' and the royal family's budget (Roskin 2012, 4). Finally, foundations of the modern states were created by this process.

2.3 'Wealth of Nations'

The main book of the economics 'Wealth of Nations' (1776) was written by Adam Smith (1723-1790), who is a moral philosopher. Developments in the times of Adam Smith have taken individualism and the content of the prosperity as guides rather

than the religion based morality. Consequently, Adam Smith claimed that because the economic moral of the selfish individuals' including the search for wealth depends on the acceptance and sympathy, needs to care for others' happiness. He noted, thusly for individual interest reasons the division of work and capital accumulation will be realized. He claimed, because of actions for individual interest and accelerating efficiency the society will provide an order by the "invisible hand".

Smith, who established economic principles based on natural law philosophy, according to the natural liberty, humans should be allowed to pursue their own interests. Thus, the individual interests and the social interests will meet and the national wealth will rise. Within this scope, new models such as division of labour, development of money, savings, capital accumulation and foreign trade grow up. While motivation of individual interests supports these models, brings out enrichment (Smith 2012, 13-14).

Smith has mentioned many subjects in his work such as: the price in labour besides the economic and moral effects of individualism in the process of enrichment, the importance of competition and the duties of the state. According to A. Smith, labour is the real measure of the exchangeable value of all commodities (Smith 2007, 28), also equal quantities of labour is equal value to the labourer at all the time and place. Moreover goods value which varies, not that of the labour which purchases them. So, labour is alone the ultimate and real standard for the value of all commodities but money is the nominal price only (Smith 2007, 30). However, rising of wage of labour depends on its continual increase; it is not about the actual greatness of national wealth. Therefore wages of labour are highest in growing countries. Even a country has a great wealth, yet if it has been long stationary, must not imagine finding the wages of labour very high in it (Smith 2007, 59-60).

In addition, all sorts of masters make better bargains with their servants in dear years, because they find them more humble and dependent unlike cheap years. Therefore, they commend dear years as more favourable to industry. Landlords and farmers, who are the largest classes of masters, have another reason for being pleased with dear years because their rents and profits depend on the price of provisions (Smith 2007, 69). The interest of the dealers, who deal with in any particular branch of trade or manufactures, is always in some respects different from the public interest. The interest of the dealers widens the market and in order to narrow the competition.

Widen of the market may be agreeable for the interest of the public, but narrow of the competition must not be nice. The dealers can serve only to own benefit by raising profits, and this situation causes an absurd tax upon the rest of their fellow-citizens. For this reason, the proposal of any new law or regulation of commerce which comes from this order, should be listened to with great precaution and examined carefully (Smith 2007, 200).

On the other hand, if a nation that wants to enrich itself by foreign trade, certainly it should have neighbours that are rich, industrious, and commercial nations. So, a great nation, which surrounded on all sides by wandering savages and poor barbarians, might acquire riches by the cultivation of its own lands and own interior commerce, but not by foreign trade. The modern aiming of foreign commerce is impoverishment of all our neighbours (Smith 2007, 381).

According to A. Smith, the sovereign has only three duties inside of the system of natural liberty. The first duty is protecting the society from violence and invasion of other independent societies. The second duty is establishing an exact administration of justice, and protecting every member of the society from the injustice or oppression of every other member of it. Finally, the third duty is erecting and maintaining certain public works and certain public institutions because there is no interest of any individual or small number of individuals to erect and maintain it. Also, the profit could never repay the expense to any individual or small number of individuals, although it may frequently do much more than repay it to a great society (Smith 2007, 533-534).

The matters of taxation by the state and the savings of the public are examined by A. Smith within the moral philosophy subject. Smith says that the people's expenditures are taxed by the state via taxing the consumable commodities which are divided into two such as necessities or luxuries; however necessary commodities are indispensable necessary for the support of life. For example, a linen shirt is not a necessary of life; also the Greeks and Romans lived very comfortably though they had no it. But in a great part of Europe in 18th century, a creditable day-labourer would be ashamed to appear in public without a linen shirt. In the same manner, leather shoes are not a necessity of life, because walking barefooted is not indecent, however the poorest men or women would be ashamed to appear in public without them. Consequently, nature does not render luxuries a necessary for the duration of a

person's life, and tradition nowhere renders it indecent to live without them (Smith 2007, 676).

2.4 What is system?

System is a complex of elements which is a change one will cause a change in others and consequently the whole would change (Çam 2011, 145). Each of the units' set of relationship which forms the elements is called system. The units which form the relationship in the set are separated from their environment in means of mission and form. A change in a unit affects all units and the order of them. The units inside the set form the domestics and the things remain out of the system but affect the system form the environment of the system. If factors from beyond effect the system it is called "Open System" if not then it is called "Closed System".

Systems are always in a change and the changes depend on conditions:

- A- Physical change in a unit
- B- Change in action of a unit
- C- Change of purpose of a unit
- D- Change in system membership
- E- Change in systems' decision making method
- F- Change in system domestic interaction process

Likewise the collapse of the system depends on conditions:

- A- System not working for its setup purpose
- B- End of support and relationship among units those form the system
- C- Unbalancing of system and fail to accomplish missions for its existence
- D- Loss of qualification of units
- E- Development of a similar system which undertakes the tasks more efficiently

For international system the best example for a system collapse is the League of Nations which was established after the World War I, and was removed before The World War II. Minor systems those are within a bigger system are called sub-systems. Within this bigger system there might be more than one sub-system within a

hierarchic order. For example for a regional system Middle East, beneath that as a state there is Israel, beneath that there are the economic, political, social etc. systems, beneath that there asset of systems those go until to the individuals. As each change in the sub-system may affect the superset they are significant. For instance a change in leadership in a country may affect the whole system. Such as Gorbachev's coming to power in SSCB (Oran 2010, 368).

Approval of the system may be by force or by consent. For instance the social order is an approved system of rules established by the actors which formed it. An economic system depends on the assumption of a social order and utilizes from it. That is why a change in the social order which the market system depends on causes change in the market. As in the Post-Soviet era market may shock react to the changes of the social order but may not establish an order by itself (Hettne 2008, 424-427).

3. CAPITALISM

3.1 Capitalism and the basic elements

There are a lot of different opinions about rising of capitalism, firstly according to Karl Polanyi's (1886-1964 Economic historian) historical expression: the expansion of markets goes *pari passu* with technological progress to produce modern industrial capitalism. Although the process ends in England, it is a general European process. In addition, it occurs that the process that led from commercialization to industrialization to market society may be a more or less natural development in a commercialized world. Because in Europe, where completed development, has no particular obstacles to block its path (Wood 2002, 25).

But anti-Eurocentric opinion says that European imperialism is the main reason of capitalist development. They emphasize the role of British imperialism, specifically the profits of plantations and the slave trade, in the rise of industrial capitalism, although 1492 when is a milestone in the earlier development of capitalism (Wood 2002, 29).

On the other hand, according to Maurice Dobb ("Studies in the Development of Capitalism" published in 1946) and Rodney Hilton (1916-2002 Marxist historian of the late medieval period and the transition from feudalism to capitalism) in various ways suggested that the dissolution of feudalism and the rise of capitalism resulted from the liberation of petty commodity production, its release from the fetters of feudalism, largely by means of class struggle between lords and peasants (Wood 2002, 38-39).

In addition, Perry Anderson² describes that the Absolutist State concentrated coercive power in a new kind of centralized monarchy, instead of feudal lords. Meanwhile, in the town, an economic sphere had occurred that was not controlled by the aristocracy over the field of the fragmented feudal system. During this time, these

² Perry Anderson is the author of Lineages of the Absolutist State, Passages from Antiquity to Feudalism. He teaches history at UCLA and is on the editorial board of New Left Review.

towns turned into the sites of technical innovations. Although the political order remained feudal, society became more and more bourgeois. And this process has played a critical role for rising of capitalism (Wood 2002, 45).

Consequently, English state has a crucial political centralization for material foundations. Moreover in the 16th century, England had a fascinating network of roads and water transport that unified the nation to a degree unusual for the time. London, which is the largest city in Europe, is becoming disproportionately large in relation to other English towns and to the total population of England. Eventually, it was becoming the hub of a developing national market (Wood 2002, 99).

It can say that the economic imperatives of capitalism have created a global order and more integrated world than ever before. Moreover, as a form of integration is becoming a global society. There is nothing else in the human history to compare with the type of social system emerged by capitalism (Wood 2002, 180).

Nowadays, generally when defining capitalism there are three matters mentioned of: private ownership, producers whom aim to gain profit in the market or the wage labour. But none of these are enough to define capitalism. Therefore it is necessary to examine what is capitalism and what is it formed from.

According to Wallerstein these three matters cannot define capitalism because these exist for thousands of years in the world history. To be able to say that the system is capitalist the first condition would be the system gives priority to the endless accumulation of capital. This kind of definition would only prove the modern world system as capitalist. The concept of endless accumulation would mean humans or companies accumulating capital in order to accumulate more capital and this is a continual and endless process (Wallerstein 2011, 52).

That is why capitalism is not natural system. Capitalist investors try to have capital to have more capital. This is almost like a mouse running faster in a treadmill in order to go faster. Undoubtedly while the wheel spins some live rich while most live poor (Wallerstein 2012b, 39).

That is why we must first define the social keyword of capitalism: the concept of status. In order to do that we must read a short story about the life of Africans who did not know the concepts of money and status before the times of the colonialism and imperialism. When the colonialist Europeans discovered that they use for their

labour force and do not know the concepts of money and status, are not working like the western workers, they began to conflict with the people. Europeans first tried to force to labour. When this did not work they made deals with the tribe chieftains and tried to use their authorities. But the most useful method was to tax the clay hut that needs to be paid by money. Later the dark-skinned people needed to work to live in their hut. The worse started when the governmental authority was established and the private ownership became available. People who lived on these lands have migrated to the “reservation” regions just as it is with North American Indians (Sander 2009, 285).

In short, in order to define system as a capitalist, it must give priority to the endless accumulation of capital. At the same time, a society that recognises the concepts of money and status is essential for the system to work. So, the elements those form capitalism in means of economy, politics and sociological must be examined as elements of capitalism.

3.1.1 Bourgeoisie and private property

The convergence of "capitalist" and "bourgeois" was established in Western culture by means of conceptions of progress which joined British economic development with the French Revolution, in a complex imagine of historical change. In the shifting process from town-dweller to capitalist via the merchant occurs bourgeois in the later, so the ancient town-dweller gives way to the medieval burgher, who develops the modern capitalist (Wood 2002, 14).

According to Wood, revolutionary bourgeois in England was inextricably linked with capitalism, because precisely capitalist social property relations had already been established in the English rural area (Wood 2002, 63).

As a Marxist term, bourgeoisie refers to the class that has the means of production (Tuncay 2008, 9). According to Fourier, whom divides history in to four periods, the humans, after savagery, barbarism, patriarchy, are now in the period of bourgeois society. To him, this civilization is equal to the social order created in the 16th century. Fourier says civilization has made the simple evil acts of barbarism more complex and hypocritical. Thus, the bourgeois civilization is in a vicious circle and ends up with the results opposite to what it claims it aims to achieve (Engels 2000, 51).

Thus, bourgeois has betrayed to its own historical facts. According to Trotsky, what makes liberalism fascination is the French Revolution. However, Jacobinism is a condemnation word for liberals. The hatred of bourgeois to the revolution and the masses is defined with Jacobinism (Troçki 2007, 221-222).

About the matter of private property, liberals claim that this provides a partial control against the central power of the state (Friedman 2008, 13). According to Russell, who designed an ideal order, private property and the definition of the state intervention on economy consist of two parts: economic and political. The absolute political part is the government to be democratic. Without the control of the public, the economic attempts of the state only mean to enrich it-self. Within the light of this, only exploit takes a new form.

Private property is only a matter of rating. A person should be allowed to build a wooden hut on a land that is rented from the state. But, this does not mean allowing individual or legal persons to build skyscraper. Likewise, someone may lend money to a friend, but the banker may not lend money to a company or a government. In this system, there will be no shares, debenture bonds or conversion. Only private properties, which have no interest in establishing economic power over others should be allowed to survive (Russell 2013a, 98-99).

3.1.2 Proletariat and the division of labor

Proletariat is based on the division of technical work resulted in united regulations of transnational corporations and state and inter-state institutions within the fast growing world. Even though the term sounds international, the actual division of labour focuses more on the core world scale (Arrighi et al. 2004, 72-73). At this point, the actual matter of capitalism is to look for new markets. Actually, this expression is not exactly true because capitalism does not look for market but low cost of labour force. That is why the feature of each region that is newly integrated to the global market is its real wage being low. Within these regions, there are not exactly proletariats. On the contrary, the political goal is to support the semi-proletariat system and to keep the wages low (Wallerstein 2012b, 38).

That is why as Adam Smith said unlike community that lives with unearned increment and wage the community lives with interest does not suit to the common needs because the unearned increment or wage changes according to the prosperity

of the society. On the other hand, traders, which gain interest and manufacturers would like to develop the market while decreasing the competition. Even though developing the market is a positive thing, decreasing the market brings burden to the citizens (Arrighi et al. 2004, 13).

3.1.3 Free market-monopoly and invisible hand

The free market economy term is an idealized system, which was defined as the free flow of goods and prices under competition conditions, and also under full competition conditions without intervention of the state to the operation of the market economy (Kazgan 2016, 37). In addition, A. Smith's "invisible hand" concept was a reaction to Western mercantilism. Mercantilism which was a system based on state protectionism provides monetary rents by state intervention. The main purpose of the mercantilist (15th and 18th century) era is the exceeding of export against import and the accumulation of gold in this way. A. Smith's approach would run the "invisible hand" of free-market economics instead of state intervention (Kazgan 2016, 15-16).

The most famous quote of Adam Smith about invisible hand is cited here *"But it is only for the sake of profit that any man employs a capital in the support of industry...He generally, indeed, neither intends to promote the public interest, nor knows how much he is promoting it. By preferring the support of domestic to that of foreign industry, he intends only his own security; and by directing that industry in such a manner as its produce may be of the greatest value, he intends only his own gain, and he is in this, as in many other cases, led by an invisible hand to promote an end which was no part of his intention. Nor is it always the worse for the society that it was no part of it. By pursuing his own interest he frequently promotes that of the society more effectually than when he really intends to promote it. I have never known much good done by those who affected to trade for the public good. It is an affectation, indeed, not very common among merchants, and very few words need be employed in dissuading them from it"* (Smith 2007, 349-350).

According to Wood, the 'invisible hand' of classical political economy and the philosophy is an example of British empiricism (Wood 2002, 188). However, the "invisible hand" increased production and wealth but neglecting the share of the laborer, and this influenced the birth of the 1848 revolts (Kazgan 2016, 15-16).

In 1936, Keynes says that there is no reason to believe that the flexible wage policy can sustain a permanent full employment situation. Also, there is no reason to believe that the open market monetary policy will result in this too. The economic system can not self-regulate in this plane (Keynes 2010, 229). Except the war, there was no experience that would be result in full employment even before 1929 (Keynes 2010, 274-275).

On the other hand according to Lenin, imperialism is the monopolistic stage of capitalism. This kind of definition involves the unification of financial capital, a few massive monopolistic bank and monopolistic industrial unions. On the other hand, this definition in means of world politics defines the transition from the colonization policy, which expands easily on lands no country has occupied, to the colonial policy, which is used to monopolization of totally shared earth (Lenin 2009, 95).

Monopolization of the competition is one of the most significant realities of the capitalist economy. The reason is large companies' tendency to hinder competition and to monopolize. Then among twenty or even thirty company can have an agreement for easily. Another method to monopolize is to unify. According to Hilferding, unification means more stable interest, eliminating trade, unlike simple businesses opportunity of great interest and possibility of being more competitive against simple businesses in times of economic depression (Lenin 2009, 5-6).

The best way to understand the injustice of the monopolistic system is to look at the top of the distribution of wealth. Only few of these people are inventors, who reshape technology or scientists that bring new perspectives to our understanding of environment laws. For example, Alan Turing developed the fundamentals of modern computers with his intelligence or Einstein or Watson and Crick decoded the secrets of DNA, Tim Berners-Lee found the global communication and information web, the internet (World Wide Web). These people were never among those who were rewarded generously by the economic system. (Stiglitz 2014, 92-93).

After all, monopoly is a goal of growth and living on for companies because competition, by nature, is something that makes capital accumulation more difficult. For that reason, corporations find new ways to make penetration to market more difficult and ease the pressure of competition. The best example about the subject is the Microsoft Company. This company, which has a place close to monopoly within

the personal computer operating systems, could suffer great losses from competition. Especially, the development of internet and web browsers could be exactly this kind of threat. Netscape, which was conducting researches with the financing of the American government, has released one of the first web browsers. Microsoft decided to eliminate this possible competitor. It released Internet Explorer which is a Microsoft product but this product was not strong enough to compete in the market. The company has used its monopolistic powers and injected the fear, uncertainty and doubt strategy. It managed to provide concerns of compliance by programming the computer which uses the Windows operating system to create random error messages when Netscape was installed. What is more, when the company developed new versions of Windows, they did not inform the necessities for full compliance. Additionally, it presented Internet Explorer for free. Just thinking the price, competition was impossible and Netscape was destined for bankrupt.

The aim of Microsoft was not profit in the short term but remain monopolistic in the long term. Many courts around the globe blamed the company for use of anti-competitive methods. Consequently, Microsoft was the winner due to within network systems it is almost impossible to lift the monopoly. Although Microsoft being monopolistic in its market. The first prevalent word processor, the first calculation table, the first web browser, the first media player or the first wide search engine was not developed by Microsoft. Innovations always had begun somewhere else. Actually, it shows that the historical realities of monopolies are not successful in innovation (Stiglitz 2014, 98-99).

As a result, both Schumpeter and Wallerstein have proven that the free market, which is the most important argument of the capitalist development, can never exist. According to Schumpeter, the perfect competition market within the capitalist development process has sui generis weaknesses. The domestic activity, especially technically, of a company within the perfect competition system is weak. Such company when trying to reform the production methods might even cause waste of capital. Unlike major business administrations, small business administrations can severely suffer from such events. Therefore, they cannot act accordingly to the occurrences at the exterior dynamics. Conditions of modern industry demonstrated that perfect competition cannot be applied and be required to such a control mechanism (Schumpeter 2012, 127).

According to Wallerstein, if there would be a perfect competition market, then, capital accumulation would not be possible. Even though the fundamental principle of capitalism is to support the free market, this is not completely true. As unlike the free market, capitalism supports partially free market. For an example, let's suppose that there is a free market. Within this market, the means of production are independent, and there are many sellers and buyers. And in this market may there be a perfect flow of information and may there be conditions which all the sellers and buyers know all of the costs of the production. In this market, all buyers may bargain with seller and force the profit to one cent. A system, which has minuscule level of profit rate, doesn't make the capitalist game interesting for producers.

Therefore, sellers always prefer a monopoly. Only in this kind of monopolistic market, there can be a wide margin between cost of production and selling price. A high profit can be guaranteed only in this kind of system. No doubt that it is quite difficult perfect monopolies to occur and they are very few in number. But quasi-monopolies are quite possible to establish. Thus, the very first thing that is needed is the support of a strong state institution (Wallerstein 2011, 55).

Today, there are many ways to create quasi-monopolies. But the fundamental message is the patent system. This way while the copyrights are kept within the products become more expensive for consumers and very profitable for manufacturers. Of course, after the expiry of patent duration, similar products may enter to the market. But none of these are an obstacle for an oligopoly. Moreover, the oligopoly system is more efficient for profit. Firms meeting for setting prices of goods is something known by all.

Another method for quasi-monopolistic is the bans on import and export by the state. The method is the state subventions and tax deductions. A powerful state may even use coercive tools to prevent others' protective trade policies (Wallerstein 2011, 56). In conclusion, it can be said that the game is laid bare in free market. Furthermore, there are no connections between science and the invisible hand (McMurtry, 2015) because the indicator of rationality is a planned economy. On the contrary of this approach, *laissez faire* assumption is an irrational thought (Carr 2011, 140).

3.1.4 Religion and capitalism

The link between religion and capitalism has been questioned by Max Weber (1864 – 1920) in his *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (1905). The question here is that why capitalism did not develop anywhere else but in the West. Weber responds to this question with the effects of Protestant ethic. The fundamentals of the Protestantism are formed by the understanding of religion of Luther and Jean Calvin. The aim was to retract fundamentalist Christianity like at the beginning. For Calvin, the source of belief is the Bible not the Pope. Priests, who stay away from the earthly felicities, are the ones saved. Luxurious life-style, ornaments, drunkenness and laziness are sins.

That is why in the 16th century Germany, the richest and the most developed places were Protestant. The reformists in these economically developed countries were complaining not from the church interfering by religion much but the other way around (Weber 2011, 8-9). Because, ethic of working would be needed to be considered as a profession and the pious people whom thinks to reach God's Kingdom is only possible by working and church discipline (in capitalist terminology this is called efficiency) had to be supported. Thus, the work considered as a "profession" provided benefit to the employers (Weber 2011, 162). Consequently, according to Weber blaming technical reasons, the development of capitalism is a mistake. Among facts assisting the development are conditions that affect life style and cost of labour (Weber 2011, 339).

This process later became a process that other societies copied from. One of the best examples is the Calvinist Islam phenomenon in Turkey. In this mentality, it is said that Islam can comply with capitalism and globalism and the Prophet Mohammed was a merchant. Calvinist Islam mentality was examined by the newspaper Herald Tribune in the article with the topic "Protestant Work Ethic in Muslim Turkey" (Bilefsky, 2006).

Actually what helped to accelerate this process is the military coup in 1980 appointed Turgut Özal to re-establish the civil government whom was a candidate in 1977 from the Islamist, National Salvation Party (*Milli Selamet Partisi, MSP*) (Oran 2010, 16). Turgut Özal tried to synthesize Islam and capitalism. During the Cold War, Özal was following the same path with USA and sociologically, he is conservative and in

means of economy, a liberal. According to him, since in both Islam and capitalism the price is set within the market, these do not contradict (Oran 2010, 49).

Besides, other Muslim leaders and scholars support capitalism (Walberg 2014, 383). For instance, in cooperation with the Muslim Brotherhood and Anwar Sadat, both of them was against class conflicts and trade unions, the reason for Sadat following pro-American as well as IMF economy politics in his period (Walberg 2014, 111).

On the other hand, the term Islam Economy³ has proven to be nothing more than the Third World socialism or a figure of speech to hide the speculative liberal economy. While the Islamist economy means high profits by the oil exportation as well as sharia for Saudi Arabians however, it means unemployment and sharia for poor Pakistanis and Sudanese (Karlsson 2005, 101).

3.2 Globalization and neoliberal economy

The concept of globalization has begun to be used in 1985 as a description of the emergence of new sources of information and communication in the economics-political literature. Also it has another meaning like expansion of Western (American) culture, also used for a definition of inter-dependence (between people and state). Many academician, journalists and government officials used the word of globalization to express the post-Cold War era. However, the word is also used to describe the neoliberal economic policies of the both Reagan-Thatcher. In this sense, the word describes the free flow of the capital at the light speed thanks to help of new communication technologies (Balam 2015, 43-44).

It is acceptable that the general meaning of globalization is the expansion of the Western values to the world (Ariboğan 2001, 14). That is why globalization is

³ This means all orders, views, and prohibitions of Islam regarding the matters of economy. The term is of India-Pakistan origin. In Islamic Economy, individual is not rational. This view holds that resources are limitless and therefore competition is unnecessary. Because God trusts in man about usage and distribution of resources, he forbids usury. In this economic outlook, interest is replaced with profit share. This is also the foundation of Islamic banking. Striking is forbidden, and it is deemed as sin if the worker stops working by breaking the contract he makes with the employer. One can obtain property on condition that he does not forget that the real owner of property is God. Since property and kinship are closely related according to Islam, abolition of property is thought to be improper. There are not any direct orders in Quran about distribution of wealth, therefore such issues are consulted to hadith (Prophet's sayings and deeds) and fiqh (Islamic jurisprudence). This outlook claims that only Islamic economy is moral and that the equality ideal of socialism results in loss of rights and waste. Cunedioğlu, E. (1 April 2017). Bir İktisadi Sistem Olarak İslam, <http://www.iktisadiyat.com/2010/09/12/bir-iktisadi-sistem-olarak-islam/>

considered as a special kind of universalization. Social structures such as capitalism, industrialism, rationalism and urbanism have spread across humanity.

Yet, there are interconnections and different developments between Westernisation and globalization. Other contemporary modern globalization models have been brought out by modernity and Western civilization. Moreover, non-western global directions have great political significance. Some of these are Buddhist globalization, Confucian globalization, Islamic globalization, or possible future postmodern globalizations. The meaning of this, globalization does not have an absolute imperialistic sense in intrinsically. In addition, Westernisation, modernisation and colonisation have far more lengthy history than globalization. So, globalization and Westernization are not equal (Scholte 2008, 1476-1477).

But the most important part for the international system is the impact of globalization on the system of states. Globalization can be characterized by the decline of the nation state, and by a growing contradiction between the global scopes of capital. So, the economic power of the absolutist state or any pre-capitalist empire could not be imagined that exceed its extra-economic range (Wood 2002, 177).

The international system, which has been shaped with only by the inter-state relations, evolves to a new form with the inclusion non-state actors to the political system. The list of different centres of power, which bring new conditions, stretch from corporations to illegal criminal organizations. As a result of that, with the participation of the states and other actors, a different political system is formed. In this process, the most well-known actors are banks, multinational-corporations, international organizations, and mafia and terrorist organizations. Even though what is seen looks complicated, the scale of the power keeps the system flow in motion. While the balance between actors renews and changes, each alteration creates an order with a reformation. This provides the system to remain (Ariboğan 2001, 14).

Considering the globalization with the emerging of the non-state actors, actually, unlike what it seems would take us to long before the modern age, where there were other actors which affected the behaviours of the states. For example, the power of the organized religions in the world's arena have provided them to overwhelm the state authorities and made the reasons of wars religious. Furthermore, since the powers of religious authorities were beyond states they were universal. Moreover, the church was one of the most significant powers in the 10th century in Europe and

its area of interest was not only spiritual matters. From this point of view, the Papacy was a non-state actor in the early years of 1000 (Arıboğan 2001, 21).

Today, states are open to impacts coming from various actors inside or outside of their national borders, and this is one of the most important research topics for international relations. Furthermore, instead of military potential, globalization caused to necessary of a comparison based on the economic potential while assessing power scale of the states (Arıboğan 2001, 17). Mostly, the basis of the research subject in this section is this process, the state which aims to achieve economic greatness and the power of the global capital owner.

Because of this effect, the concepts of globalization and liberalization were always seen equal. Therefore, the globalization is a part of the effort of creating an open and borderless world. Consequently, economic globalization also means concepts such as reducing or abolishing regulatory measures like trade barriers, foreign-exchange restrictions, capital controls and visa requirements. As a matter of fact, this argument started the discussion of neoliberal macroeconomics within the globalization process. Many businessman, academics and politicians support the neoliberal prescriptions. This is believed to bring a world-wide prosperity, freedom, peace and democracy (Scholte 2008, 1475).

However, the integration of the world economy is very unbalanced and limited. Despite, there are analyses about being more integrated world economy in the late 19th century unlike today. In conclusion, it is demonstrated that the national policies which caused economic globalization were returned backward in the past and it can happen again. Before World War I, the world was on the influence of gold standard and followed *laissez faire* principles. It was a period of time, markets were significant and strong over states but governments had weak impact on economic relations. Considering the scale of the national economies and international economies, the 1800's were greater than today in means of trade, investment and financial flow. Today, most of the international finance sector is limited with short-term and speculative investment (Gilpin 2008, 412-414).

What is more, the market-monster which grew with the effects of globalization is creating greater depressions each time. The debt crisis of 1980's was a slow motion accident and spread over a long term. However, 1997-99 Asian financial crisis was a

new kind and a fast-spreading crisis. The crisis has begun in Thailand in 1997 and spread out the world also demonstrated that the greatness of speculative globalization network. A banking and currency depression in a small and developing country became a bitter global crisis. The financial panic in Indonesia and South Korea, the great financial aid programs from IMF, shocks in developing markets and lack of trust to the financial institutions caused the process worsen. Later, the debt crisis in Russia, fund recovery packages in USA and the devaluation in Brazil and the need for the IMF credit, are the reflection of the contagiousness of the process.

But the most important point of the crisis is that it was not foreseen by the economists, governments and international finance institutions. Complex and new financial tools made the crisis to be realized more difficult. Yet, the World Bank published a report with the title “The East Asian Miracle” (1993) soon before the crisis (Keohane and Nye 2008, 101-102). The waves of unforeseen crisis have carried on the global markets in 2008⁴.

According to Kazgan, when the US economy rises up, the capital goes on American stock market. Thus, the short-term capital that had spread around the world was leaving the other country's stock exchange market, and moving out toward the US. However, the exit process was causing an increase of exchange rate and interest rate, especially in developing countries.

At the beginning of the 2000s, American President G. W. Bush increased liquidity and lifted control instruments and taxes on the financial markets. At this point short-term capital quickly spread to the world. Afghanistan (2002) and Iraq (2003) wars, which started in this period, increased the liquidity too. During the 6-year period (2002-2008), the global growth rate has reached 6% in developing countries, while the liquidity to expansion. Moreover, even the African economy, which recessionary for years, has grown.

However, in this process, the growth rate of the US continued at 1-1.5% but developing countries were happy. Finally, in 2007, the illegal actions of finance-capital, which no check by government, revealed in USA and EU, and created a global crisis in 2008 (Kazgan 2016, 58-59).

⁴ For more information on 2008 economic crisis see Ferguson, C. (2010). Inside Job, DVD, Sony Pictures.

3.2.1 Class conflict

The most significant fact that caused the weakening of class consciousness is the change of production method and what changed the production method are the development of robotics technology and flow of the capital with globalization. During this process, the value of manhandle and factories decreased while the strength of the capital increased. Thus, while the full employment and social welfare state policies were abandoned (J. M. Keynes, Cambridge School) monetarist policies which weakened the consumers, and the low salary wage policies which strengthened the corporations within the international competition were put in effect (M. Friedman, Chicago School) (Oran 2010, 10-11).

Class struggles have always been the main arbiter of the personnel costs. Nowadays, the class struggles have become a political matter both in state and in business. In this struggle, the main tool of the labourers was the syndicates and for the employers, it was the opportunity to hire other workers whom would agree on lower wages. For labourers, another advantage was the fact that as long as having a big market for their products and the production keeps or remains continuous; it was to the benefit of the employer. A secondary advantage of the employers was that they managed to gather the support of the state every time to suppress the demands of the workers.

The game has been played like this until now, and as long as there has been a significant market for the products the employer agreed on, the high salary demands of the workers in order to keep continuing the production. In that way, developing of workers' organizations were also provided. But while the market was contraction for products, employers chose to decrease the personnel wages. If pressure tactics do not work, then the employer may choose to relocate the production process to a lesser personnel wage area.

Investors could easily find rural regions which would be ready to be employed with lesser wages because the salary was higher than previous job for workers of rural areas. As long as the world remained such rural demographically these kinds of places were found easily. But, the problem was entering a vicious cycle at some point. After a few decades, when workers of the new regions become organising, they were beginning of demands for higher salary and the process was returning back to square one. Consequently, the investor would repeat the relocation process. This is

a very efficient method for the manufacturer. But today, there is a new problem. The relocation of the production caused the rural areas of the world to empty, it is so that there are very few places left to relocate. The meaning of this, the wage costs have shifted upwards around the world.

When it is considered the basic production cost, it can be observed the same process there as well. For investors, a method to keep the cost low was not to pay the cost completely. This may sound strange but what economists call as externalization of the cost can be done easily. There are three kinds of costs that producers externalize on others. First one is the cost of the decontamination of the hazardous waste. Instead of decontaminating the hazardous waste, the producers had saved costs by simply get rid of it. Second one is replacing the raw material or reproducing it. Third method is infrastructure cost for moving the production area or distribution area of raw material.

All of these costs have always been paid by the state. This means financing the cost by the people other than the manufacturer. But in time, this became more difficult. The global pollution caused by the hazardous waste initiated a social ecological movement. Run out of raw materials has caused the creation of more expensive products instead of their. The increasing of infrastructure costs has caused to demand about taking over at least the greater part of the cost from utilizing infrastructure. As a result of these, the costs of inputs have risen substantially.

On the other hand, strikes, protests and movements for democratization enforced to hear the demands of the people around the world. These demands could be summarized in three points: education institutions, health services, and guarantee of life-long revenue (pension and old-age pension, unemployment benefits, free education). These kinds of costs are always in the rise and the places they are implemented continuously widen. For the employers, the main outcomes of these have been more taxation.

As expected, the capitalist class has reacted against raising costs in the political arena and aimed to lower the labour cost, not to pay the cost of production and lower the taxation. The neo-liberalism movement of the last quarter century is about the effort of reversing these costs. The capitalist class has been successful with its counter attacks in some times (Wallerstein 2010, 66-69).

For neoliberal agenda, state aid to public or poor is considered as a major burden. On the other hand, the bailout packages or which are paid by the taxpayers or the burdens of the corruptions are ignored. What is more is that these are presented to the public as means of economic growth. Well, do ordinary people have providing employment or welfare while supporting this system? No, they only provide enormous profit to a very small group. While the economic inequality and subcontracting grows, the public deals with low wages, injustice and mass unemployment.

The state falls under the control of the private equity with the “growth” and “national interest” terms. But the price is paid by whole country's people. As Sukumaran pointed in India, concern is not how millions will make it up to the end of the month. Instead people are more interested in last trendy airports, technological institutions, highways and bridges. They are considered as an economic development and ignore ordinary people's lack of basic necessities of life.

In this process, some senior officials and some persons gained huge wealth with the infrastructure projects and by selling some public goods. Moreover, the media under control of these corporations publish news on economic development and support this process (Todhunter 2015, 3). Even though what is written here has been taken from an article written about India, there is not a single “developing country” which these cases are not true about. For this reason, economists as if they want to mask the class struggle, continuously refer to the “national wealth” concept (Timur 2011, 184).

3.2.2 Science and added value

For Marx, technology is a method to create an added value because this way the productivity of the labour increases (Timur, 2011, 217). Today, the scientific researches are used to bring profit to core countries. Therefore, researches vital for the rest of the countries are overlooked due to their limited market. For instance 95% of HIV (Human Immunodeficiency Virus) is observed in the underdeveloped countries. Whereas, AIDS (Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome) medicines developed in the West are too expensive to be used in Africa. The efforts to cure illnesses such as HIV and malaria in a cheaper mean are stopped by patent laws of the multinational drug companies (Castells 2008, 379). Thus, the unearned increment

expectations of the financial economy have taken the medicine sector under control. It is so that the pharmaceutical companies direct most of their profits to marketing than research (Stiglitz 2014, 160).

The best definition of the science and technology has been written by Die Zeit magazine. The magazine which questioned the independence of the researches in Germany and it has caricaturized the control over the scientific studies as male rabbit (industry) and female rabbit (science) (Naroğlu 2014, 90).

What is more the technology developed by the capitalist industry adds more unemployed to the labour market in every year. The competitions among multinational companies cause them to decrease cost by researching new technology which causes unemployment. The full employment policies of nation states are only a dream at this time. In addition, mostly of the people is unemployment. The increasing of the urban population as well as developing of the industrial technologies will have caused to rise of unemployment figures an unexpectedly (Rivero 2003, 30). Today some of the countries which have high unemployment rate are France 10.4%, Greece 27.3%, Italy 12.2%, Portugal 16.5%, Spain 26.6%, and Turkey 10.0% (The World Bank, 2015).

Furthermore, the defenders of the global market claim that world-wide competition will lead all countries to welfare and development. According to Oswaldo de Rivero, this is an only imagination because neither the USA nor Europe or Japan developed under the same globalization process. They have protected their industries during their development and copied each other's technology. Besides, today's status has much more disadvantage. Firstly, the flow of the workforce is not allowed anymore due to the anti-migration laws. Secondly, with the laws of intellectual property rights, copying technology is banned (Rivero 2003, 12-13).

3.2.3 Gender issue

There is a link between division of labour and evaluation of labour in capitalism. Even though generally man and woman conducted different jobs, an adult man has always been considered as "breadwinner" with salary. Separately, an adult house-working woman is categorized as "housewife". Thus, in the national statistics gathered with the conversion to the capitalism, the man has been considered as the

effective workforce but the housewife has not been considered as such. In this way, sexism was institutionalized (Wallerstein 2012b, 26).

This demonstrates that capitalism has not been only a part of the selling labour force but also a part of the social relations. In this process, culture, religion, free time, illness, death and even love have become a part of capitalism. Therefore, even sexuality could not remain apart from capitalism (Gibson and Graham 2010, 101).

What is more, sexuality has become a commercial good. That is why the sexual imagery mostly based on woman is being spread to the culture with all its aspects. In this kind of culture, the women are the object and the man is a buyer of the good. Moreover, sexuality is being used for many kinds of product advertisements (Swain 2013, 48).

In addition, one other subject of the feminist critique is the tourism's relation with the prostitution, which is a fact of the global economy. Another aim of the international economy is to gather foreign currency via tourism. Thailand, Philippines, The Caribbean's, West Africa's and Brazil's development progress and debt problems are related with sex-tourism. Furthermore, tourism is shaped according to the expectations of the global market and the development plans. Today prostitution is a commodity within the global commerce. Global market has connected the hotel chains and the tourism agencies. This has provided the empty flight seats to be filled and the empty hotel rooms, in addition supplying the secret sex services. Globalization of capital has brought the globalization of sex. According to Thahn Dan (Steans 2008, 543), two places namely Bangkok and Manila in which the prostitution is in the rise, are also the places where multinational corporations have their headquarters.

3.3 Political economy

3.3.1 State-market connection

In 1797, the fast growing wealth of the Britain industry has proven that the wealth could not be only measured by gold and silver. Therewith, the legislative assembly found a temporary solution and made the England Central Bank notes, the standard value. In conclusion, it was proven that an artificial object could become a legal value standard (Owen 2006, 148). After then, capitalist development caused of two

sharing wars and these erased 150 million people from the earth in the first half of the 20th century by hiding under the concepts with ideals and patriotism (Rivero 2003, 109).

Essentially, even the main objective of the capitalist ideology is to get rid of the control mechanism of the state but this never practically became the case. Moreover, capitalism would not be able to develop without the active role of the modern state (Wallerstein 2012b, 50). The existence of the political economy demonstrates that the political economy system that was developed with the support of the state and the market is the proof that the system is not without state and market, in a pure status (Gilpin 2012, 21).

In his book titled “Capitalism and Freedom”, Friedman (2008, 20) says that the existence of free market does not get rid of the necessity of the state. On the contrary, he presents the state as a forum that would define the game rules and a necessary actor as a referee whom would enforce the decisions and comment them. According to him, the purpose of the market is to diminish the amount of problems that would require interference of the state.

In short, even though there were basic economic facts, the market was shaped by politics. It has made in favour of upper class, whereas against the rest of people. Every economic system needs to have rules and regulations. The only factor that would prevent the economic elite to design a selfish structure is the system working in a legal structure. Otherwise, the economic structure would become neither fair nor efficient. Actually, it is obvious that the markets as unsupervised do not work well. For the market to work as it is supposed to, the state must regulate it accordingly. Therefore, there is a need for a democracy in order to serve for public interest, instead of some private interest groups (Stiglitz 2014, 33-34). Yet, it is clear that within both public sector and private sector, there were failed and successful cases. But according to the right wing, only the states fail. The failure of the markets could be forgotten easily while the ones of the state are always remembered. But there has not been a successful economy without the significant role of the state. For instance, China and the Scandinavia countries where the life standards are the best, the state has important role in the economy. But the right wing ideology still prefers to privatize the small state and reacts against the market regulations (Stiglitz 2014, 245).

In fact, it looks like without the state intervention to the economy, development is not possible. For example, considering the jet plane passenger transportation, the American Boeing has blamed the French Airbus for taking state subvention and creating unfair competition environment. In response, Airbus noted that Boeing is subsidised with the defence contracts to develop fighter bomber, then using the very same technology to build commercial planes. It is true that the prototypes of Boeing 707 and the B-52 fighter bomber which flew first in 1954 are very much alike (Roskin 2012, 181).

On the other hand, there is no national economy that can have import sector in the global competition without contacting multinational entrepreneurs. Undoubtedly, Singapore, Hong Kong, Sweden, Germany, South Korea and the USA have competitive sectors within their economies but this is a result of having multinational processes within their borders.

Undeveloped countries which lack national capital have no other option to seek multinational investors. Only this way, they can aim to lower unemployment, improving technological production, developing new import goods and those would have competitive advantages. That is why all countries on the world suffer from lack of multinational investment because it is not easy to be a country selected by these aristocrats of this global economy.

Multinational companies are very careful while deciding on investments. Mainly, they focus on having the maximum profit with the minimum risk within national factors. An attractive country includes that political stability, legal guarantees, a big domestic market, and developed infrastructure, technical capacity of the workforce, the productivity and the opportunity to sign a contract with companies which have technological capacity.

Until now, three countries which provide the best conditions are the USA, Japan and the EU (European Union). The production based investments of 70% has completed in three countries. The second group is the China, Singapore, South Korea and Taiwan. After them, the Eastern Europe, Asia, Africa and American countries are weak in means of attracting multinational investment because it is claimed that the countries within these regions fail to provide the conditions for investment.

In addition to these, in 1980's with the lobby activities of multinational companies, IMF has been converted into an institution that is going to collect the international debts of the Latin American countries. Thus, they managed to guarantee their interest repayments to the international banks they owe to. After the Asian depression, IMF has been converted into an institution that provides the flow of the money by the G7 (Group of Seven) countries. In this way, bankrupt countries managed to repay their debts which were provided by many multinational bank and investors (Rivero 2003, 42-43).

There are debtor and creditor states around the world, so that, it is almost like a condition of being a state in the system. Formally, the mission of a state in debt is to diminish the cost of labour on the capital and lower the cost of export productions in order to remain credible. This kind of formal governmental program is known as austerity policy. The main goal of the organised pressure to reduce the living conditions of the proletariat workers, the reason for class struggle is getting deepen (Arrighi et al. 2004, 74-75).

3.3.2 Liberal politics

Even though the liberal economy policies are announced as a solution all over the world, Keynesian macroeconomic applications have not provided to create a growing or healthy economy before and after World War II. It was the war which helped the USA to employ ten millions unemployed people and solved the economic problems. What accelerated the growth of capital in Germany, Italy and Japan were pressure on workers' wages as well as based on a fascist and expansionist foreign policy. Reduction of the wages, and destruction of the labour unions in Germany and Italy, and also the limitation of labour movements within the context of social democrat in Italy, France and England after the war, when the Marshall Plan supported to help rebuild Western European economies by an American initiative, all of these had provided very high profits for primarily American investors and then national capitalists. That is why, what helped to create a new huge size global capital investment and accumulation is the pressure mentioned hereby and the unification of the capitalist imperialists after the war economy. Besides, what caused capital loss during the war both economically and physically, and the fear against communism and the status of continuous war supported by the armament race. It was not the

Keynesian macroeconomic policies what stimulated the markets (Mandel and Frank 1995, 26-27).

That is why the idea of capitalism providing the conditions for political liberty is a controversial issue. The fascist countries before the World War II, Italy, Germany, Spain and Japan were not politically liberal countries. In addition that all of them had their economic structure based on private enterprise. It can be said that capitalist economic system can coexist with anti-democratic political structures (Friedman 2008, 12). So, there is a paradox between equality and liberty. For this reason, one cannot be both equitable and libertarian (Friedman 2008, 265).

Essentially, liberalism was found out to answer the problem of how to keep the dangerous classes under control. Moreover, liberalism and democracy are polar opposites. The aim of liberalism donates the limited political power and limited sharing of economic added value for the people during the process of capital accumulation, but provided that not being a threat for the state system the reason for the state is supporting it. Starting from the 19th century, the general vote plus welfare state strategy of the liberal state developed in this process (Wallerstein 2012a, 46).

So, do the big industrial investors have a political party? According to Gramsci, the answer is no. The big investors utilize from various parties each term but they do not have their own political party. They care on the balance of their interest. They provide this balance by strengthening each party consecutively. But there is one specific party that cannot be supported even as a matter of tactic (Gramsci 2014, 268).

3.3.3 Capitalist conflict

Capitalist world is not the simple accumulation of national parts, it is the internationalization of division of labour. The production powers of the capitalist society have long before exceeded the national boundaries. The First World War (1914-1918) is an evidence of it. Yet, aiming to establish a nationally isolated socialist society causes producers to fall behind of capitalism. Also trying to form an isolated national economy by ignoring the geographical, historical and cultural conditions of the country borders is nothing more than example of a reactionary utopian (Troçki 2007, 31-32).

For this reason, one of the dilemmas of the bourgeois community is the fact that the producers created during this process do not comply with the frame of the national state. This fact would cause of imperialist wars and it was caused the rise of bourgeois utopian idea such as the United States of Europe (Troçki 2007, 186). That is why the existence of the economic contradictions is the main reason of wars, whereas existence of the armies is not the primary reason of wars. Whenever economic dilemmas are intensified, world always witnessed an armament race. Therefore, to strengthen both imperialism and militarism that comes across us as the first rule of finance capital (Bukharin 2009, 153-154).

According to Lenin, who considers imperialism as the highest stage of capitalism, the symbol of capitalism which adopts free competition, was commodity exports. The symbol of capitalism which dominated by monopolies is the capital export. Alliance of the monopolistic capitalists within the developed countries has a large-scale capital surplus. Existence of the unequal development and half-starved masses are the basic condition for mode of production. As long as capitalism exists, the surplus of capital will not be used to increase the life standards of masses in a particular country (this situation was already created a reduction in capitalists profit) but instead to maximize the profit by using it for the undeveloped countries in need of capital. What causes being possible the exportation of capital is the underdeveloped countries which have fallen into the capitalist relations network. These countries either have large means of transportation or are about to have it. Thus, the basic needs for industrial development are provided. What underlie the need for capital export are the excessive development of capitalism in some countries, and accordingly, the lack of profitable investment opportunities (Lenin 2009, 62-64).

Such that Gibson and Graham found a link between anorexia and becoming de-industrialized (an economic status which means decrease of production and considered as a threat in industrial capitalist countries). Both illnesses have a suffering body and the effort to revive it in common. Those who are anorexic are given food from their veins; those become de-industrialized are encouraged for investment promotion. Efforts of curing becoming de-industrialized have provided marginal success. But because of lack of imagination, their effort to find the actual cure is limited (Gibson and Graham 2010, 168-169).

According to Russell, there is only one way to establish a stable economy and monetary system and it is the existence of a world government. As the stability of the money would be beneficial to this government, this state by calculating average goods could provide a money flow which would always provide purchase power. This would mean actual stability. For this reason, for a stable money and credit security, there has to be only one central bank and one currency, which would provide the continuation of the average pricing, on the world. This currency should not be based on gold standard but on the credit of the central bank of the world government (Russell 2013a, 59-60).

However, capitalism is one of the most important facts that intercept the idea of the world empire because this kind of status would mean a political structure that has the power to prevent endless accumulation of capital (Wallerstein 2011, 107). There is also the phenomenon of the weakness of the imagination against capitalism. The meaning of this, maybe the world will be destroyed or climates will be changed, however capitalism will live forever (Gibson and Graham 2010, 12).

4. NATIONALISM

4.1 Nationalism and imagined communities

First of all, nation is a psychological community historically evolved from language, territory, partnership of economical life and culture (Hobsbawm 2014, 19). If nationalism would be considered as a way of resisting the foreign, then, nationalism could be found within almost every part of history. However, nationalism is an ideological movement that holds the national loyalty as the source of the political power and the base of world order, and believes in the world composed by nations each having *sui generis* character (Smith 2010, 80). Secondly, within historical process, first, the states were found, then the nations occurred. Within the hundred years of time, French state has standardized the education by deciding on a certain dialect, and has created a notion of French. Thus, French nation invented by French state. All states are partially artificially constructed (Roskin 2012, 1).

It is a fact that the independent nation-state model became copy-able after the second decade of the 19th century. The model actually had a complexity that was in the elements of American and French. The first ones to copy this model were the coalitions of who were marginalised and educated in their native language (Anderson 2011, 98). That is why the link between racism and nationalism became very visible in means of language. As in the example of Aryans and Semites, race and language may be easily confused. In addition to that, there is a regression between the purification and hybridization of the language and the scariness of it for the pure race. What is more, the racial/national term is being used concurrently with generalizing it roughly. For instance, before the English-French entente in 1904, a French author claimed that an agreement between these countries was impossible because there is a hereditary rivalry. It means the linguistic and ethnical nationalism strengthens one another (Hobsbawm 2014, 133).

But assuming that the nationalism thrived from language, union would not suit with historical facts. For instance, German and Italian languages were the languages of a minor group. Probably the percentage of the people speaking Italian when the

unification of Italy was developed was only 2.5 percentages. The rest of the people spoke various languages and generally could not understand one another (Hobsbawm 2014, 55). Another example is that Germany was an absolute cultural concept in 18th century. Except for the small states and principalities governed by German language at the religious and political level, there was Germany just in cultural area. This Germany was consisting of 300.000–500.000 people who can read and play on the stage written in this spoken language. This was because since there was no language standard defined by the state in Germany, the scale of accuracy was found in the theatres. The second reason was because of after the language became written; the correctives emerged and caused standardization (Hobsbawm 2014, 82).

On the other hand, less than half of the people who live in the Kingdom of Hungary speak Hungarian language, the reason is that Hungarians are seeking a solution and they defined that "these people who are Hungarians do not speak Hungarian language" as legally. Greece defined the people in parts of Macedonia, which it annexed, as "Slavic speaking Greeks". In short, linguistic monopoly hid within non-linguistic nation disguise. It was obvious that nation was a complex structure that could not be grasped only with language (Hobsbawm 2014, 121).

According to Anthony D. Smith (2010, 32), the definition of national identity can be divided into articles as follow:

- a- A historical territory/country or homeland
- b- Common myths and historical memory
- c- Common duties and legal rights for all individuals
- d- An economy which can move freely within the whole country.

In addition to these, nationalism in the sense that geographical location and historical belonging to a place is about the land. This is why to define a nation by a geographical location, depends on reading the ethnic history which assumes link with the land which it left historical marks. This does not refer to this nation being antique but only subjectively in many nations there are pre-modern elements (Smith 2010, 116).

What is more, the most common contemporary myths belong to nationalism. In the centre of this, myth lies the idea of the nation exists since an unknown time and had

to be awoken by nationalists in order for them to keep their existence. What keeps the national salvation and resurrection dramas effective are the memories, symbols and the reflection of them in traditions (Smith 2010, 40).

Therefore, during the construction of the nation, there is the need of two psychological facts. The first is “chosen traumas” and the second is “markers of identity”. Always the duty of the individual whose member of a larger group and the ancestors been through a mass trauma are the same: mourn the casualties and to reduce the shame by giving up passiveness. The purpose of this duty is to link the members of the group together with mental bond. In time, this link becomes identity marker of the group. This historical process is called as chosen traumas. In order to represent the group, the historical image of the trauma is selected. The actual point is to link the group members with the chosen trauma. In result, the chosen trauma that became the markers of identity becomes significant within the mass group.

In addition, when history-myth-trauma-mourning are composed, a monument can affect the chosen trauma of the group very well. For example, Slobodan Milosevic tried to revive the Serbian nationalism in 1987 with this method. With the help of the Serbian Church and some Serbian intellectuals, a huge monument was constructed on the battlefield of Kosovo for this purpose. Kosovo Battle was between the Serbians and the Ottomans in 1389. For centuries, the Prince Lazar who died in this battle was the chosen trauma of the Serbians. The aim of the statue built six hundred years after the war was to make the wound bleed and to create an enemy. In this process Bosnians and Albanians replaced Ottomans in the minds of Serbians. The psychological target of the statue was to enflame the vengeance feelings against the enemy (Volkan 2009, 210-212).

In short, the nation is neither the essential nor the constant element. The concept of nation is a specific and historically recent element. The word nation is a meaningful social unit only if it is related to modern national state. If not so, then it is meaningless to discuss nation or nationality. What is more, in the creation of nations, invention and social engineering are the most important factors. The claim of there is a godly or natural politic fate in the categorization of humans by the nations is no different than an urban legend. Nationalism sometimes converts the existing cultures into nations and sometimes invents nations from blank. In brief, nationalism comes

before nation. Meaning, it is not nation what creates the state, it is the state that creates the nation (Hobsbawm 2014, 24).

Modern nationalism becoming a political power does not predates late nineteenth century even in Western Europe. Therefore, in the World War I, the Turks still cannot be defined as nationalist patriots (Hobsbawm 2014, 101). The developments in the West have developed nationalism almost coincidentally but in the East nationalism was created by design (Smith 2010, 159).

Eventually, according to B. Anderson, nation is an imaginary political society. This society is also a community which has also imagined itself a conscious sovereignty and boundary. Nation is an imaginary concept because the members of the smallest nation will not recognise others. Moreover, most of them will not hear anything about those, but imaginary nation created by the community will continue to survive (Anderson 2011, 20).

4.1.1 Religion and nationalism

According to Anderson, three cultural designs are the essence of nationalism which begin to lose their impact, and this case creates the basis for imagine a nation. First, the holy script language, second, the ruler governing with divine power, and the third, the understanding of time bounding the world and the roots of the humans' weakening accelerated the process of becoming a nation (Anderson 2011, 50-51).

But even nationalism is fundamentally a secular ideology; religion is not a foreign concept for nationalism. Not only nationalists refer to the religious feelings of masses, but also define religious societies within ethnic society in places like Sri Lanka, Armenia, Poland and Ireland. But, expected ethno-religious outcry, as self-consciously has been came true in nationalist era. However, ancient Judaism per se was not has a nationalist ideology (Smith 2010, 84).

Therefore, religion has managed to establish a link of fraternity among people who have no other common ground, as a method of establishing a commune by common practice. Some religions such as Jewish have been designed to be a member of some specific people communities. In means of pre-nationalism, religion was a threat to establishing nationalist link. But for the modern nationalism, religion is paradoxical glue. In time, nationalism was getting similar to religion. This is very observable on the Poland, Ireland, Zionist Israel and Arab nationalisms (Hobsbawm 2014, 89).

Nevertheless, unlike philosophy, religious and public thinking may not form a consciousness because these may not unify or integrate. It is not possible only for collective conscience but also within individual conscience. To make them unify or integrate can be possible only through use of force. In the past, this was possible within some borders (Gramsci 2014, 20-21).

Moreover, verses revealed to the Prophet by the God look like they are about specific cases that the followers around the Prophet (Ramazan 2003, 44). That is why according to Hegel, the major world religions are not correct, but are ideologies that refer to the needs of the followers at the time (Fukuyama, 2011, 97).

In his book “The Failed Hypothesis”, Victor J. Stenger said that there could not be found out any proof of existence of Jesus nor has he met any data of the kingdoms of David or Suleiman have had a Golden Age as it is described in the holy book. It is certain that incidents the experiences of prophets Abraham, Moses and Jesus are myths. In a sense while the archaeologists can find out proofs for primitive human tribes, they cannot find out any context on the scripts of Egypt nor Mesopotamia about the Exodus or the Jewish Kingdom.

About morality, in means of religion, it has been proven that neither in the Quran nor in the Bible there not any original moral principles. The moral principles which could be acknowledged by the modern people were known much before these religions in Greece, Indian, Egyptian, Babylon and Persia as it is presented with examples in the study (Stenger 2013, 165-184).

4.1.2 Capitalism and nationalism

Publishing was an industry under the control of the rich capitalists in Europe in 1500-1550. Naturally, their very first aim was to profit and in order to do that, they had to sell their goods. That is why they experienced the classic finding new market problem of capitalism. Actually, the market was the literate Europe at first but in means of number of people it was a narrow Latin reading portion. Very few people were speaking Latin and reaching to the full potential of the elite Latin market caused other masses to become a potential market for the capitalism. Even though Anti-Reform provided stamina to the Latin publishing, but in the middle of the 17th century, the status began changing. Catholic libraries were full and there was a Europe wide cash problem. This helped publishers to adopt to be the retailers of the

cheap and public language copies (Anderson 2011, 52-54). Thus, capitalism accelerated the public languages' spreading.

One other reason is the effects of Reform which owes its success to the capitalist publishing. After, Martin Luther published the German translation of his hypothesis. His thoughts spread to whole region in 15 days thusly the movement that Luther took central role, enflamed the religious propaganda war that would reshape Europe within the next century. The coalition between Protestantism and the capitalist publishing that gains profit from cheap copies found a new audience among the traders those know very little Latin and women, also mobilized them for religious-political causes. At the same time, these developments did not only affect The Church. Political units like Republic of Netherlands which are not based on any dynasty and are not a city state were emerging.

What is more, some monarchs utilized the vulgar tongue as a tool of governmental centralization. Here, there is no reason to consider there were any ideological or nationalist reasons to convert the administration to the vulgar tongue. England is a good example for this. The administrative language of the palace was Norman before the invasion of the Anglo-Saxons. The following one and a half centuries after the conquest, almost all royal documents were written in Latin, between 1220 and 1350 the Norman French replaced the state Latin. In this period, the early English that was a composition of the language of the foreign dominant class and the Anglo-Saxon language of the common people merged. This composed new language which was adopted as the royal language in 1362 and helped the parliament to open. It is important us to notify that the process evolved in means of state languages not as the national languages in order to understand the developments (Anderson 2011, 54-56).

In short, typography was a new profession as an industry created by the excess division of labour and primitive capital accumulation. But it played a key role for the development of the culture. As the product of the capitalist industry, books were increasing the intellectuality of the society and the increased knowledge was accelerating the books' publishing. Centuries had to pass to shift the circulation of hundreds to thousands. The all-time peak was reached in the age of Enlightenment. When the famous Encyclopaedia was published in the 18th century with 4250 circulation, Voltaire's Essay on the Manners and Spirit of Nations was marking the history with 7000 publications (Timur 2011, 45-46). One of the most important

books of the history was written in this time. Before the 1789 Revolution, Adam Smith's book "The Wealth of Nations" was published in French at least in three editions. During the revolution (1790-1791, 1795, 1800-1801 and 1802) four editions more were printed (Hobsbawn 2009, 16-17).

In addition to this, according to Anderson, the first imaginary community was the bourgeois class existing only through the copies because the link between the fabricator in Lille and the fabricator in Lyon was limited through a common affection. In truth, they had no reason to know the existence of one another. They neither shared inheritance nor married to other ones' daughter. But because of the publication language of they could imagine the existence of thousands of other audiences. It is impossible to imagine a bourgeois class to lack of literate. Therefore the bourgeois are the very first class that managed to interdepend on an imaginary base. But when the Latin was beaten by the capitalist publisher of the vulgar tongue, the interdependence created by the vulgar tongue had a limit of an area drawn by the comprehensibility of these languages (Anderson 2011, 93).

For instance, while observing the birth of Turkish nationalism, beginning with base on colloquially, a vivid publishing life in Istanbul 1870's. This meant the refusal of the formal Ottoman language that merged from Turkish, Arabic and Persian. Naturally, the founder of the first newspaper, İbrahim Şinasi had just arrived from France after his 5 year of education. Later, others followed him and in 1876, there were 7 daily newspapers published in Istanbul (Anderson 2011, 91).

On the other hand, within the peace agreements signed after the first massive total war, taking the nationalism as the primary point of consideration has defeated the socialism that is based on class struggle (Hobsbawm 2014, 148-149). It has helped the nationalism and capitalism to strengthen in the process. According to Wallerstein, racism is a method to ban the communication among the workforce within the same economic structure. Meaning, racism has nothing to do with "the foreigners". Racism has provided an ideological legislation to the workforce to become hierarchic and to the high unbalance of the sharing the benefits. Furthermore it was claimed that sweated economically or politically and also culturally is "below". If the position changes in the economic hierarchy, the social hierarchy will change as well.

For that reason, racism has functioned as an ideology that provides legitimacy to the inequality. Moreover, it communalized the economic roles of the groups. This helped the individual to take prejudice and discrimination natural. That is why sexism, just like racism, is an ideology that limits the expectations and causes self-suppression on individuals (Wallerstein 2012b, 68).

Well, is there any correlation among capitalism and civil war? Here, violence inter-groups are categorized as civil war. But official wars between two states or two populaces and also the revolts in the lands under invasion were left out of the case. According to this, it could be called that “civil war” invented by the capitalist world economy. Actually, civil war is the outcome of the complex relation between constructed nation and constructed state (Wallerstein 2012b, 105).

Finally, capitalism is dependent on extra-economic conditions, political and legal assistance. And no one has before found a more effective method for supporting the political form of capitalism like nation state. A global capital required stability, regularity, and predictability for capital accumulation (Wood 2002, 179).

4.1.3 Culture and nationalism

Culture is formed from the accumulation of a specific civilization relation with the world and it forms a certain order. Culture builds houses, cultivates crops, and creates objects (Strauss 2014, 65). While the culture refers to a national social life, civilization refers to an international social life. A community’s common values of religion, moral, justice, reasoning, aesthetics, language, economy and science form its culture. When these elements create harmony and common values, it will create civilization. For instance, between Europe and America, there is a Western civilization that forges the common values. However, within this civilization, there are English, French, German, etc cultures as well (Gökalp 2004, 25).

All human groups have developed *sui generis* identity since the beginning of history. In primitive times, this process was supported with myths about creation. The purpose of this was to support the illusion of being chosen. Imagine that in primitive times, a group of people wearing the feathers of a red bird on their head, and the neighbour group wearing the feathers of a green bird, thus these two groups acknowledging themselves as different kinds (Volkan 2009, 262). All communities would like to clarify the differences than others by banning a food group. Milk for

the Chinese, pork meat for Jews and Muslims, fish and/or deer meat for some American tribes etc. even, such phenomenon which looks like simple causes of create a lot of differences among peoples (Strauss 2014, 20).

As Freud noted, big differences create taboos hard to break. Moreover, when considering male-dominated nature of capitalism that provides an environment conducive to aggression, and emerge out that how much widespread of underestimation especially towards minorities and neighbour countries. So what is the way to follow for humans to form one group? According to Freud, to form a group, intolerance must be eliminated. In this process, individual within the group tolerate and equalizes one another member of group (Freud 2013, 35-36).

At this point, the question that needs to be asked is “what is tolerance?” According to C. Levi-Struss, tolerance is not the dream-like status that everything is forgiven. Tolerance is a dynamic attitude and depends on understanding and a fair worthiness principle. What can be done about the different cultures those surround us is hope that they will be generous in additions to the world culture (Strauss 2013, 63).

4.1.3.1 Cultural group and ethnic nationalism

Ethnic group is a type of cultural collectiveness and the distinctive that are cultural differences such as, myths depending on lineage, historical memories, religion, tradition, language or institutions. For example, the Turks living in Anatolia before 1900s, lived with the dominant Ottoman and Islam identity and knew very little about the Turkish identity. Thus, kinship as in village or region was more important.

The features of an ideal ethnic society are as follows:

- A- A collective special name
- B- Common lineage myth
- C- Shared historical memories
- D- One or more component that distinguishes the common culture
- E- Link to a specific homeland
- F- Feeling solidarity with most of the population

Perhaps among them the most important one is the myth of lineage. Because the “we came from...” feeling is essential to define who they are. In addition to this, love and

feeling of belonging to a piece of territory has a mythological and holy place. That is why even if the ethnic group gets separated from its territory for a long time, it may remain linked with nostalgia and spiritual devotion. Jewish and Armenian Diasporas are communities are models to this (Smith 2010, 41-45).

In some cases, the third parties got caught between the wars of others may cause an ethnic group to thrive. Israel, between Egypt and Assyria the two ancient strong powers in the Middle East is an example to that. Not by an occurrence such as this but Armenians, Swedish, Czechs, Kurdish and Sikh as surfaced their ethnic community feelings in the prolonged wars of the foreign powers that they got caught in between. The common memory and myths created by the war for these ethnic groups which have geographical significance, were the candles for the next generations to light the national consciousness (Smith 2010, 51).

On the other hand, biological approach to the ethnic root is baseless, because as a type of social organization, main element of an ethnic group is not biological but cultural. Moreover, other than modern migration, populations of wide territorial nation-states are so heterogeneous that they cannot claim a common ethnic origin. When examining the demographic history of Europe, it is easier to understand the variety of roots of ethnic groups. For the ethnic root of each group in Southeast Europe, it is a matter of debate to be a mixture of Caucasian, Ottoman Turks or Greek and Slavic (Hobsbawm 2014, 84).

Even so, ethnic union cannot be explained with the concept of cultural community because the number of cultures is more than the number of race (Strauss, 2013, 22). What is more, according to Anthony D. Smith (2008, 333-336), there is no such thing as culture in practice. There are only emotional associations of historical cultures for those who share a common culture. That being said, for a specific class or interest, it is possible to create or invent culture. But for this to be acknowledging by the community compliance with the native motives and reference to a longer past is necessary.

The most significant difference between national culture and global culture is that it is memory-less. As there is no worldly memory that would unite humanity, in order to create a global culture, all humans together must lose their memories. Many nations today are based on ethnic-core by the modern elites. This perspective means

to agree on that the modern nations are very much structured. It is already very clear that the population that has no notion about a link of nationality has been injected the feeling of nationalism.

In the process of fabrication of nations the method that is used mostly is the cultural politicization. To achieve this, it is necessary to find a cultural base that would collect the attention of the people and be persuasive among the educated portion of the people. The most important ingredients in this process are, among the ones to become a nation to find followers, create enemies, documenting the ethno-history, helping the native language to be spoken more commonly, to practice native traditions and religions, to name the struggle as “resurrection”. When all of these are provided, it would be easier to persuade the friend and foe. If the process fails, there can be various methods of rescue. These would be referring to holy lands, lost myths and forgotten heroes. But not even all of these are sufficient. The group must be taught who they are, where they come from and where are they heading to. The aim is to nationalize the ethnic root (Smith 2008, 333-336).

That is why the concepts of cultural nation and state nation were separated from each other by Friedrich Meinecke (Smith 2010, 24) in 1908. According to him, while the “*kulturnation*” means passive cultural community the “*staatsnation*” means political nation that sets its own will by itself. For instance, in the ancient Greece, there was a community that was passionately devoted to the city state but in means of politics, there were not any nations.

As a result, even though weak, the things described as national identity points a political society. This kind of political society manifests its existence by providing all its members common institutions, rights and duties, and with a territory that has been described vaguely. This is what the French philosophers were trying to express when saying a nation is a group of people living within the same country and abiding to the same law and institutions (Smith 2010, 24).

Yet, not all nationalist movement aims to express self-determination. Each nation having its own state is the common perspective but it is not a must for the nationalist doctrine. Most of the Catalan, Scottish and Flemish nationalists showed more interest on autonomy and cultural equality than independence. This is a proof that nationalism is a political ideology that has a cultural doctrine within the essence.

Besides, nationalism is an ideological movement that provides a nation to gain and maintain autonomy, unity and identity (Smith 2010, 122).

But in the world of nations, cultural wars were frequently seen. With this method, societies those wish to document their difference and characteristics have initiated some kind of race for annexing ancient civilizations. That is why the Iraqis for ancient civilizations such as Sumerian and Babylonians ascribe to themselves. Turks refer to ascribe Hittites lived in 2000 B.C. Greeks and the Bulgarians dispute over the national origin of the antique Macedonian King Graves. While the Jews and the Palestinians fight over the Nablus and Samaria regions, the Hungarians and Romanians conflict over the Transylvania land.

In short, problems of cultural competition and identity indicators grow because of culture becoming political. It seems not possible to end the conflict between ethnics and nations while there are countless other ethnic societies which are ready to awake upon discovering their ethno-histories which are inseparable from one another (Smith 2010, 252-253).

4.2 Nationalist conflict

The World War I is something new for the world history because it is the first total war in the history. Before this, the wars were limited to political purposes. But now, the meaning of wars has changed and became a nations' matter of life and death. The wars that used to be matters of survival only to the soldier in the frontier, now became disaster for the women, men, the old and even for the children (Sander 2009, 351-353).

Weber, who considers himself as a member of bourgeois, said "*history is the battlefield of the fight of the races and nations to gain wealth and power*" (Timur, 2011, 343). That is why after nationalisms' continuous raising, now the idea of single and universal truth is quitted. According to B. Russell, this process began in 1848. Now, there are the facts of English, French, German, Russian or Turkish. If the faith to these facts weakens, there are the facts of war and propaganda (Russell 2013a, 86). Today many states suffer from identity and ethnic conflicts. This causes problem to the unity of the state. It is important to understand that the Kurds, the Bask or other ethnic groups wish to establish their nation-states because their primary aim is not to

exterminate the nation-states but to divide it to units which they can control (Gilpin 2008, 412-414).

As an example, Kurdish nationalism can be examined in order to understand the conflict between state-nationalism and ethnic-nationalism. The nationalist political movement that has begun with the first Kurdish cultural newspaper (*Teali ve Terakki-i Kurdistan*) in 1908 and the first Kurdish political organization *Kiviya Kurd* (The Kurdish Hope) got interrupted with the end of World War I but with the terrorist movement especially in 1960-70s it revived. The effort of modernizing the Kurdish language and the nationalist-political struggle of the ethnic group that is divided into tribes and engages guerrilla combats against Turkey, Iraq and Iran were *pari passu* (simultaneously) (Smith 2010, 204). Thus the Turkish nationalism defined by the state and the Kurdish nationalism of the ethnic group have begun fighting.

The developments on communication technologies, especially radio and TV broadcast provide new allies. Most importantly, multi-language radio and TV broadcasting help people, who are not literate and have different native languages in order to create imagined communities (Anderson 2011, 152). It can be argued that capitalist press created a language of governance which is different than the public languages. Some dialects are more prone to the press language which they have become dominant to the press language. The High German, the English of the King, Central Thai or Istanbul Turkish have formed a new political-cultural structure at this time. This is the reason of the struggle for various sub-nations in Europe inject their status to press and radio at the second half of the 20th century (Anderson 2011, 60-61).

However, this unnamed struggle of the third world is known as “national independence” or among the Marxists it is considered as “national and social independence”. Essentially, the actual power, colours, clothing and behaviours of the struggle of independence came from the rage against the foreign conqueror, colonizer and to their collaborators. In short, it was anti-imperialist. There were ethnical, religious, and other kinds of pre-national identities among the common people but these were not supporting the national conscious on the contrary, they were the obstacles. This was easily put into motion by the imperialist masters against nationalists. That is why the imperialist powers supporting the tribalism that would

divide the people who should form one nation, is the source of the opposite frontier to retaliate the imperialist “divide and rule” policies (Hobsbawm 2014, 164-165).

Today's status shows that it is certainly not important for the country that the ethnic-nationalists want to establish to live independent. As long as there are nationalist elites whom wish to establish a country, there can be countries as many as desired. The only thing that is needed is the international recognition. While the process was boosted as national ethnic pride, there were not any states which were self-sufficient. This put most countries into a worse position than the time they were colonised. Yet, banning self-determination right gives a reason to fight for the freedom. In addition, the European universalism concept⁵ has given the responsibility of supporting revolted nationalist groups such as Scottish, Catalan, Flanders, Kurdish or Kosovo. Preventing the freedom of a group has now become a reason of condemnation. But there were no intentions of providing independent economy to the state that was to be established. As the demand to the raw material and under-skilled workforce decreased, these countries started to wait for their end. In conclusion, while the tribal nationalism was strengthened with Kalashnikov, underdevelopment and national instability are rising (Rivero 2003, 20-21).

⁵ For more information on European universalism concept see Wallerstein, I. (2010). *Avrupa Evrenselciliği: Gücün Retoritiği*. İstanbul: Bgst Yayınları.

5. WORLD SYSTEM ANALYSIS

5.1 Nation states and global system

During Cold War, the world system was built on four pillar program by the USA. First, USSR was permitted to control a portion of the world. In order to do that it only had to stay away from the area of influence of the West. Second was the military, political and economical alliance between USA-Western Europe-Japan. Third was the abandoning of the colonies with moderate planning. The fourth was the spreading the ideology that claims “the real citizenship is anti-Communism” (Wallerstein 2012a, 242).

But today, no power on earth has the power to establish a new world order like in Vienna 1815 or in Yalta 1945. Even though USA stands as a global power, it relies on air-strikes policy. But this does not prove to be sufficient in invading or causing significant losses. Thus, USA has become a “sword-less” superpower.

That is why the disorder on the rise on earth is because the sword-less powers. This means USA, Russia, China, France, UK or Japan are out of ability of applying power policy. But they generally try to avoid accusations by blaming the UN for the rise of the disorder. As if the UN is a power by itself, all critics are directed to the results of the UN meetings.

In order for us to call a state as a great power, it has to apply power policy (Rivero 2003, 34) because power element consists of influence, control, coercion, force, persuasion, deterrence, compellence, inducement (Baldwin, 2017). Instead, using third party terrorist groups to sort things out is a sign of loss of power. That is why the proof of being a great power comes with enthusiasm of using power and denying being humiliated. For instance, the USA has considered the dissolving of Yugoslavia as a problem of Europe. At the same time, France and the UK denied sending soldiers to the region and did not care much the humiliation of local actors. Later

NATO intervened, but the air-strikes did not solve anything in the region of former Yugoslavia. Similar policies are applied on Syria today.

Nevertheless, the loss of aggressive spirit of the developed countries, it should not be regarded as a negative phenomenon. However, they can be considered as selfish by nature. Therefore, this is a matter that permits developed countries to ignore the barbarism anywhere in the world and causes a moral depression on major powers. It can be argued that this leads the developed countries to lose their youthful energy, drive for making easy money, and even to violence and drugs.

Briefly, while the nuclear weapons do not have power to end local turmoil, which led to the genocide and refugee crisis, the use of conventional military forces is becoming impossible for intervention policy without military casualty. The gradual fade of power policies are a proof that the end of the nation-state is on the horizon (Rivero 2003, 33-36).

5.1.1 Sovereignty and foreign intervention

Sovereignty is the basic component of the state and it means for the state to be independent and fully capable of conducting domestic and external matters without being bound by a higher authority (Sur 2010, 106). After the World War II, colonial states also gained sovereignty and became a UN member. This way, they gained the preservation of the teachings of interference in the internal affairs of each other. This doctrine has been guaranteed in international law and in the UN conditions.

Theoretically, speaking, this process ended foreign intervention. Moreover, this brought a new meaning and power to the concept of human rights. In 1948, Universal Human Rights Declaration was approved by all members of the United Nations and was adopted as the most important ideological component of the organization. This declaration would clarify that the member countries would commit to a series of ideals in principle rather than being an international law (Wallerstein 2010, 24-25).

Despite all these developments, external intervention continued to exist as a problem. However, the right of intervention was taken over by the powerful in practically. But it is a difficult right to justify therefore it brings continuous political and moral questioning. Intervening parties always resort to a moral justification. This was natural law and conversion to Christianity during the 16th century, and civilizing

mission throughout the 19th century. From the 20th century on, it has been human rights and democratization (Wallerstein 2010, 39).

In this way, for a country or a regime in order to ensure the safety of the government, armament has become the most important issue. Moreover, each state even though being economically weak, noticed that it could have a significant role in the world's hierarchy with its military power. In terms of armament, there is no "Third World" only the "First World". Even the state with low welfare modernizes its army and may get nuclear weapons (Giddens 2008, 85).

Still foreign intervention becomes inevitable sometimes. Because the post-Cold War armed conflicts in the world have not decreased but increased. There have been 23 domestic conflicts of 50 armed groups during this time. These have been in Algeria, Senegal, Angola, Burundi, Congo, Liberia, Guinea-Bissau, Rwanda, Democratic Republic of Congo, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sudan, Lebanon, Turkey, Colombia, Mexico, Peru, Afghanistan, India, Sri Lanka, Burma, Cambodia, the Philippines, Indonesia, East Timor, Papua New Guinea, the former Yugoslavia, the Caucasus, Tajikistan and many other countries. Recently Iraq, Syria, Ukraine, Libya and the Central African Republic have also been added among these.

But none of these armed conflicts are about democratic struggles in the world. On the contrary, the main reasons are population explosion, unemployment, ethnic, religious and cultural resentments. All these factors are arising out of these, affect the countries negatively against global economy.

Nevertheless, the cultural, ethnic and religious differences in developed nation-states such as Switzerland, Belgium, Canada, Spain, Britain and USA do not divide the society into parts because the satisfaction of wealth is the most important factor in ensuring social cohesion in these states. In conclusion, the ethnic, religious and cultural fights in the nation-states does not provide neither liberty nor honour but great physical distress, emotional harm and leading to ethnic cleansing campaigns (Rivero 2003, 114-115).

5.1.2 Power shift

Today, the most important discussion about the state system is the outcomes of the globalization. According to Susan Strange (2008, 156-159), once the market was dominated by the state, today the state is under the domination of the market.

However, there are some interesting paradoxes about the matter. One is that state authorities and institutions intervene in the citizens' daily life, thus prevent the decline of power being observable. Governments are functioning in various fields from finding a job to labelling quality measures on products, from housing to family relationships. However, in the past, these matters were left to the individuals. As a result, the daily life is affected more by bureaucratic decisions.

Besides, when left alone, the market could not provide a security against violence or stability in the money for trade and investment, or a clear legal system. Worse, it was not sufficient for establishing the infrastructure for public services (sewage, transportation, communications, etc.) adequately. However, this is not a contradiction because the reason of existence of the state depends on the need of a kind of legitimized political authority. Despite that, a lot of state cannot satisfy these fundamental issues (Strange 2008, 156-159).

Another paradox is while the government loses powers of authority, the number of societies who want to have their own state increases. This is true for hundreds of minority and indigenous communities, the Basques and Kurds or American natives and Australian aborigines. When they reach the state purposes they wanted to have, they do not seem to have a real authority over the society or economy order of their own preference. This is why some independence wars have become very expensive victories (Strange 2008, 156-159).

The last paradox is the Asian tiger's myth. However Japan, Korea and Taiwan had strong governments, those were successful in limiting and control foreign investments. Furthermore, the Asian states were exceptionally lucky. Because they gained many benefits from United States' policies during the Cold War. Firstly, they could rely on economic aid given by the US. It started rapid economic development. Secondly, they get rid of the pressure to comply with the open liberal economy, because of their strategic location. They took advantage by limit the import and blocking the entry of foreign companies which could compete with local investment. Later, they were granted relatively free entrance to the American and European markets. What is more, the technology necessary for industrialization is ready to be purchased from the markets through partnership agreements between the US and Europe (Strange 2008, 156-159).

Now that the Cold War has ended, the Asian countries will receive more pressure from USA on conducting open and liberal policies on trade and investment issues. They will also get more pressure to allow competition of foreign investments. Consequently, the exceptional circumstances of the Asian states during the Cold War have to erosion and will continue thusly (Strange 2008, 156-159). Anne-Marie Slaughter (2008, 229) suggests the opposite opinion. According to her, globalization eroding the sovereignty of the state is only of a whimper. Accepting such kind of threat would also mean agreeing that the sovereignty depends on the state protecting the soil as a sealed space. Now, the state sovereignty increases its legitimacy by nationalizing international law. What is new that, while the emerging institutions are international and supranational, they are also transnational, for that reason, it is not actually a power shift away from state; however, it is inside the state.

In fact, the state does not disappear; it is divided into its component institutions. Basic state actors in the international arena are no longer foreign affairs ministers or heads of state but are institutions such as the courts and legislative functions that govern domestic politics. Traditional actors are still on the stage, but with his brother government officials following their quasi-autonomous political agenda. So, dissociated state is multi-head compared to the indivisible state. Both inside and outside, it is managed and represented by many institutions with complex interactions (Slaughter 2008, 229).

As a result of this, the courts, the executive branch, legislators, heads of state, all form a network with foreign alike. This is not only within the network of relationships not representing only national interests but at the same time, a subset of interest with its own cause. This relationship network is horizontal instead of vertical, consists of national government officials instead of international bureaucrats and instead of being stiff and orderly it is a decentralized and informal governance style (Slaughter 2008, 229).

A third dimension can be added globalization effect on nation states with Robert Gilpin (2008, 412-414). The effects of economic globalization of the nation-state have been exaggerated considerably according to Gilpin. The world is still governed by the states. In fact, the importance of the state has improved in some areas due to providing international competition. Some of the most important are R&D support, helps to local companies, technology policies and other means of assistance. In fact,

as economic globalization is limited, its impact on the state's economic role is also limited. Besides, the shrinking of the state, the economic globalization is only a factor. Moreover ideological, technological and political changes have also been effective. Perhaps, even though with a diminished role, the nation-state is still superior in both domestic and external economy. But according to Rivero (2003, 36-37), the global economy is redefining the boundaries of nation-states. Instead of borders of sovereign states, multinational economic regions are emerging. In rich economies, a kind of global economic tribalism thrives. For Scots, Catalans, Basques, Lombardians, Walloons, Alsatian, Quebecois or Californians, demand of autonomy is becoming more important every day. Their aim is to directly integrate their region or city with the global economy. This process leads to a re-emergence of the city-states. As a result of cooperation among them Lyon, Milan, Stuttgart and Barcelona cities succeeded in getting out of the control of Paris, Roma, Berlin and Madrid.

The sovereignty of nation states erodes as the cities and regions rise in the international arena because the process leads to the rising of metropolitan micro-diplomacy within. This new case is likely to provide a welfare increase within the nation-states. On the contrary, cities those cannot gain autonomy are more likely to dragged nation-states into catastrophic destruction because of becoming urban population increasing rapidly poor, dirty, hungry and unemployed (Rivero, 2003, 36-37).

5.1.3 Development and democracy

Modern history of the capital begins with the creation of a worldwide trade and market in the sixteenth century. This market trading has developed its maritime and land communications. In this process, improvement of industry, trade, marine and rail-roads developed the bourgeois capital and overtook all classes that it inherited from medieval. Today, the world market is not surrounded by nation-states and an interstate system that connects special national economic spaces. On the contrary, the nation-states look like authority regions in a united world market (Arrighi et al. 2004, 15-16).

Therefore, the struggle of the nation-states is nothing more than a struggle between bourgeoisie groups. Just as individual initiatives are a part of the national economy,

national economies form the world economic system. Therefore, the conflict between modern national economies is actually a competition among various parts of the world economy (Bukharin, 2009, 19).

Even the most powerful and richest states in the capital finance system, when determining the unemployment or monetary policies during this contention, work with several other states. This is what happens in the meeting of the seven leading industrialized countries (G-7)⁶. Leaders of seven countries (USA, Germany, Japan, France, Canada, the UK and Italy) hold meetings in order to find solutions to global problems and use the world economy to their advantage. But after all, solid results of the meetings could not be obtained because their efforts towards economic coordination are hindered by the owners of global capital. Even, the seven states do not have sufficient funds to challenge the global speculators.

The globalization of the financial markets is a transnational phenomenon that is the most sovereignty debilitating cause which brings loss of control over their own economic policies to the nation-state. Today international financial system operates like a gigantic casino. Even in the richest five countries, billions of dollars flow into speculation market on a daily basis and it is not possible for the countries to control it in any way. An increase or fall in the exchange rate can cause bankruptcy or profit, can promote unemployment or create import. All of these wagers are played by stockbrokers at the speed of light using international communication technology in New York, Tokyo, Paris and Singapore. The powers of these brokers are beyond the powers of the ministers of economy and central banks of the states (Rivero 2003, 28-29). It is so that the sales numbers of hundred twenty developing countries of the world do not even reach one of most powerful companies. Even only this one is a proof of the weakness of the developing countries. In short, these countries which do

⁶ Group of Seven (G7), international organization officially established in 1985 to facilitate economic cooperation among the world's largest industrial nations; summit meetings of the member nations began in 1975. Members are Canada, France, Germany, Great Britain, Italy, Japan, and the United States. Representatives of the European Commission also have attended G7 meetings since 1981. The G7 discusses and coordinates its members' actions on economic and commercial matters and works to aid the economies of other nations. The leaders of the G7 nations meet annually in member countries. The Group of Eight (G8), which consists of the G7 nations plus Russia, was officially established in 1998, although Russia began participating in some G7 meetings earlier in the 1990s. G7 nations continued to meet without Russia on certain issues. For more information on G7 see Infoplease. (1 April 2017). Group of Seven, <https://www.infoplease.com/encyclopedia/social-sciences-and-the-law/political-science-and-government/international-organizations/group-of-seven>

not have any power in the global power game are politically exhausted (Rivero 2003, 53-54).

Many so-called "developing" countries indicate economic failures due to the lack of national and international markets. Today, as part of the global economy, their tasks are to pay debts they have, invite foreign capital into the country, and import, food, oil and all kinds of consumer and industrial goods. Therefore, these are not developing countries, but countries which lose their economic independence. This situation increases violence and protests in all over the world and makes countries chaotic place that cannot be managed (Rivero 2003, 15). All around the world, masses come to recognize the lies about development and this is tried to be suppressed through manufactured patriotisms. Covering the historical dysfunction of nation states is harder now. In the entire world, protesters are accused for treason.

The collapse of the communist regimes has also become the decline of national development myth. Because even all with the resources and Leninist ideology, if the USSR failed, other third world countries cannot be successful with a collective economic sufficiency program within the current world system (Wallerstein 2012a, 26).

In the world, development is a myth but is democratization very different from it? Since 1945, there is no *de facto* state where regular elections are not taking place to elect legislature function. Therefore, the purpose should be more than setting polling stations. But what is it? Is there a multiparty election or a fair competition environment for political parties? But when the New York Times announced in 1994 that the ruling party in Japan the Liberal Democratic Party receives regular assistance from the CIA (Central Intelligence Agency), it showed the free election formality is not enough to talk about democratization.

Actually democratization, like the market, makes two different connotations. The first it complies with the market for enrichment. Secondly, it cooperates with equitable development purpose. The first meaning of democracy addresses the close oligarchy class. The second meaning appeals to a wide, but politically weak audience group. Democratization efforts in Africa or in other underdeveloped parts of the world are not very successful. However, the possibility of real democracy is stronger with real development (Wallerstein 2012a, 67).

On the other hand, today, with the present states system, many political issues are unresolved. The ability of politics to solve problems within the current system is quite limited. The only thing they can do is to ensure peace in the face of economic, social and political issues and keep a stable condition. The determinants of policies which are expected to solve problems are not in the hands of the public but in a small number of elite. Depending on the system, these elites may be consisting of, the party elites, the labourer elites, business elites, military elites or religious elites. Elites are more effective in the political system than the masses. Therefore, an important part of politics consists of inter-elite competition and bargaining. Elites compete in the elections or in the referendum mention the problems of the masses in order to establish a political superiority over other elites. They call this phenomenon as democratization. All of these negotiations are held between the elite and later they are submitted to the parliament and to the public. The behaviour of the legislature and the electorate is merely confirmation of the decisions taken earlier by the elite (Roskin 2012, 717-720).

5.1.3.1 Corruption-poverty and military coup

In the global capitalist economic order and the nation-states system, the impossibility of resolving problems of global poverty and underdeveloped countries was best understood after the Cold War because the conditions were favourable for rich states to eliminate global poverty. Moreover, the collapse of the Soviet Block provided cuts in the military spending and in 1998 the peace brought 477 billion dollars of profit. Consequently, during this period, major states had both the power and the funds to eliminate global poverty. But no efforts were made in such means.

Moreover, the richest countries have reduced the share of official development assistance for other countries within their GDP by on-per-three ratio. In addition, they renewed the Law of the Sea, section 11 of the 1982 United Nations Convention (UNCLOS) to be against poor countries. Moreover, they imposed heavy trading conditions within the Uruguay Round (Pogge 2008, 650-659).

So that, today the World Bank said that “more than 70% of people living on less than \$1.25 a day are still not covered by social safety nets such as free school meals, state pensions or public work programs. That means 870 million people living in extreme

poverty in the developing world have nothing to fall back on if disaster strikes (Thompson, 2014).

On the other hand, the most obvious example of corruption of the state order is bribery. Especially, in developing countries, bribery has become the most significant way to win the public procurement. It causes significant losses. The raise in the prices comes first among the problems. Bribers have to raise their offers in order to meet the cost of bribery. Another loss occurs from the ones winning the procurement will not form a competitive market. The public officials focus instead of the necessity of procurement. Also, adding the people of this country showing tolerance to corruption and venality of their leaders', poverty is inevitable in the state (Pogge 2008, 650-659).

Therefore, privatization is the main strategy worldwide for obtaining great wealth. With this method, state assets are purchased under-priced and enrichment is achieved by the continuation of profitability by monopoly power. For example, the Mexican businessman Carlos Slim can hold prices high by his monopoly in the phone sector. He, just like the others, has made great advantage during the privatization of the telecommunications system in Mexico.

This process is not different for Russian oligarch or USA. In the mid-1990s, Russia has taken a huge amount of money from the private sector and as the guarantee is provided to the company operating oil and natural gas resources. However, this was nothing more than a deception made to transferring state assets to the Russian oligarchy. Today, a similar scenario is written for Greece and the country was forced to privatization to get aid. USA plans a more modest and better coated scenario than the Russian scenario for the sales of state assets (Stiglitz 2014, 94).

In short, in the process of privatization and liberalization especially those have political influence gained huge unfair earnings. Mexican Carlos Slim and oligarchs in Russia are just a few examples of winning fortune during degeneration. It is so that Stiglitz has given the name "briberization" to the privatization process (Stiglitz 2014, 247). This process operates the same way in other parts of the world. For example, in Turkey, 36 of 52 mining companies established between 2002 and 2014 belong to the government deputies, ministers or party leaders (Cumhuriyet, 2014).

In addition, if privatizations of erstwhile state properties are transferred into the hands of mafia-like businessmen who leave the country by leaving behind devastated businesses, this is called plunder. The capitalist system allowing that is not different than the Spanish conquerors that colonized and plunder America (Wallerstein 2011, 59-60).

In addition, as an element of corruption, mafia is constantly getting involved in the economy and government control. Periphery economy and weak governments increase the power of the mafia. The possibility of cooperation with mafia and terrorist organizations are getting increase constantly. The main objective of the mafia is to infiltrate in the decision-making process for economic profit. Mafia bribing has become so common. However, the consequences are too risky. Moreover, the state that cannot fulfil the functions of government can make mafia a structural element. The main purpose for this cohesion is corruption. In the end, the mafia and the state intertwine and become a corporate element represented by financiers, lawyers and even by the intellectuals (Bonis 2016, 14-15).

Consequently, as the state weakens the income earned by production activities diminishes. This makes the state the most significant mean of accumulating wealth through theft and corruption. The state becoming a mean of obtaining fortune reduces its ability to perform other tasks. In such a case, the authorities hand over to their posts to their successor loses all meaning. Therefore, the disputed elections and the illegal change of power take place. As a result, the political role of the military is increasing. Theoretically, the state is only legitimate violence applier, the military and the police instrument of this monopoly. In practice, as the state weakens, the function of being instrumental loses its stand. As a result of this when the political leaders cannot manage and control the country and the regime cannot guarantee the domestic security, the charm of handling the management increases for the army. The fundamental point here is that the weakness of the state structure is the source of the coup. Most of these states are poor in terms of accumulation of capital and surplus with unfair income (such as oil and land). In such case, the majority of the unfair income is being collected by private individuals or institutions. Hence, military *coup d'états* are not a coincidence such like countries (Wallerstein 2011, 99-100).

5.1.3.2 Debt and austerity

Most of the developing countries during the Industrial Revolution did not experience international patent law as there are now. As a result, without being labelled as unauthorized copy or threats of economic sanctions, countries could copy the chemical formulas, cars, aircrafts, radios, radars and thousands of other machines.

Today, developing countries are waiting to create miracles with basic and low technological content export goods. In fact, the only option they have is to move a little more towards in the debt well. In brief, the future of so-called developing countries is increased debt and conditions not favourable for them to pay (Rivero 2003, 60-61).

For example, the amount of metals and minerals used in modern industrial production in 1900 is two-in-five portion. This ratio has been reduced to 40% in automobile, to 20% in household products and medicines. For example, Japan's amount of raw material used for industrial production is 40% less than in 1973 and it continues to decline. This trend negatively affects the countries those producing copper, aluminium, steel, tin, zinc, lead and iron. In addition, the amount of energy required per unit of industrial production is decreasing.

In addition, advances in biotechnology affect agricultural products. Artificial sweeteners and fats markets are rapidly developed by in the laboratories in US, Europe and Japan. Consequently, demand for sugar decreases. Another example is artificial vanilla threatening thousands of growers in Africa. The decline in raw material needs in industrial and agricultural areas from the underdeveloped countries reduce the export, and prices are drawn to unprofitable levels (Rivero 2003, 84-85).

Thomas W. Pogge (2008, 650-659) analyses how such international economic system of the world puts the developing countries in debt. According to him, in a country the group that controls the main enforcement functions regardless of how it is done is considered as the, legitimate government of the country in the international arena. At this point, how the power is used, how much the public supports, relations with the opposition are losing significance. International legitimacy gives the right to act on behalf of the people and borrow money on behalf of the country (the international borrowing privilege) and being able to freely use the natural resources of the country (the international resource privilege).

Consequently, the whole country undertakes obligations which have international validity. The new government which would reject the doings of the anti-democratic, lawless, repressive, corrupt government is punished. The punitive institutions are usually banks, loan lender governments and financial markets. Thus, even if the governments lose the privilege of receiving international debt are forced to assume the debts of the former government.

Actually, international borrowing privileges in developing countries have three negative effects on human rights. First, this privilege makes for incurable governments to borrow easier. Since the whole country will repay the debt, these governments can get cheaper and more loans. Thus, it extends the life of the tyranny government. The second big outcome surfaces after the overthrowing of repressive government. Because of their democratic successors inherited the massive debt that the predecessors leave. Thus, government's abilities to apply democratic reforms and policies are undermined. Thirdly, the international economic system encourages coups. Because whoever takes enforcement functions under control is qualified for the borrowing privileges.

This process which is usually seen in poor countries continues with using the international resource privileges to continue remain in power. At the end of the process while the people of the materially exploited countries become even poorer, the power holders preserve their position by purchasing arms and supplying military power from the revenue they gather from sales. This encourages the capture by non-democratic means in the poor countries. As a result, the international economic system provides poor countries to remain poor, promotes coups, civil wars, and the corrupt elite remain in power. As the governing class has no debt against the people they have no reason to resolve their poverty (Pogge 2008, 650-659). For example, the junta leader Jorge Videla who ruled Argentina between 1976 and 1983, with the "iron fist" and responsible for disappearance at least 30 thousand people, had no difficulty finding loan from the international market (BBC, 2013).

This world system, after the colonial empires, continues with the major centralization and de-concentration of capital. The means of this centralization are small consortium committees with special purposes formed by central banks, international organizations, and particularly in collaboration with the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD), the International Monetary Fund (IMF),

and the Bank for International Settlements (BIS) and the hundreds of banks which consist of them. The actual centralization of capital is money and borrowers are not directly capitalist entrepreneurs but the government. States uses mortgage loans to do business with transnational corporations for development projects. This is sometimes called the industrialization of the Third World or de-industrialization of central regions.

When the debtor states suffer economic crisis, the IMF which is among the tools of the same system begins to suggest austerity. In fact, this situation is not new at all, for example, the Ottoman capitulations. But what is new is the scale of the situation. Consequently, as a structural feature of the world system it is seen more frequently (Arrighi et al. 2004, 53).

The best proof that the underdeveloped countries becoming the prisoners to debts is the fact that in last two centuries there are 83 bankrupt countries. Having even USA, Germany, Japan United Kingdom among defaulting countries, suggest that bankruptcy is common. Since the 19th century, only four developed countries, Australia, New Zealand, Belgium and Canada has succeeded in paying debts.

According to the IMF (Hurriyet, 2015), between 1800 and 2012, 22 European countries among 47 experienced bankruptcy shock. For example, the continent's largest economy, Germany, fell in default 8 times in last 215 years. The last one was between 1939 and 1948. Countries defaulted the most in the continent are Spain (8 times in 19th century and once in 20th century), Austria (7 times) and Greece (6 times).

It is not different in Asia. 14 of the 47 countries on the continent experienced bankruptcy and among these countries there are economic powers such as China, Japan and India. Today, as among of the world's largest economies China (4 bankruptcy) and Japan (2 bankruptcy) had default several times since 1800.

The situation is the same in other parts of the world. For instance, not a single one among 12 states in the South America managed to evade going into default. 13 out of 23 countries in North America bankrupt at least once. African countries are considered to be experienced members of the debt-well. 22 of the 54 countries on the continent defaulted at least once during this period.

As 14 countries of Oceania did not suffer from bankruptcy, Venezuela, Peru and Ecuador share the first place by each defaulting 10 times. Second place is shared Brazil, Mexico, Uruguay, Chile, Costa Rica, Spain and Russia which bankrupt 9 times. They are followed by Argentina with 8 bankruptcies, Colombia, Dominican Republic, Guatemala, Paraguay, Austria with 7 bankruptcies, and Greece, Turkey and Nicaragua with 6 bankruptcies (Hurriyet, 2015).

5.1.3.3 Inequality

Today, 12 largest economies account for 2/3 of the world economy and 59% of world population (Fu, 2014). The system creates the similar version of the inequality inside country too among countries.

The liberal regime in the developed country needs authoritarian regimes in periphery countries in order to control borders, prevent massive migration movements, suppress disorder etc. Therefore, not only the economic distribution of labour, but also the distribution of political power is a result of the world system. Western democracies need anti-democratic periphery countries because traders leave nothing more than economic inequality behind (Strauss 2013, 14). Today, wave of migration to the EU emerging from domestic conflicts, poverty and terrorism has become the number one threat to union⁷.

Therefore, there are now immigrant and refugee neighbourhoods instead of reservation regions. Filipinos are just one of the communities those provide cheap labour in the global cities built by capitalism (Gorney 2014, 99). Recently, new labour markets to be exploited by the capitalist system are formed by the governments. The so-called 16-block countries offer cheap labour for economic growth. The basic economic programs are based on development of export infrastructure and to reduce the tax rates. These countries include Mexico, Nicaragua, Dominican Republic, Peru, Uganda, Tanzania, Ethiopia, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, Kenya, Myanmar, Laos, Vietnam, Cambodia, the Philippines and Indonesia (Derin Ekonomi 2015, 134).

⁷ For more info on migration to Europe see BBC (4 March 2016). Migrant Crisis: Migration to Europe explained in seven charts, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-34131911>

In fact, the basic reason for the surrender of the workers within global capitalism and women in public life is fear of "causing". For example, women fearing of being blamed for "causing" abuse is similar to the fear of the worker "causing" the capital to leave the country or to effects the countries' economy in a bad way therefore limiting demands on higher wages or better the working conditions are similar cases (Gibson and Graham 2010, 201). For example, the strike of glass factory workers (Hurriyet, 2014) in Turkey is blocked for national security reasons. Moreover, Wall Street arguments affect elections anywhere in the world. According to these arguments, if a government validating the system is not in power, there cannot be stability, money leaves the country, interest rates rise, investment do not come and growth collapses (Stiglitz 2014, 207). This rhetoric is the number one propaganda of every election from Brazil to Turkey. On the other hand, as a much more precise example of the inequality, 2008 crisis can be considered. During the 2008 crisis, the company AIG (American International Group) received aid more than \$150 billion. It is so that this amount is higher than the spending on social assistance to the poor between the years 1990-2006 (Stiglitz 2014, 251).

Moreover, according to the USA's data of average life expectancy and infant mortality in 2009, it is worse than Cuba. In addition, the incarceration ratio in the United States is almost 1 of each 100 adults. Moreover, some states are transferring resources to prisons as much as they do to universities. All these are not features of well-functioning economy or society (Stiglitz 2014, 59-61).

5.2 Conquest of the market

The super power USA is not the only country in the world pursuing imperialist policies. Other imperialist countries conflict with each other for geopolitical influence and economic profit. For example Russia with its near abroad policy has clearly showed that it wants to keep its influence in the former Soviet geography by using military forces in Georgia, Ukraine and Syria. France continues to be a major player in Africa and have competed with other imperialists in the region for the control of Rwanda, Central African Republic and Burundi. While interfering to Nigeria and to other African states, Britain tried to become involved in the events in Sierra Leone and Nigeria. Greece and Turkey constantly threatened each other with war, for the influence in Balkans and the Northeast Mediterranean.

Nevertheless, the importance of these states was not equal, and each knew that the position they have within the hierarchy depends on their military capacity. In the number one position, there is the USA trying to protect its power. Milosevic was one of the best to understand what does that mean. As a result of not taking permission from the United States before attacking the Albanian minority, he learned what it meant with the military intervention US-led NATO alliance on Serbia (Harman 2011, 572).

According to Joseph Nye (2008, 141), militarily weak states perceive threat from its neighbours not from the USA. Therefore, they invite global American power to reorganize local balance. East Asian countries are very pleased with the presence of the US military to balance China.

However, the change in the global environment tends to reduce the direct use of force than in the past. Nuclear weapons reduce the likelihood of war threat to be used as a political tool. The international economic interdependence makes economic blackmailing politically risky to use. In such a case, diplomacy, forming a coalition, common-election and use of political skills are left as options for intervention (Brzezinski 2005, 58). This explains the continuous terror and internal chaos risks of target countries a little⁸.

On the other hand, expanding or losing borders does not show that the state is gaining wealth or impoverishing anymore. Countries such as Japan, Taiwan, and Hong Kong expanded markets and acquired foreign currency to obtain capital goods, foreign technology, energy and raw materials. As stated by Susan Strange (2008, 156-159), new game among the states, has converted from race of territorial boundaries and control of resources within the country, to the race to get a share of the world market economy. Seeking to establish ties with other states in game still continues, but the objective is not military, but supplies a larger economic region. Thus, regionalism in the international system is a new and multilateral approach of order. Globalization and regionalization can be considered as complementary.

⁸ For more info on terrorism threat see Chossudovsky, M. (22 December 2015). When Terrorism becomes Counter-terrorism: The State Sponsors of Terrorism are "Going After the Terrorists", <http://www.globalresearch.ca/when-terrorism-becomes-counter-terrorism-the-state-sponsors-of-terrorism-are-going-after-the-terrorists/5496051>

Actually, the base unit of future multilateral world system can be world regions, not nation-states.

Regionalism can be compared to classical empires in means of geography, but politically a portion of state sovereignty can be transferred to a supranational regional-state community. While the old regionalism concept was found within the two-pole system of the Cold War, the new regionalism thrives within multipolar order. While the old regionalism was formed by superpowers (the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization-SEATO, Central Treaty Organization-CENTO, etc.) the new regionalism, is a process in which the main actors are the founding states. In addition, the new regionalism is a multi-dimensional process and within the new paradigm of regionalism, European Union (EU) is the world's most advanced regional arrangement (Hettne 2008, 424-427).

5.2.1 Clash of Civilizations and The End of History

In his "Clash of Civilizations", Samuel P. Huntington (2006, 28) presented the cultural characteristics and differences as the main cause of conflicts and disputes. According to him, cultures which have less ability to change have better chance to generate conflicts than those politically and economically. For example, after the collapse of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR), communists could become democrats, the rich could be poor and the poor may be rich but Russians could not become Estonian or Azerbaijani could not become Armenians. In fact, the fundamental question of class and ideology struggle was "which side are you?" so, people could prefer and change sides. For the clash of civilizations, the key question is "What are you?" and this is a data and could not be changed. From Balkans to the Caucasus and from the Middle East to Africa, answering such question wrong can mean a bullet to the head. Moreover, according to Huntington, religion discriminates people more severely than ethnicity. A person can be half-French and half-Arab, or even be citizens of the two countries. However, the more difficult thing is to be half-Catholic half-Muslim.

In spite of Huntington who addresses the cultural differences for disagreements, Bukharin (2009, 132) points at a much different case. According to Bukharin, societies which have common race, language and culture are the most severe rivals. Germans and the Anglo-Saxons, who are from the very same race, are rivals. They

were fighting in both World War I and World War II. Speaking almost the same language and both being member of the Slavic race, Serbs and Bulgarians fought against each other. Ukrainians are hosting both Austrian and Russian partisans. In addition, the alliances between the warring countries bring the most heterogeneous races, nationalities and tribes together. As Bukharin said, allied during the First World War, what racial unity can there be between Turks and Germans? Or how can there be a racial, linguistic or cultural bond between Russia and Syria or Turkey and USA today? It is clear that not the race, language or culture, but some groups of the bourgeoisie supply support to the organizations in the state to declare war. Therefore, it can be found that it is not the cultural unity that determines the alliance in the international system but the capitalist goals in that period of time.

In addition, political writers and scholars are competing with one another to prove that modern imperialism is similar to the policies of ancient heroes of "imperialistic" times. This issue is a method of the bourgeois historians and economists. They present the fundamental difference between ancient slavery system that consists of embryo stage commercial capital and craftsmanship and the "modern capitalism" is trivial. According to Bukharin (2009, 132-135), historians and economists who consider the modern capitalism structure and its manufacturing process, and the various types of production that caused many conquest wars same, cannot comprehend the modern world economy. Nobody would be satisfied with the definition of policies such as conquest, expansion, hardness, etc. Hence, with the base of the development of this system should be analysed and the base of these imperialist policies is financial capital (bank and industrial capital). As a result, no state governor is, the commander of the crusader army or tsar or sultan. They are the only imperialist players of the financial capital system.

In addition to this, 'Clash of Civilizations' is a concept developed against historical materialist social sciences and a theory with a hidden notion of racism. Here, the main elements of the history are the different and closed societies. This theory, which not describes history through culture but culture through history, presents the problems created by the imperialism as an outcome of the cultural struggle. Thus while the culturalism and imperialism strengthens each other, people are forced to accept differences instead of equality and salvation (Amin 2006, 412). Huntington's argument proves to be false in realpolitik cases. For example, the Iran-gate incidence

has proven that USA can sell weapons even to Iran, and Iran may require arms even from USA which it names as the “The Great Satan” (Oran 2010, 51).

In addition, bourgeoisie may establish relations with every reactionary power. In the past, Pope and the Ottoman Sultans were best friends. Today, it provides arms and legitimacy to dictators in return of petroleum. For bourgeoisie, it is more profitable to make the government its own gendarme with money than to directly exploiting the land (Troçki 2007, 280).

United Kingdom and France (Sykes-Picot) seeking allies against Ottomans, and found the Saudi and the Hashemite in the Arabic peninsula and made them establish countries. So those, who support anti-Semitism because Israel was found with the support of the West, must remember who found Iraq, Saudi Arabia, Jordan, Syria or Lebanon (Friedman, 2014). That is why becoming anti-imperialistic rather than anti-Semitic would support their cause better. Imperialism will always be seeking this support and as it has found in Iraq and Syria today, it may find it.

In addition to this, according to Francis Fukuyama (2011, 73-75), the collapse of USSR and the Eastern Block means the victory of the West. This was the total victory of capitalism and democracy. To him, it was not only the Cold War that ended, but also the history itself. This meant the ideological evolvement of the humans has reached perfection with the West. In meaning, Hegelian history had ended. But, the Hegel dialectic is infinite. Thesis and antithesis formed a synthesis which created its own antithesis as the thesis of the next stage. In short, the dialectic process never ends. This could only be a wishful thinking according to Baskin Oran (2010, 211).

But according to Fukuyama, every universal historiography must accept "the end of history". If historical events are examined one by one, they may be significant for a larger purpose. When this goal is achieved, the history ends. This is the sense in all events. For example, the Christians have claimed that there is an end of history. History had begun with the creation of man and would end with its salvation. So, when Judgment Day comes, earth history will end and the Empire of God will begin (Fukuyama 2011, 90).

This concept is valid in Islam as well. Stable structure has been reinforced with Sharia principles. According to Sharia, Allah, who is the absolute, through the holy

books, has set the rules of the political system that does have a beginning or end and does not change (Aydın 2015, 23). As a result of this, education life has become only about memorizing and interpreting the teachings of the holy book because the divine knowledge is absolute (Aydın 2015, 27). But the Qur'an is ideologically and politically functional only for the Arab community in period of its revelation. That is why it has a local characteristic for the tribal order of the Arab society at that time (Aydın 2014, 43). As a result of neither sharia nor the capitalism ended the history. Therefore, cannot be claimed an absolute progress for history but may be said that it is in a process of change.

5.3 Opponents of the world system

The present world order has survived through Westphalia Treaty which was 350 years ago and, all its successors. Therefore, according to Kevin Rudd (2015, 2)⁹, what radically changed in world politics since 1945 that and the needs of what kind of reforms the shortcomings of the long-term institutional regulations of the existing order should be subject in to should be questioned. There are three main points according to him. Firstly the United Nations (UN), which is as an international organisation consists of States, has increased its member count after the colonies gained their independence. Eventually, global agreement on important matters became nearly impossible. Secondly, with the weak global and national institutions and the globalization of matters from terrorism to finance, from illegal immigration to pollution and contagious illness has started to threat not only the governments but also the people. But, neither the UN nor the national states being able to resolve the problems causes a global trust depression. Thirdly, the rise of China has shaken the USA's position of the unipolar economic power. This brings up the question of how long the USA may continue to use the dominant military power policy (Rudd 2015, 2).

But, many countries including China, at the top of the list which may compete with USA, continue facing structural problems. For example, in China the government officials which demand cash are considered to be more important than profitable companies. As a result of nepotism and favouritism loans are estimated to be between 600-900 billion dollars. This amount is one quarter of the Chinese economy.

⁹ Former Prime Minister of Australia (2007-2010 and 2013)

This debt is trying to be dealt with the growth that comes with low cost export. However, since the pay of cheap goods is low improvement in the economy could not be observed (Friedman 2012, 127-128).

In the meantime, other fast-growing economies suffer from internal problems. Furthermore, rapid economic growth often worsens political problems. The main reason for this is often democracy may not be able to accompany economic growth. Therefore, in Russia, Turkey, Brazil or Mexico where the economic development is not at the same speed with democracy violent protests occur. Regimes that do not change and reform to relieve these objections are constantly losing power (Roskin 2012, 715).

The clearest indication of loss of power is the weakening of legitimacy principle which is the base of political culture. Legitimacy is strong when the rule of governance is valid and the public obeys to it. But with corrupt and unstable governments this principle may weaken. The most basic scale of legitimacy is the number of police per person. If the legitimacy is high the need of police would be low, because then the people obey to the laws willingly. If the legitimacy is low then the need of police would increase (Roskin 2012, 10). In the world, first Russia, secondly Turkey has the highest number of police per person¹⁰.

In addition, parliaments everywhere are losing power. Some are under the control of the government/party or have lost their autonomy. Only very few of them are struggling to regain their strength (Roskin 2012, 716). But in a place where all the control is in the hands of the ruling class, opposition class cannot do anything (Mill 2012, 155-156). However, the military's not meddling in political affairs and the true meaning of its so-called neutrality is to support the reactionary ruling class. It has always been the army that protects the constitutional form of State and giving directions to new situations (Gramsci 2014, 303).

As a result of these, as it is noted in the Global Trends 2030, report there is no other vision to compete with the vision of the USA (The Saker 2015, 13). The likelihood of USA being replaced by another global power and establishing a new international order is remote possibility. None of the players have the capability or vision to obtain such power in short time. The rising powers seem to be eager to become members of

¹⁰ For more information on per capita police see Fortune Turkey (1 May 2016). Nüfusa oranla en fazla polis Rusya'da var Peki hangi ülke ikinci, <http://www.fortuneturkey.com/fotograf/1--rusya-5646-4600>

the key institutions of the current system, such as UN, IMF and the World Bank. In addition, a vision is not declared by others in this process. Even though they are not comfortable with the current international system led by the USA, they gained interest from it. Instead of resisting USA's hegemony, they are more interested in the continuation of ongoing economic developments and political consolidations. What is more, the rising powers do not act as a block. Moreover, they do not have a unifying and alternative vision. Their perspectives are focused on shaping the security environment. Therefore, the establishment of a stable environment in the event of the collapse of power of USA does not seem likely. Many analysts consider the rising disorder as result of the decline of American power. As probable competitors China, India or Russia has basic economic and political weaknesses. Some of these weaknesses are corruption, social riot, weak financial systems, poor infrastructure, incapability of operating the system and political reforms (Turquie Diplomatique 2015, 13). In short, the American empire will continue as long as the dollar remains the reserve currency all over the world.

Actually anti-systemic movements are more a matter of domestic politics than foreign politics. What it is called as system is, the historical capitalist world system that leads to birth of the anti-systemic movements (Arrighi et al. 2004, 11). The invisible hand of this system is completed by the visible fist of the governments all around the world (Amin 2012, 38). In fact, opposition against this repression is continuous, but is subtle most of the time. Moreover, opposition wing does not always find the opportunity to explain itself. But in the times when pressure increases, disappointments accelerate and governors' powers are shaken, revolts almost spontaneously.

In addition, the main feature of the uprising of the oppressed is they being spontaneous and formed for a short-term. The riots spread to the extent that they can spread, and then disappeared. The next uprising has normally been unrelated to the previous one. The greatest advantage of the ruling class throughout world history has always been the discontinuity of the uprising.

Furthermore, riots are in two kinds, social movements and the national movements. Social movement describes the pressure as, employers' pressure on the wage-earner and waged-working class of the bourgeoisie. The national movement explains the

pressure as, the pressure of an ethno-national group on the other (Arrighi et al. 2004, 35-36).

As through the facts mentioned above the riots begun by themselves and lost their effects in time. Yet, other side facts have been great additions to the flow of the process. Especially computers and communication technologies have proven to provide the opportunity to spread a riot vastly. Thus, the vastly cheap and accessible technology has broken the monopoly of control information of the governments. With the ability of accessing information and spreading it in activities, the governments' powers of managing masses has weakened. All of these cause deep social and political outcomes (Matthews 2008, 247). Particularly, Gezi Park protests has shown that majority supporters of the protests had higher school education and used the internet as the news source. On the other side, majority supporting the government during the protests were mostly had under high school education, and used television as a source of news (Öksüz 2014, 37).

Comparing the past and nowadays' revolutions and riots against the system, it will be understood the reasons of success and failures more clear. The first factor which facilitates an uprising is the country's political unity. Even though there are many poorer and despotic countries than France in the Europe, there were two reasons for the revolution to happen in this country: political unity provided by the monarchy in centuries and as a result of it, the nationwide public awareness (Sander 2009, 163). Therefore, the only progressive uprising in the Near East was observed in Turkey which was established as a Western Republic. The reason for the failure is as a kind of explosion of anger which has no text or manifesto in the motion. The basic reasons of the failures of the revolt against the system are the lack of a clear political objective insurgency and being unorganized (Sander 2009, 278).

It is absolutely obvious that changing the system is not easy to accomplish and the chance of spontaneously started uprisings are very low. Because the states have been bureaucratized and organized to crush the riots. Sometimes because of a war or internal political divisions between powerful sections, the pressure mechanism can be disrupted, and a revolution can be possible. But the state mechanism is able to self-organize quickly to crush an uprising.

The time after 1848 has shown that the primary objective in order to change the society and the world is to gain control of the state governance. Since the best example is the 1917 revolution, it has become a symbol. The only standing revolution is not the one in 1917 but also the 1910 Mexico and 1949 China revolutions are the examples of same successful strategy (Arrighi et al. 2004, 96-67).



6. CAPITALISM, NATIONALISM AND CONFLICT: WORLD-SYSTEMS ANALYSIS

Capitalism and nationalism are two fundamental elements of the modern world system. The purpose of the system is nation-building and capital accumulation. However, rising conflicts gives the impression that the system has a chaotic characteristic. The concept of system refers to the totality in which every element is interrelated, and which is transformed as a whole in case one of the elements changes. What makes the system capitalist in nature is that it enables capital accumulation. Such a definition is valid only for the modern world system. The main purpose of the system is accumulating capital for the sake of capital accumulation. This endless process is what makes it a capitalist system.

Nationalist character of the system, on the other hand, is based on the ideology and movement, which asserts national belonging to be the source of political power and basis of the world system, in a world constituted of *sui generis* nations. In this regard, unlike the common view, nationalism is not the resistance against the foreigner. Because such a claim would mean that it can be seen nationalism in a historical period. However, in the real historical process, states came first, and then they helped construction of the nations. For a period extending to hundreds of years, French state decided to establish a particular dialect as the national language, standardized the education across the country, and thus created a French consciousness. Hence, French state invented the French nation. All nations are artificial and constructed in some sense. Affect actions and statuses of the state within the world system are as follows:

This is the last surviving humanoid specie. There is not any subspecies or sub-race of modern man (*homo sapiens*). For instance, in a population with sexual reproduction, if the genetic transfer with other populations stops due to the isolation of reproduction, the new differentiated lineage is defined as specie. If an interracial couple from farthest corners of the world can have healthy children, this is because

there is no subspecies within homo sapiens. Physical differences among human populations, on the other hand, are related to geographical adaptations.

All these demonstrate that nations are not homogenous biological groups but rather psychologically assembled communities. Nationalism, an ideology and movement, became reproducible since the second half of the 19th century. In the first session of the parliament of the Kingdom of Italy after its unification, Massimo d'Azeglio said "we created Italy, now we should create Italians."

The first example of such imagined communities, which began to spread once it had been established, was bourgeois class. Bourgeoisie developed as a literate class. Thus, as the local languages replaced Latin as the language of culture during the 19th century, a new situation occurred. Before that, any solidarity constituted through a local language was limited within the intelligibility of that particular language. While new nations and national borders proliferated, the first total war of imperialism, the highest stage of capitalism, took place. Nationhood became the main principle in defining the borders following the war, and thus socialist ideologies based on class struggle withdrew. Thus, nationalism and capitalism are reinforced along the process.

One of the most significant causes of rising nationalist conflicts is the continuous politicization of culture. Cultural competition and question of identity are serious problems for the nation-states within the world system. Nationalist elites who will to establish a new state caused proliferation of many new states. Moreover, European universalism brought along with it a supportive attitude for insurgent nationalist groups. However, economic independence of the willed new state became rather insignificant. As a result, while on the one hand tribal nationalisms solidified by Kalashnikovs, national instabilities arose everywhere. Thus, increasing number of UN members went hand in hand with global issues becoming impossible to solve. As every issue from environment to terror became globalized, weak states' conditions began to affect the entire world.

Although capitalist ideology essentially defends freedom from state intervention, this has never been the case in practice. Political economy itself is a proof of this. Political economy occurred as a result of collaboration of state and market, and this shows that the system is not in a pure condition either without state or market. Therefore, international struggles are constituted of the struggles within factions of

bourgeoisie. Just as a single enterprise is part of a national economy, every national economy is part of the world economic system. Therefore, the competition is also between national economies that constitute various parts of the world economy.

Furthermore, nation states started losing control over their own economies as the finance markets globalized. International finance system, which operates as a giant casino, became capable of affecting exchange rates, unemployment, or import, through speculations. All such bets are played by international stock exchange brokers in New York, Tokyo, Paris, and Singapore. Even G7 countries have not enough power or funds to control such speculators. So much so that these brokers' power exceeds the power of ministers of economy and central banks. For instance, 150 billions dollars of aid the US government gave to AIG Company during 2008 crisis is more than all social spending to help poor in 1990-2006 (Stiglitz 2014, 251). Moreover, their power exceeds also the power of nation states through the effects of global economy. Transnational economic zones started replacing sovereign nation-state territories. Cities like Lyon, Milano, Stuttgart, and Barcelona, which intend to integrate to global markets, managed to become rather independent from the control of Paris, Rome, Berlin, and Madrid. As cities and regions rise, nation state sovereignty diminishes.

But all these cities are within the borders of developed countries. Underdeveloped countries that lack national capital have no alternative but search for multinational investments. And it is not an easy task to become chosen by the aristocrats of global economy. Their main interest is toward the factors that enable maximum profits with minimum risk. If a government acts counter to these factors, arguments from Wall Street (e.g. it would bring stability, liquid assets would leave the country, interests would rise, foreign investment would stop, development would cease, etc.) start circulating around. These are the most popular discourses during the electoral periods in all countries from Turkey to Brazil. Moreover, these global aristocrats may ally with any reactionary force in order to realize their aims. They even provide weapons and legitimacy to dictators in exchange for oil. The role of these countries, which have no active force in the global power play, is to pay their debts, open their markets for foreign capital, and import consumer goods. In a world where even the total export of 120 countries does not equal to one of the 100 most powerful companies (Rivero 2003, 53-54), an isolated national economy would not be a

solution either. If even the USSR failed despite its rich resources and Leninist ideology, it is not possible for another country with a collective economic program of self-sufficiency.

Is democratization more realistic than development in a world where the latter is a myth? There have not been any countries where the legislative organs are not determined by elections since 1945. Therefore, the purpose should be more than just elections. Elites make mention of problems of masses during elections in order to win over other elites. In fact, all bargains take place beforehand and what electors do is simply affirm the decisions taken after the bargain. So, many political issues are without solution today, and what is actually exercised is about keeping stability.

Liberalism occurred as a response to the question of how to control dangerous classes within the world system. Moreover, liberalism and democracy are controversial. The purpose of liberalism has been giving to people a limited access to political power and a limited distribution of economic surplus, in a way not to threaten the system of endless capital accumulation and the suitable state model. Universal suffrage and welfare state have developed along these lines since the 19th century.

The US, which is the superpower in the system, is not the only imperialist state. Other imperialist states compete with each other about spheres of influence and economic interests. Russia, France, Britain, Turkey, Greece or Nigeria are too part of this competition for power and influence. But these states are not of equal importance. The change in the global environment has a tendency to decrease the direct use of force. Moreover, neither nuclear weapons nor large armies, nor massive migration waves, nor acts of terror are fully deterrent. Therefore, diplomacy, alliances and political capabilities are becoming more important. What determines alliances is not cultural affiliation but the capitalistic aim of a given period. Accordingly, the US seems to keep its superpower position, for the dollar keeps being reserve currency in the entire world and imperialism is based on finance capital.

Anti-systemic movements, on the other hand, have developed not as a foreign policy issue but rather as a domestic issue. What is called the system is the historical capitalist world system, which gives way to anti-systemic movements as well. Most of the time, anti-systemic opposition is tacit. What is certain is that it is not an easy task to transform the system. The probability of success of a spontaneous insurgency

is very low. This is because the states are bureaucratically organized to suppress others. What is important to transform the society and the world is seizing the state power.



7. CONCLUSION

This study has analyzed the factors that affect actions and statuses of the states in the world system within a theoretical framework regarding capitalism and nationalism. Within the study, it has been inquired what kind of a world system occur as part of the interaction between modern “communities” –i.e. nations- and the invisible hand of the market that run the economy, and the factors that are effective in the process are examined. In this eclectic, inductive, and existential inquiry, the data is obtained via books, journals, articles, news articles, and websites. The study has analyzed world political system within a conceptual framework on capitalism and nationalism. It has examined the influential factors on the endeavors of states for nation-building and capital accumulation, and tried to document the elements that affect the constitution of the world system. Nation states, which include capitalism and nationalism, have been chosen as the focus of the study, because they constitute the grounds of political activity in the modern world. This study has tried to explain the world system that creates weak states, underdevelopment, poor masses, and conflicts, and reached following conclusions.

Human nature, which is neutral, is same in every part of the world. A human being first exists and then reveals his/her essence. But this essence is not the primary but the latest form of human nature. Cognitively, human mind is an empty slate (*tabula rasa*), which obtain knowledge from the outer world through experience. Racially, all human beings belong to homo sapiens specie and there are not any sub-races or sub-species among them.

The state represents the hegemony that manifests a coercive power. Although they claim that they defend common interests, modern nation states act according to interests of the ruling class.

The modern world system is a capitalist system that allows endless capital accumulation. Unlike common understanding, capitalism is not in search of markets but of cheap labor. Furthermore, transformation from competition to monopoly is the

most significant fact of capitalist economy. This is because free competition weakens capital accumulation. Therefore, the aim is a limited free market.

Globalization leads economic disputes about neoliberalism. But the integration of the world economy is deeply unequal and limited. International finance sector consist largely of short-term and speculative investments. This causes the expansion of markets while creating bigger and bigger crisis. Finally, welfare and full employment policies became impossible for nation states while the importance of factories diminished. This political economical structure that resulted from collaboration of state and market, shapes the market to the benefit of upper classes. The most widespread method in this process is austerity policies. The aim is to lower the living standards of working class.

The first goal of underdeveloped countries lacking national capital is to find multinational investors. Thus they develop based on exportation of a particular sector. So much so that the existence of creditor and debtor states is a condition of the world system.

Whenever economic contradictions intensify, an armament race escalates, and militarism and imperialism based on finance capital reinforces each other. Moreover, it was seen in the example of fascist countries of the World War II that capitalism cannot provide necessary conditions for political freedoms.

Nationalism, another fundamental subject of the study, is a product of the near past both as an ideology and a movement. The claim that nation is predestined by God or nature is an illusion. Historically, states occurred first and nations occurred afterwards. The nation is an imagined political community. Although nationalism is a secular ideology in essence, religion has played the role of a paradoxical cement of society in time.

Biological approaches regarding debates on ethnic origins are invalid because main factor is cultural. Nevertheless, it is possible to invent a culture according to a particular class or ethnic interest. The ultimate goal is to nationalize the ethnicity. The purpose of ethnic groups is not to destroy nation states but to establish their own. It seems to be impossible to end the conflicts between ethnic groups and nations in the modern world system.

There are not any states in the world today, which have the capacity to create a new order. Armed conflicts have been increasing since the Cold War. But none of them are about struggle for democracy. The real reasons are population overgrowth, unemployment, and ethnic, national, and cultural resentments. Moreover, capitalist free market practices have not brought trust, development, stability, or justice.

In the last section regarding the world system analysis, this study has demonstrated that there is a shift of power in the international system. But this shift occurs not beyond but within state borders. Although traditional actors are still on the stage, quasi-autonomous political actors create a network with their similar others across the world. Nation states act as authorized regions in the global market. In the struggle for authority among bourgeoisie, markets function as some sort of gamble house.

While on the one hand cities of developed countries push for autonomy from capitals in order to integrate to global markets, on the other hand, underdeveloped countries lose their independency. As the myth asserting that all countries have capacity to develop lose credibility, mass demonstrations become more and more chaotic. It is proved in African, Asian, and American experiences that there would not be any real democracy without real development.

Periphery economies and weak governments cause crime and terror organizations gain power. Weak state structures where national capital is weak and rent is high set the ground for military coups. Moreover, international economy system causes the poor to stay poor, produce military coups and civil wars, and enables corrupted elites to stay in power.

Immense centralization and deconcentrating the capital lead state debts to raise in the existing world system. Economic and political deconcentrating is a result of this world system. The economic inequality caused by international trade results in the support of Western democracies for anti-democratic periphery states. Authoritarian regimes hold power in periphery countries to protect borders, prevent mass migration, and suppress chaos. What is more, there is a tendency in the global environment to limit the direct uses of power. Thus, options such as diplomacy, alliances, collaboration and political assets became tools for intervention and maneuver. In this system, what determines the alliance is not ethnic or cultural

affiliation but capitalist purposes. All states are players in the international finance capital system.

The insufficiency of the UN in resolving the problems of nation states and endeavoring only to keep stability creates a global crisis of trust. Moreover, there are not any rival perspectives to the vision of the US. It is highly unlikely for another power to establish a new order. After all, the invisible hand of the system is accompanied with the manifest fist, and the system continues to exist.

This study has contributed to uncover the essence of the system. It is demonstrated that the system is not a chaotic condition where all fight against each other, but rather an order, which gives the same outputs under same conditions in all over the world. Just like floods and hurricanes are entities that cause the ecosystem to continue although they are seen as natural disasters, every conflict capitalism or nationalism creates is part of the existing political order although they result in disastrous consequences. Therefore, conflicts among capitalists and nationalists cannot destroy the world system just as natural disasters cannot bring the end of the world.

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