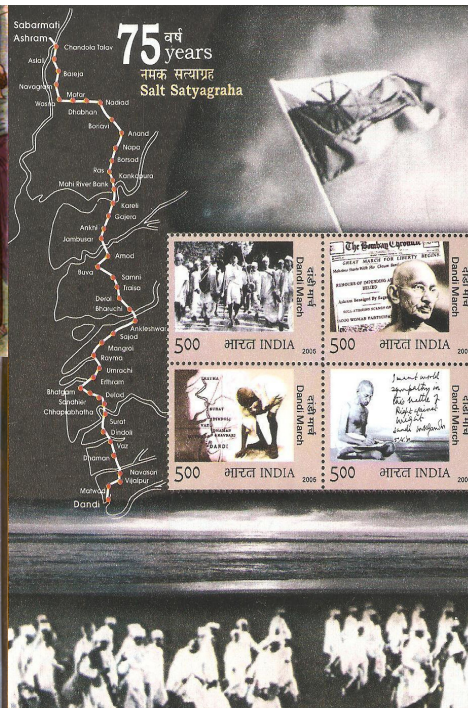


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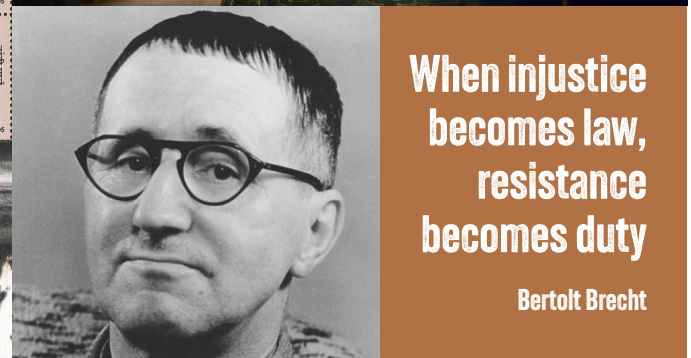
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THE RIGHT TO RESIST ON ITS HISTORY AND RELEVANCE

Aybars Akdoğan & Neslihan Doğulu

THE RIGHT TO RESIST AGAINST OPPRESSION - ARE THE CONDITIONS MET IN TÜRKİYE?

The right to resist against oppression, which has become a rule of positive law under the French Constitution of 1791 and the American Declaration of Independence, was included in the preamble of the 1961 Constitution of the Republic of Türkiye, but not in the 1982 Constitution of the Republic of Türkiye.

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Prof. Sanjoy Roy

Department of Social Work, University of Delhi - INDIA

RIGHT TO RESIST: INDIAN CONTEXT

In pre-independence India, Mahatma Gandhi introduced concepts of civil disobedience and satyagraha to resist British rule. At the same time, Dr. B. R. Ambedkar fought against both British colonialism and the discrimination practiced by upper-caste Hindus, opposing the caste system in India.

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Müslüm Kabadayı

TÜRKİYE

THE VEIN OF RESISTANCE IN MIDDLE EASTERN LITERATURE

Another Palestinian folk poet, Tawfiq Zeyyad, wrote: "We will stay here/ resting in the shade of olives and figs/ like yeast in dough/ planting our thoughts/ ice coldness in our nerves/ crimson hell in our brains/ when thirsty squeezing the rocks/ when hungry eating the earth/ but not going anywhere"

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PROJECT ARTICLE 26 RSA-PILOT COORDINATION TEAM MEETING DECEMBER 2024 A BRIEF SUMMARY AND OUTCOME

MEMBERS:

Renny Somnat

The South African Democratic Teachers' Union - SADTU

Sidney Kgara &

Barry James Mitchell

National Education, Health and Allied Workers' Union - NEHAWU

Prof. Rasigan Maharajh

Tshwane University of Technology

Prof. Martha Matashu

The North West University

Zeynel Korkmaz

PoliTeknik Magazine

Ajay Lachhman

Mauritius Trade Union Congress (MTUC)

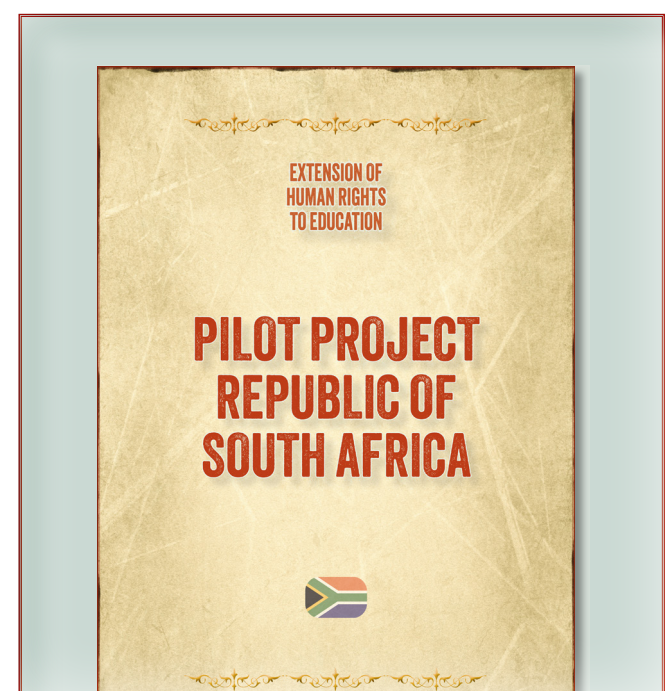
Kaganizo Mutesasira Evans

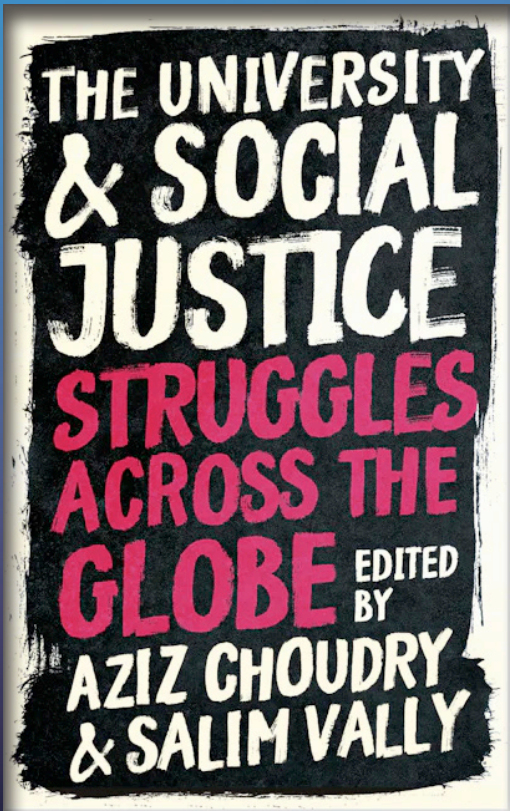
Uganda Liberal Teachers' Union - ULITU

In summary, the meeting agreed on the following:

- Emphasizing the importance of the pilot project in the South African context (the extension of Article 26/ placing human rights in education) and locating it within the context of our historical struggle against colonialism-apartheid.

Continue on page 3 ►





*The University & Social Justice
Struggles Across the Globe*

Edited by Aziz Choudry and Salim Vally

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ABOUT THE BOOK

Higher education has long been contested terrain. From student movements to staff unions, the fight for accessible, critical and quality public education has turned university campuses globally into sites of struggle.

Whether calling for the decommodification or the decolonisation of education, many of these struggles have attempted to draw on (and in turn, resonate with) longer histories of popular resistance, broader social movements and radical visions of a fairer world. In this critical collection, Aziz Choudry, Salim Vally and a host of international contributors bring grounded, analytical accounts of diverse struggles relating to higher education into conversation with each other.

Featuring contributions written by students and staff members on the frontline of struggles from 12 different countries, including Canada, Chile, France, India, Mexico, Nigeria, Occupied Palestine, the Philippines, South Africa, Türkiye, the UK and the USA, the book asks what can be learned from these movements' strategies, demands and visions.

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- ii) Locating the RSA pilot project within the broader struggle for extensive UN reform.
- iv) To establish a road map and framework for the implementation of the pilot project, this includes setting dates, context, assigned tasks and a programme for 2025.

The meeting, therefore, agreed on the following framework and time frames:

December 2024

- To secure an engagement with the relevant COSATU officials
- To broaden our engagements with identified and other progressive academics, unionists and groupings;
- To draft a brief position paper on the RSA pilot project context, objectives & 2025 conference by calling for the submission of papers.

January 2025

- Convene a small working group with the RSA pilot project task team,

academics, education professionals and unions focusing on June Conference and broader strategic planning.

February - March 2025

- Coordination Committee concretises planning and programme for the June Conference.
- Requirements: Invitees, programmes, theme, objectives/ outcomes of Conference, logistics and resourcing.

April 2025

- Deadline for papers submitted.

June 2025

- RSA Pilot Project Conference
- The significance of June in the RSA context of June 16th Youth Uprising, the struggle against colonial-apartheid education, the call for People's Education for People's Power.

In solidarity
Barry Mitchell
NEHAWU

CONSTITUTION OF THE NATIONAL ACADEMIC ADVISORY COUNCIL FOR SOUTH AFRICA (RSA-NAAC)

TASKS OF THE COORDINATION TEAM

- a) Creating a list of the RSA democratic mass organizations who shall become members of the RSA-NAAC.
- b) Drafting and sending the invitation letter for RSA democratic mass organizations to join the RSA-NAAC. Different methods can and must be tried to sensitise the organisations on the list. Calling them directly, getting confederations involved, asking for support from the ministry, press statement on national level etc.
- c) It ensures that the first meeting is a hybrid meeting, providing an overview of the purpose of the project and the implementation of the RSA-PILOT.
- d) Establishment of a TEAM of EXPERTS (PILOT-TE) to identify initial discussions to be addressed by the RSA-NAAC. After identifying the initial subjects, PILOT-TE plans a series of meetings and invites representatives of democratic mass organisations. All fundamental topics to be addressed for the modification of Article 26 will be determined after the RSA-NAAC CONSTITUENTS come together.. This will ensure a genuine representation of the demands of democratic mass organisations in South Africa.

THE TEAM OF EXPERTS (PILOT-TE)

- a) EXPAMLE: The PILOT-TE invites to a first presentation on the Human Right to Education at SADTU Headquarters. 2nd presentation at the University of Johannesburg on the History of Education in South Africa and Current Challenges.
- b) The PILOT-TE puts into a planning the discussion proposals of democratic mass organisations on the extension of the right to education. What is meant by planning here is where, when and by whom the subjects will be organised. This also includes public relations work on how to ensure mass interest. The PILOT-CT will always be on site to ensure the best possible way of creating this structure.



Aybars Akdoğan - Neslihan Doğulu
Advocate-TÜRKİYE Doctor of Medicine -TÜRKİYE

THE RIGHT TO RESIST AGAINST OPPRESSION

ARE THE CONDITIONS MET IN TÜRKİYE?*

1- THE RIGHT OF RESISTANCE IN GENERAL

Historically, the right to resist has taken shape as the right of people to defend their freedoms, to oppose injustice and to rebel against the tyranny of power. The historical roots of the right to resist can be traced back to philosophical and political thought.

The intellectuals of the Enlightenment deepened their reflections on the freedoms and rights of individuals; these ideas found concrete expression in the revolutions of the 18th and 19th centuries, especially in the French Revolution and the American War of Independence. In the course of history, many nations have used their right of resistance to gain their freedom and have taken important steps in the struggle for human rights. The American War of Independence and the French Revolution are examples of how people unite against injustice and how important it is to resist.

In the historical process (...) the right to resist, which was born as the right to rebel against the government, which has become an instrument of oppression and persecution with its illegal actions and behavior, takes its source (...) from the doctrine of natural law.¹ According to natural law, justice and law exist before the state and the law, and if the state and the law violate people's rights, individuals have the right to resist these violations. In this context, the legitimate resistance of the people is the natural right of the people against the lawlessness of the state.

Many communities used this right to refuse to accept the injustices of the state and took important steps in the struggle for social justice. *In the French Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen, the right to resist was expressed as a consequence of other human rights, and*



Source: The Right to Resist I, Created with AI

following this expression, it was stipulated that the right to resist when the government violates the rights of the people is the most sacred of rights and the most necessary of duties.²

The right to resist against oppression, which has become a rule of positive law under the French Constitution of 1791 and the American Declaration of Independence, was included in the preamble of the 1961 Constitution of the Republic of Türkiye, but not in the 1982 Constitution of the Republic of Türkiye. Nevertheless; *it is a natural right of human beings to react against oppression, persecution, injustice and unfairness, in other words, to resist. The fact that this right is not regulated in the constitutions does not make it a right.³*

The Constitutional Court of the Republic of Türkiye, in its decision dated 8.12.1988 and numbered 1988/2 File and 1988/1 Decision, accepted the existence of the right of resistance, although it is not included in the 1982 Constitution. This decision concerns the inclusion of the expression "right to resist" in the program of a political party and the decision emphasizes

that the expression "right to resist" must be accepted as a constitutional concept:

(...) We can argue that this right, important in terms of individual freedoms, can cause anarchy in practice. Nevertheless, the right to resist has been included in constitutional documents such as the Great Edict of Liberty (Magna Carta Libertatum, 1215 article 61); the Petition of Rights (1628); the Habeas-Corpus Act (1679); the Bill of Rights (1689) in England; the Virginia Declaration of Rights (1776 article 3) in the United States of America, the French Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen of 1789 (Resistance to oppression, article 2) in France; and in article 20 of the German Federal Constitution. Thus, it is understood that the "right to resist" is a concept that is not alien to Constitutional Law.⁴

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights considers it an essential need "to protect human rights through the rule of law so that people do not have to rebel against tyranny and oppres-

sion as a last resort". In this context, the right to resist is not only an act of rebellion but also a necessary tool to ensure justice. The right to resist is one of the most important rights a people can exercise against oppression, persecution and injustice.

If legal recourses are blocked or ineffective in the face of oppression, persecution and illegal practices, if all legal recourses have been tried but have failed, if there are no adequate legal safeguards or effective legal remedies to show a common reaction to the continuous curtailment of fundamental rights and freedoms in society, or if individuals are prohibited from expressing themselves are justifiable reasons for exercising the right to resist.

The right to resist is both an ethical and a legal issue. The exercise of the right to resist, from an ethical point of view, generally focuses on two main approaches: non-violent resistance and violent resistance.

Non-violent Resistance: Nonviolent resistance to oppression usually manifests itself in the form of civil disobedience. [T]he civil disobedience can be defined as a common form of action against injustice, it is carried out illegally and publicly, its aim and method of realization are clear, its political and legal responsibility is assumed by activists, it is closed to violence, it contains an appeal to public conscience, and it⁶ means that in **situations where the state and the individual/society, law and morality are confronted, the individual/society or morality is preferred. (...) The civil disobedience is the conflict between the profile of being a good citizen who accepts everything the political authorities say and obeys all the laws they enact, and that of being a good human being that we can deploy in opposition to it.⁷**

The right to resist includes not only physical resistance, but also intellectual and cultural resistance. Intellectuals such as Mahatma Gandhi and Henry David Thoreau, and especially the philosophy of non-violent resistance of Mahatma Gandhi, underline the importance of peaceful resistance to achieve justice. This approach defends that social change can be achieved by peaceful means and this philosophy has constituted the basis of many current social movements. The struggle for India's independence led by Gandhi is a successful example of this type of resistance.

Activities such as civil disobedience, hunger strikes, protest marches, boycotts, general strikes, refusal to pay taxes, occupation of parks, squares or roads are examples of non-violent resistance. These activities are important tools for individuals and communities in their quest for justice.

Violent resistance: In some cases, individuals may choose to resort to more radical methods against injustice. The ethical legitimacy of this type of resistance is often debated. It is believed that violent resistance leads in the long run to further conflict and loss. In this article we will briefly discuss violent resistance, as it is not a method we favor.

The following examples, some non-violent, some violent, but all important milestones in the struggle for social justice and freedom, illustrate how people throughout history have united against injustice and the importance of the right to resist oppression.

The history of the right to resist has been marked by important revolutions and social movements. For example, events such as the American War of Independence (1775-1783), the French Revolution (1789), the Turkish War of Independence (1919-1922) and Mahatma Gandhi's Salt March (1930) are important examples where people united against oppression and resisted with demands for freedom and equality. These examples have become symbols of people's struggle to defend their freedoms and have shown the world how important the right to resist oppression is.

Today, the right to resist is manifested in various social movements. The Gezi Park Protests in Turkey (2013) were an example of how people came together to resist government authoritarianism, while the Black Lives Matter movement in the United States has had a global impact as a modern example of resistance against racism.

2- ARE THE CONDITIONS MET IN TÜRKİYE?

The right to resistance, which has a historical, philosophical and legal

basis, has become an important tool for individuals and peoples to defend their rights in the face of injustice and iniquity, and has become an integral part of the struggle for freedom of societies. The right to resistance is a concept that in Türkiye has manifested itself both historically and in the context of social movements. Nevertheless, the debate on the legal basis of this right is a more complex problem in Türkiye's current constitutional structure. The fact that the 1982 Constitution of the Republic of Türkiye does not explicitly mention the right of resistance,



Source: The Right to Resist II, Created with AI,

which was contained in the 1961 Constitution, has created legal uncertainty. However, the Constitutional Court recognized the existence of the right to resist and defined this right as a constitutional right in a historical context. This shows that the right to resist in Türkiye is legally recognized, even if it is not explicitly enshrined in legal regulations.

At the social level, the right to resistance has been massively manifested, especially during the Gezi Park Protests. These protests were a massive resistance movement of the population in defense of their freedoms. In Gezi Park, people's reactions to the government's oppressive policies and illegal actions were united, and this process became an example of the de facto exercise of the right of resistance by the population. These social movements demonstrate that individuals and groups exercise their right to resist against government oppression and that this right is shaped by a social legitimacy independent of legal regulation.

The political, social and economic developments in Türkiye in recent years raise the question of whether the necessary conditions for the exercise of the right of resistance are met. Ongoing violations of fundamental rights, political repression and authoritarian government policies provide important ground for the people to exercise this right. Despite the fact that oppression, injustice and restrictions on freedom make it difficult for people to exercise their right to resist, the right to resist, which is the guarantee of justice, emerges precisely in those

the legal but also in the social sphere. The right to resist becomes meaningful when people raise their voices against government oppression and injustice and despite the fact that the government continues with these violations.

In order to achieve social change, this movement must be nourished not only by non-violent forms of resistance, but also by cultural and intellectual resistance, as this article attempts to do. Only in this way will it be possible to take an effective social stand against government oppression and tyranny.

Let us conclude with the words of the American Declaration of Independence of 1776⁹:

Prudence, indeed, will dictate that Governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shewn, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed, but when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security.

¹ TAŞKIN Ahmet, The Right to Resist against Oppression, TBB Magazine, Issue 52, 2004 p. 37-65 (<https://tbbdergisi.barobirlik.org.tr/m2004-52-17>) (Date of Access: 22.06.2024)

² ORMANOĞLU Hatice Derya/ÇİRKİN Furkan, "The Right to Resist in John Locke's Understanding of Political Philosophy", İnÜHFD, 13(2), 2022, s.549-562. <https://dergipark.org.tr/tr/download/article-file/2690847> (Date of Access: 15.10.2024)

³ See Note 1.

⁴ <https://siyasipartikarlar.anayasa.gov.tr/Dosyalar/Kararlar/KararPDF/1988-1-spk.pdf> (Date of Access: 25.10.2024)

⁵ See Note 1.

⁶ See Note 1.

⁷ OTACI Cengiz, The Right Despite the Law, Right to Resist of the Judge or Recalling Radbruch's Formula, TBB Magazine, Issue 120, 2015 p. 571-616 (<https://tbbdergisi.barobirlik.org.tr/m2015-120-1523>) (Date of Access: 22.10.2024)

⁸ See Note 1.

⁹ https://tr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Amerikan_Ba%C4%9F%C4%B1ms%C4%B1z%C4%B1k_Bildirisi (Date of Access: July 25, 2024).

* AI was utilised in the writing of this article.

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RIGHT TO RESIST: INDIAN CONTEXT



The evolution of human society has been shaped by cooperation and social balances, allowing individuals to find their place even amidst ideological diversity. It is not just the similarities among people that have contributed to the development of society; rather, "resistance" has also played a crucial role since the existence of mankind. This resistance has been significant in nurturing and advancing society as a whole.

The right to resist is considered to be a fundamental human right and is recognized in the French Declaration and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) etc. It is also considered to be the basis for other collective rights, such as self-determination and freedom from genocide. In political science, the right to resist is the right to challenge the authority of a government or foreign occupation through actions other than those permitted by the state's constitution. It's also known as the right of self-preservation or self-defense. In this regard, John Locke's argument that citizens can overthrow their government if it violates the social contract is one of the most prominent arguments in favor of the right to resist. The right to resist can take the form of civil disobedience or armed resistance. It can be applied against tyrannical governments or foreign occupations, but whether it applies to non-tyrannical governments is disputed. In legal concept, the right to resist refers to the right to take action to effect social,



political, or economic change. It can be exercised individually or collectively, and can range from civil disobedience to violent resistance. The right to resist is often framed as a right against the state, and can be used to validate rebellion. It can also be exercised against non-state actors, such as international organizations, if they threaten human rights for any individual, group or state. The right to resist is conditional on being necessary and proportionate to achieve an aim compatible with international

human rights law and it cannot justify infringing others' rights.

So, sometimes the right to resist is a contentious and debatable concept with varying definitions and scope. Some may say it's a fundamental human right that justifies rebellions, access to justice, and defending against unlawful violence, others may argue that it's justified only in the face of oppression, which is defined as unjust domination, harm, and discrimination.

The right to resist can also be exercised in the following ways in different countries:

- **Self-defense:** The common law right to resist an unlawful arrest
- **Right to bear arms:** In the US, the right to bear arms is a form of resistance
- **Civil disobedience:** Henry Thoreau recognized the right to resist in civil disobedience
- **Elections:** The right to resist is institutionalized in regular elections
- **Political opposition:** The right to resist is institutionalized in a loyal political opposition.

When people's environments and human rights are threatened, they have the right to safely express their dissatisfaction through protest. The right to freedom of opinion and expression is a well-established civil and political right in both national and international law, and is fundamental to the concept of democracy and the respect of human dignity. Article 19 of the UDHR states that:

"Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinion without interference and to seek, receive and impart information through any media and regardless of frontiers,"

Even if, we see in the 'international arena', the right to resist in international law is connected to the princi-

ple of self-determination. It is generally acknowledged that the right to self-determination exists in situations where a segment of the population is denied political participation due to foreign occupation, colonial domination, or racist regimes.

Some thoughts about the right to resist in international law include:

- Resistance is a legitimate right in all its forms.
- The weapons used in resistance are legally legitimate and cannot be removed.
- Resistance is a moral, legitimate, and civilized response to occupation.
- Resistance is the scientific method for expelling the remnants of the occupation.
- Resistance reclaims usurped land, property, wealth, and rights to their rightful owners.

International humanitarian law acknowledges armed resistance against an occupying power, even if it is conducted by civilians. However, it does not provide a "right" to participate in armed resistance.

The right to resist is recognized in many documents, including:

- The Bill of Rights 1689
- The French Declaration
- The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR)
- The European Convention on Human Rights (ECHR)
- Clause 61 of Magna Carta
- The American Declaration of Independence

So, resist/resistance is a vital aspect of human interactions, shaping the course of society. The right to resist has a rich history, linked to the emergence of various religions around the world. Throughout time, people have established fundamental principles to govern society, and some have resisted these norms, offering alternative ideas that eventually evolved into different religions. Buddha, for instance, was a pivotal figure in human history who challenged the social injustices prevalent in Indian society, which were perpetuated by various groups operating on principles of inequality and discrimination. He proposed a path of equality, justice, and liberty.

In the Western world, the philosophy of resistance was championed by notable thinkers such as John Locke, Thomas Hobbes, and Jean-Jacques Rousseau, who introduced concepts of natural rights and justice for all individuals within society.

There are many theories in the world which exclusively touched upon the right to resist and how it works. They are as follows:

• **Contractarianism:** John Locke's argument that citizens can overthrow their government if it violates the social contract.

• **Self-determination:** The right to resist is closely related to self-determination, which is recognized in situations of foreign occupation, colonial domination, or racist regimes.

• **Neo-Kantianism:** The right to resist is a neo-Kantian expression of autonomy, and a universal maxim that unjustified threats against another's sovereignty should be met with force.

• **Right of Resistance against Global Injustice:** This right can be understood as the right to take direct action to secure rights, or to transform the social, economic, and political structures that perpetuate injustice.

• **Catholic resistance theory:** In France, Catholic resistance theory developed through controversy and political alignment.

• **Hobbesian resistance:** Hobbes' theory that the sovereign's interpretation of natural law is the only authoritative interpretation in civil society.

raise their voice against the government and malpractices in the society:

- 1) Civil Disobedience
- 2) Acts of civil disobedience
- 3) Satyagraha's various tactics
 - a) Failure to cooperate
 - b) Strikes
 - c) Boycott
 - d) Nonviolent picketing
 - e) Fasting
 - f) Attempting to avoid arrest
 - g) Protests, Rallies, and Petition

The Gandhian school of thought is fundamentally based on the principle of non-violent resistance. Mahatma Gandhi believed that the British colonial rulers in India were actively working to divide the population along lines of identity, such as religion and caste, to serve their own interests. By fostering such divisions, the British aimed to maintain control over the country, preventing a unified front against their rule.

Gandhi was particularly critical of practices such as separate electorates and dual voting rights for marginalized communities. He argued that these strategies were not only unjust but also intentionally designed to

different communities, he aimed to create a more inclusive and equitable society. The Gandhian approach emphasized the importance of addressing underlying social issues, such as poverty, inequality, and injustice, through collective action and self-sacrifice.

While some critics have described the Gandhian method as slow and cautious, many recognize its effectiveness in mobilizing large segments of the population. Gandhi's ability to inspire and galvanize people from various backgrounds was instrumental in the Indian independence movement. His emphasis on non-violence attracted a wide range of supporters, including those who might not have engaged in more aggressive forms of resistance. By appealing to the moral conscience of both oppressors and the oppressed, Gandhi sought to create a shared vision of freedom and justice.

Moreover, the Gandhian approach also called for self-reliance and empowerment among communities. Gandhi believed that individuals should take responsibility for their own lives and actively participate in the transformation of society. This included promoting local industries, education, and social reform to uplift marginalized groups and create a more equitable society.

Gandhian school of thought offers a compelling framework for understanding resistance in the face of oppression. By emphasizing non-violence and the importance of social cohesion, Gandhi sought to counter the divisive tactics of colonial rulers. His approach remains relevant today, serving as a reminder that meaningful change often requires patience, moral conviction, and the collective efforts of individuals working together for a common cause. Through non-violent resistance, Gandhi aimed not only to challenge colonial rule but also to build a more just and harmonious society for all.

Dr. B.R. Ambedkar held a perspective that sharply contrasted with that of Mahatma Gandhi. He criticized Gandhi for misleading the people of India by donning traditional attire, such as the dhoti, while being sufficiently anglicized to benefit from British rule. Ambedkar argued that Gandhi had taken advantage of the British presence in India while advocating for independence. He viewed Gandhi as a staunch supporter of the Hindu caste system, wanting the British to leave the country but intending for the caste system to remain intact.

Ambedkar contended that Gandhi failed to grasp the destructive impact of the caste system, which had ruined millions of lives over the past

DR. B.R. AMBEDKAR HELD A PERSPECTIVE THAT SHARPLY CONTRASTED WITH THAT OF MAHATMA GANDHI. HE CRITICIZED GANDHI FOR MISLEADING THE PEOPLE OF INDIA BY DONNING TRADITIONAL ATTIRE, SUCH AS THE DHOTI, WHILE BEING SUFFICIENTLY ANGLICIZED TO BENEFIT FROM BRITISH RULE.

If we see the Indian history, several poets acted as activists, using their writings to resist social evils. Figures like Sant Ravidas, Sant Kabir Das, Sant Tukaram, and Chokhamela spoke out against issues such as the caste system, gender inequality, and access to education. This movement was later advanced by Periyar in South India and the Phule couple in central India, who continued to challenge social inequalities. They initiated the first ever school for the girls in the country. They constructed maternity centre for the women who became mother in unwanted situations. Raja Ram Mohan Roy came out as a pioneer in destroying the old social evil of "Sati" in India. Dayanand Saraswati resisted against the social evil of "Child Marriage" and legally made it an punishable offence in the rule of law.

In pre-independence India, Mahatma Gandhi introduced concepts of civil disobedience and satyagraha to resist British rule. At the same time, Dr. B. R. Ambedkar fought against both British colonialism and the discrimination practiced by upper-caste Hindus, opposing the caste system in India. Most of them used the following methods of non-violent resistance to

fragment Indian society. By encouraging divisions among different groups, the British were undermining the potential for collective resistance and national unity. Gandhi warned that these tactics could lead to chaos and further societal strife, as they pitted communities against one another instead of fostering cooperation and solidarity.

In response to these challenges, Gandhi advocated for a non-violent approach to resistance, which he believed was both ethical and effective. He encouraged individuals and groups to engage in peaceful protests, civil disobedience, and other forms of non-violent action to challenge unjust laws and practices. This approach was rooted in his deep commitment to truth (Satyagraha) and the belief that moral strength could ultimately overcome oppression.

Gandhi's method of non-violent resistance was not about immediate confrontation but rather about gradual change. He understood that social transformation takes time and requires the active participation of the masses. By promoting dialogue, understanding, and empathy among

thousand years. By emphasizing the preservation of caste, Gandhi seemed to be advocating for the dominance of upper castes over lower castes after the British departed. Ambedkar believed that Gandhi's approach would not lead to genuine liberation for all Indians, particularly those from marginalized communities.

In contrast to Gandhi's reformative vision, Ambedkar championed a complete transformation of society. He envisioned a social order that promoted mobility and interaction among various groups, fostering a sense of endosmosis—an exchange and integration between different sections of society. For Ambedkar, true independence would mean dismantling the oppressive structures of caste that had long confined and degraded the lives of millions.

Ambedkar further questioned the implications of independence. He acknowledged that if the British were to leave, those who had been subjugated by colonial rule would gain freedom. However, he raised a critical concern: what about the people who had been enslaved by those previously oppressed? Would they achieve freedom from the torturous caste system that had marred their existence for generations? This question was central to Ambedkar's vision of social justice, as he believed that the fight against colonialism should not overshadow the struggle against caste oppression.

Ambedkar's critique of Gandhi highlighted a fundamental disagreement on the nature of freedom and equality in Indian society. While Gandhi sought to unite the country through non-violent resistance and moral persuasion, Ambedkar emphasized the necessity of addressing systemic inequalities that affected the lives of millions. He believed that any movement for independence must also include a commitment to dismantling the caste system, which he viewed as a significant barrier to true social justice.

Ambedkar's perspective was rooted in the need for a radical rethinking of Indian society. He sought a future where all individuals could enjoy equality and freedom, free from the constraints of caste. His vision was one of social transformation rather than mere political independence, advocating for a society where mobility and mutual respect among different groups could flourish. Through this lens, he argued that achieving genuine liberation meant addressing the injustices that had long persisted within the fabric of Indian society.

The Hindu Mahasabha (which later evolved into the RSS) and the Communist Party of India each developed

their own methods of resistance during the freedom struggle. The Hindu Mahasabha adhered to a conservative ideology, while the Communist Party embraced a more liberal approach, drawing heavily from Western ideas. The Communist Party aimed to bridge the intellectual divide between the "aware" and "unaware" segments of the population.

The RSS played a significant role in the freedom movement, contributing numerous freedom fighters to the cause. While their methods of resistance differed from those of other groups, their impact on the movement was substantial. The Hindu Mahasabha and the RSS focused on cultural nationalism, emphasizing the importance of Hindu identity and unity in the struggle against colonial rule.

In contrast, the Communist Party sought to address issues of class struggle and social justice, advocating for the rights of the working class and marginalized communities.

WHETHER EXAMINING THE FUTURE OF INDIAN SOCIETY OR LOOKING AT A GLOBAL CONTEXT, IT'S CLEAR THAT THE RIGHT TO RESIST WILL BE VITAL FOR MAINTAINING A HEALTHY SOCIETY.

Their emphasis on collective action and revolutionary change resonated with many, particularly among the lower strata of society. Despite their differing ideologies and methods, both organizations made important contributions to India's fight for independence. The diverse approaches they represented reflect the complexity of the freedom movement, which encompassed a wide range of philosophies and strategies aimed at achieving the common goal of liberation from colonial rule.

The Indian independence movement is a prominent example of the resistance the British faced from the Indian populace. Thousands of people united to drive the British out of the country, expressing their outrage against daily oppression. Non-violence emerged as a crucial weapon for those who bravely stood up against injustice. The movement relied on peaceful methods rather than armed conflict to bring about change.

In today's world, things are markedly different from the past. The rapid flow of information across the globe has made every phenomenon more dynamic, reflecting the swiftly changing social landscape. Historically, resistance movements were primarily people-centered, relying on the physical presence of individuals

to drive change. However, in the contemporary context, we face new challenges, including authoritarianism, systemic racism, climate change, and economic inequality. Social movements like Black Lives Matter, Extinction Rebellion, and the Arab Spring have emerged as various forms of resistance aimed at addressing these ongoing injustices.

In the Indian subcontinent, we continue to grapple with issues that have historical roots but remain prevalent throughout the country. Caste-based discrimination is one of the most significant challenges we face, along with a notable presence of racism. Although the Indian Constitution provides safeguards for all citizens, ensuring equality and opportunities while prohibiting discrimination, these principles are not always fully realized. The Constitution grants individuals the rights to freedom of speech and expression, movement, assembly, and the ability to print and publish, yet many still encounter barriers in exercising these rights.

In contemporary times, new arguments and platforms have emerged to address current needs. For instance, social media has become a vital tool for expressing resistance against various social issues. Movements such as those sparked by the Nirbhaya rape case, the Aarushi murder case, anti-corruption campaigns, farmers' protests, the CAA protests, and the 13 Point Roaster Movement serve as significant examples of social resistance against state actions. Additionally, social movements like the #MeToo campaign have gained traction, further illustrating society's engagement in advocating for change.

Legal structures have played a significant role in advancing the concept of resistance. The Public Interest Litigation (PIL) process has been utilized by countless individuals seeking justice within the legal framework when their voices have gone unheard by other institutions. Through judicial activism, the judiciary has delivered numerous landmark judgments in favour of ordinary citizens, effectively countering state interventions and upholding the rights of the common people.

Resistance takes on various meanings over time and in different contexts. People with diverse perspectives have expressed their views on

various social phenomena that have evolved over the years. They have opposed the social evils perpetuated by the ruling classes, who constructed these injustices to protect their social and political privileges derived from their positions in society.

The right to resist is often not considered a fundamental natural right, even though it stems from our inherent connection to nature. Resisting social norms can lead to positive change, making society more people-centred. Throughout history, resistance has played a crucial role in societal development and improvement. Whether examining the future of Indian society or looking at a global context, it's clear that the right to resist will be vital for maintaining a healthy society.

The right to resist is based on the idea that constitutional institutions. Few more examples of 'right to resist' in India:

- *Farazi Movement*: From 1838–1848, Shariatullah Khan and Dadu Mian led a no-tax campaign against the British government.
- *Wahabi Movement*: From the 1830s–1860s, peasants united against their landlords.
- *Chipko Movement*: In 1973, people, especially women, protested deforestation by embracing trees.
- *Narmada Bachao Andolan*: In 1985, people protested the construction of dams along the Narmada River.
- *Lokpal (Jan Lokpal) Bill*: In 2011, people rallied behind Anna Hazare, an anti-corruption campaigner, who went on hunger strike at Jantar Mantar.
- *Nirbhaya Movement*: In 2012, people protested the Delhi Gang Rape and new legislation was enacted.
- *Farmers' Protest*: In 2020, farmers protested the three farm acts for a year. The government withdrew the bills and formed a committee to review the MSP.
- *R.G.Kar Hospital Case*: In September 2024, the gang rape of a female doctor at R. G. Kar Hospital in Kolkata, West Bengal showed the resistance in a non-violence way more than a month by young doctors against the brutal gang rape.

Many more incidents can be found in different countries as well to show their resistance against inequality, human rights violation, against self-respect and dignity etc. Right to resist is a useful technique and medium to raise voices against the system, against the government or malpractices by any authority to get their justice and human rights.



The Declaration of Independence (1776)

That whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new Government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness.



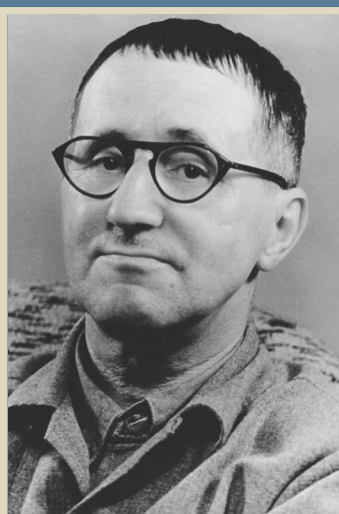
Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen (1789)

The goal of any political association is the conservation of the natural and imprescriptible rights of man. These rights are liberty, property, safety and resistance against oppression.



Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948)

Whereas it is essential, if man is not to be compelled to have recourse, as a last resort, to rebellion against tyranny and oppression, that human rights should be protected by the rule of law



Bertolt Brecht

When injustice becomes law,
resistance becomes duty

Dr. Halit Suiçmez
Economist-Writer - TÜRKİYE

TÜRKİYE'S POLITICAL ECONOMY, GROWTH-DEVELOPMENT CHALLENGES AND PRODUCTIVITY



Wikimedia Commons: Atatürk sanayideki gelişimi denetlerken.jpg

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1- What is Political Economy?

There is constant movement in social life, as in nature. Science is the attempt to find the laws of these motions (movements).

We leave movements in nature to the scientists and try to understand social changes.

Countless economic, political, social and cultural events and phenomena have taken place and are still taking place in the history of societies.

Human beings are the subject of social movement.

Human beings behave within certain modes and relations of production, which can change according to periods.

Different relations of production and patterns of behavior exist in the primitive, slavery, feudal and capitalist modes of production.

A clear method and approach is needed to understand the dynamics shaping social processes, even if there are differences.

Such an approach is a **political economy philosophy**, an idea.

The times, the places, the ways in which the resulting "surplus values" are obtained may change, but the essence of the distribution and the relations of exploitation do not change much.

The times, the places, the ways in which the resulting "surplus values" are obtained may change, but the essence of the distribution and the relations of exploitation do not change much.

Therefore, we should be guided by whichever method is based on the sharing of the surplus value generated at the end of the production process.

In this context, this most scientific method of history and society is the "revolutionary political economy" approach.

Political Economy Approach

The first name given to the Science of Economics was "Political Economy, or Politics of Economy". (Prof. Dr. Vural Fuat Savaş, Political Economy, 6th Edition, Beta Basım, October 2008, İstanbul, p;7)

Classical economists used the term "Politics of Economy" for a long time. Universities have established departments under this name.

In 1805, Malthus was called "Professor of Modern History and Politics of Economy". Oxford and London universities had departments of political economy in 1820. (ibid. p; 7)

The economics lectured in these departments was undoubtedly "bourgeois political economy".

In 1859 Karl Marx published a book titled "A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy".

In this work, he criticized classical economics, that is, the Political Economy of his time. Marx created a different kind of economics.

In the economics of Marx, the concepts, theories and analytical methods are different.

In 1890, A. Marshall wrote a book and published it under the title "Principles of Economics".

Since that time, liberal economists have not used the name "Political Economy". They use the term economic policy.

However, there can be no such thing as economic policy on its own. Every economic policy is determined within a political structure, and politics and economics are closely intertwined.

Two types of political economy exist: **Bourgeois political economy** is committed to metaphysical thinking and advocates capitalism.

Revolutionary political economy, on the other hand, is the science that studies the social structure of production. It examines the social relations of production and distribution. They analyze this within the historical developments of these processes.

Revolutionary political economy studies the specific laws of production and distribution and deduces from them the general laws of production and distribution.

Since bourgeois political economy is based on metaphysics, it is unscientific. Revolutionary (dialectical) political economy, however, is scientific.

Bourgeois political economy is non-scientific in the sense that it analyzes individual economic activities and attributes them to infinitely immutable laws that are always and everywhere valid.

Revolutionary political economy approaches every economic process with the question “who won and who lost”.

As society is composed of classes, every economic practice results in an increase in income and welfare for some strata, while other strata experience either a loss of welfare or “stagnation”.

After all, the revolutionary political economy model teaches us this;

Economy is a condensed form of politics.

Unless the political structure as a whole is in the hands of the popular classes and strata, economic policy cannot be implemented in the interest of the people.

As in everything else, any process, any phenomenon in the economy is political.

Therefore, broadening the base of a populist policy is the wisest way forward.

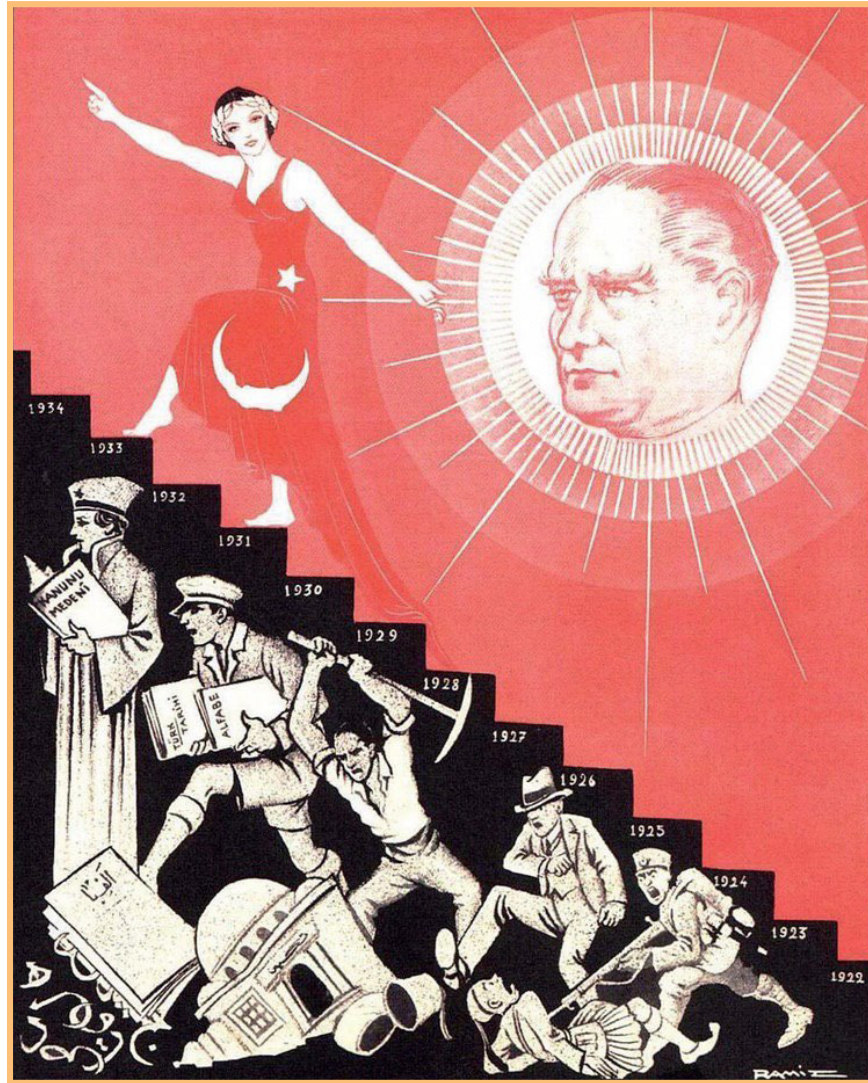
These facts lead us to the conclusion that if an economic event, phenomenon or process is being discussed somewhere, we should immediately ask, “which economics?”

In other words, which economics the issue falls under.

Because there is bourgeois economics, also called bourgeois political economy, and then there is the real economy, the economy of the people, that is, revolutionary political economy.

Bourgeois economics serves as a veil to hide the facts, it distorts concepts, it has no human being at its core.

People's economics, on the other hand, focuses on the real life struggles of millions of people, starting from the very bottom of society, and presents human beings, society, the production process, the relations of production and social relations in all their manifestly real dynamics.



Wikimedia Commons: Classroom_19th_century_English_School.jpg

This economics, in other words revolutionary political economy, is capable of making the best contribution to the struggle to understand and explain social life with its historical and social dynamics and to give political power to the working class, the real owners of it. (Dr. Halit Suiçmez, Intellectual Writings in the Cycle of Literature and Economics, İzan Publishing, Ankara, 2022, Essay, p.14)

2- A Century of Political Economy (general outlines)

The period between 1908, when the Second Constitutional Monarchy began, and 1922, when the War of Independence ended, can be considered as the years of war and revolution.

The period between 1923 and 1929 can be described as a period of re-establishment under the conditions of open economy in Türkiye.

The period between 1929-30, when the great depression of the world began, and 1939, when the second imperialist war began, was dominated by a statist-protective industrialization line in Türkiye.

It would be convenient to refer to the period between 1940 and 45, when the Second World War began and intensified, as a period of interruption in terms of economic developments.

The period from 1946, when the war ended, to 1953, the first period of the Menderes government, may be

interpreted as a different period of articulation with the world economy.

The period between 1954-61 can be considered as a period of stagnation and readjustment in terms of capital accumulation and some economic developments.

It is possible to evaluate the 1960-80 period as two intermediate periods.

In the years 1962-76, there was an inward-oriented and foreign-dependent expansion.

In 1977-79, there was a new depression.

From a political economy perspective, in 1980-88 there was an “offensive” of capital against the working class and the people in general.

In the period between the years 1989-1997, when liberalization gained momentum, there was a complete capitulation to finance capital and a return to populism in the dominant sectors.

Between the years 1998-2002, various crises took place again with constant IMF supervision.

The first period of the AKP ruling, 2003-2007, when global capital was abundant and flowed into Türkiye with high profits, is considered in the literature as the “Tulip Era”.

The subsequent period of 2008-2015 and the period after 2016, when the distribution worsened, represent very important turning points both politically and economically.

3- Growth-Development Challenges and Productivity

A sustainable development is based on productivity and employment-oriented growth.

In developed countries, the share of technology and total factor productivity in growth is higher than in developing countries.

In Türkiye, the share of productivity in growth has been low for many years, and has partially increased recently.

A comprehensive growth and productivity planning is imperative in the period to come, both to raise the growth rate and to increase the share of productivity based on technological increase in growth.

-What is the Challenge for Growth in Türkiye?

The growth issue is much debated in terms of quality and permanence.

Let us look at how the problem is perceived in political, academic and industrial circles; First of all, let's reveal the way in which the problems of growth are defined at the political level:

The views of Babacan, former Minister of State and Deputy Prime Minister in charge of the economy, on this issue are very important. The following quote shows his approach to this issue.

“Not only the quantitative growth rate of a country, but also the nature of growth is an important factor that everyone should pay attention to in the period ahead...”

“When we analyze the nature of growth, is it coming from the public sector or is it coming from the private sector? Is growth coming from consumption or investment? Is it growth based on domestic savings or on external resources? Where does the debt stock of the public sector and the debt of companies go as a result of growth?”

First of all, a growth that depends not on consumption, but on investments by the private sector and the public sector... A growth structure where the private sector, not the public sector, dominates investment and spending...

Babacan stressed that growth based not only on domestic demand but also on foreign demand and exports is a very important factor and added: “Türkiye will only have healthy growth in the real sense as long as it produces, as long as it produces with high added value, and as long as it sells more of its products and services to the international market.”

“...we should not burden future generations with the debt of growth.” (Hürriyet, 19.09.2013)

This quote indicates that economic growth should be analyzed in terms of its nature, and by this we understand the importance of the concept of growth through production.

Prof. Dr. Erinc Yeldan, one of the academics who has published most articles and conducted research on growth and development in Türkiye, also focuses a lot on the nature of growth.

According to the author; (Source; No Change in the Structure of Growth, April 02, 2014 Cumhuriyet) it is very important to reveal the sources of growth.

“National income statistics were published without much fanfare earlier this week.

According to the estimates of TÜİK (Turkish Statistical Institute), the Turkish economy grew by 4 percent in 2013.

Evaluations on the sources of growth show that the national economy grew mainly on private consumption expenditures and public investments.

The contribution of private fixed capital investments to growth is almost zero, while the main item of public investments comes from public construction.

Exports do not contribute to growth either, suggesting that the economy is growing based on domestic (consumption) demand.

Growth being increasingly dependent on current account deficits is the national economy's biggest dilemma and its main point of vulnerability.

The growth structure of 2013 indicates that the problem of “moderate growth based on external resources” is getting more and more severe.

We might compare the sources of growth in the Turkish economy in 2013 with those observed since the global crisis. In Table 1 we present one such study.

Table 1: Sources of Growth
Sources of Growth
2008-2013 (With 1998 Prices)

	2012-2013	2008-2021 (Total)
GDP	4,0	15,4
Private Consumption	3,1	8,1
Public Consumption	0,6	2,2
Fixed Capital Investment	1,1	5,0
Stock Changes	1,6	-1,9
Exports	0,0	5,9
Imports	-2,4	-3,9
NOTE: Real National Income per Worker (Worker Productivity)	4.795,0	4.809,1

Source: TÜİK, National Calculations and Household Labor Force Statistics

Between 2008 and 2012, including the period before and after the crisis, Türkiye achieved a cumulative growth rate of 15.4 percent. Almost two thirds of this was based on “consumption” expenditures; 8.1 percent private and 2.2 percent public. The contribution of investments was around 5 percent,

while the contribution of net exports (exports minus imports) was small but positive.

2013 was characterized by cyclical growth based on domestic consumption

tion and stock accumulation, where investment and export contributions were no longer relevant.

The problem of the economy's dependence on foreign resource inflows is most dramatically reflected in the loss of “productivity”. With a very rough but straightforward calculation, if we compare the productivity of workers in Türkiye in 2008 and 2013, we can see that the real national income generated per worker in 2008 was 4.809 TL (in constant prices of 1998) and that this figure declined to 4.795 TL in 2013.

An economy growing on the basis of borrowing-based consumption expenditure...

Growth in Türkiye has ceased to be about technological development and a productivity gain based on an educated labor force, and has been reduced to a game based on what the price of the dollar would be in international markets. (Erinc Yeldan, Middle Income Trap Issue, April 6, 2014 Cumhuriyet)

Employment flexibility, the data for which are presented in Table 2, also is an important tool for understanding the nature of growth. The employment

Table 2:
National Income Flexibility
of Employment
(Annual Averages)

National Income Flexibility of Employment (Annual Averages)

1989-2008	1989-2000	2002-2008
0.25	0.39	0.14

Source; Erinc Yeldan, No Change in the Structure of Growth, April 02, 2014 Cumhuriyet

In this quote, we again see that growth is based on consumption. Technological development and a skilled workforce are emphasized as the necessary sources of robust growth.

Let us now summarize the approach of an important representative from the business world;

One of the leading authorities of the business world, Ersin Özince, also supported this tendency by saying “we are a rentier economy”. The President of the İş Bankası has made a very interesting observation:

“...Türkiye today consumes, not saves. We know this from our customers. Our customers who use credit are no longer investing. Most of them became market traders, real estate agents, builders. If you look at how much real estate prices have risen, you can see that Türkiye does not produce,” he added, pointing out that the country's economy would not be able to show the expected strength against bigger fluctuations.”(July 2, 2012, Dünya)

In our country, GDP is found to have increased at an average annual rate of 4.6 percent in 1998-2022, of which 2.9 percent is attributable to the increase in capital stock, 1 percent to the increase in total factor productivity and 0.7 percent to employment. (Nazlı S. Bölükbaşı, Research of the Ministry of Industry, 2023, p.11)

We can argue that in politics, academia and the business world there is a “common” approach to growth.

There is a common view across all social segments that the nature of economic growth is weak.

After these determinations about growth, let us now focus on what the challenge is in our country in terms of development:

What is the Challenge for Development in Türkiye?

Development is of course different from growth. It is the reflection of the increased production (growth) on the

society in general in a more fair and balanced way and supported by social indicators. This phenomenon is mostly measured by human development indexes.

Türkiye ranks 92nd among 180 countries in human development. Also ranks 88th among 167 countries in the democracy index. It is in the “middle” in both indicators. Its development level and democracy report card are at close points. (Source: 1-http://www.izafet.com/genel-kultur/608475-dunya-demokrasi-indeksi-ulkelere-gore-demokrasi-siralamasi.html#ixzz1wEpj2dBY, 2-UNDP, Human Development Report, 2009)

Our country generally presents the image of an intermediate “society of freedom and development”.

It is also worth investigating why Türkiye, which is among the top 20 countries in national income, ranks 59th in global competitiveness, 100th in basic education, 94th in education quality, 67th in innovation and 52nd in global information technology. (Source; OECD, 2011)

Nowadays, the concept of human development, founded on some of A. Sen's notions, occupies a central role as the ultimate goal of development.

Human development includes many dimensions and perspectives, such as health, education, nutrition, housing, access to information, participation, regime type (democracy and degree of freedom). (Source; E.Thorbecke, Evolution of Development Doctrine, 1950-2005, Fikret Şenses, Neoliberal Globalization and Development, 2009, p; 166)

In another study about development, the following is said. “... today we are the 17th country in the world in terms of production. But in terms of human development, we rank 84th out of 169 countries”. (Source; Sırma Demir Şeker, Analysis of Türkiye's Human Development Index and Index Ranking Republic of Türkiye Ministry of Development, p;17, October 2011)

Türkiye has shown significant performance in terms of growth rate and national income, but why has failed to make a leap forward in terms of development?

This situation is closely related to our country's distancing from the real economy.

Today, it is clear where we stand in human development, which is the real indicator of development. So the task is to identify the areas where we are weak. These are education, health, women's employment, urbanization and democracy. But **beyond that, the real problem is inefficiency.**

We must become a Productivity Economy. We should use our human potential in the most accurate way in every field.

We should explore and find ways and methods to fully and effectively utilize our physical resources and all kinds of potentials, especially our human assets.

As a result, two concepts are needed for a real, fair and balanced development:

- 1-planning
- 2-efficiency

Productivity increases (increase in surplus value, technological development) have played a major role in the growth and development of industrialized countries.

This has been confirmed both historically and socially and currently.

It is also technically proven. In growth accounting, the share of TFP in growth plays an important role.

The 10th Development Plan emphasizes the connection between development and productivity. These connections are evaluated in the following sections of this paper.

After the challenges of growth and development, we can now address our weaknesses in the area of productivity, which is included in the scope of these two fundamental areas of economics.

What are the Challenges in terms of Productivity in Türkiye?

There have been three productivity spurts in our country. However, these have not been permanent and sustainable. The first productivity spurt lasted from the mid-1960s to the mid-1970s. The source of productivity gains consisted of cheap industrial inputs provided by SOEs and rents generated by import protection walls.

The second productivity spurt came after 1980. The source of this was rents based on structural adjustment loans and export incentives.

The third productivity spurt took place in the 2002-2008 period after the 2001 crisis. The source of this was the 30 billion dollar loan from the IMF and hot money flows based on cheap foreign currency originating from the US in the global economy.

Türkiye has experienced this fatigue three times in the last 50 years. Because each time, the main source behind the productivity drive was based on rents, borrowing and cheap foreign currency resources.

The financing of the productivity drive was done with these unreliable

resources, which were quickly exhausted.

Productivity gains must be backed by a financing based on national savings, R&D and technological development, and a qualified labor force.

Following these statements, we can list the problems that are being experienced in terms of productivity in our country;

1-The first problem is the inadequacy of the nature of the labor force and technological development.

2-Second problem is the significant stagnation of the productivity breakthrough after 2010.

3- There is a significant productivity gap between us and the world countries.

This is also a very important problem that needs to be emphasized.

4- We can claim that the relations between productivity and macroeconomic variables are disconnected. MPM and VGM studies have made these determinations.

5- We should also mention that our productivity culture at the social level is very weak.

It is known that we waste many of our resources, especially our human assets.

The following tables (Tables 3-4) and figures (Figure 1) show the data on the problems listed above. For example, we see in Table 3 and Figure 1 that labor productivity became stationary between 2010-2013. The Productivity Comparison Table (Table 4) shows that Türkiye's labor productivity index is 44 percent of that of the US.

Table 3:
Quarterly Productivity Statistics

Production Index per Worker
(2010 Average =100)

Year-Period	C
2005-O.	87,57
2006-O.	91,55
2007-O.	94,22
2008-O.	93,09
2009-O.	91,64
2010-O.	100
2011-O.	103,45
2012-O.	100,81
2013-O.	100,86

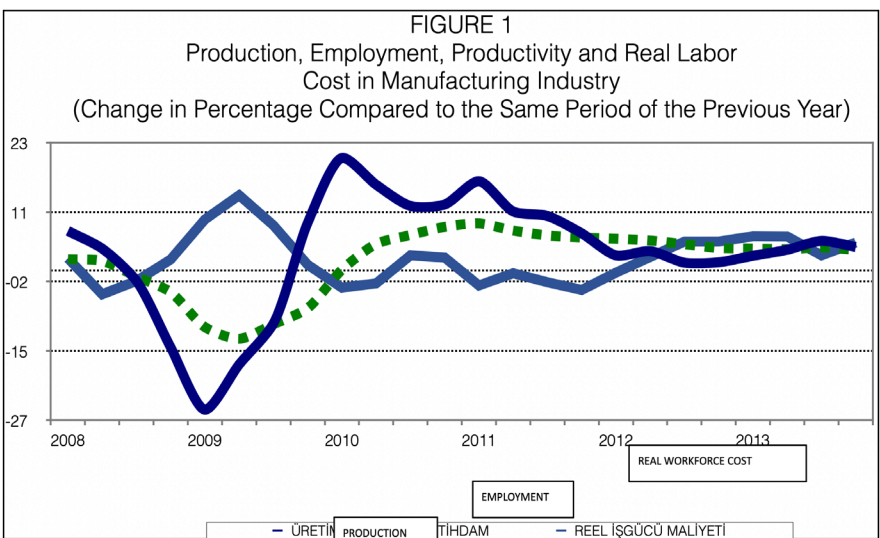
Source: <http://vi.sanayi.gov.tr/rpr.aspx>, access date; 08.05.2014

Table 4: US, OECD, Türkiye Productivity Comparison, 2009

gium, 65 percent in Denmark, 93 percent in Finland, 85 percent in France,

Productivity in the USA, Some OECD Countries and Türkiye (2009)				
Countries/ Blocks	Per Capita Income (SAGP) \$	Per Capita Income USA=100	Income Per Hour Worked, \$	Income Per Hour Worked USA=100
USA	46.581	100	57,4	100
Norway	55.650	119	73,3	128
G7 Countries	39.409	85	50,6	88
Germany	36.452	78	53,3	93
UE, 15 Countries	34.694	74	48,8	85
France	33.679	72	54,5	95
OECD (30 countries)	33.697	72	43,4	76
Spain	32.565	70	47,4	83
Japan	32.421	70	38,2	67
Italy	31.887	68	43,6	76
Greece	29.724	64	33,9	59
South Korea	27.169	58	25,2	44
Hungary	19.765	42	25,2	44
Türkiye	14.469	31	23,	44
Poland	19.076	41	23,4	41
Russia	20.409	44	20,5	36
Mexico	14.406	31	19	33

Source: OECD database, PPP: According to Purchasing Power Parity



Source: TÜİK Short-Term Business Statistics, Production, Employment and Producer Price Index News Bulletins; conversion of monthly production index to quarterly, productivity and real labor cost calculation by TİSK, 2014

Following the discussion of the major challenges faced in our country in terms of growth-development-efficiency, it would be particularly useful to touch upon the growth-productivity relation.

What is the Challenge for Productivity-Growth Relation in Türkiye?

In the field of economics, there are studies called growth accounting that investigate the share of factors in growth.

The results of one of these are given below.

Between 1992 and 2000, the contribution of Total Factor Productivity (TFP) to growth was 50 percent in Bel-

gium, 65 percent in Germany, 51 percent in Italy, 100 percent in Sweden and -2.1 percent in Türkiye.

This rate was 6.5 percent in Türkiye between 1972-2000. (Source; Dr. Halit Suiçmez, The Role of TFP in Economic Growth, MPM Publication, 698, Ankara, 2008, p:13)

Between 1985-2012, the contribution of productivity to growth was 11.1 percent. The contribution of capital is 63.6 percent; the contribution of employment is 25.3 percent.

Growth should be more balanced in terms of the contribution of factors of production.

A study conducted by TUSIAD (TURKISH INDUSTRIALISTS' AND BUSINESSMEN'S ASSOCIATION) and

TCMB (CENTRAL BANK OF THE REPUBLIC OF TÜRKİYE) in 2008 investigated the contribution of total productivity increase to growth in some OECD countries. According to this;

Table: Contribution of Productivity Factor to Growth in Some OECD Countries

In the US, 37% of growth in the 1992-2000 period was driven by productivity,
In Denmark, 62% is from productivity,
In Finland, 69% is from productivity,,
In Germany, 64% is from productivity,,
In Italy, 51% was driven by productivity.

Source: TÜSİAD, TCMB; 2008

During this period (1992-2000), the share of productivity in growth in Türkiye was only 6%. (TÜSİAD, TCMB; 2008)

Another study analyzes the sources of growth in Türkiye. The sources of growth are given below. It is estimated that 14.1 percent of growth between 2002-2010 was driven by total factor productivity.

Table: Sources of Growth

Growth realized	fixed capital	employment	TFP
1989-2010	3,84	3,18	0,49
%	82,7	12,8	4,5
1989-2000	3,83	3,36	0,54
%	87,6	14,1	-1,8
2002-2010	4,97	3,70	0,58
%	74,3	11,6	14,1

Source: Şeref Saygılı, Transformation in International Production Chains and Türkiye's Position, Evaluation, March 2, 2012,TCMB

In another joint study conducted recently, the sources of growth over the last 30 years have been analyzed separately.

In the 2000s, while the contribution of Total Factor Productivity to growth continued to be around 20%, the contribution of labor was halved.

Due to both the decline in wages and the stagnation in labor force, the total contribution of labor is estimated to have declined to 13%.

The process, which is characterized by the substitution of the capital factor for the labor factor, is the main outcome of the process of non-employment-friendly growth and import-dependent industrialization.

The relevant data are presented in the Table below:

Table: Separate Analysis of the Growth Resources in the Turkish Economy After 1980

Average Growth Rate (%) Contributions to GDP Growth (%)						
GDP	Capital	Labor	TFP	Capital	Labor	TFP
1980-1988	5.34	4.00	3.16	1.72	50.29	33.33
1990-1999	4.02	5.10	2.53	0.08	55.31	25.80
2000-2010	4.24	4.45	0.27	1.67	66.65	13.13
1980-2010	4.16	4.55	1.69	0.89	58.23	23.07

Source: Yeldan, A. Erinç Yeldan, A and Güneş Kolsuz (2014) "Separate Analysis of the Growth Resources in the Turkish Economy After 1980" Work and Society, 40(1): 49-66.

If Türkiye wants to become a member of the EU, if the country wants to achieve a respectable position among Western countries, it must formulate and implement policies that will base its growth on productivity gains at a higher rate.

If Türkiye aims to become one of the world's top 10 economies having the world's largest GDP, it needs to increase its Total Factor Productivity performance, which is one of the important sources of economic growth.

For this purpose, the contribution of knowledge capital and technological advances to Total Factor Productivity should be taken into account.

no mention of "concept-based learning", which is what we really need. The system we have today is "knowledge-based learning". For example, a child learns about the 2nd Constitutional Monarchy before learning the concept of "democracy".

Between articles 314-323, employment policies are indicated, but measures to increase labor productivity and make it permanent are not included.

As it is known, the gap between real wages and productivity widened after 2002.

As noted in Articles 435 and 437, the Total Factor Productivity (TFP) variable, which was negative between 2007-12, appears to be the most important risk to growth for the 10th Plan.

Articles 441 and 442 contain some indications in terms of "efficiency policies".

They talk about productivity-oriented growth, but it remains unclear how this will be possible without abandoning the current speculative capital-oriented economic policies based on imports.

Article 450 states that the total factor productivity will increase by 1.1 percent during the plan period.

The total factor productivity target is very inadequate for a GNP increase of 5.5 percent. Because the rate of total factor productivity increase between 1980-2010 was 0.90 percent. (Source: http://www.academia.edu/3349233/Orta_Gelir_Tuzagindan_Cikis_Hangi_Turkiye)

In other words, in the last 30 years the rate of increase in total factor productivity has been 0.90 percent; it should have been envisaged to increase this rate to at least 2 percent in the next five years.

In Article 652, Table 20, the export share of advanced technology sectors is targeted at 5.6 percent in 2006;

and 5.5 percent in 2018. This means that no improvement is envisaged even after 12 years.

Unless the share of advanced technologies in exports can be increased, the moves made for exports will not be very useful.

In Chapter Three, the first of the priority transformation programs is the "program for increasing productivity in production".

This is the first time that the subject of increasing productivity has been mentioned in development plans. Therefore, it should be seen as positive.

However;

The program aims to increase the contribution of total factor productivity to growth in the industrial sector above 20 percent.

This target is insufficient.

Contributions to growth in Türkiye in the 1980-2010 period were as follows:

The average GNP growth between 1980 and 2010 was calculated as 4.16 percent. (Source;http://www.academia.edu/3349233/Orta_Gelir_Tuzagindan_Cikis_Hangi_Turkiye)

Contributions to this growth were realized as follows.

The contribution of capital to growth is 58 percent, the contribution of labor is 23 percent, and the contribution of total factor productivity is 19 percent. (source: same source)

In Türkiye, total factor productivity has already contributed 19 percent to growth in the last 30 years, and the current target should have been much higher, at least 30 and 40 percent, not 20 percent.

In other words, the share of total factor productivity in overall economic growth in Türkiye should be targeted at much higher levels, not around 20 percent.

Because an increase in the share of total factor productivity in growth means that the economy is based on knowledge and technology.

For example, the share of total productivity in growth in Western countries is around 50-60 percent.

(Source 1: B.Saraçoğlu ve H.Suiçmez, (2006), Productivity, Technological Development, Structural Features and Real Changes in the Manufacturing Industry in Türkiye after the 2001 Crisis)

2) E.Taymaz, ve H. Suiçmez, (2005), Productivity, Growth and Crisis in Türkiye, MPM Publication, Ankara.)

As explained in the research above, Türkiye's growth model should be a

"productivity-oriented growth" model. This is also known as a dynamic activity model. In this model, production, employment, investments, real wages, labor productivity and exports all increase together, and as a result, the country experiences a real development process, not just an increase in GNP.

The rapid development model adopted by South Korea and Japan in the 1960-1990 period was also based on this.

The 10th Development Plan, despite these critical assessments, indicates many positive points and new initiatives.

The important issue here is the consistency of the implementation of the Plan and the adherence to the main principles and strategies of the 10th

Five Year Plan during the preparation and implementation of Medium Term Programs, Annual Implementations, Institutional Strategies and Sectoral Development Plans.

At the same time, yet another matter of high priority is to review the economic policies that have been implemented and that have many weaknesses in terms of development indicators, and to shift from a speculative-oriented growth approach to a productivity-oriented growth model.

This means internalizing the understanding of the full and effective use and evaluation of the national resources at every moment and level of life.

Today (October 27, 2024), food inflation and general inflation are at high levels in our country.

Agricultural subsidies are extremely low compared to western countries.

Erinç Yeldan's study (Mülkiye Magazine, Volume 24, and Issue 224) found a high correlation between monopolistic profitability and inflation in the same direction.

While inflation increases, the productivity of the economy decreases. (MPM, Inflation and Productivity, 1973-1995 Period, Internal Study)

The distribution in Türkiye is getting worse.

The gini coefficient increased from 0.39 in 2019 to 0.44 in 2023. When the coefficient gets closer to 1, the share of labor in national income decreases and the share of capital increases. (TÜİK, 2024)

In many sectors, profitability has increased by more than 100 percent. (Zeynep Aktaş, Milliyet, March 19, 2023)

Othe research has documented that high profitability increases inflation. (Korkut Boratav, Ahmet Haşim Köse and A. Erinç Yeldan, "Deepening Structural Crisis Tendency in Türkiye and the Dynamics of Profit-Driven Inflation", (İktisat ve Toplum, December 2023)

The President of TÜİK also attributes high inflation to high profitability.

"Companies in Türkiye are using the inflationary situation to make excessive profits that are higher than the profits they should normally make. There is an excessive price increase related to company profits unrelated to inflation. This effect has been observed since after the pandemic."/TÜİK President, Speech dated 09.07.2024)

In conclusion;

We want our country to be a "productivity economy".

It is an aspiration, a desire, a vision and a model. In fact, it is an obligation for us above all.

Because in terms of productivity growth, it can be argued that we are the country with the highest potential.

We want it for fair and rapid development.

We want it to establish the relationship between production and people. How can this be possible?

- First, we should establish a "productivity planning and policy" within development and growth planning.

- Our Tenth Development Plan has some emphasis and targets in this direction. These should be evaluated and updated.

- We should have a dynamic "productivity policy". All real variables should be increased together.

- We must fully and effectively utilize our human assets and all other resources.

For example; we are not fully utilizing our labor force. There are 5-6 million unemployed.

We do not fully utilize the machines. Machine efficiency is around 60 percent in MPM research. (Nurettin Alpkent, Technology Level Research, VAP Projects in Provinces)

Facilities are not fully operational. Facility efficiency is around 60 percent. (ibid).

We are not using resources effectively. The technical efficiency rate of the manufacturing industry is 59 percent (Halit Suiçmez, Erol Taymaz; T.E in the manufacturing industry technical efficiency study = work done / work that can be done=0,59)

In the TOBB Prodigality Survey the cost= 200 billion dollars. (www.tobb.org.tr)

- We can contribute to a productivity economy by learning and applying productivity principles at all levels.

- We can contribute by explaining and clarifying the political economy of productivity and developing proposals to improve distribution.

- To increase the share of TFP in growth, productivity growth based on technological development is essential.(Source; Dr. Halit Suiçmez, Productivity Economics and Pursuits of Policy, Journal of Productivity, 2013/4,

- The **"Main Objectives and Strategy of Long Term Development (2001-2023) and Eighth Five Year Development Plan (2001-2005)"** prepared by DPT (State Planning Organization) foresees an average annual growth rate of around 7% in the 2001-2023 period, **with 30% of the growth coming from total factor productivity**. Considering all these determinations and observations, using the suggestions made here and making maximum use of the productivity variable in macro plans, strategies, programs and policies will make a significant contribution to our country's transition to a "productivity economy".

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TÜRKİYE'S EXTERNAL DEBT: CHALLENGES AND IMPLICATIONS

Türkiye has recently begun testing the highest levels in its history, with external debt exceeding \$500 billion. Meanwhile, the inability to reduce inflation to the desired levels, along with the rising cost of living, has led people to draw a pessimistic picture of the future of the Turkish economy. In this article, I will explain Türkiye's historical struggle with external debt and offer some insights into what lies ahead for the country. Let's begin.

The year is 1978... Türkiye was facing difficult economic times with a heavy external debt burden. Foreign goods had become scarce, and factories were operating at low capacity due to constant power cuts. The IMF quickly stepped in, and on July 19, 1979, a new stand-by agreement was signed, which converted the debts originating from Foreign Currency Convertible Deposit (FCC) accounts into public debt and deferred them for seven years. Indeed, one of the key instruments that contributed to the rise in debt during this period was the FCC accounts. Introduced for the first time in 1967, this system was designed to allow the government to obtain foreign currency, while the private sector could secure loans.

Under this system, individuals or institutions that deposited foreign currency into FCC accounts could, if they wished, withdraw their money along with interest in foreign currency or in Turkish lira (TRY) at the prevailing exchange rate of the day. These accounts held in banks were essentially deposit accounts in Turkish lira but backed by foreign currency. With the inflow of funds, banks used these accounts to provide loans to private individuals and entities in the domestic market. There was no currency risk for the banks, as the government had guaranteed the exchange rate. In essence, banks acted as intermediaries for external financing of Turkish companies, with the government providing the guarantee for these deposits.²

The January 24, 1980 Decisions, which followed the Stand-by Agreement, represented a transformation of debtor countries under the guise

of neoliberalism, a model that would later be imposed on Mexico and other indebted countries. These decisions signaled the contraction of the public sector, the privatization of state-owned enterprises (SOEs), liberalization of foreign trade and capital markets, and tax reductions, all of which drastically altered Türkiye's economic landscape.

The imposed privatization policies became the sole solution offered by creditor countries for those nations engulfed by debt crises in the 1980s. The economic stagnation in developed countries could be mitigated through new investment opportunities, while stocks from debtor countries could be purchased to guarantee debt repayment. This indeed came to pass. In Türkiye's case, within the framework of privatization, the living conditions of the working class were deliberately worsened to reduce internal costs. Wages rapidly eroded against the backdrop of inflation. Moreover, following the military regime in September 1980, a new rentier class was created under state authority. As a result, income distribution deteriorated sharply.

The IMF has continued to play this new role it assumed in the 1980s with the same consistency up to the present day. Whenever a country is plunged into a debt crisis, it almost acts as a "supreme authority," intervening in the financial affairs of debtor nations and imposing austerity policies. This is because the IMF believes that debtor countries mismanage the loans they have taken and are driven into crisis due to reasons specific to their internal dynamics. As a result, the IMF does not hesitate to impose sanctions on these "incompetent" countries. It is this very mindset that I have sought to criticize in my book. If this article interests you, you may want to read *The Debt Spiral: The Political Economy of External Debt*. The book focuses on the transformation of capital from the 1800s onward, exploring the power relations between countries that have shaped the global economic landscape. It discusses the significance of external debt within this context, offering the reader an opportunity to

"surf" through history using country examples to better understand this relationship. Türkiye is analyzed in a separate chapter.

The main aim of this book is to dismantle the justifications that the IMF has imposed upon countries, subsequently shaping national economies under the pretext of these policies, and to explain how debtor countries have been inexorably driven into crises by external dynamics. In the remainder of this article, I will describe Türkiye's experience in order to illustrate this asymmetric structure. Now, let's continue.

To understand the political and economic turbulence that Türkiye was plunged into during the 1980s, it is useful to look at the broader context. In the 1980s, Türkiye was not alone in facing a debt crisis; many countries, particularly in Latin America and Africa, also found themselves in the same situation. Indeed, statistical data shows that foreign capital flows to these countries were at high levels during the 1970-81 period. Moreover, these same countries declared defaults on their debts just a year or two apart. In other words, debtor countries were suddenly and heavily indebted by creditors in a very short period, and soon after, these countries were thrown into crisis. This indicates that there are countries that shared the same fate in terms of high borrowing and the crisis process. Therefore, we can argue that global common dynamics played a significant role in these events. Now, let's briefly discuss the developments of the period.

The 1950s and 1960s offer significant clues regarding developments in the real sector and the process of capital formation. During these years, the rapid economic growth in developed countries, led by the United States, was particularly striking. Looking at the factors behind this growth rate, it can be said that technological innovations and the activities of multinational corporations were highly influential. The pioneering industrial sectors of the 1920s became the driving forces behind the technological

innovations of this period. The automobile industry was one of the most prominent examples of this. With Fordist production methods targeting the middle class, the manufacturing sector became one of the key factors contributing to the increase in global capital. As this sector developed, trade among core countries gradually accelerated the accumulation of capital. At the same time, with the monetary system established by the United States, international activities proceeded almost seamlessly. However, this picture began to crack in the 1970s. Overproduction, a result of the capitalist system, eventually led to a decrease in profit rates in developed countries. Along with the global threat of inflation and the collapse of the existing monetary system, several problems began to arise. The year 1970 marked the lowest point for the U.S. economy. To overcome the stagnation, turning towards peripheral countries became almost a necessity. It was in this environment that the oil crisis erupted. As a result of this crisis, the funds held by oil-exporting countries combined with the global liquidity that had long flowed into London, creating a massive accumulation of funds ready for export. This accumulation lowered real interest rates and led to heavy borrowing by peripheral countries during the 1970-81 period. This borrowing, which spanned almost every country in the world, from Latin America to Asia, Europe, and Africa, was unprecedented at that time. Commercial banks were the key players in creating this bubble. They not only exported funds but also diversified debt instruments, offering countries a wide range of borrowing options. However, due to rising interest rates in the U.S. (the Volcker Shock), cuts in international liquidity, and falling export revenues, countries with increasing debt loads eventually faced debt service problems. Towards the end of the 1970s, the crisis, which had already been signaled in Europe, became evident in 1982 when Mexico defaulted on its debt. Many other countries also declared bankruptcy soon after. During this crisis period, which included Türkiye, the IMF presented the same set of prescriptions to

every country. However, these countries had been suddenly burdened with debt in a short time due to the stagnation in developed countries, and, influenced by the dynamics in the core countries (such as high interest rates and cuts in international liquidity), they were quickly plunged into crisis. Therefore, it can be concluded that the debt-credit relationship at this time was primarily shaped by external, rather than internal, dynamics of the debtor countries.

Now, let's turn to the 1994 and 2001 crises... The first of these two debt crises, the 1994 crisis, can be entirely attributed to the incompetence of the government at the time. In contrast, analyses of the 2001 crisis tend to acknowledge the influence of external dynamics. Firstly, statistical data reveals that between 1990 and 1996, there were large-scale capital movements worldwide. What shaped this flow of capital? A similar scenario to the one in the 1980s was at play. Behind these massive capital flows was again a technological innovation, this time in the telecommunications and information technology sectors. In order to foster these advancements, governments played a significant role in reducing the costs in the manufacturing sector. The measures against labor in the U.S., which later spread to Europe, pressured wages for many years, thus helping to reduce manufacturing costs. Additionally, as a result of changes in the production model, labor-intensive sectors were shifted to peripheral countries, further lowering costs and focusing on the production of high value-added products. This restructuring allowed for significant advances in telecommunications and information technology. The role of the state in shaping this production model was crucial for facilitating technological innovation. The years that followed would witness a reshaping of the global economy around this massive capital accumulation driven by these innovations.

Indeed, this is what happened. The Plaza Accord, which kept the dollar value low, boosted U.S. export revenues. Naturally, this also led to an increase in capital accumulation. Even more importantly, countries like Japan and Germany, whose currencies appreciated against the dollar, lowered interest rates and adopted expansionary monetary policies to stimulate the economy, which further fueled liquidity growth. When similar policies were seen in the U.S., capital exports to peripheral countries picked up pace. Latin America managed to capture a large share of

the global capital inflows until 1994. However, the debt crisis in Mexico redirected capital flows towards East and Southeast Asia, and even to the countries of the former Soviet Union. Mexico's debt crisis was largely averted with a short-term intervention by the IMF, and capital continued to flow uninterrupted to other countries. As was seen in the 1980s, this led to widespread borrowing once again.

The attractive interest rates offered by peripheral countries led them to peg their currencies to the dollar in order to attract foreign capital amidst the external economic conditions. This move rapidly increased their debt levels within a short time frame. However, the growth in debt did not only increase their dependency on

Africa also feeling the impact. Türkiye, once again, experienced the consequences of this global trend, with crises occurring first in 1994 and then in 2001.

In the 1980s, the Turkish economy was dragged into a period marked by the abandonment of the import substitution model through the January 24th Decisions and the acceleration of privatization. During the first decade of this process, significant steps were taken towards these objectives. The 1980-1983 period, under military rule, was characterized by trade liberalization. At the same time, the public sector's borrowing needs were significantly reduced. Later, during civilian administration from 1984 to 1987, further trade reforms were support-

benefit of a few export firms. Large intermediary export firms, which took a major share of export revenues, inflated their intermediary profits, putting the primary producers in a difficult position. Nevertheless, it can be said that this policy led to some progress in exports. However, it was clear that the goal of permanently closing the current account deficit had not been achieved.

The sole innovation was, of course, not limited to foreign trade. The liberalization of the capital account was another priority, which was gradually implemented. Starting in 1984, Turkish citizens were allowed to hold deposits in foreign currencies. Subsequently, the process of capital account liberalization was completed over the next two years, beginning in 1988. Capital flows in external accounts were fully liberalized. This, as was the case in many peripheral countries, quickly led to rising interest rates. Additionally, the exchange rate revaluation in 1989, along with tariff reductions that were implemented, resulted in a sharp increase in imports, leading to a deterioration of the trade balance in 1990. In summary, this decade left uncontrolled capital movements and external imbalances as a legacy for the following period. Indeed, as a share of GNP, the trade deficit was 3% in 1992, but by the following year, it had increased to 8.5%.

Foreign trade deficits, which had already been chronic since the previous periods, were further reinforced with the arrangements made under the name of liberalization. In this context, the country accumulated a significant debt burden from the early 1990s until the 1994 crisis. This debt burden mainly originated from domestic debt. Nevertheless, the public sector also resorted to domestic borrowing due to the lack of sufficient external resources.

We can say that in the 1990-94 period, in addition to public debt, relatively private debt was also on the rise. Furthermore, it is observed that domestic debt was higher than external debt from 1992 onwards. During this period, the deterioration in the public sector accounts is quite remarkable. The total public deficit, consolidated budget deficit and total budget expenditures to GDP ratios have reached extraordinary levels.³

The questions that need to be asked within this context are why the state resorted mainly to domestic borrowing at a time when global capital was abundant, why it could not borrow more in 1994 and was plunged into



Source: Created with AI

the core economies, but also significantly heightened their economic vulnerability. The subsequent devaluation of the dollar, resulting from what is known as the "Reverse Plaza Accord," turned into a disaster for debtor countries. As export revenues quickly declined, these countries struggled to service their debts in the face of a rising dollar. Furthermore, the U.S. decision to raise interest rates curtailed foreign investment, pushing these countries into a deep economic crisis. The liquidity squeeze, coupled with mounting debt burdens, led to a wave of bankruptcies among companies. The debt crisis in Asia in 1997 and 1998 rapidly spread globally, with Russia, Latin America, and South

ed. Moreover, in 1989, as part of an inflation-control program, tariffs were substantially reduced. By the time 1990 arrived, almost all quantitative and price restrictions had been lifted.

The backbone of Özal's policies was centered around exports. Significant steps were taken to ensure that goods subject to export would strongly compete in the international arena. To achieve this, a policy was implemented in which firms with specific financial qualifications and sales capacities would collect products from the domestic market and direct them towards export, rather than firms exporting on their own account. However, this policy worked at the disadvantage of the main producers and to the

crisis, and how public and trade indicators and inflation deteriorated to such an extent. To answer these questions, we need to go back to 1989, when capital movements were liberalized.

CBRT (Central Bank of the Republic of Türkiye) decided to implement a monetary policy in 1989 in order to restructure its balance sheet. The Bank would restrict its lending to commercial banks, thereby creating liquidity against foreign assets. While public sector deficits were to be financed by domestic borrowing, the funding needs of commercial banks were to be met by external borrowing. Hence, considering the increase in global funds in 1990, of the \$7.2 billion external debt, \$3.8 billion was short-term debt and \$2.3 billion was commercial bank debt. This policy has led to a rapid escalation of short-term debt, as seen in Mexico and later in Asia. The Treasury, on the other hand, was forced to rely on CBRT financing.⁴

In 1990, there was a large increase in short-term debt flows. The inflows were relatively high when foreign direct investments and portfolio investments were also taken into account. In 1991, however, there was a sharp decline. This was because the foreign capital did not prefer to invest in the country as a result of the outbreak of the Gulf War and the danger the country faced on its borders. Until 1994, the year of the crisis, there was a relative increase in capital inflows.⁵

Having struggled to raise foreign funds during the Gulf War, the country went to general elections the same year. The new government announced a program aimed at reducing the public deficit and lowering inflation. But interest rates were very high and domestic debt obligations were a major problem. For this reason, the government decided to use CBRT resources. It used the legal limit of 15 percent of budget expenditures to the fullest. When 1993 was reached, the increasing interest burden on both external and domestic financing had become the hump of the state.

In the same year, there was a change in the leadership of the leading coalition partner party. Çiller was elected prime minister. The government's goal was to reduce the share of interest payments on short term debt by lowering nominal interest rates. The government's move towards controlling interest rates undoubtedly sparked the crisis.

In 1993, Parliament approved two laws that increased the amount of STAs (Short-Term Advances) available to the Treasury. In addition, the supplementary budget made it possible to

utilize more resources. As a result, the CBRT resources were largely utilized within a year. Almost every month, auctions were held four times, and domestic debt was increased in an unimaginable way. Afterwards, the government resorted to methods such as reducing interest rates and extending the average maturity by restricting the supply of bills and bonds and imposing additional taxes, which led to the Treasury's inability to borrow from domestic markets in May 1994 despite great efforts. Contraction was inevitable with the accumulated debt burden.

The above-mentioned is nothing more than the explosion of the domestic debt that was inflated as a result of the government's wrong choices. Nevertheless, the government's turn towards domestic debt was largely driven by external dynamics. The abrupt changes in the direction and volume of capital movements were the main factors of the process. When the US started to gradually increase interest rates in 1994, it triggered a huge wave of capital outflows in Türkiye, as it did in Mexico. The massive capital outflows that started shortly before the 1994 crisis were a clear indicator of the process leading to the crisis.

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IN SUMMARY, CAPITAL FLOWS WERE THE MAIN DETERMINANT OF BOTH DEBT GROWTH AND THE PATH TO CRISIS IN THE PERIPHERY COUNTRIES, WHICH HAD BECOME HIGHLY DEPENDENT ON THE OUTSIDE WORLD AS A RESULT OF PRIVATIZATION.

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In addition, commercial banks accumulated a significant amount of short-term debt from international markets thanks to the monetary policy implemented during this period. In this way, banks used low-cost foreign funds to extend high-interest loans in TL in the domestic market. In 1993, banks began to face large foreign exchange open positions. This was profitable in the short run but increased the exchange rate risk. External debts were also short-term and highly unstable. As funds became harder to find, the deficits grew. In early 1994, the stock market began a steady downward trend, and the TL depreciated against foreign currencies. Banks turned to the foreign exchange market to cover their open positions. This wave of sales led CBRT to quickly drain its reserves in order to protect the exchange rate. The weak banking structure led to major currency problems once again, as in Mexico and Thailand. This was the main reason behind the country's deep recession in 1994.

In summary, capital flows were the main determinant of both debt growth and the path to crisis in the

periphery countries, which had become highly dependent on the outside world as a result of privatization. They were highly sensitive to interest rates in the center countries. For this reason, a possible wave of flights was the strongest signal of the coming crisis.

Eventually, although quite late due to the local elections, the government announced a stabilization program on April 5, 1994. The acceleration of privatization was again a priority. Public deficits were aimed at being covered by freezing wages and raising taxes. The objective was to reduce the consolidated budget deficit and therefore the public sector borrowing requirement. Other important topics were encouraging exports and ending some subsidies. After this program, a \$742 million stand-by agreement was signed with the IMF, urging the rapid implementation of structural reforms. Consequently, public spending has fallen significantly, and revenues have increased. Nevertheless, in a country with an unchanged production model and a constant deficit in foreign trade, it would have been inevitable to borrow again in the next period.

Türkiye stepped into a new era with a heavy debt burden. During the

agreement with the IMF, the crisis was postponed for a while during these years when macroeconomic indicators began to show warning signs. In December 1999, amid growing instability in international markets and efforts to fight inflation, a program was introduced. The stand-by agreement had three main components:

- 1- Ensuring fiscal discipline in the budget and extra-budgetary public sector,
- 2- Determination of exchange rates with fixed exchange rates,
- 3- Accelerating privatization as well as structural reforms.

The main goal of the program's fiscal component was to reduce the internal debt burden of the Treasury by increasing tax revenues, thus lowering the interest burden. Therefore, the aim was to replace domestic borrowing with foreign borrowing. Another significant development was the introduction of the fixed exchange rate regime.

After the implementation of the program, some positive results began to emerge. The annual compound interest rate on Treasury's domestic borrowing fell from an average of 106% in 1999 to 36% in January 2000, and the average overnight interbank market interest rate dropped from 67% to 34%.

However, the sharp decline in interest rates contradicted the primary goal of the program, which was to fight inflation. If interest rates fall, the internal debt burden decreases, but the policy of fighting inflation is undermined. CBRT essentially turned a blind eye to this contradiction, as the main aim was to transfer money to the rentier class. As interest rates fell, pent-up consumer demand quickly became active. The low-interest loans provided by banks initiated a rapid shift from saving to consumption. As a result, despite high demand, the expected reduction in inflation was not achieved.

Besides the failures of the program in the fight against inflation, the fact that it brought the problems of the banking sector, which constituted an important part of the structural reforms, to the agenda was the biggest step on the way to the crises of 2000 and 2001. The weakest point in the country was the banks, which had accumulated significant short-term external debts, especially in the 1995-1996 period when foreign capital was abundant. As new banks were added to the SDIF (Savings Deposit Insurance Fund) under the pretext of restructuring the banking system, the risk premium of the country gradually increased in the eyes of foreigners. Furthermore, it became clear that some of the rules put in place to

control currency and maturity mismatches were not being followed. As the banking sector's open positions increased as a result of the interruption of foreign funds, they sought to increase their liquidity even more. As Demirbank, which owns about 10 percent of GDS (Government Domestic Debt Securities), started to sell these securities, interest rates increased and foreigners holding GDS also sold them. Meanwhile, the borrowing needs of state-owned banks with high levels of short-term debt also led to an increase in interest rates.

As interest rates increased rapidly, the value of bonds in risky positions on the balance sheets of banks burdened with short-term debt began to decline over time. Facing liquidity constraints, banks resorted to selling government bonds. This situation reinforced the risk perception of foreigners and caused their outflows to accelerate. Indeed, this move pushed interest rates even higher. CBRT, on the other hand, resisted intervening for a long time due to the agreement with the IMF. Then it stepped in and offered additional liquidity to the market. However, it was too late.

When we reached February 2001, intense capital outflows as well as polemics between the prime minister and the president accelerated the process leading to the crisis. Interest rates reached levels not seen until then, and reserves were greatly reduced. Unable to maintain the fixed exchange rate any longer, CBRT was forced to leave the exchange rate fluctuating on February 21.

The cost of the crisis was heavy. The economy contracted by around 8 percent. Inflation has exceeded 70 percent and millions of people have become unemployed. The domestic and external debt burden has increased considerably due to the level of interest rates. The IMF considered this to be the result of political instability and a series of technical mistakes, and blamed Türkiye for it. But before the crisis, the IMF was involved in the country's financial management. This was seen as a minor detail and a new agreement was signed with Türkiye. In this context, the total amount received from the IMF in the 1999-2003 period reached 20.4 billion dollars. In return, a series of privatization and economic austerity policies were imposed.

In reality, the debt journey was always the same. During periods of abundant capital in the external conjuncture, there is a rapid transfer to the periphery, usually through banking channels, but funds are predominantly short-term due to uncertainties in the periphery. In this context, with the funds they obtain, banks

extend loans in TL in the domestic market, creating a large bubble under maturity discrepancies. As this bubble grows, the exchange rate risk increases over time. The system is actually fed by external funds. When central countries start raising interest rates, the situation is suddenly reversed. Peripheral countries, unable to find

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THEREFORE, IT WAS INEVITABLE THAT THE PARTY THAT HAD MANAGED TO HOLD ON TO ITS SEAT FOR SO LONG WOULD TAKE ON THE MISSION OF BEING THE MAIN DRIVER AND MAIN RESPONSIBLE FOR THE ECONOMIC TRAJECTORY.

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funds, are plunged into crisis one by one. This is what indebted peripheral countries, including Türkiye, are experiencing.

Let us now consider the process of the Turkish economy after 2001. When we analyze the statistical data on the world economy, we observe that there were high capital flows to peripheral countries in the 2002-2007 period.⁶ The 2002-2007 borrowing period was an important period in which peripheral countries accumulated high debts due to low interest rates in the US and then, like dominoes, were dragged into crises. In this phase, Türkiye stepped into a new phase in its debt journey with the impact of the change in the political arena. This period was such that the economy was growing rapidly under high indebtedness and budget deficits were reaching the point of collapse. In these years, Türkiye, like other peripheral countries, benefited from the external conjuncture, but was again hit hard by the global liquidity crunch following the outbreak of the 2008 mortgage crisis.

Behind the 2002-2007 borrowing period were again developments in the central countries. Indeed, for foreign capitals seeking a safe haven after the losses they suffered in the 1990s in debtor countries, the US, which has made rapid technological breakthroughs in the IT sector in recent years, was a very attractive option. For this reason, funds quickly flowed to the US, especially to the stock market, led by technology stocks. Therefore, stock prices reached very high levels. But this boom in asset prices was quite independent of the rate of profitability in the real sector. Because profits had fallen relatively in 1997 due to the effect of the rising dollar and the Asian crisis. In this context, the authorities chose to turn a blind eye to the growing stock bubble. Because they believed that the increase in asset prices would trigger a revival in the real sector. As a matter of fact, things went well until early 2000. However, this mind-boggling

rise in tech stocks had reached its natural limit. Soon the dot-com bubble burst and the situation was turned upside down in an instant. With the beginning of the recession, Greenspan, then Chairman of the Federal Reserve, found the solution in lowering interest rates and expanding the money supply. With this move, the

Fed attempted to counter the negative effects of the asset bubble with a new bubble. This effort also paved the way for a new era of high indebtedness as capital flowed to the periphery.

There was no problem for borrower countries as long as interest rates remained low at the center. Although the uninterrupted credit flow has created significant economic advantages, the increase in debt burdens has been their biggest disadvantage. Indeed, the bursting of the other asset bubble, the mortgage bubble, in 2008 was a precursor of hard times for indebted countries. European indebted countries in particular, which had difficulties in finding capital over time, made the world agenda with their troubles. In the global crisis, high interest rates in Europe have become a disaster for peripheral countries burdened by heavy debt. Countries trapped in a spiral of short-term debt, unable to find funds, have turned to rescue packages.

In the meantime, Türkiye was dealing with internal conflicts. First of all, the public blamed the coalition governments for the 2001 crisis, which was both economically and politically chaotic, and gave power to the Justice and Development Party (AKP), which has been in power for 23 years. While the 2001 crisis was still echoing, a year later the newly established AKP came to power alone in the general elections. Therefore, it was inevitable that the party that had managed to hold on to its seat for so long would take on the mission of being the main driver and main responsible for the economic trajectory. As a result of the privatization and financial market liberalization policies adopted, the country faced the highest capital inflow in its history and opened the doors to a new era of foreign capital cooperation.

When the AKP came to power, it inherited the "Strong Development Model" program initiated in 2001 by Kemal Derviş. This was a flexible exchange rate system, and the aim was

to restructure and strengthen the capital of the banking and financial sectors. The AKP faithfully implemented this plan. In this context, some public banks were privatized, while others were merged. With exchange rate adjustments and the suppression of the budget, the policy of achieving a primary surplus was adopted, and efforts were made to create a secure market for international goods. However, Türkiye's inflation and budget deficit problems were not due to high interest rates or a large debt stock but stemmed from the structure and functioning of the real economy. The production mechanism was highly inefficient, and as a result, when savings could not be generated from this sector, channels for foreign trade and the public sector could not be adequately funded. Consequently, the current account deficit and budget deficit became structural problems, leading to an inevitable and unrelenting demand for foreign capital.

It is possible to say that Türkiye attracted significant foreign capital until 2005, with portfolio investments being higher during this period. Additionally, the capital entering debt securities was also quite high. However, in 2005, with the US's decision to raise interest rates, portfolio investments sharply declined. On the other hand, direct foreign investments saw a significant increase. This rise was significantly influenced by the growing seriousness of relations with the EU and the initiation of accession negotiations. However, these inflows were not new investments per se, but rather primarily took the form of acquisitions, partnerships, or real estate investments. The weak banking sector showed considerable improvement as a result. Yet, these inflows should be evaluated from two perspectives. The first is whether these inflows generated foreign exchange earnings in a country with a high current account deficit. Although these investments initially brought in foreign exchange earnings, they did not lead to any long-term profitability. For example, in 2005, 93% of direct foreign investments were directed towards real estate and services, sectors that do not generate foreign exchange. The second perspective is examining the impact of these inflows on domestic capital. The closure of many SOEs that produced locally via privatization and the complete transfer of production to foreign capital raises serious questions about how much this has contributed to Türkiye's development goals.

Since 2004, while the public sector's debt burden as a share of GDP decreased, the private sector's debt increased rapidly. By today, the gap has widened significantly. With the inflow of foreign capital, Türkiye achieved

high growth rates between 2004 and 2007. The increase in foreign debt was accompanied by relatively low levels of domestic debt. Inflation also significantly decreased, and the budget deficit followed a favorable trend. Although the current account deficit had reached relatively low levels in 2002, it continued to rise until 2008. However, for a country whose foreign debt is increasing, the continued rise in the current account deficit represents a serious issue. As observed in previous periods, for a country unable to repay its foreign debt with its own currency, this trend creates dependence on foreign debt, leading to a vicious cycle of borrowing to service the existing debt. Any potential capital outflow could prove disastrous for the country. In such a situation, where the current account deficit does not decrease and debts continue to rise, these vulnerabilities are inevitable. In this context, it can be said that Türkiye has been drawn into the aforementioned situation.

Despite this situation, unemployment, the country's other burning issue, has remained high, albeit declining slightly in recent years. The reason for this was largely the privatization of agricultural SOEs, the loss of employment in the agricultural sector with the end of support payments and subsidies in agriculture, and the inability of other sectors to adequately compensate for this loss.

The outbreak of the 2008 global financial crisis drastically changed the situation for peripheral countries like Türkiye. The high interest rates maintained within the European Union led to a rapid shift of capital from the periphery to the center. Within a few years, major debt crises erupted. Greece, as discussed, was a particularly significant case, both due to the sanctions imposed after the crisis and the deep recession the country experienced. Türkiye, however, did not face debt levels as high as Greece. Additionally, unlike banks in the US and Europe, there were no derivative products in Türkiye, and mortgage loans were virtually nonexistent. However, both the foreign debt of banks and firms in the real sector were substantial. When the crisis erupted, both foreign direct investment and portfolio investments sharply decreased, causing the GDP to rapidly shrink and even show negative growth in the following year.⁷

Between 2002 and 2007, Türkiye went through a period of large-scale privatizations, with a significant influx of capital due to the favorable external environment, including approximately \$44 billion in support from the IMF, and an overvalued Turkish lira resulting from the excess of foreign currency. During this period, the public sector was able to access more resources than ever before. However, this situation was not sustainable in the long term. Continuously relying on privatization to finance the budget deficit and perpetually increasing foreign borrowing to sustain the current account deficit at these levels was not viable. Indeed, things began to turn around with the eruption of the 2008

mortgage crisis. In 2008 and 2009, economic performance followed a significantly negative trajectory. However, from that point onward, the US Federal Reserve's decision to bring interest rates close to zero prompted new capital inflows into Türkiye.

ANOTHER CRITICAL ISSUE IS THE STATE'S WITHDRAWAL FROM CAPITAL INVESTMENTS, ADOPTING THE BUILD-OPERATE-TRANSFER (BOT) OR PUBLIC-PRIVATE PARTNERSHIP (PPP) MODEL, AND, AS A RESULT, RELYING ON FOREIGN CAPITAL FOR INFRASTRUCTURE INVESTMENTS.

Under these conditions, Türkiye was able to increase its portfolio investments until 2012. Concurrently, the private sector's debt load rapidly escalated. However, after a while, expectations of an interest rate hike and the relatively improving economic performance in the US led to a sharp decline in capital inflows. By 2015, with the interest rate hike, capital inflows even turned negative. After this, due to expectations that the Fed would not raise interest rates quickly, there was another significant inflow of capital. However, after 2017, when interest rates were increased again, foreign capital inflows decreased once more. Then, the pandemic struck, and interest rates were lowered again. Now, with the global threat of inflation, we have entered another tightening period. This has become a vicious cycle where the country's economy fluctuates in response to decisions made by the Federal Reserve. Particularly in terms of inflation, the country has seen a significant surge in the last three years. Foreign capital inflows, however, have remained insufficient.

Additionally, a portion of production is transferred to foreign producers due to the high-interest rate regime, which leads to job losses and, consequently, increased unemployment. Furthermore, the proportion of newly graduated, educated unemployed individuals is steadily rising in Türkiye. The primary dilemma facing Türkiye is how to provide employment for this young and growing population while simultaneously ensuring sustainable growth through technological advancement.

THE PRIMARY DILEMMA FACING TÜRKİYE IS HOW TO PROVIDE EMPLOYMENT FOR THIS YOUNG AND GROWING POPULATION WHILE SIMULTANEOUSLY ENSURING SUSTAINABLE GROWTH THROUGH TECHNOLOGICAL ADVANCEMENT.

With its current situation in terms of the dollar, Türkiye continues to depend on foreign capital. It appears that with such high debt levels, a large current account deficit, and a growth model fueled by domestic consumption expenditures, the country is rapidly heading into a debt spiral. Given its more vulnerable structure

compared to the past, and with core economies tightening their monetary policies today, it would not be incorrect to say that Türkiye is facing even more challenging times ahead.

To avoid debt crises, it is, of course, possible to take preventive measures through reforms. However, for Türkiye,

technological advancement. A key step in addressing this issue would be to shift investments towards high-tech sectors, produce high value-added goods, and export them to the international market. To achieve this, during periods of low interest rates in core countries and the associated capital flow processes, it is crucial to regulate capital movements through counter-cyclical policies. The government must implement incentive policies to ensure that these incoming resources are channeled into investments. Additionally, during such periods, tax policies should be put in place to prevent increased dependence on imported goods in consumption. It must be remembered that these periods of cheap capital do not last forever. Once these steps are taken, falling into a debt crisis will no longer be an inevitable fate for Türkiye.

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² İnce, 2001: 209.

³ For details see, Onuk, 2024.

⁴ For details see, Onuk, 2024..

⁵ Özatay, 1995: 19.

⁶ Ekinci, 1997: 257.

⁷ Eser, 2012: 29.

⁸ For details see, Onuk, 2024.

⁹ Ministry of Treasury and Finance, Economic Indicators, TUIK, Basic Statistics.

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RETHINKING SUCCESS: QUALITATIVE EDUCATION WITHOUT COMPETITION

The traditional model of education, which emphasizes competition for grades, university placements, and success in life, is being increasingly challenged by educators and thinkers who believe that there are other ways to promote academic excellence and achievement that better serve the needs and interests of students, especially in a world where emotional intelligence, creativity, collaboration, and adaptability are becoming increasingly important skills.

Qualitative education without competition aims to foster a love of learning and personal growth, rather than emphasizing grades and rankings. It prioritizes quality of learning experiences, with a focus on deep understanding, critical thinking, and emotional intelligence. This approach aims to create individuals who are not only academically competent, but also innovative, creative, and emotionally intelligent, and who are better equipped to handle the complex challenges of the modern world.

In an education system without competition, the focus shifts from ranking students to valuing individual progress and strengths. Students are no longer compelled to compete with one another, but instead encouraged to learn at their own pace and cultivate their unique talents and interests.

The Traditional Competitive Framework in education is built upon the idea that competition fosters excellence by ranking students based on grades and test scores, creating a hierarchy of achievement.

The competitive mindset in education can have adverse effects on students, including chronic stress, anxiety, and a negative relationship with learning. In a competitive environment, students may prioritize individual success, which can hamper collaboration, stifle creativity, and hinder broader intellectual, emotional, and social development. This can result in some students with unique talents or learning styles being left behind or undervalued.

Qualitative education without competition redefines success as personal growth rather than comparative achievement. This approach emphasizes nurturing individual strengths and talents, and fostering a supportive and

cooperative environment where all students can thrive.

The transition from a competitive to a qualitative education without competition is grounded in educational philosophies that prioritize personal development, intrinsic motivation, and the overall well-being of students.

Constructivist theory of education, proposed by educational theorists like Jean Piaget and Lev Vygotsky, suggests that knowledge is actively constructed by learners as they interact with their environment. In this model, students learn by exploring, discovering, and problem-solving, rather than passively receiving information. A competitive environment can hinder this process, as students may prioritize external rewards over deep understanding and learning.

Humanistic educational theories, inspired by psychologists like Carl Rogers and Abraham Maslow, center the student in the learning process, prioritizing emotional well-being, personal growth, and self-actualization. In this context, education is seen as a means of fostering the full development of individuals, rather than merely preparing them for academic or professional success. Competitive education, which often reduces students to numbers and rankings, clashes with this more compassionate and personalized approach to learning.

Montessori education is an example of qualitative education that downplays competition, as students work at their own pace and are not graded or ranked. Instead, they receive individualized feedback, which helps them focus on personal growth. The Montessori method fosters intrinsic motivation, creativity, and self-discipline, qualities that flourish without the pressure of competition.

Finland's education system provides a notable example of a successful education system without competition. Finnish students are not subjected to standardized tests or school rankings, and cooperation and personalized learning are highly emphasized.

Various educational models and systems around the world have implemented qualitative education without competition, demonstrating that excel-

lence and innovation can indeed thrive without rivalry.

Finland's educational system has garnered acclaim for its non-competitive approach, where students start formal schooling later, have shorter school days, and face little to no standardized testing. Teachers assess students through detailed narrative feedback that focuses on individual progress, and are highly trained with the flexibility to tailor their instruction to the unique needs of their students. This system promotes collaboration among students, who are encouraged to learn from and support each other.

The Montessori education model, implemented in schools worldwide, embodies the ideals of qualitative education without competition. Montessori schools allow students to work at their own pace, selecting activities that interest them. There are no grades or rankings, and children are encouraged to collaborate rather than compete. The focus is on self-directed learning, hands-on experiences, and intrinsic motivation, which results in students excelling academically and developing social and emotional skills in a non-competitive environment.

Project Based Learning (PBL) is another model that aligns well with qualitative education without competition. In PBL environments, students work in teams to solve complex, real-world problems over an extended period. They are evaluated based on the quality of their work and the depth of their understanding, rather than on their performance in comparison to their peers. This approach promotes cooperation, critical thinking, and problem-solving skills, which are vital in today's world.

Some of the benefits of the qualitative education without competition are,

1. **Fostering Intrinsic Motivation:** Without the pressure of competition, students can focus on learning for its own sake. They are more likely to engage deeply with the material, pursue their interests, and develop a lifelong love of learning.
2. **Improved Mental Health:** Removing the stress of competition can lead to improved mental health outcomes for students. The pressure to constantly outperform peers can lead to anxiety, burnout, and depression.

A non-competitive environment encourages a healthier relationship with learning.

3. **Greater Inclusivity:** Qualitative education without competition is more inclusive, allowing students of diverse abilities and backgrounds to thrive. In competitive systems, students from disadvantaged backgrounds often struggle to compete on an equal footing. By focusing on personal growth, this model reduces the barriers to success and fosters equity.
4. **Collaboration and Social Skills:** By encouraging cooperation over competition, students develop better social skills and emotional intelligence. They learn to work in teams, support one another, and celebrate each other's successes. These skills are essential for success in the workplace and in life.

While a qualitative, non-competitive education system has the potential to revolutionize education, it faces certain challenges, such as:

1. **Cultural Resistance:** Many societies associate success with competition, making it difficult to shift away from this mindset. Parents, educators, and policymakers may be reluctant to embrace a system that downplays grades and rankings.
2. **Assessment Difficulties:** In the absence of standardized tests and grades, assessing student progress can be more subjective. Teachers need to be skilled in providing detailed feedback, and there needs to be a clear and reliable framework for evaluating student growth.
3. **Institutional Change:** Transitioning to a qualitative, non-competitive education system necessitates substantial changes in educational institutions. Schools need to revamp their curricula, retrain teachers, and adopt new methods for assessing students.

As the world becomes more interconnected and complex, the skills that students need to succeed are changing. Creativity, collaboration, emotional intelligence, and problem-solving are becoming more important than ever. The traditional competitive model of education, which prioritizes test scores and rankings, may no longer be the best way to prepare students for the challenges of the 21st century.

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THE FUNCTION OF EDUCATION AND CURRICULUM IN CAPITALISM



Screenshot: The school scene
The Teacher persuading students to enlist in the army

The human formation model is one of the most basic features that constitute the economic, social and cultural structure of societies. The human formation models of societies are a reflection of cultural, economic, political and historical factors. Every society desires and implements the formation of its individuals in line with its own values and goals. Education systems, economic conditions and social rules play an important role in this process. The proper functioning of the process of raising children (pedagogy¹) is important for the formation of a healthy social structure.

The widespread use of schools and the process of making education compulsory took place after the industrial revolution. With the modern era, schools have become the main institutions of education. Following the transition to compulsory education, most of the out of school learning was tried to be included in the school. Since compulsory education,

which should have been recognised as a right from its inception until today, is treated as an obligation in accordance with the needs and aims of the ruling classes, it is discussed not only as a matter of education but also as a matter of freedom. To put it in other words, education is not only limited to providing knowledge and skills, but has also become a factor affecting the freedoms of individuals. Education has emerged as the primary mechanism of the capitalist social construction process and has gained an institutional structure over time and has been recognised as a fundamental human right.

During the years when compulsory education became widespread after the Industrial Revolution, for example in Prussia in 1819, it is seen that education was established to fulfil five main objectives. These were; to train obedient soldiers for the army, to train obedient labourers to work in mines, to train civil servants who

would be subject to the government to the maximum extent, to train civil servants to work in institutions, and to train citizens who think alike on important issues. Thus, the aim of compulsory education is not to increase the intellectual development of children, but to entrench a system of socialisation based on 'submission' and 'obedience' (Hern, 2008:74). To maintain the mechanisms of oppression and exploitation of the capitalist order, governments have used education as an effective tool to ensure social consent and the continuation of the existing order.

Under the capitalist system, 'the socialisation process of the school produces citizens who will submit to the authority of the state and work as loyal workers in the new industrial society, and the process of socialization makes people accept their (existing) social position and makes them dependent on an irrationally organized consumer society' (Spring, 1997:26).

The Latin origin of the word education reveals two different concepts: *educare* and *educere*. Despite their similar pronunciation and spelling, these concepts, which are quite different in terms of meaning, express two different understandings/approaches to education. According to the term *educare*, education means training, disciplining, shaping, molding, and feeding the educated person with knowledge in connection with a job or profession. This approach is intended to familiarize students with the system already in place, and written confirmation of the acquisition of a qualification is a necessary condition of the curriculum, in the form of a certificate, a diploma or a certificate of having studied the subject. According to the term *educere*, education refers to the process of bringing out the creative potential within the individual, rather than feeding him or her with external knowledge and making him or her learn. OPcompetent, to become autonomous, to transcend

competent, to become autonomous, to transcend oneself, to develop the different possibilities, talents, skills, thoughts that students have because they are valuable as human beings, and to allow the individual to discover both the world and himself/herself (Bellington, 2011:379-382).

Based on the origins of the concept of education, it is possible to evaluate the process of commercialization/monetization of education as the dominance and spread of the concept of 'educare' over time. Marx (2013:49-92), in the first volume of Capital, describes how the historical development of capitalism has fostered the opposition between use value and exchange value embedded in commodities through concrete examples. Starting from Marx's analysis, the concept of 'educere' refers to the use value of knowledge and the concept of 'educare' refers to the exchange value of knowledge².

In determining educational policies, the capitalist state generally prioritizes its economic interests and the preservation of social order. For this reason, education systems are primarily structured to raise individuals who are suitable for the needs of the capitalist economy. Educational institutions thus become profit-oriented enterprises, while students inevitably become customers. During this process, the free thinking, intelligence and creativity of individuals are suppressed, and the aim is to provide them with knowledge and skills in line with the needs of the current economic-social system.

"In order to transform general human nature in such a way that it becomes a developed and specialized labor force, equipped with the abilities and skills required by a particular line of work, an education or training is needed, which will cost the equivalent of a commodity in one form or another" (Marx, 2013:174). Education in the capitalist system is primarily aimed at qualifying the labor force and increasing economic productivity (the reproduction of surplus value).

Schools and other educational institutions seek to prepare the potential labor force by providing students with the skills and knowledge that capitalism needs. However, the quality of the workforce is often determined by class differences in society. Children of the working class are often directed to work in unskilled or semi-skilled jobs, while children of the upper classes are prepared for more skilled and high-income professions.

Paulo Freire, author of "Pedagogy of the Oppressed", points out that education in schools, which is based on a system and method that conditions

students to obedience and docility, is a policy of the state, the main reason why states adopt compulsory education is that they know better than anyone else that school has important functions for the continuation of the capitalist system. Since capitalism demands a specific character trait in workers, the education system trains people to obediently conform to the tedious, monotonous hours of the factory shift and the regulations within the factory. The education provided in schools trains students to be like workers, punctual, docile, passive, willing to accept their jobs and positions. The education system does not only train the labor force as individuals with the knowledge and skills required for production. It aims to raise labor power in accordance with the class position it will have in the production process and in social life, as individuals who have adopted the dominant values and are at peace with the system (1995:59-63).

even inevitable, and that it is very difficult to change it, is taught to students starting from the school desks.

EDUCATION SYSTEM AND CURRICULUM

Education is one of the most prominent tools in the capitalist system for the preservation of social order and the maintenance of existing social structures. The ideology and values of the system are transmitted to individuals through education. The content of education, educational policies, curriculum and textbooks are shaped for this purpose. Especially curriculum and textbooks have a decisive influence in this process.

The curriculum or teaching programs are the fundamental educational plans of the state that determine the content, conditions, methods and techniques in which a teacher will teach a subject at school, and what will be emphasized and what will be emphasized. Through the curriculum,

curriculum is worthless and ignored because it is not validated. Therefore, the curriculum plays a specific role in the formation and maintenance of social hierarchy. Knowledge and values given in the curriculum are 'predetermined, neutral and unchangeable' rather than variable, fluid and open to dialectical challenges" (İnal, 2008:5).

Pedagogy combines student interaction with teachers' practices, textbooks with curriculum, celebrations with rituals, and the discourses of educational administrators and advocates of educational policies. Therefore, the concept includes the classroom and the school, but in general its content goes beyond such concepts (Ewing, 2010:24). The capitalist state makes it easier for labor power to be produced as a commodity and thus capitalized by determining the content of education in line with economic and social needs, preparing the curriculum to be taught in schools, shaping education policies accordingly and partially financing education.

Along with capitalist development, the questions asked by science are not questions for the general interest of society, but questions aimed at increasing the profitability of the capitalist class. The competition of capital to get ahead in the race and increase surplus value has heightened the importance of the information needed by the market, and as an inevitable consequence of this situation, the educational process has also begun to transform into a field where the information needed by the market is produced (where exchange value is at the forefront). In this process where knowledge is increasingly under the control of the market, the knowledge produced in educational institutions has also been commoditized.

The capitalist economic system also shapes education in accordance with its own needs. Education in this system is used as a tool to train individuals in accordance with the demands of the labor market. Educational institutions train individuals equipped with technical knowledge and skills to ensure the continuation of capital accumulation. This results in the commodification of education and the determination of its content in line with market rules. For example, in Türkiye, the rapid increase in the number of private schools is an inevitable consequence of the process of commercialization and marketization of education. On the other hand, in the commodification process of education, disciplines such as science and mathematics, which are profitable for capital, are developed, while social sciences are ignored, and some departments in universities are closed or their quotas are reduced.



Wikimedia Commons: Classroom_19th_century_English_School.jpg

From a capitalist perspective, the main purpose of education is to provide the trained manpower required for the tasks within the social division of labor. In this process, individuals are selected and shaped according to the needs of the system rather than their own needs. The education system is designed to meet the demands of the capitalist society's labor market, and individuals are provided with the knowledge and skills to meet these demands. Hence, the educational process becomes a tool that serves the sustainability of the economic system rather than the personal development of the individual. Through education, the longevity of class differentiation and individual competition is ensured. In this way, the idea that the existing capitalist social division of labor is legitimate, natural and

certain standards and goals are set in educational institutions. Curriculum, in summary, is a set of systems in which the courses, subjects, goals, values and behaviors to be taught are implemented in a planned manner in the education and training process. The curriculum is a text that stands out not only for the knowledge, values and skills it includes, but also for what it excludes, omits or ignores.

Textbooks are of great importance for the successful implementation of the curriculum. Textbooks are the tools that transfer the content of the curriculum to students and are at the center of the teaching process. "The curriculum turns education into a political tool by integrating an ideology with defined values. Any kind of knowledge presented outside the

The purpose of education is the compulsory shaping of individuals from an early age according to predetermined standards. Raising individuals who obey the rules of the system without objection is important for ensuring the reproduction of the system. The fact that society consists of obedient individuals facilitates social control. Because it is much more difficult to mobilize obedient, unquestioning people to change the order. Books written about the basics of education widely agree that schools reproduce the dominant order in society (Ewing, 2010:34), both in terms of the creation of productive forces (for example, working class jobs for lower class children, administrative and professional occupations for upper class children) and the maintenance of social stratification, political hierarchy and cultural hegemony.

The structural and process reorganization of the education system according to the conditions of the time and the redefinition of its content through the curriculum is an important part of the changes taking place in the social system as a whole. For example, it is desired for individuals to be forced to succeed in exams from the time they start school, and to adopt a lifestyle based on competition and rivalry throughout their lives, starting from the education and training process. Educational content at all levels of the education system, from pre-school to higher education, is determined through curriculum and textbooks for this purpose and educational policies are formulated accordingly. The magic slogan used to formulate these policies is 'equal opportunity in education'.

The phrase 'equal opportunity in education', used as a euphemism for the real social function of education, is based on the assumption that everyone living in society theoretically has an 'equal chance' to access education. Nevertheless, the conditions of deep economic and social inequality inherent in capitalism clearly show that it is not possible for individuals belonging to different social classes to have equal opportunities to access education on equal terms.

Offering equal educational opportunities to all does not necessarily mean that everyone enjoys the right to education on equal terms. Different socio-economic living conditions, mother tongues, differences in abilities and health conditions may require that individuals be provided with different educational opportunities. Therefore, to ensure access to education as a whole, it is more accurate to adopt the concept of 'right to education' rather than 'equal opportunity in education'. As the capitalist system intensifies educational inequalities and injustices, the struggle for the right to education

aims to fight these inequalities and ensure quality and equal education for all. This struggle requires education to be provided as a public service by opposing the commodification and commercialization of education.

The official curriculum is the content and educational objectives set by the state and compulsory to be taught in schools. This curriculum is prepared according to certain standards and criteria and is transmitted to students by teachers. However, in addition to the official curriculum, there is also a hidden curriculum in the educational process. The hidden curriculum includes the hidden messages and norms in the education system that fall outside the official curriculum and are embedded in students' subconscious. This curriculum has an important role in shaping the mindset and behavior of students, but often goes unnoticed. Because the hidden curriculum contains elements that reinforce existing power relations and hierarchies in society. For instance, issues such as gender roles, class distinctions and ethnic differences are transmitted to students through the hidden curriculum, thereby perpetuating social inequalities.

According to Apple (2006:57-70), the hidden curriculum indicates the social relations that legitimize certain understandings (such as work, authority, social rules and values) that preserve and perpetuate capitalist logic and rationality, especially as manifested in the workplace. For example, while in the official curriculum taught in schools in Türkiye, universal values such as equality and justice are emphasized, there are many examples of hidden curriculum that normalize gender roles or class distinctions.

In capitalism, schools are institutions where individuals are trained with technical knowledge and skills to ensure the continuation of capital accumulation. This situation results in the commodification of education and its adaptation to market conditions. The commercialization and marketization of education services in Türkiye has resulted in the increase in the rate of private education by 8 times, as we have seen concretely in the past 22 years.

The role of the school as an apparatus of the state is closely related to the problems of accumulation and legitimacy faced by the state, as well as to the mode of production in general. At the same time, the school is one of the institutions that enable the ruling class to establish social control and domination over other social classes, especially the working class. The organization of schools in capitalism, from the determination and implementation of the content of the curriculum

to the selection of students and the way they are educated, serves the ruling class to establish³ hegemony over the lower classes.

MAIN PILLARS OF THE NEW CURRICULUM

In Türkiye, especially after 1980, the market and religion based approach to education, which is grounded in the implementation of the capitalist system of exploitation, has been decisive in the formulation of curricula (teaching programs). The laws and regulations that determine education policies have directly affected the content and structure of the curriculum. Such policies are important in determining which subjects and values will be highlighted in education. In this respect, schools, classrooms, teachers and students, and especially the curriculum, have been at the center of political and ideological interventions and impositions by the government, especially in recent years. In this context, educational policies adopted and implemented by the AKP governments for the last 22 years concretely manifest all the "regressive" reflections of the historically shaped bourgeois ideology in the field of education.

Turkey's education policies have been used as a tool of ideological guidance for many years. The notions of 'education' and 'upbringing', forming the basis of the education system, have aimed to raise students within a certain ideological framework. Curriculums that predominantly emphasize religious and national values have aimed to internalize the existing political-ideological structure instead of developing students' critical thinking skills. This has damaged the scientific quality of education and to a great extent prevented students from receiving an education based on free thinking.

When we look at the current education policies in Turkey, we see that the educational practices are mostly identified with the concept of upbringing and aimed at raising, educating, training and accustoming children and young people within the school system, and ensuring that they behave in accordance with the morals, value judgments, traditions and customs adopted by the majority of the society. In this kind of understanding of education, the wishes of the person being educated and how and in what way they will be educated are not determined by any demand, tendency or will.

The curriculum to be implemented in schools varies from country to country, but in some countries it is formulated by teachers and gains content and form according to the environment of the school and the characteristics of the students. With the recent legal arrangements, this tradi-

tional role of teachers has been taken away from them, the curriculum has been centralized and teachers have been excluded from the curriculum development process. The curriculum, which defines how education and training activities will be carried out in schools, how the labor process will be organized, and how course content and formats will be created and organized, is formulated without including the teachers who will implement them (Buyruk, 2015:162). Similar situations can be seen in all the curriculum changes made in recent years.

The most concrete example of the curriculum being adapted to the political-ideological line of the government, rather than the real needs of children, youth and the country, is the issue of what information will be taught in educational institutions, especially in schools, how and with which tools. According to Apple (2006), curriculum selects which knowledge society considers valuable and important. These selections reflect the ideological structure of the education system. The content of the curriculum is important in terms of reproducing dominant ideologies and existing power relations in the social structure. Therefore, the content of the curriculum is under the strict control of the powers that represent social and political interests.

The curriculum and textbooks cannot be considered as simple and technical education materials outside of power relations. It is obvious that the curriculum and textbooks, which are used as tools for the reproduction of class relations and contradictions in society, are being used to provide a 'pedagogical' looking function for the protection and protection of the ruling system, in this case the one-man regime. Today, the process of fulfilling this protection and safeguarding function⁴, sometimes openly and sometimes hidden, through the transfer of knowledge, thought and practice in educational environments, is being realized through curriculum changes. The current government has prepared the new curriculum in accordance with how it approaches human beings, what kind of people it wants to raise, and what characteristics it aims to see in the people it raises.

The logic on which the new curriculum is built is to construct a conservative society based on the values of the past and history with the expectation of adaptation and adaptability to the conditions of contemporary life. Such a society is grounded in a kind of conflict-free, contradiction-free and tension-free vision of social reality that permeates the curriculum's overly abstract, theoretical and schematic language and logic. In fact, this

idealization is inspired by a deep-rooted Islamic engineering that is ingrained in the conservative mind. The curriculum's approach of planning everything, leaving nothing blank, drawing a picture as perfect as possible, predicting the future, and reconstructing the past in the present is an attempt to build a kind of totalitarian conservative society through an overarching dogmatism like religion (Eğitim Sen, 2024:16).

Education is being taken further backwards in terms of content with the intervention of politically and ideologically close circles to the government in an issue such as the curriculum, which is closely related to the country and future generations. Indeed, science, history, philosophy and art courses were directly targeted with the claim that 35 percent of the curriculum was 'simplified'. By reducing the number of units and learning outcomes in some courses, a curriculum has been created that is predominantly equipped with both 'religious' and 'national and spiritual' elements and references based on 'one religion, one sect and one identity'.

The curriculum, which was prepared by ignoring the most basic principles of educational science, especially the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child, was created in line with the worldview of the political power instead of the needs of education and society. The current curriculum understanding, which is mixed with nationalism, militarism, competitiveness, has no artistic and aesthetic aspect, and relies on religious discourses and rituals based on the Turkish Islamic understanding, in almost all curriculum drafts, especially in history courses, is further reinforced with the planned curriculum changes (Eğitim Sen, 2024:36).

The education system of a country is like a mirror reflecting the reality of its society. In the capitalist system, the contradictory and conflictual character of education is an indication that the school is not a simple instrument of socialization. With the recent curriculum changes, all levels of education, including pre-school education, are being reorganized with 'religious' and 'national' approaches. During this process, schools are no longer considered as educational institutions and the curriculum tries to instill a culture of 'obedience' and 'loyalty' in students. This demonstrates that schools are being turned into 'centers of discipline and reform'.

In capitalist society, the school, which is seen as a 'relatively autonomous' social space, should be seen as a space of struggle where both 'domination and control' and emancipation are experienced by the masses and

where subjects (students and teachers) develop various forms of resistance and struggle instead of passively accepting the dominant ideology. At the same time, this situation requires the components of education (students, teachers, parents, etc.) to act together and in an organized manner.

According to Freire (1995:59), education should be seen as a dialogical process in which teachers and students both teach and learn at the same time, exploring knowledge together. In this way, teachers and students can become responsible for a process in which everyone grows. Justificati-

rent education system in Türkiye, there are countless examples to justify this situation. Keeping subjects which are not useful for students in daily life in the curriculum, excessive course variety and load, covering too many subjects in the courses and passing them superficially, reducing the hours of courses such as culture-arts, sports, skills, etc. or devaluing these courses can be given as examples of this situation.

We should not forget that the changes in the education system are closely related to the goals and developmental processes of the economic, social

approaches. To reconstruct education as a process that liberates human beings, it is first necessary to understand capitalist society and capitalist education, and to correctly analyze its conflictual and contradictory nature that legitimizes class differences. Such an analysis process should be based on the commodification/capitalization of knowledge and education, and should aim at the complete liberation of humanity from the capitalist system that organizes all areas of life according to its own needs.



Wikimedia Commons: Mill Children in Macon 2.jpg

Wikimedia Commons: Breaker boys. Smallest is Angelo Ross. Highest town Borough Coal Co. Pittston, Pa. - NARA - 523384.jpg

ons based on 'authority' are no longer valid in this process; in order to be effective, authority must be on the side of freedom, not against it.

CONCLUSION

Determining and selecting the knowledge to be imparted to students and transferring it to them through curriculum and textbooks is political from beginning to end in terms of the education system. This was the case in the past, it is the case today and will be the case in the future. Hence, regardless of what changes are made, it is not possible to evaluate the changes made in the curriculum separately or independently from the political nature of education.

One of the implicit functions of education is to meet and reproduce capitalism's need for labor force. In this respect, while education trains students for various stages of production in line with their abilities, this training process is in many respects seen at a technical level and is closed to questioning. In this process, students acquire knowledge on many subjects but superficially. In the cur-

and political system in which we live. Not only the economic level but also complex relations such as inter-class power relations, socialization processes, gender inequalities, ideological positions, etc. are involved here. Therefore, the educational system and schools will either be completely handed over to the dominant ideology or children and young people will have to fight for the kind of education they want to receive and the kind of society they want to live in. At this point, it is crucial that individuals understand their social, economic and political realities in a critical, revolutionary way and take action to transform the system in line with their own class interests.

The fight for the right to education must include standing against the commodification and commercialization of education, ensuring that education is provided as a public service and that everyone can benefit from this service in real terms and under equal conditions. Given that this is not possible under capitalism, the struggle for the right to education and capitalism are two diametrically opposed

¹ Pedagogy is derived from the ancient Greek word 'Paidagogia', which means to direct or guide children. In Ancient Greece, pedagogues were slaves who supervised the education of the sons (girls were forbidden to be educated at that time) of their masters, in other words, free citizens. In that period, the people who took children to school, carried their bags and took care of them as slaves in charge of the upbringing of children were called pedagogues (paidagogos). The word means 'child education' in Latin.

² It is possible to define education as use value (educere) as the search for scientific knowledge and knowledge of the truth, and education as exchange value (educare) as the commodified knowledge and education necessary for the profitability of capital.

³ Hegemony means the process of presenting the values, norms and beliefs of the ruling class as generally accepted truths. By transferring these values, beliefs and norms to students, the capitalist education system serves to establish hegemony over the lower classes.

⁴ According to Freire (1995), education and consciousness are two fundamental concepts that are closely intertwined. These concepts mean that education is not just a simple process of transferring knowledge, but also a process by which individuals critically understand and transform their economic, social and political realities.

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THE VEIN OF RESISTANCE IN MIDDLE EASTERN LITERATURE

The main basis of the “right to resist” in human history is being right. Nothing is more legitimate than winning through resistance the right to live equally and freely against exploitation, occupation, war, oppression and violence. Scaling this basis starts from the heart of the individual and extends from the soil we feed ourselves and make our home through labor, to the planet and even the universe.

Resistance movements in every corner of our planet, which crown the right to resist with action, continue to provide very instructive data and lessons. The most important act of humanization is to use such lessons to throw injustice into the scrap basket of history until a way of life is established on our planet in which no one will ever need to exercise the “right to resist”.

In the contemporary world, the Middle East is the geography where the “right to resist” is practiced under the most difficult conditions, and Palestine is the land that has been soaked in the most blood. There are many lessons to be learned from the century-long resistance of the Palestinian people, who have suffered greatly since the beginning of the occupation of the Palestinian territories by Israeli Zionism. It will remain as a symbol of the patriotic people's resistance against the occupation and will continue to live in the anti-imperialist struggle of the peoples of the Middle East against the occupation policies of the imperialist countries, especially within the framework of the Greater Middle East Project, which they have intensified in order to plunder the Middle East even more.

The following text, which I have previously written, is dedicated to the struggle for equality and freedom of all the peoples of the Middle East, especially the people of Palestine and Lebanon, to be crowned with real peace, to be published in the Politeknik Magazine.

I may not know when the concept of “homeland” emerged in the human consciousness, but I can say that the “acquisition of a homeland” has become a conscience as a product of both intensive labor and social organization.

We know that nationalization as a historical category emerged with the development of capitalism. We all know that nation states became widespread with the French Revolution, which was one of the important turning points; that nationalization processes were completed and national states were established after protracted civil wars in Europe and the Americas, especially in the 19th century; and that many states emerged in Africa and Asia in the 20th century, gaining their independence through national liberation movements against imperialist countries. After the 1917 October Revolution, when class revolutions replaced national revolutions in the last period, humanity has reached a brand

new stage and started to embody the hope that a world without exploitation can be established.

Such hope led oppressed and exploited peoples in many parts of the world to epicize their “just war” for freedom and independence. The imperialist-capitalist countries, obliged to maintain the order of exploitation through war, started the Second World War under the destructiveness of Nazi Germany in order to destroy socialism, which started to affect the East and Europe starting from Russia. The people of Soviet Union and the working class of Europe and the Balkans repelled these fierce attacks under difficult conditions. The killing of tens of millions of people in this war, the great suffering in the Nazi camps, the occupation and resistance to the war have been widely covered in cinema and literature. However, no significant works on the great suffering caused by the First World War, the background of the occupations dur-

ing this period, the resistance against the occupation and the results that emerged have been transferred to the international literature and cinema. Many folk songs and folk epics were written about the occupation of Anatolia and the wars fought on various fronts, especially in Yemen. Following the war, many novels were also written, especially about the War of Independence. Unfortunately, the writings about what happened in Anatolia, which Arif Berberoğlu describes with the lines “*Anatolia is a broken cradle in the house of history/shaken sometimes by rebellions, streams of blood/ and sometimes by the winds and the seas...*” in his poem “Betrayal”, could not or were not included among the important works of International literature.

Especially when the Middle East became the center of attention of the capitalist world during the 19th century because of its oil resources and the consequent construction of railroads

and the reinforcement of sea routes, the peoples of this region began to signal that they would be the victims of a war of division... It is seen that the writings on this process are mostly concentrated towards the Western centers. In the Middle East, the works of people who are engaged in this process can be found in Istanbul and Beirut. However, due to many reasons such as the low level of education of the people living in this region and the lack of literacy, these works do not resonate with the people. During the First World War and the first years of the British and French occupation, the poems expressing the desire for freedom and independence of the peoples living in the region were mostly epic poems composed by folk poets. These poems became a source of motivation among the soldiers at the front. However, it was the years of French occupation, centered in Lebanon and Syria until 1946, when strong literary works were produced, including stories and novels in addition to poems.

Among the writers and poets who emerged during these years, Hanna Minna, Suleiman Isa and Nizar Kabbani are notable. Suleiman Isa, born in the town of Nairi, later Nahırlı, the former name of the Aknehir town of today's Samandağ, who later went to Syria, occupies an important place in recent Arabic literature with his poems and works for children. I would like to cite his verse from the poem "Poets and Voices..." translated into Turkish by our friend İsmail Özdemir.

*"A grain of sand burned by thirst/
As a big flow of rain droplets/ And
it's gone on so long became thirteen
anthems in the end/ where clash
opposite forces/ Overwhelming*

*appears, fades, but/ soon returns.
Junio 1967: year of defeat/ Disaster...
putting shackles/ Closing the
gates in his face.../ Strangles the light
in his eyes.../ buries him alive/ He
could not sing a couplet/ He could
not write a word for a whole year.../
For a whole year... derogation faded/
Drowned in shame.../ And those
who drowned could no longer write.
Junio 1967/ The great pain is still
fresh.../ bleeding in the deepest of
his depths/ And the word despite all
its truthfulness and clarity/ Became
helpless/ Still struggles with his despair
and resists.../ Trying little by
little to get his soul out of the grave."*

Hanna Minna's novel "Mustenka", or Swamp in its Turkish translation,

period. At this point, it is necessary to make a brief assessment of prose and the novel, especially in the Arab world.

Arabs call the novel "raviya" and the novelist "râvi". We know that "râvi" means "narrator, reciter, storyteller". Judging from the word "rivayet", which we see in Turkish as "Rivayet sanılır sonra" (they might think it is a story) in poetry lines and "rivayet bileşik zaman" (compound tense in Turkish language expressing that the information is derived from another person's narrative/telling) in grammar, it is easy to associate this with the novel. However, it seems impossible to link this to the novel by associating it with the word "rava", which is

word, which I encountered years later in Damascus, made me think again about why stories and novels are so important to Arabs.

Arabs call prose "nesir, serdi". They call novel "raviya". They use the word "râvi", which means "one who brings water, one who distributes water", for "novelist". In this way, they transfer "bahr", the sea or water, which is part of their poetic tradition, to the novel. It is well known that the development of the novel genre in the West, where it originated, has nothing to do with such a connection. So for the Arabs, the tradition of "narrating" and "story telling" developed after a certain accumulation of the tradition of "reciting poetry" and as a continuation of



*forces/ Voices.../ Can't suffocate all
the strands of hope/ A symbol for
the tormented, for the shattered.../
Many refuges, many consolations
for the poet.../ In the end he inherited...
the anthem of eternity/ Let
him tell you the story of his torment/
some of his torment/ With these anthems...
Something... bitter, hurtful,
incomprehensible/ Beats the dream
of the poet for a moment/ Then dis-*

about the resistance movements that took place in Northern Syria, especially in today's Hatay region, during the years of French occupation, is one of the most widely read works in the Arab world. As it is known, since the tradition of storytelling in the Arab world continued in poetry, especially in forms of *masnavi* and *qasida*, the treatment of these subjects with the novel technique accelerated in this

also used in Turkish, without special research.

In the 1960s, when I was a child, in our villages (villages in the Yayladağı district of Hatay), plastic water containers with two compartments hanging from both sides on the backs of animals such as horses and donkeys were used to carry water from a distance. They called it "rava". This

it. I would like to conclude by making a connection with another important issue. An examination of the books of the religions that emerged in the Arabian Peninsula or in Asia Minor and their reading methods from this point of view reveals that poetic discourse is also dominant in the narratives formed in sentences. It is because of the mesmerizing quality of the poetic and musical recitation that

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those who listen to them act as if mesmerized, even without any semantic comprehension.

This poetic texture in the narrative must be taken as important data in the evaluation of the language and style in the Arabic novel. An important writer who has demonstrated such a necessity is the Arab novelist Abdul Rahman Munif, whose works have been translated into the world's languages in the last 20 years, and who has dealt very well in his novels with both the First World War and the methods of US imperialism to access the Middle East. It is witnessed that Abdurrahman Munif, whose novels started to attract attention in the Arab world since the 1970s, made serious efforts to transform Arabic into a novel language due to the fact that Arabic has different dialects and dialects in many regions. Through these dialects, it attempts to create an "intermediate language" along the lines of nationalism and patriotism. In his novel "Mudun al-Milh" (Cities of Salt) he used a narrative that approaches "intermediate language". The main reason for his success in doing so is that the spoken language used by the Arabs, the majority of whom are Bedouins, is very close to Moroccan Arabic. The problem of how to develop the "intermediate language" in the absence of such affinity, and especially with regard to the problem of developing the Arabic novel of the future, remains for Arab novelists.

Another valuable aspect of Munif's novel, which consists of five volumes, besides its importance in terms of nationalism, patriotism and anti-colonialism, is that it sheds light on the solution of this problem. In this novel, the dialogues that we can call as Bedouin do not seem strange, nor are they far from the nature of the characters. It is important in this respect that the novel reached a large number of readers in the Arab world without causing controversy and resonated deeply.

I find it appropriate to reproduce here my review of Abdul Rahman Munif's book, published in Turkish, 17 of December 2003 issue of Nikbinlik magazine: "In his first novel translated into Turkish, Sıbaku'l-Mesafetü't-Tavila, "Long Distance Running", he described the espionage activities of British and American imperialists in Iran in the 1950s in the genre of detective novel. The richness of the fiction and narration of the espionage activities along the London-Zurich-Beirut route, combined with the characteristics of the Eastern societies, especially the approaches to sexuality through the character of an Iranian woman named Shirin, made the Arabic novel known in another dimension in Türkiye." I would like to pay my respects to this great patriotic and socialist nov-

elist, who passed away very soon after the publication of this article, and I especially emphasize that his novel "Mudun al-Milh" (Cities of Salt) should be translated into Turkish as soon as possible. In this regard, I hope that the efforts of Papirüs Publications, which attempted to translate after Yenihayat Library Publications, will come to fruition.

The Syrian poet Ali Ahmed Said, known for his anti-occupation poems and symbolist expression, gained prominence in international literature with his poems written under the penname "Adonis" and includes the following lines in his poem titled "Shaddad":

**shaddad returned, hoist
the flag of desire and
leave the sign of your
rejection on the path of
years
on these pillared stones
homeland of those who
refuse those who live their
lives in despair breaking the
seal of the jars and mocking
threats on the bridges of peace
that is our homeland and our
only heritage
we are the children of that place
waiting for the Day of Judgment"**

The same poet, in a section of his poem "Dream", describes the relationship between "expatriation-homeland" for the people of the Middle East as follows: *"our city has fled/what am I, what? / a spike crying to a lark that dies/ dies after snow and hail/ dies and doesn't show me the letters it wrote to me/ and doesn't write to anyone? / I asked for her, and at the end of time / I saw her body lying on the ground / and I cried out: "O silence of the wilderness/ I am the homeland of her expatriation/ I am the expatriate, her grave is also my homeland"*.

The great Palestinian poet Mahmoud Darwish was a member of the Communist Party who unhesitatingly expressed the view that the Palestinian and Israeli peoples could live together in an equal and free order. For this reason, he was always targeted by the Zionists and was expelled from the Arab Writers Union, headquartered in Damascus. I would like to quote a fragment from the poem "To My Mother" by Mahmoud Darwish, who has been in trouble from time to time because of the articles he published in the art magazine Karmel, which he directed, both against Israeli Zionism and against the weaknesses of the puppet governments in Arab countries. *"If I cannot return/ make me a fuel for the fire of your tandoor/ and put me in your courtyard like a clothesline/ when the daylight of your love is erased/*

I have lost my prayer... I'm old/ give me back the stars of my children/ so that I can join the little birds/ give it back to me so that I can reach my expected home/ the home I hope for/ like those birds..."

Another Palestinian folk poet, Tawfiq Zeyyad, wrote: *"We will stay here/ resting in the shade of olives and figs/ like yeast in dough/ planting our thoughts/ ice coldness in our nerves/ crimson hell in our brains/ when thirsty squeezing the rocks/ when hungry eating the earth/ but not going anywhere"*

In response to the anti-occupation and patriotic poetry of Palestinian poet Fatwa Toukan, Moshe Dayan, a former Israeli leader, once said: "The poems of Fatwa Tukan are the most effective weapon turned against us."

Ali Yüce, a neighbor and fellow poet and friend of the Arab people, responds the call from Hatay: *"Listen to me/ The child who resists with a stone/ Against the cannon, rifle and bomb/ Write it down somewhere and remember/ This darkness will rot/ The world will be a rose garden/ Those who cry will surely laugh"*

One of the poets from Hatay who fought against the Israeli occupation in Lebanon and Palestine with his Arab comrades between 1981 and 1983 was Adil Okay, who expresses the following in his poem "Palestinian Children": *"My loneliness expands in mute crowds/ The sound of boots drowns our folk songs/ Palestinian children who grew up overnight/ In the minefields of the Intifada/ the holy land is ashamed/ I am ashamed of my helplessness/ I push the limits/ I fill my pockets with rocks"*

Suleyman Okay, whose son fought on the Palestinian front, writes in a section of his poem "Tel-Zaatar" *"In Tel-Zaatar/ Lumumbas and Spartacus are born, my darling/ blood and death feed our resistance/ a new Vietnam is born in Tel Zaatar/ Against the Tshombes/ If we die for this cause, my darling, remember/ our sacred and deserved grudge/ pass it on to our children"*

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Ali Ozanemre is one of the poets who made Tel-Zaatar the subject of his poetry. Ali Ozanemre, who was born

in the Gavur Mountains of Çukurova, a region neighboring Northern Syria and Amik Valley, and who had the opportunity to learn closely about the cultures and the relations of people from different peoples living in this geography, tells the striking events that took place in this geography where Turks, Kurds, Armenians and Arabs blend together in their common lives in his story book İkinci Kerem Sonuncu Aslı (Second Kerem Last Asli). After these stories, where he emphasizes the human dimensions of the conflicts between peoples, the provocations of the occupiers, as well as many personalities who do not lose their human side in the most difficult conditions and glorify friendships, Ali Ozanemre reveals his universal sensitivity in his poetry book Filistin Sancısı (Palestinian Pain). Let's read the verses from a section of this poem together: *"the enemy is a wolf in the white lamb's coat/ orphaned most of the Palestine/ all roads are cut off on Tel Zaatar/ have you seen such resistance, Beirut/ which makes closer the distant"*

Ali Ozanemre's compatriot Ahmet Tolu, who is nourished by the cultural geography of Ali Ozanemre, calls out as follows in his poem "The Palestinian War": *"Yahweh said 'walk' beyond the Euphrates/ walk, he said to the children of brothers/ a wise man is dead sea/ a history in the middle of Palestine/ every angry face similar to each other/ peace limping in the tunnel of darkness/ the wind is playing a concertina to the birds/ the tongue of the west bound/ pain mingles with blood in Palestine/*

flowing into the lakes of the holy land/ children are crying in the Dead Sea/ there is no other radiance but the sun/ screams know no boundaries/ west is far away and deaf/ all one, all the same/ blood for blood/ blood mixed with blood, descendants with descendants/ 'human beings'(!) stop the war/ don't chew humanity in your mouth/ in the name of humanity/ which you don't know! // do not crush the light in the darkness/ in the narrow streets of Baghdad/ for a handful of bitter anger/ let not the faces of children darken/ in the dimness of your brain/ in the name of life/ resuscitating a dog on a cliff/ containing only the joy of living your movements/ and as you all reach the peak of happiness/ do not lead man into the traps of death// mesopotamia has nourished the ages/ nourished assyria and sumer in her arms/ do not destroy/ the place where the crop spread around the world

The poet Nevruz Uğur, who lives in Hatay, Hatay, at the intersection of the Middle East and the Mediterranean, writes in his poem "Filistin'de (Yine) Kan Konuşuyor" (Blood Sheds in Palestine (Again)): *"... Now I'm a rose in*

Palestine/ I'm tagged the collar of all peoples/ I was killed in the soil where I was sown/ I saw the last miracle of the sacred staff/ My brothers died in the arms of Moses (...) I'm with love/ The cherry on the lip, the blush on the cheek/ The ache in the heart/ It's on the neck of the lover/ Here/ In the desert/ I'm burning instead of oil/ You're burning/ They're burning/ From the broken membrane of my painful homeland/ Rage burns like semen splattered/ From the belly of Palestine to give birth to guerrillas"

In the 1980s, Iran and Iraq fought for years a war provoked by the Saddam regime, which adhered to a war scenario prepared by the United States, this was followed by the invasion of the Kuwait by Iraq, and then directly by the US imperialism's orchestrated war, the so-called "Gulf War", these wars are not so old that they have faded from memory. In March 2003, the "bandit states", which started dropping bombs on the Iraqi people with the participation of the US, Britain and a few collaborator countries, gradually began to feel the "Vietnam syndrome" at a time when the anti-occupation resistance was taking root and becoming widespread. In this period, important Iraqi poets emerged who empowered the Iraqi people through literature, especially poetry. Among them, I would like to quote the last part of the poem "The Wedding of the Jackal" by Saadi Youssef, who was born in 1934 in the village of Abd al-Hasib, near Basra, and who, like Nizar Kabbani and Abdul Rahman Munif, was forced to live in other places because of his socialist ideas:

"Ah, Victorious al-Nawab, / let's make a deal: / Let me take your place/ (Damascus is far away from that secret hotel...) / Let me spit in the faces of the jackals / Let me spit in their lists, / Let me proclaim that we are the Iraqi people / we are the ancient trees of this country, / we are proud under the humble roofs of thatch."

Now let's read the poem "Yusuf Seg-ahtha" by Menuchehr Ateshi, one of the poets who felt the pain of the unjust Iraq-Iran war mentioned above, in his heart and who stands out with the color of the Persian language among the anti-occupation lines from the Middle East...

1. O my innocent brothers
There is a long way to the well waiting for the Egyptian caravans, and that wolf conceived with your words
a bride yet to be born
let's harvest a few lilies from Canaan's green valleys
2. O my miserable brothers, do not set your ambushes in vain to hunt the nameless doves of Pales-

tine (the bird born from the hell of swords
beak from the fire) and the meat of a motherless goat
it will be more delicious for the father (who deceives his brother and father)

3. O my poor brothers who conceive tricks, there lives a mad woman in Egypt who will make me king, so, hurry up
the promised well is close to you
so hurry up, brothers, to lick with your long tongues the lips of that infamous innocent wolf born in your market of jealousy!

The Kurdish people, one of the oldest peoples of our geography, are known to have experienced great suffering throughout history. In the past, these sufferings were embodied in Ehmedê Xani's *masnavis*, and more recently, they have gained depth in

Cigerxwîn. The poet of this people whose "bloody lungs" corresponds to the meaning of his name, I would like to give three examples from his poetry that I think complement each other.

O WORKERS, UNITE

.....

...

How long will we remain slaves
Feet chained arms yoked Always on the side of the slave owners

Until when will we stand by them

This is the age of freedom

This is the age of freedom

Whether to disappear or to remain to live or to mourn

*"kimim ben -
(who am I), 1973"*

WHO WANTS WAR AND
WHO WANTS PEACE

.....

.....

The slaver always wants us to remain so blind

We, the poor yoked ones, so that he can live exalted So that he can sell us cloth, iron and tractors at high prices So that he can take our wealth, our land, our oil by force
So that he may eat our sheep and vineyards and
we may serve him as shepherds and vineyard keepers.

*"özgürlük devrimi
(freedom revolution) 1954"*

CRUELTY IS DYING
WITH THE JUDGMENT AND
VIOLENCE OF THE AGE

Take that rag out of your ears, that's enough Listen to the cries and shouts

Listen and get ready for war, take your rights by force Enough of theft, crime, extortion and cruelty It doesn't suit you, people.

It is the age of tanks and airplanes, What's all this hustle, skewer and rosary Read so you can be free, get stronger and succeed in your fight Look, everything in the world has become like the Palestinian war

*"özgürlük devrimi
(freedom revolution) 1954"*

Some of the poets and writers who grew up in today's Hatay, which was occupied at the same time as Lebanon and Syria, have written poems, stories and novels on this subject, as we have given a few examples above. We can cite many works, from R. Halit Karay's "Çete" and Ali Yüce's "Şeytanistan" to Burhan Günel's "Soldiers of Pain", from Refik Halit Karay's "Gurbet Hikayeleri" to Bekir Sıtkı Kunt's stories. Without further delay, I would like to mention the poems of two poets who wrote about the years of French occupation.

Poet Süleyman Okay, as someone who spent his childhood during the French occupation years, includes the following lines in his poem "Gün Avcısı" (Day Hunter), which he dedicates to "the brave Antakya fighters of the days of the French occupation":
"And he drew the revolver/ he had hidden in his aba/ he emptied once/ another one/ while its echo beat the city/ he entered/ his black cave/ with one end in Kefalabit ... The day was glorious/ the seagulls woke up first/ their beaks flowed with their red robes/ the day hunter looked at the city/ from the hill in a daze"

Sabahattin Yalkın, a close friend of Süleyman Okay, in his poem "Greetings from me to Cemil Hayyik", tells the epic story of Cemil Hayyik, a brave Nusayri who reacted against the oppression of the poor people by the French occupiers in collaboration with some landlords. The first three parts of the poem are as follows: *"1. In the silence of the turtledoves Rebel waters/ Flows in a thousand kinds of love to the Mediterranean/*

Before water of soil/ Walking to the pepper seedlings/ Cemil Hayyik with a mauser rifle, on the trigger

2. How many years have the French been him/ Sentenced to death/ If one day he gets caught/ He does not care neither the blue sky of the south/ Nor the smell of laurel/ Especially the bullets of the militia/

It's nothing for him 3. One night the brats of the landlord/ They've stripped the sharecropper's daughter naked/ The waters of Karachay weep blood/ - Oh sister, oh honor/ That's the rumor/ And the stars are always silent" Sabahattin Yalkın's writing and poetization of this epic poem is important in terms of revealing the class nature of the war and occupation.

Sabahattin Yalkın's *"Dicle'de Zaman"* (Time in Tigris) poem is a lament of the Middle East, including Anatolia, in a synthesis of past, present and future.

1. Oh... I can't leave the words and Baghdad is there, far away, on the banks of the Tigris.

The day will break soon spice-scented streets light up The waters flow collecting the sounds of the call to prayer

Time becomes a pain of Karbala in the faces

"Oh the blessed morning..." - Blessed morning And what on earth is this, Gog and Magog cannons?

A lamented song mingles with the waters of the Tigris

2. Oh... I can't leave out the words Jamil Hawwa of Iraq... A Christian Arab

Beside the Danube, with her snow-white girl Something half English and half Hungarian

Said to the Budapest woman whom he impregnated

"God is our trustee..." - *"God is my witness I'll marry you!"*

And I'll undress kissable Ilona into the night

A hopeless love mingles with the waters of the Tigris

3. Oh... I can't leave out the words

The Tigris-Euphrates becomes excited as the snows of Munzur melt The frost of the night magnifies the loneliness of the mountains

He doesn't care about the waters... this border... this desert... this fear... Renews his ablution in Baghdad a Shiite Imam

"Le ilahe illallah..." - There is none to worship but God and a thousand-eyed satellite ashamed of his eyes

A bloody time mingles with the waters of the Tigris

We should underline that in the Middle East, where twin rivers gushing from the peaks of mountains and irrigating deserts with no borders, meet each other in Mesopotamia, where "rebel" rivers that flow in reverse and dance in the deep plains, where tribes swallow sand and spit oil, and where the invaders have always lost, we hope that anti-occupation lines will prevail today as well. Let's deepen the socialist outline of art in order to cross out the "occupation".





Prof. William M. Epstein
University of Nevada, Las Vegas | UNLV · School of Social Work – USA

A Christmas Lecture: The Lamentations of Santa Klaus

A few days ago, I received the most singular honor of my admittedly not terribly honorable career. I wish to share it with you.

While every year at about this time, hundreds of millions of children and even many of their parents write to Santa Klaus, I am the only person who has ever received a letter from him.

I would like to read it to you. Those of you who believe in Santa Klaus will be pleased to know that he is still at it. But I warn you now, he may not be exactly what you had in mind all these years.

December 1

Dear Bill,

I am sorry I could not drop by last year but some lunatic on the ground took a shot at Rudolph and blew up his nose. Blitzen went berserk and the other reindeer stampeded.

The trip back to the North Pole was a dark nightmare of looming radio towers and of terrified reindeer losing their lunch all over North America. People on the ground were either dropping to their knees in prayer over the new type of weather or rushing for their guns.

That imbecile Prancer kept charging off in the wrong direction. I would signal left and this hamster of a reindeer would turn right. We would try a right and the herd retard would try a left. This was not the first sign of Prancer's stupidity and all the way back I kept thinking that he has a fixed destiny as pot roast.

Because of the rout back to the North Pole, I neglected to make some of my promised deliveries to the so-called "nice" boys and girls. But then again, maybe it was all to the good. Many of these kids are nasty, self-centered little brats who might learn a better lesson from disappointment than from their addiction to the world's generosity. God, I am sick of these greedy piglets; they sit on my lap, spraying my face with their puny virtues and trivial deeds:

"Oooh Thanta, I helped an old lady croth the thtreet. Oooh Thanta, I took out the garbage. Oooh Thanta, I thang in the choir."

So what? Big deal. Who cares?

And their parents beam with fat, immobile pride as their sweaty tadpoles squirm through their moment of celebrity, lying like used car salesmen and evangelical preachers.

The prospect of spawning kids like this was more than I could bear. I confess, just a short while after I began this lousy job, I sneaked out for a quiet vasectomy.

Well, I didn't tell Ethel but what she doesn't know won't hurt her. Actually, considering her age she still looks pretty good...no kids to stretch her out. But then again maybe believing for these many years that she is barren has eaten her up. It has probably been the cause of her awful nagging.

Good God, never a pleasant word. Not a moment's peace. Not the faintest sigh of satisfaction or even of grudging acceptance that I am only Santa Klaus and not a big-shot tycoon. She never lets me forget my paycheck, "The Snow Queen has a new coat. The King of the North took his wife to Florida. But my husband, Mr. One and Only Santa Klaus, can't even take his one and only wife out for dinner."

Ethel is a bitch, a bitch, a bitch.

In truth, I would dump her frail bones even now, after all these years of marriage, but the North Pole is not a Las Vegas dating service and elves and reindeer do not tempt me anymore.

One Christmas Eve, some considerate soul might have the decency to improve on the strict tradition of setting out a glass of milk and a cookie for Santa. I could really use some scotch and nooky. I'd put an extra toy under her Christmas tree. A nice one. Not some crap from China.

This Santa Klaus business began badly and it has kept up the theme with fanatical consistency. I was out of work in 1936 and Ethel and I were living on some money she had inherited from her mother. There it was one October, an ad for a permanent job as Santa Klaus. They were looking for an easy going Christian with some management experience. And the advertised pay looked pretty good at the time. In the Thirties anything connected to money looked reasonable.

I told them that I was Baptist -- God forgive me -- but I did have the other credentials: a jolly seventy-five pounds bouncing above my belt, a pair of cheeks that lit up like cathedral lights when plugged into a half bottle, and a raucous laugh that made even psychotics feel at home. But living all these years as a fake Christian is wearing on me. I worry that I have apostatized myself. While I have not lived as a good Jew should, I still want to be buried as one, although I must admit, it is more to spite the pious bastards who preach the virtues of Santa to their children than to please my mother, may she rest in peace.

I tell you, I needed the job. And that is what it is: just a job. I would like to scream this at the lunatics who think that they are born into the care of a personal guardian angel. "Santa Klaus is a business. Santa Klaus is a business."

And it is a rotten business. Who in their right mind would voluntarily spend decades locked in the North Pole ice box. And the noise is enough to make a dead man think that the hair across his ass is the Brooklyn Bridge. Ethel is bad enough, but her whining is virtually lyrical when weighed against more than 55 years trapped with elves who never shut their squeaky fucking mouths.

Once, a long time ago, I lost it with the elves. I shrieked out exactly what I thought of them in minute detail. How stupid they were. How ugly. How sloppy. Well, when I stopped, it was so quiet you could hear a rat piss on cotton. It made me real antsy looking into their red, hate filled eyes. I backed off and apologized. Bill, you do not mess with elves.

Everything about the job is awful. The accommodations are pathetic. Santa's Home at the North Pole with candy-cane door posts and gingerbread roofs is not jolly at all but rather damp and musty with an inescapably nauseating sweetness that seeps into every corner. Santa's home is a sullen mausoleum of long-gone Santas' pathetic tries for immortality -- their names whittled into the dusty roof beams alongside the lonely scratches of their service...pleading and pitiful memoirs...a few untended graves. They all learned the bitter fate of Santa: once stuck up here, prospects of a return to life are frozen out. The Santa Klaus job is not a good career move for any except the unemployable.

I want to retire now and spend my few remaining years in a barka-lounger watching I Love Lucy and the Munsters...a few bucks on the football games...a little poker...a bit of whiskey... some good times with the other old farts.

But, dammit, what a mean nation I have to rely on. Each year, I try to get through the US as quickly as possible. It is immensely rich and immensely cheap. I have put in a lifetime of toil and all I have to show for it is the little I was able to steal:

One pound Christmas chocolate boxes were frequently one ounce short. I took a small percentage on sales of North Pole picture post cards. I skimmed a bit here; I scarfed a bit there; I put my hand in the till when I could.

Yet it was still not enough and Ethel drank up her savings.

I have been thinking about a few things to do to pick up some money after retirement. Psychotherapy comes to mind; it even seems a natural for a retired Santa. But I hate its rigidities. People who have to depend upon the goodness of psychotherapists would be better off if their therapists lived like 12-cylinder human beings who loved, laughed and lied to each other with deep hedonistic joy. Unfortunately, therapists seem to have gotten stuck on the lying, even exaggerating it to its worst form -- self-deception.

A second idea for retirement seems more promising. A few days ago, a blister on my foot burst. I put on transparent ointment to kill the bacteria and some white stuff to kill the fungus. However, someone should have rehearsed my foot for the drama of cure; apparently the bacteria ate the fungus gel and the fungus ate the antibacteria ointment with the result of producing a completely new lifeform: fungteria. I am the only human being currently suffering from it. I may be able to make a living as the nation's spokesperson for safe foot care.

Unfortunately, I realize that these are only reveries. The world is very tough and acts with senile forgetfulness toward Santa except when someone wants something. There are not ten people left who wonder how Santa Klaus feels or if there is anything that the old gent might need in his final years or if their letch for some toy might burden the gracious saint. No. No concern at all. The world is populated by a bunch of egomaniacs who never care about Santa Klaus.

Yet the worst part of the job is that I have never met my boss. No phone calls. No notes in my pay envelope. No interim evaluations. Just accusatory stares from those miserable elves whenever things go even the slightest bit awry. They have a labor union but all I have is a ton of work and a vague sense of never satisfying anyone. I tell you, if there is a God, she has a lot to answer for.

Well, Bill, if you are home this year, I shall drop by for a nip. But not that rotgut you drink and no more jokes. They are not at all funny and you have a vocabulary from the sewer.

It is just about time for the third shift at the toy factory. Gotta run. Please excuse my bitterness. I am just an old, work-weary man who can't afford to retire.

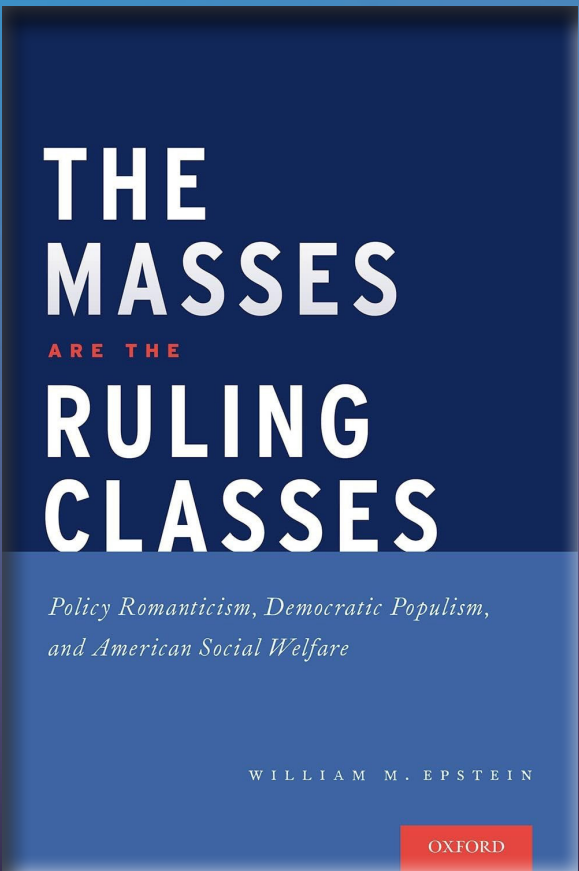
As ever,
Meyer Berkowitz
a.k.a. Santa Klaus

Oh yes, one other thing, please pass on a message to your students. I have been following their recent voting records and this Christmas morning they should not all rush down to the Christmas tree. Many of them are not going to get shit.

Now, I know that you are asking yourselves, why did Santa write to me?

Well, I shall tell you the truth: I actually made up the whole letter myself. Still and all, in the end, there really is a Santa Klaus and I had to blow the whistle on the crude, misanthropic, bad-tempered, self-centered and self-pitying, macho-crazed, anti-Christian son of a bitch.

*But please do not tell your children. I may yet run across one of them and she might look up at me and say,
"Oooh, you thtinker. Bad man. You thkunked Thanta Klauth."*



The Masses are the Ruling Classes: Policy Romanticism, Democratic Populism, and Social Welfare in America

William Epstein (Author)

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ABOUT THE BOOK

The Masses are the Ruling Classes proposes the radical, yet seemingly innocuous view that social policy in the United States is determined by mass consent. Contemporary explanations of decision making in the US typically attribute power over policy making to a variety of hidden forces and illegitimate elites holding the masses innocent of their own problems. Yet the enormous openness of the society and near-universal suffrage sustain democratic consent as more plausible than the alternatives -- conspiracy, propaganda, usurpation, autonomous government, and imperfect pluralism. Contrary to prevailing explanations, government is not either autonomous or out of control, business and wealthy individuals have not usurped control of the nation, large segments of the population are not dispossessed of the vote or of a voice in public affairs, and the media has not formed a conspiracy with Hollywood and liberals to deny Americans their God-given freedoms. Despite the multitude of problems that the nation faces, its citizens are not oppressed. In this pithy yet provocative book, Epstein argues that Democracy in the United States is not progressive but is instead populist, and that the core of the populist ideology is romantic rather than pragmatic.

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Prof. Duarte Patricio Rafael

NAMIBIA

Teachers Union of Namibia

NEPAL

Nepal National Teachers' Association (NNTA) General Federation of Nepalese Trade Unions (GEFONT) • Kathmandu University School of Law

NIGER

Syndicat National des Agents de la Formation et de l'Education du Niger (SYNAFEN) • Syndicat National des Travailleurs de l'Education du Niger (SYNTEN) • Alliance Globale Pour l'éducation Et Le Développement (AGEDE)

NIGERIA

Amalgamated Union of Public Corporations, Civil Service Technical and Recreational Services Employees

(AUPCTRE) • Empowerment and Education Self-Help Initiative (EMPED) • National Association of Academic Technologists (NAAT)

RWANDA

Syndicat des Enseignants et Autres Personnels (SYNEDEC) • Rwanda Extractive Industry Workers Union • Syndicat du Personnel de l'éducation Au Rwanda (SYPERWA)

SOMALIA

Somalia National Union of Teachers (SONUT)

SPAIN

Trade Union of Education Workers (FECCOO) • Seminari Itaca d'Educació Crítica (SIEC) • Unió Sindical dels Treballadors d'Ensenyament de Catalunya (USTEC) • STES Intersindical

SRI LANKA

Union of Sri Lanka Teachers Solidarity (USLTS) • All Ceylon Union of Teachers (ACUT) • All Ceylon Union of Teachers Government (ACUT-G)

SOUTH AFRICA

South African Democratic Teachers' Union (SADTU) • National Education, Health and Allied Workers Union (NEHAWU) • Dr. Rasigan Maharaj • Prof. Martha Matashu

TOGO

Synergie des Élèves et Étudiants du Togo (SEET)

TUNISIA

Syndicat Général des Inspecteurs de l'Enseignement Primaire (SGIEP) • Fédération Générale des Mineurs Tunisiens - FGMT

TURKEY

Teachers Union Egitim-Sen • Civil Servants' Union of Agriculture, Forestry, Husbandry and Environment Sectors (TARIM ve ORMAN IS)

UGANDA

Uganda Liberal Teachers' Union, (ULITU) • Uganda Private Teachers Union (UPTU) • Private Teachers' Platform Uganda • Uganda Textile, Garment, Leather and Allied Workers' Union (UTGLAWU) • Workers in the Informal Economy Network (WIENU)

USA

Prof. Dr. Ángel Martínez (from the CUNY)

VENEZUELA

Otras Voces en Educacion (Prof. Luis Bollina Molina)

ZIMBABWE

General Agriculture and Plantation Workers Union of Zimbabwe (GAPWUZ)

GAZA'S SISTER CITIES

SOLIDARITY OF MUNICIPALITIES FOR THE
RESISTANCE OF HUMAN DIGNITY

[AN IDEA]

