#### BEING ON THE RIGHT SIDE OF HISTORY

# IMPERIALISM AND THE STRUGGLE OF THE PEOPLES OF THE WORLD





[Explanation: This brochure is an English translation of the first part of the document 'Imperialism and the Struggle of the Peoples of the World and "New Turkey": Preparing for the Storm!' is the English translation of the first part of the document. We publish it under the title Being On The Right Side Of History Imperialism and the Struggle of the Peoples of the World.]



# **BEING ON THE RIGHT SIDE OF HISTORY Imperialism and the Struggle of the Peoples of the World**

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#### Imperialism and the Struggle of the Peoples of the World

#### PART I.

# Centralization of Capital, Imperialist Monopolies and Competition

#### Introduction

"With the rapid improvement of all the means of production and the extreme ease of communication, the bourgeoisie is drawing all nations, even the most barbarous, into the bosom of civilization. ... The bourgeoisie is forcing all nations to adopt the bourgeois mode of production in order not to perish; it is forcing all nations to accept what it calls civilization, that is, to become bourgeois. To put it bluntly, the bourgeoisie is creating a world in its own image." (Footnote: Communist Manifesto, Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels)

In the Communist Manifesto, written 175 years ago, Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels described the emergence of the bourgeois world in these words. Nearly two centuries have passed. While this period is long for a human life, it is very short in terms of societies and class struggles. At this stage, in these two centuries, the bourgeoisie seems to have created a world in its own image. And we have already experienced what kind of a world the bourgeoisie has created in its own image.

In the early 20th century, the victories won against this world of the bourgeoisie were defeated. These governments could not reproduce the answers required by the age against the ideological attacks from inside and outside, and they were betrayed by modern revisionism with the attacks of modern revisionism from inside and the imperialist capitalist system from outside. With the reversals of socialism and the integration of the proletariat and the oppressed people's governments into the

capitalist world system one by one, the bourgeoisie declared victory.

A century later, at the beginning of the 21st century, the world created by the bourgeoisie in its own image is heading towards extinction, and the bourgeoisie's own institutions are openly saying so. So much so that they publish a "survival guide for humanity". They are proposing dressing measures against the so-called "climate crisis", which is the direct result of the bourgeoisie's excessive greed for profit and the danger that the planet is becoming uninhabitable for all living beings. 2

Never before in history has the idea of questioning the private property system, which is the cause of the planet becoming uninhabitable for all living beings, and the cause of its slide towards extinction, and replacing it with a world that is habitable for all living beings, emerged as such a pressing necessity.

The world created by the bourgeoisie in its own image has emerged as a threat not only to humanity but to all living beings. The words spoken at the dawn of capitalism have become relevant today. "Friedrich Engels once said: 'Bourgeois society is faced with a dilemma: To turn towards socialism or to return to barbarism."

At the present stage, bourgeois civilization has left not only humanity but all living beings in the dilemma of either extinction or turning towards socialism. The world created by the bourgeoisie in its own image is habitable for a handful of bourgeoisies, but for billions of people it has emerged as an "age of barbarism". However, this situation is not sustainable due to the class structure of bourgeois society. Even barbarism is no longer an option for humanity and all living beings. Humanity is now faced with the necessity to think and act on socialism as an

alternative to the world created by the bourgeoisie in its own image, for itself and all living beings to survive.

This is not just a romantic good wish but has a direct bearing on the current state of the world. Moreover, it is the bourgeoisie itself that says that the world is heading for the destruction of humanity.

For this reason, it is necessary to clearly identify the root cause of the world ceasing to be a habitable place for humans and all living beings, and to correctly identify the source of the problem.

The capitalist system, which is based on the regime of private property, is leading the world to extinction with its nature based on excessive greed for profit. Any proposed solution to improve the capitalist system is not only unrealistic but also serves to conceal the real source of the problem.

#### **Private Property Regime: A World of Inequalities**

The stage reached by the bourgeoisie, rising on private property ownership, and creating the world in its own image, was clearly seen during the Covid-19 pandemic. It is stated that nearly 7 million people have died due to the pandemic.<sup>4</sup> In reality, deaths are estimated to be at least 2-3 times this number.

The reason for the emergence of the Covid-19 pandemic is the excessive greed for profit inherent in capitalism. The fact that the starting point of the capitalist system is profit and that it handles the production process on this basis brings with it the aim of limiting production costs on the one hand and increasing competitiveness on the other. The structure of the functioning of capitalism based on excessive profit and competition causes it to see nature and the environment as a "cost account". Therefore, the destruction of nature and the environment in the capitalist production process emerges as a necessity/result of capitalist production.

The fact that the virus causing the Covid-19 pandemic directly threatens human health and causes mass death, even though it has existed for millions of years, is the result of the emergence of capitalist production as a direct product of the destruction of nature and the environment. Capitalist production's destruction of nature and the environment, and especially its increasing intervention in "wildlife", has put not only humanity but all living things on the planet in danger of extinction.<sup>5</sup>

The bourgeoisie itself states that the capitalist system causes ecological destruction and loss of biodiversity and defines it as a risk for the future of the planet.<sup>6</sup> While the bourgeoisie cannot hide the ecological destruction caused by the capitalist system, it tries to hide the fact that the source of the problem is the exploitation of surplus-value and tries to show capitalism as an alternative.

The high number of deaths due to the Covid-19 pandemic has also revealed the capitalist system's approach to health in general and public health in particular. Capitalism, the creator of the pandemic, also caused more deaths in the fight against the pandemic due to the organization of the health sector according to the profit ambition of capitalism. The fact that most of the "official deaths" announced during the pandemic occurred in the USA, which is also the centre of capitalism, also shows the capitalist system's approach to human beings and human health.<sup>7</sup>

While various measures were taken during the pandemic, the working class continued to be employed in production areas in order to continue production, and a "fight against the pandemic" management was followed in which "those who have money can access vaccines and health services, while those who do not have money are left to die".

The fact that the world is clearly divided between the rich and the poor is also seen in access to vaccination. While the rich in the capitalist centres of the world were able to access the vaccine, the semi-feudal and semi-colonial countries under the domination of imperialist capital were unable to access the vaccine. Again, during and after the pandemic, approximately 63% of the world population received a single dose of vaccine. While the worldwide vaccination rates reveal the inequality between regions, they also reveal a picture of the world created by the bourgeoisie in its own image. 9

The world has been made uninhabitable for all living beings, including humans. It is precisely for this reason that people are migrating or being forced out of their homes. People, especially the peoples living in countries that are semi-colonies of imperialist capitalism, migrate because of the problems created by the imperialist capitalist system. This migration is caused by forced displacement, economic and environmental conditions, wars, etc.

In 2020, it is stated that there are approximately **281** million international migrants in the world. This corresponds to 3.6 percent of the world population. In other words, one out of every 30 people in the world are forced to live as a migrant. Overall, the estimated number of international migrants has increased over the last fifty years. The estimated number of people living in a country other than their country of birth in 2020 (281 million) is 128 million more than in 1990 and more than three times the estimated number in 1970.<sup>10</sup>

These figures show that in the capitalist world system, people are forced to migrate from their places of birth to other

regions to survive. The fact that most migrants are workers confirms this fact.<sup>11</sup>

On the other hand, people are not only migrating for economic reasons, but they are also being forcibly exiled from their places of residence. By the end of 2022, the number of people directly forcibly displaced is 108.4 million.<sup>12</sup>

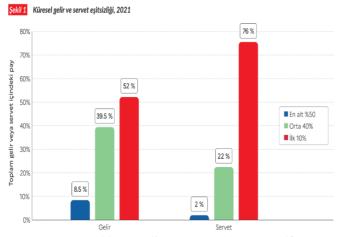
In the early 21st century, it is possible to see the picture created by the bourgeoisie in its own image in the statements made by the institutions of bourgeois civilization itself. For example, it is stated that in 2022, 691-783 million people in the world will be struggling with hunger and an average of 735 million people will be hungry.<sup>13</sup>

Again, according to the research of the bourgeoisie's own institutions, 1.1 billion people in the world are in poverty. This figure means that about 20% of the total population of the world is forced to live in deep poverty.<sup>14</sup>

The fact that the bourgeoisie has created a world in its own image can be seen not only in the fact that billions of people are forced to live in hunger and poverty, but also in the worldwide inequality of income and wealth.

For example, according to 2021 data, the richest 10% of the world's population will control 52% of the world's income, while the poorest half of the population will have to make do with only 8.5%.

A table on this situation is presented below.



(Source: World Inequality Report, 2022, p. 4, pdf)

As the table clearly shows, a person in the top 10% of the income distribution earns 87,200 euros (122,100 dollars) a year, while an individual in the poorest half of the global income distribution must live on 2,800 euros (3,920 dollars) a year.

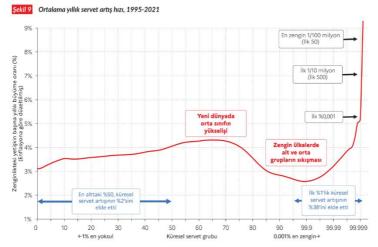
The table above shows that in addition to income inequality worldwide, wealth inequality is even more dimensional. As can be seen in the table, the poorest half of the world's population has almost no wealth and owns only 2% of the total wealth. In contrast, the richest 10 percent of the world's population owns 76 percent of global wealth. The poorest half of the population has an average of €2,900 (\$4,100) per adult, while the richest 10% have an average of £550,900 (\$771,300).

This picture shows that at the present stage the bourgeoisie has created a world "in its own image" that exists itself through inequality rising based on private property. The capitalist system, which exists based on private property, has created a picture that is precisely the product of this concrete reality. While billions of people are forced to live in hunger and poverty, we are witnessing a handful of parasites getting richer.



The results of worldwide surveys conducted by the bourgeoisie's own institutions reveal this concrete reality and point to the fact that wealth inequality and class differences continue to increase.

A table on this situation is presented below.



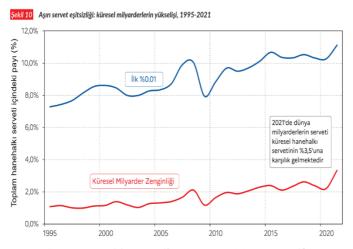
(Source: World Inequality Report, 2022, p. 8, pdf)

As the table clearly shows, while billions of people have been forced to live in hunger and poverty in the last few decades, a handful of bourgeoisies continue to increase their appropriation of the world's wealth. It is stated that while the top 1% have usurped 38% of the world's wealth since the 1990s, the bottom 50% have been forced to make do with 2% of all wealth.

Although the bourgeoisie claims that this inequality is due to the fact that since 1995 the wealth of the richest individuals in the world has grown by 6% to 9% per year, while the average wealth has grown by only 3.2% per year, the real cause is the capitalist system's regime based on private property and the reality of class society. While a handful of people are appropriating the world's wealth, billions of people are struggling with hunger and poverty and are struggling just to survive.

The "ability" of a handful of monopoly bourgeois, referred to as "global multimillionaires", to use the worldwide increase in wealth over the last few decades as a means of further enrichment is in accordance with the functioning of the capitalist system based on the regime of private property. It is because of this functioning of the capitalist system that the poor have been forced to remain poorer and poorer and even to live in hunger, while a handful of bourgeois, numbering in the tens, are said to have increased their wealth worldwide.

A table on this situation is presented below.



(Source: World Inequality Report, 2022, p. 9, pdf)

As can be seen from this figure, the share of global wealth owned by the richest 0.01% has increased from 7% to 11% since 1995. In parallel, the share of wealth owned by a handful of billionaires has also increased from 1% to 3% in this period. Moreover, the exacerbation of this increase during the Covid-19 pandemic shows that the capitalist system is in line with class interests that prioritize private property over human life. Precisely because of this class interest that rises over the private property regime, it is meaningful in this respect that in 2020, the year of

the pandemic, there was the highest recorded increase in the share of billionaires' wealth worldwide.

The fact that the bourgeois world is a system based on inequalities based on the private property regime can be seen from the fact that according to 2017 data, the wealth of the eight richest people is greater than the wealth of half of the world's population (3.6 billion people). Moreover, this situation continues to increase. Two years later, it is stated that the world's 26 richest billionaires have wealth equal to the total wealth of 3.8 billion people, who make up the poorest 50 percent of the world's population. Percent of the world's population.

Below are some data expressing the picture of the world created by the bourgeoisie at the present stage.

Tablo 1 Küresel milyonerler ve milyarderler, 2021

Servet grubu (\$)	Yetişkin sayısı	Toplam servet (\$ Mr)	Ortalama servet (\$ Mn)
Hepsi 1Mn üzeri	62,165,160	174,200	2.8
1Mn - 10Mn	60,319,510	111,100	1.8
10Mn - 100Mn	1,769,200	33,600	19
100Mn - 1Mr	73,710	16,500	220
1Mr - 10Mr	2,582	7,580	2,940
10Mr - 100Mr	159	4,170	26,210
100Mr uzeri	9	1,320	146,780

(Source: World Inequality Report, 2022, p. 14, pdf)

As can be seen from the table, there are 62.2 million people in the world with a wealth of more than 1 million dollars. Among these, there are only 9 people whose wealth is over 100 billion dollars.<sup>17</sup>

The billions of people who are left out of these are forced to live on 1-2 dollars a day.

As a result, the world created by the bourgeoisie is a world of inequalities. In this world, billions of people exist only and only to live. And even this is meaningless; people are denied access to the most basic human rights for reasons inherent in capitalism. In addition, people are forcibly displaced by wars, which are the product of the capitalist system, or they work in other countries as migrant workers in search of a better life.

The emergence of this world of inequalities is due to the structure of the capitalist system based on the private property regime and prioritizing the interests of capitalist capital. Capitalism is dragging not only humanity but the entire planet to extinction.

#### Centralization of Capital, Imperialism and Capital Export

This picture is in accordance with the reality of the class society of the capitalist system. And it is the concrete product of capitalism's tendency towards the centralization of capital. Because "the law of the centralization of private property is as inherent in private property as all other laws." The world is divided into the poor and the millionaires. 18

The monopolization of capital and consequently of production led to the evolution of capitalism from free competitive capitalism to another stage. This stage of capitalism was analysed by V.I. Lenin in his work "Imperialism, the New and Highest Stage of Capitalism" written in Zurich in the first summer of 1916. 19

In this work, V.I.Lenin examined the level reached in the early 20th century by the phenomenon of capital concentration

and monopolization pointed out by K.Marx and F.Engels in the 1870s and gave a general picture of the developments in the international arena with the emergence of capitalist monopolies and the formation of financial capital.

V.I.Lenin characterized imperialism as the highest stage of developing capitalism reached in the 20th century and identified the emergence of monopolies through the concentration and centralization of production and capital, the "fusion" of industrial and banking capital, the increasing functioning of the export of capital in international relations, the redivision of the world among the great capitalist powers, etc. as its main features.<sup>20</sup>

A century later, we are witnessing the preservation of the general characteristics of imperialism, which Lenin defined as the highest stage of capitalism. Although the world has experienced many changes in a hundred years, the basic features that characterize the highest historical stage of capitalism have continued to prevail. Many international developments and changes, including the two great wars of imperialist division, took place under conditions caused and determined by the main features of imperialism outlined by V.I. Lenin.

The outlines of this century-long process can be summarized as follows: The centralization and concentration of capital created capitalist monopoly, and monopolies made competition more destructive. As a result of the extraordinary development of industry and the "extremely rapid concentration of production in ever-larger enterprises", the international activity of monopolies has increased enormously. The struggle for the sharing of markets, and in this sense the world, has been continued in various forms and contents, sometimes with weapons, sometimes with economic-political-legal sanctions, etc.

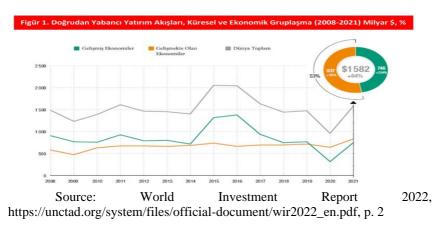
Parallel to these developments, the refinement of the machine, the use of high technology, and the further expansion of

transportation and communication facilities internationally resulted in the further increase of the dominance of cartels and monopoly associations over the economy. The formation of monopolies leapfrogged the uneven capitalist development worldwide. It became possible for a monopoly, through its subsidiaries and with a relatively small share of capital, to dominate a large and extensive sector of production. This resulted in large enterprises taking over small enterprises by "participating in their capital", by buying their shares or by various methods such as loans, etc. These methods were applied periodically according to the situation of imperialist capital. A series of policies, from Keynesian economic policies to neo-liberal policies, were implemented to protect the profit rates of imperialist capital and monopolies.

On the other hand, it is necessary to evaluate the enormous increase in the centralization and concentration of capital, and the monopolies' influence not only over the "national capitalist companies" in a country, but also over the banking and industrial companies centralized internationally, and even over the economic life of the whole society. A handful of monopolists have become in a position to control not only the industrial and commercial transactions and relations of their own "national" society but also at the international level, and to control and manage the capital movements of other capitalists through bank transactions. With the process called "globalization", there is no area in the world that imperialist capital has not penetrated and no market that it has not taken under its control. This process must be considered together with the export of capital, one of the characteristic features of imperialism. As capitalism monopolized and reached the imperialist stage, in the international activities of imperialist states and monopolies, in addition to the export of commodities to colonies and semi-colonies, the export of capital has come to the fore.<sup>23</sup> Of course, the determining factor in this is the profit motive of capital. Monopolization; the concentration, centralization and accumulation of capital in very few hands has

inevitably brought the export of capital to other countries to the fore and made it possible for them to bind those countries to themselves through loans and to return the capital accumulations in those countries to themselves through "legal" means.

In the 2022 World Investment Report published by the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) on June 9, 2022, it is stated that imperialist capital exports, defined as global "foreign direct investment" (FDI), reached \$1.58 trillion in 2021, an increase of 64% compared to 2020, reaching pre-pandemic levels. <sup>21</sup> Below is a chart showing the export of capital around the world in the early 21st century.



As can be seen in the diagram, although the export of capital worldwide has followed a fluctuating course over the years, it is generally on the rise. This is directly related to the centralization and concentration of capital by the imperialist monopolies. The imperialists must transfer their capital to other markets - countries. This objective situation is not a question of "intention", but a necessity of the character of the capitalist economy.

The capital transfer of imperialist capital to foreign markets is expressed as 1.58 trillion dollars in 2021. The capital exports of capitalist countries to each other increased by 134% with the impact of the pandemic and reached a level of 746 billion dollars.<sup>22</sup>

On the other hand, as can be seen in the diagram, the capital exports of the imperialist monopolies to semi-colonial countries in 2021 increased by 30% to 837 billion dollars.

One of the most important reasons for the continuation of this upward trend in the export of capital is the reorganization of the international division of labour by imperialist capitalism and the implementation of "privatization" in semi-colonial and dependent countries in line with "neo-liberal" policies. The process of selling the enterprises called State Economic Enterprises in semi-colonial and dependent countries to imperialist monopolies has increased the interest of imperialist capital in these countries.

Below is a diagram showing the distribution of imperialist capital's capital exports to semi-colonial and dependent countries by region.



Source: World Investment Report 2022, https://unctad.org/system/files/official-document/wir2022\_en.pdf , p. 5 <sup>23</sup>

As can be seen from the diagram, the share of imperialist capital's capital exports to semi-colonial and dependent countries in total capital exports is over 50%. In the distribution of these capital exports by regions, it is stated that 83 billion dollars of imperialist capital inflows to the African continent, 619 billion dollars to Asia and 134 billion dollars to Latin America and the Caribbean countries.

When the distribution of imperialist capital by countries is analysed, it is stated that there is an imperialist capital investment of 10.8 trillion dollars in the USA, 3.8 trillion dollars in China together with Hong Kong, 2.9 trillion dollars in the Netherlands and 2.2 trillion dollars in the UK. On the other hand, it is stated that the US has 8.1, China 4.3, the Netherlands 3.8, the UK 2.1 trillion dollars of imperialist capital investment abroad.<sup>24</sup>

As a result, with the evolution of capitalism into the imperialist stage, we are faced with the reality of a capitalist world where the export of capital continues at full speed in addition to the export of commodities; where the competition of monopolies, which emerged with the centralization and concentration of capital, continues at full speed both in capitalist imperialist centres and in semi-colonial, semi-feudal and semi-colonial countries through the export of capital.<sup>25</sup>

In order to fully understand this reality, it is important to understand which of these imperialist monopolies, whose annual profits exceed the budgets of many nation-states and which, moreover, have a role in influencing the lives of societies worldwide not only economically but also politically, socially and culturally, were in the early 21st century, in order to understand the world created by the bourgeoisie "in its own image" at the current stage.



Below is a table of the top ten monopolies by "market capitalization" and the states where they are headquartered.

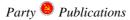
Table: Top Ten Monopolies by Market Capitalization and Breakdown by Country (2021)

<b>†</b> Company	<b>Country</b>	<b>♦</b> Sector	Market Cap (May 2021)
#1 Apple	United States	Technology	\$2,051B
#2 Saudi Aramco	Saudi Arabia	Energy	\$1,920B
#3 Microsoft	United States	Technology	\$1,778B
#4 Amazon	United States	Consumer Discretionary	\$1,558B
#5 Alphabet	United States	Technology	\$1,393B
#6 Facebook	United States	Technology	\$839B
#7 Tencent	China	Technology	\$753B
#8 Tesla	United States	Consumer Discretionary	\$641B
#9 Alibaba	China	Consumer Discretionary	\$615B
#10 Berkshire Hathway	United States	Financials	\$588B

Source: https://www.visual capital ist.com/the-top-100-companies-of-the-world-the-u-s-vs-everyone-else/

As can be seen from the table, there are 7 companies of US origin among the top ten companies. China has 2 companies, and Saudi Arabia has 1 company. Besides its oil and gas-based companies, Saudi Arabia is dominated mainly by technology and retail companies. The US has 4 technology monopolies (Apple, Microsoft, Alphabet, Facebook) and China has 1 (Tencent). The US has 2 retail monopolies (Amazon and Tesla), and China has 1 (Alibaba). There is 1 US financial monopoly (Berkshire Hathway) on the list.

The countries in which the headquarters of these monopolies are located are important for understanding the competition of imperialist monopolies and the world policy shaped according to this competition.



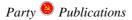
Below is a table showing the distribution by country of the top 100 monopolies classified by the bourgeoisie according to their "market capitalization" at the beginning of the 21st century.

Table: Distribution of the Top Hundred Monopolies by Market Capitalization by Country 2021)

Location	<b>‡</b> # of Companies	<b>♦</b> Market Capitalization (May 2021)	<b>‡</b>
United States	59	\$20.55T	
China	14	\$4.19T	
Saudi Arabia	1	\$1.92T	
Switzerland	3	\$0.82T	
Netherlands	3	\$0.58T	
Japan	3	\$0.56T	
France	2	\$0.55T	
Germany	3	\$0.46T	
South Korea	1	\$0.43T	
United Kingdom	3	\$0.43T	
India	2	\$0.34T	
Ireland	2	\$0.34T	
Australia	1	\$0.16T	
Denmark	1	\$0.16T	
Canada	1	\$0.13T	
Belgium	1	\$0.13T	

Source: For the full list of monopolies in the top 100, see: https://www.visualcapitalist.com/the-top-100-companies-of-the-world-the-u-s-vs-everyone-else/

As can be seen from the table, among the top 100 companies, the USA is by far the leader with 59 companies. China ranks second with 14 companies. However, what is even more important is that although the world's 100 largest companies by "market capitalization" have a share of \$31.7 trillion, there is an extremely unequal situation between them as a direct consequence of their monopoly status. For example, the difference between the world's largest monopoly (Apple - \$2



trillion) and the 100th largest company (Anheuser-Busch - \$128 billion) is 16 times greater (\$1.9 trillion).  $^{26}$ 

This situation points to the fact that competition between monopolies leads to a highly unequal picture and that the gap between them in terms of "market capitalization" is huge.<sup>27</sup>

Another fact shown by the tables revealing the size of the monopolies and the state of origin of the monopolies based on their market capitalization is that in contrast to the dominance of the US monopolies, the shares of other once leading imperialist countries such as Japan, France and Britain in the world's 100 largest companies have been decreasing over the years. While the USA is the clear leader among the 100 companies with 59 companies and 20.5 trillion dollars, all European states are second in the list with 18 companies, but they only account for 3.46 trillion dollars, in other words 11 percent of the total market value of the companies.

The concrete situation that the tables show us is that the US and China are in competition with each other among the imperialist monopolies. Although US imperialism dominates the world market share as the leading imperialist power by far in terms of the number of monopolies and "market capitalization", there is Chinese imperialism as a "young" imperialist power lagging behind. China, which has 14 companies in the top 100, constitutes 13 percent of the total market capitalization of its companies with a total value of 4.19 trillion dollars, surpassing the European monopolies alone.<sup>28</sup>

The fact that this concrete situation expresses is, first of all, that the "unipolar world" proclaimed under the leadership of the United States with the collapse of the Soviet Union, which opened the "era of proletarian revolutions and imperialism" with the October Revolution at the beginning of the 20th century,

turned into a social imperialist power with the betrayal of modern revisionism and withdrew from the stage of history at the end of the century, is no longer valid.

From the picture shown by the monopolies expressed in the first hundred in the classification based on "market value", it is understood that the process that was declared as the "final victory of capitalism" and in reality, US imperialism as the sole ruler of the world markets has evolved into another stage. The competition between capitalist monopolies and the struggle for the sharing of world markets has evolved into a new process.

The spokespersons of the capitalist monopolies are also openly expressing this reality. For example, in his speech at the 43rd Munich Security Conference on February 10, 2007, Russian President Vladimir Putin declared that a new process had begun: "In today's world, I believe that a unipolar world is not only unacceptable, but also impossible." <sup>29</sup>

The tension between Russia and Ukraine evolved into a war of occupation on February 24, 2022, when Russia declared a "special military operation" in Ukraine. The fact that Ukraine, supported by the US and EU imperialists, is on one side of the war and Russia, supported by China, is on the other side, is a declaration that the "unipolar world" has ended with a war in practice.

Since 2005, the unipolar world has begun to give way to a bipolar process. Today, with the war between Russia - backed by China - and Ukraine - backed by the US and European imperialists - the inter-imperialist polarization has reached its peak. Russia's invasion of Ukraine also shows that the inter-imperialist market struggle has evolved into an armed conflict. Russia responded to the steps of US-EU imperialism to dominate its markets with the attempt to invade Ukraine. After Russian imperialism launched the invasion of Ukraine, Putin, the spokesperson of the Russian monopolies, frequently repeated that

"the era of the unipolar world is over", which is another expression of the inter-imperialist market conflict.<sup>30</sup>

#### The Crisis of Capitalism and Competition for Markets

As capital centralizes and concentrates, it creates monopolies and monopolies compete for survival. This is the functioning of the private property regime. In the imperialist stage of capitalism, the basis of the competition between monopolies is the fight for the market. The struggle over who will dominate more markets is the main reason for competition. This competition leads to the emergence of contradictions between the imperialist monopolies and their representative states, and these contradictions sharpen as the competition intensifies in the process.

The monopolies and their representative states, to overcome rival monopolies, seize their markets and ultimately swallow them up, are rallying among themselves and splitting into various camps. The conditions of the capitalist system, and especially the economy, are a direct determining factor in this alignment.

On the other hand, capitalism is a system of crisis. Not only Marxist-Leninist Maoists, but also bourgeois economists themselves have been saying that the capitalist system periodically produces economic crises. The "Great Depression of 1929", the Oil Crisis of 1978, etc.

At the present stage, capitalism is in a new economic crisis. The cyclical crisis of capitalist capital last manifested itself in 2008 and its effects are continuing. Representatives of capital make statement after statement about the ongoing and unresolved crisis of capitalism and point to the impending danger.<sup>31</sup>

On the other hand, the Covid-19 pandemic has deepened the economic crisis of capitalism. This fact is again expressed by the representatives of the bourgeoisie.<sup>32</sup>

These spokespersons are already saying that the economic crisis of capitalism will last longer and that its effects will be greater than the crisis of 1929, one of the greatest crises of capitalism.<sup>33</sup>

The current state of capitalism and the persistent impact of its economic crisis can be seen in the falling rates of profit.

Competition between capitals in capitalist industry, besides centralizing and concentrating capital and creating monopolies, improves the productivity of labor. In other words, it increases the ratio of unchanging capital - machinery, raw materials, etc. - to changing capital - labor. Thus, larger capital begins to employ the same number of workers. However, this causes the rate of profit, the "surplus-value/total capital" ratio, to fall, since a larger capital than before usurps the same amount of surplus-value.

This is a general tendency in capitalist production. Therefore, to counter this tendency, industrial capital further develops the productive forces. But the development of the productive forces, in the long run, again reduces the rate of profit.<sup>34</sup>

Today, one of the most important indicators of the ongoing crisis of the capitalist system is the decline in the worldwide rate of profit due to the faster increase in the organic composition of capital (capital/productive labor) despite the increase in exploitation.<sup>35</sup>

At the current stage, the contradictions of capitalism have deepened due to the continuation of the crisis of the capitalist

system, the shrinking markets as production possibilities have reached gigantic dimensions, mass unemployment and the decrease in profit rates. This objective situation leads the capitalists to introduce "new policies". To get rid of the crisis, the capitalists first resort to "solutions" within the system, and in parallel with these policies, they seek "solutions" by coveting each other's market areas.

Although these policies, which are presented as solutions to the crisis of capitalism, are called new, in fact the same policies have been implemented for a century. In this sense, what has changed is merely updating capitalism's law of maximum profit according to circumstances.

One hundred years ago, on August 23, 1915, V.I. Lenin stated quite clearly that the dynamics of capitalism's development led to crisis and war, that imperialism also means war: "Capital has become international and monopolistic. (...) Under capitalism no other basis and principle of distribution is possible than the use of force. (...) Capitalism is private ownership of the means of production and anarchy in production. (...) There is and can be no other way of testing the real strength of a capitalist state than war. War does not contradict the foundations of private property but is a direct and inevitable product of these foundations. Under capitalism, the proper economic growth of individual enterprises and individual states is impossible. There is no other way to restore the periodically shaken balance under capitalism than through crises in industry and wars in politics." 36

We can observe this reality more clearly at the beginning of the 21st century after a century has passed. In the last century there has never been a lack of war in the world, and in the last 20 years the imperialist attacks and invasions of countries have increased even more. The competition for the market between the imperialists on the one hand leads to wars for the market and on the other hand increases polarization among themselves.

In the same place V.I.Lenin also says that "temporary agreements between capitalists and states are of course possible".<sup>37</sup> The imperialist monopolies and their representative states not only fight to expand their markets but also form alliances against rival monopolies in order to hold and further expand the markets under their control.

As a matter of fact, today the representatives of the major imperialist monopolies, the US, China, Japan, Russia, the European imperialists and the organizations such as the European Union, the Shanghai Cooperation Organization, the BRICS, have emerged as a product of the contradictions between the imperialist powers and the race to have more markets. The struggle for the market between these institutions, which exist as the struggle unions/organizations of the imperialist monopolies, continues, sometimes compromising and sometimes escalating. These unions are contradictory unions because of the competition of monopolies.<sup>38</sup>

In the late 20th century, the "unipolar world" based on the market dominance of the western imperialists under the leadership of US imperialism seems to have been replaced by a "multipolar world" with the emergence of new and young imperialists and their demand for a share of the markets. In the first quarter of the 21st century, the policies implemented by the imperialist monopolies and their mouthpiece states point to this reality.

As a matter of fact, Chinese President Xi Jinping said to Putin on his return from a visit to Moscow in March 2023, "Changes are taking place in the world that have not happened for 100 years. We will manage this change together", signalling a new process in the competition of imperialist monopolies.<sup>39</sup>

#### Imperialist Rifts and the "Multipolar World"

The statements made by the spokespersons of the imperialist monopolies and the policies pursued show that the struggle between the imperialist monopolies has evolved into a "multipolar world" and that new and young imperialist powers want a share of the world markets.

At present, the polarization created by the competition between imperialist monopolies is on the one hand led by US imperialism, with the European Union and Britain, Japan, etc. joining it, and on the other hand, there is another camp formed by Chinese social imperialism, Russia and the forces joining these states.

Of course, since this polarization is based on the capitalist capital accumulation model, there are monopolies that are "in between". This situation does not exclude mutual agreements, although competition between monopolies is essential. For example, the EU imperialists, who pursued a policy of reconciliation with China and concluded trade agreements before Russia's invasion of Ukraine, quickly backed US imperialism after the invasion.

#### - US and Western Imperialism: Protect Hegemony!

While US monopolies maintain their numbers and capital power among the top 100 companies, the emergence of new and competing monopolies is shaking the hegemony of US monopolies. What threatens US hegemony is the emergence of China-based monopolies and their strengthening over the years.

Although the EU monopolies act together with the US monopolies in the current situation, this is a contradictory union, as we have pointed out above. Although the relations of the German monopolies, the main power of the European Union, the political organization of the EU monopolies, with Russia and China, especially in the field of energy, were tried to be limited

by the sanctions of the US monopolies after Russia's invasion of Ukraine, and the EU imperialists united behind the US monopolies in a front of "western imperialism", it can be said that the EU monopolies are trying to position themselves in accordance with the inter-monopoly competition.<sup>40</sup>

Although US imperialism is still a leading imperialist power, it seems to have lost its former power. It is possible to observe the strategic approach of US imperialism, which prioritizes protecting the interests of US monopolies under the name of preserving its hegemony since the beginning of the 21st century, in the contents of all published "security" documents. As a matter of fact, it is known that the US has been pursuing a policy of containment of China in its foreign policy since the beginning of the 21st century as a product of its strategy to preserve its hegemony. For this purpose, various steps have started to be taken during the presidency of President Obama.<sup>41</sup>

On January 20, 2017, after the election of Donald Trump as the President of the United States, US imperialism's strategy of turning towards Asia has transformed into a strategy of containment of China through cooperation with traditional allies in the region. Within the framework of this strategy, China has been declared a primary national threat by the US.<sup>42</sup>

This goal, which is also expressed in the US "National Security Strategy" documents, continues to be implemented as a priority policy of all successive American governments.<sup>43</sup>

As the concrete counterpart of this policy, the US strategy of encircling Russia through NATO by taking the UK and EU imperialists with it has resulted in Russia's attempt to invade Ukraine. The current war in Ukraine is between "Ukraine" and Russia, led by US imperialism and supported by the UK and EU

imperialists. In this way, the war in Ukraine shows that the rivalry of the imperialist monopolies has evolved into an armed conflict.

The US strategy to contain China continues with threats<sup>44</sup> and provocative visits<sup>45</sup> and diplomatic initiatives.<sup>46</sup>

The rivalry between the US and Chinese monopolies is a process that will define the coming decades. Time will tell whether this rivalry will turn into an armed conflict.

#### - Russia: Prodigal Imperialism!

US imperialism's war with Russia through Ukraine under the pretext of its strategy to expand NATO is related to the emergence of Russia as a new and young imperialist power from the ruins of Russian social imperialism. It is argued that Russia is "not imperialist" on the grounds that its capital exports are considerably less than those of other imperialists and that it does not have a monopoly among the top hundred monopolies.<sup>47</sup>

Undoubtedly, Russia, as an imperialist power, has fewer imperialist direct investments in other countries than its imperialist rivals. As a matter of fact, Russia attracts only 1.07% of imperialist capital investments and exports 0.97% to other markets.<sup>48</sup>

While this shows that Russia exports relatively little capital, it does not mean that it has none. What makes Russia unique from other imperialist powers is not the existence or non-existence of capital exports (although there are a few) but the process of development of its capitalist monopolies. Russia, which restored capitalism under the leadership of modern revisionists after the reversal of socialism, and created itself as a

social imperialist power, created new monopolies through state capitalism after reorganizing itself, but this level of development has not yet reached the level of rival imperialist monopolies. Russia is making various moves to overcome this weakness of the monopolies it represents. It wants to close its deficit with developments in the field of "defence industry", where it is relatively ahead of rival imperialist powers, based on the arms industry of the socialist period.<sup>49</sup>

The current situation in Russia is in line with Lenin's analysis of the emergence of monopolies parallel to the centralization and concentration of capital, which is not only based on the export of imperialist capital but also includes the emergence of monopolies and, moreover, their integration with finance capital. The "problem" is the weakness of Russia's monopolies in relation to rival imperialist monopolies.

# - A New and Young Power: Chinese Social Imperialism

The People's Republic of China, which declared its foundation after the People's Democratic Revolution under the leadership of Chairman Mao, restored capitalism after Mao's death when capitalist travellers seized power. The restoration of capitalism, which the capitalist travellers called "Chinese-type socialism", was implemented through reforms.

At the present stage, China has been transformed into a social imperialist state, with the Chinese "Communist" Party restoring capitalism in China and integrating it into the international capitalist system in the process.<sup>50</sup>

In 1990, China was the 11th largest economy in the world, but within 20 years it became the second largest economy in the world. According to Purchasing Power Parity (ITC Trademap, World Bank databases), China became the world's largest

economy in 2014. The Chinese economy grew at an average rate of 10% per year for the 35 years from 1978 to 2013. The economic size of USD 305 billion in 1980 reached USD 15.4 trillion in 2020. In 2020, it is stated that the economy has reached 51 times compared to 1980.<sup>51</sup>

All these data show that China has emerged as a new power within the capitalist world system, moreover, it has positioned itself as a new and young imperialist power with its capital exports to foreign markets. As a matter of fact, China, under the rule of the "communist party", is engaged in a serious export of capital.<sup>52</sup>

On the other hand, unlike classical imperialism, China pursues different strategies to expand its market areas besides direct capital exports. The most well-known implementation of this strategy is the "One Belt One Road" (OBOR) project. With this project, which China has brought to the agenda with the aim of connecting the world markets to itself and, of course, semi-colonizing the markets/states within the project, China is trying to weave a network in a very large and vast territory stretching from Asia to Africa and to expand its sphere of influence through cheap loans and military bases.<sup>53</sup>

US imperialism is trying to respond to this Chinese initiative with the India-Middle East-Europe Economic Corridor (IMEC) Project, which starts from India and extends to Saudi Arabia, Israel, the Mediterranean, Greece and then to Europe.<sup>54</sup>

In short, there are two imperialist projects. China's "One Belt, One Road" project came into force in 2013. The project designed by China in the fields of economy, trade, investment, transportation, etc. through land and sea between Asia, Africa and Europe has taken important practical steps until recently.

However, the US wants to prevent this. Unable to prevent China, the US has become more aggressive and wants to block China in the coming years. The sharp escalation of the fight for market and hegemony between imperialists in the international arena in recent years is the result of this.

As a result, this is briefly the general situation of the imperialist monopolies and the states that represent them in the first quarter of the 21st century. The fact that this picture reveals is that the competition between the imperialist monopolies within the imperialist capitalist world system is increasing and the contradictions are sharpening. The increase in competition between the imperialist monopolies and the sharpening of contradictions have created a "multipolar" world. One of these poles is the US-EU imperialists and Britain etc., the other is China, Russia and those who are articulated with these states.

Through the betrayal of modern revisionism, the governments won by the working class and oppressed peoples in the 20th century deviated from the socialist path, restored capitalism, and eventually integrated into the capitalist world system. There is currently no socialist power in the world. The bourgeoisie has literally created "a world in its own image". This world is in competition with the world of private property and the accumulation model of capitalist capital, and the contradictions are growing and escalating into armed conflicts, as in Ukraine.

It is the struggle between these two imperialist camps that will determine the coming decades. This struggle, which is shaped in the background as the competition of the imperialist monopolies for a share of the world markets, is being carried out by using all means and methods. One of these methods is, of course, the conduct of politics in another form, namely war. It is precisely for this reason that the state, the representatives of the imperialist monopolies, are arming themselves to the fullest in the name of "defence". The "arms race" has emerged as a product of the competition of imperialist monopolies.



# A Concrete Indicator of the Struggle between Monopolies: Arms Race and Nuclear Armament

The increasing polarization between imperialists, the sharpening of contradictions and the increasing danger of imperialist war have become a visible reality. This is also a consequence of the development of new imperialist countries and their demand for a share in the shared markets, which has also fuelled the sharpening of inter-imperialist contradictions.

If the imperialist monopolies exist, a new imperialist war is possible. This is one of the characteristic features of the epoch we are in, and as Lenin put it, "The epoch of imperialism has made the present war an imperialist war, and (unless socialism comes) it will inevitably produce new imperialist wars.<sup>55</sup>

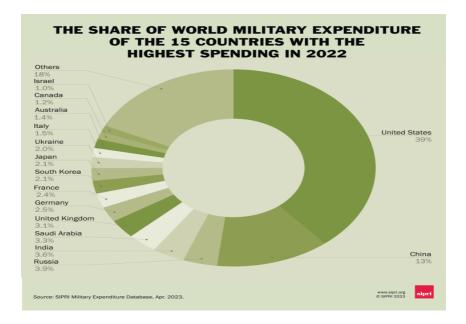
We are witnessing the acceleration of the arms race as a direct result of the intensification of competition for markets among the imperialist monopolies. This situation is also parallel to the arms industry, capitalist production, and the monopolies' profits.

As a direct product of inter-imperialist market competition, the amount spent on armaments worldwide in 2022 has increased eight-fold, reaching an all-time high of 2.24 trillion dollars. And these military expenditures follow a course in line with the inter-imperialist monopoly rivalry and blocisation. As a matter of fact, the total military expenditures of the US, Chinese and Russian imperialists constitute more than half (56 percent) of global military expenditures.<sup>56</sup>

Below is an illustration of the world's top countries in terms of military spending in 2022.



Figure: Top 15 Military Spending (2022, %)



Source: SIPRI, www.sipri.org/gallery/graphics-gallery-military-expenditure-2022

The US, together with British imperialism, is mobilizing all its forces to preserve the worldwide hegemony of western imperialism. US imperialism has allocated 877 billion dollars for military spending in 2022. This figure means that the US alone accounts for 39 percent of global military spending. This ratio is also three times the military expenditures of China, which ranks second in military expenditures. On the other hand, NATO plays an important role in these US military expenditures.<sup>57</sup>

US imperialism, which has withdrawn from disarmament treaties, <sup>58</sup> has around 800 military bases in more than 70

countries and allocates more resources to armaments than the sum of the next 7 largest states.<sup>59</sup>

Due to the competition of the imperialist monopolies, the increasing their imperialists are also European expenditures. It is stated that the military expenditures of the European imperialists increased by 13 percent 30 years after the Soviet Union's withdrawal from the stage of history. <sup>60</sup> Parallel to this increase, the biggest increase in arms imports worldwide has been realized in Europe with 19 percent.<sup>61</sup> Although the Russian imperialism's invasion of Ukraine is effective in this increase, the main reason is of course the intensification of the competition between the imperialist monopolies, including this invasion turning into war as in the invasion of Ukraine.<sup>62</sup>

German imperialism is reinforcing its militarist apparatus and increasing its armament in parallel with its policy of competition between imperialist monopolies and expanding its market share. The spokesmen of the German monopolies talk about preparing for war.<sup>63</sup> As a matter of fact, Germany, considering Russia's attack on Ukraine as an opportunity for itself, announced that they would create an additional 100 billion euros for armament; by increasing the resource for military expenditures to 171 billion, it has become the third country after the USA and China that allocates the most money for armament. German imperialism has decided to buy 35 F-35 fighter jets from the US and to increase Germany's financial contribution to NATO armies to 2%.64

French imperialism, the mouthpiece of French not lagging its imperialist rivals. monopolies, is The

spokespersons of the French imperialists also state that they are preparing for war by increasing the armament budget.<sup>65</sup> France has decided to increase the total budget of its armed forces to 413 billion euros in seven years.<sup>66</sup>

The United Kingdom, the representative of the British monopolies, has been one of the largest arms importers in recent years. With a military expenditure of 68.5 billion dollars, Britain has become the highest military spender in Central and Western Europe. It is estimated that 2.5 billion dollars, which corresponds to 3.6 percent of this military expenditure of British imperialism, consists of aid to Ukraine.<sup>67</sup>

Chinese social imperialism, which emerged as a new and young imperialist power against the US-led imperialist camp in the inter-imperialist polarization, is also arming itself in line with the interests of Chinese monopolies. While China's development and the intensification of competition deepen the contradiction between imperialists, the existing contradiction also covers the military field in parallel with its direct reflection from the economic field to politics. As a matter of fact, China became the second state with the highest military expenditure in 2022 with 292 billion dollars. China has increased its spending by 4.2 percent compared to 2021 and by 63 percent compared to 2013. China's military expenditures have been increasing for 28 consecutive years. The fact that China has spent 63 percent more on military expenditures than ten years ago has followed a course parallel to the increase in competition and sharpening of contradictions between the imperialists.<sup>68</sup>

Russia, which does not have a company among the first hundred imperialist monopolies, moreover, its capital exports are very low compared to other imperialists in terms of direct capital

exports, focuses on armaments to close this gap with its rivals. According to 2022 data, Russia ranks third in military expenditures with 86.4 million dollars and 3.9 percent.

As a result, when we look at the "armament expenditures", it is seen that the competition of the imperialist monopolies continues not only in the economic field but also in the military field. The picture that emerges is the existence of an increasing competition in the military field in parallel with the competition of the imperialist monopolies.

However, it is also necessary to point to the increase in nuclear weapons, which is much more decisive in the arms race between these powers, which are the representatives of the imperialist monopolies, and which, if used, would affect not only the "enemy" but also humanity as a whole. The bourgeoisie's own institutions themselves state that life on earth is in one of the "most dangerous periods" due to the increase in nuclear warheads worldwide. 69

Below is a table showing how many nuclear warheads are produced worldwide and the countries that possess them.

Table: World Nuclear Weapon Power (Number, 2022)

Country	Deployed warheads <sup>a</sup>	Stored warheads <sup>b</sup>	Total stockpile <sup>b</sup>	Total inventory 2022 <sup>b</sup>	Total inventory 2021 <sup>b</sup>
United States	1 744	1 964	3 708	5 428	5 550
Russia	1 588	2 889	4 477	5 977	6 255
United Kingdom	120e	60 <sup>f</sup>	180 <sup>f</sup>	225 <sup>f</sup>	225
France	280	10	290	290	290
China		350g	350g	350g	350
India		160	160	160	156
Pakistan		165	165	165	165
Israel		90	90	90	90
North Korea	**	20 <sup>h</sup>	20 <sup>h</sup>	20 <sup>h</sup>	[40-50] <sup>h</sup>
Total	3 732	5 708	9 440	12 705	13 080

Source: SIPRI Yearbook 2022

As can be clearly seen from the table, nuclear weapons have been produced in sufficient quantity and power to destroy the world's population and organic life in the event of their use. It is no coincidence that the states with the most nuclear weapons are those with the largest imperialist monopolies. The only exception in this field is Russia. In the competition between the imperialist monopolies, Russia wants to cover its weakness in terms of the number of monopolies with weapons and especially nuclear weapons. Russia ranks first in nuclear weapons with a total of 5,977. 1,588 of these nuclear weapons are deployed (ready). It is stated that Russia has 2,889 nuclear weapons in its inventory.

US imperialism is in second place with 1,744 deployed nuclear warheads and 1,964 stockpiled nuclear warheads, totalling 5,428 nuclear warheads. In third place is Chinese social imperialism with 350 nuclear weapons. In fourth place is French imperialism with 290 nuclear weapons and in fifth place is British imperialism with 225 nuclear weapons.

It is necessary to state that nuclear armament among the imperialists is not only used as a 'deterrent' in competition with each other, but it is also produced to be used directly for war. The spokespersons of the imperialist monopolies openly express this fact.<sup>70</sup>

As the competition between imperialists for the market deepens, the possibility of using nuclear weapons increases. Moreover, they talk about this possibility through various scenarios.<sup>71</sup>

As a result, the competition between the imperialists continues not only in the economic sphere but also in the field of armaments, and especially the development and production of nuclear weapons, which, if used, will directly affect not only the target but also the entire living life of the planet, continues at full

speed. There is no guarantee that these nuclear weapons will not be used in the event of a possible inter-imperialist war. The bourgeoisie concretely demonstrates in this field that it is a threat to the life of all living beings for the continuation of its world of private property.

#### **Alliances and Orientations in Inter-imperialist Rivalry**

In parallel with the increasing competition between the imperialist monopolies, the existing alliances between the states representing these monopolies are being shaped according to the new process or new alliances are being established. For example, although the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), the military alliance of the "western imperialists" under the leadership of the USA, was founded in 1949 with the Soviet Union as its purpose, despite the USSR's withdrawal from the stage of history, this military alliance has continued to exist and has positioned itself according to the new process.

Although NATO's continued existence is justified as a question of "security against terrorism", it is no secret that the real reason is the rival imperialist powers. For this purpose, NATO adopts a "Strategic Concept" every ten years.<sup>72</sup>

In the last "Strategic Concept" document adopted by NATO in Madrid in 2022, China was recognized as a threat for the first time, while Russia, considered a strategic partner, was defined as the "most important and direct threat".<sup>73</sup>

In the same concept, NATO acknowledged that "terrorism, in all its forms and manifestations, is the most direct asymmetric threat to the security of the citizens of NATO countries and to international peace and prosperity", adding: "Terrorist organizations seek to attack or encourage attacks against allies. They have expanded their networks, improved their capabilities, and invested in new technologies to increase their

reach and lethality. Non-state armed groups, including transnational terrorist networks and state-sponsored actors, continue to exploit conflict and weak governance to recruit, mobilize and expand their influence."<sup>74</sup>

Undoubtedly, the concepts of "terrorism" and "non-state armed groups" used in NATO's latest concept document also include revolutionary organizations and communist parties. While the imperialist monopolies compete among themselves and define the states representing rival monopolies as "strategic threats", they define and evaluate the organizations outside their control with the label of "terrorism". The emphasis on "their control" is important here. Otherwise, there are organizations, "non-state armed groups" that the imperialists themselves and their military organization NATO "train and equip" and use in "proxy war" against rival imperialists.

The assessment of China and Russia as "threats" by NATO, the military organization of "western imperialism" led by the US, follows a course parallel to the competition of the US imperialist monopolies with the Chinese monopolies. NATO's assessment of China and Russia as a "threat" is in line with the goals set out in the "National Defense Strategy Documents" that the US has determined in recent years.<sup>75</sup>

As a matter of fact, NATO's orientation, starting with the Madrid Summit, was defined in the final declaration of the NATO summit held in Vilnius, Lithuania, on July 13, 2023, as "the Russian Federation is the most significant and direct threat to the security of the Allies and to peace and stability in the Euro-Atlantic region" and in the same declaration it was stated that "China's assertive and coercive policies pose a challenge to NATO's interests, security and values". 76

41

The attempts of the "western imperialists" led by the USA to make Ukraine a member of NATO as a product of their assessment of Russia as a threat and their policy of containment through NATO were responded with Russia's invasion of Ukraine. The ongoing war in Ukraine means that the EU imperialists, led by the US, are fighting Russia in Ukraine through NATO.

US imperialism is taking steps to make NATO active in the Asia-Pacific region to compete militarily with China, which it considers as a threat. For this purpose, US imperialism has started to include Japan and South Korea in NATO meetings, and at the NATO Summit in Vilnius, China was not only openly declared "a potential threat to be taken seriously", but also a five-page "partnership program" agreement was signed between Japan and NATO, which aims to strengthen "defence cooperation, including the organization of joint exercises".<sup>77</sup>

US imperialism is not taking steps to include China in NATO through Japan and South Korea with the aim of containing China after Russia but is trying to establish NATO-like military blocs such as AUKUS in the Pacific Ocean with Australia or is developing "quadruple alliances" known as "QUAD". 78

Russia and China are aware of the "threatening factor" assessment that US imperialism, together with British imperialism, has made against them and are making political, military, and economic counter moves. Russia has responded to the issue of Ukraine's NATO membership with an invasion of Ukraine, like the way it responded with war in 2008 to the US attempt to make Georgia a NATO member as part of its NATO expansion strategy. Russia wants NATO to cancel the membership commitments made to Ukraine and Georgia in 2008 and to promise not to deploy weapons on the Russian border.<sup>79</sup>

42

Russia tries to keep the regional states under its control through the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) military (CSTO) and economic (EEO-EurAsEC) organizations. Russia cooperates militarily with China in the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO).

The SCO, also known as the Shanghai Five and the Shanghai Pact, is an international organization founded in 1996 by China, Russia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Russia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan, which China led the establishment of in its competition with US imperialism and which is defined as "China-centred political, economic and security cooperation". The SCO has increased its membership to eight with the accession of Uzbekistan in 2001, India and Pakistan in 2017, and to ten with the accession of Iran and Saudi Arabia in 2022.80

The fact that the SCO, which came to the agenda in China's rivalry with US imperialism, is not only an international cooperation organization can be understood from the fact that the organization also has a military side. As a matter of fact, the SCO has organized several joint military exercises. The first phase of the exercise was held in Kazakhstan in 2003 and the second phase in China. The larger Sino-Russian joint "Peace Mission 2005 Exercise" was held outside the SCO framework on August 19, 2005.81

On the other hand, joint military exercises between China and Russia have become continuous. Finally, against "security threats", the two imperialist states aim to organize joint naval and air patrols in the Pacific Ocean, following the joint exercise called "Northern/Interaction-2023", which lasted 4 days in the Sea of Japan. 82 In this way, a direct response is given to US

imperialism's organizations such as AUKUS targeting China in the Pacific Ocean.<sup>83</sup>

# The Rivalry of Imperialist Monopolies from Force to Actuality

It must be stated that the competition of imperialist monopolies has evolved into a stage that has led to armed conflicts in various regions around the world. The most concrete example of this is Russia's attempt to invade Ukraine on February 24, 2022. It is known that the war in Ukraine is a war between Russia and the EU imperialists led by the US-UK.

An important detail is that the regions where armed conflicts, which sometimes turn into wars around the world today, are generally the regions that US imperialism sees as threatening. As a matter of fact, in the "National Defense Strategy Document" published in 2018, the US defined Europe, the Middle East and the Indo-Pacific regions as "threats to itself". 84

These regions, which US imperialism defines as threatening, are the regions where imperialist monopolies face each other for their competition and market struggle. In this sense, the wars and armed conflicts in these regions are directly or indirectly related to the competition between imperialist monopolies.

#### - Ukraine Occupation and Imperialist Proxy War

The war that started with Russia's invasion of Ukraine, albeit a preliminary one, is de facto a war of the US-UK-EU imperialists with Russia over Ukrainian territory through NATO. The reason the war turned into a de facto occupation is the demand for Ukraine to become a NATO member. Russia considered Ukraine's NATO membership as a direct product of the US-led imperialists' policy of containment and responded to

this initiative with an invasion. Its aim is to annex the regions of Ukraine where the Russian minority is in the majority and to create a self-dependent government in Ukraine.

The aim of US and British imperialism is to weaken Russia as much as possible in the war in Ukraine. The US wants to repeat the practice of Russian social imperialism in the occupation of Afghanistan. However, the Russian invasion of Ukraine has brought the states representing the EU imperialist monopolies, which are in competition with the US, closer to the US. The pre-war outbursts of France and Germany questioning the hegemony of the US have been replaced by backing US imperialism. In addition, US imperialism strengthened its hand by incorporating Sweden and Finland into NATO.

The "Western imperialists" led by the US and the UK are financially supporting Ukraine to weaken Russia and to continue the war that started with Russia's invasion of Ukraine.85

The continuation of Russia's war of occupation of Ukraine as a "protracted war" by US imperialism is not only aimed at weakening Russia. At the same time, the US-British-EU imperialists are replacing the weapons they have stored by supplying ammunition to Ukraine with new weapons. Thus, the Ukrainian war benefits the arms monopolies.<sup>86</sup>

For the two imperialist camps facing each other in the war, the war in Ukraine also serves as a laboratory where new weapons are tested.87

It is obvious that the war that has been going on for more than two years has brought death, exile, hunger, and poverty to the people of Russia, especially to the people of Ukraine. Millions of Ukrainians were forced to emigrate. Hundreds of

thousands of Ukrainian and Russian soldiers have been killed or wounded 88

#### - Middle East the Geography of Imperialist War

The Middle East and the Caucasus are another geography where the rivalry of imperialist monopolies continues and occasionally turns into war. Due to their rich underground resources and geo-strategic positions, these geographies have always been the centre of the rivalry and wars of the states representing the imperialist monopolies.

In the Caucasus, after the US imperialism's move to make Georgia a member of NATO as a product of its strategy to contain Russia was responded by Russia by declaring war on this state, the relatively calm developments in the region resulted in the deportation of the Armenians of Artshak (Nagorno-Karabakh) due to Armenia's steps towards the "western imperialism" camp. Making good use of the sharpening of the inter-imperialist contradiction, the Azerbaijani reaction, with the support of the Turkish Republic and Israel, occupied Nagorno-Karabakh. Although Russia's invasion of Ukraine was effective in the realization of this occupation, another reason was Armenia's developing relations with the US and Western imperialists. As a result, hundreds of thousands of Armenians were forced to migrate from their lands due to the threat of genocide and were subjected to "modern deportation".

For the imperialists and the reactionary states of the region, Syria has continued to be the centre of war and conflict.

Although the revolt of the masses of people in North Africa and the Middle East against the situation they find themselves in was dubbed the "Arab Spring", the process has resulted in the change of hands of some governments in the region. The Syrian civil war, as a concrete example of the imperialists' policy of using the mass movements developing in

the region for their own interests as a product of the rivalry among themselves, has evolved into a process in which the imperialist powers that directly or indirectly support the war are fortifying their positions and looking out for each other.

The Syrian civil war caused the mass movements that developed against the Assad regime in Syria to be attacked by the jihadist organizations organized, trained and equipped under the name of "opposition" by the "western imperialists" led by the USA and reactionary states such as the Turkish Republic in the region, and ultimately led to the emergence of inhuman organizations such as ISIS, causing the massacre of tens of thousands of people and the displacement of millions of people.

The US-British imperialists' move to overthrow the Assad regime by supporting jihadist organizations was responded by Russia and Iran's support for the Assad regime, and the people of the region, led by the Kurds in Rojava, took action to defend themselves. Eventually, the development of the national democratic process called the Rojava Revolution emerged. The western imperialists led by the US, who call themselves the "International Coalition Against ISIS", were forced to act together with the Kurds. The reverse is also true. US imperialism has established relations with the Kurdish national movement to maintain its presence in the region.

The current stage of the Syrian civil war has evolved into a process in which the western imperialists led by the US on the one hand, and reactionary states such as Iran led by Russia on the other, are looking out for each other and occasionally making moves against each other with their "partners" in the field.

While the Syrian war is causing massacres and forced displacement for the peoples of the region in the inter-imperialist rivalry, the imperialist powers and the reactionary states of the region are trying to evaluate the process in terms of their own interests.<sup>89</sup>

The Zionist state of Israel, established as the "outpost" of the imperialist monopoly capital in the Middle East, continues to be a threat to the peoples of the region, especially the Palestinians. The state of Israel, which was established as an artificial state on Palestinian lands, is increasingly pursuing a policy of occupation and annexation of Palestinian lands as the representative of the Zionist reaction that defends the interests of imperialism in the Middle East geography. In addition to the lands, it occupied in wars with reactionary Arab regimes, the Zionist state of Israel declares the lands where Palestinians live as "settlement areas" and forces Palestinians to migrate through the terror of massacres, oppression, and arrests.

The Zionist state of Israel has been building "Jewish settlements" in the Palestinian-dominated West Bank and annexing it step by step. It controls 2.5 million Palestinians in the Gaza Strip under conditions resembling an open-air prison, imposing an embargo, and carrying out terrorist attacks from time to time.

On October 7, the Palestinian national resistance responded to these attacks by Zionist Israel with what it called the "Aqsa Flood". Hundreds of Zionist soldiers, including so-called "Jewish settlers" and civilians, were killed, or captured in Hamasled attacks from Gaza on occupied Israeli territory. This attack by the Palestinian resistance shocked the technologically superior and omnipotent state of Israel and the western imperialist capitalist states that support it. In the aftermath of this shock, tens of thousands of people were massacred, tens of thousands were wounded and hundreds of thousands of people were displaced from their homes after Israel's air and ground offensive against Gaza.

While the imperialist capitalist states and reactionary states, especially the Arab regimes in the region, openly supported or implicitly supported Israel by maintaining all kinds of relations, especially trade, with Israel, the peoples of the world stood by the Palestinian people in the face of Israel's genocidal

attacks on the Palestinian people in Gaza, which were unconditionally and unconditionally supported by the western imperialists, especially US imperialism. The peoples of the world, especially in the imperialist capitalist centres, took to the streets and condemned Israel's massacre attacks.

While the Palestinian resistance was once again on the agenda of the region and the world with the October 7 attack and the subsequent massacres of Israel, the Zionist and imperialist propaganda apparatuses tried to legitimize Israel's massacres as "the right of self-defence" due to the most important weakness of the Palestinian national resistance, the fact that the resistance is mainly composed of Islamic organizations such as Hamas and Islamic Jihad.

Undoubtedly, the Palestinian nation's revolt, rebellion, and resistance to oppression as an oppressed nation is legitimate. Treating this resistance only and exclusively as a "religion-based jihad" will make the victory of the Palestinian national resistance impossible. Of course, the question of leadership in national movements is important. Despite the existence of national revolutionary-democratic movements in the Palestinian question, in the current situation, Islamic national movements come to the fore in the Palestinian national resistance. This cannot obscure the fact that in the specific case of Palestine, the Palestinian nation was subjected to genocide and forced deportation in their annexed lands.

The victory of the Palestinian national resistance depends on the fact that it is based on its own strength and that the policy of exploiting the contradictions between the imperialists and the reactionaries of the region does not become a tool of the policy of the imperialists and the reactionary states of the region to use it for their own interests. In the current situation, there is a danger that the Palestinian national resistance, led by Hamas in Gaza, will turn into an instrument of the policy of the Iranian reactionary mullah regime called the "axis of resistance", which

is essentially the product of the strategy of meeting its own reactionary policy of preserving its power on the "front lines".

And in fact, Iran's attitude towards the Palestinian national resistance is purely pragmatist. Iran supports the Palestinian national resistance because of its conflict with US imperialism and the Zionist Israeli regime. The reactionary mullah regime of Iran is aware that it is one of the strategic targets of US imperialism. For this reason, it has organized the "axis of resistance" to meet any threat to it outside its borders.

It is no secret that the main target of US imperialism in the region is Iran. The reason US imperialism is not directly attacking Iran now is because Iran is a "big bite". Just like in Syria, the US and "western imperialism" will attack Iran when the conditions are created or when they find the opportunity. The reactionary Iranian mullah regime is aware of this reality, which is why it is taking various steps, primarily to acquire nuclear weapons. These steps include organizing an "axis of resistance" in the region with an anti-US mission, while deepening economic and military relations with Russia and China, the rivals of US imperialism. Iran's regional cooperation with Russia as well as its agreements with Chinese social imperialism should be evaluated in this context. The region of the region of the region of the region with Russia as well as its agreements with Chinese social imperialism should be evaluated in this context.

The agreement between Iran and China increases the effectiveness of Chinese social imperialism against US imperialism in the Middle East in the competition between imperialist monopolies. On August 22, 2023, at the BRICS meeting held in South Africa, Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates, Iran, Egypt and Ethiopia were accepted as new members and at least 40 countries lined up to become members, which was important in terms of showing the influence of Chinese imperialism in the region. 92

In the coming years, the Caucasus and the Middle East will continue to be the regions where new wars and conflicts will take place in the competition between imperialist monopolies. The steps taken because of the rivalry between the imperialist monopolies point to this reality.

# - Asia-Pacific: The Future War Zone of the Imperialists

In the conjuncture where the competition between the imperialist monopolies is mainly shaped as the competition between the US and Chinese monopolies, it is foreseen that the main conflict zone will be the Asia-Pacific. US imperialism has been increasingly pursuing a policy of containment and containment of China after it started to target China in its National Strategy Documents. This policy, which was initiated by the US imperialism during the presidency of President Obama, has been continued during the presidency of J. Biden by updating it as "the only rival China". 93

In line with this policy, US imperialism is increasing its military presence in the Asia-Pacific geography and especially in the so-called South China Sea. The US is developing alliances with the reactionary states of the region to limit and prevent China in the region and is taking diplomatic and military steps to use the historically existing problem between China and Taiwan in its favour. As a matter of fact, the visit of Nancy Pelosi, the Speaker of the US House of Representatives, to Taiwan was realized as a result of the rivalry with China.94 Parallel to this step, US imperialism is taking steps to announce an additional \$80 million military aid package under the "Foreign Military Financing Program for Taiwan." 95

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China's response to the US policy of containment, and particularly its use of Taiwan, is to conduct "traditional Chinese diplomacy", but it also speaks of "using force if necessary". 96 It is clear that Chinese social imperialism, instead of going to open war with US imperialism, is spreading the process over time. However, it does not hesitate to show its power in issues such as Taiwan, which it considers as a direct threat to itself. For this purpose, in addition to building up military masses around Taiwan, it is also conducting drills in the region. 97

In the competition between imperialist monopolies and in the current situation, the Asia-Pacific region comes to the fore as the region where the rivalry between the USA and China, which come to the fore as the representative states of the imperialist monopolies, is likely to turn into a military conflict. It is understood that both imperialist powers are preparing for this possibility in the long term.

#### The Third Imperialist War of Partition

Under conditions where the rivalry between the imperialist monopolies is increasing and sometimes evolves into armed conflicts as in Ukraine, it is commented that a new imperialist war of division (the Third Imperialist War of Division) is taking place or has started. As we have pointed out before, if imperialist monopolies exist, a new imperialist war is possible. This is one of the characteristic features of the epoch we are in. The only way to prevent an imperialist war of division is the elimination of monopolies or the victory of the socialist system over the imperialist capitalist system.

It is more accurate to define the struggle of the imperialist monopolies, which has now evolved into armed conflict in places, as the preliminary preparations for a war of partition rather than a new imperialist war of partition. 98 This situation

causes the US-centred imperialist monopolies to continue the inter-monopoly rivalry and struggle with other means rather than evolving it into a total imperialist war of partition (the Third Imperialist War of Partition) for the time being.

The competition of the imperialist monopolies and the situation they find themselves in is far from leading to a total war. As we have already pointed out, the significant difference in the value of the US-based imperialist monopolies among the first hundred imperialist monopolies compared to the Chinese monopolies that follow them, both in terms of numbers and in terms of the capitalist market, shows this. At present, the US monopolies maintain their weight and dominance (and therefore their markets) among the top hundred imperialist monopolies.

Of course, this situation -the comparison of the capitalist market values of the imperialist monopolies- is not meaningful on its own. Although this is a data in itself, the main aspect of the process is that in the fight for the redistribution of markets, the "new and young" Chinese imperialism is rapidly entering the market areas of the USA and other "old and old" imperialists with its "One Belt, One Road Project" and capital exports, spreading and coming to the forefront compared to the USA in the market fight. As a matter of fact, the US is unable to cope with China economically and wants to block China by bringing forward the military (NATO) elements and aggression it has organized in the past in the fight for hegemony. This escalates the war element in the fight for international division and influence on increasingly aggressive dimensions. Although not all imperialist states all over the world are directly at war, they are fighting militarily in the local arena in Ukraine and in the Middle East.

However, the US-centred imperialist monopolies, as the policies of US imperialism concretely show, see the Chinese monopolies as serious rivals for their market dominance and are taking steps and preparations in this direction. This preparation, the most concrete example of which we see in the "arms race",

must be understood as preparation for a direct imperialist war of division.

The main factor that will trigger a new imperialist war of division between imperialist monopolies is the further sharpening of the crisis in the imperialist capitalist system and especially the decline in profit rates. Phase Accordingly, market competition increases. This situation has the potential to trigger a new war of division between the imperialist monopolies. It can be said that the main cause of the imperialist war of division in the current situation is not the competition between the imperialist monopolies (which is already the main cause of the imperialist monopolies' war for the market), but the economic crisis of the imperialist capitalist system and especially the fall in profit rates. If the crisis continues and the tendency of the rate of profit to fall continues, the difference in numbers and market values between the imperialist monopolies will not matter.

It should not be forgotten that market competition is fundamental in inter-imperialist relations. Therefore, the fight between imperialist monopolies and imperialist states for the redistribution of markets and re-hegemony is the objective condition of imperialist war. And it is the main cause. The crisis of capitalism, the decline in the rate of profit and other problems also accelerate the contradiction, strife, and war conditions between imperialists.

In this respect, the risk of the rivalry between the imperialist monopolies turning into a new imperialist war is clearly and clearly in front of us today. There is a risk that the regional conflicts may trigger a total imperialist war of division. The existence of this risk means that the conditions under which the rivalry between the imperialist monopolies evolves into armed conflicts means the preparations for a new imperialist war of division. For this reason, although the competition between the imperialist monopolies is currently being conducted through nonwar methods, they are essentially preparing for war. This is the reason the states representing the imperialist monopolies are

polarizing among themselves, strengthening old military alliances and economic unions, or establishing new military alliances and economic unions.

In sum, as the competition between the imperialist monopolies intensifies and especially as the crisis of capitalism and the tendency of the rate of profit to fall continue, there is a danger of a new imperialist war of division (the Third Imperialist War of Division). This danger arises as a direct consequence of the existence of imperialist monopolies and the crises of the capitalist system. "The outbreak of an imperialist world war would be the result of the efforts of the imperialist countries to save themselves from the new economic and political crisis". .... Such a "war is unjust, predatory and imperialist in character. Communist Parties all over the world must absolutely oppose both this war and the murderous attitude of the social-democratic parties, which betray the proletariat by supporting it." <sup>100</sup>

The political attitude to be pursued against a possible imperialist war of division is to defend and oppose such a war as an unjust, reactionary war: "The way to oppose such a war is to do everything in our power to prevent it before it breaks out, and after it breaks out to oppose it with war where possible, to oppose unjust war with just war." <sup>101</sup>

# The Politics of the Competition of Imperialist Monopolies: The Rise of Racism and Fascism

The sharpening of the competition between the imperialist monopolies and especially the crisis of capitalism and the decrease in profit rates shape the developments in the ideological-political field. The phenomenon of "fascism", which has been voiced under one heading or another in recent years, is not independent from the crisis of the imperialist capitalist system.

The "preventive war doctrine" launched by US imperialism after the September 11, 2001 attacks, also called the "Bush Doctrine", has been replaced by a phase in which US imperialism categorizes states as "pro-democracy" and "non-

democracy" states, which it sees as threats to its hegemony, and declares them enemies. The definition of "dictatorship" against China and Russia, which US imperialism sees as rivals in parallel with the sharpening of competition between imperialist monopolies, is also a product of this process. 103

Thus, US imperialism has expanded the framework of its aggression against states such as Afghanistan and Iraq, which it has conducted worldwide on the pretext of "fighting terrorism". US imperialism legitimizes its intervention in states that it does not "define as democratic" on the grounds of "bringing democracy".

Although the competition between the imperialist monopolies and especially the struggle between the US and Chinese monopolies, which is becoming more and more evident, contains clumsy examples such as former US President Donald Trump's calling the Covid-19 virus the "Chinese virus" mainly in the central countries of the imperialist capitalist system, especially in the central countries of the imperialist capitalist system, developments such as paving the way for organizations that are called "right populist" at the international level, which in reality are outright fascist, or enabling them to form governments are the product of this process.

The sharpening of competition between imperialist monopolies, the crisis of capitalism and the decline in profit rates have a direct impact on the rise of racism, hostility to immigrants and refugees, aggression against women and LGBTQ+, especially in the central countries of the imperialist capitalist system. As if proving the fact that even the most democratic bourgeois democracies are bourgeois dictatorships, individuals or organizations that do not obey the established order or express the slightest criticism are targeted as "terrorists" and even subjected to criminal investigations.

Under conditions where the rivalry between imperialist monopolies sometimes evolves into regional wars, for example, with Russia's invasion of Ukraine, the US-led "western

imperialism" declaring everything Russian as an enemy<sup>105</sup>, moreover, developments such as the reintroduction of communism and Soviet hostility to the agenda<sup>106</sup> even though they have nothing to do with it, show that racism and fascism are still being used as an effective weapon in the competition of imperialist monopolies.

The latest example of the rise of racism and fascism took place on October 7, after the Palestinian resistance attacked Israel. Israeli Zionism tried to justify its massacre attacks by describing Palestinians as "humanoid animals". 107 "Western imperialism", which fully supports Israel, has banned demonstrations in support of Palestine condemning Israel's massacres or symbols of the Palestinian nation and resistance. 108 Or outlawed democratic organizations that support the Palestinian resistance. 109 The developments such as the revocation of awards for being Palestinian<sup>110</sup> threats of deportation<sup>111</sup> or unemployment of those who condemn Israel<sup>112</sup> not only show the limits of bourgeois democracy, but also indicate that the imperialist capitalist system is turning towards racism and fascism to the extent that the crisis of the imperialist capitalist system grows.

The sharpening of competition between imperialist monopolies, the perpetuation of the crisis of capitalism and the decline in the rate of profit brings with it the hardening of the class struggle. From the most bourgeois democratic countries to semi-colonial and semi-colonial semi-feudal countries, the working-class struggle and mass movements are being terrorized and suppressed by fascist repression and force.



# PART II The Struggle of the Working Class and the Peoples of the World

The economic crisis of capitalism parallel to the sharpening of competition between the imperialist monopolies and especially the policies implemented due to the decline in profit rates have led to the struggle, actions, and protests of the world rights, including in the capitalist imperialist centres. In the face of these policies implemented by the bourgeoisie worldwide in order to protect its class interests and which directly affect the living and working conditions of the peoples of the world in a negative way, the rights of the world have continued their class struggle and have not abandoned the streets and squares.

Indeed, according to the International Strike Report of the Labor Studies Group, there were 3,152 strikes in six countries in 2022.113 According to the latest available information compiled by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace on November 2, 2023, 400 major anti-government protests erupted worldwide. 132 countries have experienced more major protests. Since 2017, there have been 135 major economic anti-government protests. 23% of the major anti-government protests lasted more than three months. In relation to these struggles, reports that in 2022, protests took place in 92 countries around the world, during which more than 80 workers were killed.

Since the imperialist bourgeoisie is aware of this reality (class struggles), in recent years it has been pointing to the "risk of civil unrest" and the danger of "work stoppages" in "working life" around the world. The reason for the "risk of work stoppages" due to the "risk of civil unrest" that the imperialist bourgeoisie speaks of as a high risk is not independent of the revolt of the world's rights against the living and working conditions imposed on them, and the class struggles.

As a matter of fact, the years we have left behind have been years in which the working class and oppressed working peoples of the world have continued to struggle for their rights and this mobility continues. The class struggle of the working class and oppressed peoples of the world is rising in parallel with the crisis of imperialist capitalism.

#### - Class Struggles in Capitalist Imperialist Centres

In parallel with the increase in competition between imperialist monopolies, the economic crisis of capitalism has led to an increase in inflation in imperialist capitalist countries, which has caused the cost of living to rise, while the prices of housing, heating, transportation expenses and basic consumer goods, especially food, have increased. In the face of this situation, working people, especially the working class in the imperialist capitalist centres, took to the streets to protect their existing living conditions. This situation has been described as "anti-capitalist revolt in Europe" or "A ghost haunts Europe: The return of class". 118

The concrete example of the fact that the imperialist bourgeoisie, in its policy of overcoming the capitalist crisis without harming its own class interests and, moreover, making the working class and toiling people pay the bill, bypasses even its own legal rules and therefore even the most democratic bourgeois democracy is in the last analysis a class dictatorship, has been experienced in France. In the face of the capitalist crisis and the decline in profit rates, the French imperialist bourgeoisie has launched an attack on the pension rights of the working class and labourers under the name of "reform". The fact that the socalled "reform" and the attack aimed at increasing the retirement age and the number of days to pay contributions was not submitted to the parliament of the bourgeois democracy and was directly enacted into law, even if only for show, shows the situation the bourgeoisie is in and moreover shows that even the most democratic bourgeois state is a bourgeois dictatorship and

does not even enforce its own laws when necessary.<sup>119</sup> Moreover, in the face of strikes by the working class, representatives of the French bourgeoisie even proposed "forced labour".<sup>120</sup>

The French working class and labourers repeatedly took to the streets against this attack of the French imperialist bourgeoisie, which it called "reform". During these months-long demonstrations of millions of workers and labourers, thousands of labourers were subjected to police terror and hundreds were arrested. <sup>121</sup>

Similar to the French workers, workers and pensioners in Portugal organized a large demonstration demanding wage increases, limits on the prices of basic consumer goods, and additional taxes on monopolies, especially in the wake of rising energy prices. Similarly, airline workers in Spain went on strike demanding wage and minimum wage increases and an end to outsourcing. 123

Working class and labourers in Britain went on strike and took to the squares against the working and living conditions imposed on them. The strike by railway workers after 30 years was accompanied by a strike by health workers after 50 years. The British working class and labourers went on prolonged or repeated warning strikes to improve working and wage conditions in many industries. The high level of participation in these strikes and actions shows that the class struggle is in full swing in Britain. 124

In Germany, too, the working class and labourers took to the streets and staged strikes to improve their working and living conditions and against the usurpation of their rights. The strikes and actions of transport workers, especially railway workers, and public workers, demanding wage increases and better working conditions, once again showed the power of the working class coming from production. 125

In the US, where the centres of imperialist monopolies are concentrated, there was also an upward trend in the struggle of the working class. <sup>126</sup> The struggle of the working class was

concentrated in sectors such as accommodation and food services, education, health, transportation and transport, and automotive.

The continuation of the struggle of the working class in 2023 led to comments such as "work stoppages may become the norm" and even headlines such as "the age of strikes". 127 Healthcare workers staged the largest strike of healthcare workers in US history. 128

In China, which has emerged as a new and young imperialist power, there has been an increase in workers' actions and strikes across the country, despite the fact that union organization outside the official Federation of Trade Unions is banned and attempts to organize and go on strike are not allowed. For example, according to data from the China Labor Bulletin, strikes and protests in 2022 were 830, while strikes and protests reached 741 in the first 6 months of 2023. The actions of the working class are concentrated in the manufacturing, construction, service, transportation, and logistics sectors. 129

China has also witnessed strikes organized by workers' committees outside the official labour union. An example of this was the strike by delivery couriers working for Meituan, one of the country's largest food distribution platforms, against worsening working conditions and low wages. Hundreds of couriers have walked off the job in Shanwei and several other cities in Guangdong province. The China Labor Bulletin reported that in Shanwei, Guangdong province, three strikes by Meituan food delivery drivers were recorded in March and April. 130

Another resistance that has had an impact on the recent struggles of the Chinese working class has been the workers' struggles in the Foxconn Factory. The fact that the factory is the largest factory of the imperialist monopoly Apple in the world also played a role in this effect. The workers' resistance in the Chinese factory of the Taiwanese company Foxconn, which came to the agenda with "bad working conditions" and "worker

suicides", started with workers' protests including clashes with the police and ended successfully. 132

The working class struggle against the "new bourgeoisie" of China, which has become a social imperialist power since the capitalist passengers seized power after the death of Chairman Mao, continues. The fact that there have been a number of examples in the struggle of the Chinese working class and masses, from carrying posters of Chairman Mao to singing the International Anthem and referring to Comrades Marx and Engels, shows that the masses still carry the experience of socialism in their consciousness. Particularly noteworthy are developments such as the youth turning to the working class and supporting the working class struggle. There are various reports that MLMs are reorganizing in China. The struggle in the consciousness.

Examples of the struggles of the working class in the imperialist capitalist centres, the resistance, and actions of the masses of the people, which include objections to their living conditions, especially their living conditions, which have worsened with the capitalist crisis, can be multiplied. In general, what the process shows us is that in the so-called "developed countries", the mobilization and class struggle of the broad masses of the people, especially the working class, continues in various forms and contents.

Contrary to the bourgeoisie's mass media propaganda, as the competition between imperialist monopolies increases, as the crisis of capitalism becomes protracted, and moreover as capitalist profit rates fall, the policies that the bourgeoisie tries to implement for class interests are responded by the working class and working people with actions. The participation and continuity of these actions continues to increase.

# - Class Struggles in Countries Dependent on Imperialism

The increase in competition between imperialist monopolies and the continuation of the capitalist crisis have

become more visible in the countries dependent on imperialism. The most important reason for this is that the rivalry between the imperialist monopolies and the fight for the market, which sometimes turns into armed conflict, is experienced more in semisemi-colonial semi-feudal colonial. countries under domination of imperialist finance capital. The rivalry between imperialist monopolies has led to military coups in the countries dependent on imperialism. In addition, the high inflation caused by the capitalist crisis, the increase in energy prices caused by the rivalry between imperialist monopolies and the war in Ukraine have negatively affected the living and working conditions of the oppressed world rights in the countries dependent on imperialism.

In these countries, the working class and labouring rights have revolted against the conditions imposed on them by the system or the conditions they must live in, especially economic ones, and have taken to the streets and squares to show their reactions through strikes and demonstrations. These reactions have also triggered power struggles between the ruling class cliques in these imperialist-dependent countries and led to changes of government through military coups. The reaction and anger of the people in these countries has been used as a lever in the power struggles between the ruling class cliques.

As we have already pointed out, while there have been 400 anti-government demonstrations worldwide since 2017, anti-government demonstrations with direct economic demands have taken place in 132 countries. More concretely, between January 2021 and October 2022, protests were organized in 92 countries around the world and more than 80 people were killed in these protests. The fact that the countries where these protests that resulted in deaths took place are countries dependent on imperialism shows that the competition between imperialist monopolies and the crisis of capitalism are reflected more severely in countries dependent on imperialism. These state governments dependent on imperialist capital have tried to suppress the protests of the masses of the people by using

violence. However, the struggle of the working class and the oppressed peoples of the world continued in 2023, especially in the countries dependent on imperialism.

These data not only show that the working class and labourers' rights are in constant movement, but also that the international class struggle continues with a certain momentum.

In these countries, which constitute the market areas of the imperialist monopolies and are dependent on imperialist capital, the sharpness of the contradictions led the ruling classes to attack these actions and activities, including armed interventions. While the masses of the people in many countries revolted and reacted against the working and living conditions imposed on them, against corruption, against the increase in fuel and food prices, the lack of a communist leadership in these revolts and actions led to the dampening of this movement of the masses in the process.

Undoubtedly, we do not have the chance to analyse in detail the revolts, workers' actions, and popular struggles in each country. However, it would be appropriate to dwell on a few examples and mention the forms that the class struggles of the working class and the rights of the oppressed world have taken in the countries dependent on imperialism. Even these singular examples show that the class struggle is in full swing.

For example, we witnessed the revolt of the working class and the masses of the people at the beginning of 2022 against the transformation of Kazakhstan, one of the former Soviet Union Republics, into the "family farm" of a comprador oligarch named Nursultan Nazarbayev with the capitalist restoration. In Kazakhstan, where corruption and theft are rampant and the daughters and sons-in-law of Nazarbayev, the founding president of the state, are dollar billionaires, protests that began with strikes by oil workers when fuel prices doubled, spread to other sectors and soon spread to the northern and eastern provinces of the country. Demonstrators clashed with police and seized the city administration building in Almaty. While the state-imposed

regulations on fuel and basic food products, on the same day, special forces were deployed in place of soldiers who refused to open fire on the population, and many people were killed by gunfire. The new President Tokayev declared a state of emergency and Russia sent troops to the country under the name of "peacekeeping force". The popular uprising demanding the resignation of the president and all Nazarbayev-era officials, the recognition of the right to form parties and trade unions, the end of repression and the release of political prisoners was suppressed by force. Nazarbayev was purged and replaced by Tokayev, another comprador oligarch. "The unorganized people, as in every major power struggle, had to settle for relatively small and temporary gains, but mainly to shed their blood in the conflict between the ruling classes." <sup>137</sup>

A similar uprising to Kazakhstan took place in the South Asian country of Sri Lanka at the end of March 2022. Sri Lankans rose up in response to power cuts, skyrocketing prices due to restrictions on imports of fuel and basic foodstuffs, and queues in front of petrol stations and grocery stores. General strikes brought life to a standstill in the country. People stormed the presidential palace chanting "Dictator Gota". The government of Sri Lankan president Gotabaya Rajapaksa fell. The cars and homes of many government officials were set on fire during this time. <sup>138</sup>

Another people who took to the streets against the hikes in fuel and food prices were the people of Ecuador. Against the economic crisis caused by the economic policies of Ecuador's President Guillermo Lasso and his policies favouring the interests of mining companies, the people took to the streets in 11 regions on June 13, with the call of the Confederation of Indigenous Peoples of Ecuador (CONAIE). The Ecuadorian state declared a state of emergency and described the popular demonstrations as an "attempted coup". The demonstrations, which lasted 18 days and left 7 people dead, one of them a soldier, demanding an increase in the budget allocated to education, a reduction in fuel

prices and control of food prices, ended with a 5% reduction in gasoline prices and promises to improve other services. 139

Another reflection of the competition between imperialist monopolies on the oppressed peoples of the world has emerged as coups and coup attempts in the oppressed dependent countries. The African continent has been the place where these coups and coup attempts have been intensely experienced in parallel with the polarization of the imperialist states, the spokespersons of the imperialist monopolies, among themselves and the change in the balance of power. Although the oppressed peoples of the African continent, who have a rich history of struggle against imperialist colonialism, got rid of their colonial status because of their struggles against imperialist exploitation, they continued to be subjected to imperialist exploitation as semi-colonies imperialist monopolies. Nevertheless, the peoples of the African who were also oppressed under semi-colonial conditions, faced military coups in which power was transferred from one clique to another because of the inter-imperialist struggle. The fact that most military coups throughout the world have been conducted in Africa means that the "black continent" is directly affected by inter-imperialist rivalry. 140

One of these countries is Sudan, which has seen a succession of military coups. After the military coup in April 2019, the mass movement, which turned into an uprising that lasted for 4 months, was suppressed by the "Provisional Sovereignty Council" established by the forces that led the coup, taking some of those who led the mass movement with them. With the second coup in October 2021, 141 the putschists consolidated their power, but soon after, in April 2023, the clash between the ruling cliques began.

The clashes between the ruling cliques in Sudan are not independent of the division of the country's underground resources, which are rich in gold mines, and the confrontation between the US-EU imperialists and Russia.<sup>142</sup>

In Burkina Faso in Africa, a group of soldiers associated with French imperialism seized power in a coup d'état in January 2022, citing poverty, corruption and "failure against jihadist terrorists". The people organized mass demonstrations. A coup was conducted against the coup plotters. The former coup leader took refuge in the French military base in the country. Institutions associated with French imperialism were attacked in the country. Behind the coups, of course, was the struggle between the French and Russian imperialists for dominance in the country. <sup>143</sup>

In Mali, Chad, Guinea, Niger and other African countries, coups were staged on the grounds of the corruption of those in power and the poverty of the people, and finally in Gabon, a former French colony, a military coup was staged on the grounds of poverty and corruption.<sup>144</sup> The coup in Gabon was shaped as a product of the struggle between the French and Russian imperialists.

It is no coincidence that the successive military coups in the African continent are taking place in the former colonies of the European imperialists, today's so-called independent neocolonial countries. The recent increasing capital investments of the Russian and Chinese imperialists in this continent have led to power struggles between the ruling class cliques associated with imperialist capital.

Another country where a military coup has recently taken place is Peru. After the defeat of the People's War led by the Communist Party of Peru in Peru, the Peruvian ruling classes, who opened the country's underground and above-ground resources more and more to the exploitation of imperialist finance capital with neo-liberal economic policies and thus ensured the impoverishment of the Peruvian people, wanted to appease the anger and reaction of the people by electing a "leftist" candidate as president, but they removed him with a coup shortly after. The people were called upon to resist the coup conducted by the Peruvian ruling classes backed by US imperialism. The people who took to the streets in response to this call were attacked and

massacred by state forces and a state of emergency was declared to suppress those protesting the coup. The recent events in Peru not only proved that elections in countries dependent on imperialism are a mere formality for show but also showed the limits of the policy of eliminating the reaction of the people against the poverty and hunger in which they are forced into with in-order solutions. 145

Another country on the agenda of the rights of the oppressed world during this period was Iran. Although the popular movement that started in Iran in September 2022 was triggered by the obligation imposed on women to "cover their heads" and the death in custody of Jina Mahsa Amini, who was arrested for showing her hair, the movement of the masses in Iran was not limited to this. The protests of the masses against the killing of M. Amini by the regime forces spread to all cities of Iran and turned into an uprising. 146

The protests were not limited to strong street protests challenging the reactionary mullah regime, with the slogan "death to the dictator!" becoming increasingly prominent; students and teachers organized boycotts in universities and high schools, while petrochemical, refinery, food, gas, iron and steel, and rubber workers, among others, formed workers' councils in their factories and went on strike for weeks. 147 Shopkeepers closed their shutters and truck drivers joined the movement by shutting down and stopping transportation. 148

The people's movement was sparked by the imposition on women to cover their hair and the death of Jina Mahsa, but it had a very broad basis. In the background of the Iranian people's revolt, the causes of the reactions included the bottlenecks of the capitalist economy aggravated by the sanctions imposed on the country by "western imperialism" and the regime's reactionary economic policies and tyranny that deepened the social gap, high unemployment, ever-increasing food prices, neo-liberal reforms, especially privatizations, and corruption.<sup>149</sup>

The reactionary Iranian regime, impotent for a long time in the face of the workers' and people's movement, resorted to the well-known black propaganda and put forward the lie of "foreign powers" and pursued a policy of dividing and appeasing the movement by exploiting the anti-Americanism of the people. When it failed to find what it hoped for, it turned to suppressing the popular movement through arrests, the use of weapons against demonstrators and executions. During the demonstrations, 524 people, including children, were killed. 150

Finally, it is necessary to mention the struggle of the working class of Bangladesh, which has been transformed into a contract manufacturing centre for the imperialist textile monopolies as a product of the imperialist monopolies shifting their production processes to semi-colonial countries in order to gain more profit, where there are no extra cost calculations such as heavy working conditions, long shifts, more intense surplus value appropriation and environmental massacres.

In Bangladesh, the world's second largest garment producer, tens of thousands of textile workers have been protesting and demonstrating against "misery wages" since October 23, 2023, despite police attacks.

There are about 3500 textile and garment factories in the country employing 4 million workers, mostly women. While these factories mainly conduct contract manufacturing for the imperialist monopolies, they want to make the exploitation even more blatant by giving a "minimum wage" that is not even enough to meet the basic needs of the workers. Textile workers went on strike on the grounds that the sharp rise in the cost of living made them unable to support their families. At least four workers were killed by the police during the protests. <sup>151</sup>

## The State of the Revolutionary and Communist Movement

At the end of the 20th century, after the reversals in socialism, after the modern revisionists threw off the socialist

mask and openly switched to capitalism, the imperialist capitalist system propagandized that the "class struggle" was over and claimed that the "end of history" had come. US imperialism, as the mouthpiece of the imperialist monopolies, was proclaimed as the "sole ruler of the world".

With this process, a liquidation attack against the revolutionary and communist movement in the international arena was also launched. Ideologically, this process, which was continued with the propaganda that "ideologies are dead", was also continued as a complete counter-revolutionary attack in every field such as cultural, military, etc.

However, the so-called "triumph of capitalism" was not possible due to the inner workings of capitalism itself. The "peace" of the imperialist monopolies declared under the leadership of the USA and the "unipolar world" that replaced the "peace" of the imperialist monopolies and the "unipolar world" declared under the leadership of the USA with the emergence of new imperialist monopolies and their spokespersons, the young states, resulted in monopolization imperialist centralized due to the nature of private property. In the late 20th century, the "unipolar world" was replaced by a "multipolar world" based on the imperialist capitalist system. This determined the movement of the imperialist capitalist system in the international arena. Camps took shape under the leadership of various imperialist states. These camps, formed by states that are the spokespersons of the imperialist monopolies, struggled against each other.

The imperialist monopolies reorganized the international division of labour in this process in which they declared relative victory. The capitalist states took steps to change the policies they had implemented in the face of the existence of the socialist system and the struggle of the working class, which they called the "social state", step by step, and to usurp the gains of the working class and the working people. Under the name of "neoliberal" policies, they wanted to solve the capitalist crises

produced by the nature of capitalism itself and the decline in profit rates by shifting production processes to countries dependent on imperialism. In this way, it was aimed to get rid of a series of costs that cause loss of profit for the countries dependent on imperialism, especially intensive surplus-value exploitation.

The semi-colonial, semi-feudal, semi-colonial semi-feudal countries dependent on imperialism were subjected to a complete plunder of imperialist capital with the "neo-liberal" policies of imperialism. The underground and above-ground resources of these countries have been plundered more and more for imperialist capital to gain more profit. This situation led to the further impoverishment of the peoples of the countries dependent on imperialism.

With this "new" orientation of the imperialist monopolies, in the imperialist capitalist centres, the step-by-step change of "social state" policies, the usurpation of the gains of the working class and the working people for the sake of the interests of the bourgeoisie, led to the emergence of various "anti-capitalist" reformist movements called "anti-globalization" in the imperialist capitalist centres. These movements objected not to the capitalist system itself but to its consequences. The weakness and disorganization of the communist parties in the imperialist capitalist centres prevented these movements from being organized on the right basis within the class struggle. Modern revisionism and Trotskyism masquerading as socialism also played a role.

In this process, in semi-colonial, semi-colonial semi-feudal countries dependent on imperialism, the changes and transformations in these countries, parallel to imperialism's reorganization of the international division of labour, led to the struggles of representatives of various classes. It should be noted that in some countries, in addition to the struggles of petty bourgeois revolutionary organizations, struggles were also waged in countries where communist parties were organized.

At the same time, the oppressed nations continued their struggles in various forms and contents. From the Zapatistas in Mexico to the Tamil Tigers in Sri Lanka and from the Palestinian National Movement to the Kurdish National Movement in the Middle East, several anarchist, reformist, and revolutionary organizations continued their struggles.

For the MLM movements, although this process was answered by the People's War raised by the Communist Party of Peru, it was interrupted by the imprisonment of Comrade Gonzalo, the leader of the PCP, and the subsequent defeat of the Peruvian revolution. The Nepalese revolution that followed the Peruvian revolution, which shifted to a class collaborationist line with the betrayal of its leadership at the stage of taking power, was recorded as a failure of the communist movement. Despite these negativities, the communist movement continued its struggle for power through people's war in semi-colonial, semi-feudal countries dependent on imperialism. In India, the communist movement united at the beginning of the 21st century and consolidated its organization among the masses, especially in rural areas. In the Philippines, the communist movement continued its struggle steadily.

Following the defeat of the Nepalese revolution, the communist movement there has been reorganizing. Most recently, the communist movement in Nepal announced its unification as the Nepal Revolutionary Communist Party (NRCP). The Communist Party of India (Maoist), in its struggle to lead the class struggle in India and raise the People's War, successfully responded to the counter-revolutionary attacks of the Indian state under the guise of various campaigns and defended its positions. 153

In line with the Indian reaction's policy of confining the communist movement to the countryside, counter-revolutionary attacks on the urban activities of the CPI (Maoist) were stepped up and many arrests were made. 154

the Philippines, there are increasing counterrevolutionary attacks by the Philippine state against the Communist Party of the Philippines. Parallel to the growing contradiction between the US and Chinese imperialists, the importance of the Philippines in the geostrategic imperialism's policy of containment of China has led to the establishment of US military bases in the Philippines and, moreover, to the further attachment of the Philippine reaction to the US imperialists. The increasing influence of the United States over the Philippines has further increased the attacks of the Philippine state against the communist movement. The Communist Party of the Philippines has suffered losses in these attacks.155

It is also worth mentioning the recent organization that proclaims itself as the "International Communist League" (ICL) and claims to be an international organization of Marxist-Leninist Maoist parties. This organization was announced in a virtual internet newspaper called "Communist International" as the result of the "United Maoist International Conference". Is should be noted that the vast majority of the parties and organizations that announced this organization are disconnected from the masses and moreover, their understanding of MLM is problematic. The "International Union" formed by these organizations and groups with "left" rhetoric and a dogmatic ideological stance on MLM looks like a bad caricature of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement (RIM). Is the international international internationalist Movement (RIM).

#### Conclusion

All these facts and developments show that the workers and labourers in the imperialist capitalist centres and in the countries dependent on imperialism are facing difficult conditions, but the tendency to struggle to change the conditions is gaining strength. While in the imperialist capitalist centres the workers and labourers generally organize strikes and demonstrations to protect their "living standards" and living and

working conditions, in the imperialist dependent countries the working class and labourers take to the streets, strike and demonstrate to improve their living and working conditions for a number of reasons ranging from rising food and energy prices, deepening hunger and poverty to government corruption.

Internationally, in addition to such actions in individual countries, there are also actions with direct political demands, such as the Israeli massacre attacks on Gaza and the Palestinians. While the working class stopped work with this demand and refused to load the ships shipping to Israel, most of the peoples of the world took to the streets to protest Israel and to oppose the policies of "their" governments. After October 7, 2023, despite all the media campaigns of Israeli Zionism and imperialism, protests and demonstrations condemning Israel and supporting the Palestinian people took place in more than 80 countries. 158

The actions of the people of Kazakhstan, Sri Lanka and most recently the working class and people of Bangladesh show us the truth. The working class and the oppressed peoples of the world are revolting and continuing their struggle. While the class struggle continues worldwide in various forms and contents, the working class strikes and mass demonstrations rising in the imperialist capitalist centres turn into popular revolts in the countries dependent on imperialism, as in Kazakhstan and Sri Lanka, and the strikes and actions of the working class lasting for days, as in Bangladesh, continue despite the armed intervention and massacres of the state forces.

The popular uprisings in Kazakhstan, Sri Lanka, and Bangladesh in particular point to the lack of a genuine communist party to lead them. Because the revolt of the Kazakh people lacked the leadership of a communist party, it soon ended with the reinforcement of military forces from outside the country and the liquidation of the ruling class cliques. A similar situation occurred in Sri Lanka. The people revolted, seized important centres of state power, especially the presidential palace, and directly targeted the representatives of the ruling classes. Some of

those in power resigned and fled abroad. Since the popular revolt in Sri Lanka did not develop under the leadership of a communist party, it could not result in the power of the working class and the people.

One of the main lessons that the uprisings of the peoples of these countries have taught the peoples of the oppressed world is that even in semi-colonial countries oppressed by imperialism, revolution is possible through armed popular uprising. The fact that no revolution has taken place in Kazakhstan or Sri Lanka does not invalidate this lesson. On the contrary, it proves once again that the fundamental issue is the organization of the vanguard. Communists must therefore play their historic role.

Today's conditions also dictate that the disparate international communist parties should develop relations among themselves, analyse the international situation, put the problems strategic-politicaland make alternative table organizational determinations, intervene in disorganization, spontaneous, disconnection from each other and take objective decisions on the MLM line that will carry the struggle forward. The polarization between imperialists and the market war becoming more aggressive today makes this more imperative. Just as every organization is the product of a need, today's conditions in the international arena impose international organization. This will also form the basis for a new communist international. This organization must learn from previous communist international experiences and especially from the experience of the RIM. Of course, this organization and struggle must be conducted together with the struggle of each communist party in its own country.

The actions of the working class and the peoples of the world in individual countries, as well as this course of the class struggle at the international level, imposes on the advanced workers and toilers, the vanguard of the working class, the communists in each country the task of playing their historical role.

Especially at a time when the danger of an imperialist war of division is on the agenda, it is important to prepare the communist parties and organizations in the imperialist capitalist centres for a war of division. "As to the question of war, the Communist Parties in the capitalist countries oppose imperialist wars waged by their own countries. If such wars break out, the policy of these Parties is to ensure the defeat of the reactionary governments in their own countries. The only war the Communist Parties want to fight is the civil war for which they are preparing." 159

We are in a process in which the increasing competition of the imperialist monopolies has led to new alliance relations and camps among the spokesperson states of the imperialist monopolies, and the contradiction between the imperialist camps has sharpened. The contradiction between the imperialist monopolies sometimes evolves into military conflicts, as in Russia's invasion of Ukraine.

The sharpening of the contradiction between the imperialist monopolies includes the preparation for a new imperialist war of division. Although the balance of power and the extent of competition between the imperialist monopolies postpone a new war of division, the continuation of the economic crisis of capitalism and, moreover, the reasons such as the decline in capitalist profit rates and the market struggle between imperialist monopolies have the potential to trigger a war of division for the market (World War III) between imperialist monopolies.

In conclusion, it is possible to define the main contradictions that are sharpening at the international level as follows:

- 1- The contradiction between imperialism and oppressed nations and oppressed peoples
- 2- The contradiction between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat in imperialist countries
  - 3- Inter-imperialist contradiction

4- The main contradiction worldwide is the contradiction between labour and capital. The main contradiction worldwide arising from this contradiction is the contradiction between imperialism and the oppressed nations and peoples, while in capitalist and imperialist countries the main contradiction is the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie.

In this context.

- 1- The wave of economic crisis in the world is deepening and widening. Although the crisis that started in 2008 was tried to be managed for a short time, the imperialist system has not been able to overcome the crisis. The struggle for the redistribution of markets is deepening. The competition between the capitalist imperialist countries, the struggle for dominance and superiority continues without losing any momentum.
- 2- At the present stage, the inter-imperialist blocs and alignments have become even more evident. Britain, the USA, and the European Union constitute one bloc; Chinese social imperialism and Russian imperialism constitute another bloc.
- 3- The imperialist countries, unable to solve their ongoing crisis, have accelerated their steps towards solving their processes with war. The danger of an imperialist war of division is increasing. The imperialist powers are arming themselves militarily and preparing for war with more emphasis every year. The coming to power of fascist parties, the gradual escalation of racism, the increase in xenophobia and xenophobia, the limitations on democratic and social rights, the passing of anti-democratic laws one after another should be read as preparation for war.
- 4- Developments in the world and in the Middle East have clearly shown that the main instigator of the war is the US and British imperialism.
- 5- The establishment of anti-imperialist fronts against the imperialist war worldwide and on continents has become one of the important agendas of communist, revolutionary and all anti-war forces.

#### **Footnotes**

- 1- United Nations (UN) Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) Climate Change 2023: Synthesis Report; https://www.bbc.com/turkce/articles/cp9lmvex003o
- 2- The international bourgeoisie has held and will continue to hold multiple "climate conferences" under the auspices of the United Nations (UN). At each conference, it promises to reduce carbon emissions. However, not only have none of these promises been kept, on the contrary, they are increasing day by day. For example, the CO2 emitted in 2022 is 36 billion 800 million tons. At this rate of increase, this means that by 2100 the temperature will rise by 5 degrees Celsius. However, the bourgeoisie puts forward the lie that we will keep the temperature constant at 1.5 degrees Celsius. The main reason for this is that the imperialist capitalist system is directly responsible for the so-called "climate crisis". As a matter of fact, a report published by Oxfam states that the richest 10% of the world is responsible for 50% of all carbon emissions in the world. The poorest 50% are responsible for only 8%. The emissions of the richest 1% are higher than those of the poorest 66%. This gap clearly reveals the class nature of the climate crisis. Oxfam Report. https://policy-practice.oxfam.org/resources/climate-equality-a-planet-for-the-99-621551/
- 3- P. Hudis/Badperson (ed.): The Book of Rosa Luxemburg-Selma Yazılar, trans. Tunç Tayna, Istanbul: Dipnot Yayınları, 2013, p. 477
- 4- "Worldwide, as of November 8, 2023, there are 771,820,937 confirmed cases of COVID-19, including 6,978,175 deaths reported to the World Health Organization." https://covid19.who.int]
- 5- "Today, the decline in both the number and diversity of living species has brought the world face to face with the danger of "mass extinction" for the sixth time. In the last 450 million years, there have been five mass extinctions, each of which wiped out 70-95% of the plant, animal and microorganism species that existed before, and it is stated that we are in a new mass extinction process that started in the 1800s. According to these assessments, the rate of extinction of species today is hundreds or even thousands of times higher than it has been in the last tens of millions of years. Some 94% of the 77 populations of mammal and bird species on the brink of extinction have disappeared in the last century, and a new United Nations report highlights that a quarter of species are in danger of extinction, most within decades." "Vertebrates on the brink as indicators of biological annihilation and the sixth mass extinction" Ceballos, P. Ehrlich, P.H. Raven, cited by Cavit Isik Yavuz, https://teoriveeylem.net/tr/2022/03/30/doganintalani-pandemi-ve-kapitalizm/#\_ftn13]
- 6- In the "Global Risks Report" of the World Economic Forum, which met in Davos in 2020 before the Covid-19 pandemic, it is stated that the next

- 10 years contain 10 global risks and five of these global risks are environmental risks: Climate action failure, biodiversity loss, extreme weather events, natural disasters, man-made environmental disasters. Water crisis and infectious diseases have been added to these topics under the "social" category. World Economic Forum (2020) "Shareable Infographics", http://reports.weforum.org/global-risks-report-2020/shareable-infographics/]
- 7- "The United States has the largest official mortality rate in the world at nearly 1 million." https://tr.euronews.com/2022/03/07/koronavirus-salg-n-nda-3-y-l-dunyada-olenlerin-say-s-6-milyonu-gecti]
- 8- It is stated that by the end of January 2022, more than 10 billion doses of vaccines had been administered in 184 countries around the world. "Developed" capitalist countries have vaccinated 10 times faster than dependent and relatively backward countries." Bloomberg (2022) "More Than 10.2 Billion Shots Given: Covid-19 Tracker", https://www.bloomberg.com/graphics/covid-vaccine-tracker-global-distribution/
- 9- More than 5.55 billion people worldwide have received a dose of Covid-19 vaccine, equal to about 72.3 percent of the world's population, according to the latest data from March 13, 2023. Africa has the lowest vaccination rate of all continents, with only 37.2 percent of the population receiving at least one dose of vaccine, compared to 58 percent in the Middle East, 70 percent in Europe and 81 percent in the United States-Canada. New York Times (2022) "Tracking Coronavirus Vaccinations Around the World", https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2021/world/covid-vaccinations-tracker.html]
- 10- Footnote: https://worldmigrationreport.iom.int/wmr-2022-interactive/
- 11- According to a report published by the United Nations International Labor Organization (ILO), the most recent available estimates for the number of migrant workers are from 2017. In 2017, the number of international migrants was 258 million, while the number of migrant workers was 164 million. Given that the international migrant population is projected to be 272 million in 2019, the number of migrant workers today can be roughly estimated at 173 million. In 2017, 68 million working-age migrants were female migrants and 96 million were male migrant workers. The number of high-income male migrants is close to 64 million, while the number of highincome female migrants is about 48 million. There is gender inequality in the international migrant worker population. ILO Global Estimates International Migrant Workers Results and Methodology: https://archive.is/SGALw#selection-1313.0-1313.79]
- 12- According to United Nations data, 108.4 million people in the world will be forcibly displaced by the end of 2022. Of the 108.4 million, 35.3 million are refugees and 5.4 million are asylum seekers. The number of

internally displaced persons is 62.5 million by 2022. UNHCR states that the number of forcibly displaced persons at the end of 2022 increased by 19.1 million compared to the previous year. It is noted that this is the largest increase since records began to be kept in 1975. https://www.unhcr.org/global-trends]

- 13- The "State of Food Security and Nutrition in the World (SOFI) Report" published jointly by the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO), the International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD), the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), the World Health Organization (WHO) and the World Food Programme (WFP) on 12 July 2023 https://www.healthworldnews.net/2023-dunyada-gida-guvenligi-vebeslenmenin-son-durumu-raporu-yayinlandi/
- 14- According to the Multidimensional Poverty Index, 1.1 billion (just over 18%) of the 6.1 billion people in 110 countries live in severe multidimensional poverty. 5 out of every 6 poor people are in Sub-Saharan Africa (534 million) and South Asia (389 million). Nearly two-thirds of all poor people (730 million people) live in middle-income countries; children under 18 make up half of all poor people (566 million). The poverty rate for children is 27.7%, compared to 13.4% for adults. Poverty mainly affects rural areas, with 84% of all poor people living in rural areas. In all regions of the world, rural areas are poorer than urban areas. It is stated in the report that Turkey's situation could not be calculated due to lack of data and therefore not included. 2023 Global Multidimensional Poverty Index https://hdr.undp.org)
- 15- "8 people have more wealth than half the world's population" in 2017, https://tr.euronews.com/2017/01/16/8-kisinin-serveti-dunya-nufusunun-yarisinin-gelirinden-fazla 2017 Oxfam Report)
- 16- "Oxfam: The wealth of the 26 richest people is equal to that of half the world's population", https://www.bbc.com/turkce/haberler-dunya-46945215 2019 Oxfam Report)
- 17- Top 10 names on the 2023 Forbes Billionaires List 1. Bernard Arnault Fortune: 211 billion dollars (owner of LVMH, a company of 75 fashion and cosmetics brands including Louis Vuitton and Sephora French) 2. Elon Musk Fortune: \$180 billion (co-founder of six companies, including electric car maker Tesla, rocket manufacturer SpaceX and tunnelling startup Boring Company United States) 3: \$114 billion (owner of e-commerce company Amazon United States) 4. Larry Ellison Wealth: 107 billion dollars (owner of software company Oracle United States) 5. Warren Buffet Wealth: 106 billion dollars (owner of Berkshire Hathaway Finance and Investments United States) 6: 104 billion dollars (he parlayed his fortune from the software company Microsoft into various holdings, including energy investments United States) 7. Michael Bloomberg Fortune: 94.5 billion dollars (owner of Bloomberg LP, a financial information, and media company

- United States) 8. Carlos Slim Helu Wealth: 93 billion dollars (Mexico's richest person Carlos Slim Helu and his family control Latin America's largest mobile telecom company América Móvil Mexico 9. Mukesh Ambani Wealth: \$83.4 billion (owner of Reliance Industries, which operates in petrochemicals, oil and gas, telecom, and retail India) 10. Steve Ballmer Wealth: \$80.7 billion (Former CEO of Microsoft and led the company from 2000 to 2014. United States) https://www.forbes.com/billionaires/ List compiled by us].
- 18- F. Engels, who as early as 1843 identified that the world would be divided between the poor and the millionaires as a result of the tendency of capital to centralize and thus monopolize, emphasized that the centralization of capital was due to the nature of private property and pointed out that the middle classes would increasingly disappear and the world would be divided into the poor and the millionaires. F.Engels drew attention to the fact that private property creates competition, which in turn creates monopoly, and that monopoly creates competition, pointing out that the source of the problem is not the individual monopolies but the monopoly of private property, and that it is inadequate and hypocritical to attack small monopolies without touching this main monopoly. F. Engels, "An Essay for a Critique of Political Economy", in Marx, 1844 Manuscripts, Sol Yay., 2. bsk, p. 370)
- 19- In the preface to the French and German editions of the book, dated July 6, 1920, Lenin stated that the book in question was written at the beginning of the 20th century to fulfill the task of "drawing a complete picture" of the capitalist world economy in its international relations, and pointed out the necessity of presenting the distinctive basic features of the world capitalist economic system of the period. V.I. Lenin, The New and Highest Stage of Capitalism: Imperialism, pp. 9-14, Eriş Publications

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- 21- World Investment Report 2022
- 22- The source states that the increase in capital exports among capitalist countries is more than twice the level of 2020 and that this is due to the growth of these capitalist economies and is mostly due to mergers and acquisitions and the high undistributed profits of multinational enterprises (MNEs). International project finance deals in capitalist economies have increased by 70% in number and 149% in value. Source: World Investment Report 2022, https://unctad.org/system/files/official-document/wir2022\_en.pdf, p. 2; English
- 23- The same source also states that in 2021, the imperialist capital entering the Turkish market increased and reached 13 billion dollars.
- 24- UNCTAD, World Investment Report 2021 https://unctad.org/system/files/official-document/wir2021\_en.pdf
- 25- On the other hand, it is necessary to express the following important point. It is not correct to reduce Lenin's analysis of imperialism a

century ago to the export of capital only. Such evaluators tend to define imperialism only in terms of the export of capital by making a comparison between "the export of commodities and the export of capital". This is a stereotypical approach. Just as there was the export of commodities during imperialism, there was also the export of capital before capitalism reached the imperialist stage. Lenin's analysis of imperialism gains meaning with the centralization and concentration of capital, the emergence of monopolies and, moreover, their integration with finance capital. It is known that the export of capital itself is not a phenomenon that emerged for the first time with capitalist imperialism. It is precisely for this reason that the export of capital in the imperialist stage of capitalism, which rises based on the foundation pointed out by Lenin, differs from the export of capital in the classical period. Failure to see this difference results in the declaration that those who export less capital than their rivals do not export capital and therefore are not imperialist.

26- www.visualcapitalist.com/the-biggest-companies-in-the-world-in-2021/

27- On the other hand, it should also be noted. In the table, the "market values" of the first five of the world's leading monopolies are higher than the Turkish economy, which is stated to be the 21st economy of the world. According to the 2022 World Economic Outlook Report of the International Monetary Fund, when Turkey's gross domestic product (GDP) is taken into account, its GDP in 2021 is 806.8 billion US dollars. https://tr.euronews.com/2022/05/16/turkiye-dunyan-n-kac-nc-buyuk-ekonomisi-dunya-ekonomisindeki-pay-ne-kadar When comparing the 2 trillion-dollar Apple with the 806.8-billion-dollar Turkish GDP, the enormous difference between them (1 trillion 200 billion dollars) is not only remarkable but also points to the economic power of the imperialist monopolies.

28- China's rise in market capitalization is not limited to technology and retail monopolies. China's second sector among the top 100 monopolies is finance, which until recently was the most valuable sector in the US (finance is currently ranked 4th after technology, retail, and healthcare). https://www.visualcapitalist.com/the-top-100-companies-of-the-world-the-u-s-vs-everyone-else/

29-https://www.hurriyet.com.tr/gundem/putinin-munih-konusmasi-genelkurmayin-sitesinde-5956456 In his speech at the International Economic Forum in St. Petersburg, Russia, on May 23, 2014, Putin stated that the unipolar world system has failed and everyone is witnessing it: "The world is indeed changing. We are seeing tremendous geo-political, technological, and institutional changes. The unipolar world order system has failed. Everyone is witnessing this today. Even today, in the coordinate system we are still accustomed to, there are those who try to maintain monopoly, dictate their own rules of the game in trade and finance, and impose their own culture and

standards." https://haberrus.ru/politics/2014/05/23/putin-tek-kutuplu-dunya-sistemi-sona-erdi.html

- 30- On June 17, 2022, at the 25th St. Petersburg Economic Forum, Russian President V. Putin stated that "the era of the unipolar world order is over. despite efforts to save bv all means". https://www.gazeteduvar.com.tr/putin-tek-kutuplu-dunya-duzeni-donemi-sonaerdi-haber-1569755 Again, at the opening of the 10th Moscow International Security Conference on August 17, 2022, Russian President V. Putin stated that "the unipolar world order is a thing of the past" and that "the situation in the world is dynamically changing, the outlines of a multipolar world order are taking shape". Source: https://www.indyturk.com/node/543021/dünya/putintek-kutuplu-dünya-düzeni-sona-erdi
- 31- For example, IMF chief Christine Lagarde said on June 12, 2018: "Dark clouds are gathering on the horizon." The darkest cloud, Lagarde said, was the distrust between countries. https://www.dunya.com/finans/haberler/new-york-borsasi-yukselisle-kapandi-haberi-419021 The IMF chief repeated a similar warning in her speech at the World Government Summit in Dubai on February 11, 2019. This time, however, he used the term "storm" to remind his constituency of the seriousness of the impending danger: Economic storm clouds are on the horizon!" In the same speech he said: "When there are too many clouds in the air, all it takes is a bolt of lightning for the storm to break, be prepared for the storm!" https://www.cumhuriyet.com.tr/haber/imf-baskanindan-korkutanuyari-firtinaya-hazir-olun-1242330
- 32- Kristalina Georgieva, President of the International Monetary Fund (IMF), stated on April 20, 2020 that global economic growth will be negative this year due to the new type of coronavirus (Covid-19) outbreak, "We expect the worst economic contraction since the Great Depression" and warned her class. https://tr.euronews.com/my-europe/2020/04/09/imf-baskan-kristalina-georgieva-buyuk-buhran-dan-bu-yana-en-kotu-ekonomik-daralmay-bekliyo
- 33- "In addition, according to World Bank (2020) data, although the biggest economic recession in the world was experienced in 1929, it is predicted that a much greater recession will be experienced after 2020 with the coronavirus outbreak. In fact, according to IMF expectations, the effects of this economic recession will begin to be felt much more severely after the fourth quarter of 2020." Y. Çağdaş, "An Analysis of the Effects of the Coronavirus (Covid-19) Pandemic on the Economy and Public Finance by Cluster Analysis" pp. 139-140, in Journal of Economics, Politics & Finance Research, Volume: 5, Issue: Special Issue, 2020, pdf
- 34- K. Marx, Capital, Third Volume, p.189, It is a law of capitalist production that, with the development of capitalist production, there is a

relative decrease in changing capital in relation to unchanging capital and, therefore, in relation to the total capital mobilized.

- 35- https://tomasrotta.wordpress.com/2023/06/26/was-marx-right-slides-from-the-2023-storep-conference/ "Was Marx Right? Development and Exploitation in 43 Countries, 2000-2014", Rishabh Kumar and Tomas Rotta, English Original text, the same article also states that labour productivity has shifted from the west to China. This is consistent with China being a rising "young" imperialist power.
- 36- V.I. Lenin, "On the Shari'ah of the United States of Europe", Selected Works, Vol. 25, pp.148-152, Inter Publications

37- age, p. 152

- 38- These are conflicting alliances. For example, the USA and France, which are "on the same side" in the imperialist alignment, have confronted each other in the sale of submarines to Australia. France agreed to sell 12 Attack Class conventional diesel-electric powered submarines worth 56 billion Euros to Australia with an agreement signed in 2016, but the US and the UK have agreed on the sale of 8 nuclear submarines to Australia by eliminating through underhand negotiations since https://www.voaturkce.com/a/paris-ve-washington-arasinda-denizalti-ihalesikrizi/6230855.html A similar situation occurred in the sale of two Mistral-class amphibious warships worth 1 billion Euros that France was preparing to sell to Russia. The sale did not materialize due to the sanctions imposed on Russia in connection with the Ukraine-Russia crisis. The payments made to Russia were returned and an agreement was reached in 2015 for the sale of the two warships to Egypt. (Apparently, the warships were sold to Russia through this method.) https://fikirturu.com/jeo-strateji/fransa-yalnizca-birdenizalti-ihalesi-mi-kaybetti/ Both examples show that the US considers its "allies" in the same alliance (NATO) as rival states when it comes to its own arms monopolies. Therefore, the alliances formed by the spokespersons of the imperialist monopolies are contradictory unions and when it comes to their own monopolies, rival monopolies are considered "enemies".
- 39- "China's Xi Stresses Close Ties with 'Dear Friend' Putin During His First Visit to Russia Since Ukraine Invasion", CNN, https://edition.cnn.com/2023/03/20/europe/xi-putin-china-russia-visit-monday-intl-hnk/index.html,V.Putin China's It is also noteworthy that during this meeting Xi said "We are working in solidarity to build a more just and democratic multipolar world order in the UN, UNSC and other organizations". Agy.
- 40- A news article dated November 14, 2023 on this subject: "French bosses warn: The gap between the EU and the US is widening: Patrick Martin, President of the French business association Medef, said that the 'proliferation of EU norms' could hinder the competitiveness of EU business against China and the US. Looking ahead, Martin wants a European industrial strategy on

'critical materials, energy [and] education [...] to best face American competition'." https://harici.com.tr/fransiz-patronlar-uyariyor-ab-ile-abd-arasindaki-ucurum-genisliyor/

- 41- For the so-called "Asia Pivot" policy that started to be implemented under Obama, see; Kenneth G. Lieberthal, "The American Pivot to Asia,", Brookings, https://www.brookings.edu/articles/the-american-pivot-to-asia/, English
- 42- In the US 2017 National Defense Strategy Document, China and Russia were defined as forces challenging the US, while states like North Korea and Iran were defined as dictatorships. https://trumpwhitehouse.archives.gov/wp-content/uploads/2017/12/NSS-Final-12-18-2017-0905.pdf, English p. 2. In the US imperialism's National Defense Strategy Document announced in 2018, the Indo-Pacific region (China) continued to be considered as one of the three major threat regions (the others Europe and the Middle https://dod.defense.gov/Portals/1/Documents/pubs/2018-National-Defense-Strategy-Summary.pdf, p. 6, in English
- 43- This approach is continued in the latest strategy document published on October 12, 2022, which aims to build broad and comprehensive alliances to "compete effectively over the next decade" to maintain US hegemony. The same document states that "Across the globe, the need for American leadership is greater than ever. Today, the United States is in the midst of a strategic competition to shape the future of the international system." https://www.indyturk.com/node/567731/dünyadan-sesler/abd-ulusal-güvenlik-stratejisi-temel-çelişkiler "Strategic competition" refers, of course, to Russia and China.
- 44- In the "Spy Balloon" incident between the US and China, Biden said, "(Don't) make a mistake. If China threatens our sovereignty, we will act to defend our country. And we have done that." https://edition.cnn.com/2023/02/08/politics/china-biden-state-of-the-union/index.html.
- 45- Nancy Pelosi, Speaker of the US House of Representatives, will visit Taiwan, which China considers a "national problem", in August 2022.
- 46- During his visit to Vietnam on September 10, 2023, US President Joe Biden stated that "they do not seek hostility with China and do not want to encircle it". https://www.nbcnews.com/politics/joe-biden/biden-insists-s-not-trying-contain-china-courts-beijings-rivals-rcna104273,
- 47- See: Hayri Kozanoğlu; Is Russia imperialist?-2 https://www.birgun.net/makale/rusya-emperyalist-mi-2-380532
- 48- UNCTAD, World Investment Report 2021 https://unctad.org/system/files/official-document/wir2021\_en.pdf See also for Russia's recent capital export statistics: Turkish Ministry of Trade, Russia Country Profile, Foreign Direct Investment Statistics,

https://ticaret.gov.tr/data/5ef4643b13b8767a5802184f/Rusya%20Ülke%20Pro fili-Ekim2022.pdf Again, according to IMF data, Russia has become a net capital exporter after 2010 in the period between 2005-2020. While its net position was a deficit of 31 billion 866 million dollars in 2005, its net capital exports between 2010-2020 increased from 18 billion 409 million to 517 billion 23 million dollars. https://teoriveeylem.net/tr/2022/07/25/emperyalizm-ve-rusyanin-aynadaki-sureti/

- 49- [Footnote: A directly related news article; "Russia challenges US hegemony in arms race", May 3, 2021, https://www.koha.net/tr/tekne/269495/Rusya%2C-silahlanma-üstünlüğü-yarışında-ABD%27nin-hegemonyasına-meydan-okuyor/]
- 50- The question of whether China is imperialist or not is a debate that has long since been overcome based on Lenin's analysis of imperialism. China has been transformed into a socialist imperialist power by the restoration of capitalism by the Hua-Deng modern revisionist clique of the socialist infrastructure built under the leadership of Chairman Mao and the creation of capitalist monopolies by revisionism in the process. In the capitalist construction process that began with the revisionism of Deng Siao Ping after the death of Chairman Mao, the communes were abolished with the counterrevolutionary "reforms" pursued in the 1978-1983 period and the way was paved for private property in agriculture under the name of the "Household Obligation System". In the period between 1989 and 2002, the upper stratum, which benefited from the "blessings" of capitalist construction such as dispossession, usurping public property and embezzling state funds, enriched and formed a capitalist class. The new and young Chinese bourgeoisie intensified the exploitation of surplus value on Chinese labourers. The new capitalist class met the demand for labor because the large population allowed for cheap and long labor, and the Chinese working class was oppressed by harsh working conditions and surplus-value exploitation. These factors were decisive for China's high growth rate of 10 percent on average throughout the 1990s.
- 51- For statistics on China, see: "China Country Profile Business Guide for Turkish Companies", Uşak Chamber of Industry and Commerce, November 2021, https://usaktso.org/images/haber/thumbs/Bilgi\_Bankasi/Ulke\_Rapor/Cin\_ulke notu.pdf
- 52- "The world owes China \$1.5 trillion, which countries owe the most?", Euronews: According to data from the Johns Hopkins University's China-Africa Research Initiative, the Chinese government and banks lent about 143 billion dollars to African countries between 2000 and 2017. According to the Harvard Business Review, the Chinese government, state-affiliated banks, and other institutions have lent \$1.5 trillion to more than 150 countries around the world. https://tr.euronews.com/2020/06/18/dunya-

ulkelerinin-cin-e-toplamda-1-5-triyon-dolar-borcu-var-hangi-ulkeler-cin-e-ne-kadar-b

- 53- To date. China has invested 900 billion dollars in the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) and announced 124 billion dollars in investments. The BKBY covers a vast region starting from China and stretching from the North to Eurasia-Russia and Europe, from the South to East Asia India, Indian Ocean, and Africa, from the West to Afghanistan, Pakistan, and the Middle East to Europe. The project aims to weave a "Chinese network" on the world market with gas and oil pipelines, railways, highways, maritime trade, airports, and ports. In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, the race of imperialists to build railroads to connect colonies to themselves in the colonial division of colonies is being revived today in a more comprehensive way. There are 65 countries on the route of the BKBY. These countries account for 60 percent of the world population and one third of the world GDP. With its huge capital accumulation, Chinese imperialism aims to turn this part of the world market into its colonial sphere and to increase its market share in the regions it could not colonize. For the BKBY project, see: Şener, U. & Sugözü, İ. H. (2022). A New Hegemony Attempt in Central Asia: China's Belt and Road (OBOR/BRI) Project, Journal of Economic and Administrative Approaches, 4 (2), 1-14. DOI: 10.47138/jeaa.1181911 https://dergipark.org.tr/tr/download/articlefile/2678706
- 54- At the 18th G20 Summit held in India on September 9-10, 2023, the project called "India-Middle East-Europe Economic Corridor (IMEC)" was announced. The partners of the project were announced as the United States of America (USA), India, United Arab Emirates (UAE), Saudi Arabia, Jordan, Israel, Greece, Italy, France, Germany, Greece, Italy, France, Germany, and the European Union (EU). https://orsam.org.tr/tr/hindistan-ortadogu-avrupa-ekonomik-koridoru-imec-catisi-altinda-suudi-arabistan-ve-israil-birlikteligi-ne-anlama-geliyor/
- 55- V.I Lenin, On the National and Colonial National Question, Translation: Süheyla Kaya-İsmail Yarkın-Saliha Kaya, Inter Yay., 1998, p. 344.
- 56- SIPRI Report as cited in Ekonomim; "Historical record in military expenditures", 25.04.2023,https://tr.investing.com/news/economy/askeri-harcamalarda-tarihi-rekor-2466931
- 57- According to SIPRI's report, military expenditures of NATO countries will increase by 0.9 percent to 1.23 trillion dollars in 2022. Agy.
- 58- "Today, the United States officially withdrew from the Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty (INF), which it signed with the Soviet Union in 1987 and to which Russia became a party after that country's collapse. This is the second major disarmament treaty the US has withdrawn from in the last 17 years." October 21, 2018, https://www.bbc.com/turkce/haberler-dunya-45931917

- 59- Hayri Kozanoğlu; Is Russia imperialist?-2 https://www.birgun.net/makale/rusya-emperyalist-mi-2
- 60- "Global Military Spending at an All-Time High", VOA Turkish, April 24, 2023, https://www.voaturkce.com/a/kuresel-askeri-harcamalar-tum-zamanlarin-zirvesinde/7063914.html
- 61- "The largest increase in arms imports in the world took place in Europe, with arms imports by European states increasing by 19 percent in 2017-2021 compared to 2012-2016, accounting for 13 percent of global arms transfers. "March 14, 2022; https://www.evrensel.net/haber/457027/sipriraporu-dunyadaki-silahlanma-yarisinda-en-buyuk-artis-avrupada
- 62- According to SIPRI's report, based on data dating back to 1949, Ukraine's military expenditures increased by 640 percent in 2022, the largest annual increase on record, while the total expenditure does not include material aid and arms aid from Western states. SIPRI notes that Russia's military expenditures increased by about 9.2 percent, but that the data "contain a high level of uncertainty due to the reduced transparency of the authorized financial institutions since the beginning of the war."
- 63- German Defense Minister Boris Pistorius stressed the need to get used to the idea of a war in Europe and emphasized the importance of making the German army ready for war: "We have to get used to the idea of a war threatening Europe again. This means that we must be prepared for war. We must be able to defend ourselves. We must prepare the German army and society for this." October 30, 2023 https://www.nupel.tv/almanya-savunma-bakani-avrupada-savasa-hazirlikli-olmaliyiz-288143.html
- 64- Euronews, "Germany to buy 35 F-35 fighter jets from the US", 14/03/2022, https://tr.euronews.com/2022/03/14/almanya-abd-den-35-adet-f-35-savas-ucag-alacak
- 65- French Ministry of Defense; "The Military Programming Law 2024-2030 will allow us to adapt the capacities of our armies to be ready for a major and high-intensity conflict. It ranges from modernizing our equipment to building a war economy." April 12, 2023 https://www.evrensel.net/haber/487313/fransa-emeklilik-icin-para-yok-silahlanma-icin-yar
- 66- French Armed Forces Minister Sébastien Lecornu presented the 2024-2030 Military Programming Law (LPM) to the Council of Ministers. Accordingly, the budget of the armed forces will increase by 3.1 billion euros in 2024 and by 3 billion euros every year between 2025 and 2027. The budget is expected to increase by 4 billion euros a year from 2028. As Macron announced in January, the future LPM increases the total budget of the armed forces to 413 billion euros over seven years. The military budget will increase from 32 billion euros in 2017 to 69 billion euros in 2030. Five billion euros will be invested in unmanned aerial vehicles, 49 billion euros in equipment maintenance, 5 billion euros in intelligence and counterintelligence, 13 billion

euros for overseas operations and 16 billion euros to increase ammunition stocks. Macron also wants to spend around 6 billion and 4 billion euros on the development of space and cyber warfare, respectively. Agk.

- 67- SIPRI Report as cited in Ekonomim; "Historical record in military expenditures", 25.04.2023,https://tr.investing.com/news/economy/askeri-harcamalarda-tarihi-rekor-2466931
- 68- Bianet; "World military expenditures set a new record with 2.24 trillion dollars", April 24, 2023, https://bianet.org/haber/dunyada-askeri-harcamalar-2-24-trilyon-dolarla-yeni-bir-rekor-kirdi-277692
- 69- "SIPRI: Number of nuclear warheads on the rise, we are drifting into one of the most dangerous times": https://www.bbc.com/turkce/articles/crgz8539vyro
- 70- "Russian President Vladimir Putin says the threat of nuclear war is growing, but Moscow will not be the first to resort to this weapon." Euronews, December 7, 2022i, https://tr.euronews.com/2022/12/07/putin-nukleer-savas-tehdidi-buyuyor-ama-bunu-ilk-kullanan-biz-olmayacagiz US President Joe Biden; "I am concerned about Putin's use of tactical nuclear weapons" BBC Turkish; June 23, 2023, https://www.bbc.com/turkce/articles/ce76erzp0plo
- 71- In an article by Gregory Weaver entitled "The imperative of maintaining NATO's nuclear deterrent" published on the official website of NATO, the US-led armed organization of the imperialist monopolies, the following assessment is made "To address the potential collapse or destruction of NATO's conventional superiority in the event of an opportunistic Russian attack, it is imperative that NATO improve its ability to sustain and win a conventional war in the event the United States enters a war with China. Without such improvements, NATO's already inadequate nuclear forces could face further deterrence and combat demands." https://www.nato.int/docu/review/tr/articles/2023/09/29/natonun-nuekleercaydiriciliginin-suerdueruelme-zorunlulugu/index.html
- 72- This "concept", the first of which was adopted in Washington in 1999 after the collapse of the USSR, the second in Lisbon in 2010, and the third in Madrid in June 2022, identifies the targets that Western imperialism sees as a threat to itself. See here: Pro. Luis Simon, "The Madrid Strategic Concept and the future of NATO", June 2, 2022, NATO Review, https://www.nato.int/docu/review/tr/articles/2022/06/02/madrid-stratejik-kavrami-ve-natonun-gelecegi/index.html
- 73- NATO's Strategic Concept, https://www.nato.int/strategic-concept/ in English.
- 74- "NATO's Strategic Concept document included China for the first time and Russia as a direct threat", 30.06.2022, BBC Turkish; https://tr.euronews.com/2022/06/30/natonun-stratejik-konsept-belgesinde-cinilk-kez-rusya-ise-dogrudan-tehdit-olarak-yer-aldi

- 75- See "The United States and Western Imperialism: Maintaining Hegemony" footnote of the US National Defense Strategy Documents 2017-2018 and 2022
- 76- "NATO declaration: Russia a direct threat to the Euro-Atlantic region", 11.7.2023, Euronews, https://tr.euronews.com/2023/07/11/nato-bildirgesi-rusya-avrupa-atlantik-bolgesine-dogrudan-tehdit
- 77- "Why NATO's Growing Interest in Asia Is a Mistake", Time, July 13, 2023, https://time.com/6294499/nato-summit-vilnius-asia/ in English
- 78- For AUKUS, see: "On September 15, 2021, a move that set the new course of the global geopolitical struggle became official with the Washington-London partnership. The plan that the US began to warm up for the Indo-Pacific region in 2018 has taken flesh under the name of the "Australia-United Kingdom-United States Security Pact"." https://fikirturu.com/jeo-strateji/fransa-yalnizca-bir-denizalti-ihalesi-mikaybetti/QUAD is the abbreviated name of the "Quadrilateral Security Dialogue - QUAD" that US imperialism launched in 2007 with Australia, India and Japan. At the QUAD meeting in Washington on September 24, 2021, US President J. Biden said that to preserve the regional "rules-based order", "it is imperative that China's development in Asia be curtailed". The goal, he said, was to "ensure that the Indo-Pacific remains free and open". "Leaders of the Quad alliance aiming to 'balance China' meet at the White House", September 25, 2021, euro news, https://tr.euronews.com/2021/09/25/cin-i-dengelemeyiamaclayan-quad-ittifak-liderleri-beyaz-saray-da-bir-araya-geldi] It is clearly stated that the biggest common denominator of these two blocs is to "confront" Russia as soon as possible and then prepare to confront China. [Footnote: "The US National Security Strategy: Fundamental contradictions", Emile Amin, October 24. 2022, https://www.indyturk.com/node/567731/dünyadansesler/abd-ulusal-
- 79- "Russia: NATO should withdraw its membership commitments to Ukraine and Georgia", euro news, 10.12.2021, https://tr.euronews.com/2021/12/10/rusya-nato-ukrayna-ve-gurcistan-a-verdigi-uyelik-taahhudunu-geri-cekmeli]
- 80- "Saudi Arabia decides to join the Shanghai Cooperation Organization", 29 March 2023, BBC Turkish, https://www.bbc.com/turkce/articles/c72dd87krgko
- 81- "The US, Russia and China in Central Asia: The Search for Strategic Balance", Ainur Nogayeva, pdf
- 82- "China-Russia Northern/Interaction-2023 exercise concludes", 24.7.2013.
- http://eng.mod.gov.cn/xb/News\_213114/TopStories/16239326.html, in English
- 83- On the other hand, as a footnote, let us emphasize the following. The SCO, just like NATO, defines itself with the mission of "fighting

terrorism". The commonality of both imperialist camps in the concept of "terror" is in fact intended to mask their rivalry with each other. The concept of "terror" is propagated as a useful apparatus to legitimize the military projection of the competition between imperialist monopolies before the masses and to produce consent.

84-See: <a href="https://dod.defense.gov/Portals/1/Documents/pubs/2018-National-Defense-Strategy-Summary.pdf">https://dod.defense.gov/Portals/1/Documents/pubs/2018-National-Defense-Strategy-Summary.pdf</a>, page 6 in English

85- "In terms of countries, the United States has pledged \$42 billion, followed by Germany (17.1 billion) and the United Kingdom (6.6 billion)." euronews, 08.09.2023, "Western military aid to Ukraine reaches 95 billion euros." https://tr.euronews.com/2023/09/08/batinin-ukraynaya-askeri-yardimlari-95-milyar-euroya-ulasti

86- For the countries that provided the most military aid to Ukraine, see: "How much military aid have Western countries given to Ukraine? Which weapons were sent?" euronews, 10.01.2023, https://tr.euronews.com/business/2023/01/10/batili-ulkeler-ukraynaya-ne-kadar-askeri-destekte-bulundu-hangi-silahlar-gonderildi#:~:text=Ayrıca%2011%20Ağustos%202022%27de,bir%20yardım

gonderildi#:~:text=Ayrıca%2011%20Ağustos%202022%27de,bir%20yardım%20paketi%20sağlayacaklarını%20açıkladı.

87- Two news reports on the use of the ongoing war in Ukraine as a laboratory: "US-based CNN wrote that the ongoing war with Russia in Ukraine has become a testing ground for Western weapons. A source quoted in the analysis said that the Ukrainian theatre has become an observation area for the performance of the weapons systems of Western countries, especially the US, in intensive use.", 16.1.2023, "CNN: Ukraine has become a weapons testing laboratory for the West", https://tr.al-ain.com/article/cnn-ukrayna-baticin-silah-test-laboratuvari-olduVe, also a news article originating from Russia, "Ukraine, where conflicts continue, has also turned into a polygon where new weapons and bombs are tested. In addition to Ukraine, which is using the latest modern NATO weapons, Russia is also using new types of bombs and weapons in the conflict." March 7, 2023, "Russia starts using 1.5-ton bombs in Ukraine", HaberRus, https://haberrus.ru/headline/2023/03/07/rusya-ukraynada-15-tonluk-bomba-kullanmaya-basladi.html

88- Although there are no exact figures, according to the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR), by the end of July 2023, more than 9,000 civilians had been killed and more than 16,000 wounded in the war. The OHCHR estimates that the actual figures are much higher. According to the New York Times, the war has killed or wounded nearly 500,000 soldiers. The newspaper, citing American officials supporting Ukraine, said that about 120,000 Russian soldiers were killed and 170,000 to 180,000 wounded, while Ukraine's military losses amounted to 70,000 and the number of wounded was 120,000. The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) reported that millions of Ukrainians have been forced to

flee their homes since the 2022 invasion. UNHCR said that an estimated 17,600,000 people in Ukraine are in need of urgent humanitarian assistance, including more than 5 million internally displaced by the war. More than 5,900,000 refugees from Ukraine have been registered across Europe, according to the agency. August 23, 2023, Reuters, "Balance sheet of one-anda-half-year Ukraine-Russia war weighs heavy". https://www.voaturkce.com/a/bir-bucuk-yildir-suren-ukrayna-rusya-savasinin-bilancosu-agir/7237524.html

89- The United Nations (UN) High Commissioner for Human Rights "confirms" that 350,209 people were killed in the Syrian conflict between March 2011 and March 2021. September 24, 2021, "UN: 350,000 confirmed deaths in Syria's civil war, actual far https://www.evrensel.net/haber/443515/bm-suriye-ic-savasinda-olumleri-teyitedilenlerin-sayisi-350-bin-gercek-rakam-ise-cok-fazlaBirleşmiş According to 2018 data from the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), there are 13.1 million people in need of assistance inside Syria, 6.6 million internally displaced people inside Syria and 2.98 million living in hard-to-reach or besieged places. https://www.unhcr.org/tr/surive-acil-durumu

- 90- From US imperialism's October 2022 National Strategy Document; "Most importantly, Iran meddles in the internal affairs of its neighbours, proliferates missiles and drones through proxies, and plots to harm Americans, including former officials... We will pursue diplomacy to ensure that Iran never obtains nuclear weapons. When diplomacy fails, we are prepared to use other means." https://www.whitehouse.gov/wp-content/uploads/2022/10/Biden-Harris-Administrations-National-Security-Strategy-10.2022.pdf, in English.
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