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THREE COMPONENTS OF THE GRAND THEORY OF CAPITALIST SOCIETY: ECONOMY, POLITICS AND IDEOLOGY

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ABSTRACT: The paper formulates the basic, root contradictions of capitalist social relations and their institutionalization as economy, politics and ideology and differentiates them into three sub-spheres as pure economy, political economy and political ideology. The basic contradictory relation is established between worker and capitalist in the sphere of economy while in politics between ruler and ruled, and in ideology, between theoretical-ideological thought and partial, local and experience based thinking.

KEY WORDS: Dialectics, contradiction, conflict, general root of contradiction, host-alien relation, root of contradictory relation, middle term, overdetermination, unequal development, ruler, ruled, sphere, circle, pure economy, political economy, political ideology, simultaneity

Introduction

In subsequent three books, *Stream of Connections Through Power, Time, Space and Value* (with *Second revised and extended edition*) and *A Theory of Capitalist Society and Social Dialectics*ⁱ I tried to develop a grand of theory of capitalist society. *A Theory* is divided into the parts as follows: Dialectics of Social Relations, Dialectics of Class, Dialectics of Economy, Dialectics of Politics, Dialectics of Ideology, Dialectics of Culture and Psychology, Dialectics of Capitalism and Socialism, Dialectics of Socialism and Communism.

In this presentation, due to time and space constraints, I focus only on the parts related with *Dialectics of Social Relations*, *Dialectics of Politics*, and *Dialectics of Ideology* and try to show the dialectics of social whole with its three main circles and spheres. It is sure that this concise study selectively summarizes not only the related parts of the books above, but corrects, reformulates and improves them to a certain extent.

Whole

Social relations are composed of dialectical contradictions that establishes and maintain the root relations between female and male, worker and capitalist and human and nature. Class relations between worker and capitalist are same as the ruled and ruler relation within the political sphere and as theory and practical thought within the ideological sphere. They form three main forms of class relations within their respective spheres. Institutionalization of the dialectical unities of contradictory relations is realized through family, working-life, citizenship and practical thought.

Continuous unity of contradictory relations, which overlap with various other unities form a social whole that is nothing but the texture of all unities of the contradictory relations.

Logic and the spheres of social relations: Host-alien Relation

A contradiction appears here or there, within this subject or object, it must have engaged with another object or subject that is alien to itself so that it engages in a conflict relation. Something alien to an existence or thing is needed to produce a contradiction and conflict with or within it.

Such a relation, which is contradictory simply due to existence of the host-alien confrontation, can be natural or social. It may be produced and continued by natural or social necessity or by chance. Confrontation of an existence and something alien to it requires a time and space, or specifically a moment and a place, which is the root of dialectical relation, which is determined only in the sense of its origination. However, the origin and the root of dialectical relation first shape the original positions of the parts that enter a dialectical relation and always affect its trajectory and development. It is an open ended process in which host (or alien) tries to eliminate the alien.

Social subject enter a contradictory relation with his counterpart when something alien to him appears with that relation. Explanation of this “something alien” is the focus of all social and political sciences. Alien may be other tribe, class, people, state and as history shows, the nature inside and outside. It may be conceived as “enemy”, “foreign”, “unknown”, different, which is dangerous and destructive, or strange.

Social dialectic or social contradiction and conflict as in natural phenomena, appears with the confrontation of host with alien.

It can be asked whether contradiction necessarily leads into conflict. Is there contradiction without conflict?

Actually, we can suggest two paths: contradiction either follows a nature like route without leading to conflict or produces conflict among the parties, which try to change their power positions. Conflict here may follow a covert or overt tug-of-war, dispute settlement process, direct fight or be negotiated according to the desires, predictions, accumulated power, capacity, talent, consciousness in terms of respective positions.

For social subjects, contradictory relation is recognized and conceived whether they have theoretical and ideological equipments and collective organizations. Whether this understanding of the relation leads them to conflict is related with: as seen in above formulation, whether they follow covert or overt tug-of-war, dispute settlement process, direct fight or negotiate according to their desires, predictions, accumulated power, capacity, talent and consciousness in terms of respective positions.

Conception of contradiction is limited to social position. It may allow more regional-global, total and long-termed calculations to be able to see numerous “aliens” and hence more contradictory relations and conflicting parties. More examples offer the capability of seeing not only different contradictory relations but also more and more common points and similarities of them. This is to see the common root of various and numerous contradictory relations, which operate in different spaces and times.

Totality of contradictions does not mean that contradictions originate from same root and act towards the same directions. “Alien” for a peasant here is different for another peasant there. Their common identity does not mean that their “aliens”, calculations and possible conflicts will be the same. Only the likelihood of their “aliens”, calculations and fights can make them similar. Hence, the totality of contradictions does not provide a unity of contradictions due to that absence of homogeneity. Only the likelihood of the root of dialectical relations, which will be rare, may lead into a unity of contradictory relations.

A unity of contradictions can be possible only when the root and trajectory of development of contradictory relations is similar. Similar ones can easily come together and form a wider unity. However, different roots and trajectories just create more contradiction between different units.

The search for the common root of the contradictory relations is hence a rather “global” inquiry. Divisions between surplus producers and appropriators are a globally observed contradiction. This is historically the most rooted contradiction, which creates countless contradiction from itself. It operates in all temporal and spatial levels of all social relations. However, such deep-rooted contradiction is located in the deepest spheres and moments of social relations and operates in different individual positions with different social mixtures.

The fact that the root contradiction between surplus production and its expropriation is active in all temporal and spatial levels in all human history shows the difficulty of seeing how it can be dissolved and surpassed.

A direct confrontation between the conflicting parts of the contradictory positions requires the organization of the parties under their respective social fronts. However, in the case of contradiction, the fronts are continuously divided from within and tend to fuse with other contradictions. It is the root dialectical dynamic itself which creates a fertile ground for new contradictions. We recognize not Newtonian vectors but particles, photons, waves and energy ruptures. We see a new time and space existence of contradiction.

Now, for a search for complexity and even uncertainty of contradictory relation, we can start with the concept of “unequal change and development”.

Unequal change and development: The concept of unequal development” has occupied a central position in Marxist studies after Marx. It was logical for Russian Marxists, especially for Lenin to recognize the significance of unequal development principle. The situation was unequal in the sense that revolutionary consciousness, deliberation and organization were accompanied with poor capitalist conditions in economy and politics of Russia.

The twentieth century, once capitalism turned into “imperialist capitalism”ⁱⁱⁱ created a fertile ground for unequal change and development in the international system. In the political and ideological spheres in particular, unequal change produced additional energies for change with additional advantages. A weakness turned into an advantage in its later stage of development, and vice versa.

Temporal and spatial inequality is caused by the unequal development and distribution of contradictions or to say, contradictory relations. Hence, the problems and targets of the conflicting parties are different. A contradiction here may not be so in other time and space.

In an unequal development of social phenomena, “alien” is the force behind change. Actually, a contradiction that belongs to another time and space is inserted to a sphere. For example, inserting Marxism into Russia at the end of nineteenth century or into China at the beginning of twentieth century is itself an incompatibility or discordance (this already means a confrontation with something alien) between ideology and social conditions. However, inequality always operates and acts as a force of equalization by force too.

Inequality operates for integrated parts of a whole. The backward, dominated and hence resisting party of the relations tries to survive, eliminate and at the end become the dominant part of the contradictory relations. Ideologically and politically most conscious and active parts of the dominated party are the candidate forces of change as they see alien forces more clearly and systematically.

If we have inequality in relations, there cannot be competition, which is peculiar to relatively equal power relations. Inequality leads into fight and struggle between the wholes.

Although contradictory relation seems to be already assuming an inequality, between host and alien, it cannot necessarily be so because different hostile parties can confront equally and be assimilated into each other. Alien becomes a friend or he is not generally seen as alien. Actually, there is not necessarily a contradictory relation, but only miscommunication or misunderstanding.

However, a contradictory relation does not always lead into a friendly, equal relation because of the existence of alien confronting the host. Alien is alien not because he is different but is so because he demands a living sphere from the host in the form of material wealth, status, respect, etc. , which have been produced and distributed on the existing order that the host has established before. The question seems to be historical regarding the distribution of social material and moral stock. Alien destroys the existing distribution patterns of that stock.

The term “alien” may literally refer to a foreign threat. However, alien dynamic can originate from within as well. Foreign character is valid for the emergence of the dialectical root of the contradictory relation. Once such a foreign character is engaged with the host, foreign is no longer foreign and becomes a part of internal unity. All other contradictions are the products of that root dynamic and become internal contradiction.

A complete internal dynamic for the beginning of a contradictory relation may originate due to internal distortions. However, an alien force engaged with the body must nonetheless cause distortions. This looks like a cancer, which leads to the self-destruction of body. Another source of internal contradiction may be resulted from the development of the already existing contradiction of the host. If a contradictory relation continues and is consolidated through time and space, it leads into a development process until the emergence of new contradictions and conflicting parties. Such a development reaches a level where new contradictions are not seen as the results of the root of the dialectical relation but as independent and original relation.

Original Confrontation: The root can be seen as the generator of contradiction which starts the contradictory and conflictual relations. It appears when the first host-alien confrontation and integration occurs. It is in original time and space within and through which contradictory relation develops.

Character of the contradictory relation or the unity of host-alien relation and integration comes from the characteristics of root, the original confrontation of the parties.

It should be noted that parties, in other words, host and alien, have to arrange themselves according to their respective powers. They change and adapt to the new conditions, are internally divided, and establish new alliances during their conflicts and struggle. It is also sure that new host-alien relations are established to reach wider unities. Similar roots also establish wider unities because similar parties of the different roots originated from different times and spaces tend to establish alliances against their similar parties.

How the host sees and conceives the alien differs from the initial emergence, time and space of the root contradictory relation to its later development. Covert resistance or a silent obedience replaces open resistance and fight. Alien becomes a friend once the root of the relations is forgotten or loses its significance under the current respective positions. Root produces its body and branches and reached a maturity to copy and multiply itself.

Such a tree metaphor helps us see those social relations between individuals. Each contradictory relation between them forms a tree that develops from the contradictory root. Social relations are the whole of *individual* contradictory relations whose similar contradictory roots help us the classify them.

Classical Marxism suggests the main types of contradictory relations that develop:

In general:

Between human beings and nature

Between human beings (emergence of classes and class struggle)

And in particular:

Between dominant class of human beings and dominated class of human beings.

As all rational philosophy, dialectical analysis starts with dualities. However, for Marxist dialectics, dualities are just the components of the root of the contradictory relation. Other philosophies within rationalism are dualist and cannot reach a dialectical status. It is because those dualities are only rational constructs and actually can exist in mind. The only existence is the dialectically existing whole, in other words, something that becomes something due to the contradictory relations it contain after the root dynamic is established between the host and alien. The only existence is this contradictory host-alien relation.

For liberal rationalism, dualities rather than dialectical relation is accepted and their life span is seen as eternal. The divisions between the state and civil society, public and private are dualities and only respective positions and spheres of each can change only.

For Marxist theory, there are contradictory parties having dialectical relation. More importantly a contradictory relation stems from a root which develops when the host and alien confronts and are engaged.

Question of hierarchy: Now, we also ask whether there is a hierarchy of significance between the contradictions. Answer lies within the classification of the dialectical trees and their roots. For Marx, class divisions, conflicts and class struggles affect all social history. Therefore, we have contradictory parties in all social trees. However, contradictory parties are not equal and a party, which starts the dialectical relations, is *originally* dominant over the host. It is the alien which benefits and wants to maintain the dialectical relation. Therefore, alien is *the first* producer, ruler and administrator of the contradictory relation.

Hegelian notion of alienation can be interpreted in a Marxist way and it can be used to see the emergence and development of a dialectical relation. Alien is the dominant force and the previous subjects in power, which are hosts are dominated by him. It is an alienation process only in the sense that alien becomes the ruling dominant power. The shift of power from one side to another is alienation process. Alternatively, the power of one side is alienated from it by the other side.

A contradictory relation, although it is internally contradictory due to its root formation, also tend to produce new internal contradictory divisions. These are the products of the existing divisions as well as the further development of the host-alien relations from its root in space and time. As alien tries to find new friends or allies to maintain its position, the host tries to survive, resist, negotiate, deceive and revenge and after having accumulated enough power, he may finally decide to fight.

It is not necessarily a spatially fixed environment. New forces and allies can be found from the other territories or victory can be extended to other territories and hence to establish new contradictory roots. Therefore, the power of the host and that of alien is not fixed quantitatively and qualitatively. It looks like a process which starts with the Barbarian invasion of a fertile country of the producers and its expansion into other territories. Alien is no longer the original alien but the one who empowers itself by expanding through time and space. Likewise, host is not the original one anymore due to the new victims included to the contradictory system of empire. As long as contradictory relations are maintained, we have always new synthesis. New alliances and further expansions on time and space on the part of either aliens or hosts mean new syntheses, new wholes and countless new contradictory relations.

Middle term and mediation: A dialectical change is also a mediation process. The concept ⁱⁱⁱ requires a space besides time context. Moreover, time and space mediums are not sufficient given that something that becomes something else needs a transforming tool, medium or power. It looks like the road transmitting me to there. The victor through a war defeats me. Middle term(s) of a contradictory relation is socially created and cannot be defined in advance. It is not new relation but a tool for it to appear or develop. It tends to be institutionalized if contradictory roots of all contradictory relations and processes are established and maintained.

Social contradictions are individually countless; however, common characteristics or root of contradictions are many but not countless. Relations regarding class, family, civil society, public space, state, nature and gender are the divisions, institutions, processes, mediums in which root contradictory relations are developed, reproduced, maintained and managed.

Dialectical logic and methodology is not suitable for the ones who do not think in terms of contradictions, struggles and possible new social relations. This is surely a choice and must be respected. Social relations can be understood in terms of mistakes, miscommunications, accidents and individual irresponsibility, unethical behaviors or social anomalies, etc. It is possible to see contradictory relations in the form of sociology which is based on “integration” paradigm”, through the eyes of liberalism which is based on “individual” freedom or from the angle of postmodernism which reduces all contradictions to accidents, differences, irrationality, chance and condition.

Overdetermination: Concept “overdetermination” was introduced by Louis Althusser to Marxian dialectics. It seems to be alternative to internal and external conception of contradiction and the so-called economic reductionism in Marxist theory and simple cause-effect analysis of social phenomena. His famous example to overdetermination is the Russian Revolution^{iv}, which is seen as a product of the mixture of various “determinants” or causes. The concept of overdetermination here actually sees revolution as a mixture of various unequal developments and chances, which make the social formation un-maintainable and unsustainable. Its explanation looks like the Bing Bang theory, which sees the genesis as the result of the best mixture of conditions. According to Althusserian conceptualization, economic, political and ideological levels turned into reciprocally incompatible and inconsistent with each other. Such a conception does not seem wrong as it attributes the revolutionary condition to the probable results of the structural incoherence and conflicts. It also focuses on the multidimensional characteristics of the revolutionary change or “rupture”. However, what seems to be wrong there is the conception of determination that is neither internal, nor external, but is “over” or “above” economy, politics, ideology, history and geography. There was no center, point or space towards which revolutionary energy was accumulated and then realized.

Many questions arise: To say that capitalist economic structure that is produced and operated by workers and capitalists contradicts the capitalist political structure that is operated by political community implies that workers and capitalists separately or together contradict with political community, i.e. the political and bureaucratic rulers. In addition, it can be asked why capitalist economy contradicts with political level that is also capitalist. The only logical explanation may be a functional incompatibility between the two structures. Alternatively, it can be assumed that the functional bearers of the political structure may not play their roles or may develop a bureaucratic reaction for new reforms needed for economy. Actually, this is what occurs generally.

One of the root contradictions is produced through economic relations between the worker and the capitalist. Following this root, political structure reproduces the worker-capitalist relation in the form of ruled- ruler relation respectively. Correspondence between two structures in terms of worker and capitalist is re-established as politically impotent and politically powerful respectively. The rulers support, reproduce and maintain the worker-capitalist relation in the form of ruler and ruled. Actually, what happened in Russia, for instance, is not overdetermination, but the dissolution of the root contradictory relation between worker and capitalist in economy, and between ruler and ruled in politics and contradiction between theory-ideology and practice, experience based thought^v.

Actually, simple, partial, local and immediate experience because of low level of social and spatial mobility and lack of education and organization confine individuals to the mediums provided by family, workplace, neighborhood, community, school, religion, nationality and the mass communication. Such an individual is also under the impact of old mythologies, superstitions and personal memories. Once public and political space of the nation state and society as well as representative democracy is established, and as mass communication develops, our individual is also put under the impact of political parties, organizations, campaigns and propaganda. Public sphere, which brings economic, political and ideological subjects and subject matters together, also shapes individual consciousness with debates from international relations to medicine, from art to the problems of economy. A part of the petty-bourgeoisie, which forms intellectual fraction within the bourgeoisie, produces theoretical thoughts about all individual and social life. Theoretical thought is systematic, coherent, logical, internally conceptualized. Actually, ideologies, religious beliefs and science are also based on theories. An individual may not be a theorist, but science, religion, ideology or art can be acquired un-theoretically or realized. A priest is probably not a theologian; a blacksmith is not metallurgist, a politician is not generally a political theorist or scientist.

Institutionalizations of the general and the specific roots of contradictions

Marx's concept of the mode of production is limited to forces of production and relations of production and for this reason; it logically covers other spheres of social relations too. Nonetheless, it is related with "production", whether it refers to forces or relations as such. However, the concept of *mode* means that production with its forces and relations is modular and can be compatible with other modes. Hence, it has to be combined with a mode of politics and a mode of thinking or ideology. The term "mode" requires modularity in that a part can be combined with other modes.

Marx's mode of production is not only and simply a theoretical construction, but also refers to the economic relations of capitalism in concrete historical sense. It has to be combined with politics and ideology. However, as we have said, modularity assumes that different parts (modes) can combine with the mode of production. For this reason, even an Arabic monarchy or a fascist mode of politics and ideology can be compatible with, as already occurred, the capitalist economy.

Capitalist mode of production is defined as worker-capitalist relation or simply as a capital relation^{vi}, through which surplus (value) is produced and appropriated through value relations. It is based on the contradictory relation between worker and capitalist. As for the capitalist mode of politics, citizens who are equal before the law become members of state and passively or actively participate in the public sphere. Citizens-rulers relations, which form a political-bureaucratic community, has to be the main dialectical relation in the political sphere. In this mode, workers are no longer workers but only citizens opposed to the rulers of society. Ideological sphere defines its contradictory parts in terms of ideology and non-ideology, rather than ruler-ruled or worker-capitalist as in economic sphere.

From economic mode to political and ideological modes, *worker-capitalist* relations become *ruled-ruler* relations and *practical thinker-ideologue* relations.

The question emerges whether workers as an economic class are the politically ruled classes or only practically thinking classes in ideology. Are classes of Marx only located in the mode of production, that is, within the forces and relations of production? Are not they classes in political and ideological contexts? My answer is positive.

Actually, workers are only citizens in political context. However, bourgeoisie and the petty-bourgeoisie as well as politicians and bureaucrats are citizens too. Political sphere turns all classes into citizens to form a new totality. However, neither workers nor bourgeois classes see themselves as parts of classes but only the parts of civil society and state with different identities, preferences and thoughts. *With citizenship, economic classes seem to disappear*. As for the ideological sphere therein, only a small minority of society, only educated and aristocratic ones in particular, can become ideologues and theorists. Hence, in that sphere, individuals can just differentiate masses and elites as two general categories.

Under capitalism, workers do not see capitalists, rulers and ideologues *because of a social division of labour*. Against the capitalists, workers struggle with trade unions, against the rulers with their political parties and against the ideologues only with their marginal and isolated ideologues. Trade unions-parties and ideologues can wage a combined and collective struggle only in a social-democratic compromise as seen after the 1870s in Europe as the result of the integration of workers, ruled citizens and their ideologues to the capitalist economy, politics and ideology respectively.

Actually, the ruled citizens form a political class as the producers of surplus value, supporters of the ruling classes and as a class who does not have its own ideologues. They are political classes in that in political sphere they are the real producers of political power but has to give their power up to the rulers and in ideological sphere, they are ideological class in that

they are the real subjects and objects of ideological formation which they do not benefit. Host-alien relation emerges and develops in every sphere by maintaining economic, political and ideological exploitation and hence alienation^{vii}.

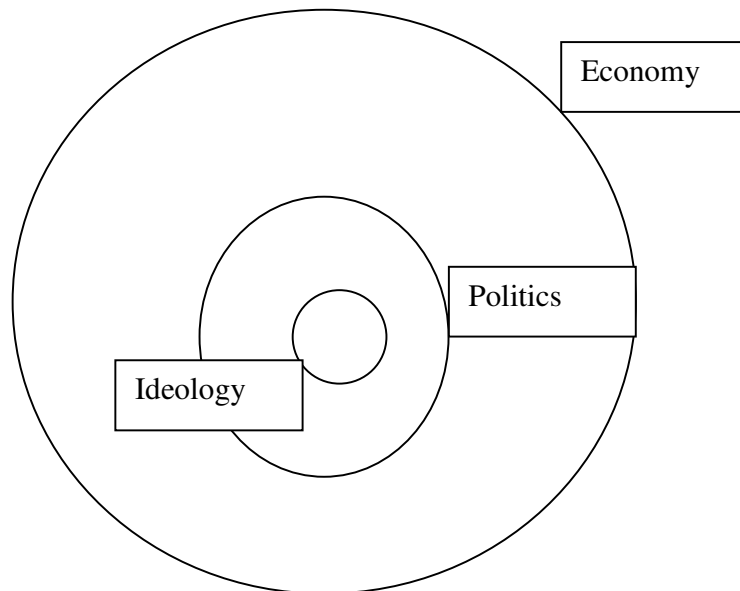
General root of a contradictory relation always starts or emerges with the establishment of the host-alien relation: Once the relation emerges, the alien who is the dominant party of the relation tries to consolidate it with generally passive but frequently active collaboration of some parties of the host who wants to be the agents of the alien. Finally, the relation is institutionalized as a relation of *worker and capitalist economically, ruled and ruler politically, theorist and practical thinker ideologically*. For capitalism, capitalist is responsible for the extraction and appropriation of surplus and controls the production and hence distribution of surplus. He finds little time for *direct* political activity and *theoretical* ideological studies. For this, he is also a practical thinker. Politically he seems to be a part of “ruled” ones. However, we know that being dominant part of economic sphere, he also dominates politics and ideology. How this domination is realized by or occurs in those spheres is the subjects of the section on “dialectics of politics” and dialectics of ideology”” here.

The root contradiction between host and alien becomes invisible after the worker has become citizen and capitalist the ruler. Seemingly, the contradiction is institutionalized between the ruled citizens and the ruling political community-bureaucracy or is shifted to political framework. It seemingly occurs because the root of the contradictory relations develops and is institutionalized in different spheres *simultaneously*. Economically defined root of the contradiction is not established *before or after* its political or ideological institutionalizations.

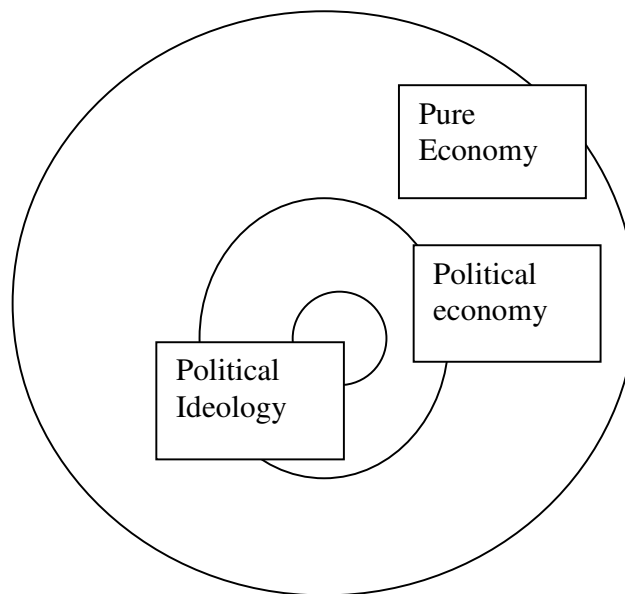
Representation of Social Relations

For the representation of social totality, I prefer two-dimensional mapping instead of the architectural metaphor of “base-superstructure” as widely used in the twentieth century Marxist theory, which suffers from the debates on “structure-agency”, “voluntarism-economism” and “reductionism-relative autonomy”.

Here I suggest three borders or circles as *Economy*, *Politics* and *Ideology* and three spheres as *Pure Economy*, *Political Economy* and *Political Ideology*:



Three Circles of social relations as Economy, Politics and Ideology



Three Spheres of social relations as Pure Economy, Political Economy and Political Ideology

According to our diagrams above, there are neither temporal sequences nor spatial hierarchy for the development of the general root of the contradictory relations. What we have are just the controlled spheres of the general root and their spheres of institutionalization. Internal developments of the spheres and their borders are defined by the root contradictions they produce and try to maintain. For the maintenance of the capitalist root contradictions, *capitalist, ruler and ideologue* are within a natural communication. However, their problem definitions and the solutions they suggest need not be necessarily compatible. Requirements of non-political sphere (pure economy) dictate different definitions and solutions whereas political sphere can suggest exclusively political economic conceptions. Likewise, political community can advocate a non-ideological program, which can be rejected by ideological sphere. Nevertheless, according to the insights and deductions we can get from our diagram, political and ideological spheres can maintain themselves only within the larger pool of economy.

As liberal theory of capitalism reminds us there are tensions between civil society and the state, and between economy and the state. They refer to an experience in favor of the capitalists and a tendency within social system that political sphere or the state tends to extend towards economy and vice versa. It is a sort of “tug-of war”, which is also played by the ideological and political spheres. Ideologues frequently criticize the political community and want to advise them. However, economic sphere is the main critics of the political community.

It is sure that our diagram shows a dependency relation between economic sphere and the others. In the ideal diagram for a capitalist there would not have the spheres of political community and political philosophy. Ideologues are already interested mainly in politics in addition to art, science or religion since the political philosophies of Confucius and Plato. Without politics, they do not think in any way in fact (as we have to do here). However, despite their ideal or wish, the general root of the contradictory relations established between host and alien already develops and is established with the other contradictions. *State, economy and ideology develop simultaneously*. For this reason, how can the origination of capitalist economy, state and ideology be temporally differentiated and put into a sequential order? In the antiquity, slavery, state and the first ideologues emerged simultaneously. Even when the slave economy was first established, it needed political power and ideology.

Simultaneous development of the root contradictions or of the general root of the contradiction between host and alien does not exclude the internal evolution of the different spheres of economy, politics and ideology. Rather, practical capitalist is not expected to be a politician or bureaucrat as the latter group is not expected to become ideologues. Their way of life, jobs, and responsibilities and more importantly, their controlling spheres are different. Ideologue may tend to create a political life without politicians and bureaucrats (as Plato’s philosopher king) and politicians may imagine an economy without capitalists.

Economy, politics and ideology: The logic of our diagram is not based on the sequential determination of a sphere of social relations by another. I do not mean that economy determines politics and then politics determines ideology. In addition, I do not mean that ideology depends on politics, and politics depends on economy. Furthermore, I do not say that ideology is erected upon politics, which is erected upon economy. These types of explanations are correct only when we say that ideology is impossible without politics and politics is impossible without economy. What we suggest is related with the borders and sphere of influences of the main activities in social relations within the social division of labour. Economy is the outer circle since economic relations, activities and influences of them cover the widest area of social relations. It is the most spacious sphere. However, this pure economic area necessarily needs a political economic sphere within itself due to the requirements of ruling. Political economic sphere also requires a political ideological sphere within itself since it needs professional and disciplinary knowledge, in other words, reflection on social relations. When we start from the spacious economic circle looking at the social relations, we see the spheres of economy, political economy and political ideology. Starting from the reverse side, we see the spheres of ideology, politics and economy. From the center outward we see social relations through the eyes of ideology. From the outer circle inward, we see the social reality through the eyes of economy. The former belongs to the way of seeing of a pure ideologue that makes the ideas speak while the latter belongs to the way of seeing of a pure capitalist who makes capital speak. At the middle circle, the rulers speak the language of political power and bureaucratic authority and connect pure economy to pure ideology. In terms of their sphere of influences, it is obvious that ideology is less powerful than politics, which is in turn less powerful than economy. That ideology is encircled by political sphere in our diagram is caused by the fact that ideology is the close relative of politics whose subject is the relations between rulers and ruled.

Our diagram also fits the logic of numbers. Number of ideologues is less than politicians and bureaucrats, whose numbers are less than capitalists in all kind. In social context, the largest portion of total social time is also distributed to economic activities, in other words, working processes and its smallest portion is given to ideological reflection.

Our diagram also implies that the borders of spheres are not fixed and hence produce territorial conflicts. An ideologue wants to fulfill the functions of politics and design and regulate all social relations. Political-bureaucratic community intervenes into economic affairs and ideological conflicts. Capitalists try to extend the border of the economic sphere at the expense of political territory. Political rulers intervene to newspapers, televisions, universities and change the curriculums of the schools. Nevertheless, such conflicts are not always contradictory. They aim to remap the territory of power and authority. As long as the cake (spheres in our diagram) grows, territorial conflicts can be settled. However, when it gets smaller, conflicts can be just settled through political means, through the mediation of the middle circle, that is, politics. The cake gets smaller when economy loses its productivity. Political territory spreads towards economy as ideological debates become more political. Economy is replaced by political economy as ideology acquires more political characteristics. When all spheres overlap each other, society loses its coherence and begins to dissolve into new (or old) relations.

Dialectics of change between economy and politics

The old debate regarding the relation between economy and politics is first related with the border, territory and area of economy that operates without needing immediate political mediation. The pure economic sphere actually regulates itself by spontaneously dominating the producers of surplus labour. This pure sphere encircles the political economy^{viii}, which is the main sphere of politics, enlarges, extends and deepens with the development of means of production and the opportunities of surplus appropriation. All social relations acquire new dimensions and territory with the development of economic sphere. Political sphere is not determined by its movements, but has to adapt itself to the changing sphere of economy. Otherwise, economy is politicized and fulfills the function of political and bureaucratic operations.

The enlargement of economic sphere occurs through the rising monetization and commodification processes. These processes occur faster than political changes and political forces always stay behind the economic change. Moreover, economic growth and development do not have political counterparts since politics does not grow, but only develops according to the changing economic sphere.

Our diagram above represents the totality of social relations as a geographical map in which economy is an ocean, politics is a sea and ideology is a lake. The map can be interpreted by saying if economy is a city, politics is a neighborhood and ideology is a house. If economy is the body, politics is the brain and ideology is the eyes.

Surplus production and appropriation covers the largest territory within the whole of social relations by creating and discovering new opportunities. For modern period, politics as the sphere of relations between rulers and ruled citizens are full of debates, struggles, criticisms which are mainly related with working and living conditions and expressed in the form

of ideological lines, political party affiliations and localities. It is about the production and distribution of political power. However, all processes taking place within this sphere are addressed to a new re-distribution of political power rather than that of economic power. Workers as citizens demand only a share from political power, which is conceived as an instrument to gain a share from economic power. Political sphere instrumentalizes political struggle to gain a share from economic power. However, political and bureaucratic rulers see their fate and status as being encircled by economic power. Hence, this instrument is not a neutral tool, but can be used only in the context of the dictates and commands, and in the name of economic sphere.

It is not adequate to say that power is not only generated by economic sphere, but it must be said that it is mainly generated by it. When it approaches the political sphere, it is less powerful in its own nature just as the waves lose their power when they move away. However, economy decides more and before than politics does.

It is sure that politics can create its own waves against economic and ideological spheres. However, in these two sided penetration of politics, only ideological sphere is seriously impacted whereas economy can easily absorb them without being impacted so much.

The relation between economy and politics just as if the relation between politics and ideology is unequal in that economy is more powerful by covering larger territory and can minimize the political sphere it encircles. Another specificity of the economic sphere is that the state's territory and the state's power do not and cannot always bound it. A capitalist can become a capitalist everywhere. However, a politician or bureaucrat should be so in certain state. This definition is also valid for the workers whose spatial mobility is extremely restricted by the state's sovereignty and more importantly, by employment structure. Through export and import relations, re-location, direct investments and the flows of capital make capitalists global individuals. Workers are generally local, spatially fixed. Market is economy itself, is composed of ever-increasing sub-markets, and operates within ever-increasing supra-markets. It is obvious that all individuals become a part of those markets in the form of consumer, worker, public servant, peasant, shopper, etc. On the other hand, politics, at least at the national level, is confined and framed by citizenship, which is limited to the limited number of polities.

Dialectics of politics

As I have suggested, the subjects of politics are citizens, rulers and ruled ones rather than the workers and capitalists of the economic sphere. This gives the unique characteristics to political sphere, which transforms the economic class identities and positions of the economic sphere. A worker is here seen only as a citizen, a member of the state rather than being employed by capitalists. Contradictions and conflicts of politics are seen in the ruler - ruled relations. The former is organised as state with its political and bureaucratic community and political parties with their political ideologies. Representative democracy makes some parties governmental or ruling ones as it makes the others oppositional ones by changing them to winners and losers. It welcomes only the competition of parties and political ideologies, not relation as being between rulers and ruled ones. Furthermore, only the ruled ones compete with each other through the parties controlled and dominated by the rulers. It is a participation and competition game of the bourgeois democracy, which keeps the command and decision-making centres intact and distant them from the ordinary, periodical and representative politics. Party politics, elections and parliament all ease the tensions caused by contradictory social positions, eliminate marginal and radical demands and at the end summarise all differences in the form of public decisions and laws. Individual voters replace collective votes even if there are organized collective campaigns for collective interests. They are just interest or pressure groups, which may affect public decisions. We wonder what would happen if workers, men, women, capitalists, petty-bourgeoisies, bureaucrats, politicians, military officers, peasants, youth and elderly voted as respective collective voters. However, political sphere recognises them only citizens who have equal voting right by ignoring their economic, political and ideological capabilities, orientations and positions.

Politics assumes that individuals who *are not equal are equal* and isolates them from their social conditions. On the other hand, ironically all political debates are made on the differences of individuals, groups, sections and classes. It recognises its subjects as only equal and same citizens while it is conducted on differences and inequalities among them. What happens is nothing more the formation of political markets, which differentiate political and ideological power of individuals besides the economic markets, which differentiate wages according to the theory of value.

While economic sphere creates and is based on, inequalities, political sphere equalises by gathering unequal and different ones in the form of citizenship, as the same members of the state. The theory of economy is that of value, and that of politics is law, which makes all individuals equal before the law despite the very existence of all differences and inequalities among them.

The contradictions in this sphere express themselves as public conflicts, debates and negotiations between the ruling community and ruled citizens as regards their divided interests. Political power is so unequally distributed that only a small number of citizens is politically powerful. Politics requires time, energy, money and experience, which are not available for the largest section of society. The ones who are politically weak form the majority of population. Political power is based on their support and obedience to the ruling community. The contradiction underlies the fact that majority should be simultaneously powerless and be supporting and obeying to the rulers; in other words, political power of the few needs the political impotence of many.

Another contradiction of this sphere is that in it, particular interests are necessarily presented as public interests. Therefore, lies, hypocrisy, secrecy, conspiracy, lobbying and nepotism are the main characteristics of the political relations.

Furthermore, this sphere is contradictory as the centralisation of political power is accompanied by de-centralization of unnecessary everyday life tasks that are previously realised by the centre. Democracy develops with the centralization and concentration of political power and bureaucratic authority. The derivative contradiction then develops between elites and people, centre and locality and periphery. Centralisation of power requires more participatory and plural, the so-called civic political culture.

Political sphere as the middle area of the social whole: Without state power, capitalists can become and can remain a class. With it, they become the nationally dominant class. It is different from the working class in that the latter is economically impotent and can achieve power only with the seizure of political power. This is the basics of socialist political theory in Marxist terms for why the proletariat should first seize it to start its own revolution through which economic and ideological powers can be re-appropriated. In contrast, capitalist class appears first in economy and proceeds to forming its state^{ix}. Nonetheless, the early phase of its economic power is recognized by the old state, which has not yet been bourgeois. It is a stage in which political power of the capitalists is de facto dominant. Seizure of political power becomes the matters of legal and institutional completion of its power in economy^x.

With and through its rise to the nationally dominant class, capitalists, which are small in number, begins to represent all national and public interests against the privileged and elitist nobility and clergy. Therefore, political sphere they produce should be *public*, “*popular*”, *national and secular* in contrast to the characteristics of the political sphere of their rivals. The state they need and produce should be also bureaucratic and hence be following the principles of the rule of law and the state of law. This is because bureaucratic and when it develops, representative nature of the state, which is operated by the professional politicians, should be controlled, checked, monitored and kept in the framework of the capitalist relations. Given that the number of capitalists is small and many of them are concerned only with their economic activities, bureaucratic and political community which operates the state can be controlled only by legal and bureaucratic rules and regulations. Public character of the political sphere develops further with the introduction of representative mechanisms. The state is assumed to represent the public and its interests and seems to be simply “public authority”. Its legal, rational and bureaucratic authority (to use Max Weber’s term) and its representative characteristic make it a middle sphere between economy and ideology, two of which are seemingly the spheres of private individual thoughts, actions and interests.

Therefore, the fact that political sphere is located at the middle of the social whole is related with its seeming “public” character, which is seen to be contradicting with private individual forces within economy and private individual minds of ideology.

Political power and the connection between political and ideological spheres: The logic and language of economic relations are established by and between surplus producers and appropriators. They are formed in the political relations in the form of rulers and ruled citizens. As for ideological relations, the structure speaks the language and logic of a relation between ideologues of the dominant class and practical thinking of the dominated classes. Just as English originated from old German, which is a part of the Indo-European language family, ideology, its logic and language, originates from politics, which is a part of economy. However, such a change or transition is not sequential but simultaneous. In none of the social wholes, economic, political and ideological spheres emerge and develop sequentially. Economic, political and ideological domination of the alien emerges and develops simultaneously even if they develop unequally.

In sum, I can say that, the logic and language of politics is based on the contradictory relations first between rulers and ruled citizens and second, remotely, between surplus producers and appropriators. They are translated to the language of ideological sphere in which economic and political contradictory relations are conceived, discussed, negotiated, ignored, legitimised, justified and at the end are either formulated and conceptualised in the form of science, philosophy, law and art or in the form of practical, local, partial and experienced based mode of thinking. The mode of thinking of the aliens, i.e., capitalists and rulers, is developed and advocated as bourgeois mode of thinking and understanding through which social relations, social problems and solution to them are received, conceived, formulated and solved by following the

logic and language of the economic and political spheres in which aliens dominate the hosts. The bourgeois ideologies show which characteristics the bourgeois mode of thinking and understanding have and how they conceive the social conflicts, protests and change, which problems they are concerned with and what they suggest for the solution of problems.

From sphere to sphere, the language and logic changes due to the changes in the relations between the contradictory parties. For political sphere, they are not workers and capitalists, but the rulers and ruled citizens. For ideological sphere, they are ideologues and practical thinkers rather than capitalists, workers, rulers and ruled citizens. Ideological agents are interested in all contradictory relations between economic and political hosts and aliens. However, ideologues pay more attention to the ruler-ruled relations as they are far away from the practical and material production of social relations. They think, conceive, write, research, debate, criticise, theorise, imagine, justify, ignore, persuade, propagate, and so forth about the relations within economic and political spheres. Ideologues surely think of ideology itself, or think of thinking. This is the result of the social division of labour between living, acting and thinking. However, they are simultaneous processes for individual rather than the whole of social relations.

Ideology

Ideology can be seen as a science of ideas once suggested by Destutt de Tracy in his *Éléments d'idéologie* in the early years of 19th century^{xi}. Its specific sphere in social dialectics does not only refer to the spheres of dominant ideology and the "ideas of the ruling class", but all ideologies, dominant and dominated just as economic sphere covers dominant and dominated class interests and class relations. Hence, apart from economics and political science, we have a science of ideas, or ideology. These are scientific compartments which belong to capitalist society itself following capitalist division of labour, activities and specializations. For a Marxist, it is sure that they are the *bourgeois* sciences of bourgeois system just as John Locke's and Thomas Hobbes's political theory, Adam Smith's and David Ricardo's political economy. Hence, Marx's critique of bourgeois economics and politics has to be followed by the critique of bourgeois science of ideas. Unfortunately, Marx did not go beyond a critique of German idealism, German intellectuals and religion for a systematic socialist theory of ideology. Marx was optimistic for the simultaneous development of socialist consciousness against bourgeois ideologies and even did not need to develop a sort of Leninist notion of "consciousness from without"^{xii}.

Ideology is a different sphere in social whole only in the sense that there are ideologues, intellectuals, theorists and scientists whose specialization is the production of the holistic concepts and understandings of the capitalist society upon the base of an intellectual division of labour. As in the other spheres, it is also a contradictory unity of the conflicting ideas of the rulers and capitalists on one side, ruled and workers, on the other side. Contradiction and conflict are seen in the ideological debates and criticisms, evaluations, suggestions, references, citations, school curriculums made by the ideological community. Whether they are defined as the Left or the Right, socialist or bourgeois, can be defined only according to the interests of the classes directly or indirectly advocated, adopted, propagated in economic and political sphere. Is an idea on the side of workers who are ruled (citizens), or on the side of rulers and capitalists? For example, the rising sphere of the private economy contradicts the interests of the citizens and workers because it negatively affects the organization capability of the citizens, their employment and wage levels as well as already weak "public" character of the state. However, it is advocated in the name of individual freedom against state authority, economic efficiency and productivity against public needs and production targets.

Some notions such as freedom, equality and justice are advocated by all sections of society but, they are used under different connotations and reservations by the different sections of society. Only theorists and intellectuals think about them systematically, coherently and conceptually. Ideology and theory of the bourgeois system is produced by bourgeois ideologues and only some fragments of their theories can be assimilated into the ordinary citizen mind. Especially through the mediation of politicians, bureaucrats, students, schools and media those theoretical approaches enter the public vocabulary and reflection. Problems of capitalist market economy and bourgeois state and civil society are theorized for example by Milton Friedman and Frederic Hayek and their conceptions enter public debates through politicians, university professors, journalists, TV programmers to acquire a public dominance. However, even those mediators do not have comprehensively knowledge of ideology. They do not produce but generally circulate it into their related public mediums. Ordinary citizen, on the contrary of general acceptance, thinks in a mixed, partial, local forms and catches only the fragments of ideology.

Religion and ethnic identity also play a significant role in the formation of ideological mind of an individual with the other important fragments of dominant ideology. Ethnicity offers some elements of nationalist ideology and is integrated into dominant ideologies and theories. Religion provides traditional moral values and political rules, some principles of

authority and basic notions of justice and divisions between right and wrong. However, the most important side of religion is that it suggests obedience to authority and compulsion to social order.

Ideologues are the system settlers and the main and first theorists of the zeitgeist and the dominant form of thinking, which is embraced by politicians-bureaucrats, people, university professors, journalists, etc. Ordinary citizen may not know Hobbes's *Leviathan* or Locke's *Two Treatises of Government* but spontaneously embrace many fragments of liberal principles of government through various social and political mediums.

Counter-ideologies do not have such a possibility since they cannot be easily produced and circulated by the dominated classes and ruled citizens. As well known, workers and ordinary citizens cannot develop a theoretical intellectual capacity due to the constraints of their life. Their possible counter-ideology remains weak, dispersed and isolated, in other words, un-theorized. Actually, the masses are on one side impacted by the ideology, which is systematic, theoretical and holistic, belonging to the dominant class and rulers, and on the other side, they produce their own partial, local, practical and experience based thoughts. The theory suggested here holds that the ideologies of the dominated classes are not *false* or *distorted*, but partial, local, practice and experience based compared to the those of dominant classes, which are more universal, theoretical and conceptual with having historical consciousness (as one of the definitions of class consciousness made by Georg Lukacs)^{xiii} of dominant class interests, culture,. at least through the eyes of their own ideologues.

Mao's formulations about the development of socialist-national class-consciousness fit our conception of the ideologies of the dominated classes^{xiv}. Such a consciousness first develops within the local, restricted face to face relations, then begin to absorb other contradictions. The process starts in a neighborhood for example and proceeds to city and then towards the national level. Perceptions and conceptions of the contradictory relations from community relations to national scale show the development stages of (socialist) consciousness. Mao's conception of ideology is empirical and inductive rather than only rational and deductive. Its merit is that it shows the development of consciousness from partial and restricted spaces towards more general, universal and holistic stage.

In ideological sphere, a bourgeois individual also follows the same process of awareness. However, it develops and acquires the ideology of his own dominant, ruling class, but, he finds his ideology ready, well developed, theoretical and complete, which is already under production, circulation and realization through bourgeois ideological institutions, as listed by Louis Althusser^{xv}. On the other hand, the worker spontaneously develops his ideology or as Lenin's theory of socialist ideology suggests, is given from without by socialist intellectuals, organizations. Such intellectuals are parts of the related organizations and activities as "organic" intellectuals as defined by Antonio Gramsci^{xvi}.

Contradictions in the ideological sphere: The bourgeois mode of thinking and understanding, which is the bourgeois ideology itself, first contradicts the general interest of the capitalist class which is divided from within into factions and strata with different interests. Socialization process that takes place in economic and political spheres is not realised in the ideological sphere. In addition, in the ideological sphere, there is no a real division of labour, but only specializations, which are generally un-connected. Bourgeois ideology rejects any holistic theorising by preferring the production of knowledge through countless and unconnected disciplines and professions. The theory of physics is produced without a connection to the theory of biological evolution, as historiography is not connected with economic studies. Architectural theories and approaches conflict with urban planning, etc. Only pre-university education is controlled by publicly approved curriculums by which common universal knowledge apart from the national history and ideologies is taught. However, even this common public curriculums aim to teach the common mode of thinking and understanding, that is, the bourgeois ideology in general.

No need to say, the bourgeois mode of thinking also contradicts the practical, local and experience based thoughts of the ordinary citizen. Social needs and problems are conceived, but not theorised within the bourgeois ideology. This contradiction is expressed as a division between elite and people in the bourgeois societies and creates the tension between elitism and populism in political life.

Bourgeois ideologies also contradict socialist theories, which conceive the bourgeois society as internally contradictory, temporary, and as a social formation which tends to be replaced by socialism through communist society.

On the other side, the bourgeois ideology aligns with conservatism and reactionary ideologies that are incompatible with or reject several pillars of the bourgeois ideology such as individualism, rationality, secularism and universalism. For this reason, as the pillars of the bourgeois ideology lose their strength, ideological sphere is left to the ideologies that are alien and rival to it. However, the enlargement of the political sphere compensates this retreat. The rise of bureaucratic and coercive characteristics of the bourgeois regime de-legitimizes the rulers and ruling mechanisms. This solidifies the political sphere and decreases its flexibility.

Concluding remarks

For individual, living, acting and thinking are spontaneous processes whereas in society there develops a division of labour among living (working), ruling and ideology. For this reason, we represent society as being formed of the three circles of economy (working), politics (ruling) and ideology (thinking) and spheres within them as “pure economy”, “political economy” and “political ideology”.

Determination do not imply cause and affect relation, but is related with logical definition of “existence” and means the encirclement and containment of a thing or process by another thing or process.

I have preferred to see the emergence of a dialectical relation in the establishment of a host-alien relation anywhere in society.

I have suggested that contradictory social relations have limited number of dialectical roots or host-alien relations such as the divisions between male and female (man-woman), producer and appropriator, ruler and ruled and human and nature. However, we defined that a dialectical relation can emerge in any relation that is contradictory, and we define contradiction as any host-alien relation.

We demonstrated that economy is the widest sphere of social dialectics and its contradictory parties are labourers and appropriators of surplus labour. The sphere contained and encircled by it is political one whose parties are rulers and ruled. The inner sphere located within politics is ideological one which is nothing but the dominant mode of thinking and understanding. Ideology of the labourers remains partial, local, practice and experience based. Ideology of the ideologues is more scientific, artistic, philosophical and theoretical based on professional and educational training. Nevertheless, the dominant class cannot produce holistic knowledge and ideology despite its exceptional philosophers and theorists. Main division in the ideological sphere is between the ideologues and practical thinkers.

The division between *class in itself* and *class for itself* is not valid in individual context since working, living and thinking are simultaneous processes. Therefore, in individual context, there is no a sort of *false consciousness*.

On the other hand, the division between *in itself* and *for itself* regarding class exists in social context where the spheres of economy, politics and ideology are based on their respective parties (subjects). Individual becomes labourer through economy, becomes “ruled” through politics and becomes “practical thinker” through ideology. The lack of knowledge of the whole of social dialectical relations is not false consciousness; it is predominantly partial, practical, local and experience based. Ideologues just have the artistic, scientific and theoretical form of this form of knowledge.

I reformulated the idea of *dominant ideology* as dominant mode of thinking and understanding that is produced in a division of labour in the forms of art, science, professional knowledge, philosophy, we opposed it to the practical, local, partial, practice and experience based thinking of the masses, who are not ideologues.

Marx said that ruling ideas in a society belong to the ruling classes. But it should not be forgotten, ruling ideologies do not only contain ruling ideas, but also the ideas of ruled ones and the revolutionaries. More importantly, ruling function mainly belongs to the political sphere whose contradictory parties is rulers and ruled ones. Hence, we did not see ideology as the ruler.

ⁱ Ercan Gündoğan, *Stream of Connections Through Power, Time, Space and Value* (VDM Verlag, July 7, 2011), Ercan Gündoğan, *A Theory of Capitalist Society and Social Dialectics* (Lap Lambert, December 29, 2011), Ercan Gündoğan, *Stream of Connections Through Power, Time, Space and Value: Second revised and extended edition* (Lap Lambert, January 6, 2012)

ⁱⁱ Vladimir I. Lenin, *Emperyalizm-Kapitalizmin En Yüksek Aşaması*, Translator: C. Süreyya, (Ankara: Sol Yayınları, 1992)

ⁱⁱⁱ Karl Marx, *Hegel'in Hukuk Felsefesinin Eleştirisi*, Translator: K. Somer, (Ankara: Sol Yayınları, 1997), 123-7

^{iv} Louis Althusser, “Contradiction and Overdetermination”, 1962,

<http://marxists.org/reference/archive/althusser/1962/overdetermination.htm> (access 21 January 2015)

^v These definitions are absent in the books cited above in the end note i and here added.

^{vi} For the use of the term, see David Harvey, *the Limits to Capital*, (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1982)

^{vii} In the books cited in the end note i, I did not use the concept “political class”, “ideological class” although they had to be labelled so according to my theoretical framework.

^{viii} For the relation between economy and political economy and their spheres, see Ercan Gündoğan, “The Sphere of Political Economy and the Ruling Class”, *World Review of Political Economy (WRPE)*, 4.2, 9/17/2013, p: 158-77

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- ^{ix} For the analysis of the rise of bourgeoisie from economic power to state power, see Ercan Gündoğan, “Conceptions of Hegemony in Antonio Gramsci’s Southern Question and the Prison Notebooks”, *New Proposals: Journal of Marxism and Interdisciplinary Inquiry*, Vol.2, No. 1 (November 2008) Pp. 45-60
- ^x Gündoğan, “The Sphere of Political Economy...”, *ibid*
- ^{xi} I here adopt only the concept of the “science of ideas” but not Tracy’s own theory of ideology.
- ^{xii} For the concept “consciousness from without”, see Vladimir I. Lenin, *Ne Yapmalı?* Translator: Erdost, M., (Ankara: Sol Yayınları, 1998)
- ^{xiii} Georg Lukács, *History and Class Consciousness: Studies in Marxist Dialectics*, R. Livingstone (Translator) (The MIT Press; MIT Press edition, 1972)
- ^{xiv} Mao Tse-tung, “On Practice- On the Relation Between Knowledge and Practice, Between Knowing and Doing”, (July 1937), http://marxists.org/reference/archive/mao/selected-works/volume-1/mswv1_16.htm (access 21 January 2015)
- ^{xv} Louis Althusser, *İdeoloji Ve Devletin İdeolojik Aygıtları*, Translator: Alp, Y., and Özışık, M., (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1991)
- ^{xvi} See the section on intellectuals, Antonio Gramsci, *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*, Quintin Hoare (Editor), Geoffrey N. Smith (Editor), (International Publishers Co, 1971) as well as “ideological block” and intellectuals regarding hegemony see Gündoğan, “Conceptions of Hegemony”, *ibid*

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