

POLITICAL, CULTURAL AND PHILOSOPHICAL CRITICISM OF THE  
CRITICAL STANCE IN POPULAR/POSTMODERN LITERARY MAGAZINES:  
THE CASE OF OT, KAFA, BAVUL MAGAZINES



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JULY, 2022

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BY

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## PLAGIARISM

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

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## ABSTRACT

It is possible to say that a new era has begun in the field of literary journalism in the last ten years. Magazines in this new format, one of the products of popular culture produced for mass consumption; use left figures in their cover designs and left values in their content and define/introduce themselves as "left". In these magazines, the target audience of which is predominantly young people; The oppositional language of the youth subculture and the ironic, sarcastic, and humorous language that emerged after the Gezi resistance stand out. For this reason, the approach that the magazines are an alternative symbolic field of struggle is common, both in academic studies and in the cultural field. In another approach, attention is drawn to the fact that magazines are products of the culture industry and commodify literature/art. In this study, it is claimed that the critical stance put forward by the magazines deemed appropriate to be called popular/postmodern literary magazines reproduces the dominant ideology. It has been tried to reveal the philosophical framework of the current critical stance in the magazines with examples of idealism, the cultural framework of postmodernism, and the theoretical framework of postMarxism. The existence of any one or all three of these frameworks implies the reproduction of the dominant ideology. In this study, it is aimed to draw attention to the relationship between philosophy, culture and social conditions based on these frameworks. It is a common phenomenon that what is presented "critically" in academic studies and in the cultural field intersects with what is "sovereign" and even serves it. In this way, it produces a "criticality" suitable for its own interests by breaking the "sovereign" and "critical" out of its context. In this study, which uses the Marxist approach and its method, dialectic, the popular/postmodern literary magazines Ot, Kafa and Bavul were examined based on the concept of criticism. It is thought that the study will

contribute to the field in terms of being an example of how the dialectical method, which allows a holistic approach, can be applied in academic studies.

*Keywords: Popular/Postmodern Literary Magazines, Idealism, Postmodernism, PostMarxism, Left Melancholy, Criticism, Frankfurt School.*



## ÖZET

Edebiyat dergiciliği alanında son on yılda yeni bir dönemin başladığını söylemek mümkündür. Popüler kültürün kitlesel tüketim için üretilmiş ürünlerinden biri olan bu yeni formattaki dergiler; kapak tasarımlarında sol figürleri, içeriğinde sol değerleri kullanmakta ve kendilerini “sol” olarak tanımlamaktadır/tanıtmaktadır. Hedef kitlesi ağırlıklı olarak gençlerden oluşan bu dergilerde; gençlik alt kültürünün muhalif dili ve Gezi direnişi sonrası yükselen ironik, alaycı, mizahi dil öne çıkmaktadır. Bu nedenle gerek akademik çalışmalarda gerek kültürel alanda dergilerin alternatif bir sembolik mücadele alanı olduğu yaklaşımı yaygındır. Bir diğer yaklaşımda dergilerin kültür endüstrisinin birer ürünü olması ve edebiyatı/sanatı metalaştırması yönüne dikkat çekilir. Bu çalışmada ise popüler/postmodern edebiyat dergileri olarak adlandırılması uygun görülen dergilerin ortaya koydukları eleştirel duruşun egemen ideolojiyi yeniden ürettiği iddia edilmektedir. Dergilerdeki mevcut eleştirel duruşun felsefi çerçevesini idealizmin, kültürel çerçevesini postmodernizmin, teorik çerçevesini ise postMarksizmin oluşturduğu örnekleriyle ortaya konmaya çalışılmıştır. Bu çerçevelerin herhangi birinin ya da üçünün bir aradalığının varlığı egemen ideolojinin yeniden üretimini imlemektedir. Çalışmada bu çerçevelerden yola çıkarak felsefenin, kültürün ve toplumsal koşulların birbiri ile ilişkisine dikkat çekilmek istenmiştir. Akademik çalışmalarda ve kültürel alanda “eleştirel” olarak sunulan şeylerin “egemen” olanla kesişmesi ve hatta ona hizmet etmesi yaygın görülen bir olgudur. Bu sayede “egemen” olan “eleştirel” olanı da bağlamından kopararak kendi çıkarlarına uygun bir “eleştirelilik” üretmektedir. Marksist yaklaşımı ve onun yöntemi olan diyalektiği kullanan bu çalışmada, eleştiri kavramından yola çıkarak popüler/postmodern edebiyat dergilerinden Ot, Kafa ve Bavul dergileri incelenmiştir. Bütüncül bir yaklaşıma olanak sağlayan diyalektik yöntemin, akademik

alışmalarda nasıl uygulanabileceğine dair bir örnek teşkil etmesi açısından da alışmanın alana katkı sağlayacağı düşünülmektedir.

*Anahtar Kelimeler: Popüler/Postmodern Edebiyat Dergileri, İdealizm, Postmodernizm, PostMarksizm, Sol Melankoli, Eleştirelilik, Frankfurt Okulu.*



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## TABLE OF CONTENTS

|  |     |
|--|-----|
| PLAGIARISM.....  | i   |
| ABSTRACT.....  | ii  |
| ÖZET.....  | iv  |
| ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.....   | vi  |
| 1. INTRODUCTION .....  | 1   |
| 1.1. Assumptions and Hypotheses .....  | 8   |
| 1.1.1. Assumptions.....  | 8   |
| 1.1.2. Sub-Hypotheses and Hypothesis.....  | 9   |
| 1.2. Purpose and Importance.....   | 12  |
| 1.3. Conceptual Framework.....   | 17  |
| 2. CRITICAL THEORY AND THE POLICY OF CRITICISM.....  | 22  |
| 2.1. A Brief Overview of the Concept of Criticism and Critical Approaches .....                              | 26  |
| 2.2. Frankfurt School and Critical Theory .....  | 31  |
| 2.2.1. Critique of Positivism and Dialectical Approaches of Critical Theory .....                            | 48  |
| 2.2.2. Enlightenment Criticism and Cultural Approaches of Critical Theory.....                               | 55  |
| 2.2.3. Critical Theory's Relationship of the Dominant Ideology .....   | 67  |
| 2.3. Left Melancholy and Criticism as a Critical Political Stance .....                                      | 80  |
| 3.1. Idealism as a World View and Criticism of Idealist Philosophy in Terms of Dialectical Materialism ..... | 96  |
| 3.2. The Foundations of Postmodernist Philosophy: Kant, Nietzsche, Heidegger .....                           | 128 |
| 3.2.1. The Philosophy of Kant .....  | 129 |
| 3.2.2. The Philosophy of Nietzsche .....   | 145 |
| 3.2.3. The Philosophy of Heidegger .....   | 164 |
| 3.3. Elements of Idealist Philosophy.....  | 174 |

|   |     |
|---|-----|
| 3.3.1. Ahistoricism/Presentism .....  | 175 |
| 3.3.2. Contingency .....  | 179 |
| 3.3.3. Situationalism .....   | 183 |
| 3.3.4. Hedonism and Individualism .....   | 184 |
| 3.3.5. Irrationalism .....  | 189 |
| 3.3.6. Contextualism .....  | 191 |
| 4. CULTURAL FRAMEWORK OF POSTMODERN CRITICAL POLITICAL STANCE:<br>POSTMODERNISM .....                     | 194 |
| 4.1. Conceptual Framework of the Concept of Postmodernism .....   | 194 |
| 4.1.1. The Relationship between the Concept of Postmodernism and Modernism .....                          | 202 |
| 4.2. Important Theorists of Postmodern Thought .....  | 208 |
| 4.2.1. Michel Foucault (1926-1984) .....  | 208 |
| 4.2.2. Jacques Derrida (1930-2004) .....  | 215 |
| 4.2.3. Gilles Deleuze (1925-1995) and Felix Guattari (1930-1992) .....                                    | 225 |
| 4.3. Characteristics of Postmodern Literature .....   | 232 |
| 4.4. Populism and Anti-Intellectualism .....  | 241 |
| 4.5. Aestheticizing Art and Politics .....  | 244 |
| 4.6. The Phantasmagorical Expansion of Another World Purpose .....  | 246 |
| 5. THE THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK OF POSTMODERN CRITICAL POLITICAL<br>STANCE: POSTMARXISM .....                | 250 |
| 5.1. PostMarxist Theory and Its Pioneers .....  | 250 |
| 5.2. Poststructuralism and Radical Democracy Theory .....   | 266 |
| 5.3. The Political Subject in PostMarxism: The Unifying or Articulating Subject Instead of<br>Class ..... | 284 |
| 5.3.1. Complex Collective Will .....  | 290 |
| 5.4. The Left of PostMarxism: Left Liberalism .....   | 297 |

|   |     |
|---|-----|
| 5.4.1. Civil Society and Agnostic Democracy .....   | 303 |
| 5.4.2. Pluralism .....  | 312 |
| 5.5. Libertarian Pessimism.....   | 315 |
| 6. ELEMENTS THAT REDUCE THE DOMINANT IDEOLOGY IN<br>POSTMODERN/POPULAR LITERARY MAGAZINES ..... | 319 |
| 6.1. Methodology .....  | 319 |
| 6.2. Magazine “Ot” .....  | 326 |
| 6.2.1. Copy Right Page .....  | 326 |
| 6.2.2. Idealism in OT Magazine.....   | 330 |
| 6.2.3. Postmodernism in OT Magazine.....  | 346 |
| 6.2.4. PostMarxism in OT Magazine .....   | 367 |
| 6.3. Magazine “KAFA” .....  | 387 |
| 6.3.1. Copy Right Page .....  | 387 |
| 6.3.2. Idealism in Kafa Magazine .....  | 392 |
| 6.3.3. Postmodernism in Kafa Magazine .....   | 411 |
| 6.3.4. PostMarxism in Kafa Magazine.....  | 449 |
| 6.4. Magazine “Bavul” .....   | 463 |
| 6.4.1. Copy Right Page .....  | 463 |
| 6.4.2. Idealism in Bavul Magazine .....   | 466 |
| 6.4.3. Postmodernism in Bavul Magazine .....  | 476 |
| 6.4.4. PostMarxism in Bavul Magazine .....  | 507 |
| CONCLUSION AND EVALUATION .....   | 521 |
| References.....   | 533 |
| Appendices.....   | 562 |

## 1. INTRODUCTION

The emergence of popular/postmodern literary magazines as a new phenomenon belongs to the recent past. Ot Magazine started its publication life in 2013, and then many magazines (Kafa, Bavul, Kafkaokur, Fil, Edebiyatist, Deve, Cins, Masa, Mikrop, Kafasına Göre, Pul Biber, Yumuşak g) followed it with the same format and content. It is possible to say that a new era has started in the field of literary journalism. The difference of this new period from previous periods; It is easy to read, written in harmony with the social media language, rather than the comprehensive and informative texts that do not proceed over a file subject, are dominated by slogan-like sentences, are far from integrity, everyone can write about anything, but especially popular names are chosen as authors, from covers to page designs of each other the fact that there are similar magazines that can be considered as copies. Throughout the study, these magazines will be defined as popular/postmodern literary magazines.

The definition of “popular” indicates that these magazines are both standardized, easy-to-read products produced for mass consumption and reach high circulation<sup>1</sup>. Although there are different approaches to popular culture<sup>2</sup>, the mass

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<sup>1</sup> According to the circulation report of the magazines for January 2016, from lowest to highest, Bavul: 12,201, OT: 36,970, Kafa: 40.344, <http://www.gazeteciler.com/haber/Kafa-dergisi-zirvedeki-yerini-koruygu/251748>

According to the sales figure of OT Magazine in December 2018, it is seen that the report shared in 2016 has almost doubled and its circulation has increased to 55 thousand. <https://twitter.com/Otdergi/status/108160067333022720>

<sup>2</sup> Not every approach is critical of popular culture. Approaches that do not criticize popular culture suggest that this culture is creative and authentic. In contrast, the Frankfurt School sees popular culture as an insignificant, inert and therefore ineffective, commercialized culture and equates "popular culture"

culture meaning of the concept will be accepted and used throughout the study. In popular culture, which is a part of capitalist production, meanings and images are mass produced and mass consumption is targeted. Thus, a culture that is not permanent and focused on instant consumption is being built. This culture, as Erdoğan (2004, pp.4-5) states; It is a culture of "immediate use and fast consumption" based on capitalist forms of production, marketing, distribution and consumption of goods built around a broad division of labor. Ot Magazine, which is considered the beginning of this new era in literary journalism, started its publication life with the motto of "a magazine that is read with pleasure and quickly" and that it introduces itself as "a magazine of culture and literature" can be considered as a clear expression of the culture of quick use and fast consumption.

The definition of "postmodern" used for magazines was deemed appropriate based on the concept's "cultural logic of late capitalism"(Jameson, 2011). These magazines are compatible with the characteristics of the postmodern period, where there are no clear ideas, the text with unstable/limitless meaning comes before everything else, difference and tolerance are blessed, at the same time individual weakness and excessive emotionality are honored, and pleasure is the only goal. As Jameson (2011, p. 32) points out, every position on postmodernism—whether critical or affirmative—is also and necessarily an implicit or explicit political attitude towards the nature of multinational capitalism. From this point of view, it is possible to say that these magazines also have a political attitude and the focus of this study is on what this political attitude is. In this political attitude, rebellion and rebellion draw attention. Regardless of whom or what it is intended for, just like the mood of

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with "mass culture". See. Erol Mutlu (1998), Communication Dictionary, Ankara: Science and Art Publications, p. 236

adolescence; not rebellion for an end, but a rebellion and uprising in which the rebellion itself is transformed into an end. Jameson describes the relationship between the revolt of postmodernism and popular culture as follows:

As for the revolt of postmodernism against all this, it should be equally stressed that all the aggressive features of the postmodern revolt—from the vagueness and blatantly sexual material to psychic misery and forms of social and political defiance that go beyond what can be imagined in even the most extreme periods of advanced modernism—are no longer available to anyone today. It is not considered a scandal by the people and, besides being welcomed with great tolerance, it is institutionalized and integrated into the official or popular culture of Western society (2011, p. 33).

The integration of postmodernism and popular culture, which Jameson draws attention to, explains why magazines are defined as popular/postmodern literary magazines in this study. On the other hand, Oskay (1998, p. 156) says that "popular culture, on the one hand, binds us tightly to the system, but on the other hand, it seems like it wants to express our rebellion against it." However, according to Oskay (1998, p. 156), this objection is not a real objection and is generally limited to the consumption moment of popular culture. For this reason, Oskay underlines that the rebellion and opposition of popular culture has been adjusted at a dose that will certainly not threaten the current system. The critical political stance we see in popular/postmodern literary magazines points to just such a rebellion and opposition. These magazines are presented to the reader in the view of a critical political stance. Popular/postmodern literary magazines; The lack of philosophy, which is the distinguishing feature of today's "intellectual life", and the illusion that this need is met effortlessly without the need for research and deep reading, "those who do not

think 'know' or those who 'know' do not know much in reality" (Özdağ, 2004, p. 10) is almost like a panorama of such situations.

Criticism is the driving force of social development. However, in class societies, the class to which criticism is directed, and more importantly, to which it serves, plays a decisive role in this social development. From the point of view of Marxism, criticism is a method based on the materialist dialectic, which is used to find and overcome the objective contradictions between the imperatives of social development, that is, objective contradictions both in various spheres of society, in subjective views, attitudes, modes of conduct, as well as in obsolete institutions, forms of organization and modes of work." (Buhr & Kosing, 1976, p. 97). Thus, critically addressing or analyzing the social also brings a political stance. But the distinction between the truth of things and how they present themselves is important. In other words, what is presented with a critical political stance may have another truth in its essence and may contribute to the reproduction of the dominant ideology knowingly or unknowingly. In *The German Ideology* (2013, p. 52), Marx and Engels express the dominant ideology as the ideology of the class that owns the means of production and explains it as follows: "The ruling ideas are nothing but the intellectual expression of the dominant material relations, the dominant material relations grasped as ideas, that is, the relations that make a class the ruling class; that is, the thoughts of his dominion."

However, the dominant ideology does not always manifest itself clearly. The dominant ideology also has a function of "producing false-perceptions about itself" (as cited in Callinicos, Eagleton, 1996, p. 128). In this way, it is possible for the dominant ideology to appear implicitly with a critical content. Although this stance is as old as the history of revisionism, it has become quite common in the period called



"postmodern". With postmodernism declaring the collapse of grand narratives, the concept of criticism, like many other concepts, was taken out of its context and turned into "destructive criticism based on nihilistic and skeptical attitudes and consuming itself in the negative" (Buhr & Kossing, 1976, p. 98). Although this nihilistic attitude seems to display a critical political stance against the dominant ideology, it actually contributes to its reproduction.

The nihilistic criticism of the popular/postmodern literary magazines that are the subject of the study is shaped by a left melancholy. According to Enzo Traverso (2018, p. 46), who attributes a positive meaning to melancholia, left melancholy is not to set aside the idea of socialism or the hope for a better future, but to rethink socialism at a time when the memory of socialism is lost, hidden, erased from memories and needs to be saved." However, with the disappearance of utopia, the melancholy caused by defeat could not find anything to overcome itself. Traverso (2010, p. 89) therefore argues that "the neoliberal wave, cynical as well as individualist" fills the void arising from utopia. For Traverso (2018, p. 89), left melancholy encompasses not only the lost object, a regime or ideology, but also the nostalgia for the struggle for liberation, a historical experience worth remembering despite all its fragility, instability and transience. The magazines included in the study increased in number, especially after the Gezi resistance, and their popularity gradually increased. The Gezi resistance is frequently encountered in magazines as a nostalgic experience. In this sense, as Traverso states, a melancholy that affects the human spirit is fed by nostalgia. But together with nostalgia, melancholy is also, as Demirer (2015) states, the infuriating loneliness of a shattered life, the inner journey of the singular and passive body; intense depression as an existential crisis and insolubility; It is also a state of hopelessness. Similarly, as Teber (2004, pp. 295-296)

emphasizes, the adventures of the rebellious melancholic person constantly reveal contradictory situations. It is a place where one can create, or at least dream about, one's own unique, individual life story against the outside world. This kind of search for freedom and liberation consists of well-intentioned illusions in the "imaginary space of Nothing". Thus, the constant criticism in the gaze of the defeated that Traverso speaks of is a criticism that is doomed to remain in this "well-intentioned illusion".

As a product of the culture industry, postmodern/popular literary magazines appeal to the inner world of postmodern misfit people through the values and images they commodify, creating the illusion that they are outside the mass spirit. Because the melancholic person seeks/remembers the togetherness of the past in the loneliness of the present. Postmodern life reinforces this melancholic search for solitude by reproducing the search for solitude of the "incompatible" person who desires to experience an "authentic and original" life by ignoring the intimidation of the mass spirit. In some studies conducted in the field of psychiatry, it has been observed that people in such a state of disharmony drift towards a melancholic and schizophrenic loneliness (Teber, 2004, p. 294).

It would not be wrong to say that the philosophy of the magazines focusing on the postmodern melancholic individual is inevitably compatible with the idealist philosophy. What is important in idealism is the inner life of the soul, and instead of fighting for better conditions, the soul should be corrected first (Cornforth, 1998, p. 28). At the same time, in idealism, the crisis of capitalism is called "the crisis of modern man", "the moral crisis of the age", "the crisis of technical civilization", etc. (Malinin, 1979b, p. 238). Thus, facts are considered as "things-in-itself", detached

from their historical and social ties. This situation emerges as an idealistic element of popular/postmodern literary magazines.

The priority given to the individual and relativity by idealism has gradually developed with postmodernism, and interpretation has taken the place of objective reality. There is no longer reality, instead there are interpretations. The world is a text and everyone can interpret this text differently. In this approach, which breaks the bond between knowledge and accuracy, "knowledge based on perspective is always honored" (Sarup, 2010, p. 129). This "honoring perspective-based knowledge", which is also mentioned in popular/postmodern literary magazines, has been adopted as a principle. The conceptual equivalent of this principle is "subjective idealism", which makes the individual consciousness of the subject absolute. It is possible to say that subjective idealism, which accepts that reality changes according to the consciousness of the subject, constitutes the philosophy of popular/postmodern literary magazines.

This emphasis on the individual appears in the field of political design as the prominence of new subject positions instead of class. Especially when this emphasis is made by using left values, postMarxist theory is explanatory. In order to explain political processes in terms of post-Marxist theory, Marxism, which is behind the age, must also be overcome in the field of politics, and for this reason, the basic concepts of Marxism such as "social class", "surplus value", "exploitation" no longer have any explanatory value (Şaylan, 2009, p. 39). It is possible to encounter the reconstruction of these concepts in accordance with postmodernism in popular/postmodern literary magazines. Derrida's deconstruction technique is very useful in reconstructing concepts such as "revolution", "resistance", "struggle" for PostMarxism. Laclau and Mouffe (2017, p. 13), important names of post-Marxist theory, state that the source of their theory is the poststructuralist ground. Along with Derrida's deconstruction,

Foucault's subject and power approach and Deleuze's rhizome metaphor also occupy a strong place on the ground of postMarxist theory. A pluralist and radical understanding of democracy, where everyone can talk together, will be sufficient for the post-Marxist theory, which reduces the problems to identity problems. In this sense, identity politics is frequently encountered in popular/postmodern literary magazines as well as both the compromise of left liberalism and the narrative of the "other".

In this context, the main problem of the study is to investigate the meaning of the critical political stance of postmodern/popular literary magazines with their content and designs and how it contributes to the reproduction of the dominant ideology. For this purpose, the critical political stance of the selected literary magazines for the sample; postmodernism, postMarxism and idealism will be examined with the dialectical method. According to Başkaya (2011, p. 49); The condition for an intellectual or scientific activity to truly claim to be scientific and intellectual is its ability to expose if there is incompatibility between rhetoric and reality, discourse and truth. One of the aims of the study is to try to expose the inconsistencies that Başkaya mentioned through selected magazines.

## **1.1. Assumptions and Hypotheses**

### **1.1.1. Assumptions**

The literature-oriented culture-art magazines such as Kafa, Ot, Bavul, which are the subject of this study, are a product of the culture industry. These magazines are considered as the beginning of a "new" era in the field of literary journalism. These magazines that will be examined in the study are designed almost as copies of each other. For this reason, these non-original magazines have almost the same print

quality, cover designs, including popular names on their pages, their melancholic nature, and their use of social media.

There are two different approaches to popular/postmodern literary magazines. While the first is a positive view on the grounds that it "encourages the masses to read and gain knowledge", the second is a negative approach as "by using art and left values, they hollow out art and the left".

Ot, Kafa and Bavul magazines, which will be described as popular/postmodern literary magazines throughout the study, commodify art and left values through a left melancholy.

### **1.1.2. Sub-Hypotheses and Hypothesis**

Popular/postmodern literary magazines claim to produce oppositional cultural content and design and left-wing images; Poets, writers and revolutionary leaders who evoke and refer to an ideology commodify. In these magazines, a rebellion whose direction is not clear, imprisoned in the mind and not reflected in practice, is fetishized through literature and the current politics is aestheticized.

These magazines lack historical awareness, reinforce the deadlock, defeat, replace socialist realism with individualism, are based on depression literature and formalism, reduce literature to aphorisms, carry the elements of postmodern literature such as intertextuality, pastiche, parody and collage, where everything can coexist without forming a meaningful whole. They can be considered as eclectic magazines.

In these magazines, the perpetrator subject has disappeared, and instead of objective reality, it has been transformed into the thought and experience of a single real individual. Opposition to order is combined with an individual hedonism. The popular/postmodern magazines that are the subject of the study define themselves

through a "left" political stance. This political stance is similar to the new left movements that the Critical Theory laid the groundwork for, and the opposition in pure criticism.

The object of the literature presented to the readers in the magazines is mainly the "psychic state" and "form games" of the authors. As in the method of the Critical School, a political stance is observed in these magazines as well, in which individuals refuse to adapt to the system and create their own alternative lifestyles.

The individual practice encountered in these magazines leads to witnessing and heroism, but it is not aimed to contribute to the change of society. Writings that focus on a destructive rejection do not propose a new alternative to the destroyed. In this sense, the reflections of critical theory are observed in the critical political stance of the magazines. The philosophy that we come across in these magazines; It is a "mental strength of resistance" that is not reflected in practice. The philosophy of these magazines, in which content oriented to the subconscious instead of the objective world, is predominant, is idealist philosophy. Although the magazines try to argue that there should be a change like the Frankfurt School with their content, they move away from praxis and deepen the contradictions. Like the philosophical movements that confuse idealism and materialism, the emphasis on "unity of power" in the name of impartiality is also striking in these magazines. Under the name of power union; The struggle to be waged against bourgeois idealism, which is in fact integrated with idealism, or against the dominant ideology, capitalism, is trivialized.

The features such as pessimism, great rejection, eclecticism and unity of power that dominate the magazines in general are compatible with idealism and innovative Kant philosophy. Again, the praise of seclusion, the abundance of antihero

characters, the uncertainty of place and time, the author's relationship with the "other" self, expressions in the form of aphorisms, creative destruction, the pleasure of defeat, the praise of madness, which are frequently encountered in magazines, show that these magazines were influenced by Nietzsche's idealist philosophy. Timelessness, the basic category of Heidegger's idealist philosophy, on which many postmodern philosophers are based, is also observed in the "live in the moment" attitude of these magazines.

In the knowledge approach of postmodernism, "knowledge based on perspective is always honored" (Sarup, 2010, p. 129). This "honoring of perspective-based knowledge", which is also mentioned in popular/postmodern literary magazines, appears before us.

The understanding of postmodernism that all the impossible can come together dominates the popular/postmodern literary magazines.

The intuitionism, pragmatism, lack of analysis and depth of the anti-intellectualism feature of popular culture can also be found in popular/postmodern magazines.

The complex collective will, emphasis on identity instead of class, alternative public sphere, left liberalism, pluralism and libertarian pessimism observed in popular/postmodern literary magazines can be identified as the political designs that these magazines are influenced by postMarxist theories.

Popular/postmodern literary magazines produce content that substitutes freedom for equality, destabilizes meaning, focuses on defeat, replaces the concept of class with "others" (with identity politics), glorifies a madness that arises from rebellion - a rebellion that only takes place in the mind and is not reflected in practice.

These magazines, which are the subject of the review, emerged in a period when social pressures intensified in Turkey and human relations were changing in a negative way. With the cultural content they produced in this period, the magazines melancholy by reinforcing the loneliness and renunciation state, and in this state, knowingly or unknowingly, they reproduce the authority and the dominant order. Instead of struggling with the dominant ideology or power structures, these magazines exhibit the attitude of creating counter-cultures compatible with the left understanding of post-Marxism that advocates new social movements.

The critical political stance of popular/postmodern literary magazines can be classified as Idealist philosophy, postmodernism and its theory is a critical political stance compatible with postMarxism.

Based on these sub-hypotheses, the following hypothesis was reached:

“Although popular/postmodern literary magazines seem to display a critical political stance that opposes the dominant ideology, they offer a phantasmagorical salvation to individuals through a left melancholy, commodify politics and literature, assign new meanings to left concepts and purify the concept of "class". With a critical stance, it glorifies the meaninglessness of postmodernism and therefore reproduces the dominant ideology.”

## **1.2. Purpose and Importance**

Popular/postmodern literary magazines such as Ot, Kafa and Bavul, which define themselves as literary magazines and frequently use leftist and socialist values, contribute to the continuation of the dominant ideology with their ideological content and production styles. The aim of this study is to reveal how these magazines contribute to the continuation of the dominant ideology. The theoretical framework of



the critical political stance of the magazines is postMarxism, the cultural framework is postmodernism, and the philosophical framework is idealism. And these frameworks were guided by the concept of "criticism" and the negative dialectic understanding. This understanding is based on the Frankfurt School. In this study, which focuses on the critical content in popular/postmodern literary magazines and the criticism of this critical content, the critical political stance of the magazines and their approach to literature will be examined.

In this study, which will try to criticize the political stance of popular/postmodern literary magazines, the relationship of the internal dynamics of idealism, postmodernism and postMarxism with the existing dominant ideology, namely capitalism, will be examined. It is among the aims of this study to examine the relationship between idealism, postmodernism and postMarxism, which took their first foundations from the Critical School, and the dominant ideology. In line with the results obtained, it is among the objectives of the study to reveal the relationship of capitalism with neoliberal economic policy in a holistic way, despite the fact that popular/postmodern literary magazines include left values.

Studies and discussions on popular "literary" magazines are generally limited in the field of publishing. It is important for media studies to seek holistic and academic answers to the questions raised on this subject. As Plekhanov (1987, p. 11) stated; The social psychology of each era is conditioned by the social relations of that era. No direct academic study has been found about the popular/postmodern literary magazines that are the subject of the study, except for three master's theses, including the magazines selected as samples. Ot ve Kafa in Efe İmamoğlu's (2017) master's thesis titled "*New Zones of Coexistence in the Cultural Field: The Popular Literary Magazines in Turkey*" It has been argued that popular literary magazines create an

alternative public space and create a discursive struggle against the dominant narrative. Imamoglu in the magazines identified three basic discursive patterns, namely anti-polarity, peace and freedom of thought/expression, and in this direction, he examined the magazines with qualitative text and discourse analysis methods. In this analyzed study, it is argued that the use of "stingy, ironic and humorous" language, which became popular during and after the Gezi resistance, is also maintained in magazines, thus creating an alternative form of political communication. Claiming that popular literature magazines and writers see the cultural/symbolic space as a field of struggle and carry out a polyphonic discursive struggle, İmamoğlu states that he finds it important that people from different thoughts can create a narrative together on the basis of tolerance. Based on these features, İmamoğlu said that the texts and contents of the magazines are political, and while he examines the magazines in this direction in his thesis, we will try to reveal how popular/postmodern literary magazines contribute to the reproduction of the dominant ideology even though they seem to display a critical political stance.

Sertaç Kaya (2018) states that the aim of his master's thesis titled *"Art Losing Its Uniqueness and Discussing Popularization Through Literary Magazines"* is "to reveal and analyze how literature, a branch of art, met with the magazine, which is one of the communication tools". Kaya examined the new understanding that emerged with the differentiated literary journalism with the publication of Ot Magazine in 2013, through the concepts of "popular culture" and "art", and stated that today's literary magazines have popular culture features, they have turned literature away from its artistic qualities and turned it into a commodity, and thus the unique function of art. He claims that they caused him to lose. It is also important for this study that it was revealed in Kaya's study that magazines commodified literature and art as a

product of the culture industry. However, this is only one aspect of the magazines. The main objective of this study is; The aim is to analyze these magazines, which carry many features of the postmodern age and define themselves with a left political stance, with a holistic approach and how they contribute to the reproduction of the dominant ideology behind their alternative appearances.

Ebru Ünver's (2021) master's thesis titled “*Analysis of Recent Popular Culture and Literature Magazines in Turkey as Consumption Commodities in the Context of the Culture Industry*” also examined the commodification of culture through the concept of the culture industry of the Frankfurt School, in comparison with the literary magazines of the Republican period.

It has been found meaningful to look at the studies in the literature on humor magazines, which can be considered the pioneers of popular/postmodern literary magazines, especially those that give the first examples of sexuality, profanity and slang in these magazines. (It is possible to say that the culture of fanzines is also influential in the origins of these magazines, along with humor magazines. Fanzines, which have become widespread as means of expression of subcultures, have been defined as platforms where those who cannot be heard in the mainstream can freely express themselves. Similarly, it is seen that the ideology of subculture has an important place in popular/postmodern literature magazines). Among these studies<sup>3</sup>, Özgür Umut Hoşafçı's (2006) master's thesis titled “*Social Opposition and Humor*

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<sup>3</sup> Can Turhan Yalçınkaya (2006), A Shift in the Tradition of Humour Magazines in Turkey: The Case of L-Manyak and Lombak, Middle East Technical University Social Sciences Institute Media and Cultural Studies Master Thesis.

Emine Duygu Dölek (2009), Weekly Turkish Humor Magazines in Parallel with the Changes of the New Middle Class, Bilgi University Social Sciences Institute Sociology Master Thesis.

Mustafa Sami Mencet (2016), Islamophobia in Turkey at the Scale of Humor Magazines, Akdeniz University Social Sciences Institute Communication Department PhD Thesis.

*Magazines: Leman Magazine*" focused on the concept of humor as one of the means of expressing social opposition and humor magazines. Examining the Leman magazine as a sample, Hoşafçı stated the purpose of his study as follows: "The study aims to examine the nature of the 'dissident' attitude in the magazine and to reveal the elements that make up this opposition." In this study, opposition in the magazines is defined as an attitude developed against the mainstream and the hegemonic system. In the Leman magazine, what makes humor magazines not only a commodity and market product but also a cultural field is that these magazines see themselves as part of the "alternative" and "opposition". The opposition in the magazine is an opposition that is fed by the youth sub-culture, and as a result of his analysis, Hoşafçı says that although there is no unified political stance in the magazine, a "leftist" view is dominant. Leman magazine's "street language" and often abusive attack against views and actions that defend the dominant ideology is one of the reasons for its popularity. And although this attack succeeded in opening a breach in the hegemonic discourse, it "failed to offer an alternative policy of opposition aimed at liberating and transforming society."

According to Hoşafçı, the reason for this failure is that the cynical attitude that manifests itself in the statement "No matter what we say, nothing will change" dominates the discourse of the magazine. It is possible to say that this attitude has been inherited from the popular/postmodern literary magazines, which are the subject of the study, from the Leman magazine and similar humor magazines. In addition, the following point made by Hoşafçı is important: "Leman's 'left' identity also features a longing for a romanticized and iconized past and its heroes." This situation, which stands out in Leman magazine, is a dominant element in popular/postmodern literary magazines. Despite the points he criticizes, Hoşafçı states that humor always has an

oppositional character and *Leman* magazine contributes to the formation of social opposition.

The importance of this study is that popular/postmodern literary magazines will be approached with a dialectical method, unlike the studies mentioned above.

### **1.3. Conceptual Framework**

The main concepts used in this study, in which the dialectical method is applied; idealism, postmodernism, and postMarxism. These concepts will be covered extensively in the study. Because, in order to reveal the critical content of the popular/postmodern literary journals that are the subject of the study and to criticize this critical content, these concepts should be considered together with all their sub-concepts. However, before moving on to these concepts in the study, Critical School and some concepts of this school will be included. The reason for starting the study with criticisms of the Frankfurt School, the school's Critical Theory and Critical Theory; The relationship of many concepts taken from the Frankfurt School with idealist philosophy and the way these concepts pave the way for postmodernism and postMarxism.

A Marxism and a Marxist understanding of art that is "de-ideologically freed" has led to the development of postmodern theses such as "the collapse of grand narratives", "end of ideology", "end of history" by advancing from the Critical School. The concept of "open-ended dialectic" belonging to Horkheimer, the concept of "Critical Theory" used by Horkheimer for the first time and giving its name to the school, Adorno's "Negative Dialectics", Marcuse's "libidinal rationality" and "great rejection", Habermas's "Communicative Action" concepts are the concepts of the Frankfurt School, which will be included in the study. In addition, the concept of "left

melancholy", which is seen in the magazines as a critical political stance, has also been extensively studied in the study. The reason why each of these concepts is included in detail is that the concepts are extremely important for the integrity of the study. These concepts are obligatory to examine as they form the basis for new concepts that appear under the name of postmodernism and postMarxism.

According to the “open-ended dialectic”; The dialectic defined by Hegel and Marx is a closed and completed dialectic. Hegel's dialectic will end in the bourgeois state, Marx's dialectic will end in communist society. In the concept of open-ended dialectic, on the other hand, what is reasonable is not considered to have been completed at any point in history, and the historical dynamic does not end in open-ended dialectics. It will be tried to be revealed in the following sections that this concept has an understanding that misinterprets Marx's dialectical understanding.

In Adorno's concept of “negative dialectic”, it is argued that harmony cannot be noticed. The claim that it is not right to eliminate the contradictions that we encounter in PostMarxist thought constitutes the essence of the concept of negative dialectic. Because, according to Adorno, reality is not compatible in itself.

On the other hand, Marcuse puts forward an erotic-rational philosophy argument against instrumental reason and subjectivist philosophy. According to Marcuse, the autonomy of the individual must be guaranteed. It is possible to do this with “libidinal rationality”. The technology and production system should be arranged so that “real needs” are met. Only in this way, the paradox of "happiness in unhappiness" or "rationality of the irrational", which dominates the philosophy of capitalist consumption, can be overcome and erotic activities can be performed freely.

According to him, with the libidinal rationality being decisive in social relations, both truth and real human existence will become universal.

Habermas's concept of "communicative rationality", on the other hand, is a concept based on the suggestion of realizing social actions through communicative reason. Thus, people will get rid of the alienating effect of capital with a communicative solidarity. Habermas's communicative rationality, which aims to achieve reconciliation, moves away from irreconcilable contradictions, approaches idealist expressions and compresses interaction into ideal dialogue. Later, post-Marxist Mouffe and Laclau attempted to transcend Habermas's understanding of deliberative democracy with his communicative rationality approach.

Before moving on to the main concepts of this study, the reason why the concepts of the Frankfurt School are included is that the school seeks an alternative to Marxism, tries to create a new Marxism by combining Marxism with its own theories, and criticizes Marxism as an economic reductionist. Theories of the Critical School, which started with Adorno, Horkheimer and went further with Habermas and Marcuse, the late names of the school, also paved the way for poststructuralism. Post-structuralist figures such as Derrida, Deleuze, Foucault after Marcuse, who argued that class politics no longer had a place in the world, and that culture and discourse took the place of classes, with their political arguments and the theory of postmodern critical stance, prepared the emergence of postMarxism.

Idealism and idealist philosophy have an important place in the conceptual framework of the study. Critical Theory loosened the bond with the objective world. It reduced criticism to a mental activity of criticism. The critical political stance that we encounter in the popular/postmodern literary magazines that are the subject of this

study includes exactly such a criticism. The critical political stance we encounter in magazines; It is a political stance that is in line with idealist philosophy, oriented towards the unconscious instead of the objective world. Reason has been removed from being the method of philosophy in idealism and has been turned into a goal. Knowledge has been elevated to the rank of the most valuable subject of philosophy. The idea that all truth consists of what we know dominates idealism. In this study, idealist philosophy will be evaluated within its historical process. Idealism, which had some features that could be considered progressive at the time it emerged, is a reactionary philosophical movement today. However, this philosophical trend has become the philosophy of the critical political stance, knowingly or unknowingly. Because the Critical School, after a while, abandoned the practice of "philosophy is not content with understanding the world and trying to change it". Many elements of idealist philosophy; ahistorical/present tense, contingency, situational/uncertainty, hedonism, individualism, nothingness, irrationalism, relativism, contextualism, etc. It also appears in popular/postmodern literary magazines.

Postmodernism is one of the other important concepts of the study. It is not possible to talk about a common definition on the concept of postmodernism. Because the concept contains many contradictions within itself. The argument that there can be no objective reality is one of the most fundamental arguments of postmodernism. According to them, it is not possible to put forward a theory that claims to reflect objective reality. In this study, the relationship between postmodernism and capitalism and therefore the mode of production will be tried to be revealed. When postmodernism is considered in terms of political economy, it appears as a stage compatible with the postfordist production model of capitalism. In the study, postmodernism will not be considered as the cultural dominance of a new social



order, but as a reflection of another internal change of capitalism. The reconstruction and transformation of left-wing concepts such as "struggle, resistance, revolution" in popular/postmodern literary magazines will be considered as a feature of postmodernism. Again, the commodification of politics and culture encountered in the magazines will be discussed as one of the characteristics of postmodernism. The identity politics of postmodernism is in harmony with the identity politics of postMarxism, another important concept of the study.

Although PostMarxism is accepted as a theorized concept in our recent history, its historical predecessors are far behind. These premises will be revealed in the study by associating them with the Critical School and the philosophy of idealism. PostMarxism claims to be an alternative to Marxism, again within Marxism. In reality, it contributes to the continuation of the dominant ideology with the new political designs it creates by denying the mainstays of Marxism.

## 2. CRITICAL THEORY AND THE POLICY OF CRITICISM

There are two types of criticism today. The first of these is the materialist-realistic criticism that is the source of this study. The other is the late bourgeois "modernist" critique. This form of criticism detaches the criticism from historicity and sociality, hides its own class characteristic and brings its theoretics closer to subjective or objective idealism. On the other hand, materialist-realistic criticism is aimed at realizing the criticism within historicity-sociality, with scientific materialism. In modern criticism, literary and art criticism has been detached from objective reality, praxis, and conscious action (Çalışlar, 1986, p. 5-6). In particular, the Frankfurt School's approach that gives autonomy to literature and art has been criticized for pioneering such criticism methods. It is necessary to examine these approaches in detail to reveal the relationship of the journals that are the subject of the study with objective reality and literature.

The reason for starting this study with the Frankfurt School, the Critical Theory of the school and the criticism of the Critical Theory is that "many of the concepts taken from the Frankfurt School are in the thought of both the left intellectual circles, especially the liberal "left" wing and the "Islamic intellectual" circles. It occupies an important place and has not only been in conceptual explanations, but also influenced the political activities of these circles." (Holz, 2014, p.14). Examples of this effect are frequently encountered in popular/postmodern literary magazines and in the texts of writers representing these circles. It has become a necessity to examine the concepts of the Frankfurt School in order to fully

understand this effect in the journals. The critical content in the magazines corresponds to the concept of "critical realism" rather than "social realism". "Critical realism", the method of late-bourgeois philosophical thought, tries to alienate philosophy and literature from natural and social sciences and autonomous from social praxis. As a result, it considers the "artist's mental state" and "form games" to be the object of art and literature. A "social realist" method of criticism, on the other hand, seeks its artistic and literary object in objective reality and social praxis. The most important feature that distinguishes socialist realism from critical realism is "praxis consciousness" (Çalışlar, 1986, p. 118-119).

The object of the literature presented to the readers in the magazines is mainly the "psychic state" of the authors and "form games". Moving away from praxis in criticism and art, literature and replacing theory with praxis has spread to "left" thought with the Frankfurt School. Especially Adorno's approach that gives autonomy to art and his emphasis on form laid the groundwork for breaking the ties between praxis and art. Because Adorno's main objection is against assigning an ideological practical function to the work of art. While Adorno criticizes Stravinsky's music for supporting the reactionary ideology of fascism, he also criticizes Brecht's theater for being based on the opposite ideology from Stravinsky's music. Thus, it gradually moves away from Marxist aesthetics. "The main objection to critical theory is that Marxism is grounded as an ideology, as well as its formulation in an introverted systematic." (Yaşat, 2008, pp. 71-72). A new type of Marxist understanding of art, advancing with a "de-ideological" Marxism, also led to the development of postmodern theses such as "the collapse of grand narratives" (Lyotard, 1979), "end of ideology" (Bell, 1962), "end of history" (Fukuyama, 1992).

It can be said that "In these magazines, the alienated individual of our age is reflected and criticized in literature with all its reality, as in social life." However, this criticism cannot go beyond being a criticism within the scope of "critical realism", as will be tried to be explained in the next section. Because reflecting a situation as it is is a "naturalistic projection", but it is not a socialist criticism. Unless we shape objective reality according to "de-alienation", not "alienation"; Neither criticism nor literature will be able to reveal the effective function of art in the reshaping of society, leading to the transformation of bourgeois reality. While the factor of "alienation" is used against "alienation/ defamiliarization" in socialist realist literature (Çalışlar, 1986, p. 120), the situation in the literary magazines is on the contrary, "alienation" with "identification". For example, about Kafka, which is frequently seen in these magazines, Garaudy says: "Kafka is realistic because he gives alienation within alienation!" However, according to Çalışlar (1986, p. 186), "realism is always about overcoming alienation with transcendence."

In the sense of art of the Frankfurt School, such a function of art is not obligatory. In fact, according to them, art should respond to alienation with alienation, just as in Kafka. For example, while Marcuse argues that art should remain in a state of permanent alienation, Adorno's understanding of art also emphasizes this necessity: "According to Adorno, art responds to the holistic character of oppression and will with a holistic alienation." (1998, p. 103). As it is seen, for the founders of Critical Theory, art should aim not to overcome alienation, but to alienate itself from the existing reality. For both Adorno and Marcuse, the dominant ideology can be destroyed thanks to the negative function of art. The only difference between them; While Marcuse argues that the destructiveness of art can be effective if it is formed ideologically, Adorno opposes the determination of art as an ideology and claims that

the liberating side of art can only be possible with art's autonomy (Yaşat, 2008, p. 95). The autonomy they attribute to art - and therefore to literature, which is the subject of this study - is blended with the concepts of postmodernism and forms the conceptual basis of today's popular/postmodern literary magazines.

It is possible to say that the school, by bringing together psychoanalysis and Marx, paved the way for the birth of post Marxism and new left movements. According to Çubukçu (2014, p.12-13), each of the tendencies that accuse Marxism of being a theory that "excludes people", aiming to establish a "humanistic Marxism" against it, and which tend to establish links between Marxism and psychoanalysis. It is based on the Frankfurt School. For example, according to Marcuse (as cited in Anderson, 1982, p. 129), revolutionary salvation is in Freud's doctrine of individual psychology. The elements of pleasure-sexuality, liberation, re-sexualizing, and eroticizing life, which are frequently encountered in magazines, are compatible with Marcuse's approach to "libidinal rationality". The meaning that postmodernism attributes to others (identity politics) again coincides with the approaches of Adorno and Horkheimer (2016), who are representatives of the Frankfurt School, which provide space for movement and attribute autonomy to the particular. According to them, the particular is autonomous from the general, and in this way, it (the particular) can preserve its own existence and force the general to change in the direction of its own preferences, without surrendering to the general. This understanding is also encountered in the approach of postmodern magazines to others (sub-identities). Again, there is a relationship between the importance attached to the egoistic individual by Horkheimer, one of the leading figures of the school, and the view of postmodernism towards the individual. In the "value of egoism" advocated by Horkheimer, the individual always achieves his greatest happiness through social

interaction (as cited in Jay, 2014, p. 115-116). In postmodernism, unlike Horkheimer, there is no need for social interaction for the individual's egoistic happiness. Despite this important difference, the first steps of the rise of the "ego" appear in Horkheimer's approach. In popular/postmodern literary magazines, sometimes the happiness of the individual in social interaction, sometimes the individual isolated from the society -but always the individual first - or the happiness gathered from unhappiness is at the forefront. In a dialectical relationship with social liberation, the satisfaction of the ego takes precedence over the liberation of the individual.

The bourgeois-individualist approach dominated almost all representatives of Critical Theory. According to the school, only individual salvation is possible. With Fromm, who tries to integrate psychoanalysis and Marxism, it is perceived as "being free from domination, getting rid of personal authorities in socio-psychological terms" (Holz, 2014, p. 25). Opposition to every existing order is combined with an individual hedonism. This situation is also observed in the popular/postmodern magazines that are the subject of the study. These magazines define themselves through a "left" political stance. This political stance seems to be appropriate with the new left movements that paved the way for the formation of the Critical Theory and the opposition in the purely critical thought. Being critical of a theory means that it has an oppositional and questioning analysis (Balkız, 2004, p. 139). It was deemed appropriate to start the study with the Frankfurt School and Critical Theory in order to reveal the character of Critical Theory, and hence "criticism", and to understand what the opposition, which is also seen in the magazines selected as samples, indicates.

## **2.1. A Brief Overview of the Concept of Criticism and Critical Approaches**

Today, the concept of criticism is generally referred to as the "negative evaluation process". The term is mostly used in the sense of showing only the bad

side of something, although it includes the meaning of evaluating anything with its good or bad sides (Hançerlioğlu, 1982, p. 81). The concept of criticism is found in many of Marx's writings. Criticism appears as a title in his works such as *The Holy Family*, *Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*, and *Capital*. For the first time, Marx included the concept of criticism in his doctoral thesis. According to Maidan (2016, pp. 295-298), who examines Marx's concept of criticism, Marx confined himself to dealing with the current usage in radical circles in his thesis. "Criticism is the measure." For "it is criticism that measures the intrinsically particular being, the effective reality peculiar to thought." In other words, criticism is the act of "turning one's face out of philosophy" in order to make the world philosophical. According to Maidan's understanding, Marx, in his correspondence with Ruge, transcends the political sphere to realize the first critique of Hegel's philosophy, and Marx criticizes the Hegelian system by saying in his Manuscripts, "The only labor Hegel knows and accepts is the abstract labor of the mind". In the Manuscripts, and later in *The Holy Family*, Marx criticizes Hegel's critique of his philosophy through the "reversal" of subject and object, criticizing the abstraction that Hegel reduces to the historical process. According to Marx's second-period criticism, "criticism is a method of finding and correcting mistakes. Criticism is the main tool for the people to be active in the government in socialist countries" (Hançerlioğlu, 1977, V:2, p.32-33). In Marx's critique, theory complements practice. Marx and Engels (2004) address this issue as follows:

The question of whether objective truth can be ascribed to human thought is not a question of theory but a practical question. Man must prove the truth, that is, the reality and power of his thought, his belonging to this world, in practice. The debate about the truth or

unreality of thought isolated from practice is a purely scholastic question (p.26).

In the critical approaches developed against liberal pluralist social theories by adopting Marx's critical theory, the aim of criticism is not only to reveal the negativities. In critical approaches, criticism has been used as a method "to show the main source of social practices and to examine, test and criticize how existing social interests, conflicts and contradictions are expressed in thought and how these are reproduced in systems of domination" (Çoban & Buz, 2008, p. 77-78). Criticism in Marxism should focus on finding and correcting mistakes. Major critical approaches developed against liberal pluralist social theories can be categorized as structural approach, economic-political approach and cultural approach. Structuralists attribute meaning to the structure, despite the positivism's understanding of absolute knowledge and absolute truth. Althusser, whose works are in a structuralist tradition, sees ideology as an optic by which one designs the world, rather than a reflection of the economic basis, even if it is distorted, and therefore directs his criticism to the field of examining the category of implicit thought (Fejes, 1994, p. 253). According to Bennet (as cited in Yaylagül, 2016, p. 121), ideology is not autonomous, it conforms to existing production relations. Therefore, the relative autonomy attributed to ideology does not reflect reality. Cultural approaches include studies that focus more on messages such as structuralist approaches. While culture in Marx's materialist thought was the dependent product of an underlying economic basis, the new Marxists who formed the tradition of Western Marxism in the twentieth century opposed this idea of Marx. "Cultural Studies, which used Marxist historical and dialectical materialist philosophy as a method against idealist philosophy and started its work in the 1960s, started to describe the Marxist approach as 'economic



reductionism' (...) and to search for the truth of man in texts produced by man.” (Erdogan, 2014, p. 357). In this case, criticism takes a form that mythicizes and glorifies the culture produced by the capitalist market and legitimizes it with relativism that is reduced to the individual, as Erdoğan stated (2014, p. 358-359). Thus, “criticism in cultural approaches is not built on human practice, but on the products of practice.”

The critical political economy approach, on the other hand, puts the economic structure and processes of production on the basis of the understanding of criticism and displays a dialectical materialist approach. What distinguishes critical political economy from other approaches is that “it always goes beyond action positioned to show how particular micro-contexts are shaped by general economic dynamics and the broader structures on which they are based” (Golding & Murdock, 1991, p. 66-67). From the point of view of Marxism, critique is a method based on “a materialist dialectic, which is used to find and overcome the objective contradictions between the imperatives of social development, that is, objective contradictions both in various spheres of society, in subjective views, attitudes, modes of behavior, as well as in obsolete institutions, forms of organization and modes of work.” (Buhr & Kosing, 1976, p. 97). In this study, which focuses on the critical content in popular/postmodern literary journals and the criticism of this critical content, a critical method based on materialist dialectics will be adopted. In order to make such a criticism, it is necessary to distinguish between "critical realism" and "social realism". Because the critical political stance of the magazines and their approach to literature are shaped through "critical realism".

The criticism that dominates the political stance of the popular/postmodern literary magazines that are the subject of the study is a similar criticism with "critical

realism". For this reason, it would be useful to briefly touch upon the phases of realism in the history of literature and art, as well as communication studies, in order to better understand "critical reality". In the history of literature and art, realism has passed through different stages in its historical development and has gained different definitions because it has different qualities in each stage. According to Çalışlar (1986, pp.15-43) these phases are as follows: The period when it first emerged as a historical phenomenon. This period is defined as "Renaissance realism" or "first realism". In the realism approach of this period, the affirmation of the bourgeois society was in question and the artistic tendencies of the period were in this direction. In the next stage, the bourgeois criticism of the bourgeois class with a realistic method is conceptualized as "critical realism". In the last stage, which is still valid today, the presentation of reality with the consciousness of socialism and the dialectical materialist method is called "social realism". Çalışlar (1986) states that all these different denominations on realism and criticism are the product of historical-social conditions and explains this with an example:

For the artists and thinkers of the Renaissance and Enlightenment period, realism, while expressing the basic idea of the bourgeoisie against the feudal world, took the form of "critical realism" in the sense of self-criticism of the bourgeoisie at the point where social reality and bourgeois ideals began to conflict, and later, with the emergence of the proletariat as an opposing force on the stage of history, "socialist realism" was born (p. 43).

This distinction is an important distinction to understand what kind of realism we encounter in the magazines that are the subject of the study. The criticism encountered in these magazines operating in the field of literature and art is devoid of being a progressive criticism. As Çalışlar (1986, p. 57, 59) underlines, "Bourgeois art

has existed through criticism. This criticism is an integral part of it. (...) If it does not criticize itself, if it tries to affirm itself, its inhuman face will be revealed.” The main source of the difference between socialist realism and critical realism is here: While bourgeois art can only sustain its existence by criticizing it, socialist realism is based on the opposing forces in society to overcome bourgeois realism with a fundamental criticism. However, the criticism seen in the magazines is a criticism that is devoid of overcoming the situation it criticizes, such as "bourgeois art that sustains its own existence by criticizing it".

While the concept of "criticism" and "realism" as a historical phenomenon progressed in this way, Critical Theory came to the fore with the Frankfurt School. The concept of Critical Theory has been identified with the Frankfurt School.

## **2.2. Frankfurt School and Critical Theory**

The term Frankfurt School began to be used in conjunction with the Institute for Social Research at the University of Frankfurt. Among the members of the Institute there are names like; Karl August Wittfogel, Franz Borkenau, Henryk Grossmann, Friedrich Pollock, Leo Löwenthal, Max Horkheimer, Theodor W. Adorno, Herbert Marcuse, Eric Fromm, Walter Benjamin, Otto Kirchheimer and Franz Neuman. However, among these names, Horkheimer, Adorno and Marcuse came to the fore (Dellaloğlu, 2014, p. 18).

Critical Theory took root among left Hegelians in intellectual Germany of the 1840s, before re-emerging in the 1930s. Early critical theorists lived in a time when a new power in society, the proletariat, was on the rise. For this reason, the power of the proletariat is seen as the factor that will enable the realization of the philosophy of the school, and the first-generation critique of the school's Critical Theory takes place in

the form of "the immanent criticism of society based on the existence of the real historical subject". In the period when Critical Theory began to revive, the theory gradually began to get stuck in a state of "transcendence" with the weakening of the working class (Jay, 2014, p. 93-95).

The starting point of Critical Theory is accepted as Marxism. However, the radical socialist philosophers of the school (Marcuse, Horkheimer, Adorno) over time broke away from the ideal of "change", which is the most basic element of Marxist criticism, were dragged to the point of "insolubility", and today they have been criticized for being a barrier to the materialist dialectical understanding of Marxism.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> Douglas Kellner (2016) discussed the similarities and differences between the Frankfurt School and the Cultural Studies tradition in his article titled "Cultural Marxism and Cultural Studies". According to Kellner, criticism of Americanism and mass culture by Hoggart, Williams and others, who are considered to be the pioneers of early British cultural studies in the late 1950s and early 1960s, parallels the criticisms of the early Frankfurt School. Although the Frankfurt School initially glorified the working class, the working class, which seems defeated by fascism, is increasingly seen as a powerful source for emancipatory social change. Some of the works of the Birmingham Group echo the social theory and methodological models, political approaches, and strategies of the Frankfurt School for cultural studies. In both schools, attention is drawn to the fact that mass culture played an important role in the "disastrous outcome of the Marxist revolution project" and the adaptation of the working class to the capitalist society. In doing so, they put culture, which they see as a type of hegemony and the reproduction of ideology, at their center (p.140-141). However, in both traditions, the main features of capitalism are criticized in a very general and schematic way without a concrete examination of the material production of culture. For example, Adorno's insistence that cultural dominance lies in the economic dynamic of the "culture industry" is a necessary starting point for Marxist study. However, it is insufficient to argue that the capitalist mode of production, of which the culture industry is a part, will produce cultural forms in line with the interests of the dominant ideology. It is imperative to examine in detail the functioning of this production process, how the mode of production and production relations determine the strategies of cultural investors, and how cultural producers (writers, actors, artists) construct their concrete activities. But Adorno sees this necessity as redundant. According to Adorno, "because the main structures of industry are reproduced in the cultural goods it produces," they can be adequately deduced from critical analysis and need not be studied separately. A similar attitude is seen in the studies of Williams and Hall. In the approaches of these two thinkers, the detailed analysis of cultural forms is based on an undeveloped analysis of the economic infrastructure in which these forms are produced. For example, Hall states that the content of television serves to convey the dominant conditions and form, support and exclude alternatives. Although this is an extremely accurate statement, it is insufficient. Because, according to Murdock and Golding, this ideological reproduction cannot be understood without an analysis of the economic conditions in which this process takes place and the pressures used by these conditions (Erdoğan, 2014, p. 270). Another similarity between Cultural Studies and the Frankfurt School is that British Cultural Studies focuses on the potential of youth cultures to produce new forms of dissent and social change, especially similar to Marcuse's approach. In both approaches, the oppositional identity of youth subcultures has an important place (Kellner, 2016, p. 142). Thus, the transition to postmodern cultural studies takes place. In the postmodern phase of cultural studies, there is a widespread tendency to

Criticisms of Critical Theory are that the Frankfurt School and its thinkers laid the groundwork for cultural studies that broke away from Marxism in the 1960s and shifted to poststructuralism and postmodernism. Cultural studies built on the meaning attributed to culture by the Frankfurt School; With the poststructuralist, post Marxist and postmodern transformation, it has now begun to put the determinant of language and thought into the focus of the studies. Before moving on to the convergence process of the Frankfurt School and liberal approaches and the criticisms directed at Critical Theory, it is necessary to briefly mention the formation of the Frankfurt School, the founder of the theory, and the approaches he brought to criticism in the historical process.

For Hermann Weil and other founders, who contributed greatly to the establishment of the Institute with his donations, it was thought that it would be reasonable to seek some partnerships with the recently established University of Frankfurt (1914), although both financial and intellectual independence of the Institute was aimed. The idea of naming the institute as Institut Für Marxismus (Institute of Marxism) during its establishment was rejected as too provocative, however, the name Felix-Weil-Institut Für Sozialforschung (Felix Weil Institute for Social Studies) was decided upon, aiming to make the school famous for its contributions to Marxism. The school, which completed its official establishment in 1923, was opened in 1924 under the presidency of Grünberg, who holds a chair at the German University and clearly defines himself as a Marxist (Jay, 2014, pp.46-50).

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ignore or even completely disregard economics, history and politics for the sake of local tastes, consumption and the construction of hybrid identities (Kellner, 2016, p. 145). As Kellner (2016, p.149) states, cultural studies has many models and traditions ranging from the NeoMarxist model formed by Lukács, Gramsci, Bloch and the Frankfurt School in the 1930s to feminist and psychoanalytic cultural studies and semiotic and poststructuralist approaches.

After Grünberg, the Frankfurt School's understanding of Marxism began to transform and a school-specific understanding emerged. For this reason, the "Critical Theory" belonging to the school has been evaluated as "revisionist" by Orthodox Marxists, partly because it is eclectic and partly because it rejects economic determination and materialism (Yaylagül, 2016, p. 100). According to Horkheimer (1998), from now on, the Institute will deal with the following subjects: "The interrelationships between the economic life of the society and the psychological development of the individual and cultural changes in the narrow sense (what is meant by culture here is not only the spiritual content of science, art and religion, but law, customs, fashion, public opinion, sports, forms of entertainment, lifestyle, etc.)" (p. 10). According to Çubukçu (2014, p. 13), even though the Frankfurt School, which places modernism at the center of its criticism, stays away from "the realization of philosophy" and claims that it is based on a Marxist understanding of history with a philosophy that "does not even prepare the criteria for a revolutionary situation", it was defeated and completely broke away from Marxism. The Critical School moved away from the Marxist tradition and shifted towards the criticism of Western civilization instead of class contradictions in its criticism.

The school mainly criticized modernism rather than capitalism. For them, rationality is formal. While the aim should be to promote freedom, rationality has become a means of increasing capitalist surplus value and enslaving man. Positivism, the science of capitalism, lacks the critical mind necessary for freedom (Yaylagül, 2016, p. 98). Drawing on Weber's writings and Marx's critiques of culture, the school shaped its theories on the insidious force of formal rationality (*zweckrationalitat*) in society. Members of the school criticized formal rationality for focusing on means rather than ultimate goals and purposes (Smith & Riley, 2016, p. 71).

Another distinguishing feature of the school's work is its fusion of post-Freudian psychoanalytic theory with Marxist political economy. W. Reich was the first to associate Marxism and Freud's analysis of the unconscious. In his *Dialektischer Materialismus und Psychoanalyse*, Reich (as cited in Erbil, 2013, p. 14) for the first time argues that "Freudianism is important in terms of explaining psychic life and being a method of treatment, but the explanations it brings should be considered within the socio-economic context of capitalism". Reich, rejecting the universality of the Oedipus complex, argues that suppressing sexual impulses is not necessary for social life and civilization, and that suppressing these feelings helps the existence of the capitalist system and maintains the system (Erbil, 2013, p. 14). Although Reich was the first representative of Freudian-Marxism, the institutionalization of this thought was realized with the initiative of the Frankfurt School.

The Frankfurt Institute of Psychoanalysis, which opened on February 16, 1929, was the first institution to openly declare that it was Freudian, although not directly affiliated with a German university. Erich Fromm is the most important representative of the Freudian wing of the institute. According to Jay (2014, p. 155), this is a rather "dare" undertaking. Because Freud's pessimism about the possibility of social change and his understanding of libido are incompatible with the dialectical materialist understanding and praxis of Marxism. When it comes to 1959, Philip Reif criticizes this attempt of the Frankfurt School with these words: "For Marx, the past is pregnant with the future, and the proletariat is the midwife of history. For Freud, the future is pregnant with the past, a burden that only the doctor and luck can save us... The revolution can only be a repetition of the prototype rebellion against the father, and in any case, it is doomed to failure, as in the rebellion against the father" (as cited

in Jay, 2014, p. 155). Despite the differences, this understanding is reflected in post Marxism, which will be included in the following sections of the study.

Erich Fromm, one of the representatives of the school, claims that modern society limits human freedom, like Freud, and states that capitalism is responsible for this (Smith & Riley, 2016, p.288-289). According to Jay (2014, pp. 165-177) Fromm defends the view that libido, which he attaches great importance to, is shaped in society and emerges in families. In a way, this is called culture in his understanding. According to Fromm, every society has its own libidinal structure, that is, a combination of basic human drives and social factors. Social psychology also studies how this social libidinal structure moves and its effects on political authority. The Institute adopted Fromm's idea of combining psychoanalysis and Marxism in the first place. Jay exemplifies this adoption with the article "Geschichte und Psychologie" (History and Psychology) in the Institute's journal. In this article, Horkheimer highlights the importance of an urgent psychological contribution to integrate with Marxist theory, and emphasizes the necessity of understanding people's motivations in contemporary society, both "ideologically" in Marx's sense and psychologically. In a sense, the ideological superstructure and the economic infrastructure will converge through psychoanalysis. Jay (2014, pp. 180-190) states that, especially after the 1930s, when Fromm, who was seen as a revisionist, and the Institut became increasingly distant from each other, Fromm began to criticize Freud heavily "for his lack of warmth" after leaving the Institute. Adorno and Horkheimer, on the other hand, move away from Freud and try to look at psychoanalysis from a more Marxist perspective. Marcuse, who will dominate a period of the school, goes beyond Adorno and Horkheimer and once again engages in the utopian integration of Marx and Freud.



In Jay's words, Marcuse, in his 1955 work *Eros and Civilization*, furthered the attempts of Critical Theory to unite Marx and Freud. Adorno and Horkheimer used Freud's approaches on the deep contradictions of modern-day people to support their discussion of non-identification.<sup>5</sup> Because of their emphasis on the sense of non-

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<sup>5</sup> According to the principle of identity, which is one of the basic principles of formal logic, "a thing is what it is", "everything is identical with itself". According to Hegel, identity does not adapt, on the contrary, it causes difference. For Hegel, identity corresponds to the paradoxical claim of being and nothingness. He claims they are the same thing. The reason for such a paradox is that the pure thought of being is not different from nothingness. In order to truly reveal oneself, one must be something other than oneself, and this is only possible by negating oneself. In other words, to find yourself, you have to lose yourself in something else, and it is a necessity. In other words, alienation is needed for transcending to occur. Alienation is the driving force. According to Hegel, 'opposites' are also identical with each other and everything carries its opposite. It is identity that shows that it is possible for the identical to pass into each other. For Hegel, this transition is 'becoming'. Being, non-existence, and becoming are the first three categories of Hegelian logic. In Hegel's philosophy, to negate is to affirm. For Hegel, negation, or in other words, abnegation, is creation. According to the Hegelian dialog, the first category of every triad is positive. The opposite is always negative. The third category, becoming, contains the opposition and at the same time the identity of the other two. Thus, the first two categories reconcile by negating the latter's negation of the first. This process is also called thesis-antithesis-synthesis (thesis-synthesis-antithesis). See. Orhan Hançerlioğlu, *Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, Volume 2, Remzi Bookstore, Istanbul, p.301. Because, according to Hegel, everything exists by being negated.

For anything to exist, first of all, the extraordinary power of negation, or abnegation, is required so that every society can transcend the existing one and create a new social structure. Negation in anything is important for Horkheimer, and non-identity, that is, non-identification, is important. This principle of non-identity lies on the basis of the Negative Dialectic thought. That is, the rejection of the negation of negation and the opposite of identity. According to Adorno, "The idea of identity has throughout history been a deadly, all-consuming thing. See. T. W. Adorno, *The Jargon of Authenticity: On German Ideology*, Metis Publications, Istanbul 2012, p. 107. Adorno's dialectic resists surrender to affirmation and is a dialectically negative dialectic that does not desire identity and argues that the whole is false. In Adorno's *Negative Dialectics*, "Identity is achieved neither as the immediate other side of the positive nor through the negation of negation. Identity is not affirmation as in Hegel. ... The equivalence of the negation of negation with positivity is the very essence of identification, its purest formal principle. This principle of the negation of negation at the very bottom of the dialectic rises to the top as an anti-dialectical principle in traditional logic, or in more arithmetic, where minus multiplied by minus plus arithmetic. This is what Hegel inherited from mathematics, which he peculiarly opposes elsewhere. See. T. W. Adorno, *Negative Dialectics*, Metis Publications, Istanbul, 2016 p.158. According to Adorno, Auschwitz is a product of "civilization, the rationality of capital, and identities driven into fascism led by instrumental progress and technique". See. F. Matamoros et al., *Solidarity with the Decline of Metaphysics: Negativity and Hope*, Otonom Publishing, Istanbul, 2011, p. 226). Therefore, the earth must be freed from the pressure of identification. Adorno's emphasis on the non-identical instead of the identical, on the particular instead of the universal, on the negation instead of affirmation, with the negative dialectic of Adorno, has become an effective approach in philosophy with the influence of his postmodern thought, which abandoned the dialectic. Especially after the 1970s, thinkers such as Althusser, Deleuze, Guattari, Foucault, Derrida, Hardt and Negri, whose names were heard with cultural approaches, emphasized the rejection of dialectics. As the reason for this, they showed that the dialectic foresees the closure and does not allow the openness.

identification, they never attempt to reconcile subject and object<sup>6</sup> According to Jay, especially Adorno opposes the harmony between subject and object established in Hegel's philosophy and working against the object. Based on the possible reconciliation of subject and object, Marcuse is less interested in individual psychology than in social cohesion. Marcuse finds "in Freud and in the meta-psychological Freud the prophet of identity and reconciliation." In fact, unlike Fromm, who abandoned orthodox Freud as an enemy to the new reality principle, he tries to uncover elements in psychoanalysis that go beyond the horizon of the existing system. According to Marcuse, the cornerstone of the philosophy of emancipation is Freud.

Following Freud, Marcuse says that "man's instinctive nature is the sexual libido, or Eros," which has been repressed throughout written history. According to him, "In addition to the first pressure necessary for the fulfillment of the needs of the savage and the struggle for civilization (Freud), the structure of the class society, the "surplus-pressure" arising from inequality and domination, created the written

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<sup>6</sup> Adorno's idea of identity is based on the subject. And this is why Adorno criticizes subjectivism. Its aim is to end the domination of the subject over the object and thus to provide the opportunity for the different to realize itself in society. Adorno tries to justify this thought with his negative dialectic understanding. And he reveals his utopia: utopia is "the subject's reaching non-identity without sacrificing himself". See. T. W. Adorno, *Negative Dialectics*, Metis Publications, Istanbul, 2016 p. 255. Dialectics According to Adorno, only "materialist dialectics begins to give priority to the object". According to him, the aim with this is: "to negate the singular moments in which the subject and the object are positioned in absolute opposition and identified with each other through this very opposition." See. age, p.185, p.165.

history” (Anderson, 1982, p. 128). Marcuse replaces Logos<sup>7</sup> with Eros<sup>8</sup> in order to create a libertarian rationality instead of an oppressive one.

The mind will be removed from an instrumentalist framework and thus the "libidinal rationality" including the concept of "Eros" will be reshaped in the context of the human mind's relations with nature and the other. Opposite the Logos, where the means are aimed, Eros, where the total freedom of man is aimed, contains a new mental-spiritual dimension.

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<sup>7</sup> Orhan Hançerlioğlu expressed Logos in his work titled History of Thoughts (Düşünceler Tarihi) as follows. “According to Heraclitus, although everything changes, there is one thing that remains unchanged, which is logos. The Logos is a divine law of the universe that is the cause of everything. The full meaning of Logos cannot be translated into any other language than Greek. Logos is a word that encompasses all the meanings of words, meanings, thoughts and minds. The logos, which comes from and goes to infinity, gives itself in oppositions and contradictions. The logos is constantly evolving and flourishing with these oppositions and contradictions. But in all these contradictions and oppositions it remains one and unchanged. (...) Heraclitus says that everything arises only from the fight of opposites, and he grasps the dialectic: The absence of existence, non-existence gives birth to existence. Existence and absence, being and not being, living and dying are one and the same thing. If they were not the same thing, they could not change into each other, non-existence could not pass into existence, existence into non-existence, death into life, and life into death. In the circle of the circle, the beginning and the end meet at the same place”. See. Orhan Hançerlioğlu, History of Thoughts, Remzi Bookstore, Istanbul, pp.94-96.

<sup>8</sup> Freud explains human life with two basic instincts. On the one hand, the instincts of self-life and genealogy, namely Love (Eros), and on the other hand, Thanatos, the instinct of death or destruction. The diversity of life phenomena is explained by the simultaneous or reciprocal actions of these two primitive instincts. See. Sigmund Freud, Beyond the Pleasure Principle, (Trans. Mehmet Ökten), Tutku Publishing House, Istanbul 2014, p. 74. Freud placed the Oedipus complex and Eros, inspired by Greek mythology, at the foundation of civilization. Unlike Heraclitus, who saw the essence of being as Logos, Freud saw the essence of being as Eros. The war first began in human nature between Eros and Thanatos, that is, the instinct to live and die. It is the dynamics of culture such as art, religion and science that will ensure the continuity of culture and civilization. These cause the individual to experience satisfaction and thus the harmony created by Eros keeps people together. In the ongoing war between Eros and Thanatos, the gain of Eros is important, and efforts must be made for it. This effort is an effort to sublimate the destructive and destructive impulses originating from Thanatos in cultural fields. Thus, the individual will reduce the influence of Thanatos as much as possible with the satisfaction he gets from fields such as art, religion and science. See. Nuriye Merkit, The Basic Dynamics of Civilization in Sigmund Freud and Its Effect on the Individual in FLSF (Journal of Philosophy and Social Sciences), Ankara University, Ankara, 2016 Spring, issue: 21, p. 123-140 ISSN 1306-9535.

means are aimed, Eros, where the total freedom of man is aimed, contains a new mental-spiritual dimension.

Through Eros, humanistic natural liberation will merge with erotic liberation. Thus, erotic saturation, which transcends the instrumental utilitarian purpose of capitalism, will flourish freely in all areas of society; man, and nature, subject and object will merge in a harmonious unity (Anderson, 1982, p. 129).

One of the reasons for giving importance to the relationship between psychoanalysis and the Frankfurt School in this study is the concept of "left melancholy". The conditions that gave rise to this concept began in the process of integrating the Frankfurt School with psychoanalysis and Marxist theory. Although he was never a full member of the Frankfurt School, Benjamin, always in contact with school theorists and especially Adorno's close friend, developed theories with direct quotations from Freud in many of his basic works (Karbay, 2015, p. 133). In his work "Left Melancholy" Benjamin criticizes a "left" stance. The "left" Benjamin criticizes; it is a commodified left integrated with capitalism. In this study, which tries to criticize the political stance of popular/postmodern literary magazines, the concept of "left melancholy" will also be used. For this reason, the concept of "left melancholy" will be discussed in detail in the relevant section.

The Frankfurt School, which developed a critical theory against capitalist culture, has a very important place in understanding the functioning and purpose of capitalist culture. However, over time, the school ignores the concept of class by denying the economic relations of production, and replaces this concept with the understanding of "one-dimensional person of cultural industries" or "power elite" (Erdoğan, 2014, p. 284). Especially with the industrialization of culture, popular

culture or mass culture has led to the fragmentation and standardization of human consciousness and the dominance of consumption culture. According to the representatives of the Frankfurt School, this fragmented consciousness is one of the biggest obstacles to human liberation (Yaylagül, 2016, p. 99).

Although a wide variety of ideas come together within the Frankfurt School, the school is generally divided into four main periods. Its first period is the period from the establishment of the Institute until 1933, when Hitler came to power. In 1931, which corresponds to this period, the relationship of the Institute with the working-class movement was explained as follows (Jay, 2014, p. 55):

The importance of the Institute lies in the fact that for the first time in the most important countries of the world, all the resources concerning the labor movement were gathered together. In particular, resources such as congress minutes, party programmes, statutes, newspapers and periodicals. Whoever wants to work or write about currents in the labor movement in Western Europe should come to us; because we are the only collecting center of this movement.

The second period is the period until 1950, when the members of the Institute escaped from fascism and continued their studies in the USA. This second period is accepted as the period when the change in the school's main field of study and approach began (Yaylagül, 2016, p.101). According to Holz (2014, p. 22), Critical Theory, which analyzes the relationship between theory and practice of Marxism, "the human existence's (ambiguous, not in the sense associated with the philosophy of life, especially in the abstract existential-ontological sense, on the contrary, concretely related to the level of relations of production) knowledge of its historicity has the destructive intention of not leaving what has been." It makes the existing open to the

non-existent but possible, and in this way it shows its impermanence.” Here, “not leaving what has happened as happened” is different from the change that dialectical materialism validates. In this case, a change in theory can change reality. According to Critical Theory, the world should be shown not as it is, but in a changeable form. “When the theory transitions from a descriptive to a critical one, it will lead a closed system to open action” and in this sense, theory is a kind of practice (Holz, 2014, 22-23). In Adorno (2013, p. 46), “We must state that thinking is itself a form of practice; When I think I am doing something. Even the most mental activity contains a practical element,” he claims, asserting that theory is a kind of practice.

It is accepted that the school gained an intellectual identity with the new staff formed at the Institute for Social Research together with Horkheimer, who continued his studies in exile in the USA due to the Nazi rule in Germany. The predominance of economists and political scientist theorists in the early years of the school diversified during Horkheimer's period, and a wider range of transitions took place from philosophy to psychoanalysis, from art to sociology. It is seen that the content of the critical theory of society that dominated the school in Horkheimer's period began to take shape more clearly in Horkheimer's 1937 article titled “*Traditional and Critical Theory*”. Horkheimer is skeptical of all absolute understandings and identity theories. According to him, an absolute justice “can never be realized in history because even when a better society replaces the existing disorder and a better society is formed, the misery experienced in the past will not be compensated and the pain of the encompassing nature will not be relieved” (Jay, 2014, p. 101). Horkheimer's study called “*Traditional and Critical Theory*” is considered as a kind of founding text of the school.

In the article, 'traditional theory' is interpreted as the implicit or explicit perspective of modern sciences expressed as positivism/empiricism in modern philosophy, and Horkheimer is mainly concerned with the spread of this understanding of theory in humanities and social sciences following the guidance of 'natural sciences'. The opposite type of social thought, 'critical theory', rejects the method of determining objective facts from a purely outside perspective with the aid of theoretical systems, and 'since facts emerge from the workings of society... they are not so external to the scholar as they are'... to critical thinking... motivated by the effort to truly transcend and eliminate opposition. (Bottomore, 2013, p. 19).

As stated by Bottomore, Horkheimer's article deals with the spread of traditional theory in the humanities and social sciences. According to Horkheimer (1989, p. 25), the aim of social philosophy is an attempt to interpret the situation of people “not as singular individuals, but as parts of a community, members and agents of a society.” Horkheimer explains the subject of social philosophy as “first of all, phenomena that can only be understood in relation to the social life of people: State, law, economy, religion, culture, in short, the whole material and spiritual culture of humanity”. With Horkheimer, culture and philosophy began to occupy the Institut's interests rather than history and economics. Horkheimer opposes the fetishization of labor and this opposition expresses one dimension of his materialist understanding. Horkheimer in his article “*Egoismus and Freiheitsbewegung*” written in 1936 (as cited in Jay, 2014, p. 115), discussing the hostility to personal taste inherent in bourgeois culture, arguing that mass entertainment was conceived as a means of compensating for the displeasure of suppressing individual happiness. In some parts of his same article, Horkheimer claims that "even so-called revolutionary movements contain the characteristic bourgeois hostility to happiness". The Romans of the

fourteenth century under Rienzi rulership and the Florentines of Savonarola were the first examples of the revolutionary movement that ended in opposition to individual happiness in the name of the supreme good. Both confuse love for the public with oppression. Even the French Revolution can be considered a suitable example of this theme. According to that, “The equality that comes with the revolution is the negative equalization caused by the guillotine, which corresponds to the equality of disrepute rather than value” (as cited in. Jay, 2014, p. 116). The ideology of duty and service to integrity at the expense of the individual's happiness also emerged in the fascism of the twentieth century. Horkheimer, who greatly contributed to the formation of the Critical Theory of the Frankfurt School, defends the value of egoism, in contrast to the bourgeois ethics of self-sacrifice. The biggest feature that distinguishes Horkheimer from utilitarian and Nietzsche in this regard is; unlike their individual, the egoistic individual always achieves his/her greatest happiness through social interaction. For this reason, Horkheimer not only rejects the mutual privileges of subject and object in philosophy, but also objects to the reification of individual and society as opposite poles (Jay, 2014, p.116).

The third period of the Institute, which directs its interest to philosophy and culture, is considered to be the 1950s, when some of the members returned to Frankfurt after the defeat of the Nazis. In this period, the influence of the school, together with the “New Left Movements”, spread to America and much of Europe. Along with the student movements developing all over the world, the school experiences its most effective times in political and intellectual terms during this period. The new leading representative of “Marxian critical thought” is not Horkheimer or Adorno, but Marcuse, who lives in America (Bottomore, 2013, p. 14). Marcuse is recognized as a bright name for protest movements against capitalism and



war, natural destruction and cultural collapse, especially between 1965 and 1975. Marcuse has a greater desire to put philosophy into practice than Horkheimer and Adorno. However, in line with this request, he directs his call not to a historically influential subject such as a party, a collective or the working class, but to a bourgeois individual who has lost confidence in his class position and ideology (Holz, 2014, p. 76).

According to Marcuse, revolutionary salvation is in Freud's teaching of individual psychology. Marcuse carries the Institut's emphasis on personal happiness even further than Horkheimer's in his 1938 Zeitschrift article titled "*Zur Kritik des Hedonismus*". Unlike Hegel, who opposes the understanding of "eudaimonism (happiness) in the name of historical progress", Marcuse defends the philosophy of hedonism. According to Marcuse, who adopts the concept of high and low pleasures; "Pleasure in humiliating oneself and humiliating another under the dominion of a strong will, pleasure in various forms of substitute for sexuality, pleasure in meaningless sacrifices, war heroisms was false pleasure, because the motives and needs that realized themselves through pleasures made people less free than they should have been, more blind and miserable" (Jay, 2014, pp. 116-117). Those who will save these "less free people" are the people outside the production process. Marcuse's "If there is a contradiction between the development of the productive forces and the production system, who, what class, which social layer is better able to see this contradiction? Who has the most opportunity to change this order?" his answer to the question; It is "the ones outside of the production process". "Minorities of other races, the vast majority of whom are excluded from the production process, people tossed aside by industrial society, the permanently unemployed, etc." Tanyılmaz (2014, p. 81) states how Marcuse's response is similar to the ideas that

claim the working class has disappeared or transformed today. In this case, it is necessary to look at the question of who the working class is. According to Mandel, the proletariat is by no means limited to blue-collar workers in industry.

Scholars or political militants who limit the definition of the proletariat to just this part of the working class will eventually conclude that the possibilities of the proletariat to change society are lessening rather than increasing. For Marx, however, the proletariat, *Gesamtarbeiter*, meant 'the worker who is nothing but the worker'. This concept includes white-collar workers, technicians, engineers, and even a certain layer of those who plan and control the production process in the workplace (literally "the managed ones"), those working in the civil service and government "with the exception, of course, of top managers and high officials); that is, all those who sell their labor under economic pressure and whose incomes do not normally allow them to accumulate capital and to liberate themselves individually from these proletarian conditions of life. (as cited in Mandel, Tanyilmaz, 2014, p. 82)

Marcuse, one of the late representatives of the Frankfurt School, lays the groundwork for the thought of post Marxism and its cultural framework, postmodernism, which actually advocates "Marxism without the proletariat", by placing those who are outside of the production process in a higher priority than the working class. With the emergence of a new understanding of civilization and culture, according to Marcuse (1998, p. 33), "Marxist theory must undergo restoration, not revision: it must be liberated from its own fetishism and ritualization, from its petrified rhetoric that hinders dialectical development." Arguing that Marxism should be restored, Marcuse also highlights technology in his works. For him, technology is not a collection of "technical devices" but a "social process." To put it more clearly, "technology is a tool of control and domination. In the field of culture, technology

produces mass culture that accustoms people to conform to dominant thought and behavior patterns” (Erdoğan, 2014, p. 271). In this period when the school was most effective, subjects such as mass culture, modern society, technology, technique, art, aesthetics, music, politics gained importance in occupying the dominant discussion areas.

The period described as the last period of the school is the period starting with the 1970s. After the death of Adorno in 1969 and Horkheimer in 1973, the Frankfurt School completely broke away from Marxism and its materialist dialectical understanding (Bottomore, 2013, p. 15). The prominent name of this period is Jürgen Habermas. As Erdoğan (2014, pp. 278-279) states, according to Habermas's Weberian approach, culture is an act. In his Theory of Communicative Action, Habermas turns to Weber's concepts of social action, rationality, and rationalization. According to him, consensus can be formed by rational and ideal, "symbolic interaction" or "ideal speech". Although Habermas uses Marxist theoretical concepts in his studies, he is referred to as a theorist against Marxism. In his work “Theory and Practice”, he rejected dialectical materialism, then historical materialism in “*Communication and Practice*” and finally the theory of value in “*Theory of Communicative Action*”.

After briefly describing the foundation of the school and its four periods, the following section will deal with Critical Theory's positivism criticism and dialectical approach, Enlightenment criticism and culture approach.

### **2.2.1. Critique of Positivism and Dialectical Approaches of Critical Theory**

Critical Theory initially aimed to revive Marx's theory, but later focused the fields of study on three subjects. The first of these is the critique of positivism. The second is criticism of the ideological impact of science and technology, and finally the criticism of the culture industry (Bottomore, 1997, p. 61).

In the 1930s, which coincided with the first years of the school, the Frankfurt School was based on the dialectical power of Marxist criticism. For this reason, their criticism studies against positivism, which they accept as a traditional theory, are one of the most important contributions of the school to social sciences (Slater, 1998, p. 105-106). However, it should be noted here that; while Critical Theory criticizes positivism, it also gets closer to metaphysics; It also moved away from Marx's views explaining science with dialectical materialism. Dialectical materialism, covering the materialist theory of knowledge, sees knowledge as a social process that develops from the discovery of the inner connections and laws of motion of the real material world (Cornforth, 2009, p. 34). While Horkheimer criticizes reason, he divides the mind into two categories as subjective and objective reason. While the subjective mind is instrumental and utilitarian, the objective mind is purposive and meaningful. According to Horkheimer, what should be is the dialectical unity of the two minds, and therefore, using the concept of "open-ended dialectic", he expresses Marx's understanding of dialectics as "completed dialectic". According to that, Marx's dialectic and Hegel's metaphysics are similar. Both Hegel's and Marx's understanding of dialectics looks at the world from a point where history has been completed and therefore rejects the idea of the future. Because in their dialectic, the future exists in the past. However, "open-ended dialectic"; "it does not accept what is reasonable has

been completed at any point in history and does not think he can resolve contradictions and tensions and bring historical dynamics to a conclusion by merely developing ideas to the end and reaching their final results” (Horkheimer, 1998, p. 36). Hegel's dialectic is criticized for ending in the bourgeois state, Marx's dialectic for ending in communist society. For Horkheimer and Adorno, thinking the dialectic will come to an end contradicts the dialectic itself.

Adorno, on the other hand, brings a different approach to the concept of dialectics; his understanding of dialectics is conceptualized as "Negative Dialectics". For him, dialectics involves awareness of non-identical. In dialectics, the "synthesis" step implies "identity", and the "thesis-antithesis" step implies "contradiction". In Adorno's Negative Dialectic, “identity” is not seen as an achievement of “contradiction”, on the contrary, it is seen as a sin and shame (Dellaloğlu, 2003, p.19). According to Adorno; Hegel's dialectical claim (identity) that every concept is equivalent to its opposite is the strongest aspect of Hegel's dialectic. However, Adorno argues that harmony cannot be realized and insists that it is not right to eliminate the contradictions, because reality is not compatible in itself for Adorno (Bozzetti, 2002, p. 297). Adorno (2016, pp. 147-153) “Dialectic leads to the different through contradictions. The dialectical movement, as a self-criticism of philosophy, remains philosophy” and defends the idea that “a positive telos in which knowledge will come to a standstill is never acceptable”. According to Adorno (2016, p.15), the idea of negation in Hegel's dialectic will eventually reach an identity. This idea of identity will eventually lead to a search for an absolute. Along with negation, the search for the absolute will eventually bring the domination of the universal over the particular. Against Hegel's idea of wholeness, universality, and absoluteness, Adorno accepts the particularity and fragmentation, rejecting the synthesis phase. Adorno's

understanding of dialectics is a logic of dissolution, in his own words, a dialectical understanding of "thinking against oneself without sacrificing oneself". While Adorno sharply criticizes identity, Lenin expresses the relation between dialectic and identity as follows:

Dialectics is a teaching that shows how opposites can be and how they become (identified) - under what conditions do they become identical by transforming themselves into another - why these opposites of the human mind are not dead, solid, but living, conditional, mobile, transforming themselves into another. (as cited in Zedung, 2008, p. 114).

As can be seen, Adorno's dialectical approach differs from the dialectical materialism of Marx. Adorno sees no linearity in history, but he thinks Hegel and Marx saw a linearity in history, and as a result, they suspended history at a point. According to Reijen (1999, pp. 63-64), Adorno, unlike Hegel, and Marx, by the reason he does not see any situation where negativity can be suspended because he sees the dialectic not only as a forward process but also as a backward process. Therefore, he does not suggest a condition that negativity can be suspended and emphasizes the continuity of negativity. In other words, he opposes the negation of negation, which is one of the principles of dialectics.

Subjectivism is harshly criticized in Adorno's Critical Theory. According to Koçak (1998, p. 33), in his book *Negative Dialectics*, Adorno says that "only by passing on to the priority of the object, the dialectic can be made materialistic". This object is the other, which is not reduced to thought, that is, to identity and definition. Therefore, Adorno does not stay at that point after asserting the primacy of matter or body but goes to another point by saying that this thesis is an insidious "infiltration operation" of categorizing subjective thought. What is important is the preservation of

the principle of the other: the obligation of everything to respect other than itself, and more importantly, the right of everything to be other than itself.

According to Adorno (2005, p.133), “the attitude to be taken against positivism should neither be to justify oneself nor to take on an air of exclusivity and difference. What needs to be done is to show, through the critique of knowledge, that a complete coincidence between the concept on the one hand and what meets it on the other, is impossible.” What makes thought alive is it will never reach one-to-one identity with reality. Adorno (2005, p.131) says the following in *Minima Moralia*: “What exists is never exactly as thought tells it. There is always a certain element of exaggeration in thought: while aiming at its object, it goes beyond it, throws off the weight of the factual, and thus tends to determine it, in an attitude that is at once certain and free, instead of simply reproducing what it is.

Critical theory has cast doubt on the absolute claim of scientific truth. Scientific research is part of the social process of man's production of means of survival; therefore, it is not an aim in itself (Holz, 2014, p. 21).

According to the school's theorists, the aim of scientific theories is the successful manipulation of the world; They have an 'instrumental' use. Critical theories, on the other hand, aim at emancipation and Enlightenment, to make the agents aware of the hidden constraints, so that they can be liberated from these constraints and put them in a position to determine where their true interests lie. The second distinction is that scientific theories are 'objectifying'. The object with which the theory describes itself is not part of the field. So there is no reflexivity. Critical theories, on the other hand, claim to be 'reflexive' or 'self-referential'. Finally, critical and scientific theories allow and require different types of confirmation. Scientific theories require empirical verification through observation and experimentation; critical

theories only emphasize the successful completion of the reflexive process (Geuss, 2002, pp. 84-85).<sup>9</sup>

According to Horkheimer (1998, p. 111), the task of critical thinking is not only to understand various phenomena in their historical development, but also to see beyond the concept of phenomenon, to understand the emergence of the phenomenon and therefore its relativity. The opposition that Horkheimer puts between positivism and critical theory begins with the concept of science as a social activity. Positivism, which is included in the traditional theory thought, corresponds to the idea of the scientific activity of the scientist in the division of labor, which is next to all other activities of the society but has no direct connection with them and the real function of science is not made clear (Bottomore, 1989, p. 29).

Horkheimer's and Adorno's "basic effort is to provide a space for the particular in the general (whole) in which it exists and to try to break the hegemony of the general over the particular" (Dellaloğlu, 2014, p. 187). At this point, both attribute an autonomy to the especially with Adorno, and from this point of view, their criticism is especially directed at Hegel, Hegelian dialectic, and Marx, who rises on Hegelian dialectics. According to them, "the hope of life of the particular in the general, which is false in the whole, depends on its autonomy." By "general" Horkheimer and Adorno mean "social structure", "totality" and "order". The particular, on the other hand,

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<sup>9</sup> Reflexivity has an important place in the critical theory of the Frankfurt School. Paul Ricoeur sees reflexive thought as an ethic. Its purpose is to catch the self in its effort to exist, in its desire to be. Reflexive thinking is the appropriation of our effort to exist and our desire to be through works that are witnesses of this effort and desire. See Paul Ricoeur, *Philosophy and Freud on Interpretation*, (Trans. Necmiye Alpay), Metis Publications, Istanbul, 2007 pp.52-53. School theorists have also approached the concept of aesthetics from a reflexive perspective. Adorno presents his aesthetic critique as a form of reflexive thought. Adorno approached aesthetic works that enable the human mind to think about its own action through the aesthetics of non-identity. In Adorno's aesthetics of non-identity, art has a "transforming power" and the viewer is not positioned as a passive receiver in the face of the artwork. Adorno defines art, which he approaches with reflexive thinking, as follows: "Art is a social objection to society." See Omer Naci Soykan, *A Journey with Adorno in the Utopia of the Musical World*, Bulut, Istanbul, 2000, p. 66.



encompasses "an interval that can expand from the individual to the class", which means parts of the general, that is, the whole. The particular must coexist with the general. However, the particular is autonomous from the general, and in this way, it can protect its own existence and force the general to change in the direction of its own preferences without surrendering to the general (Dellaloğlu, 2003, p. 18). Yet, as Lenin put it, "the singular is the general." That is, it is singular only to the extent that it is a part of the general, its moment and the reflection of the general. The general has priority over the single one. Because "Every single is always, the whole general; but always alone. If so, then the action of one and only one will never change anything in this generality" (Holz, 2004, p. 177). On the other hand, according to the theorists of the Critical School, change can be achieved with the autonomy of the particular and the method of theoretical criticism. These approaches also reveal their perspectives on the opposition of idealism and materialism. Instead of taking sides in the opposition of idealism and materialism, Adorno and Horkheimer try to overcome this opposition through their own open-ended and negative dialectic. They reject both Hegel's idealism and the materialism of Marxism and criticize their attempts to exclude each other and reduce everything to materialism/idealism. Thus, instead of overcoming these two oppositions, their theory (Because such a transcendence is not possible. In the history of human knowledge, there are two fundamentally opposing views, idealism, and materialism, regarding the laws of development of the universe and society) are situated in a place that includes both idealism and materialism. Because Colletti's (as cited in Yaşat, 2008, p. 56) stated that "a system with both idealistic and materialistic elements can only remain dogmatic". The main objection of Marx is that the particular in the context of alienation, the individual cannot express themselves. Adorno (1998, p. 52) aims to overcome the domination of the universal over the

particular, the whole over the part, and the society over the individual, with the expression “the whole is wrong” in *Minima Moralia*. For Marx, as it is known, it is necessary to get rid of alienation and private property, which is the source of alienation. According to Marx, this liberation is subject to a process that will end with communist society. According to Adorno and Horkheimer, dynamics can be activated through constant criticism. Thought assumes that it has reached the goal at the point it has reached, and if it stops, it becomes absolute. Cessation of thinking; is the cessation of reason, that is, the cessation of social progress. According to Adorno, the social order will never be at its best. It will be seen that this idea finds its reflections in the radical democracy understanding of post Marxism, which will be examined later. The criticism of thought to be reached by Marx's classless society thesis has continued with minor changes from Critical Theory to post-Marxists. According to Critical Theory, all relations that determine the social order are in a constant state of change. For this reason, there is always the possibility that there will be better social conditions than existing or will exist, and the dialectical thought that provides social progress based on criticism should not stop. If the Marxist dialectic based on Hegel will stop when it reaches socialism, it will have made the same mistake of positivism in the current social order. This negative criticism appears in his negative dialectic. Adorno's negative dialectic approach is based on this argument. This argument is one that equates "contradiction" and "irreconcilable opposition". For only when the contradiction comes to an end does the dialectic come to an end. However, it is not possible for the contradiction to disappear. As Lenin put it, “Antagonism and contradiction are not one and the same. In socialism, the first will disappear, the second will remain. (as cited in Zedung, 2008, p. 123). With the disappearance of classes, the antagonism will also disappear, but the contradiction will continue to

exist. That is, the dialectic will not end either in a socialist society or in a communist society.

The most important source of criticism of Critical Theory, especially Adorno's critique of positivism, is the theory's understanding of absolute method. According to critical theory, any absolute method in social research is considered a positivist attitude.

### **2.2.2. Enlightenment Criticism and Cultural Approaches of Critical Theory**

Adorno's *Negative Dialectics* (2016), published in 1966, begins with these words: "Philosophy that was once thought to have lost its function and obsolete is still alive today because the opportunity to realize it has been wasted. The judgment that philosophy is content with only interpreting the world and crippling itself by yielding to reality means a new submissiveness of reason today, at a time when the effort to transform the world has succumbed. Adorno's *Negative Dialectics* is like a declaration that Marx's goal of "realizing philosophy" has been defeated at the Frankfurt School. For this reason, the School's Critical Theory is shaped on the need to understand the existing rather than seeing philosophy as an effort to change the world. Much of the school's work can be gathered under the title of "critique of ideologies". According to Orhan Koçak (1998, p. 41-42), who translated Horkheimer's *The Eclipse* into Turkish:

For the Frankfurt School, ideology is not the systematic worldview of a political movement or even a class. Nor are they satisfied with Marx's definition in *The German Ideology* (wrong, distorted ideas of the ruling class that can be shared by the oppressed classes as well). Rather, they insist on a tense combination of Marx's definition of ideology (normatively correct but empirically false consciousness) in Hegel's *Critique of the Philosophy of Law*, his definition in *Contribution to the*

Critique of Political Economy (an objectively necessary illusion, fetishism) and Nietzsche and Freud's definition of ideology.

Horkheimer and Adorno add a new Marxist interpretation to ideology by adding the critique of instrumental reason to Marx's critique of political economy. According to this new Marxist approach, capitalism cannot be explained without considering the instrumental reason, that is, the rationality principle on which it is based (Balkız, 2004, p. 137).

According to Horkheimer, "If what we understand by Enlightenment and intellectual development is the liberation of man from evil forces, demons and fairies, superstitions in blind destiny; that is, if we mean, in short, salvation from fear, then displaying what is now called the mind will be the greatest service that the mind can give. as cited in Jay, 2014, p. 390). According to critical theorists, a phenomenon should only be criticized on its own principle. In other words, with the immanent criticism method used by Critical Theory, the gap between thoughts and facts can be measured. According to them, it is necessary to criticize modern bourgeois society from within, to make an immanent criticism. This type of criticism can only be made based on the norms of the society being criticized (Keskin, Soykan, & Dellaloğlu, 2003, p. 49). Intrinsic critique, as said in Eclipse, means "to confront what exists, in its historical context, with the assertions of its own conceptual principles, thus criticizing and transcending the relationship between the two". Adorno, opposing the tendency of the "subjective mind" to bring the method from outside the object, explains the immanent criticism as follows: "Anyone who wants to follow the structure of the object and conceptualize it as an object that has movement within itself should know that it has no method independent of the object" (Horkheimer, 1998, pp. 41-43). Keskin (2003, p. 49) explains Adorno's immanent critique simply

and gives the example of the critique of capitalist society in order to better understand the immanent critique:

According to Adorno, we need to construct utopia not as an ideal society imagination, but as a utopia that exists within the historicity of the society we criticize and is immanent to it. The actual situation today is not just a given fact; "what is" today is actually what "formed" as a result of a certain historical process. Therefore, if that historical development process had been different, new and better situations could have arisen. These situations, which did not occur but could have happened if the historical process had been different, are utopias inherent in the process from the past to the present. While making immanent criticism, first the understanding of the good life that an institution promises to the society is determined, revealed and defined through historical social research. After that, it is necessary to look at whether these promises have been fulfilled or not, in terms of the normative standards of that society. In other words, it is not enough to criticize capitalist society in terms of socialist morality. It is necessary to find out what the "promise of a good life" of the capitalist society is and then to look at whether capitalism has been able to fulfill these promises in terms of bourgeois morality, according to its own normative standards, with the morality it imposes. If not, this will enable an immanent critique of capitalism.

According to Frankfurt School theorists, "Critical Theory needs more than the limited resources of Enlightenment science or the one-sided rationality of positivism; art, utopian thought, fantasy and imagination are needed for this, in other words, to bring to the surface the suppressed powers of human beings and their neglected potentials by the existing social order" (Cevizci, 2010, p. 1206). At this point, while Critical Theory criticizes the instrumental mind, it got closer to Freud's psychoanalysis theory. Herbert Marcuse, one of the representatives of Critical Theory, read the world in the same way as these two names like Freud and Erich Fromm,

especially with the idea that "modern society limits human freedom". Marcuse emphasizes the need to re-sexualize and eroticize life in order to reveal what he calls "libidinal rationality". "People are seduced by commodities and comfort. People are happy with material abundance and content to being in the false freedoms created by leisure, family life, and sexual opportunity." According to Marcuse, the antidote to the alienation of capitalism is "the rediscovery of authentic and non-oppressive sexuality" (Smith & Riley, 2016, pp. 288-290).

The critique of reason, which is one of the main veins of Critical Theory, is of course not a critique of the concept of reason. Their critique of reason is the critique of one-sided and limiting rationalist reason, which they claim emerged with the Enlightenment. Horkheimer writes in his book *The Eclipse of Mind* (1998, p. 140), "Instrumentalized subjective mind either extols nature as pure vitality or brute force, instead of seeing nature as a text that must be interpreted by philosophy and, when properly read, tells us a story of boundless suffering. Humanity should try to reconcile the two without falling into a logical deviation such as identifying nature and reason.

In *The Dialectic of Enlightenment* (1995, p. 44), co-authored by Horkheimer and Adorno, which presents critical theory's critiques of culture, they criticize subjective rationality for turning to tautology:

What appears as the triumph of subjective rationality, that is, the subordination of all beings to logical formalism, has cost reason to submit to the immediately available. By grasping the available in this way, it not only recognizes data in its spatio-temporal relations, but also relinquishes all authority of knowledge from thinking of them as surface, mediated conceptual moments realized only by the development of social, historical human senses. (...) The truth is

justified, knowledge is limited to its own repetition, thought turns into mere tautology.

According to Horkheimer, subjective mind is "a mind that is concerned with the classifying and inferential formal aspect of thought rather than its content, acting with the principle of self-interest and self-preservation, and calculating only how to reach the given goal, regardless of whether the goal to be achieved is self-desired and rational". In his age, he tended to this kind of mental imagination. The objective mind, on the other hand, evaluates the rationality of human aims in terms of its place in the systematic whole, which we see in Plato, Aristotle, scholastics and German idealism, which emphasizes the ends rather than the means, whose objective structure is the measure for the thoughts and actions of the individual, which tends to be a system. Objective mind is a mind that does not exclude subjective mind but strives to go beyond it (Onur, 2016, p. 81). For Horkheimer and Adorno, the subject has now lost its autonomy and has become an object. The role of the mystified Enlightenment is great in this. Contrary to the benefit of humanity, the concept of modern reason, which the Enlightenment brought forth with the idea of progress, serves another content, capital accumulation and progress by enlarging capital, and the mind has been removed from its 'rationality' and has become closer to myth. Dialectic of Enlightenment is the main study in which the Enlightenment-myth relationship is discussed in detail. Adorno and Horkheimer (1995, p. 10-11) formulate the purpose of the work and the thesis to be defended in the foreword and speak of the Enlightenment as what the fascists of the time lauded:

(...) What the naïve humanists who has the capacity to disguise have done, namely the ceaseless self-destruction of the Enlightenment, compels thinking to forbid the last vestiges of benevolence in the face of the habits and tendencies of the mentality of the age. If humanity has inevitably come to a position where thoughts are commodities and

language is their praise, then the attempt to understand the cause of such degeneration must refuse to hang on to valid linguistic and intellectual demands.

According to them, Enlightenment thought is responsible for the corruption of humanity. At this point, it is possible to say that Marx's critique of the Enlightenment and Horkheimer and Adorno's critique of Enlightenment differ from each other. Marx's critique of the Enlightenment is the Enlightenment moves from ideas, rather than social reality. For this reason, Descartes and 17th century metaphysics re-emerged in the form of German idealism in the 19th century. "Enlightenment has become the restoration of metaphysics." However, unlike Marx, Adorno, and Horkheimer, also highlights the positive and progressive aspects of enlightenment. It especially draws attention to the liberating aspects of the mind. Marx says that "with more reason we will be liberated, more reason, rationality will push us towards a more advanced social formation within the historical dialectic". However, Adorno and Horkheimer emphasize the aspect of reason that implies power, inspect and control instead of its liberating and progressive role (Keskin, Soykan & Dellaloğlu, 2003, p.44-45). According to Horkheimer and Adorno (1995, p.16) "Enlightenment has regressed to myth. Unlike the Enlightenment suggests, reason is not just progress, liberation. According to them, welfare commodities have become an element of misery in existing relations. The quantity of these commodities has had an effect in the past as overproduction due to the absence of the social subject. Now, because of the power groups coming to power as social subjects, the danger of international fascism has arisen, and progress has suddenly turned into regression". In other words, reason has turned into power and sovereignty. The Enlightenment should have had the aim from the very beginning to remove fear from people and make them their own masters. Despite this goal, however, in the age of modernism, the fully enlightened earth is experiencing a triumphant catastrophe. With



the Enlightenment, the world would be freed from its mysteries, myths would be dismantled and overthrown, however, at the point reached, Enlightenment has regressed towards myth. According to them, “(...) when fear is no longer unknown, one has the delusion that one is free. This, on the other hand, determines the way of getting rid of mythology and Enlightenment, which adds the living to the inanimate, like the myth that adds the inanimate to the living. Enlightenment is a mythical, radicalized fear” (Horkheimer & Adorno, 1995, pp. 19-32). The Enlightenment legitimized itself with the claim that it was a liberating force, and the spread of scientific knowledge broke the effects of myths on humanity. But in this way, an even more problematic “second nature” was created (Callinicos, 2007, p. 376). That nature is the nature created by capitalism. Modernism exploits nature and therefore man at the behest of subjective reason, and according to them, this use of reason is clearly wrong.

According to Adorno and Horkheimer, The Enlightenment process could not make man independent from nature and could not bring liberation to man, as 18th century enlighteners such as Rousseau, Voltaire, Diderot and Kant believed. As Erdoğan (2014, p. 266) also stated, on the contrary, The Enlightenment served the growth of capitalist industry. Finally, the process of Enlightenment has turned into a cage that imprisons people instead of liberating them. “Instead of progress and prosperity, it has brought misery and poverty, and instead of moral progress, it has brought barbarism, violence and intolerance.” According to the understanding put forth by Horkheimer and Adorno in *Dialectic of Enlightenment*, “Enlightenment is necessary but impossible. It is necessary because otherwise humanity will continue to self-destruct and move to the opposite route to the freedom. It is impossible because enlightenment can only be achieved through rational human activity, and rationality itself is the main source of the problem” (Erdoğan, 2014, p. 266). As seeing In the *Dialectic of Enlightenment*,

Enlightenment has been criticized for its regression rather than progress; While trying to control nature, society and the individual by destroying all three. According to Horkheimer, the idea of progress instrumentalizes philosophical thinking. He speaks of the danger that awaits progress: “Progress is at every moment in danger of turning into its opposite, barbarism” (1998, p. 149). For critical theorists, progress has enslaved man to their own productivity with capitalism. Therefore, modern man is in great tragedy with progress.

Adorno and Horkheimer in *Dialectic of Enlightenment*, along with progress gives a wide place to the concept of culture. In the topic “*Enlightenment as the Deception of the Masses*” almost in every subtitle it says: “Today, culture likens everything to each other. Cinema, radio, magazines form a system. Each area harmonizes within itself and with others. Aesthetic explanations of still existing political oppositions pay the same praise to the steely rhythm” (1996, p. 7). Although they used the concepts of mass culture and popular culture in their previous studies, they gave up on these two concepts because they thought of them ideologically and used the concept of culture industry (Artan, 2007, p. 91). Because the concept of culture industry clearly implies that mass communication is a business/trade and that economic and political powers make cultural propaganda for the benefit of the powerful (Erdoğan, 2014, p. 264).

Critical theorists, without considering the concept of culture separately from the Enlightenment thought, evaluated culture with a negative approach that came under the control of instrumental reason and became uniform with progress. In their cultural criticism, the increasing totalitarian tendencies in culture along with capitalism is an important focus. According to them, “the world is governed through the filter of the cultural industry.” (Adorno & Horkheimer, 1996, p. 14). It is not in vain that the culture industry arose from liberal industrial countries; “The typical mass media of these

countries, especially cinema, radio, jazz and magazines, are successful here. The development of this system is undoubtedly due to the general laws of capital. (Adorno & Horkheimer, 1996, p. 14). Cultural monopolies that define themselves as industries not only create a mass society that is constantly amused, but also function as a legitimization of capitalist ideology and use “the fact that they are nothing but commerce as an ideology to justify the worthless things they knowingly create” (Adorno & Horkheimer, 1996, p. NS .8). According to Adorno and Horkheimer (1996);

Entertainment, all the elements of the culture industry existed before these. Now they are claimed from above and are themselves modernized. The culture industry can boast it has resolutely introduced the often-clumsy change in art into consumption, raised it to the level of principle, removed entertainment from its unsettling credulity, and corrected the form of commodities. (...) The victory of the culture industry is double: what it destroys as truth outside, it can reproduce as a lie inside as it wishes. (...) The culture industry is always deceiving the consumer on the issues it promises. The transition to the pleasure of displaying action and pomp is constantly being postponed: in fact, the malicious meaning of the promise, without changing the scene, is that it does not address the problem at all, the customer is content to read the menu. The greed that provokes all the bright names and images is praised by the monotonous daily life from which it simply seeks to escape. (p. 24, 30).

For the critical theorists of the Frankfurt School, cultural products are neither a simple reflection of class interests nor the products of an entirely independent field. They give culture a space of autonomy. Dellaloğlu (2003, p. 52) explains the concept of the culture industry as “the end of political economy, the beginning of political culture”. According to Adorno and Horkheimer, in the age of the culture industry, order liberates bodies and attacks souls. Now you are free to not think like me instead of saying "think like me or perish". You can also protect your life and all that belongs

to you. But from that moment on, you are a stranger among us” (Dellaloğlu, 2003, p. 27). Cultural industries ensure the reproduction of the workforce with messages that integrate with the dominant ideology, such as consumption-oriented, working individually and moving up in the social class (Yaylagül, 2016, p.106). At this point, it should be noted that Adorno, who is also a sociologist and music critic, distinguished between works of art and the culture industry. According to Adorno, the reason for the division in society is the contradiction of the bourgeois object with its own production in the Marxist sense. He states that as long as this contradiction exists, the falsity and division in society will continue (Dellaloğlu, 2003, p. 50). Adorno found the way out of this in art. According to Adorno, who claimed that the salvation of bourgeois society would be possible with art, “works of art are ascetic and shameless; the culture industry is pornographic and chaste” (Lunn, 1995, p. 201).

Marcuse, one of the most influential figures in Critical Theory from a political point of view, has conducted studies on the formula of liberation from the culture industry. According to him, “the target of history (with a brand-new quality of being a subject) is not the socialized human species; on the contrary, there is the liberated bourgeois individual (Holz, 2014, p.77). Considered the father of the New Left, Marcuse pessimistically presents the media, which is a part of the culture industry, as an irresistible great power in his work called *One Dimensional Man* (Yaylagül, 2016, p. 109). In the face of such a power, instead of the combative power of the class, the focus is on the liberation of the individual one by one, and the "Great Rejection", which means going out of society, is suggested as a solution. This suggestion brings with it the logic of "if you can't change the world, change your world". According to Holz (2014, pp. 78-79); Marcuse's individual revolt against the cultural industries, which he pessimistically saw as an invincible power, predicted that “by individuals

one by one refusing to conform to the system, creating their own alternative lifestyles, chasing individual happiness, developing their personal creativity without being dominated by the rulers, they could avoid the difficult path of class struggle full of suffering.” Thus, Marcuse creates the ideology of a subculture for those who leave society by seeking emancipation outside of society. It is necessary to open a parenthesis here and state that the popular/postmodern literary magazines that are the subject of the study also appear at first glance; As in Marcuse's method, they have a political stance that individuals one by one refuse to adapt to the system and create their own alternative lifestyles. Is such individual salvation really possible? If possible, is there really such a goal of individual liberation in these magazines? Is contribution to the creation of individual liberation or individual freedom spaces an illusion in the face of truth? These questions will be tried to be answered throughout the study.

According to many thinkers, Habermas brought the end of critical theory. According to him, the obstacles to human emancipation are capitalism, modernism and the instrumentalization of reason. According to him, the Enlightenment movement created a system that was oppressive and used to control the masses. But still Habermas, believes that the idea of enlightenment can be saved with a critical method (Yaylagül, 2016, p.110-111). According to Erdoğan (2014, pg. 272-273), who states that Habermas killed critical theory and was adopted by postmodernists because he could not realize a coherent ideology; In his most popular work, Theory of Communicative Action, Habermas “confuses ideal with reality, idealizes rationality, and leaves aside the fact that today's oppressive, impoverished, and plundering capitalist industrial structure is driven by rational thought, especially “instrumental rationality”, ... idealized relations between people. develops a theory of

communication that reduces it to communication activities According to Habermas (2001, p. 128), who puts communication at the center of the definition of culture, there is a three-folded agreement process between the objective world, the social world and the subjective world; “Every negotiation process takes place against the backdrop of culturally ingrained pre-understanding.” Pre-understanding is a “stock of information” used by communication participants. In this pre-understanding ground, Habermas brings language to the fore; “Only the communicative model of action presupposes language as an unconstrained model of agreement, where speaker and listener simultaneously relate to something in the objective, social, and subjective world from the horizon of their pre-interpreted lifeworld in order to negotiate common definitions of situation. This interpretative design of language underlies various efforts to establish a formal pragmatics” (2001, p. 122). Thus, Habermas reduced communication to linguistic mechanicalness and analyzed epistemology and methodology and transforms the system theory into communication theory (Erdoğan, 2014, p. 279). According to Habermas; socially acting people communicative mind toolmakes collective plans for the future thanks to its social structure, and thus, they can be protected from the alienating effect of capital with solidarity and undistorted communication (Yaylagül, 2016, p. 111-112). Habermas's critical theory, which aims to achieve reconciliation, in a sense approaches idealist narratives and cages interaction into ideal dialogue.

Frankfurt School has made important contributions to social sciences, especially in understanding capitalist culture and explaining the commodification of culture. However, while the Frankfurt School and their Critical Theory entered into an intellectual struggle with capitalist culture, they also laid the groundwork for the development of postmodern thought. After trying to analyze the Frankfurt School in

general terms, it will be useful for this study to look at the relationship of the school with the dominant ideology under a separate heading.

### **2.2.3. Critical Theory's Relationship of the Dominant Ideology**

In the part of the study so far, we have seen that the focus of the Frankfurt School's critical approach is human nature, and that critical theory focuses on thoughts and reason in order to explain the concept of human nature. According to them, The Enlightenment led to the disenchantment of the world. The Enlightenment's goal of liberating from myths could not prevent the creation of new myths. Therefore, enlightenment brought a new kind of mythification with inhuman powers. This new alienation, introduced through instrumental reason, has also spread to the field of science, reducing everything to technical usefulness and self-interest (Larrain, 1995, p. 80).

Critical Theory has been criticized for turning away from practice and shifting to the field of theory and turning into an idealist approach instead of dialectical materialism. Understandings that emphasize thought over practice build their critiques on Adorno's negative dialectic (discussed in detail above) rather than materialist dialectics. Reijen explains Adorno's negative dialectic as follows: “Adorno sees his philosophy as an evolving negative critique that proposes the prevailing reality situation is 'wrong' and needs to be changed” (1999, p. 10). In Adorno's approach, which transforms the dialectic into the affirmation of negation, the aim of reaching synthesis, as in Hegel's dialectic, disappears. However, in Hegel's philosophy, criticism means more than a negative evaluation. “Criticism has been given a positive role in investigating and revealing existing forms of belief in order to ensure the liberation of people in society. For Marx, who follows the Hegelian tradition, criticism is not a negative intellectual evaluation, it is practical and revolutionary.

(Mutlu, 2004, p. 88). According to Holz (2014, p. 36); Critical theory, realized by the affirmation of negation, loses its critical power at the same time by withdrawing itself to a purely negative function. Since it will not be able to explain on the basis of which norm it condemns the existing one as bad and in need of change, and with which changes a better future should be created, or rather what constitutes the good in the changed situation. Adorno, on the other hand, defends the idea that “the truth can only be reached in a negative sense through concepts that do not give it its due and falsify it” (Bewes, 2008, p. 19). As can be seen, Adorno brings a passive and negative character to the concept of criticism. Holz (2014, p. 33) states that by criticizing limiting the task of Critical Theory to “Critical Theory endlessly developing theoretical (but practically inefficient, rather system-reinforcing) rejections that strengthen the thinker's good conscience but exempt him from taking politically responsible action. He tried to avoid it”. Erdoğan (2014, p. 283-284) states that one of the criticisms leveled at Critical Theory is seen as the theory giving up its effort to change the world by transforming itself into practice. Indeed, the Frankfurt School undeniably criticized the realities of the capitalist structure. But since it did not suggest how to change it, it left everything as it was. However, as Erdoğan stated, it would not be right to put the Frankfurt School, which has made great contributions to the understanding of capitalist culture, on the same ideological side with the liberal pluralist and new culturalist tradition. However, it is an undeniable fact that “where theory does not turn into practice, it regresses to theological approaches” (Holz, 2014, p. 70).

For dialectical materialist criticism, as it will be remembered, it is not the "world view" that matters, nor is it the soul of the people; what concerns it is “the changing of the conditions in which people suffer and their souls are clearly crippled”



(Horkheimer, 2005, p. 35). According to Eagleton, literary works bear the imprint of the class situation in which they were written and should be read as reflections of class relations and the conditions of class conflict at the time it was written (as cited in Eagleton, Smith & Riley, 2016, p. 89). Critical approaches that move away from praxis and emphasize theory, although seemingly contributing to an effective discussion of political content, are not interested in the goal of criticism to change the world and keep criticism within the limits of pure criticism. "Many of the concepts taken from the Frankfurt School's baggage have an important place not only in leftist intellectual circles, but especially in the liberal 'left' wing, and even in the language and thought of some Islamic intellectuals. These are not simply and arbitrarily used concepts, but also affect the tactical structures of political activity." (Holz, 2014, p. 14). Even if there is no continuity between postmodernism and the Frankfurt School, it is possible to talk about the parallelism of their ideas. For example, Foucault (1991), one of the important names of postmodern thought, expressed his relationship with the school in an interview as follows:

At that point I realized how the members of the Frankfurt School had struggled long ago to assert what I had been trying to pursue for years. (...) Perhaps if I had read their work earlier, I would have saved a lot of time; Without a doubt, I wouldn't need to write down some things and I would have avoided making some mistakes. In any case, if I had encountered the Frankfurt School when I was younger, I might have been tempted to do nothing but interpret their -work in life. (p. 117-120)

These sentences, which Foucault uttered in his own mouth, are a clear indication that the ideas and concepts from the Frankfurt School were later reflected in postmodernism. Soykan (2003, p. 59) also states that Adorno's thoughts on language preceded the concept of "Deconstruction" by Derrida, another important

name of postmodernism. Adorno claims that with the social use of language, it will lose its autonomy and originality, and therefore he writes articles by destructing the structure of the language. On Adorno's deconstruction of language, Marcuse comments: There are passages in Adorno that even I cannot understand. Soykan expresses his agreement with Marcuse with these sentences: "Honestly, nobody understands. Therefore, something inexplicable emerges; but this disagreement gives the reader new images, even if the author didn't mean it. In this respect, the reader of Adorno enriches his text". It is possible to say Derrida's idea that the text cannot have a final meaning and that every reader will reconstruct the text is rooted in this.

On the other hand, similarities are established between Deleuze and Guattari, who are important names of postmodernism, and Adorno on the subject of "singularity that begins in language in literature". E.g; According to Yaşat (2008, p. 270-271), in Adorno's understanding, art removes itself from being for something else and the work now has the freedom to exist only for itself. "It is precise here the issue of the singularity of the artwork becomes important in Adorno. The singular work of art is the one that establishes itself as a work, serving neither the field of art nor the non-art. It is as if there is no art anymore, there is a work. The singularity of the work first passes through the path of its own freedom." As Yaşat expresses, the work, which is free from form, content, reality and even language, will be able to reconstruct and, moreover, destroy each of these only for itself. Evidence that the singularity first arose from language is exemplified by Kafka's writing as a Prague Jew in German, which is both foreign to Prague and not belong to Germany, and Beckett writing first in Irish English and additionally switching to French. This singularity, starting with language, appears as "minor literature" in Deleuze and Guattari. According to them (2000, p. 25), minor literature is not literature of a minor

language, but rather literature made by a minority in a major language. The essential feature of minor literature is that language is in any case affected by the strong deterritorialization coefficient. As it is seen, in both Adorno, Deleuze and Guattari, the singularity of the work means liberating from the dominating language rather than form and content. As Yaşat points out, Adorno's approach of "a metaphysical reality that is more realistic than reality" in the artwork and Deleuze's attaching more importance to the fiction of reality in the "involuntary memory" than voluntary memory is one of the similarities between the art approaches of the two thinkers. For the poststructuralist Deleuze, recollections of involuntary memory are still life related. Art, on the other hand, is superior to life and is not based on involuntary memory. For Deleuze, signs of art can be explained by pure thought. The reality of life, which is made visible in the recollections of involuntary memory in Deleuze's thought, is nothing but the manifestation of "a metaphysical moment of reality that is more real than reality" that Adorno assumes in his work of art. According to Adorno, the reminiscence moments of memory crystallize reality in the artwork. "Pure experience, beyond mediation, is produced only in memory itself, surpassing even death in the aesthetic image through the renewal of memory. Happiness or sadness can only be preserved by transferring the transfer of memory to the aesthetic interior. In Adorno, this spiritual value of the work of art is more real than anything else." (Yaşat, 2008, p. 276-277). Thus, it is now possible to talk about singular narratives instead of large narratives in literature. This is the premise of postmodernism's declaration of the "collapse of grand narratives" in literary theories.

Frankfurt School and its Critical Theory; describing the capitalist culture industry as a superpower that occupies every place and every field, and by eliminating the resistance and its possibilities, it has prepared the ground for another criticism.

The Frankfurt School “did not offer a practical plan of resistance; their approach revealed pessimism and withdrawal” (as cited in Tuchman. Erdogan, 2014, p. 283). The theorists of the Frankfurt School, who criticized modern society with a pessimistic approach, claimed that the working class lost its historical revolutionary role and came under the control of capitalist power, and gradually the gap between dialectical materialism and its ideas widened. The bourgeois-individualist approach was dominant in almost all representatives of Critical Theory. For example, Horkheimer put forward his understanding of individualism by saying, “We think that people should have subtle differences, whereas in Marx, socialism aims to make all people equal”, while Adorno criticizes Marx for not being interested in subjectivity (Adorno & Horkheimer, 2013, p. 63).

According to the school, only individual salvation is possible. Opposition to every existing order is combined with an individual hedonism (Holz, 2014, p. 25). In particular, Marcuse, in his book *Eros and Civilization*, put forward the argument that the hope of revolutionary salvation lies in human psychology. According to Marcuse, society always confronts people in an oppressive way, and all social relations must be like that. In this case, a different world view is impossible under these circumstances. Any order to be established is bad because it will be imposing on individuals. According to such a view, “the historical alternative to the oppression and exploitation of class society, socialism, is rejected as a new system of domination.” (Holz, 2014, p.78). According to Critical Theory, the goal is not to solve the problems arising from human-nature relations and living together with solidarity in social life, as in Marxism. On the contrary, the goal is to go out of the society, the “Great Rejection” as emphasized before. The individual “Great Rejection” can be seen as an existentialist principle as it allows for hopeless practice. In Holz's evaluation, such an

individual practice may be content to lead to witnessing and heroism at the most, but it can never contribute to the change of society (Holz, 2014, p. 87). As Marx stated, every society carries its contradictions within itself and these contradictions take on the character of class antagonisms in a class society. According to Holz (2014, p. 92), class struggle determines the structure of every class society, and therefore, opposition to the current domination is possible only within the boundaries of the society that changes itself as these contradictions arise. Within the scope of the “Great Rejection”, one who puts oneself outside the society in which one exists no longer opposes that society, on the contrary, one remains outside that society, and therefore it is no longer possible to take part in the class struggle. Because the ground where the conflicts take place is the society itself rather than the individual.

Critical Theory, which has also been criticized for being stuck at the point of no solution with the understanding that it is not possible to escape from the domination of technological domination, has also moved away from Marxism with its perspective on the sociology of art. According to the Frankfurt School's understanding of the sociology of art, cultural phenomena should not be reduced to the ideological reflection of class interests. For Adorno; “The task of criticism should not necessarily be to seek a particular interest group to relate cultural phenomena; but it must decipher the general social tendencies expressed in these phenomena and in which the strongest interests are realized. Cultural criticism must become social physiognomy (as cited in Jay, 2014, p. 286). According to the school, art cannot simply be the expression of existing social situations, real art should serve as the last private and autonomous domain of human aspirations for "another" society, far beyond that. Art is the expression of concern for the future happiness of human being. For this reason, real art cannot have such a simple meaning as to be explained by false consciousness

and ideology, and art is not a bourgeois deception. Again, according to Adorno; An immanent critique of a work of art should take seriously the principle: “It is not the ideology itself that is untrue, but the claim of its conformity with reality” (Jay, 2014, p. 286-287). According to Marxism, the society we live in is a bourgeois society and the order of this society is corrupt. For this reason, it is necessary to evaluate the art that emerged from this society with the characteristics of this society. Adorno, on the other hand, argues that art is the refuge of the individual in this false society.

According to him, art does not have to describe the social reality and reflect the existing as it is. On the contrary, it has an autonomous area to set an example for the reality of society and guide the society. “Is it possible for an individual to be happy alone in a corrupt and wrong society?” Adorno answers the question: “Since the whole is false, – in order not to be immersed in this mistake, a place must be sought in this mistake so that this place is not dependent on the mistake in principle and can claim the truth (truth) despite the false surroundings.” (as cited in Adorno., Yurttaş).

Adorno saw art as a model for a good future. For Adorno (1989, p. 44), art, as a universe of designs, is a separate 'life' and a separate 'world'. In this case, the bourgeois artist has a privilege just like the privileged area of autonomy the school grants to philosophers. According to Holz (2014, p.132); As long as the philosopher convinces himself of the insignificance of the external realm, he retreats to his ivory tower where he can feel free and autonomous, and the closure of the ivory tower and their attitude of refusal to practice are incompatible with the attitude of the philosophizers who base themselves - however misunderstood - on Marxism.

Adorno's understanding of art also gives clues about his view of philosophy and social life. For example, according to Soykan (2003, p. 62), what appears when looking at society from Adorno's thoughts on atonal music is nothing but anarchism. Moreover,

although it is not explicitly stated, Adorno's understanding of anarchism in atonal music is an understanding of anarchism that answers a question that current anarchist movements cannot cope with - how people can live together without strangling each other in the absence of power. In atonal music, there is no dominant tone as in tonal music. However, what does not turn the music into a cacophony is tones of the same value coming together in twelve different sequences, one after the other. This understanding can thus be achieved without power. In tonal music, on the other hand, different tones unite around a dominant tone and it is this dominant tone that provides the harmony. From music to society, tonal music is the music of capitalism. Capitalism's understanding of power corresponds to the dominant tone in tonal music. In atonal music, on the other hand, without the dominant tone, chaos turns into harmony. This equates to anarchism. "In a society where individuals are transparent crystals inside and out, there is no need for a cover or power to regulate them." (Soykan, 2003, p. 62). In this respect, Schönberg's art has formed an autonomous unity by giving up the tonality dominated by a certain note and reaching a unique new harmony (*harmonia*) that eliminates the hierarchy between the notes (Yaşat, 2008, p.189). Seeing atonality as a product of the composer's emotional subjectivity, Adorno spoke to Schönberg's music in his article titled "Der dialektische Komponist"; He approached it positively because it rejected the principle of bourgeois tonality and exposed the groundlessness of the claim of naturalness of the understanding of tonality, just as the dialectical thought revealed the insight into the pseudo-naturalism of bourgeois economics (as cited in Jay, 2001, p. 26).

As can be seen, Adorno's understanding of art also reveals his philosophy. From this point of view, it is possible to say that Adorno coincides with the philosophy of postmodernism, which always harbors an "anarchist spirit" and desires

an impotent society. Another of Adorno's points of departure from Marxism is his anarchism-like approach, which focuses on a destructive rejection and does not propose a new alternative to power in place of the destroyed, as is the case in the reviewed journals. According to Adorno (2003, p. 190), philosophy must be a shelter for intellectual independence and freedom, unless a ban is placed on this issue, as in Athens, where Christianity was adopted at the end of Antiquity. While fulfilling this obligation, philosophy should not hope to eliminate the political tendencies that limit both physical and mental freedoms all over the world and that are constantly rooting themselves in the field where philosophical debates and arguments are based. This meaning ascribed to philosophy by Adorno is one of Marx's basic mottos:

“Philosophers have hitherto only interpreted the world in various ways; the point is to change it.” contradicts his thesis. For Adorno, the only criterion of philosophy is the mind's ability to resist, and only thought, "Thought, not under the influence of mental constraints, without any illusions in its own inner sovereignty, freely accepting its dysfunction and material inadequacy, has the grace to glance at an order that is achievable even if it does not exist, an order in which people and other things are in the right positions.” (2003, p. 197). As it is clear from this quote, Adorno sees philosophy as a mental activity. And it gives a mental autonomy to art, just like philosophy. It is possible to find philosophy as a "mental strength of resistance" that is not reflected in practice in popular/postmodern literary magazines, which is the subject of the study. According to Adorno (1994, p. 317) who states in his Proust analysis that experiences are no longer determined by subjects but by macro structures, “undamaged experience can only be produced in memory, far beyond directness. (...) Holistic recollection is a response to total impermanence, and hope lies only in the power of recognizing what is temporary and preserving it in writing.”



As it is seen, for Adorno, an experience that escapes the determination of macro structures is only possible mentally, and the power of hope is in writing, in art, rather than in social life. Thus, this power, which does not pose a threat to the dominant ideology, will contribute to the reproduction of its existence.

The concept of “Intérieur”, which he used to describe the dialectical process in works of art and which he took over from Kierkegaard, has an important place in Adorno's view of art as an autonomous structure from society. According to Adorno (2006, p. 235), dialectical images are not social products as models, and therefore it is not necessary to expect the social situation to accomplish any ideological or social work from the dialectical image. Adorno conceptualizes Kierkegaard's concept of “Interior” as “sociology of interiors”. The concept of “Intérieur” is related to spirituality in Kierkegaard. From the point of view of the 19th century bourgeois society, the “Intérieur” is the pure 'spiritual' of its inner world that accompanies the flaneur's stroll. Kierkegaard carries this 'spiritual' field to the establishment of aesthetics in the work of art. Thus, the concepts of philosophy are liberated in this space. “Adorno associates this concept of Kierkegaard with the subjectivity of the artist's inner world and his complete independence from the outside” (Yaşat, 2008, p. 192). An inner world/interior space approach that is completely independent from the outside world will contradict the socialist realist approach, as well as it compatible with the concept of “left melancholy”, which imprisons individuals in their inner world and seeks resistance, freedom and salvation in the interior. Thus, art cannot save itself from being within the limits of idealism.

Criticisms of Critical Theory can be roughly itemized as follows:

\* Away from praxis

\* Efforts to create a new Marxist understanding by criticizing Marxism as a theory that excludes people and establishing links between psychoanalysis and Marxism,

\* The autonomy granted to these two fields from social relations, with the thought that the philosopher and the bourgeois artist have no responsibility to change the world,

\* By attributing an invincible great power to the mass culture tools, it is stuck in a solution,

\* Preparing the ground for new left movements and post Marxism.

According to Marcuse, who played an important role in the birth of the new left movements.

First, the new left is not orthodox Marxist or socialist, with the exception of some small groups. Its main characteristic is distrusting all kinds of ideologies, including socialist ideologies. (...) Also, the new left has never focused on the working class as the revolutionary class, with the exception of small groups. It is in no way class focused. (...) What we are facing here is an opposition that has nothing to do with the classical revolutionary force in Marxism. I think this by no means orthodox position of an opposition is a faithful reflex of the authoritarian-democratic society of production, the 'one-dimensional society' I am trying to describe. And the main feature of this 'one-dimensional society' is the integration of the dominated class on a very material, very real ground, namely directed and satisfied needs that reproduce monopoly capitalism. What is at issue here is the directed and repressed consciousness. (Holz, 2014, p. 95).

Habermas, one of the latest theorists of the Frankfurt School, considers the nature of new social movements as a reaction to the suppression of living space and the rationalization of life. According to Habermas, “the new social conflict does not focus on material production and property as in the previous period, but operates in the cultural field” (Yılmaz, 1996, p. 159). In the periods when the class struggle regressed, both focusing on the conflicts in the cultural field and orientation to the inner world of the individual come to the fore. Özdal's (2004, p. 20) as pointed out; From existentialism to the Frankfurt School, all these currents “spread confusion, skepticism and confusion in the name of Marxism or with 'Marxist' discourses, and with these effects, they ultimately served to strengthen the bourgeois ideology.”

Critical Theory has an important place in this study, which will examine the political stances of popular/postmodern literary magazines. These magazines define themselves with a left political stance. This political stance seems to be compatible with the new left movements, which apparently paved the way for the formation of Critical Theory, and the opposition of pure criticism. But is the reality as it seems, do these magazines have a political stance compatible with the new left movements, or do they simply use politics as a commodity? In this study, where the answers to these questions will be sought, the concept of "Left Melancholy" is also important in terms of understanding the political stances of the magazines. Known as a member of the Frankfurt School, Benjamin is the name that brought the concept of "left melancholy" into discussion. For this reason, it was deemed appropriate to explain the subject of “left melancholy” under this title.

### 2.3. Left Melancholy and Criticism as a Critical Political Stance

“Melancholy is the happiness of being sorrowful.”

Victor Hugo

Melancholy is a lifestyle, a mental state, and a personality type that is frequently mentioned in insecurity environments, especially during periods of increased social unrest (Teber, 2004, p. 9). The appearance of the melancholic personality is as old as the Homeric epics. The melancholic personality and lifestyle, which was accepted as a deadly sin (acedia) and received negatively during the Middle Ages, evolved into a positive meaning with the influence of the humanist movements that developed with the Renaissance, and showed itself in many art products. In the Renaissance, 'self-reflection' is added to the basic elements of melancholy. After introspection gained importance alongside contemplation, melancholy is no longer just a simple feeling; it is a mental predisposition, a saving of the mind (Traverso, 2018, p. 76). According to Freud, who discussed the concept of melancholy in detail with the distinction of mourning and melancholy, mourning is the reaction given to the loss of a loved one or an equivalent object such as 'country', 'freedom', 'ideal/cause' and is an understandable state in the face of such losses. In melancholia, what is experienced is so deep that it completely inhibits the interest in the outside world. The grieving person does not lose his sense of reality, experiences the process of mourning after his loss, and then clings to life by ending the mourning. While everything is experienced on the level of consciousness in mourning, there is a loss of consciousness in melancholia. “While the world is impoverished by the loss of the object in mourning, in melancholia, it is the self that becomes empty and impoverished -with delusional self-blame, humiliation and punishment (insomnia, refusal to eat and 'suicide' tendency)-” (Sunat, August 15, 2017).

The inclusion of the concept of melancholy, which is a concept of psychoanalysis, in the discussions as 'left melancholy' started with Walter Benjamin's 1931 article "*Left-Wing Melancholy*". In this article, Benjamin uses the definition of 'left melancholy' to criticize the poems and attitude of Erich Kastner, one of the important writers of the Weimar period (who is also a poet and journalist)<sup>10</sup>. According to Benjamin; The political and literary stance of Kastner et al. (like Mehring, Tucholsky) is one that does not correspond to political action, and "all that was on his mind from the very beginning is (to) enjoy in a negative silence. The transformation of political struggle from a necessary decision to an object of enjoyment, from a means of production to an article of consumption. - here is the last achievement of literature" (2007, p. 264). Here, Benjamin uses 'melancholy' to go beyond its Freudian meaning, to describe the transformation of left values (freedom, struggle, resistance, etc.) and literature into an object of consumption, to be treated as a pleasurable commodity. In popular/postmodern literary magazines, it is frequently encountered that left values are used as commodities that give pleasure. He calls left-radical journalists such as Kastner, Mehring and Tucholsky "proletarian imitations of the rotten bourgeois" and argues their function is to make way for factions and not parties in political matters, fashion trends rather than schools in literary matters, and brokers rather than producers in economic matters. The main feature of these left-radical brilliant writers is their political incompetence; this lack of equipment has transformed revolutionary ideas and goals into "distracting entertainment objects" and ultimately caused them to be reified as cultural commodities (Traverso, 2018, p. 82).

The left melancholic attitude, which abandoned a founding power against the

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<sup>10</sup> Weimar Period, It is the name of the German experience of democracy that lasted from the end of World War I until Hitler came to power. For further information, see section Colin Storer (2015), A Brief History of the Weimar Republic, trans. Sedef Özge, Iletisim Publications: Istanbul.

bourgeois class, actually protects the interests of the middle class, even if it seems to claim the opposite. “As Kastner is incapable of impressing factory managers with his irony, he is just as incapable of seizing the dispossessed with his rebellious expressions. The reason is although it seems to be the opposite, this lyricism above all protects the interests of the middle class” (Benjamin, 2007, p. 263).

It would not be wrong to say the following lines of Benjamin, in which he describes for which class left melancholy actually produces words, are also valid for today's popular/postmodern literary magazines: that fatalism embedded in their way of thinking. From the very beginning, the poet [Kastner] had something to say to this class and only to this class; this is the class he flatters” (2007, p. 262).

According to Jodi Dean, Benjamin's emphasis on left melancholy is the glorification of left ideals in the market-oriented writing and publishing world. “Benjamin's left melancholic is the one who submits to 'indifference and fatalism' and eats bread out of left melancholy.” What determines the quality of left melancholy is the attitude that 'closes their eyes to action', 'chooses to stay away from the forces that might strike against the bourgeoisie' and 'regulates the pulse of the poem according to the rich buyer' (Sunat, September 26, 2017). It is possible to see that left ideals are often glorified in the magazines of the market-oriented writing and publishing world, which is the subject of the study. Despite their left-wing appearance, Benjamin states that such publications have nothing to do with the working class movement and calls them images of the decadence of the bourgeois class. “(...) This current's political meaning could not go beyond turning the revolutionary reflexes into the themes of hit

and blow, which can be adapted to the cabaret life of the big city without much difficulty, as far as it can emerge in the bourgeoisie.” (2011, p. 110).<sup>11</sup>

Despite all these criticisms, Benjamin was also under the influence of melancholy over time. His melancholy is not in the form of exalting ideals as objects of pleasure and consumption, as he insistently emphasized in his own criticism, but he cannot stay away from a melancholy at the point of "fatalistic insolubility". Blanqui's book "The Eternity According to the Stars", he read in 1939 in France, where he lived in exile, was the source of Benjamin's melancholy. In this text, Blanqui claims that progress is a misconception and indicates his distrust of human beings. His point is barbarism will be reproduced cyclically without interruption, so the defeat will be repeated forever. In this cyclical understanding of history, liberation is now an impossible dream. "(...) The universe repeats itself endlessly and make no headway. Eternity constantly puts on the same performances without breaking its agitation." These pessimistic lines of Blanguie affect Benjamin a lot (Traverso, 2018, p. 57). "This desperate renunciation is the last word of the great revolutionary," Benjamin said: "This terrible accusation he has made against society finally becomes an unconditional surrender to the consequences of that society." As Miguel Abensour points out (as cited in. Traverso, 2018, p. 58); Benjamin is caught in Blanqui's magnetic field, between melancholy and revolution. Because Benjamin on the one hand, fascinated by this cyclical understanding of history and renunciation, on the other hand, defended the necessity of a new understanding of history, which aims to both reactivate the past and transform the present, in the face of historicism, which

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<sup>11</sup> The current that Benjamin spoke of is New Objectivism. New Objectivism; emerged in 1922; Art movement that represents a conscious opposition to expressionism and aims to grasp the real existence of objects. Expressionist writers such as A. Döblin, W. Hasenclaver participated. Its prominent representatives are F. Bruckner, E. Kâstner, H. Keşten, A. Zweig, L. Feuch-twanger. See W. Benjamin (2001), *Understanding Brecht*, NS. 104, Metis: Istanbul

only places the victors as the subjects of history and takes the past with a defensive attitude. (Traverso, 2018, p. 81). In Benjamin's biography, "on the one hand he lived and worked in hermit isolation, he preferred absolute solitude, on the other hand he complained of solitude, his adventurousness, his sensuality, his interest in indulgences and his passion for gambling, on the one hand his strong sense of humor and radiant joy, on the other hand, he never banish the idea of suicide and the burning melancholy that he cannot get rid of" can be seen. There are strong traces of nihilism and messianism in his political attitude (Yaren, 2014).

As can be seen, Benjamin's thoughts and attitude about melancholy sometimes contain contradictions. These contradictions have led to different interpretations of it and different explanations for left melancholy. For example, Wendy Brown in her article titled "Resisting Left Melancholia" (1999); she treats left melancholia as Benjamin's "a reified and frozen feeling in the leftist's heart, the name he gives to the grieving, conservative, retroactive attachment to analysis or relationship" (Brown, 2007, p. 269). Benjamin, in *The Origin of German Tragedy* (1977, p. 156-157), says that melancholy, which deceives the world for the sake of knowledge, reifies even knowledge. "Melancholy, in its stubborn self-absorption, embraces dead objects in contemplation." According to Brown (2007, p. 269), Benjamin points out here "the logic of melancholy encompasses a certain logic of fetishism – with all the conservatism and alienation from human relations required by fetishistic desire". What Brown understands by left melancholy is the left's commitment to founding ideals and its traditionalism. Brown asks; "What needs to be done to free the left from its melancholic and conservative habits in order to empower the radical (from the Latin radix for "root") with a critical and visionary spirit?" He seems unaware that the answer he sees fit for his question contains an implicit melancholy that ignores



change: “(...) although we must be wise enough to see that neither absolute revolution nor the automatic course of history will take us forward, this spirit should not shy away from this purpose of transformation” (Brown, 2007, p. 273-274). According to Brown; Marxism has not been able to capture the new needs, desires and identity demands of late modernity. “What goes around today as cultural politics, identity politics, cultural diversity politics, new social movement politics or new politics of social oppositions has largely taken over the ground once occupied by the socialist left” (Brown, 2010, p. 33). Sunat (July 11, 2017) underlines that Brown attributes the left's failure to the absoluteness of its founding ideal:

Wendy Brown interprets the failure of the left in its relationship with its founding 'ideal', the absolutism of its will to build life according to its ideal ('political impotence'), its embarrassment, its 'melancholic' attitude instead of facing its losses ('working in mourning') ('left melancholia') ascribes the resentment (anger) of impotence to a tendency (disability) to take refuge in 'reproachable political moralism' rather than channeling it into constitutive counter-activity. (...) Brown; “In short, to continue along a Nietzschean line, moralism, regarded as an effect or consequence of crippled life forces, attacks what subdues or despises it (but which actually brought it forth), namely the manifestations of life forces or power.” Thus, says Brown, 'morality' turns into a 'moralistic' ressentiment that negates life - in Nietzsche's unforgettable definition.

Brown deals with left melancholia by following a Nietzschean line and thus equates the left's commitment to its founding values with melancholy, saying that insistence on principles is a kind of 'political moralism'. This approach of Brown is in parallel with the approaches arguing the search for a 'new left' is necessary in the face of 'left conservatism'. The place where this situation will take us out will be post

Marxism. For example, Ahmet Insel (September 27, 2011) criticizes the left, just like Brown, for "being dependent on its own tradition, symbols and history, allowing the ghost of the past to take hold of today's design". Insel wrote, "To get rid of the left melancholy today, shouldn't the dependence of the left on the emotions, symbols, slogans, and fetishized forms of action that feed the left's energy need to be re-evaluated? He ends by saying, "Not to abandon them altogether, but to avoid trying to move forward with its head turned backwards all the time." In the face of the situation that Insel describes as "continually trying to move forward with his head turned backwards", what is recommended is to leave the "old mind" (founding ideals) and replace it with a "new head" (a new left). Insel bases his thoughts on left melancholy on Benjamin like Brown: "Benjamin defines as a tendency preferring to stick to 'left' passions and themes, 'left' analyzes, judgments and criticisms rather than confronting the reality of contemporary society and trying to change the present in the light of this. (...) Benjamin describes it as conformism." However, Benjamin's definition of conformism is different from the meaning that Insel ascribes to it. As Aydın underlined (January 16, 2012), "Contrary to Insel's article, the criticism of leftist conformism in Benjamin is based on the values of the past, forms of struggle, etc. [it] has nothing to do with being loyal or dependent." What Benjamin criticizes and considers as conformism; The political tactic of social democracy (reformism) is its fetishization of work and its glorification of technological progress. However, the meanings of the concepts are changed intentionally or unintentionally, and with the confusion created, it is advocated the left should leave its founding values behind and reshape itself according to the "spirit of the time". Of course, Benjamin's own contradictions also play a role in this confusion. However, in this study, it is argued that in popular/postmodern literary magazines, there is a left melancholy like

Benjamin describes in the text of Left-Wing Melancholy - a left melancholy in the sense of market-oriented exaltation of left values that turn into objects of pleasure and consumption. The melancholy we see in the magazines has nothing to do with the commitment to the "founding ideals" or "left tradition" that Brown or Insel speak of. The conceptualization of this commitment as "melancholy" is wrong from the start. Because in this way, Marxism is removed from its scientific framework and basic principles.

Jodi Dean, one of the names who dealt with the subject of left melancholy, approaches Benjamin's definition differently from Brown's. According to Dean (2014, p. 96), as Benjamin mentions, "Kastner's melancholy is an orientation, a commodity. It is not tied to an ideal; It has cast a shadow over revolutionary ideals by degrading consumer products." Starting from Benjamin, while Brown criticizes the left melancholic attitude as a commitment to the founding ideal and traditions, Dean criticizes it in terms of betrayal of revolutionary ideals/proletariat and reconciliation with capitalism. According to Dean (2014, p. 103), what needs to be done in the face of this situation is to get rid of "a Left that has abandoned its desire for [c]ommunism, betrayed its historical obligation to the proletariat, and turned to restoration practices that glorify revolutionary energies and strengthen the influence of capitalism." Although the left reads melancholy in terms of betrayal of the proletariat, Dean says that today it would be appropriate to meet the emphasis on 'proletariat' with the concept of 'the people' in the sense of 'us as the others'. On the other hand, while insisting on the importance of collective struggle, he argues that the main problem is the struggle limited to a 'specific struggle for democracy' and that partial and scattered fields of struggle (abortion, pornography, gay rights, public transportation, positive discrimination, etc.) become decisive (Sunat as cited in from Dean, 11 July 2017).

This is where Dean's contradiction begins. If the real problem is "partial and scattered fields of struggle", why suggest the emphasis on "we the people as others" instead of the proletariat? And who benefit from it?

According to Traverso (2018, p. 46), "left melancholy is not to put aside the idea of socialism or hope for a better future, but to rethink socialism at a time when the memory of socialism is lost, hidden, erased from memories and needs to be saved. Positive for melancholy like Traverso Butler (as cited in Traverso, 2018, p. 47) defines this type of melancholy as "a fertile melancholy pregnant with the transformative effect of loss." Traverso (2018, pp. 50-53) thinks that the melancholy born of historical defeats is a necessary antecedent to react, grieve and take action for a new beginning. He even quotes Kracauer as "melancholia as an inner tendency not only makes sad objects attractive; This has a much more important implication: It facilitates distancing from yourself" and states that the melancholic attitude is one of the antecedents of critical understanding. It can be said that the criticism in popular/postmodern literary journals is the criticism accompanied by such a melancholic attitude. However, the critique here is not a critique that covers the objective world, on the contrary, it is an inner experience that does not take place even at the conscious level.

To borrow Freud's terms, we can define "left melancholia" as the result of impossible mourning: communism is a finished experience as well as an irreplaceable loss in an age where the end of utopias prevents both the break with the lost ideal and the transfer of libidinal energies to a new object of love. (...) Since utopias have come to an end, a successful mourning process can also mean identification with the enemy: the lost socialism can be replaced by accepted capitalism. (...) When we leave the Freudian model aside and take melancholy out of the field of pathology, we can think of it as one of the necessary

antecedents of the grieving process, a step that precedes the grief rather than paralyzes it, and thus helps the subject to be active again (Traverso, 2018, p. 80).

However, melancholy, which Traverso sees as a necessary premise for the subject to be active again and as the opposite of adapting to capitalism, imprisons individuals who are detached from sociality - just as capitalism wants - to their inner worlds. It has been observed that the “non-adaptive” who want to try to be assimilated (and even controlled) by the mass spirit and to try to live authentically and authentically, flee/withdraw into melancholic/schizophrenic solitude. Postmodern practical life has reproduced these appearances day by day and reinforced the loneliness of the (post)modern misfit person” (Teber, 2004, p. 294). Feeding only discord and an inward rebellion certainly does not carry the left struggle forward. Traverso (2018, p. 127) claims that in the historical regime we live in (with a temporality withdrawn to the present, lacking in a future-oriented structure) Marxism will inevitably acquire a melancholic tone, and that the strategic dimension of melancholy is not to organize the abolition of capitalism, but to overcome the trauma of the collapse. indicates that it is intended. According to him, the view of the defeated is always critical. As can be seen, Traverso denies there can be a Marxism without melancholy from the very beginning. And a postmodern attitude, which we see in popular/postmodern literary magazines, is based not on the abolition of capitalism, but on the traumas of the individual. Because, in the plane that Beckett describes as “Postponed hopes make the person miserable”, the mood substituted for anger or the loss of the joy of life, the fighting spirit or the constant boredom is getting used to the pain; Melancholy is the feeling of uselessness and dysfunction (Demirer, 2015). The melancholic person who is focused on their traumas also seeks freedom and salvation in their inner world and chooses solitude in order to achieve the

spiritual serenity he seeks. This loneliness causes the melancholic person to turn away from the external world, therefore from the objective reality to their own inner world. As Teber (2004, p. 295-296) states, the inner world is a place where a person can create their own unique, individual life story against the outside world, or at least dream about this life story. This kind of search for freedom and liberation consists of well-intentioned illusions in the "imaginary space of Nothing". Thus, the constant criticism in the view of the defeated that Traverso speaks of is a criticism that is doomed to remain within this "well-intentioned illusion".

The main problem with left melancholy; is to try to grasp socialism, the ideal of another world, through the lost object of psychoanalysis, and to turn it into a utopia that is desired to be reached with libidinal desire - but never reached - and that causes trauma if it is not reached. Thus, Marxism is removed from its scientific nature, its bond with the objective world is loosened and reduced to a mental criticism activity. The critical political stance that we encounter in the popular/postmodern literary journals that are the subject of this study includes exactly such a criticism. This critical political stance carries with it a postmodern identity, and at the same time, it takes place in idealist philosophy by turning to the unconscious instead of the objective world.

### **3. PHILOSOPHICAL FRAMEWORK OF POSTMODERN CRITICAL POLITICAL STANCE: IDEALISM**

In the previous part of this study, which examines the critical political stance in popular/postmodern literary journals, the Frankfurt School and the politics of this school's critical theory are given in detail. It has been seen that the criticism of critical theory corresponds to the concept of "critical realism" instead of "social realism".

"Critical realism", the method of late bourgeois philosophical thought, autonomise philosophy and literature from the natural and social sciences, social praxis. Moving away from praxis in the field of acquiring knowledge carries the danger of turning acquiring knowledge into a work that has no connection with human practice and is confined to four walls. In this way, knowledge loses its connection with its target. It is in danger of being deprived of its main function, which is to enrich people with new knowledge, to enable them to take control of objective processes and to put these processes at the service of people. Then, "the systematic application of knowledge to practice is the assurance of its objectivity, that is, its ability to delve further into the essences of processes and objects in objective reality" (Malinin, 1979a, p. 173). But some thinkers within Western Marxism and Critical Theory deny the application of knowledge to practice. By ignoring the social and historical nature of knowledge or putting it in the background, it moves away from the dialectical philosophical method and sticks to the philosophy of idealism, knowingly or unknowingly. Hançerlioğlu (1977c, p. 22, 23) defines idealism as "the great error of human thought" and "dreamism"; He states that there is a philosophical movement that considers the intellectual as basic and the material as secondary, and that it can never be verified in practice.

Although it has been argued that there are many independent forms of idealism, according to dialectical materialism, all types of idealism are divided into two groups: objective and subjective idealism. While these two types of idealist philosophy will be explained in more detail below, they can be briefly described as follows: Objective idealism places an impersonal or individual psyche, a kind of transindividual mind, at the foundation of reality. Subjective idealism, on the other hand, constructs the world on the basis of individual consciousness. However, the distinction between objective idealism and subjective idealism cannot be considered an absolute distinction. Many objective idealist systems contain elements of subjective idealism. Likewise, in an effort not to fall into solipsism<sup>12</sup>, subjective idealists often tend towards objective idealism (Frolov, 1991, p. 228).

For philosophy to emerge, it was necessary for human thought to reach a high level, as well as for the formation of favorable social conditions. In history, in the first societies, the productive forces of man are still at a very primitive level and are completely dependent on nature. Man at the emergence of the first society, who did not know the real causes of the phenomena, attributed vitality to the phenomena. Thus, they believed that phenomena were created by supernatural forces and creatures. Beliefs in the existence of God, religion and religious views emerged under these conditions (Şeptulin, 2017, p. 28). Natural science is still "in the web of theology" even in the 18th century, as Engels noted in his *Dialectic of Nature* (1978, p. 40-41). It was not known at that time that living things, which were not yet

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<sup>12</sup> "A subjective idealistic theory. According to this theory, only man has consciousness with himself, people and the objective world exist in the mind of the individual. In principle, every subjective idealist philosophy inevitably falls into Solipsism. Those who support Berkeley, Fichte and the School of Immanence are the closest to this view" (I. Frolov, *Philosophy Dictionary*, (trans. Aziz Çalışlar), Cem Publications, Istanbul, 1991, p. 431). Solipsism is the inevitable conclusion of all subjective thinkers from Berkeley, Hume, Fichte, Mach, Avenarius to pragmatists, neopositivists and existentialists (Hançerlioğlu, 1979, C:6, p. 271).



accepted as matter, were formed as a result of a development that showed an evolution from simple to complex. The main point of the idealist philosophy at that time; the absolute immutability of nature. No matter how it came into existence, once nature has existed, it will remain as it is as long as its existence continues. It owes its existence to a mysterious "first impulse". With this "first thrust" the planets and moons will spin on their ellipses determined by the power that performed the "first thrust", forever or until all is over. According to this understanding, which forms the basis of idealist philosophy; an unhistorical view of nature, a creationist understanding of nature has emerged. In *Feuerbach and the End of Classical German Philosophy*, Engels (1992, p. 20) said, "The great fundamental problem of every philosophy, and especially of modern philosophy, is the question of the relation of thought to being." The problem of the state of thought, which has a great role in medieval scholastic thought, is based on the debate on whether spirit or nature is the main element. The Church answered this question with the sharp question: "Was the world created by God, or did it exist throughout all eternity?" According to Engels (1992, p. 21-22) philosophers were divided into two big camps according to their answers to this question. According to this distinction, idealist philosophers are those who think that thought, "Spirit," has a "priority" to nature and thus accept the creationist theory. Those who see matter and existence as the primary element and source of thought and explain the soul-body relationship based on the concrete existence of human beings have developed their theories in favor of materialist philosophy.

According to Engels (1992, p. 21-22) there are two main currents in the entire history of philosophy. The first is idealism and the other is materialism. However, this criterion is criticized by some as it reveals a class point of view (Cornforth, 2009, p.

16). As we emphasized in the previous section, philosophy is gradually moving away from dialectical materialism and instead of aiming at the salvation of humanity, it is deliberately or unintentionally shifted to an abstract and sterile field. Many schools have continued to argue with each other on philosophy. Although these schools sometimes seem to criticize each other, in the end, they come together at the point of attributing an invincibility to the existing order by putting thought before practice, and each of them turns to idealism, which is the opposite of dialectical materialism. As Cornforth points out (2009, p. 26), some of these schools have adopted views that mean "the direct defense of things almost as they are". Others are aware that there is something wrong in the material world, but they argue these mistakes or evils that harm society caused by the nature of things and the inevitable flaws of human beings (Existentialists, etc.). Others, like the Frankfurt School, emphasize that there should be a change, but with some utopian plans, they move away from praxis and get stuck in the deadlock and deepen the contradictions. Nietzschean irrationalism, philosophy of life, German and French (Sartre) existentialism have been trying to find a subjectivist "meaning" and "way out" to this deep contradiction (Özdal, 2004, p. 8). It is undeniable that Critical Theory, which we discussed in detail in the previous section, and whose main representatives we saw in the Frankfurt School, set out to change it through criticism. However, the fact that the theories put forward by the school reach results that serve to further strengthen the capitalist society (Adorno's entire theoretical work reaches its climax as a result of "abstaining", Horkheimer's deviance to the path of pessimism, Marcuse's "great rejection" for the sake of the remedy, etc.) is one of the leading theories produced by contradiction (Özdal, 2004, p.

8). Kant, who laid the foundation of postmodernism's opposition to positivism<sup>13</sup> and empiricism<sup>14</sup> and "constitutes an important source for the criticism of the almost universally dominant positivist and empiricist explanations on science and knowing", Nietzsche who said "the condition of being oneself is that one does not know who one is at all" and sick souls understand art and Heidegger, who used the concept of "Heimatlosigkeit" (Deterritorialization), which is an important concept for today's postmodernists in *Being and Time* (1967), unlike Marx's concept of alienation, laid the groundwork for the idealist approaches of today's postmodern philosophy (Bottomore, 2002, p. 328; Nietzsche, 2010b, p. 36-40; Bottomore, 2002, p. 624). For this reason, it is important to include each of these three idealist philosophers in detail, who form the basis of many concepts of postmodernism, in order to reveal the idealist elements that dominate the contents of popular/postmodern literary journals.

However, it is a necessity to understand Kant, Nietzsche and Heidegger to deal with

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<sup>13</sup>According to positivism, whose founder is August Comte; "Science is an attempt to obtain predictive and explanatory knowledge about the external world. To do this, theories must be constructed of fairly general propositions expressing regular relations found in the external world. These general propositions and laws allow us to both predict and explain the events we discover through systematic observation and experimentation" (Russel Keat & John Urry, *Social Theory as Science*, (trans. Nilgün Çelebi), İmge Kitabevi Pub. 1994, p. 9). The attitude of positivism in the self-appearance dilemma is in favor of appearance. The law of positivism is based on the systematic observation of facts and experiments with which we can test them. The unseen laws of matter as a "thing-in-itself" are unknowable. For this reason, the laws created about the essence are theological. The main idea in the sociology teaching of Comte, the founder of positivism, is that it is useless to try to change the bourgeois system in a revolutionary way. "According to Comte, capitalism crowns the history of human evolution; social harmony, on the other hand, can be established through the spread of a "new" religion that brings belief in an abstract supreme being instead of believing in a personal God" (I. Frolov, *Philosophy Dictionary*, (trans. Aziz Çalışlar), Cem Publishing, Istanbul, 1991, p.80).

<sup>14</sup> Empiricism, whose founder is considered to be Locke, also considers experience as the source of knowledge. Taken as a method, empiricism uses experience to reach knowledge and empirical research is important. Data is collected through experience, these data are evaluated, and generalizations are made by using the mind as a guide (Cevizci, "Empirizm", 1999, p. 555). Idealist Empiricism (Berkeley, Hume, Mach, Avenarius, Bogdanov, modernist logician empiricism) denies that the objective world underlies experience, and limits experience to the sum of sensations or representations (I. Frolov, *Dictionary of Philosophy*, (Trans. Aziz Çalışlar), Cem. Publications, Istanbul, 1991, p. 18) For more detailed information on empiricism, Locke's works, *Essays on the Law of Nature*, *An Essay on Man's Meaning Ability* I-II, III-IV books can be examined.

idealism, the philosophical source of the mainstays of today's postmodern philosophy, and its conceptual framework. While fulfilling this obligation, dialectical materialism will inevitably be explained, and in some places, it will be tried to deepen the subject through comparisons.

### **3.1. Idealism as a World View and Criticism of Idealist Philosophy in Terms of Dialectical Materialism**

Philosophical movements should be evaluated with the historical processes in which they emerged. The movements have been shaped by the result of the social conditions they are in, and the movements can be progressive in their own historical processes, when they first emerged. In the Renaissance era, in which feudalism was replaced by capitalism, the ideas of philosophical materialism and humanism emerged in the face of the dominance of the religious worldview. The philosophy of the philosophers of the French Enlightenment was the ideological prelude to the French Bourgeois Revolution, which coincided with the end of the 18th century. Again, classical German philosophy led to the bourgeois revolution to be experienced in Germany. Dialectical materialist philosophy found its practical expression in democratic socialist revolutions and the establishment of new societies (Malinin, 1979a, p. 31).

In the 1830s and 1840s the working class carried out its first mass actions. The most important of these actions that went down in history are the "revolt of the Lyon weavers in France (1831), the revolutionary actions of the Paris workers (1832), the revolt of the Silesian weavers in Germany, and the Chartist movement in England (1830-1840)". With these actions, the class struggle against the bourgeoisie intensified. The practices of the working class have also theoretically confirmed the necessity and possibility of overthrowing the prevailing social and political system.

These workers' movements led to the need to develop a theory that specifies the social relations and institutions that will replace the dominant system. Dialectical materialist philosophy emerged with this historical reality (Şeptulin, 2017, pp. 58-59).

Just like in dialectical materialism, some conditions paved the way for the emergence of idealism: "The separation of mental and physical work from each other, the emergence and development of classes, private property, exploitation of man by man". In such a historical process, the exploiting classes needed ideologues who despised physical work and thought that mental activity was the determining factor in the survival and development of society (Malinin, 1979a, p. 21). Idealism "Associates everything that exists to 'thought' and derives from it; It is defined as the philosophy movement that denies the existence of an objective reality other than thought, in other words, that there is an existence independent of thought or matter (material reality) (Güçlü, Uzun, Uzun & Yolsal, 2003 p. 713). Especially for a period, the tyrants applied to ideologists who would bless their own power and advise the people to accept their fate, and idealist ideologues produced mythological works for the continuation of tyranny. What happened to Oedipus<sup>15</sup>, one of the most tragic stories of Greek mythology, conveys the message that "you can never escape from your destiny" to the public. Idealism and religion tries to understand the world by dublicating. Idealism, which has a dualistic understanding, "invents an ideal or supernatural world opposite to, above and dominating the real material world." The

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15 The significance of Oedipus is that he represents people who surrender to their own destiny. In the legend that started with an oracle saying "this child will grow up in the future and kill his father and marry his real mother, kill this child" when he was just born, Oedipus was not killed and was raised by a shepherd. One day, he kills a man without knowing that he is his father, and finally, unknowingly, he marries his mother on a success. So he never escaped his destiny. Oidupus says: "I am proud of being a child of destiny, I am not ashamed of it, destiny is my mother" (A. Bonnard (2006), *Man and Tragedy*, (Trans. Y. Atan), Evrensel: Istanbul.

antitheses of idealism are “soul and body; God and man, the heavenly (divine) kingdom and the earthly kingdom; the forms and thoughts of things that can be grasped by the mind” constitute the world of material reality that can be perceived by the senses (Cornforth, 1998, p. 24). Idealism is founded on the ground of explaining the truth based on myths. For this reason, it is not possible to come across anthropological or historical data in idealist thought. Pythagoreanism, the foundation of which was laid by the Greek philosopher and mathematician Pythagoras (Pythagoras, 580 BC - 500 BC), is the first form of idealism in Ancient Greece. “The Pythagoreans believed that number was the essence of everything and that all relationships could be expressed numerically. According to them, the whole world was subject to numbers and was based on the harmony of numbers” (Şeptulin, 2017, p. 32). While a single principle was adopted as the source of matter until the Pythagoreans came, with the Pythagoreans, besides the principle that forms matter and makes matter countable, there is a need for something that does not have a form on which this principle will be effective. Pythagoreans are not monists like the Philosophers of Miletus, they are dualists (duality). So they put a duality at the beginning of everything. One of these two principles is the one that gives form, and the second one is the unlimited and formless (Hançerlioğlu, 1978b, pp. 190-196). In idealism, reason was removed from being the method of philosophy and turned into a goal. By elevating knowledge to the level of the most valuable subject of philosophy, the idea that all truth consists of knowledge has dominated idealism. Although the basis of idealism goes back to Pythagoras, its theoretical origin is based on the "Ideas" theory of the Ancient Greek philosopher Plato. According to Plato (Poltzer, 1996, p. 170), who sees material reality as a reflection of a thoughtful world, a world of ideas dominated by an absolute mind that does not need a material world to exist, the

principle of science and truth is the idea of goodness: “Here are the objects that are the subject of knowledge. You will call this truth the idea of the good, which brings the truth and gives the power of knowing to the one who knows; Since this is the principle of knowledge and truth, you will grasp it as an object of knowledge. But no matter how beautiful these two things, namely science and truth, are, if you consider the idea of good apart from them and count them superior in beauty, you will not be mistaken” (Plato, 2002, pp. 508-509). As the spokesman for the interests of the ancient Greek aristocracy and the oligarchy of the slave society, Plato developed the rationalism and abstractionism of Socrates. In his work called Dialogues, which he wrote in the form of speeches, he argued that the material and objective world is not real, but also opposed the trade that provided the evolution of the world in that era. By arguing that trade should disappear with the claim that the individual "dirties his soul", he contributed to taking the society he lived in backwards. The dreamy state idea he founded is the idea of a country that does not trade and therefore is moral (Hançerlioğlu, 1978b, p. 202). Plato's philosophy is a classical form of objective idealism. Devotion to religious and mythological ideas is the common feature of Plato's objective idealism and ancient idealism. The depression experienced in ancient societies further strengthened the commitment to religion and mythology. A firm belief in mythology and mysticism was even more evident in the Middle Ages, when philosophy was subordinated entirely to religion.

With the strengthening of individualistic motives, subjective idealism gained strength in bourgeois philosophy, starting with Descartes. The classical expression of subjective idealism is based on the epistemology of the Berkeley system and Hume's philosophy. Along with the Kantian philosophy, "things-in-themselves" were put forward, independent of the subject's consciousness. With Kant, the subjective idealist

thesis regarding the a priori<sup>16</sup> forms of consciousness as the basis of agnosticism is combined, on the other hand, with the objective idealist recognition of the transindividual nature of these a priori forms. The subjective idealist tendency, which continued with the philosophy of Fichte, continued in the philosophy of Schelling and Hegel, who revealed the dialectical idealism system. Ludwig Feuerbach, with his book "The Essence of Christianity" (1841), caused materialism to gain weight in philosophy, during the period when the debates between those who defended the revolutionary side of the Hegelian understanding and those who remained on the idealist wing and defended the conservative side continued. According to Feuerbach; "existence is not the product of thought, thought is the product of matter, and there is no knowledge beyond the senses" (Thalheimer, 2009, p. 91). However, Feuerbach's materialism turned into "intuitive materialism" after a while and shifted to idealist philosophy (Marx & Engels, 2004, p. 23). Feuerbach described the individual and morality in accordance with the capitalist society of the period in which he lived. According to the abstract moral theory presented by Feuerbach, the pursuit of his own happiness and benefit by each individual in the society and the bonding of everyone with love will be the source of the solution of the problems (Marx & Engels, 2009, pp.51–53, 81). The development of idealism after the dissolution of the Hegelian school continued with the bourgeoisie abandoning its progressive role and struggling with dialectical materialism (Frolov, 1991, p. 226).

From Plato to the present, many idealist theorists have been trying to bring different interpretations to idealism. Continuing with Cicero, Thomas Aquinas, Saint Augustine and continuing with Dante, Pierre Dubois, Emeric Crucé, Duc de Sully,

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<sup>16</sup> The concept will be explained in detail in the Kant chapter.



William Penn, Abbé de Saint Pierre are accepted as representatives from the 18th century of idealist philosophy (Doughery & Pfaltzgarff, 1981, p. 2). According to Liberal realist E.H. Carr (as cited in Ari, 2004, p. 89), idealism was a philosophical movement that shaped the background of 18th century Enlightenment philosophy, 19th century liberalism and 20th century Wilson's Principles. Carr is right in this regard, but today, idealism has been given different meanings and various currents of thought, the essence of which is idealist philosophy, have been developed. However, according to Engels (1992, p. 22), there are two philosophies, idealism and materialism, their meanings are clear, and if these two philosophies are attributed with other meanings, confusion will arise. From contemporary positivism to irrationalism, agnosticism, existentialists, critical theorists and finally today's postmodernist philosophy, many currents and their representatives should be evaluated within the historical process of idealist philosophy. Subjective idealism formulated by British philosophers Berkeley and Hume, contemporary positivists who claim to transform science from being a world theory to a theory of knowledge disconnected from the world, led by the British philosopher Bertrand Russell, who revived the basic idea of the theory of knowledge, German philosophers F. Nietzsche, Dilthey; Irrationalists, , represented by Simmel and the French philosopher Bergson who say that the philosophical worldview should start from the "richness of life experience", scientists who accept that reality influenced by agnosticism is nothing but a simple sum of symbols that can express nothing but truth itself, the German philosophers Martin Heidegger and Karl Jaspers and the French philosophers Gabriel Marcel, Existentialists, led by Jean Paul Sartre and Albert Camus, who try to explain and justify the sense of "the meaninglessness of existence" that has become the dominant form of contemporary philosophical irrationalism, and finally philosophical research

as a means of distinguishing scientific statements from "metaphysical" (philosophical) statements. The philosophy of postmodernism, which came with the logical positivism of the Vienna School, which focuses on the principle of "exploring at the empirical level" (Malinin, 1979b, pp. 240-242). Although all the aforementioned movements and thinkers have taken different names, they circulate in the veins of the idealist philosophy, which stands against the dialectical philosophy, and continues to carry oxygen to the idealist philosophy.

The revival and spread of idealist views conceptualized with Plato took place during the collapse of the Roman Empire, even though their foundations were shaped much earlier. During this period, idealism was closely associated with the newly emerging Christian religion, which would later become the dominant ideology throughout European feudalism. It is obvious that idealism has shown different tendencies throughout history. However, these different tendencies are gathered in two orientations as mentioned before: Objective and Subjective idealism. "Objective idealism detaches consciousness, thought, mind and spirit from its material basis, from the activity of the human brain and from concrete historical conditions, and transforms it into a sovereign, independent entity – god, absolute mind, idea, field of ideas, etc." (Buhr & Kosing, 1976, p. 135). The founder of objective idealism is Plato. Later, the names that developed objective idealism were Leibniz and Hegel. In the objective idealism led by Plato and Hegel, the "spiritual" is outside of human consciousness as "universal mind", "universal will" or "unconscious universal spirit", which is assumed to determine all material processes, independently of human consciousness and matter, or in terms of time exists before matter" (Malinin, 1979a, p.18). Platonism, as discussed in detail above, is the difference between those who exist in the original world consisting of "general ideas ("intellectual essences") and

those existing in the non-essential world, which consists of sensible things and is only a shadow of the real world (the world of ideas) based on distinction. This world is nothing but the shadow of the real world, the world of ideas that are hidden from us” (Şeptulin, 2017, p. 33). Aristotle (384-322 BC), on the other hand, criticized Plato's theory of ideas very harshly and his criticisms took place in history as Aristotelian Materialism. Aristotle opposed "Plato's philosophy, especially the view that ideas precede and exist independently of sensible things. It has proven that there are no general ideas that exist outside and independently of objective things.” According to Aristotle, "general ideas emerge in one's consciousness when he encounters repetitive things in the process of knowledge and becomes aware of it" (Şeptulin, 2017, p. 34).

Philosophy, which objectively and formally served religion throughout the Middle Ages, was used to justify and support religious dogmas and to prove their validity and steadfastness. It is understood that objective idealists mean God with the concepts of "Universal Mind" and "Universal Spirit". Despite all this, Malinin points out that it is wrong to equate objective idealism with religion. Because, according to him, “idealism is a system of false theoretical views formed in the contradictory development process of knowledge” (1979a, p. 19,20). Subjective idealism, on the other hand, absolutizes the individual consciousness of the subject. Subjective idealism is thought that the sum of the subject's sensations, feelings and actions constitute the world in which the subject lives and acts, or at least he believes that these are the holistic, essential side of the world. A determined subjective idealism will eventually lead to solipsism. Classical subjective idealism is represented by Berkeley, Hume and Fichte (Frolov, 1991, p. 230). According to the subjective idealist Berkeley, man pays attention only to certain objects and phenomena, which he perceives as different totalities of various sensations (form, colour, taste, smell, etc.).

Berkeley claims that if these sensations are left aside, the relevant object will disappear with them, and he concludes that only sensations exist in reality. Against this claim, he contradicts his own principle by saying that when there is no one left to perceive a particular objective thing, that thing continues to exist because it will continue to be perceived by God. He claims that all the sensations that people experience are created by God through his influence on the human soul. With this claim, Berkeley makes a transition from subjective idealism to objective idealism (Şeptulin, 2017, p. 42). Some ideas of subjective idealism were also developed by Kant. Kant, who made great contributions to the development of objective idealism, also developed a specific form of subjective idealism. Contemporary idealists or philosophers of contemporary bourgeois philosophy also inspired from Kant. Movements such as neo-positivism, existentialism, pragmatism and philosophy of life are based on Berkeley, Hume and ultimately Kant.

The struggle between materialism and idealism is, as can be seen, closely connected with the struggle between science and religion. In this respect, idealism is in contact with metaphysical thought. Metaphysical thought presupposes that everything has a fixed nature and fixed properties. The metaphysician thinks not in terms of real people, but in terms of "man" in the abstract (Cornforth, 1998, p. 66, 68). According to dialectical materialism, "if a contradiction arises, it means that the new is already there, the new is already there, even partially, in germ." This is just as the feudal society is blamed only on the day that the opposing forces (industry, bourgeoisie) that will destroy it later on begin to function (Politzer, 1996, p. 259). The ideology of capitalism is also based on the method of metaphysics, "the rejection of change, the separation of the inseparable, and the systematic exclusion of opposites". In metaphysics, because things are defined as certain and unchanging, things will

remain as they are. With this aspect, metaphysics is a shelter for the function of suppressing the facts. In this respect, the pessimism, bummage and great rejection that we encounter especially in the philosophy of critical theory also overlap with metaphysics, which is a method of idealist philosophy. According to Engels, unlike metaphysics, dialectics "takes into account things and concepts, their chains, interconnections, mutual effects, and the resulting changes, in their emergence, development and extinction" (as cited in Politzer, 1996, pp. 46-48). Marx saw the capitalist system as part of the history of human development. This is neither a permanent nor an unchangeable system. On the contrary, as is often stated throughout the study, capitalism is essentially a temporary social system and, like all other forms of society, has arisen and developed from the previous system; it will collapse when the time comes and another system will take its place (Huberman, 1975, p. 55). At this point, we encounter the law of the "negation of negation", which is the dialectic that stands against idealism, which Adorno, one of the ideologists of the Frankfurt School, changed as "affirmation of negation". As Engels said, dialectical negation means the conditioning of a further development, and in this truth lies the essence of dialectical development. The process of negation of negation is often expressed in terms of "thesis" (starting point of development), "antithesis" (first negation), "synthesis" (second negation). These three express the essence of development. One of the most distinctive features of the law of negation of negation is its backwardness. As a general trend, development does not move from higher to lower forms, from complex to simple. Because each new stage, which contains all the features of the previous stages in synthesis, also forms the basis of higher developmental forms (Malinin, 1979a, pp. 128-132).

With the emergence of capitalist production relations, the necessity to know concretely the laws that direct the development and functioning of the phenomena in the material world surrounding man has arisen. For this reason, the need to examine and understand the laws of nature has emerged. Philosophy thus began to deal with nature and the material activity of man. It has started to be understood with capitalism that the general propositions and methods used by medieval philosophy are wrong and misleading. New ways of questioning and learning the truth have accelerated with the developments in trade. The founder of this approach was Francis Bacon (1541-1625). Bacon's worldview has been materialistic, if not determined. Bacon called for continuous improvement in science, advocating the empirical study of nature and independent research. He argued that the aim of all learning with the method of knowing based on experiment and mathematics is to increase the dominance of man over nature (Frolov, 1991, p. 36). According to him, philosophy and faith-based theology should not be confused. Thus, with Bacon, 17th and 18th century materialism, mechanical materialism, took its place against idealism (Şeptulin, 2017, p. 38).

The important thing here is that idealism, which had some features that could be considered progressive at the time it emerged, or mechanical materialism, which developed with Bacon, is now a reactionary philosophical trend today, knowingly or unknowingly, that it has become the philosophy of a critical political stance, so that philosophy is not content with understanding the world and giving up its effort to change it. It is a departure from practice. However, for dialectical materialism, which stands against idealism, “practice” is the most important movement. Practice is human action that changes reality. Practice begins with material labor and sensation. Sensations are the means of direct connection of consciousness with the world. It is

the source of all the knowledge we gain from objects and phenomena. Sciences other than philosophy limit their fields of interest to only objective properties of phenomena. Even the sciences dealing with mental phenomena do not compare the material with the ideal (Şeptulin, 2017, p. 18). At this point, “What does phenomenon/appearance mean?” question must be answered. Lenin answered this question in his collective works as follows: “The way the phenomenon manifests itself is the way it is expressed. Unlike essence, which is not directly accessible to man, the phenomenon is on the surface of objects. The inner essence is in opposition to the external, changeable aspects of objects (as cited in Malinin, 1979a, p. 162). The idealist Kant, on the other hand, distinguished between essence and appearance, seeing the former as “unknown”. In the extreme phenomenism seen especially in Berkeley's empirio-criticism, the world is the sum of the complexes of ideas and sensations. Again, according to the extreme phenomenist and subjective idealist Hume, we cannot know what lies behind the sensations. According to moderate phenomenists, it is accepted that objects manifest their own existence in sensations. This leads to Locke's materialism, which sees objects as material things, or Kantian agnosticism, which sees objects as unknowable “things-in-themselves”. In contemporary positivism, on the other hand, phenomenism is reduced to the possibility of expressing experience in an -object- or -phenomenalist- language, and therefore it has taken linguistic form. According to dialectical materialism, phenomenism is wrong from the very beginning, because it separates knowledge from reality and practice (Frolov, 1991, p. 172). According to dialectical materialism, as Malinin (1979a, p. 163) states, the essence is expressed in a series of outward appearances of itself. The essence, moreover, not only comes into being, but also has the potential to hide itself in these outward appearances. In the process of acquiring

knowledge of an object at the sensory level, phenomena do not appear as they are in concrete reality from time to time. This false outward appearance is not a product of our consciousness but emerges as a result of the real relations affecting us under the conditions of objective observation. Malinin (1979a, p. 163) gave an example from the situation of the working class in capitalist society to better understand the reality connection between essence and phenomenon. “In a capitalist society, the worker's wage appears to be the compensation for all the work done by the worker, whereas in reality this wage is only part of the worker's work, the rest of the wage in the form of surplus-value which constitutes the capitalist's profit.” In this case, as Malinin quotes (1979a, p.163) “In order to grasp any event correctly and get to its foundation, it is necessary to critically test the truths that come out through direct observation and to establish a clear distinction between the outer-appearance and the real, the superficial and the essential. It is necessary to make a distinction.”

According to Lenin, sensations are “the energy of external stimulation, the transformation of consciousness into a phenomenon”, but the idealistic understanding separates sensations from the external world and accepts them as symbols of objects and processes, which leads to agnosticism<sup>17</sup>. Agnosticism, on the other hand, has been a theory frequently adopted by idealist bourgeois currents of thought. Earlier,

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<sup>17</sup>The person who coined the term agnostic for the first time was the English biologist and philosopher Thomas Huxley. Agnosticism argues that knowledge is limited only to the subjects that our minds create and that we can trust, and therefore it claims that we cannot know beyond physical subjects such as absolute existence, the essence, basis and meaning of God's existence. He argues that we cannot know the existence or non-existence of God (Zeki Özcan, “Special Dictionary, Article on Agnosticism”, Frédéric Ferré, *The Meaning of the Language of Religion: Modern Logic and Faith*, (Trans. Zeki Özcan), Bursa, 1999, in p. 219). It was David Hume who developed the theoretical foundations of agnosticism. Hume, in his work "On Dialogues and Miracles", shakes the foundations of the existence of religions without directly denying the existence of God. For more detailed information on the theory of agnosticism, see. “On Dialogues and Miracles”.



positivism and its variants such as Mahism<sup>18</sup> and pragmatics took refuge in agnosticism. However, the new bourgeois philosophers did not add anything original to the ideas of Hume or Kant, who are considered to be the pioneers of agnosticism, but blended the views of the two philosophers and presented them as new discoveries. It should only be noted here that; Not every idealist has to be pro-agnostic. Many idealist philosophers such as Descartes, Leibniz, Hegel did not advocate agnosticism. As Engels stated, "Hegel destroyed agnosticism as far as idealistically possible" (Malinin, 1979a, p. 89, 165, 166, 190). Sensation, for Hegel, is movement. In this regard, Hegel states: "It has fallen to our age, at least in theory, to assert and prove, at least in theory, that the treasures that were formerly squandered for the sake of the heavens, apart from a few previous attempts, belong to humanity; but this right is valid in practice, and what age will have the power to make itself the owner of these treasures?" said (as cited in Kumar, 2013, p. 87). Combining practice and theory conceptually in this sense, Marx, in the second of the Theses on Feuerbach, said, "The question of whether objective truth can be ascribed to human thought is not a question of theory, but a practical one. Man has to prove the truth, that is, the reality and power of thought, his belonging to this world in practice" (2004, p. 22). Practice, in the broadest sense, encompasses the entire objective form of human activity; It is all aspects of human social existence in the process of human social existence, in which

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<sup>18</sup> The thoughts of the German thinker Ernst Mach are one of the best examples of unscientificity within scientificity. He argued that existence consists of elements called sensations, that all nature is the sum of these series of elements arranged in human thought, and that everything we think is objective is actually our subjective sensations. According to him, being is a karma of sensations. All physical and psychic realities are basically reduced to subjective sensations. Although Ernst Mach denied objective nature and therefore science and thus fell into metaphysics, he also fought metaphysics and accused Kant of not being able to clean metaphysics. is growing." Mach, who was opposed to the atomic theory like all material theories, accused the physics researches in this way as unscientific in a discussion he had with the famous physicist Planck. According to him, since there is no reality in nature, there is no atom, no noumena, that is, no reality in itself. (Hançerlioğlu, 1978, V: 4, p. 37).

human material and spiritual culture is created, including social phenomena such as class struggle, the development of art and science (Malinin, 1979a, p. 171).

After Marx, who carried Hegel's dialectic to dialectical materialism, Lenin proved the practice and wrote the following words after the "Bloody Sunday" in 1905:

In the history of revolutions, contradictions that have matured over decades and centuries are emerging. Life becomes supremely eventful. The masses, hitherto eclipsed and therefore neglected, even despised, by cursory observers enter the political arena as active fighters. These masses learn in practice and take their first inexperienced steps in front of the whole world. (...) there is nothing more important than this direct lesson learned by the masses and classes (as cited in D'Amato, 2016, p. 277).

According to Lenin, man can seize objective truth as "ultimate truth" "only when a concept becomes "being for itself" in the practical sense. According to him, the ultimate truth takes on the concrete form of an object, a process that can be grasped by the senses in general practice; thus, it "has the honor of not only being general, but also a simple fact" (Malinin, 1979a, pp.186-187). There is no need for "false consciousness" in the philosophy of the working class. Because the philosophy of the working class does not want to establish a new system of exploitation, but to completely abolish the exploitation of man by man. Therefore, it has no interest in hiding anything. On the contrary, it has an interest in understanding and telling things as they are. Because truth, combined with practice, strengthens the struggle of the working class (Cornforth, 1998, pp. 15-16).

In this study, the importance of the class nature of philosophy in the approach to philosophy has not been denied. Because philosophy ultimately reflects the point of view of a class. "From the very beginning, philosophy has been the succinct expression [formulation] of a class's worldview, a class's way of becoming conscious of its own position and historical aims" (Cornforth, 2009, p. 80). However, most of the philosophers have never been interested in the class quality of philosophy, and they have remained far from this quality. According to contemporary revisionists, a neutral attitude should be taken towards philosophy. According to them, one should neither be a materialist nor an idealist. These revisionist views still persist in the era of postmodernism. However, these revisionist views are nothing more than "metaphysics in disguise" in their essence. Every philosophical movement, which has been mentioned so far and presented as new, replaces God, which is the main truth of the metaphysical worldview, with a human understanding in the form of God. From the Renaissance until today, all individualist teachings, from Positivism, Machism, Pragmatism, to Existentialism, necessarily overlap with subjective idealism. The essence of all these movements is based on the understanding of individual thought, equal spirit, and equal Godism. In all these idealist new philosophy movements, everything should be arranged by taking the individual into account. The economy should be organized to develop the individual, not the society. On the basis of all these movements, society is the product of the individual, being composed of individuals. The wealth and happiness of the individual also means the wealth and happiness of the society. This view, despite its claims to be scientific, brings with it a selfish moral understanding. Famous thinkers of individualistic humanism Erasmus, Machiavelli and Montaigne inevitably reinforced such an understanding (Hançerlioğlu, 1970, p. 629).

In the popular/postmodern literary journals that are the subject of the study, the emphasis on "joining power" in the name of impartiality is striking, just like the philosophical movements that mix idealism and materialism. Under the name of power union, The struggle to be waged against bourgeois idealism or the dominant ideology, capitalism, which is in fact integrated with idealism, is trivialized. Revisionists, who defended neutrality in philosophy and claimed that there was a third way apart from idealism and materialism, could not be impartial in practice. One of the greatest contradictions of capitalism is the irreconcilable class antagonism between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. "The exploiting classes have never faced the reality of their own system of exploitation, even when playing a progressive role. A false (unfounded) consciousness within their own worldview that is an implicit reflection of their social position and purpose; they have developed a philosophy that is dependent on historical conditions, presenting their own temporary views as immortal truths" (Cornforth, 2009 p. 80). The effort of this idealist philosophy to unite the irreconcilable opposites of contradiction manifests itself in the form of "joining forces" in postmodernism. In fact, the irreconcilable form of contradiction is one between hostile social classes, between classes with fundamentally opposing goals and interests. As Cornforth (1998, pp. 25-26) states, materialism and idealism are irreconcilably opposed. However, some other currents such as revisionism try to reconcile both philosophies. One of them is dualism. "This compromise philosophy, which asserts that the spiritual exists separately and distinct from the material, tries to place both philosophies on one level. While they consider the world of inanimate matter as purely materialistic, they also argue that this world is the domain of natural forces, and that spiritual factors do not enter into it and are in no way related to it. Dualists try to seek idealistic explanations in this area, claiming that this is the area of

activity of the soul when it comes to reason and society. In the postmodern literary journals that are the subject of the study, the effects of the currents that try to combine idealism and dialectics but eventually get stuck in idealism are frequently encountered. As Cornforth (1998, p. 28) states, according to idealists, the most important thing for all of us is the inner life of the soul. According to idealism, instead of fighting for better conditions, the soul must first be corrected. What matters is the inner world of individual individuals. This idealistic understanding dominates both the essence and the phenomena of popular/postmodern literary journals.

Contemporary bourgeois philosophy is like a reflection of the contradictions of capitalist society at its present stage. “In Marxian social science these contradictions are summed up in the concept of the general crisis of capitalism. This crisis is a crisis in economy and politics, in culture and ideology, in bourgeois social relations and in the bourgeois individual, and in one way or another it will be reflected in philosophy, which is the most important part of ideology” (Malinin, 197b, p. 237). The dialectical, historical materialist philosophy is clearly biased. This bias is one that consistently defends the principles of materialism in the struggle against idealism. The ongoing struggle between idealism and materialism is, as we have said, a reflection of the class struggle. Idealism provides a theoretical basis for religion by giving an idealistic answer to the fundamental question of the philosophy of the exploiting classes. In this way, it ensures the spiritual enslavement of the workers and distances them from the struggle that will change the order in which they live (Şeptulin, 2017, p. 22). Classes other than the working class have preserved the philosophical systems that have always placed them in the universe in order to perpetuate themselves. Such philosophical currents address the nature of the universe, certain things and certain relations; tends to explain it by showing it as necessary, immortal, and unchangeable.

Idealist revisionist economists are also trying to impose capitalism as an unchangeable system. However, dialectic; saw the capitalist system as part of the history of human development. Unlike capitalism, the working class does not need to perpetuate itself. The working class aims to end its existence as a class as quickly as possible and is in an effort to establish a classless society (Cornforth, 1998, p. 16). “The working class has been the carrier of social progress ever since the bourgeoisie entered the position of a reactionary class, because its own class interest, which hinders social development, has become totally incompatible and contradictory with social interests” (Buhr & Kosing, 1976, p. 140). Bourgeois philosophy describes the crisis of capitalism, the crisis of "modern man", the "spiritual crisis of the age", the "crisis of technical civilization", etc. offers as In postmodern/popular literary journals, too, “the reaction to the inevitable triumph of new social relations is expressed in various ways, from irrationalist “activism” that requires resistance to the new system with all its strength, to pessimistic fatalism and taking refuge in the mercy of God” (Malinin, 1979b, p. 238). Incidentally, it should be noted that the most important affinity that brings postmodernism and postmarxism, which will be examined in the following sections, closer to idealist philosophy; It is the perspective of the class and the understanding of the unchangeability of the existing system.

The important thing for philosophy schools from the past is the desire to find the truth. The social and economic aspects that make up the reality have either remained in the background or have been completely ignored. The point of view that is not content with understanding the world in philosophy, on the other hand, was presented by Marx with the 11th Thesis in Theses on Feuerbach. According to Marx (2004, p. 28), “philosophers have been content with interpreting the world in various ways; whereas the point is to change it.” In this study, philosophy is approached from

a dialectical materialist point of view and the philosophy that dominates popular/postmodern literary journals; It is tried to be examined whether it is a dialectical materialist philosophy or an idealist philosophy with the aim of changing the world and its class character. Today, art stuck in the philosophy of idealism is under the siege of bourgeois culture. This culture has entered the service of capitalist private property, the self-interested interests of the upper strata of bourgeois society. Bourgeois artists “divert the attention of the progressive strata of society from the crucial problems of social and political struggle and plunge them into the swamp of cheap, meaningless art and literature; tries to lure gangsters into the swamp of art and literature, which is about variety stars, extolling immorality, propagating fraudsters and gamblers” (Zhdanov, 1977, p. 59).

Art fulfills its function by understanding the world at an artistic level and meeting the aesthetic needs of human beings. By reflecting reality in artistic images, art influences the thoughts and feelings, aspirations, actions and behaviors of the people. Works of art are expressed by certain material means and thus are passed on from generation to generation. In this way, works of art both contribute to the acquisition of knowledge about social life and serve as a tool for the ideological, aesthetic and spiritual education of young generations. In aesthetic thought, the situation is different for theories that reject the social role of art and regard it as an end in itself. According to materialist theories; While “reality” is the determining factor in the formation of aesthetic consciousness, according to idealists, on the contrary; aesthetic consciousness and art are independent of social relations (Malinin, 1979b, p.159-160). In particular, idealist schools and critical theorists, who laid the groundwork for postmodern philosophy, "generally express the artist's incompatibility with his social environment, and it is necessary for him to escape from all kinds of

social obligations, formal trials, etc., under certain conditions. They cause one-sided excitement for him” (Malinin, 1979b, p. 160).

The texts emphasizing the "escape" feeling of the author, which is frequently encountered in the popular/postmodern literary magazines that are the subject of this study, are in harmony with the idealist philosophy's perspective on aesthetics and art. However, in the socialist realist method, autonomy is not attributed to culture and art. Writers are the "architects of the human soul". "To reflect life in works of art in a realistic way; means to know life in order to reflect it in its revolutionary development, not in a static and inanimate form, or simply in the form of "objective reality." (Zhdanov, 1977, p. 18). As Zhdanov (1977, p. 19) stated, according to the literature and literary criticism called socialist reality, the artist should combine the task of ensuring the ideological transformations of the working class with his art. The artist has to take a stand while presenting his work, "even when choosing the material to work on, he is in a certain "tendency"; it expresses its judgments about the phenomena of social life, defends one thing, pushes the other aside, arouses some feelings and aspirations” (Malinin, 1979b, p. 161). The artist, who is the "architect of the human soul", has to "put both feet on the ground of real life". The artist must move away from the old-fashioned romanticism. Well; He should break his ties with "romanticism that reflects a non-existent world and heroes, that allows the reader to escape from the contradiction and yoke of life by presenting an unfounded and imaginary world" and should create his works with a materialist-based new type of romance, "revolutionary romance" (Jdanov, 1977, p. 19). The autonomy that Western Marxism and the Frankfurt School attributed to art, and therefore to literature, which is the subject of this study, was blended with the concepts of postmodernism and contributed to the formation of the conceptual foundations of the popular/postmodern



literary journals that are the subject of the study. The pessimism, major rejection, eclecticism, impartiality, and union of forces that dominate the journals in general lead us to idealism and the innovative Kant philosophy.

In idealist philosophy, although the 'subject' is not completely rejected, a definition that can mean the rejection of the subject is used. Unlike being a subject, the mind is loaded with the feature of being the agent of a process that has no beginning and no end. Any view that sees human being as the only being that can think and makes the greatest distinction between other living things and human beings through thought eventually leads to idealism. However, according to dialectical materialism, the most important feature that distinguishes and differentiates humans from other living things is not their ability to think, but their ability to produce. The most prominent feature of idealism is that it separates mental and manual labor from each other in a class society. One of the biggest contradictions of the new currents of idealist philosophy, which still continues, is the autonomy they attribute to the intellectual labor monopolized by the wealthy classes. With this autonomy, the real social relations of the exploiting classes are covered up and shadowed. However, it should be noted here that; In the popular/postmodern literary journals that are the subject of this study, intellectual labor is no longer monopolized by the wealthy classes. The 'idea', monopolized by the wealthy class, has been transformed into another problematic form that anyone can declare, whether or not they have any real knowledge of any subject.

The point where both objective and subjective idealism converge is their opposition to materialism (Buhr & Kosing, 1976, p. 136). According to idealist philosophers, as Malinin (1979a, p. 56) states, "There is a certain intellectual substance expressed by various names such as divine will, universal mind, and

absolute idea in the basis of phenomena and objects in the world.” According to Engels, materialism as a philosophy is “to grasp nature as it is, without adding anything. The world surrounding us is nothing but the various forms and manifestations of matter in motion” (as cited in Malinin, 1979a, p. 57). Matter is the most general essence of the universe. On the other hand, Lenin defined the concept of philosophical matter as follows: “Matter is a philosophical category that people become aware of with their senses, that is copied, photographed and reflected by our senses, that expresses the objective reality that exists independently of our senses” (Malinin, 1979a, p.59). According to dialectical materialism, no concrete form of existence of matter, such as atoms, molecules or electrons, is immutable. On the contrary, matter is in change and in constant motion. Under certain conditions, matter transforms into other concrete forms, which in turn transform into other forms, and this develops in a cycle forever. Dialectic materialism consider this development as a discontinuous, rough process. In this process, stages of evolutionary change are faced with discontinuities, a process in which they are interrupted by leaps from one state to another. It does not need to make up idealistic dreams while explaining this universal movement. Within the material processes themselves; that is, in internal contradictions, in opposition tendencies that are in force and struggling in all processes of nature and society (Şeptulin, 2017, p. 72; Cornforth, 1998, p. 62).

“Movement” is the most attribute of matter and its mode of existence. Movement refers to all processes that take place in nature and society. Movement refers to change in general. “Motion” is also the interaction of material objects. Just as there cannot be matter without "Movement" in the world, there cannot be "Movement" without matter. The absolute is the movement of matter. Stillness is only a memory of the Movement (Frolov, 1991, p. 203). According to dialectical materialism, the

highest developmental stage of matter on earth is human society with its distinctive forms of social movement. However, according to modern subjective-idealist philosophy, the individual is the only social reality. Society is a mechanical collection of individuals one by one. The type and direction of what is real is determined by the individual, according to idealists. “The only recognizable thing-in-itself is the individual.” The idealistic interpretation of social life makes it impossible to define the essence of human being. Modern idealist philosophers have tried to solve this problem of impossibility on the basis of an abstract “ideal human” who has no class identity and is endowed with certain eternal and unchanging human qualities by nature. But an “ideal human” separate from society is not possible. The individual cannot be separated from society; because it grows, develops and takes shape within the society, which is inevitable to leave a mark on the individual.” On the other hand, Lenin said, “A person cannot live independently from society and cannot be free from society” (Şeptulin, 2017, p. 330). However, for Western Marxism and the Frankfurt School, which laid the groundwork for today's postmodernism, the individual can act independently from society to a certain extent. The understanding of “If you cannot change the world, change your world” elevates the individual to the position of a material reality independent of society. In the popular/postmodern literary journals examined in this study, idealism's feature of seeing the individual as a determinant is frequently encountered. However, unlike idealism, according to materialism, society exerts an influence on the formation of the individual. Plekhanov expressed the relationship between society and individual; “Each individual makes his own walk on the path of appeal. However, where this road leads depends on the social environment of the individual who objects” (as cited in Şeptulin, 2017, p. 331).

According to dialectical materialism, the necessary objective properties of every material being are space, time and objectively real forms of material existence. "Space is three-dimensional; this is its most important distinguishing feature. It has three aspects; right and left, up and down, forward and backward. (...) Despite the three dimensions of space, time has only one dimension. It always moves in one direction; forward. The present becomes the past, the future is the present. This direction cannot be changed; time is irreversible" (Şeptulin, 2017, pp. 83-84). Idealist philosophers, on the other hand, deny matter and time. According to them, time and space; They are either individual forms of consciousness, as in Berkeley, Hume, and Mach, or a priori forms of sensory observation, as in Kant, or categories of the absolute spirit, as in Hegel. According to dialectical materialism; time and space cannot be explained by their simple external relation to matter in motion. The essence of space is movement, so it starts from the fact that matter, movement, time and space are inseparable. According to dialectical materialism, as human knowledge develops, a much deeper and more accurate understanding of the objective existence of time and space will develop (Frolov, 1991, pp. 541-542).

As Özdal states (2004, p. 14), "presentism", which we frequently encounter in popular/postmodern literary magazines, does not actually explain anything, but shows, exhibits and describes that moment. However, it is necessary to explain something only by relating it to other things. In order to understand whether their relations are original or not, it is imperative to consider them in their integrity and historicity. However, as Özdal states, "presentism", one of the elements of today's postmodern philosophy, shows today's dominant ideologies as the "most up-to-date" ideology. It reflects the ideas as ("the newest", "the latest") and covers them with a mystical veil. Of course, the ideologies and ideas discussed today reflect the world of

thought. However, according to Özdal (2004, p. 14), these currents' thoughts and ideologies are ignored whether they are innovations and contributions or whether they represent a deepening. In practice, using the elements of the dialectical materialist method, the philosophy of critical thinking is approached with the idea that "the 'newness' of the new is possible by knowing the 'old'".

It would not be wrong to use the "mystical veil" analogy that Marx used for distorted ideologies for today's idealist philosophy movements. According to Marx, the state of ideological inversion in human consciousness will only occur with the disappearance of the material conditions that create upside down. "The life process of society, based on the material production process, cannot be stripped of its mystical veil unless production is consciously regulated by freely assembled people and in accordance with an established plan" (Marx, 1986, p. 95). One of the mystical veils of Marx's ideological inversion in human consciousness and surrounding society is the state of being always and completely reliable, which idealist philosophy imposes on our senses and perceptions. According to religious-idealistic understandings, "consciousness is a form of expression of an immaterial substance—an immortal and eternal "soul" that is supposedly completely independent of matter in general and the human brain in particular, and maintains a self-determined life." However, according to materialism, consciousness is the greatest form of reflection of the objective world in the mind. Consciousness is the subjective symbol of the objective world. When we speak of the subjectivity of an image, we do not mean a distorted image of reality, but something intellectual, that is, something transformed and reprocessed in the human brain, as Marx said. An object in human consciousness is an image of which the object in objective reality is its prime example. According to Lenin, "For the materialist, the world is the movement of objective reality. Designs, perceptions, etc.

corresponds to the movements of matter outside of us" (as cited in Malinin, 1979b, p. 83, 88). Against the idealist philosophy that people can achieve whatever they want, Marx says, people "make their own history," but then adds: "They can't make history the way they want; they cannot do it under the conditions they choose, on the contrary, they do it under the conditions that are directly in front of them, transferred from the past" (as cited in D'amato, 2016, p. 73).

Although today's idealist philosophy movements seem to have moved away from the British bishop Berkeley's example of warm water trying to prove that the material principle does not exist in the world, when philosophy is approached with a correct analysis, in fact, today's idealist philosophy movements and popular/postmodern literary journals that are the subject of the study are "external". It is understood that he did not stray too far from the example of Berkeley, who denied the truth. According to the example of warm water; Let one of our hands be cold and the other warm, the water will be sensed cold to the hot hand and hot to the cold hand. In this case, it is nonsense to say that the water is both cold and hot. Water itself cannot exist materially and independently of us, that is the name we give to our sensations. Water exists only in our perception. In this case, according to Berkeley, matter is an idea, and in this case, the contradiction exists only in the mind, not in the objective reality (as cited in Politzer, 1996, p. 194). The perception of "change your world if you cannot change the world", which we frequently encounter in popular/postmodern literary magazines, coincides with the role attributed to the perception of reality from Berkeley to this time. In particular, content glorifying individual escapes with the idea of "stay in the moment, live the moment and be free" is frequently encountered in these magazines. Emphatic articles that anyone with the courage can change their own life by leaving the city; it is devoid of material reality

and coincides with the "solipsism" judgment, the foundations of which have been continuing since Berkeley. The philosophy of "man can choose himself" is based on an understanding that we are free from the material world in our choices. What Politzer defines as the new idealistic trick; The representative philosophers of the movements, which he described as the last gum of idealism after Berkeley, are "German Heidegger and the existentialism of French teachings (Jean Paul Sartre)" (Poltzer, 1996, p. 197). Incidentally, opening Sartre's free man here will also help to see the development of idealism in historical integrity.

There is a seriousness when one starts from the world and accepts that when more reality is attributed to the world than oneself, at least to the extent that one belongs to the world, one can be a reality. It is no accident that materialism is serious, nor is it accidental that it has always and everywhere emerged as the doctrine of revolutionary choice. Revolutionaries are serious. They get to know each other, starting with the world that oppresses them first, and they want to change this world that oppresses them. In this respect, they agree with their arch-enemy, property owners, who know and value each other according to their position in the world. Thus every serious thought is intensified, solidified by the world. This means the neutralization of human reality for the benefit of the world. The serious man is 'of the world' and does not appeal to himself (*en soi*)<sup>19</sup>; Nor does it no longer envisage the possibility of exiting the world, for it identifies itself with the petrified type of existence, the stable lifeless, dull type of being in

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<sup>19</sup> The term used in the philosophy of Jean Paul Sartre to mean "to himself".

the middle of the world. It is natural that the serious person actually runs away from himself, from his own consciousness of freedom. He is malicious and his malicious intent aims to represent him as a conclusion in his own eyes. According to him, everything is a conclusion and there is never a principle. That is why he is so attentive to the consequences of his own conduct. By claiming the priority of the object over the subject and by stating that man is serious only when he treats himself as an object, Marx revealed the first dogma about seriousness (Sartre, 2010, p. 718).

As it is seen, Sartre, who was read as a Marxist philosopher in our country for many years, liquidated Marxism after a while. Sartre reconciles freedom with responsibility. It even identifies them. "... The man condemned to be free carries the weight of the whole world on his shoulders: he is responsible for both the world and himself as a mode of existence." For Sartre, freedom is proof that God does not exist. According to Sartre, the absence of God makes the individual's situation extremely difficult and requires the individual to seek support only in himself. Since there is no God, "there are neither justifications nor excuses behind us or before us. In this case, we are alone and without an excuse. This is what I mean when I say man condemned to freedom." The main conclusion that can be drawn from Sartre's atheism is pessimism, since Sartre finds it impossible to gain another goal because he has lost faith in God (Malinin, 1979b, pp. 253-254). What is new in discussions of existentialism (from existentialism to existentialism, from idealism to idealism, from pseudo-rationalism to irrationalism) is a clearer unification in the struggle against materialism. The idealists of the previous generation considered materialism as a foreign object to philosophy and preferred to make it forget. Today's idealist



generation, which is based on existentialism, considers materialism as a foreign object to philosophy, but sees it as something that has penetrated the organism and needs to be destroyed (Mougin, 2004, pp. 33-34).

In the history of philosophy, it was Wolff who used idealism as a concept against materialism. Leibniz, on the other hand, appear as the representative of the world of reality, which accepts the existence of the soul as an idea, and the current that denies the existence of the body (Topakkaya, 2011, p. 28). However, it should be noted here that Leibniz's philosophy can be evaluated as two-pronged. At the first end, there are those who grasp Leibniz's understanding of God as the source and owner of all competences and cannot overcome metaphysics, and at the other end, those who see it as a bridge to grasp and expand the path that will lead first to Hegel's dialectic and then to Marxist theory.

The idealist concept of "substance" forms the basis of Leibniz's philosophy. Leibniz says about substances:

Every substance is like a whole world, like a mirror of God or the whole universe, every substance explains God or the universe in its own way, just as each city looks different to those who observe it from different places. Thus, in a way, we can say that the universe has multiplied by the number of existing substances. And the glory of God has multiplied by the number of all his various offerings. We can also say this: every substance carries within itself the character of God's infinite wisdom and omnipotence, in a sense, and imitates God as much as he can. Because every substance, albeit in a mixed way, explains everything about the past, present and future in the universe, which is

like an endless perception or knowledge. Since they explain this in all other substances and are adapted to it, we can say that each substance imitates all the power of the Creator and spreads its own power over other substances (Timuçin, 2000b, p. 215).

Leibniz introduced the theory of monads by talking about an infinite number of substances. “The monad is nothing but simple substances that enter into compounds; plain, that is, without parts. After defining the monad, Leibniz shows these monads as “the genuine atoms of nature and in a word, the elements of things” (Leibniz, 1978, p. 607). Saying that each is a unity and an individual, Leibniz thus reveals the principle of individuation. “Each monad should be different from the next. Because there are no two entities in nature that are exactly alike, without any internal difference between them (...)” (Leibniz, 1978, p. 608). Dialectic materialism attributes the substance character of matter to its constant movement and change. Matter as substance is the basis of every concrete thing that exists. Various phenomena observed in the world are nothing but expressions of a single material nature, its existence, its various states and properties” (Şeptulin, 2017, p. 74). From this point of view, according to Holz (2004, pp. 177-178), who sees Leibniz as a bridge to the dialectic, together with Leibniz, every singular, every monad is a mirror of the whole world, and that like other singulars, the whole world, but its own can be said that they reflect from the point where they stand, that they are all individuals, but that they all reflect the same general world. In this case, too, we need to generalize the relation of the determining factor that shapes individuality and individual action with the place where it is reflected. This reveals the priority of the general over the single. The only one is only in so far as it is itself part, moment, and projection of the general. If we accept this, then we must also grasp the fact that the action of the one

and only one will never change anything in this generality. To change anything, we must come together as a collective. In other words, the class will make the change as a particular common place where the general finds expression. Holz expresses the meaning of this politically as follows: "Since the class is the carrier of political development; The organization in which the class acts as a class, not as a collection of individuals, is the subject of history." Contemporary revisionists, on the other hand, have absolutized the unique and the particular.

Idealism in philosophy, which started with Plato's "theory of the world of ideas", showed an important development with Leibniz for the philosophers who wanted to overcome it. The reason why we stand here above Leibniz is that he foresaw and announced the idea of development. By turning to the living universe, he actually saw evolution from those times. The orientation to the idea of the living universe has also affected the importance of philosophy in terms of realistic thought. In this sense, Leibniz philosophy, together with the realities of his age, formed a bridge to the later times, namely Christian Wolff, and to Kant's philosophy. In this sense, Leibniz is the founder or first determinant of progress. According to him, it is necessary to determine a continuous and very free progress in the whole universe (Timuçin, 2000b, p. 223). The new philosophy, which could not surpass Leibniz and lay the groundwork for postmodernist philosophy today, claims that there is a "third way" between idealism and materialism. In the new philosophical movements that extend to the present day, it has been rejected to take a side on the fundamental problem of philosophy and prided itself on being "critical" against the "dogmatic". Today, what kind of criticism this criticism is and for whom it is useful are the questions that this study tries to find answers to through popular/postmodern literary magazines.

The philosophy of the critical political stance is the philosophy of idealism, as its grounds are laid out in this chapter. Because in the 1930s, the Frankfurt School or, more generally, critical theories, which was embodied in Max Horkheimer's unifying and gathered around it thinkers such as Theodor W. Adorno, Herbert Marcuse, Walter Benjamin, Friedrich Pollock (later generation Alfred Schmidt, Jürgen Habermas, Claus Offe). They reformulated Hegel's subject-object identity and Kant's agnosticism and relativity. They synthesized the new ideas they formulated with the work of Friedrich W. Nietzsche, Max Weber, Sigmund Freud and Erich Fromm (Bailey, 1996, p. 6). Trying to synthesize the dialectic with the approaches of idealist philosophers, the critical theory put the subject as the driving force of the society in the center, placed the "individual" instead of the "holistic" and focused on the epistemology of the superstructure. The critical theory, which gradually moved away from dialectical materialism by reducing the understanding of society to the consciousness of the individual, also took a critical attitude towards the Enlightenment and was under the influence of Nietzsche's concepts of "creative destruction". Focusing on theory and culture, critical theory preferred to stay away from practice and politics, as detailed in the previous section. The close relationship of critical theory with this idealist philosophy has formed the building blocks of today's postmodernism by denying the historical process and sociality in the search for truth.

### **3.2. The Foundations of Postmodernist Philosophy: Kant, Nietzsche, Heidegger**

Postmodernist and postMarxist theories surpassed structuralists and pragmatists, especially in the re-emergence of idealism from the second half of the 1970s to approach metaphysics. Despite the claim of being "critical", postmodernist theories, ironically, have remained in an understanding that contributes to the spread of the idealist process and approves domination, and they have caused a complete

break from the practice of defining reality. After examining idealism and its historical development, how it laid the groundwork for today's postmodern philosophy by replacing the "whole" with the "individual", the idealist philosophers Kant, Nietzsche and Heidegger philosophies will be included in this section. Since especially these three philosophers are the philosophers with whom critical theorists and postmodern thinkers interact most, as mentioned above, and their effects are very strong in the journals to be analyzed in this study.

### **3.2.1. The Philosophy of Kant**

From modern philosophy, which moves from the subject's consciousness content, to Western Marxism and from there to postmodernist philosophy, philosophy is largely stuck in idealism and solipsism. However, before moving on to Kant and his theories, which laid the groundwork for postmodernist philosophy, it should be noted that despite all its contradictions, Kant's philosophy greatly influenced the subsequent development of scientific and philosophical thought. While criticizing Kant, Marx and Lenin stated that the social reasons for his mistakes, contradictions and inconsistencies lay in the backwardness and weakness of the German bourgeoisie of that day. "The bourgeois philosophers of the late 19th century and early 20th century used Kant's inconsistencies and made use of his fallacious propositions to justify their own reactionary theories" (Frolov, 1991, p. 255).

Philosophy, which we can call contemporary idealism or, with a return to Kant, innovative Kant philosophy, has developed a reaction to everything; reaction against science, history, practical activity, the dialectical method and its operations. This reactive character is also reactionary and reveals itself technically with an "anti-Hegelian" attitude and a "return to Kant". "A return to Kant destroys consciousness, treating it as idealistic consciousness, consciousness of nothingness." It defends the

superexperimental subject of consciousness. This super-experimental subject is extraterrestrial and without him there is no world (Mougin, 2004, pp. 145-146). In the second half of the 19th century, an idealist movement (Otto Liebmann, F. Lange) began to develop in Germany under the slogan of "Return to Kant". Neo-Kantianism, ignoring the materialistic and dialectical elements in Kant's philosophy, brought the idealist and metaphysical elements to the fore. It has been tried to confirm the distinction between natural sciences and social sciences on the basis of the doctrine of practical and theoretical reason in New Kantian philosophical understandings and to prove the argument that scientific knowledge of social phenomena is impossible. Especially the Neo-Kantian movement is frequently used by revisionists in the struggle against Marxism (Frolov, 1991, p. 531). Having command of popular/postmodern literary magazines; features such as agnosticism, rejection of objective reality, presentism (momentaryism), universal morality or bourgeois morality, considering art as the most important element of civilization is a legacy from the currents that cannot or do not want to overcome Kant's idealistic and metaphysical aspects. For this reason, it is a necessity to examine Kant's philosophy, which initially follows a rough materialist path and then deviates from idealism, in order to understand postmodernist philosophy.

Immanuel Kant, the founder of classical German philosophy, was initially interested in natural sciences and tried to answer the questions in his mind from a materialist point of view. For example, he hypothesized that the solar system was formed as a result of the influence of the natural forces within a gas nebula. This Kantian assumption is a precursor to the metaphysical thought method of the period. According to Engels, this hypothesis opened the first breach in the metaphysical structure. However, when Kant started to deal with purely philosophical problems

such as the theory of knowledge, he moved away from materialism and switched to idealism. Despite this, Kant could not be a completely consistent idealist (Şeptulin, 2017, pp. 47-48).

Kant's attempt to synthesize rationalism and empiricism led him to the distinction between a priori (thing-in-itself) and a posteriori (empirical) knowledge. In Kant's philosophy, real knowledge is necessary and universal knowledge. Kant is in harmony with rationalists with the thesis that true knowledge, that is, universal-necessary reality, cannot be derived from experience. On the other hand, he says that we do not know the knowledge of things as they are in them, but the knowledge of phenomena as they appear to our senses. Kant thus agrees with empiricists that sensations are the basis of our experience and knowledge alone (Thilly, 2000, p. 377).

Even though Kant set out with the claim of destroying idealism, he was criticized for leaning on idealist philosophy in the end. Kant considers his philosophy as transcendental<sup>20</sup> idealism. In the Critique of Pure Reason, Kant states that “everything perceived in space or time, and hence all objects of possible experience for us, is but phenomena” and adds: “It is only representations that our thoughts, in the way they are conceived as extended beings or as series of metamorphoses, they have no existence grounded in them. I call this doctrine transcendental idealism” (1993, p. 255).

Holz states that at the beginning of the new age, Descartes put the knowledge-subject relationship at the center of philosophical thinking. However, according to

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<sup>20</sup> “The expression of transcendent, which is used as the opposite of immanent in metaphysical teachings, means to exceed the reality and power of the being it is related to. For Kant, God is the subject of a transcendent realm beyond the pre-experimental (a priori) and post-experimental (a posteriori) realms. It has transcended consciousness and interest. It is outside or above them” (Science and Thought, Existentialism and Sartre, Evrensel, Istanbul, 2004, p. 218).

him, the defense of a non-theological knowledge appears in Descartes. That is, the question of how Galilean physics can be justified in the face of the persuasive scholastic tradition was answered by Descartes: The only certainty we have is our own thinking: “Cogito ergo sum- I think, therefore I am; What I have to rely on is my own thinking.” Thus, Descartes elevated the subject to the level of the carrier of an objective knowledge. With this, Descartes aimed to put the objective knowledge of Galilee on a new basis in the face of the onslaught of the ecclesiastical authorities. Holz says, “With the influence of English skepticism (David Hume), Kant turned this Cartesian starting point into an agnosticism that no longer forms a basis for objective knowledge, leaves only the subjectivity of knowledge, and bases its justification on my own thinking rather than on the materiality of the world” (2004, p. 162).

Kant argued that he produced a solution to the dilemma of his contemporaries between essence and phenomenon by distinguishing between phenomenon and thing-in-itself. However, Kant's theory is subjective idealist, just like Berkeley, Hume, Fichte, and Mach. It should be noted here, however, that according to Holz (2014, pp.162-163) Kant's "agnosticism that leaves only the subjectivity of knowledge" was further radicalized by Fichte. And Sartre's philosophy converges to a much greater degree with Fichte, who for Kant was close in many ways to the Neo-Kantian viewpoint. Holz justifies this idea as follows: Fichte says, "I creates the non-self". This is exactly the understanding Sartre has when he speaks of the outline of the world starting from the subject. So Sartre; “The subjective idealist radicalization of Fichte against Kant, and therefore more against Descartes, makes the consciousness of the bourgeois individual as the epistemological infrastructure of philosophy his starting point.” Holz adds that when evaluated within his own period, it is necessary to see that subjectivism has a progressive function in the bourgeois classic, that is,



from Descartes to Kant and from there to the Neo-Kantian freedom philosopher Fichte. Since subjectivism puts the initiative of the bourgeois individual as the creator of the world at the center of thinking.

However, the progressive appearance of subjective idealism in the first stage of the bourgeois Enlightenment disappeared in the second stage, that is, after the failed bourgeois revolution of 1848. The subject is now left alone with his own interiority. This has caused the subject to produce the arbitrariness of his action from his interiority. As Holz points out, this transition from subjectivism to irrational subjectivism, which can be called enlightened at the beginning, takes place in German romanticism, for example, in Friedrich Schelling, the successor of Kant, and later in Nietzsche in a paradigmatic way. In the popular/postmodern literary journals that are the subject of the study, the internality of irrational subjectivism is frequently encountered. With the interiority that replaces the activism, the articles of the subject (author) reacting to social events in his own way, some aesthetic and some completely devoid of aesthetics, appear in these journals.

Although Kant claimed to have radically solved the problem of what and knowledge of the external world, he could not get rid of idealist philosophy, especially with his thoughts on space and time. Kant said that the things found in space and time are objects that can exist only in experience, as objects of the world of the senses.

What we are proposing here then teaches the empirical reality of time, its objective validity with regard to all objects that can always be presented to our senses. And since our intuition is always sensory, we can never be given an object in experience that does not stand still

under the condition of time. On the other hand, we reject all claims to give pure reality to time, and do not accept that our sensory intuition is absolutely dependent on things as a condition or property, regardless of its form. Properties of things-in-themselves are never given to us through the senses (Kant, 1993, p. 58).

For Kant, objects in time and space are not things in themselves. This is because people don't know anything about them. According to him, we cannot say that what is thought in space and time is by itself, even without our thoughts, in space and time. Kant, in his work called *Prolegomena to Every Metaphysics That May Emerge as a Future Science*, states that we will be in contradiction if we say that things are in space and time without our thoughts. Because, according to him, “space and time, with their appearances, are not things that exist by themselves and outside of my representations, but are only ways of representation; It is also clearly contradictory to say that something that is merely a way of designing exists outside of our designs.” With this theory, Kant claims that the objects of the world of the senses can only exist with experience: “To attribute an existence of their own, without or before experience, to objects is to represent that experience is real before or without experience” (1995, p. 95).

Kant, like the idealist philosophers, rejects matter and time. Time and space are in human consciousness or something created by the spirit through human consciousness. According to Kant, space has no objective reality in the external world. Space is not a concept derived from the outside world through abstraction. According to Kant, space; a priori forms of interpretation are subjective intuitions. “Space is a necessary a priori design underlying all external intuitions. It can never be conceived that a space does not exist. Space is therefore the condition of the

possibility of phenomena, not a determination dependent on them. Space is an a priori design and necessarily lies on the basis of external phenomena (Kant, 1993, pp. 52-53). Kant's thoughts for time are not different from space. According to him, time is the transcendental ideal and if it is abstracted from the subjective condition of sensory intuition, time is nothing and cannot be attributed to objects in itself (except in relation to our intuition) neither receptively nor relatedly (Kant, 1993, p. 58). Lenin, on the other hand, responded to these idealist views as follows: "The existence of nature, measured in millions of years, long before the emergence of human being and human experience, shows how meaningless the idealist theory is" (as cited in Malinin, 1979a, p.70). According to dialectical materialism, time and space are not subjective but objective; exists independently of our consciousness. Since matter exists eternally, time and space are also eternal. Matter can only exist in time and space. Time and space are unlimited and infinite. According to Kant, as it can be seen, space is an a-prioric form of thought, and the thinker puts the phenomena in a certain order thanks to this form of thought (Malinin, 1979a, pp. 69-75).

In Kant's philosophy, space takes place in the consciousness of the subject, just like the subjective idealists, and turns into a completely subjective ideal form. According to Heimsoeth (2007 p. 8), with Kant, space and time ceased to exist outside the subject and became forms of human reason. If the space, which is seen as a field belonging to the pure mind of the subject, disappears, if we act from Kant's theory, objective truth will not be possible either.

In Kant's philosophy, the noumena (what is in itself) cannot be known because the noumena is a thing-in-itself, and things in themselves, that is, things that we accept to be true without the need for experience, do not appear as they are. By perceiving things-in-themselves in a priori patterns of time and space, we turn them

into phenomena. In this case, it is not possible to pass from the objects that we phenomenal for ourselves to the sample. The phenomena we create can be the subject of an experiment, but the unfamiliar ones that do not belong to us cannot be the subject of an experiment or science. According to Kant, space and time are only forms of sensory intuition. Kant, in the first part of his work titled Critique of Pure Reason, titled *Transcendent Aesthetics*, stated that the way a knowledge is attached to objects is intuition with the following sentences:

Whatever mode and means a knowledge is associated with objects, it is intuition that ensures its direct relation with them and which all thought considers as a means. But intuition only takes place as long as objects are given to us: and this is again possible, at least for us humans, only if the object affects the moment in a certain way. (...) Objects are given to us through sensibility, and it alone provides us with intuitions; they think through understanding and concepts arise from it (1993, p. 51).

In this case, the noumena that cannot be the subject of science or philosophy will continue to be the subject of metaphysics. According to Kant (1993, pp. 27-29) there has always been a certain metaphysics in the world and will always continue to be. But along with metaphysics there will also be a dialectic of pure reason, because it is natural to it. For Kant, in this case, the first and most important task of philosophy is to close the source of error and to purify metaphysics from its harmful effects. According to him, the noumena field is revealed in the intelligible world of the practical mind, which is determined by freedom, after the sensory world of the theoretical mind determined by necessity. Kant explains the question of what the connection of this world of freedom is that can be grasped with the mind, with the

physical and natural world, with the postulate of divine order, which ensures that both worlds are compatible with each other. The divine order postulate is, of course, inseparable from the idea of God. Kant reveals metaphysics, which he tries to save from its harmful effects, with an effort to provide connections between reason and its inferences and the metaphysical field (Gökberk, 1996, p. 401).

According to Kant, the world of phenomena created by man has no resemblance to the world of "things-in-itself". But despite this, human being is only interested in the world of phenomena. If so, the world of "things-in-itself" is completely inaccessible. Human being does not and cannot know anything about this world, because it is unknowable. By accepting that objective reality ("thing-to-self") exists independently of consciousness, Kant tries to bring materialist and idealist principles together in the same system and to reconcile materialism and idealism (Şeptulin, 2017, pp.48-49).

According to Malinin (1979a, p. 165); Kant is right about one thing. It is that knowledge begins with experience and sensation. But experience, as Kant understands it, instead of connecting man with the world of things-in-itself, disconnects him from this world. Because Kant "supposes that there is an a-priori knowledge in consciousness, that is, the forms of sensation and the mind that exists before and independently of experience. According to Kant, knowledge is established on the basis of experience and these a-priori forms." This thought leads Kant to apriorism, and apriorism inevitably led Kant to agnosticism. According to Berdiaev, "Kant's supra-experimental consciousness", "Fichte's non-individual and non-human self", "Hegel's universal mind", in short, German idealism is historically wrong. substituted the pure subject of knowledge (as cited in Mougin, 2004, p. 87) According to subjective idealists and agnostics, "no such thing as objective truth can exist." They

ignore the possibility of human being to reflect phenomena and processes in thought as they are, independent of his consciousness. Kant and his followers, the New Kantians, also believed that necessity and generality are the properties of true knowledge. According to them, the source of true knowledge is not in the objective world, but in the sensibility and momentary and there is no such thing as objective knowledge in reality (Malinin, 1979a, p. 181). In this case, according to Kant, it is not possible to know whether our experiences are universal or not. It is subjectivity.” For postmodernists, who deny objective reality, reality is relative, and this theory drags postmodernism into contradiction just like Kant.

According to Kant, consistency that has no relation to reality is a game based on subjective rules. According to him, human consciousness can play games from time to time. In order for knowledge to turn into scientific contents, it must be organized by the contents of the mind. Only after the arrangement of the mind will the objects of the external world gain meaning and substance. This claim of Kant has led to the emergence of new paradoxes. If knowledge can only emerge with the contents of consciousness, then how will error and wrongdoing be explained for the person who produces knowledge? If human consciousness plays tricks from time to time, how can there be any assurance of "correct information"? Kant tried to overcome this paradox with the concept of antinomy. Antinomies are opposites that are both true or considered true. According to Kant, antinomies are the characteristics of mind categories, and the "right/false dilemma" is determined by these antinomies (Şaylan, 2009, p. 215). One of the most important pillars of today's postmodernism is this understanding: If there is no correct information, why should the same rules apply to everyone, everyone is correct.

According to Marx, Engels and Lenin (as cited in Bottomore, 2002, p. 328), Kant's theory of knowledge is flawed in three interrelated aspects. According to them, this theory is considered ahistorical in saying that the mind has a priori contributions in the establishment of knowledge. According to Kant, these basic concepts are the universal faculties of the mind, whereas Marxists have tended to regard human cognitive powers as subject to historical transformation and development. Relatedly, while Kantianism sees the a priori conditions of objective knowledge in the faculties of the mind, Marxism characteristically sees them in human social practices, which have physical as well as spiritual aspects. Engels and Lenin argued that the boundary between the world of knowable "phenomena" and the unknowable "thing-in-itself" is not fixed and absolute, as required by Kantianism, but historically relative.

Lenin sees the inconsistency in Kant's philosophy in an effort just like critical theory and Adorno's effort to transcend the dialectic and idealism we discussed in detail in the previous section. This effort is an effort to reconcile materialism and idealism. "Kant is a materialist when he admits that something outside of us, a thing-in-itself, corresponds to our ideas. When he says that this thing-in-itself is unknowable, transcendent, he is an idealist" (Şeptulin, 2017, pp. 48-49).

After the *Critique of Pure Reason*, Kant moves on to the *Critique of Practical Reason*, the second major work of criticism, and examines the moral world, which is the field of action. At the root of Kantian morality is a goodwill and purity of heart similar to that of liberal thought today. In this sense, it is possible to say that today's postmodern philosophy of Kant also lays the groundwork for individualism, which emphasizes that "if the well-being of the individual and the cleanliness of the heart of the individual are ensured, the morality of society will be achieved". For Kant, the

concept of freedom forms the keystone of the whole structure of his system.

According to him, “freedom is also the only one of all the ideas of theoretical reason whose possibility we know a priori, although we cannot grasp it directly; because freedom is the condition of moral law” (Kant, 1994, p. 4). The moral law, on the other hand, is the only law that can determine the will of all rational beings and can be expressed as follows. “Act so that the maxim of your will can always be valid as the principle of a general legislation” (Kant, 1994, p. 35). At the root of Kant's moral law is the certainty of following the dictates of consciousness. Kant thinks that morality is a system of "Absolute Commandments" (Categorical Imperatives). These are commands that command you to act in a certain way. Reason will be universally prescriptive here. Reason will force us to act according to the moral formula. This is such a rule that it is wide enough to become a universal law. There is only one rule on the basis of all moral rules: "Only act according to a rule that you can wish to be a universal law" (Timuçin, 2000b, pp. 351-352).

According to Frolov (1991, p. 269), Kant's concept of "Absolute Command" is metaphysical. The reason is that in Kant's teaching, such a thing expresses the absolute speech of what ought to be against what is. This reflects the practical impotence of the German bourgeoisie in Kant's time, which stripped the theoretical principles of ethics from the practical class interests underlying these principles and regarded these principles as purely ideological definitions of concepts and moral postulates. For Marx, morality is a form of ideology in the negative sense of the word. “Ethics must always be based on the principle of impartiality and the interest of the 'general' as its starting point. For Marx, as long as class societies exist, the concept of the 'general interest' will mean nothing but self-deception. Pretending certain class interests as those of the general public is a typical deception for class ideologies” (as



cited in Göçmen, 2003, p. 265). According to Engels (2000, p. 44), moral understanding is not absolute and moral understanding should have a class character. What Engels said about the utopian socialists, whom he likened to the enlighteners, reveals his thoughts on universal morality. Utopian socialists, like the enlightened ones, first wanted to save all humanity, not a particular class. (...) The reason why real reason and justice have not been able to dominate the world until now is only because they have not been fully grasped. What is missing is the only genius who can see the truth.”

Kant's concept of "Absolute Command" is also an immanent understanding. Unlike the Transcendent, the Intrinsic means something that exists in itself. The critique of the Immanent is a critique of a thought or a system based on the prerequisites of its own thought or system. An immanent history of philosophy means, in idealist terms of philosophy, the interpretation of philosophy only as a process determined by its own laws, without considering the impact of the economy, class struggle, and various forms of social consciousness on the evolution of philosophical thought (Frolov, 1991, p. 226).

Due to the autonomy he attributed to art, Kant first influenced critical theorists and then today's postmodernist understanding of art. Especially in the Critique of Judgment, which is Kant's third criticism, it is seen that the subject is given a central place in Kant's understanding of art. With Kant, the process of giving an autonomous space to art begins. Kant claims that the knowledge of art is a priori. In Kant's understanding of art, the knowledge and language of art is also in itself and is immanent just like the concept of strict order. It can be said that the autonomy given to art by Adorno, one of the leading representatives of Critical Theory, which is given in detail in the Critique of Critical Theory section, is Kant-oriented. Tom Huhn (2003,

p. 260), in his study named Kant, Adorno and the Social Intransigence of Aesthetics; he focused on the relationship between Kant and Adorno's aesthetic theories and tried to show that Adorno followed Kant not only in the way the subject of aesthetics was handled, but also in the subjectivity discussed in aesthetics. According to Adorno (as cited in Huhn, 2003, p. 260), "a work of art faithfully realizes its own kind to the extent that it is specific: it is possible to find the model of the dialectical imperative that the particular is universal in art. Kant was the first to notice this, but then he suddenly came back. From the point of view of Kant's teleology, reason in aesthetics has a duty to assume unity and identity. Following this quote from Adorno, Huhn says that the only real difference between Kant and Adorno lies in the two centuries' history between them.

According to Kant, nature is not chaotic. The natural order is perceptible even if it is not obvious. There is a harmony between nature and reason, and according to this harmony, the order of nature gives pleasure to man. This pleasure forms the basis of the aesthetic taste in Kant's understanding of art. The forms in nature make us sense some basic laws, and even if we do not know these laws, we enjoy them. According to Kant, beauty is free from all necessity. The beautiful is the object of a disinterested pleasure. Beauty has nothing to do with sensible or moral benefit, and it cannot be associated with "nice" or "good". According to Kant, every beauty gives pleasure, but pleasure is a useless pleasure. Kant's aesthetic judgment is a useless judgment. A person does not feel any benefit in the face of a work of art. Kant adds the concept of genius to the subject of creation in art and says "nature gives its laws to art by going from genius". The great universe is thus reflected in the thoughts of genius. At this point, for Kant, the soul of the universe and the soul of man resemble each other and find its closest reflection in the soul of the artist (Timuçin, 2000b, pp.

355-356). This understanding of Kant is a naturalist approach. According to Moran (1988, p. 50), naturalism, which is frequently used in today's postmodern era, lacks the ability to reflect the essence of reality. As in naturalism, realism cannot be achieved by reflecting life in all its details without changing it. By randomly piling up the details (that is, without separating what is important and necessary from what is not), the surface reality is reflected at most, which is naturalism.

According to Kant's understanding of aesthetics, beauty is "universally pleasing". Starting from this, Kant said that there is something called "self-beauty" as the universal ideal. Kant argued that works of art should approach what is called "self-beauty", which is ideal as much as possible (Armağan, 1992, p. 56). In other words, in Kant's understanding of aesthetics, "art is for art" and with his expression, it does not have to be beneficial. This understanding is an understanding that puts the individual before the social, just like in today's postmodernism. However, according to dialectical materialism, art is not only expressing the beautiful, but also one of the ways that social consciousness reflects the truth. The function of art is to idealize reality, as seen in idealist movements that prioritize individualism as a thought. The aesthetic understanding of Kantianism, which dominates the art perspective, continues its reflections from the contemporary bourgeois art that emphasizes "form" to the present day. With contemporary bourgeois philosophy, form has been absolutized by being cut off from content. The absolutization of form has led to formalism and abstractionism in the field of art. In such idealistic art movements, form gains a self-sufficient supreme value. In the dialectical materialist understanding, form and content are a whole. A content devoid of form, a form devoid of content is unthinkable. Content is essential. It gives form to the content itself, not any external force (Malinin, 1979a, pp. 158-159).

Kant's approach to the solution of social problems is also idealistic, and its effects are observed from the following Neo-Kantianism to the understanding of freedom of today's postmodernism. This understanding of freedom is based on reason, and thinking is also practical for this understanding of freedom. Freedom consists of the freedom to speak and write. For Kant, who designed a social order in which no one oppresses anyone and where rationality is the only dominant force, reason is the only condition for being human and progressing on the path of being human. For this reason, the social aspect of Kant's philosophy is always in favor of order. For Kant, the praxis of dialectic materialism, that is, the idea of revolution, should be avoided. According to him (as cited in Timuçin, 2000b, p.324) "Once a revolution has succeeded, a new order has been established, the constructions of illegality in its beginning and end do not leave people free to bow to the new order as good citizens, from now on, people will take power. They cannot avoid submitting to the government that has gone through." In Kant's understanding of society, the best order is the harmony between the ruler and the people. This understanding of Kant, which sees reason as the only condition, laid the groundwork for the "union of power" emphasis of today's postmodern era.

The only solution Kant sees against an order gone wrong is freedom of thought. However, changing the order will cause chaos for Kant, as can be understood from his own words, so it is necessary to be on the side of the established order. The important thing is whether ideas can be expressed freely in the established order. Thus, Kant's understanding of freedom does not allow freedom other than the freedom of writing and speech (Timuçin, 2000b, p. 324). In this case, according to Kant (1993, p. 36), "pure reason in itself is practical and gives (man) a general law which we call the moral law." Kant is in search of an ideal society. According to Kant, the

expression of the search for the ideal society is the idea of the "kingdom of ends". The basis of this thought is also based on Kant's moral law. Kant's idea of the "kingdom of ends" endeavors to show the possibility of the ideal of realizing a universal peace. According to him (1995, p. 51), the moral law that a rational being put forward to determine the moral value of his actions is also the basis for the establishment of a moral social order, or a social order that is in perpetual peace. According to Kant (as cited in Timuçin, 200b, p. 324), "We cannot regard the resistance of the people against the supreme legislature as anything but an illegal phenomenon. The phenomenon of changing the institution, which has become necessary sometimes, can only be done by reorganization by the ruler himself, not by the people through revolution."

Kant's philosophical thoughts, which we have included in the above-mentioned works, have been an important source for the criticism of positivist and empiricist explanations. In postmodernist philosophy, the opposition of positivism and empiricism is based on Kantianism. In particular, he laid the groundwork for post-Marxist theories under the name of combining proposals with Marxism for the search for an ideal society. Although Kant claimed that he was not an idealist; reason, objective truth, self-phenomenon relationship, universal moral law, understanding of art and aesthetics, and approach to social problems and having an idealist philosophy.

### **3.2.2. The Philosophy of Nietzsche**

Nietzsche is not among the founding philosophers of postmodernism like Kant. However, like Kant, he formed the basis of the foundations of postmodernism with his idealistic approaches. In fact, many postmodernist writers and thinkers have openly stated that they are based on Nietzsche. According to Solomon (1990, p. 268), Nietzsche is "the prophet of postmodernity and the first true postmodernist". Solomon

finds the sources of this claim in Nietzsche's expressions such as "thoughts against time", "attack on modernity", "good is beyond evil", "opening the philosophy of the future". Elements of postmodernism, such as desire and sexuality, passionate individualism, excessive praise for creativity, circular historiography, which are also seen in the journals that are the subject of the study, are related to Nietzsche's philosophical understanding. Especially rhetoric, word and image games, aphorisms; Nietzsche pioneered the postmodern era, in which it was sanctified by postponing the content and meaning, with the claim of "destroying the mind". In this sense, Scott also emphasizes that the beginning of postmodern language is Nietzsche. According to Scott (1990, pp. 33-40), expressions such as "self-transcendence", "dominance of the free spirit", "scientific importance of willing power", "god is dead" are the cornerstones of Nietzsche's philosophy. Again, the sarcastic and ironic language that Nietzsche uses in his works and discussions is similar to the postmodernist style. Just like Nietzsche, postmodernists "prefer to use daring and provocative forms of address, and a lively and intriguing style."

Nietzsche clearly expressed his thoughts on the aphorisms frequently used by writers, especially in the postmodern era, in *The Twilight of the Idols*. "Developing aphorisms among the Germans, of which I am the master and craftsman, and making shocking and shaking sentences are forms of eternity and immortality. My aim and all my effort is to say in ten sentences what others can say in a book, or even in a book" (2010a, p. 120). This staggering ten-sentence stylistic pretension dominates the majority of the articles in the popular/postmodern journals that are the subject of the study. In the last section where the analysis of the journals will be made, examples will be given.

Nietzsche's point of view and praise of loneliness has also found its reflections in popular/postmodern literary journals today. Nietzsche (2010b, p. 23) expressed his views on loneliness as follows: "My human love is not to share another's emotion, but to endure the emotion I share. My human love is a constant reinvention. But I cannot do without solitude; solitude, that is, healing, returning to oneself, breathing a free, gently blowing air". The praise of seclusion, which is also frequently encountered in popular/postmodern magazines, has an important place in Nietzsche's philosophy as well: "Suppose I go out right now and find an ordinary German town instead of quiet, noble Turin: I would instinctively withdraw into my shell so that the dull and cowardly world would not fill me up immediately" (Nietzsche, 2010b, p. 39).

Anti-hero characters, which are frequently encountered in popular/postmodern literary magazines, also bear traces of Nietzsche's philosophy. Nietzsche's inferences on the concepts of good and evil find their reflection in the antihero characters that became popular with the postmodernist era. According to Nietzsche's Zarathustra (2010b, p. 119), who was the first to grasp that the optimist is as harmful as the pessimist, perhaps even more; Good people never tell the truth. That is why the good teach others wrong shores, wrong security. Other people are born in the lies of the good and take refuge in those lies. According to him, everything was drowned in lies by the hand of the good ones. Nietzsche speaks of the good as a flock of sheep in Zoroastrianism and adds: "Fortunately, the world was not built on the basis of only instincts that would provide that flock of sheep with a tiny bit of happiness. To want everyone to be a "good person", sheep in the flock, blue-eyed, benevolent, 'kind-hearted' - or, as Mr. Herbert Spencer wished, altruistic, take the big side of existence, castrate humanity, would be to reduce it to a ridiculous game." (2010b, p. 119). Nietzsche breaks this game with his Zoroastrian: "Zoroastrian sometimes calls the

good in this sense 'the last people', sometimes 'the beginning of the end'; first of all, he regards the good as the most harmful kind of people, because they live like parasites on the back of both the truth and the future” (Nietzsche, 2010b, p. 119). In the popular/postmodern literary magazines that are the subject of the study, contrary to this idea, important figures of leftist history (Fidel Castro, Deniz Gezmiş, Che Guevara, etc.) and prominent figures in current resistance movements are shown as good people by getting rid of their revolutionary features. However, on the other hand, the heroes in the stories of the magazines appear as pessimistic and anti-good people like Nietzsche's Zarathustra.

Nietzsche's reactionary romanticism, which dominates his understanding of art, is also compatible with the romanticism of postmodernism. Nietzsche radically demands the rebirth of myth and tragic knowledge. Nietzsche turned the romanticism of the Enlightenment philosophy, which is a way of surpassing and complementing the crude, mechanical materialism, into a reactionary, nihilistic and subjectivist romanticism to be used against scientific socialism and the working class. According to Nietzsche, who substituted the nihilist aesthetic theory for the Marxist theory (as cited in Eagleton, 2014, p. 175), “There is nothing more terrible than the class of barbarian slaves who have learned to look at their own existence as an injustice and are now preparing to avenge not only themselves but all generations.” According to him, the important thing in art is enthusiasm. In this sense, Nietzsche's approach to enthusiasm is close to postmodernism. For Nietzsche, the existence of art and the existence of any aesthetic activity or perception depend on a certain physiological precondition, namely enthusiasm. With this approach, Nietzsche, in a sense, deals with art from a metaphysical point of view.



Enthusiasm increases the electrifying power of a whole "mechanism". No art produces results without enthusiasm. Nietzsche says, "Any kind of enthusiasm, no matter how different its origins are, has the power to do this" and also lists the source of enthusiasm: "The oldest and most primitive form of enthusiasm, the enthusiasm of sexual excitement (...) The enthusiasm that comes with a bold step, the enthusiasm of competition, the euphoria after all the exaggerated agitation, the euphoria of victory, the euphoria of destruction, the euphoria of tyranny; enthusiasm due to certain weather conditions, for example, spring enthusiasm; or the euphoria produced by the effect of drugs, and finally, the euphoria of will." According to Nietzsche, the essence of emotions is the life energy of the human being. With this life energy, man has the power to enrich everything he extracts from his own being. Man transforms things/ "things" with this power of enrichment. According to him, "the effort of man to transform things into perfection is art". Even all the things he is not, nevertheless, become part of his enthusiasm; When a person reaches perfection in art, he becomes happy with his existence" (Nietzsche, 2010a, p.73,74).

Nietzsche made heavy criticisms against modernism and the Enlightenment in his works. According to Nietzsche (2010a, p. 18,19), Socrates got everything wrong. Because according to him, the option of "rationalism at all costs" is devoid of the inner world of man. In fact, a radiant life that takes a hostile attitude towards the inner world of man, blinds one's eyes, is dry, insipid, cold, cautious, and exists only on the level of consciousness, is in fact nothing but a form of disease, and therefore pure rationality means 'health, happiness, virtue'. ' is not a way to reach. This idea also pioneered the members of the Frankfurt School in the previous section. In the Dialectic of Enlightenment, Adorno and Horkheimer reduced the Enlightenment to instrumental reason and advocated a philosophy understanding that repeated

Nietzsche. Nietzsche “I am changing all values. Nothing is right, everything is allowed!” (Lukacs, 2006, p. 342) he put life in place of rationality. He turned to body and desire, asking the question: “What are we left with after we suppress our passions?” Nietzsche claims to distract man from the Enlightenment thought, which he sees as a dry rational civilization, to make him think about what he is and to give him the consciousness that he is a free personality. According to Turner (as cited in Yilmaz, 1996, p. 114), Nietzsche's emphasis on desire and sexuality and his criticism of formal rationality are compatible with the anti-rationalist view of postmodernist theory.

Nietzsche asks the system to forget its metaphysical foundations, accept that God is dead, and become relativistic, and guides postmodernists with these requests (Eagleton, 2015, p. 179). However, it should be noted here that; There were also those who interpreted Nietzsche's critique of modernism not as an opponent of modernism, but as a critique of the European people of the 19th century in which he lived. However, Nietzsche speaks of a formation called "decadent formation" right at the beginning of *Eco Hommo*:

I am the exact opposite of that, leaving aside the Decadent formation.

One of my proofs is this: In bad situations, I always follow my instinct and always choose the right ways of salvation; true decadent has always chosen paths that are harmful to itself. Overall, I was pretty solid; My decadent was a privilege, a special occasion. The strength I found to endure that sheer loneliness, to break away from the usual conditions, to force myself not to be taken care of, not to let my work be done, to stay in the hands of a doctor, all show me that at that time I knew exactly what was needed in the first place (2010b, p. 13).

The formation Nietzsche called decadent corresponds to modernism.

However, according to those who argue that he is not anti-modernist, by decadence human type Nietzsche means the most fashionable human being. The most fashionable people are some public officials and people who do not even move a finger without their interest or benefit. Therefore, the concept of modern to which postmoderns refer is very different from Nietzsche's modern concept and corresponds to a historical period (Kabadayı, 2000, p. 84). Although there are those who support this idea, Nietzsche's criticisms of modernism appear as the mainstays of postmodernist thinkers. Postmodernist (Callinicos, 1990, p. 97) thinkers who emerged in a period when the Western workers' movement weakened and the "extreme consumer" effect of capitalism intensified, and Nietzsche's conception of individuals as "bridges of a formation" influenced by his approach (as cited in Küçük, 2000, p. 22). While Deleuze implicates Nietzsche's philosophical thoughts on many important themes in his own thought, Derrida acknowledges Nietzsche's influence in many texts (for example, *Margins of Philosophy*, *The ends of man*) (as cited in Callinicos, 2001, p. 111- 112). On the other hand, Foucault (as cited in Callinicos, 2011, p. 112) gives the basic interpretation of his method in the form of Nietzsche readings by saying "I am a complete Nietzschean" just before his death. Again, the basis of Baudrillard's analysis, which denies every reality underlying instant experience, is Nietzschean. Baudrillard approvingly quotes Nietzsche's cry: "Down with all hypotheses that allow believing in a real world" (as cited in Callinicos, 2001, p. 225).

Nietzsche radically criticized the Enlightenment thought in his works written in the second half of the 19th century. For this reason, he is accepted as the "anti-enlightenment" thinker of the period. According to him, the things that humanity thought and discussed in the Age of Enlightenment are not even real, they are just

delusions. In fact, these delusions are lies born from the instincts of harmful, sick creatures (Nietzsche, 2010b, p. 54). Nietzsche's emphasis on the body by denying thought has also found a response in the philosophy of postmodernism and the postmodernist thinker Foucault. Foucault (as cited in Callinicos, 2001, p. 142), "Can't everyone's life be a work of art? Why can a lamp or a house be a work of art and not our life?" he asks. Foucault's idea of making one's life a work of art comes directly from Nietzsche. According to Nietzsche (as cited in Callinicos, 2001, p. 142), "to 'stylize' one's character—a great and rare art! It is exercised by those who study all the strengths and weaknesses of their nature and place them on an artistic plan, each as a part, a cause, and even weaknesses appear as pleasantries."

For Nietzsche, disciplining thoughts and feelings means nothing. The individual must first convince his body. Important and distinguished behavior patterns must begin in the "right place", not in the soul. The right place is the body, behavior patterns, regular eating habits and physiology. The rest will come by itself after these." Nietzsche thinks that the emphasis on the body reveals the secret of the Greeks being a superior culture in history. Because "the Greeks knew well what had to be done and they did so" (Nietzsche, 2010a, pp. 114-115). All the truths that can be accessed are produced from the body in Nietzsche's philosophy. According to Eagleton (2010, p. 291), "For Nietzsche, the origin of all culture is the human body; For him, the body itself is not just a finite expression of the will to power." Nietzsche (as cited in by Yilmaz, 1996, p. 116) asks himself the question of whether philosophy is just an interpretation of the body and a misunderstanding about the body in his work called *Thus Spoke Zarathustra*. For this reason, Nietzsche is considered as "the poet of tragic heroism and the philosopher of radical individualism," as Mark Warren (as

cited in Yılmaz, 1996, p. 116) states. In other words, according to Nietzsche, the only truth is; is the individual body of the individual.

Habermas states that Nietzsche uses historical rationality to throw reason away and to gain a foothold in myth as the other of reason. With this approach, Nietzsche throws the first seeds of a postmodern age (as cited in Habermas, Küçük, 2000, p. 239). According to Nietzsche, “there is only one thing that makes happiness happy; the ability to forget, or, to put it more wisely, to feel ahistorical as long as happiness persists: A person who does not know how to forget all the past and let himself be on the brink of the present (...) will never know what happiness is” (Nietzsche, 1986, p. 63).

In order to understand Nietzsche's attitude towards historical progress and the importance he attaches to enthusiasm in art, it is necessary to understand the "Eternal Return" view that forms the basis of his philosophy and his Dionysianism. Nietzsche denied the identity of human nature and the motive of thinking, which has been active in the Western world of thought since Aristotle. With Aristotle, reason is a tool that enables the emergence of knowledge (Şaylan, 2009, p. 151). It should be noted here that; Despite his enlightening ideas, which are discussed in detail above, his view of society and his a priori theory and Kant's enlightenment are also a contradictory enlightenment. Nietzsche, who was an anti-Enlightenment, heavily criticized Kant in *The Twilight of the Idols* for his dual understanding of the world and the value he gave to appearances in art. According to him, Kant is a gifted Christian. Dividing the world into a "real" world and an "apparent" world, whether as Christianity did or as Kant did, is a decadent and dissolving corruption. The fact that the artist, whom we see in Kant's philosophy, places a high value on appearance rather than reality cannot constitute an objection to this assumption. Because "appearance", once again, only

shows and expresses the chosen, amplified, corrected reality. According to Nietzsche, the tragic artist is not pessimistic: “tragedy is something that affirms and accepts the debatable/disputable and frightening in existence, so the tragic artist is Dionysian” (Nietzsche, 2010a, p. 27). The element that cannot be denied in Nietzsche's philosophy is Dionysianism. This understanding forms the basis of Nietzsche's philosophy. Therefore, in order to understand Nietzsche, it is necessary to understand Dionysius, which the Ancient Greek mythology created against Apollo, and why such a God is needed.

Nietzsche, in his works on Dionysius, states that the source of creative art is Dionysius. According to him, Dionysius and Apollo are in opposition. Apollo is the symbol of enlightened, stagnant, mortal power. It symbolizes the one who understands and grasps the light, nature, visible existence with the mind. Therefore, Apollon is plastic art. Dionysius is the opposite of Apollo. It is a symbol of creativity, extravagance and enthusiasm. He is a God created for man. He is the god of literature, theater and creative art (Erhat, 1996, p. 74). In *The Birth of Tragedy*, Nietzsche spoke of Dionysius while explaining his doctrine of the "Eternal Return":

Saying yes to life, even with the most foreign and toughest of problems; that will to live, to the bliss of his own bounty while sacrificing his highest examples—this was what I called Dionysus, this is the bridge I found to reach the psychology of the tragic poet. Not to get rid of fear, pity, but to be freed from dangerous passions with a vigorous ejaculation (Aristotle had misunderstood this), on the contrary, beyond fear and pity, to reach the eternal joy of becoming, to be its very joy, the joy of destruction. It gets in...” In this sense, I have

the right to consider myself the first tragic philosopher, that is, the diametrically opposite of a pessimistic philosopher (2010b, p. 60).

The thought that fully dominates Nietzsche's philosophy is the thought of the "Eternal Return": "The rebirth of everything endlessly, without borders, forever" (Nietzsche, 2010b, p. 61). However, the cycle Nietzsche is talking about here is not a dialectical forward cycle. Because, according to him, people are in a cycle that will continue to suffer and alienate forever (Şaylan, 2009, pp. 156-157). This cycle is the cycle of Dionysius, the god of wine. Dionysius not only brings joy to his worshipers, but also brings savage destruction to them. This is why, according to the Greeks, wine gives joy when consumed infrequently and intoxicates when consumed in large quantities. Also, Dionysius is a suffering immortal. It is shattered by the command of Hera, with the coming of the cold, and is revived after months; this revival is to be able to die again. For this reason, in the theaters, as they celebrated his return to life, it was also unforgettable that he would die again and tragedies were performed for him. So he is a tragic God. Dionysius is in all respects a nature-converted God. But the real great force symbolized by Dionysius is not nature itself. "A relationship between man and nature is a magical power that brings man to the secrets of nature. The state of the person who has attained this power is aimed with the words "Mainomai" and "enthousiasmos". Reaching the secrets and power of nature, that is, becoming a god, is the most missed stage for human beings. Dionysius paves the way for everyone to reach this goal: This way is wine and drunkenness" (Erhat, 1996, p. 170).

Dionysius, who is both god and human, is also the source of the anarchist cores in Nietzsche's philosophy: "I am comfortably the most fearful of all men; but that doesn't mean I can't be the most benevolent at the same time. I have tasted destruction in proportion to my power to destroy - in both, I conform to my Dionysian

disposition, which does not separate destruction from affirmation. I am the first traditionalist: Thus I am also the supreme destroyer” (Nietzsche, 2010b, p. 117). As can be seen, the existentialism line of the postmodern era coincides with Nietzsche's idea of the infinity of human suffering, no matter how much the conditions change. Although Nietzsche opposes criticisms of pessimism with the defense of "approving the frightening", he is a pessimistic thinker with his understanding of the historical cycle. This is evident in both his approach to art and his approach to dialectical materialism. According to him, only the sick soul understands art. He clearly expresses this thought in *Eco Homo* (2010b, p. 36) when he talks about the musician Wagner's Tristan<sup>21</sup>, whom he admires greatly in his early works, but whose relationships turn into the opposite hatred: “Those 'tastes of hell'. How poor the world is to him who is not sick enough to hear.” Nietzsche is also pessimistic against the idea that people will make progress towards a better society (Şaylan, 2009, p. 157). While criticizing Socrates in *The Twilight of the Idols*, he also makes clear his thoughts for dialectical materialist philosophy:

With the dialectic prevailing, what is actually happening? First of all, there is the humiliation of a nobler sense of taste and liking; With the dialectical understanding, the lower stratum rose to the top. However, before Socrates, the dialectical style was rejected in a good society: it was seen as bad behavior, it was considered as an acceptance of bad behavior. When there is no other way out, man resorts to dialectics. He

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<sup>21</sup> He is a German nationalist musician. In his youth, Nietzsche did not hide his enthusiasm for Wagner's Tristan opera and his admiration for Wagner. However, in his later years, Wagner inevitably contradicted himself in his judgment on art. The pessimist and antichrist philosopher, who once vehemently applauded a superhuman hero like Siegfried, sided with Wagner in the last years of his life. (<http://cevadmemduhalar.com/makale-richard-wagner-ve-devrinin-filozoflari.html>).



knows that dialectic undermines trust and is aware that it is not at all convincing (2010a, pp. 14-15).

Nietzsche's destructiveness out of history and his search for the inspiration of creativity in the supernatural inevitably shifted Nietzsche to a metaphysical approach. Nietzsche killed human being as well as God. According to him, "the ahistorical and increasingly anti-historical situation is the birthplace of not only an unjust act, but rather every act; No artist will be able to paint, no commander will be victorious, no people will be able to attain their freedom, unless they go into such an ahistorical state and try to achieve it unwillingly" (1986, p. 63). Considering the history without the past and the future as a continuous cycle, Nietzsche accepted the existence of fixed and unchanging values in the past and in the future, and was dragged into not only a pessimistic but also an idealist philosophy. With this understanding, he tried to match the thought of socialism with the thought of Christianity and established an inconsistent relationship between them. In fact, according to him, both socialists and Christians are corrupt people. According to Nietzsche, the working class's view of the order they live in as a dark order that needs to be changed, and Christianity, with his own words, that "this world is a cursed, dark and filthy world."

He accuses both of seeing the "here and now" as evil and cursed: "If I'm a rabble, you must be a rabble." Nietzsche continues his antisocialist thoughts by intensifying after this sentence. According to him, complaining is something that comes from weakness. "It doesn't matter whether one feels bad for others, as a socialist does, or if one feels bad for oneself, as a Christian does. What is true of both, and unworthy of both, is that one feels that one has to blame someone for suffering, living in distress." The goal of socialists to build a more progressive society, according to Nietzsche, is the pleasure of the thirst for revenge. Living in an unequal

society, the working class, according to Nietzsche, “looks for opportunities everywhere to appease the sense of petty revenge” (2010a, pp. 94-95).

According to Nietzsche, who has antisocialist ideas, “The condition of being himself is that he does not know who he is at all.” According to him, if a person does not know who he is, it will be understood that “wrong steps taken in life, occasional detours, wrong paths, delays, humility, and effort given to other tasks that are far from the main task” have meanings and values for them. According to Nietzsche, these wrong steps will also show themselves in wisdom, perhaps the highest wisdom: “It is a road that leads to extinction here nosce te ipsum; whereas, forgetting, misunderstanding, minimizing, narrowing, making it average is common sense itself” (Nietzsche, 2010b, p. 40). Nietzsche's idea of “not knowing who one is” found its reflection in the postmodernist Foucault's theory of “being himself”. According to Foucault (as cited in Wardetzki, 2018, p. 127) “We should not try to discover who we are.”<sup>22</sup> Only then can we mobilize our powers and discover the talents that lie dormant within us.”

Nietzsche's idealist attitude towards dialectics and socialism is also seen in his organic attitude towards the “subject-object division”. In the Will to Power; “There is no 'soul', no reason, no thought, no consciousness, no mind, no will, no reality: these are all unusable fictions, dreams. There is no 'subject and object'. (...) There is a certain type of animal that grows upside down” (2002, p. 50). Nietzsche's human being is not a human being who has evolved, made a sharp turn from the animal species, is a productive, thinking, historical being. For this reason, Nietzsche does not consider man as a thinking, conscious being. However, it was Nietzsche who

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<sup>22</sup> Michel Foucault said, “The problem today is not to discover what we are, but to reject what we are.”

introduced the concept of "superior man". As Şaylan (2009, p. 156) states, Nietzsche can be considered as the intellectual pioneer of fascist ideology by some thinkers due to the concept of "superior person". The source of such evaluations is Nietzsche's idea that higher education belongs only to exceptional people and what he advocates after this thought. According to him, beautiful things should never be the common property of society. Beauty is something that only a few can comprehend. After this point of view, Nietzsche tried to prove his justification by explaining the reasons for the collapse of German culture. The reason for the collapse of culture in Germany is that higher education is no longer a privilege. The democratization, universalization and dissemination of culture prepared the collapse. Under these conditions, noble education is not possible.

Colleges in Germany are now adjusted for the most ordinary people and have lost their level (Nietzsche, 2010a, p. 64). There are also those who argue that Nietzsche's concept of "superior man" is not an exaltation, but a pessimistic assessment of human nature. However, as Malinin stated (1979b, p. 207), subjective idealist views were also used to draw extremely reactionary conclusions against the public. In this sense, Nietzsche's position is typical. Nietzsche defined people as "a formless material from which something is made, a pile of stones awaiting the sculptor's chisel". Nietzsche's imagination has created the idea of the superman, the hero, who remains "beyond good and evil", who can dismiss the morality of the majority by contempt. It should be noted here that; Nietzsche's concept of "superior man" does not find a place for itself in the journals that constitute the sample of the study. Although it does not constitute the context of the study, the reason for including this concept is that the concept is needed to understand the whole of

Nietzsche's philosophy and it is shown that some elements of such idealist philosophy can be stuck to such extremes as fascism.

According to Nietzsche, the process that gives meaning to history is power and force. The source of the power is the "life energy". Life energy is a biological process and a source of human knowledge acquisition process. However, this life energy, which makes a human human, brings with it disorder. It also becomes the source of anarchy, cruelty and alienation. Since life energy is unique to the individual, it differs from person to person. While this energy is at a normal level in some people, it is at a marginal level in some people and these people are genius. People with high vitality; They are the ones who wrote the history and made great strides in history. According to this theory of Nietzsche, modernization emerged with the guidance and development of elite individuals with high life energy. However, although the life energy is a source of progress and creativity, on the other hand, it brings anarchy and alienation (the alienation here is an existential necessary alienation that paves the way for Heidegger rather than the alienation of Marx from the forces of production). The reason for this is that life energy is also the source of keeping one's own interests and egoism at the highest level. This makes selfishness and brutality inevitable. For this reason, Nietzsche approaches the Enlightenment project from a pessimistic, not optimistic, perspective. According to him, brutality and ruthlessness will dominate in modernization<sup>23</sup> (Şaylan, 2009, p. 152). It should be noted here that the postmodernist Foucault, who was influenced by Nietzsche's power-knowledge theory, had an important influence on those who left Marxism (Callinicos, 2001, p. 137).

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<sup>23</sup> This idea was also encountered in Adorno's criticisms of the Enlightenment in the criticism of the critical theory of the Frankfurt School, which was discussed in the previous section. See Chapter 2.

Nietzsche's thoughts on freedom also overlap with the concept of negative freedom, which finds its place in the postmodern discourse. According to Nietzsche, the conceptual framework of freedom is determined by power relations. His analyzes on freedom have had a prominent place especially in Foucault and postmodern discourse. Negative freedom is based on a foresight that there is no interference with the individual. It is the opposite of modernism's understanding of positive freedom. In today's postmodern discourse, all kinds of positive freedom, since history flows forward, the individual's gradual liberation and the conscious intervention of people in order to achieve this liberation is tyranny. The main source of this thought is Nietzsche (Şaylan, 2009 p. 157). According to him, in order to be free and creative, one must enjoy uncertainty. However, a person who creates his/her own truth by honestly speaking and processing his/her existence like a work of art is free. However, in the Age of Enlightenment, people are “no longer free spirits: because they still believe in the truth” (Nietzsche, 2001, p.149). Believing that the only one is killed by absolute truth or objective reality, Nietzsche is also in opposition to dialectical materialism, as mentioned above.

The subjective idealistic form of voluntarism is typical of Nietzsche. In this teaching, free individual will, the self, is the driving force. Based on this power, Nietzsche rejects the universal principle of objective regularity. However, Nietzsche's subjective idealist voluntarism is different from Schopenhauer's pessimistic and fatalistic voluntarism. Nietzsche's voluntarism is an aggressive voluntarism. “Both forms, voluntarism is a variant of irrational idealism that sees the spiritual first principle of existence not as a logical, rational, law-governed principle, but as an unknowable principle through reason and science” (Frolov, 1991, p. 240).

Nietzsche, with the view that the elements of dialectical materialism such as objective truth, reality, substance, subject, object, nature, law, destroy differences and contradictions, and replace them with the will to power and the joy of living.

According to him, creative destructiveness is a feature of human nature. Man can only create new things by constantly destroying and destroying things. Creative destructiveness is the moment of emergence of life energy. According to Nietzsche, the variable that directs life; disordered, systematic, irrational life energy. In this case, giving meaning to history cannot explain society and life. According to him, he should return to aesthetics and "What is human?", question should be taken as a basis which is the reflection of the artist's creativity. (Şaylan, 2009, p. 158).

The importance Nietzsche attributed to art is undeniable. According to him (as cited in Callinicos, 2001, p.107) "Art is just art: It is a great tool that makes life possible; The temptation to live is a great stimulus to life." The nature of aesthetic experience also includes understanding what is appropriate for life itself in nuce. This is why Nietzsche speaks of "the world as a work of art giving birth to itself". Richard Schacht (as cited in Callinicos, 2001, p. 107) argues that this phrase suggests that "the world has a kind of ambiguity that is characteristic of the work of art": "One of the most significant features of both is that when it is by no means formless, it is often they are 'rich' to resist simple and univocal analysis." The necessity of enjoying the uncertainty in order for the human being to be free, mentioned above, also appears in Nietzsche's thought of art.

Nietzsche ignored objective truth. He tried to close the gap created by the absence of objective truth, with his emphasis on aesthetics and the affirmative effect of art on human life. For Nietzsche, the world is like a text. Therefore, the interpretation of the world read will be different: "There is no correct interpretation at

all, or a proposition like this; 'There is only one interpretation that is right' seems to me practically wrong. (...) In countless cases, what is investigated may not be true, and what is true is not always certain. (...) there is no single happy interpretation" (Nietzsche, 1969, p. 80). As it is known, seeing the world as a text and not recognizing any truth outside the text are also included in the basic thoughts of postmodernism.

Many doctrines (Positivism; Neo-Realism) claiming to be between materialism and idealism, and sometimes above these two philosophical movements, continue their existence in postmodern philosophy. "Agnostic and irrational tendencies, mythosization of philosophy, disbelief in the human mind and the future of humanity, and reactionary deceptive-atheism (Nietzscheism, fascist philosophical understandings, some forms of positivism, etc.)" (Frolov, 1991, p. 229) find themselves again in different currents today.

Nietzsche's philosophy was reborn within the so-called post-structuralist group, especially by postmodernists such as Foucault, Derrida, and Deleuze. His ideas have been at the center of contemporary discussions of modernity and postmodernity. Those who discover the emergence of a postmodern era often reiterate the arguments first developed by Nietzsche. To summarize these arguments; the body of the individual subject; that is the singular has replaced socialist realism. It is the "will to power" that is effective in human history: "Political and military struggles, social and economic transformations, moral and aesthetic revolutions can all be understood only in the context of endless contradictions in which interchangeable forms of domination emerge", not every thought should be accepted by its similarity with reality but as a valid interpretation within a conceptual framework that can be explained by the will to power that it actually serves (Callinicos, 2001, p. 103, 105, 106). In the magazines

examined in the study; The uncertainty of place and time, the author's relationship with the "other" self, expressions in the form of aphorisms, creative destruction, the pleasure of defeats (Dionysianism), praise for madness can be counted among the effects of Nietzsche's philosophy on postmodernism. In particular, his "idol-breaking" (the claim to destroy ancient idols, hollow idols) is one of the greatest legacies of postmodernism. The effort of postmodernism to destroy every thought that is seen as "Absolute" and its opposition to "grand narratives" as "idols" is realized by being influenced by Nietzsche.

### **3.2.3. The Philosophy of Heidegger**

Heidegger is one of the founders and main representatives of the German existentialism movement. Today, many postmodern thinkers base their theories on Heidegger's philosophy. Shortly before his death, Foucault (as cited in Callinicos, 2001, p. 117) said, "Heidegger has always been a fundamental philosopher for me." Again, Derrida's work clearly presents itself as a continuation of Heidegger's thought. Ferry and Renaut (as cited in Callinicos, 2001, p.122) interpreted "Derrida=Heidegger+Derrida's style" while "Foucault=Heidegger+Nietzsche". According to them, "Derrida's work is a pure and simple re-presentation of Heidegger's problematic of ontological difference in terms of content." Similarly, Habermas stated that "Derrida's deconstructions faithfully follow Heidegger's current of thought". According to Habermas, in Derrida, "The Heideggerian theme of self-occultation is repeated with the concept of difference<sup>24</sup> as "an erased starting point

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24 For Derrida it is neither a word nor a concept ("Differance", 123). It is the power that creates differences in language. It is not a word, because there is no such word in French; Nor is it a concept, because it shows nothing but itself, it is empty. "The word (non) 'differance', which Derrida uses to describe this (non-) concept, is both (in writing) and not (speaking) at the same time, it is both a noun, a gerund, a situation, a verb, and a separation means both procrastination, but by itself neither of these" (William Ray, 1985, *Literary Meaning*, Oxford: Basil Blackwell, p. 146).



for existence and non-existence” (as cited in Callinicos, 2001, p. 122). According to Habermas (as cited in Callinicos, 2001, p.152), Frankfurt School thinker Adorno is similar to Heidegger in his theoretical claims about the objectification of thought and reasoning. According to him, “nature's reflection-filled *Eingedenken*<sup>25</sup> astoundingly draws the *Andenken*<sup>26</sup> closer to being's remembrance.

Nietzsche's traces are quite dominant in Heidegger's philosophy. Like Nietzsche, Heidegger argued that the modern crisis of Western philosophy, including the Enlightenment, stemmed from the metaphysical thinking of Socratic rationalism. However, as mentioned above, both Nietzsche's theory of "God is dead" and Heidegger's existentialism could not overcome metaphysics and were stuck in metaphysics again. Heidegger begins his critique of metaphysics with Descartes. Because, according to him, all philosophers who came after Descartes philosophized by putting different forms of cogito on the basis of their philosophy. Cogito appears as 'one' in Spinoza, 'monad' in Leibniz, 'subject' as blank slate in Locke, 'soul' in Berkeley, 'transcendental subject' in Kant, 'me' in Fichte and Schelling and Finally, it appears as 'absolute spirit' in Hegel (Çüçen, 1997, p. 10-11). According to him, the philosophical understanding formed in the modern age has made man a single and real subject. “Man is a being that stands above all beings. For this reason, everything is at the disposal of man and at his disposal. Thus, a person “assigns himself to the mastery of the world” (Tarhan, 1997, p. 44).

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<sup>25</sup> It is Erinnerung, which means "memory", which is the "tradition chain that transfers an event from generation to generation" (W. Benjamin, 1993, Son Gurbilek, Der. N. Gürbilek, Metis: Istanbul, p. 83). It can be explained as remembrance fed by the Muse.

<sup>26</sup> Memory in German

Heidegger, like Nietzsche, goes back to pre-Socrates in the "subject-object" conflict and argues that existence has a wider dimension that includes both the subject and the object. For Nietzsche, we are human subjects because we are connected to the material world and only to others. Relationships experienced in this process are not temporary parts of our lives, but the things that make it up. The world is not an object that can be rationally analysed, placed in front of the contemplating subject. An object is something that can never be stood against, something that cannot be escaped. In this respect, existence includes both "subject" and "object". For the source of human knowledge, he starts from what he calls a spontaneous "pre-understanding", not reason, and moves within it. Just like Nietzsche, he rejects the Enlightenment and rationality and defends the idea of "organic society", which is the society form of today's postmodern age. According to him, Enlightenment rationality is ruthlessly dominating over nature. Instead of enlightenment, "the voice of the stars, the sky, and the forests should be listened to with humility." Man must give himself completely to existence and return to the inexhaustible mother, the earth. Eagleton uses the phrase "another romantic interpreter of organic society" for Heidegger, whom he calls "the philosopher of the black forests". According to him, in Heidegger's philosophy, "the failure of the peasant to be exalted, the humiliation of reason and the exaltation of spontaneous "preconception", the praise of wise passivity (...) combine with the belief that there is a genuine existence-to-death" (2014, pp. 76-77).

The basic category of Heidegger's idealist philosophy, on which many postmodern philosophers are based, is "timelessness." In Heidegger's philosophy, "timelessness" is accepted as one's own inner experience. For him, the primary is the "mood state" as a spontaneous, undeveloped form of consciousness. Emotions related to the "mood state" such as anxiety and uneasiness are, according to Heidegger, a

priori forms of human personality. They constitute the subjective existence of man. Heidegger developed Kant's theory of a priori forms as the theory of existence. According to him, man can grasp the "essence of existence" only by not setting a goal for himself and avoiding practice. Man must be aware of his mortality and his spiritual weakness. However, a person who realizes that he is face to face with death understands how valid and concise every moment of life is. Thus, he can free itself from goals, ideals and scientific abstractions. The ideological roots of the existentialism movement go back to Nietzsche's philosophy of life, Husserl's phenomenology, and Kierkegaard's irrational, mystical-religious teaching (Frolov, pp. 206-207). "Timelessness", which forms the basis of Heidegger's philosophy, is a postmodern element that is frequently used in popular/postmodern literary magazines, which are the subject of the study, in the articles in which the feeling of "live in the moment" is dominant.

The understanding of history that Heidegger considers together with the category of "timelessness" is an idealist understanding far from dialectical philosophy. For him, "true" history is introverted. That is, it is "authentic", that is, "existential". Such a history dominates fear and nothingness, signifies a determination against death and a "gathering" of forces. This history functions as a substitute for its practical meanings. As Lukacs points out, Heidegger's famous "historicism" is not really different from ahistoricism. In this sense, Heidegger fails to destroy Husserl and the Western metaphysical tradition. Eagleton's statement "all he does is to establish a different kind of metaphysical entity called Dasein<sup>27</sup>. His work is as much an escape from history as it is a reckoning with history" (Eagleton, 2014, p. 79).

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27 In existential philosophy, especially in Heidegger, man as a singular and concrete being, or the existence of this man. Heidegger first used 'Dasein' in *Sein und Zeit* (Being and Time). This term

Although Heidegger is the founder of existentialism, one of the most important philosophical currents of postmodernism, he is more clearly an idealist philosopher than Nietzsche with his theories. Considering existence as a matter of experience rather than epistemology led Heidegger to Husserl's phenomenology. Heidegger took from Husserl's phenomenology the technique of distinguishing the "a priori" structure of consciousness, which is an ontological basis of human existence. Husserl tried to explore the structure of acquiring knowledge. According to him, "pure consciousness" is the first element and creator of both knowledge and object. The object is formed in accordance with the structure of consciousness. At this point, in existentialism, as in classical subjective idealism, the "world" is not accepted as something that acquiring knowledge offers, according to them, "the world" is something we perceive through experience (Malinin, 1979b, p. 249). For Heidegger, being can be discovered approximately in its everydayness. According to him, existence is not "non-historical" and "absolute" and it is formed by the use of language (Yılmaz, 1996, p. 117). According to Malinin (1979, p. 251) existentialism is irrational. Because, according to existentialists, the "true depths" of being become visible to us only in special circumstances - what Jaspers calls "limit states". Such "border states" are those of death, suffering, terror, war, guilt, religious ecstasy, mental illness. It is only at such moments that man, behind what he calls the dominance of "everyday affairs", the "unreality" of ordinary consciousness, or Heidegger's "das Man" ("the one" in the sense of the subject of the indefinite person

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determines the active existence of man in the world. Accordingly, man is not just any object, the finding of a person with other people is not like the finding of a stone with other stones, man is more than an occupant of space: he is an 'directive' being, one who perceives, wants, acts, and is therefore certain that his possibilities provide. It is an entity that falls into depression or suffocation in a freedom and, accordingly, the uncertainty of the future" (Timuçin, 2002, V: 3 pp. 402-403).

sentence), is under ordinary conditions the implicit "reality" becomes conscious of his existence (freedom) by itself.

The ordinary, everyday existence of people together completely dissolves their real existence in the mode of being of "others". "In general, we taste as (others) taste. We read as they read, look as they look, and argue as they argue about both art and literature... 'das Man', which is not the whole, but is eternal and at the same time everything, conditions itself to what is the daily mode of existence." Heidegger uses the term "das Man", which is derived from the indefinite pronoun "man", which is used to express the lack of personality and distinctive features, the facelessness of human existence in society, and its dissolution in the ordinary situation. In German, sentences with an indefinite subject such as "man sagt" ("they say"), "man muss" ("necessary") occupy an important place in Heidegger's philosophy. In this way, Heidegger claims to reveal this characteristic feature of the individual's position in an exploitative, class-divided society. According to him, "impersonality" and "normality" are a kind of feature of society and the way of existence of man in any society. Existentialists concluded with Heidegger's "das Man" that no transformation can prevent this impersonal, alienated existence (Malinin, 1979b, p. 251).

According to Heidegger, in the word "one"; It is the mode of existence of the individual when he thinks, hears and acts like anyone else, without choosing his own true path in different situations. "Someone" refers to universally recognized principles of behavior, moral standards, frozen and materialized language, thought, etc. manifests itself in forms. For Heidegger, "the one" is always in opposition to human existence. Because it hinders man's freedom of action and deprives himself of his own individuality. In this case, one has to free himself from the power of "someone" and become free. This is only possible if the human being, according to his existentialism,

places himself in the border situation between life and death. The individual can escape existence only by fear of death; only then can he be held free and responsible for his own actions (Frolov, 1991, p. 66). Heidegger's "das Man" is also quite dominant in today's postmodern era. Slogans and discourses without a subject were frequently used in the magazines examined in the study.

Language has an important place in Heidegger's philosophy. According to him, man "dwells poetically on earth" (1975, p. 213). The language in which the poem is also expressed is the "house of being" (Heidegger, 1982, pp. 63-135). Being is *aletheia*<sup>28</sup>. Art, on the other hand, is one of the ways of revealing existence or truth (Heidegger, 1997, p. 25). For this reason, instead of a sole philosophy, there is a need for an effective language provided in poetry or thought. This is only possible by "breaking the bonds of grammar" language. Giving names to things and trying to find dry relations between these names will get you nowhere. According to him, "If a person can come close to Being, first of all, he will have to learn to exist in someone who has no name" (Timuçin, 2002c, p. 404). Heidegger sees poetic language as a way to construct a new metaphysics. Because, according to him, classical metaphysics is in a deadlock, and as mentioned above, this deadlock can only be avoided through the phenomenological method and poetic language. The problem of existence cannot be solved only with an epistemological approach. With the phenomenological method, it is necessary to get rid of the limitations of epistemology. In this way, poetic language will be able to fend off epistemological deficiencies. Heidegger attributes his

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<sup>28</sup> It is used to mean "true". In ancient times, the Greek philosopher Parmenides searched for what *aletheia* was. "True, it is one. Other than that, nothing is real and leads people to conjecture." Only one is unchanging and indivisible. It did not exist, therefore it will not exist. Parmenides also laid the foundations of metaphysics by combining the concept of truth with the concept of immutability. The philosophy of immutability developed on Parmenides' *aletheia*. (Hançerlioğlu, 1976, V: 1, s. 40).

criticisms of the postponement and even forgetting of existence to modernism and the Enlightenment. In the modern era, the ancient and the anthropological were equated and Being was transformed into an object of technology. Modern science and technology have transformed the world into beings that are only objects of study by presenting the world as fixed and knowable objects in front of people. In short, according to Heidegger, Being is forgotten in modernity (Derr, 2002, pp. 10-12, 15, 25-26).

The knowable object in Heidegger's philosophy is a tool, and this is quite significant for Eagleton. According to Heidegger, we cannot understand the world through contemplation. We can only know it as a system of "handy", interconnected things like a hammer, elements of a practical project. Knowing is possible by doing. However, on the other side of this peasant practicality, there is also a contemplative mysticism: "When the hammer is broken, and we no longer see it as a hammer without question, it loses its familiarity and gives us its authentic existence. A broken hammer counts more as a hammer than an unbroken one." According to him, when Van Gogh draws a pair of peasant shoes, he makes them strange, making his genuine shoelaces shine. According to Heidegger, phenomenological truth can only manifest in art (Eagleton, 2014, p. 78). As it is seen, neither Nietzsche nor Heidegger, who laid the groundwork for postmodern theorists, has neither a subject to be represented nor a reality suitable for representation. Heidegger also believes that there are only interpretations, not facts, as in the hammer example.

Heidegger's "Dasein" approach has also placed his perspective on alienation in an idealistic framework. Heidegger's alienation is a "dasein" state. "Dasein is a being that was suddenly thrown into the whole of being, left, abandoned, 'thrown', 'fallen'" (Demirhan, 2004, p. 31). Heidegger's ontological "Dasein" approach has been the driving force for the perspective of existentialists and therefore non-Marxists on the

alienation debate that started especially after the Second World War. The social, economic and political external causes of alienation were postponed, and alienation was linked to inevitable existential causes. Heidegger, in *Being and Time* (1967) used the term *Entfremdung* (Estrangement) to describe one of the basic non-essential aspects of human Being and emphasized the importance of alienation in 1947. It was Heidegger who also used the concept of *Heimatlosigkeit* (Deterritorialization) in *Being and Time* (1967) (Bottomore, 2002, p. 624). However, for Marx and dialectical materialist philosophy, alienation cannot be considered separately from the mode of production and alienation will also be exceeded with the disappearance of capitalist society. Marx's concept of alienation has a class character: "The more wealth the worker produces, the more the power and scope of production increase, the poorer he himself becomes. The more commodities he creates, the cheaper they become as a commodity. In direct proportion to the increasing value of the world of things, the world of people becomes worthless" (Marx, 2012, p. 75). In Marx's alienation, the labor and life that the worker produces and reflects on his object almost become an alien and an enemy to him. However, in the process from Heidegger to today's postmodernism, the concept of alienation is a necessary, internal emotional state originating from the existence experienced as a result of realizing the meaninglessness of the values of the society in which one lives.

According to Heidegger, the human being thrown to the earth, fallen and mortal is at the same time homeless and alien in the world with this form of existence. Akdeniz (2006, pp. 56-91) explains this situation as follows: Human being is faced with the overwhelming power of existence. This power is something he cannot overcome. He wants to live at home, without strangers, encountering something. What ensures this is his homelessness, his alienation, that is, his being-toward-death.



In fact, human being is not at home; because by trying to make everything familiar, he shows that he has no home, that he has always been a stranger, and that being a stranger is the essence that determines him from the ground up. His home is his own foreignness, homelessness, rootlessness. Although Heidegger's concept of "homelessness" finds its place in all thinkers of postmodernism, it has a wide place especially in Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari. The philosophies of Deleuze and Guattari, which put rootlessness, nomadism and "deterritorialization" at the center of their theories, will be explained in the relevant section.

According to Heidegger, the being left to the world is forced to live under the influence of a blind will. This, in turn, gives the existence distress and anxiety as "the anxiety of human being in the face of the threat of nothingness". However, this distress and anxiety is not strong enough to destroy a person. In fact, thanks to this distress and anxiety, people have the urge to get out of themselves and live something. The feeling of abandonment or nothingness liberates a person. Existence precedes essence, the reverse of the transition from passive to active self-constitution. But this is not a transition from pessimism to optimism. Anxiety and boredom do not end with activity, so pessimism cannot end. The transition to this activity is an effort to overcome the powerlessness arising from existence in an effort to establish oneself (Timuçin, 2002c, p. 393). According to existentialists, the end of the distress and anxiety stemming from the alienation associated with being thrown away can only end with extinction, that is, with death. This idea is far from dialectical materialist philosophy and coincides with the fateful understanding of idealist philosophy.

In this section, where the philosophy of postmodernism is examined, after the question of what the idealist philosophy is understanding, the philosophical understandings of Kant, Nietzsche and Heidegger, who claim to overcome idealism or

try to combine idealism and dialectical materialist philosophy, but are stuck in idealism with their theories and support postmodern philosophy with these aspects has been examined. The elements of idealist philosophy, which has survived under the influence of Kant, Nietzsche and Heidegger, are frequently encountered in the magazines that are the subject of this study. For this reason, it is a necessity for the study to briefly include the elements of idealist philosophy, which is also reflected in the magazines.

### **3.3. Elements of Idealist Philosophy**

Although the philosophy of Critical Theory tries to overcome idealism and idealist philosophy, the philosophies of Kant, Nietzsche and Heidegger, whose theories eventually reached idealist philosophy, are given in detail in this section. Because idealist philosophy is also the philosophy of popular/postmodern literary magazines, which is the subject of this study. Postmodern philosophy could not get out of the state of being a continuation or even a repetition of the philosophy of Kant, Nietzsche and Heidegger. Many postmodern philosophers, whose examples we have given above, openly stated that they are based on the philosophy of Nietzsche and Heidegger. While examining the theories of Kant, Nietzsche and Heidegger, many elements of idealist philosophy were also mentioned. The most obvious of these elements can be listed as ahistoricism/presentism, contingency, situational/uncertainty, hedonism, individualism, nothingness, irrationalism, relativism, and contextualism. Although these elements are mentioned above while examining the theories of Kant, Nietzsche and Heidegger, the collective analysis of the elements in this section will contribute to the study.

### 3.3.1. Ahistoricism/Presentism

The ahistoricism/presentism, which is one of the features that make up the content of popular/postmodern literary magazines, is one of the most prominent elements of idealism. As it is frequently emphasized in this study, historicism is "the principle of knowing things and phenomena in their formation and development processes, in their relation to the conditions that determine them" (Frolov, 1991, p. 460).

In the history of philosophy, there have been idealist movements defending the idea of ahistoricism in different ways. The bourgeois philosophy of history is largely under the influence of irrationalism. The views of German philosopher Wilhelm Dilthey are very important in shaping the understanding under the influence of postmodernism. Dilthey viewed history as "an irrational stream of events devoid of any structure and law. As such, it concludes the search for non-existent social laws and the efforts to explain historical facts on the basis of these laws are useless" (Malinin, 1979b, p. 266).

An idealist theory first put forward by Vico, which suggests that society passes through the same phases endlessly, is historical circularism. In the 19th and 20th centuries, bourgeois philosophers and sociologists based their reaction on the reactionary idea that humanity always returns to the point where they left off, rejecting the positive elements of Vico's theory, namely the idea of historical progress and legal social development. Among the main spokespersons of this theory are; P. Sorokin, Toynbee, and Nietzsche. The historical cycle theory distorts the idea of historical progress (renewal, continuity) by absolutizing it (Frolov, 1991, p. 461). Nietzsche's "will to live" or "will to power" is a philosophical understanding based on the "happiness principle", as stated earlier. In Nietzsche's philosophy, history and the

future, especially in their strongest form, are ignored. It's the instincts that matter. In order to achieve happiness, it is necessary to concentrate on the instantaneous wishes of the instincts. Just like animals: "They lead a happy life in the forgetfulness of the past. However, because a person cannot learn to forget and always clings to the past, he surprises himself: but no matter how far and fast he can run, he goes with the chain" (Nietzsche, 2007, p. 61). This understanding is the exact opposite of the dialectical materialist understanding and is an element that will be used to ensure the continuation of the dominant ideologies by severing people from their historical integrity. According to this understanding, the burden of the past reduces human effectiveness.

Nietzsche's "superhistorical" human being examined above is a human being who has grasped ahistoricity. To remember, the "superhistorical" person is the one who has no hope for the future. They, that is, for the superhistorical people, the past and the future are the same, "that is, as the omnipresence of non-ephemeral examples that are the same in all their diversity and the same in this diversity, as the immovable structure of a value that does not change and always has the same meaning" (Nietzsche, p. 2007, p. 66). This idealistic understanding has been the basis of today's postmodern individual's typical life philosophy. The end of history theses, that is, the understanding that capitalism is an unchangeable and indestructible system, also takes this non-historical understanding as its reference.

The rejection of historical progress brings with it the opposition of Enlightenment and science. The idea of ahistory inevitably leads philosophy to irrationalism by targeting reason, as in Nietzsche. However, in dialectical materialism, there is no chance of not basing the knowledge and thought produced by human beings and the actions they take on material-concrete reality. According to dialectical

materialism, it is not possible to freeze the moment and ignore the movement, and to separate theory and practice from each other. However, idealist philosophy defines historical circularism, which Nietzsche calls the eternal return, as a repetition of history.

For Sartre, too, the human being left to the world exists in the world as a single individual in a full subjectivity. According to him, man is as if left only to the present. For this reason, a person can only dominate his present, his past and future escape from him. In Sartre's *Nausea*, "I make my memories with my now". I was thrown into the Now, I was left. I try in vain to reach the past. (...) As for the future, it will also hold me back with its uncertainty and contingency, I see the future. The future is there, a little paler than the embarked present" (1981, pp. 48-45). Likewise, Heidegger's category of "timelessness", which has been explained in detail above, is also an idealistic understanding. If we remember, according to him, "true" history is introverted. That is, it is "authentic", that is, "existential". We have also mentioned above that such a history would dominate fear and nothingness and would mean a determination against death and a "gathering" of forces. While Hungarian critic György Lukacs (as cited in Eagleton, 2014, p. 79) says, "Heidegger's famous 'historicism' is not different from ahistoricism", Eagleton (2014, p. 79) states that for Heidegger's understanding of history, "all he does is Dasein. It consists in establishing a different kind of metaphysical self. His work is as much an escape from history as it is a reckoning with history. According to the idealist existential philosophy, a human being thrown into life will always be full of troubles. As it is seen, the existence of unchanging and absolute things in idealist philosophy is inevitable. History is not a progression; it is a cycle.

As it will be remembered in the idealist Kant philosophy, the objectivity of time was denied, just like in space. For Kant, space and time were seen as forms of internal sensation rather than distinctive features of objective things (Şeptulin, 2017, p. 81). For subjective idealists, who bind time in the human mind, time is a state of necessary readiness. As discussed in detail in the Kant chapter, according to subjective idealists, time is factually real, but ultimately it is a noumena, that is, the unknown. Bergson, another subjective idealist, combines the concept of time with the concept of self. According to him, “man does not live-in time, but live in his own temporality.” Bergson defends the idea that “the intuition is nothing but me”. In other words, according to him, the subject senses himself in the present: “I coincide with the narrow part of the now, the middle part, the part that is now, so to speak” (as cited in Timuçin, 2002c, p. 368). Thus, the individual's living in his own temporality has been inherited from idealist philosophy to today's postmodernist philosophy. Postmodernism, like idealism, “does not envision a future very different from the present and strangely regards this expectation as a reason for festivity” (Eagleton, 2015, p. 180).

Historicism, state, classes, etc., which is an integral part of the dialectical method explaining the essence of complex social phenomena, it foresees capitalism is transient in history. The denial of the principle of historicism and the efforts to strip it of its materialistic and dialectical content by struggling against this principle appear as one of the main features of contemporary bourgeois philosophy, sociology and logic (Frolov, 1991, pp.460-461). Today, the understanding that denies historicism and accepts ahistoricism and time as noumena has turned into one of the elements of postmodern philosophy.

### 3.3.2. Contingency

Another element of idealist philosophy is "contingency", which is especially encountered in the philosophy of Sartre, Nietzsche and Heidegger. Contingency is a concept used in idealist existential philosophy to describe the opposite of necessity. The contingency element of idealist philosophy is frequently encountered in popular/postmodern literature magazines examined in this study, with essays emphasizing the "nature of the moment" or "ahistoricity"

In order to better understand the element of contingency, it is necessary for this study to know how dialectical materialist philosophy considers necessity and randomness. According to dialectical materialism, "necessity" is not the same as inevitability. Because not every necessary thing is inevitable. For inevitability to occur, all other possibilities must disappear and only one possibility must be left behind. Malinin (1979a, p. 150) explains this situation with the following examples: "There is no force in the world that can stop the movement of matter. For this reason, the movement of matter is an inevitable necessity. It is also a historical inevitability that lower socio-economic institutions will be erased from the stage of history by those at higher levels. This inevitable necessity derives from the essence of social development. According to dialectical materialism, "randomity" is not in the essence of phenomena. Randomity lies in certain phenomena under the influence of other phenomena. It may or may not be random, it may be this way or that way. "On the other hand, the emergence of phenomena, events, depends on an infinite number of various conditions that make a particular cause effective; the unpredictable combination of such conditions causes these phenomena to occur as necessary or random events" (Frolov, 1991, p. 543). According to Frolov (1991, p. 543), there are two views that cannot resolve this contradiction.

The first of these is the metaphysical way of thinking, which corresponds to the fatalism, which states that every event is determined from the very beginning. The other is the subjective idealist view of relativism or indeterminism, which says that things are in an accidental jumble in the final analysis. In both cases, he argues, conscious human activity is useless. This idea is also a theory that leads to the rejection of true knowledge, that is, objective truth. As it will be remembered, Kant and his followers believed that necessity and generality were properties of true knowledge. According to them, the source of true knowledge lies not in the objective world, but in the nature of sensibility and intellect; thus, for them, there really is no such thing as objective knowledge (Malinin, 1979a, p.181). Everything is in the present moment.

Contingency is an accidental property of what is possible, whether it exists or not. Contingency is the result of "Man being thrown into the world". First of all, Sartre tried to examine the consciousness of his existence and the phenomena of his experiences with a solipsist approach. According to Sartre, 'Being-in-itself', which is in itself and has no connection with any other being, is a contingent being. "It comes from nothing; it neither comes from itself, because that would be absurd, nor comes from God, because there is nothing outside itself. This existential being gives people nausea. (...) this feeling enables us to perceive Being as a thing-in-itself" (Timuçin, 2002c, p. 406). In Sartre's philosophy, contingency is an entity that appears as "absoluteness". In other words, it is an uncaused, unexplained, "extra" existence in terms of its existence.

Contingency, which forms the basis of the philosophy of existence, is also the source of people's feelings of "nausea" and "irritability", which are frequently encountered in the postmodernist age and are encountered in the magazines that are



the subject of the study. In itself, existence has the feature of "appearing by chance".

This feature, that is, contingency, disturbs the person who is in connection with it, with intense feelings of uneasiness, discomfort and severe "nausea". Because this connection of man with the world is connected with "absolute nonsense".

Determining the existential being as a thing-in-itself, Sartre also accepts human consciousness as a thing-in-itself. According to him, the thinking subject or consciousness is revealed by nothingness as the opposite of being. Object and consciousness are separated in an emptiness. According to Sartre (as cited in Timuçin, 2002c, p. 407), "Nothing is something that does not exist, but it can have acquired existence: it takes its existence from being. (...) The total disappearance of existence will not be the domination of non-existence, but the simultaneous disappearance of nothingness: non-existence exists only on the surface of being".

This element is also connected with ahistoricity. For Nietzsche, occurrences are repetition. The "eternal return", which is covered in detail in the Nietzsche chapter, is the moment when becoming is affirmed. The eternal return affirms the will to live. This opens the way to the "ahistorical" "superior man": "Perhaps not yourself, my brothers! But you can create the fathers and ancestors of the superior man from yourself: let this be your best creation" (Nietzsche, 2012, p. 80). The "tragic person", that is, the active person, which forms the basis of Nietzsche's philosophy, always affirms life. According to him (as cited in Deleuze, 2010, p. 56) "The tragic thing is affirmation: Because it affirms coincidence; because it affirms becoming and affirms being from becoming; because it affirms the many and affirms the one from the many. The tragic is the roll of the dice." For Nietzsche, the historical cycle is the result of this roll of the dice, and it is also the repetition of the roll of the dice. According to Holz, in this age called "post-histoire", the life bond of history is cut completely. In

this new understanding of history, it is claimed that "there will no longer be a new and different future in terms of quality, everything will remain as it is, a self-preserving bureaucracy, the present situation of the world will always remain in circle". This ahistorical irrational understanding, which Holz calls the "poisonous apathy potion", is "Nietzsche, mythology, structuralism; It is prepared by adding a piece of each of them" (<https://ozgurlukdunyasi.org/arsiv/302-sayi-234/993-karsi-aydinlenennin-gostergeleri-irrationalizm--modernlik-postmodernity>).

The idealist affirmation theory, on the other hand, sees the contradictions existing in society at the same time in this "post-histoire" age, as invariable contradictions originating from the existence of the individual, that is, his thought. However, according to dialectical materialism, contradiction says that an object both exists and does not exist as that object, and includes its absence in its own existence. That is, an object is always a combination of stability and changeability. It is the unity of the positive and the negative, the dying and the emerging. Therefore, every object, every phenomenon is the sum of opposites. Another aspect of dialectical contradiction is mutual negation. The concept of the struggle of opposites includes all kinds of mutual negation and exclusion of opposites (Malinin, 1979a, pp. 119-120). It is precisely at this point that the idealist theory of contingency rejects the law of the unity of opposites and their struggle with each other. As it will be remembered, one of the most distinctive features of the law of negation of negation, which was frequently mentioned in the previous sections, is its non-reversibility. It synthesizes all the features of the previous stages in the new stage and forms the basis of a higher form of development. In this sense, it stands directly opposite to contingency, which is one of the elements of idealism, which sees history as a cycle, and which is stuck in randomness by rejecting historical necessities.

### 3.3.3. Situationalism

It is closely related to the situationalism/random element of idealist philosophy. In fact, according to some sources, it is used synonymously with contingency. Its essence is that idealism does not recognize the laws of necessity and necessity. As it is known, for dialectical materialism, “certain necessary connections or relations are called laws. That is, a law is indispensable under certain conditions” (Malinin, 197a, p. 150). Knowledge of laws makes it possible to foresee processes. For this reason, laws are extremely important for dialectical materialism. Laws are also classified in two ways in terms of areas of operation and degree of partnership. “Special or specific laws express the relations between the concrete physical, chemical or biological fundamental properties of bodies. General laws, on the other hand, show the relations between the universal basic properties of matter and its attributes” (Frolov, 1991, p. 526). Malinin (1979a, p. 153) gives a meaningful example from the relations of production on the nature of private and general laws: “The law of the correspondence of the relations of production to the level of development of the productive forces is a general law according to the law of average profit, because it operates in all socioeconomic systems. The law of average profit is a more specific law than the first, because it works only in bourgeois society. According to dialectical materialist philosophy, all phenomena obey certain laws. Everything is determined and conditioned by objective laws. “Laws exist objectively, independently of people's consciousness, as an expression of the internal relations between the basic properties of things or different tendencies of development” (Frolov, 1991, p. 527).

Idealist philosophy, on the other hand, is dominated by the understanding of uncertainty. According to this understanding, everything in the world contains

uncertainty, and therefore absolute truths cannot be defended in uncertain environments. In other words, there is no law that can be valid in every situation. One should only take pleasure in uncertainty. This idea is mostly seen in Nietzsche's philosophical understanding. To remember this element, which is covered in detail in the Nietzsche chapter; In order to be free and creative, one must enjoy uncertainty. However, a person who creates his/her own truth by honestly speaking and processing his/her existence like a work of art is free. However, in the Enlightenment, people are “no longer free spirits: because they still believe in the truth” (Nietzsche, 2001, p. 149). Nietzsche believes that with absolute truth or objective reality, the unique is killed. For this reason, laws that apply to everyone are a blocker on the way to human freedom. The best or the worst can change for every situation. This is an idealist element that has inspired postmodernism as well. Again, as will be remembered from Heidegger's philosophical understanding, phenomenological truth can only manifest in art (Eagleton, 2014, p. 78). In both Nietzsche and Heidegger, there is neither a subject to be represented nor a reality suitable to be represented, only interpretations and these interpretations are specific to situations.

### **3.3.4. Hedonism and Individualism**

Hedonism, which is one of the most important elements of idealist philosophy, is also the most prominent feature of the postmodern era and capitalism. In the postmodern era, where rationality, objectivity, and scientific thought, along with sociality, are questioned and rejected, hedonism has become a rising element. The human body has now taken the place of the greatest reality.

The most important thinker of the hedonistic approach in ancient philosophy is Aristippos. He was not interested in anything that was not moral. Aristippos and his students gave importance only to moral research instead of logic and physics research

(Akarsu, 1998, pp. 56-57). According to Aristippus, the only purpose of life and the only condition of virtue is to avoid pain and achieve pleasure. According to him, the only thing that a person finds worth attaining in life should be pleasure (Fromm, 1991, p. 172). This understanding later became the basis for the utilitarian philosophical understanding of British thinkers.

Pleasure has an important place in the philosophy of Epicurus, the materialist philosopher of the Hellenistic period. According to him, the purpose of knowledge is to save man from ignorance and superstition, from fear of gods and death, without which happiness is impossible. In ethics, Epicurus affirmed the joy given by the mind. He based this affirmation on an individualist ideal of avoiding suffering and attaining a serene, joyful state of mind. The most rational state for human beings is not activity, but calmness as a whole, that is, ataraxia (Frolov, 1991, p. 148). In this sense, although he had materialistic views, his teachings were used in idealist philosophy by distorting them.

In Epicurus, which is accepted to have started with Aristippus, the pleasures divided into two as emotional and spiritual, and the fact that pleasure is based on an individualist ideal at the end has turned hedonism into an idealist element. The perspectives of the individual, pleasure and happiness in the philosophies of the idealist philosophers Kant, Nietzsche and Heidegger examined in this study are discussed in detail. Before moving on to hedonism, it is necessary to remember the happiness and pleasure concepts of these three philosophers in order to better understand the connection between hedonism and idealism. To briefly repeat, Kant's understanding of pleasure differs from other idealist philosophers, but according to Frolov (1991, p. 269) it is considered as a metaphysical understanding. As it is known, Kant's understanding of pleasure is related to his universal moral

understanding. According to the universal moral understanding, it is the will that gives an action its value. According to Kant, nothing in the world, even outside the world, could be thought of as unconditionally good except a good will. The good will was the will whose quality was determined in the moral law, or the categorical imperative, the duty imperative, or the practical command. Frolov (1991, p.269), on the other hand, evaluated the concept of "Absolute Command" as metaphysical. Because in Kant's teaching, there was an absolute speech against what ought to be.

That is, in Kant's time, the theoretical principles of ethics were being severed from the practical class interests underlying these principles. While examining Kant's philosophy, we saw that Marx also criticizes this understanding of Kant, just like Frolov. Morality for him was a form of ideology in the negative sense of the word. In whatever form it is used, morality must always be based on the principle of impartiality and the interest of the "general" as its starting point. According to him, it is not possible to understand the stance of the general public in the class society structure. For Marx, as long as class societies exist, the concept of the "general interest" will mean nothing but self-deception. According to him, presenting certain class interests as those of the general public is a typical deception for class ideologies (Wood, 1986 p. 30). For this reason, wanting only general moral laws, even without any self-interest, will not provide social happiness, but the happiness of the dominant ideology in general.

For Nietzsche and Heidegger, the other two idealist philosophers examined in the study, hedonism is handled much differently than Kant. In their philosophy there is only the individual. Just like in Aristippos, the founder of hedonism (Hançerlioğlu, 1970, p. 44). The pleasure seen in Heidegger and Nietzsche is individualistic and does not value society. According to Aristippus, it is the emotion that makes people human.

We don't know what the stuff that fills our environment actually is. They are to us only as they appear to us. In fact, we should not really care what they are, since we will never know (Hançerlioğlu, 1970, p. 45). This idea is compatible with the thesis that the knowable object is a tool in Heidegger's philosophy. According to Heidegger, it is impossible to understand the world through contemplation. We can only know it as a system of "handy", interconnected things like a hammer, elements of a practical project. This idea is also found in Aristippos, one of the founders of hedonism. For him, our knowledge is as much as we can get with our emotions, it cannot go beyond that. The purpose of living is the pleasure we get with these senses, just like our knowledge (Hançerlioğlu, 1970 p. 46). Epicurus prefers spiritual pleasure over Aristippus' bodily pleasure. The greatest pleasure for him is peace of mind.

According to Jeremy Bentham, one of the founders of British utilitarianism, morality will show us which pleasures are more beneficial. According to him, pleasures are good, but not all pleasures are equally good. At this point, the "moral arithmetic table" should come into play. According to him, thanks to the fact that there is a level of pleasure, it brings the understanding and evaluation of social life in this framework. For Bentham, the purpose of politics is to protect private interests, and in doing so, the happiness of the people should be paramount. With this understanding, the jurist Bentham leads the libertarian and fundamentalist, utilitarian and regulatory British thought. Although Bentham plays a leading role in enacting laws on poverty reduction (Timuçin, 2002c, p. 222), his understanding is an open-ended one. Because there are two basic classes in bourgeois society, so the fact of which pleasures will be more beneficial for these classes is relative. At this point, it should be noted that the relativity that is meant here is not a relativist relativism. As Şeptulin (2017, p. 110) said, if our knowledge is always relative and constantly

changing throughout the development of social knowledge and practice, this proves that absolute reality does not exist and cannot exist.

“However, according to the dialectical materialist view, the fact that our knowledge is relative does not mean that absolute truth does not exist. In the relative they see an element of the absolute. According to dialectical materialism, objective truth is both relative and absolute at the same time” (Şeptulin, 2017, p. 110). Lenin says on this subject: “Every step in the development of science adds new drops to the heap of absolute truth; However, the limits of the accuracy of every scientific proposition are relative, and these limits sometimes expand or narrow with the spreading of knowledge (Malinin, 1979b, p. 184). According to dialectical materialism, maximizing the benefits, that is, the complete liberation of man, is only possible with a classless society. Individualistic hedonism leads one to idealist philosophy in one way or another. At the end of the day, pleasure is completely cut off from freedom and accepted as the sole purpose of happiness. The hedonistic age of consumption has its roots precisely in individualistic hedonism. This issue will be discussed in detail in the postmodernism section.

The individualism of idealism that sanctifies the subject is also seen in Nietzsche's philosophy. Nietzsche's philosophy works like a drug, not because of its contradictory or obscure contents, but because it "sanctifies the subject." Once under the influence of this stimulating stimulant drug, one is easily prepared to accept its own—or any other ingredients that can be combined with it—subject intoxication is a manipulation catalyst. Its antidote is critical-systematic rationality directly applied to this drug” (Holz, <https://ozgurlukdunyasi.org/arsiv/302-sayi-234/993-karsi-aydinlenennin-gostergeleri-irrationalism--modernity--postmodernity>).



### 3.3.5. Irrationalism

The fact that the bourgeois philosophical understanding of history is more of an irrational understanding has been revealed throughout the chapter with its justifications. Passing through irrationalism, nihilism and positivism, it has reached maturity in postmodernism, which is the synthesis of the two at the last stage. In both existentialism, which rejects reason, and positivism, which rejects reason, reason is rejected or devalued through etymological and linguistic terms. In particular, skepticism, that is, the rejection of knowledge, reason, and the ability of human thought to know the thing-in-itself, constitutes the mainstay of popular philosophical movements. Skepticism, another name for positivist empiricism, became widespread in Kant's philosophy with its effect on the weakness of natural consciousness. Contemporary irrationalism, founded on nihilism and positivism, still maintains its feature of being the main pillar of dominant ideologies in order to be a barrier to class struggle. According to Çubukçu (2009, p.11-12), positivism emerged at a time when the revolutionary movement of the working class was very effective. It is the product of the bourgeois reaction, which sees the movement of the working class as "a sociological event that needs to be resolved". In this sense, it is class character. It entered Turkey as the philosophical-ideological element of the "progressive bourgeois movement". As Çubukçu stated, the misleading appearance of "scientist" and "radical anti-religion" caused positivism to be seen as a "progressive" movement by some circles. However, positivism, which is a stage of irrationalism, has an unequivocally reactionary bourgeois character. Although skepticism is another name for positivist empiricism, this attitude has also gained popularity in the modern period, especially through the influence of Kant's philosophy on the weakness of natural consciousness.

Contemporary irrationalism was born with the philosophy of Nietzsche, Dilthey, Simmel and Bergson's philosophy called "philosophy of life". The basic starting point of the "philosophy of life" is the idea that the concept of matter should be replaced by the concept of "life" as an irrational current or "drive". According to the views of these philosophers, especially led by Nietzsche, "rational knowledge, which operates with petrified abstract concepts and can only deal with solid 'bodies', could never grasp the changing, flowing, actual, specific thing they call 'life'. In order to acquire or 'grasp' knowledge of life, there had to be intuition different from logic, or direct experience of 'life'" (Malinin, 1979, pp. 246, 247). As mentioned above, this life experience has led to the emergence of an irrational subjectivism. According to this irrational subjectivist understanding, the actuality should be replaced by interiority, that is, the reaction of the subject. In the popular/postmodern literary magazines that are the subject of the study, this internality situation dominates many contents.

The emphasis, especially in Nietzsche and Heidegger's philosophy, that the important thing is not "life" but individual life is compatible with the understanding of irrationality that replaces logic with "intuition" and "life" experience. The interpretation of social processes by irrationalism, which is one of the elements of idealist philosophy, is the exact opposite of dialectics. According to the irrationalists, social processes are guided "not by the development of objective material factors, of which man can acquire knowledge, but by mysterious instincts, 'passion for power', mystical 'life', in short, irrational forces that cannot be known" (Malinin, 1979b, p. 247).

According to Holz, irrationality has always been in the service of private interests. For this reason, the ruling class and classes tend to irrational ideologies

(<https://ozgurlukdunyasi.org/arsiv/302-sayi-234/993-karsi-aydinlenennin-gostergeleri-irrationalism-modernity-postmodernity>). According to Lukacs (2014, p. 16), Nietzsche, the founder of imperialist irrationalism, has a special predisposition, a special sensitivity to the problems that the "parasite intelligentsia" needs in the imperialist age. Nietzsche argued that the duality of image and will in Schopenhauer should be set aside and the Buddhist myth of will should be replaced by the myth of the will, which strives to dominate.

According to Cornforth (2009, p. 303), "positivism reflects the intellectual and moral disintegration of capitalist society. It denies the human mind's power to understand objective reality and thus abandons reason and science in reality. It denies that human action can have a rational and scientific basis." Irrationalism, which is the combination of the nihilist and positivist features of idealist philosophy, forms the mainstay of different philosophy movements today. Irrationalism, one of the most important elements of idealist philosophy, is also among the elements of the postmodern perspective, which is a mixture of nihilism and positivism. Postmodernism is shaped on irrationalist Heidegger, who rejects the concept of development, a philosophical understanding based on selflessness.

### **3.3.6. Contextualism**

The materialist dialectic, as is known, accepts that the context between cause and effect is two-sided. The cause leads to an effect, but the effect can also affect the cause and change it. In this process of interaction, cause and effect change places. This means, as Engels (as cited in Malinin, 1979a, p.143) stated, "what is a result here and now becomes a cause there and later, and vice versa". For example, the development of capitalism in Tsarist Russia provided a reason for the abolition of serfdom. The abolition of serfdom later led to the acceleration of capitalism.

However, idealists prefer to call it the law of functional context rather than the law of causation. According to this law, we cannot say that phenomenon A causes phenomenon B, we can only say that A and B are dependent on each other (Malinin, 1979a, p. 145-146). The contextual approach suggests that ideas, including philosophical theories, should be understood in their own time and place. Events belong to their historical time and thus fall into a moment. Kant admitted that the existence of causal context is of a necessary character, but that it resides in our minds and not in the objective world. Kant does not say that knowledge of causal context is derived from experience. According to him, causality exists as an a-prioric, innate category of the intellect (Malinin, 1979a, p. 145).

Contextualism is popular among today's postmodern philosophers, along with the currents of philosophy we call neo-Kantianism. A group of philosophers who call themselves "contextualists" such as Katz, Carl E. Keller, Robert Gimello, Nilson Pike, and Peter Moore, following Kant and Neo-Kantianism in their views on metaphysics, they deal with reconstructed mystical literature on the basis of the problems posed by post-Kantian philosophy. (Akdemir, 2015, p. 35). Contextualism, where experience is replaced by interpretations and where truth, meaning and importance is absent, also overlaps with Nietzsche's nihilistic approaches.

According to context-based approaches, there is nothing privileged to be excluded from contextual understanding and interpretation. Things like art, morality, reason are contextual constructs. They can only exist as a linguistic function as a contextual interpretation. Concepts such as nothingness, individualism and ignoring the essence seen in the philosophies of Nietzsche and Heidegger show that idealism has a contextual element. The idealist philosopher Russell reasoned about whether a person has essence: What is Mr. Smith? he asks and answers: When we look at him,

we see many colors; When we listen to him, we hear certain voices and we think he has thoughts and feelings just like us. It is simply an imaginary hook-on which phenomena hang. However, phenomena do not need this hook. Schiller holds a similar view. He tries to prove that phenomena have no essence by claiming that people understand the essence of an object differently. Religion considers the soul as the essence of man, the physicist thinks that the essence of man is his body, a laundry woman finds the essence of a man in the clothes he wears, the essence of man for others is his ability to make money. But what is the true essence of man? For Schiller, there is no such thing as essence. People create the essence according to their own wishes (Şeptulin, 2017, p. 162).

Today, the replacement of the "grand narratives" of modernism by the narrative styles of postmodernism that are open to interpretation is related to the contextualist understanding of philosophy. This contextualist/relativistic approach emerges as one of the important elements of postmodern literature.

#### **4. CULTURAL FRAMEWORK OF POSTMODERN CRITICAL POLITICAL STANCE: POSTMODERNISM**

##### **4.1. Conceptual Framework of the Concept of Postmodernism**

Although it is one of the most discussed concepts in the last fifty years, it is not possible to say the concept of postmodernism has a clear common definition. The biggest reason for this is that postmodernist theorists oppose a clear definition, considering all definitions limiting, together with the contradictions that the concept contains. Postmodernism, declaring the death of "grand narratives", avoids clear and universal definitions in order not to turn into a "grand narrative" itself. The claim that there can be no objective reality is one of the most fundamental arguments of postmodern critique. According to the theorists of postmodernism, language is neither suitable nor sufficient to describe any objective reality. Depending on this thought, if objective reality cannot be mentioned, its knowledge will not be established. Here is the result; It is impossible to put forward a theory claiming to reflect objective reality (Şaylan, 2009, p. 294). Thus, it becomes increasingly difficult to define postmodernism.

Just as it was pointed out in the previous section that it was certain historical-social conditions that brought forth the philosophical movements, it should be emphasized from the outset that postmodernism, which will be tried to be explained in this section, is the product of certain historical-social conditions. David Harvey (2014, p. 26) states that the 20th century, with its death camps and death squads, its militarism and two world wars, the threat of nuclear annihilation and the Hiroshima-Nagasaki experience, shattered the goodness brought by the Enlightenment project in the 19th century. With the disappearance of this optimism, there has been an understanding that thinks that the Enlightenment project is destined to turn into a

system that suppresses humanity, rather than its aim to liberate humanity from the very beginning. It can be said that postmodernism is the reflection of such historical-social conditions in the world of culture.

In the 1970s, capitalism sought various ways to overcome the crisis it fell into throughout the world. It was realized that this crisis could only be overcome with a comprehensive restructuring, and new discourses were applied both in the political economy and in the cultural field. Postmodern discourse can also be counted among the outputs of the crisis and the restructuring process that followed it (Şaylan, 2009, p. 25). According to Callinicos (1990, p. 97), the discourse of postmodernism is best seen as the product of socially active intellectuals in a climate dominated by the retreat of the Western labor movement and the "overconsumption" dynamic of capitalism in the Regan-Thatcher era. From this perspective, the term "postmodern" may seem like an airborne signifier, with the help of which these intellectuals sought to articulate their political frustrations and aspirations to a consumption-centered lifestyle.

The word postmodernism began to be used as a concept in the late 19th century. One of the first to use this concept is the English painter and art critic John Watkins Chapman. According to the British historian Toynbee, it is possible to talk about four periods in the history of the West. These are defined as Dark Ages (7th to 11th centuries), Middle Ages (11th to 15th centuries), Modern Ages (15th to late 19th centuries) and Postmodern Ages (Şaylan, 2009, p. 36-37). Although the origin of the concept of postmodernism cannot be dated exactly, it is recorded that the concept was used by Federico de Onis in the Spanish and Hispano American Poetry Anthology (1882-1932) published in Madrid in 1934 (Hassan, 2008, p. 268). On the other hand, historian Ellen M. Wood (Anderson & Wood, T.Y., p. 47) states that the concepts of

modernity, postmodernity, and the design of dividing capitalism into historical periods in this way will not help us to understand whether there has been a historical split or if there has been, what exactly happened, its depth, duration and effect, and what consequences it might have for any political design. According to her, this concept, and the design of dividing history into periods cause us to focus only on the wrong places. If we see something new happening since the 1970s, it does not mean that there has been a significant leap in capitalism, but that capitalism itself has reached maturity. Even imperialism, which was used as a last resort in capitalism, has changed. In the past, in regional or colonial imperialism, while capitalist powers played their rivalry games or conflicts on non-capitalist arenas, this transformative mechanism has been replaced by a purely capitalist mechanism, which is economic hegemony and financial imperialism. Thus, this is not just a phase of capitalism, it is precisely capitalism (Anderson & Wood, T.Y., pp. 50-51).

Any explanation without establishing the relationship between postmodernism and capitalism, and therefore with the mode of production, will blur the real focus, as Wood states. According to Erdoğan (2014, p. 387), it is inevitable for postmodernist approaches to focus on culture and ideology; because only by emphasizing culture and ideology and focusing on "culture, ideology and reception" instead of macro-analysis can non-dangerous controlled alternatives to capitalist political and economic structures be produced. While producing non-dangerous alternatives, Marxism, which is seen as a danger, is tried to be tamed by purging it from class perspective. Concepts such as struggle, resistance and even revolution are taken from the Marxist language and their contents are refilled and how the struggle is to be reconstructed. "For example, atomized individual pluralism was glorified, and the struggle was defined as waging 'semiotic guerrilla warfare' through 'construct demolition and rebuild in front



of television/media'. With such formulations, organized struggle and solidarity were removed from discourse." Reconstruction of left-wing concepts such as "struggle, resistance, revolution" and a postmodern transformation of these concepts are frequently encountered in popular/postmodern literary magazines.

Although the infrastructure is tried to be ignored by focusing on culture and ideology, one of the main features of the period called the postmodern period is 'flexibility'. The concept of postmodernity falls in parallel with the process of capitalism when mass production of standard goods is replaced by flexible production (Anderson & Wood, T.Y., p. 35). This flexibility has emerged as one of the methods of overcoming the periodic crises of capitalism. From 1965 to 1973 Fordism and Keynesianism increasingly failed to retain control over the contradictions of capitalism. The clearest word to describe this failure is 'rigidity'. The solution found by capitalism against rigidity is flexible accumulation. Flexible accumulation is characterized by its open conflict with the rigidities of Fordism. It relies on flexibility in terms of labor processes, labor markets, products, and consumption patterns. The main features of flexible accumulation; The emergence of new production sectors, new markets, the development of new methods in finance, and most importantly, the acceleration of commercial, technological, and organizational innovations (Harvey, 2014, p. 165, 170).

The Fordist accumulation regime, which makes the concentration of production and horizontal and vertical integration inevitable, leaves its place to the flexibility of the production units with the technological revolution. For this reason, the new accumulation order, or the post Fordist regime can also be defined as a flexible production and accumulation regime (Şaylan, 2009, p. 186). When we look at the political economy of postmodern culture; With post Fordism, the mass market is

seen to be divided into small segments where design is the main factor in sales.

Commodities are no longer purchased not only for the use values they have, but also for the lifestyles their designs evoke (Callinicos, 2001, p. 208). These changes bring about flexible specialization in the field of production and specialized consumption in the field of consumption. Thus, individualized cultural factors are placed in the center. Personality is formed in the diversity of postmodern culture shaped by roles and choices based on individual differences. Ultimately, in postmodernism, class politics is replaced by identity politics, everything becomes flexible, borders disappear, and an understanding of the world dominated by the rhetoric game is presented (Erdoğan, 2014, pp. 402-403).

According to Lyotard (as cited in Yılmaz, 1996, p. 99), what is necessary in this new game is to find neither the truth, nor the beautiful nor the just. It is important to find the most effective and the game is played within the framework of technical inventions. For postmodernist thinkers, the determining factor in society is not classes but cultures. Therefore, in this 'new' period, class conflict has given way to cultural conflict. Huntington, famous for his Clash of Civilizations thesis, said, "The most important differences between peoples in the post-Cold War world are cultural, not ideological, political or economic. Peoples and nations are trying to answer the most fundamental question facing humankind. Who are we?" seems like a good summary of this argument of postmodernism. According to Huntington, the most common, most important, and most dangerous conflicts in this new world will not arise between social classes, economically defined groups such as the rich and poor, but between peoples belonging to different cultural entities (2008, pp. 24-26). This thesis is in harmony with the identity politics of postmodernism and post Marxism. However,

since this subject will be discussed in detail in the next section, under the title of 'Post Marxism', it has only been mentioned for now.

When postmodernism is considered in terms of political economy, it appears as a stage compatible with the post Fordist production model of capitalism. For example, according to Jameson (2011, p. 13), who approaches postmodernism from a Marxist perspective; postmodernism is the culture of a particular stage of capitalism - the "late capitalism" stage. Contrary to the defenders of postmodernism, Jameson argues that a new culture can only be realized through a collective struggle aimed at the creation of a new social system. Postmodernism is not the cultural dominance of a new social order, but a reflection of another internal change in capitalism itself. Jameson underlines the fact that the new order does not constitute a break, rupture, or transformation from the previous one, as in post-industrial social theories, but is only a reflection of another systematic modification of capitalism and a process that emerges with it. Defining postmodernism as the “cultural logic of late capitalism”, Jameson (2011, p. 22) lists the characteristics of social consequences of “late capitalism” conceptualized by Ernest Mandel as follows : Transnational business formations, a new international division of labor, and the dizzying dynamism brought about by international banking and stock markets, the development of new media relations (especially new transportation systems such as "containerization"), computers and automation, the crisis of the traditional workforce, the emergence of the yuppie<sup>29</sup> sector and the formation of stratification on a now globalized dimension, with the shift of production to developed Third World areas.. With these features, Jameson (2011, p. 23) describes postmodernism or, to mean the same thing, the

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<sup>29</sup> Young urban professionals.

economic preparation of late capitalism, the end of the post-war period of consumer goods and spare parts shortages, and the pioneers of new products and new technologies (including the media) in the 1950s.

According to him, the habitus spirit of this new age predicts a definite break, strengthened by the intergenerational rupture that emerged in its more real form in the 1960s. As Jameson points out, this new phase of capitalism is closely related to information and technology. For some theorists, the determining factor in this new era is information. According to these theorists, we are now living in the information society in a post-industrial age. Sociologist Daniel Bell (1973), who was one of the first to voice the argument that there was a transformation from the industrial society to the information and network society, and who called this society the 'information society', argues that knowledge and information have become the main factors in economic and social development. According to Bell, post-industrial society is after industrial society. But 'post-industrial society' implies that it arose out of industrial society, as the term suggests. Despite this, Bell states that in today's advanced societies, there are complex changes that change the basic structure of the industrial society, and the cultural and structural basis of the society has changed. These changes are in the economic field, transition from an economy that produces goods and goods to a structure that produces services, from a structure that requires less information to a more information-based structure and industries, professionally; the depreciation of handicraft, the increase in importance of professionals and technical workers, in terms of organizations and institutions; As the new area of interest the development of activities to evaluate the application results of new technologies with the techniques of predicting technological developments, the development of new

decision-making methods based on technology and in which intellectuals are active (Stevenson, 2015, pp. 297; Kumar, 2013, pp. 164-65; Yılmaz, 1996, p. 93).

On the other hand, Callinicos (2001, pp. 189-190) argues that the alleged shift from "economization" to the "socialization" mode was the result of the disappearance of existing workers in the industry in the late 1970s, the fact that concessions began to be bought by borrowing stocks in the mid-1980s. criticizes that privatization and the purchase of inflated stocks are taken seriously in a period dominated by the speculative stock market. In his view, Bell's argument, in the immediate aftermath of the war, whose main themes were the separation from control of property, the rise of technocratic rule, the division of social classes into intertwined interest groups, and - another of Bell's brilliant ideas - the "end of ideology" threatened the global transformation of society. It is a point reached by the orthodoxy that exists among English-speaking sociologists, the end of polarized politics that has been thwarted. It cannot be ignored that there is an increase in the service sector, as Bell argues. However, this increase in the production and employment of the service sector in the 20th century capitalism is an increase that occurred with the decline of agriculture rather than industry. Callinicos explains this situation as follows:

The social consequences of declining employment in the manufacturing sector are not of the kind predicted by Bell. The increasing proportion of the workforce classified as white-collar workers is compounded by the expansion of service industries; however, it is not naturally equivalent to it. The service sector employs machine operators and workers in factories as well as hospital cleaners and waiters, as well as bank clerks and stock exchange representatives, draftsmen and secretaries. In any case, white-collar workers cover at least three distinct class positions: "management capitalists" who are salaried members of the bourgeoisie; a "new middle class" of high-

level professional, managerial, and administrative workers; the routine white-collar workers who are lack of job security, relatively low wages, and lack of control over work which put them in the same basic position as manual workers (2001, p. 192).

As can be seen, according to Callinicos, real employment in the service sector does not quite coincide with Bell's argument for the elite profile of the "information society". Moreover, the fact that manual workers in industry no longer make up the majority of wage workers does not mean that this is the beginning of the end of "society based on work." The fact that fewer and fewer people are employed in material production does not change the fact that in any case no one can live without the industrial goods that these people manufacture (Callinicos, 2001, p. 197). Despite this, technological determinism, and the argument that the working class has disappeared are dominant in postmodern thought. This idea will be discussed in detail in the chapter "ideology of the postmodernism; post Marxism". To better understand the cultural logic of postmodern critical theory and postmodernism, the relationship between postmodernism and modernism should be revealed.

#### **4.1.1. The Relationship between the Concept of Postmodernism and Modernism**

The first place to look to understand the word postmodern is the suffix "post". It is not possible to talk about the unity of meaning of the concept of postmodernism, which is formed with the suffix "post" meaning "after" in languages such as English and French, as a field with different tendencies and approaches, with no boundaries. According to Lyotard (1994, pp. 57-58), one of the important representatives of postmodern thought, postmodern is what brings forward the unrepresentable in the

modern, in the representation itself; the one who rejects the consolation of appropriate forms and the nostalgia of the impossible, the consensus of taste that allows them to live together; seeks new impressions, not to enjoy them, but to make them feel better that the unrepresentable exists. For Lyotard, a postmodern writer or artist is a philosopher. For this reason, the work/text produced cannot be governed or judged by predetermined rules and categories. As can be seen, Lyotard maintains the autonomy that the Frankfurt School gave to the artist and the philosopher in postmodernism. With his answer to this question in his article titled Answer to the Question of What is Postmodern, Lyotard's thought is also like the totalitarian opposition of the Frankfurt School: "Answer: Let's fight the whole, testify to the unrepresentable, exacerbate conflicts, save the honor of the name." As can be understood from this answer, indiscernibility and rejection are prominent emphases for postmodernism. Every area of life from writing novels to philosophizing, from working experience to building a home, everything has to face the challenge of accelerating turnover time and the rapid abandonment of historically acquired traditional values. Because the main indicator of the postmodern lifestyle is the 'temporary contracts' that Lyotard stated (Harvey, 2014, p. 325). In the postmodern process, which Lyotard (2014, p. 125) defines as "the evolution of social interactions", a contract made for a certain time; in professional, emotional, sexual, cultural, familial, international matters, as well as in the political field, it actually replaces the permanent institution. (...) The most interesting aspect of postmodern discourse about the political process has been the denial of "grand narratives", in Lyotard's words. This is undoubtedly the denial of political science and practice (Şaylan, 2009, p. 368).

At this point, to better understand postmodernism, which claims to have surpassed the previous period -modernism-, comes after modern, negates its

theoretical and cultural practices, problematizes the basic concepts and perspectives of this culture and even denies them (Duran, 2008, p. 147), it is necessary to return to the concept of modernism. Because whatever the meaning attributed to the term postmodernism – whether postmodernist approaches that argue we live in a completely new age by going beyond modernity, or approaches that see postmodernism as an incomplete modernism added to modernity – this meaning has to refer to a certain idea of modernity. The birth of the idea of modernity dates to the 17th century. Historian and philologist J. B. Bury developed this dating by saying that "modern history begins in the seventeenth century". According to this view, milestones of modernism are Montaigne's *Essays* (1580), Bacon's *Advancement of Learning* (1605) and *Novum Organum* (1620), and Descartes' *Discourse on Method* (1637). For example, Bacon underlines that the invention of the printing press, gunpowder gun and the compass changed the appearance and situation of the whole world. Along with these three inventions, there have been countless changes in literature, war, maritime and many other subjects. These are signs of modern times.

Similarly, Descartes's reconstructing knowledge only based on the human mind with the "Declaration of Human Independence" heralds the rejection of the previous thought systems and a new beginning (Kumar, 2013, p. 88, 97). According to Anderson (Anderson & Wood, T.Y., p. 19), modernism was born at the intersection of a semi-aristocratic government, a semi-industrialized capitalist economy, and a semi-formed or rebellious working-class movement. J. McGowan (1991, p. 4) also describes the main components of the modernization process through various challenges to the existing: Protestants' struggle with various Catholic denominations, Eurocentrism's struggle to discover completely different societies in other parts of the world, both new scientific discoveries and new emerging struggle between economic



practices and religion, the struggle of monarchy/oligarchy with rising popular democratic agitations, the struggle for the social integration of traditional patterns into changing modes of production and distribution, and the growth of towns and cities, all of this meet in a three-hundred-year period (1500-1800) to transform Europe. Şaylan (2009, pp. 74-75) also states that the defining feature of modernism is the unlimited trust in humans and the human mind. This trust also defines the understanding of history of modernity. This understanding of history can be put forward as a progressive understanding of history. However, postmodernism, including poststructuralism and post Marxism, is a radical critique and negation of modernism, including this progressive understanding of history. Postmodernism opposes the values (such as rationalism and science), aesthetics and ethics (such as humanism) of modernism.

At this point, it will be useful to remember the class character of modernism. Thinkers from the Enlightenment tradition such as Adam Smith or Saint-Simon convincingly argued that once the pressures of feudal class relations were removed, a benevolent capitalism would bring the benefits of capitalist modernity to all. On the other hand, Marx and Engels strongly rejected this thesis, gave modernism a class dimension and based it on the class differences that reproduced in the heart of capitalism. Would it be the bourgeoisie or the workers' movement that would shape and direct the modernist project? Who was on the side of the cultural producers? (Harvey, 2014, p. 43). Such questions and the answers to these questions are decisive for the class character of modernism. Under capitalism, Marx depicted social processes that produce individualism, alienation, fragmentation, ephemerality, innovations, creative destruction, speculative developments, unpredictable changes in production and consumption methods (wants and needs), shifts in the perception of

space and time, and a dynamic of social change laden with crisis. According to Harvey (204, p. 133), if these conditions of capitalist modernization portrayed by Marx constitute the material bonds from which both modernist and postmodernist thinkers and cultural producers pull their aesthetic sensibilities, principles, and practices, then the return to postmodernism will not have any radical implications in the social situation. It seems plausible to conclude that it does not reflect the change.

I. Hassan (2008, p. 270) claims that modernism and postmodernism cannot be separated from each other by the Iron Curtain or the Great Wall of China, and that these two are palimpsest<sup>30</sup> in terms of history.

According to Hassan (2008, p. 275) there are differences between modernism and postmodernism, including a continuity relationship. According to Hassan (2008, p. 275) postmodernism, although not opposed to modernism, expresses differences. Postmodernism describes a movement towards ubiquitous acts, omnipresent interactions, ubiquitous codes, tools, languages. It is possible to find an example of this "act of spreading everywhere", as stated by Hassan, in the power analysis of Foucault, one of the important thinkers of postmodernism. In Foucault, power is purified from its final forms and handled as a multiplicity of power relations. As such, concepts and institutions directly related to power, such as the state and ideology, become ambiguous and power is transformed into a concept that can be anywhere at any time. Otherwise, "In this case, there will be a schematism to be avoided [...] which consists in placing power within the state organization and making the state organization the privileged, fundamental, important, sole instrument of the power of

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<sup>30</sup> A parchment on which the writing on it was erased and a new text was written in the old time.

one class over another” (as cited in Foucault. Revel, 2012, p. 85). For Foucault, one of the areas where power manifests itself is sexuality. In *The History of Sexuality*, he deals with sexuality and power relations and persistently avoids the concept of class power, which he calls "schematism to be avoided".

Again, the "uncertainty" of postmodernism that Hassan emphasizes in his table appears in Giddens' (1994, p. 47) definition of postmodernity: "We have discovered that nothing can be known with complete certainty, because all previous foundations of epistemology have been proven to be unreliable; There is no place for theology in history, and therefore no version of progress can be defended acceptably," Giddens argues, 'a new social and political agenda has emerged with the growing importance of ecological concerns and perhaps new social movements'. Giddens (1994, p. 48) states that the main author who distinguishes modernity from postmodernity is Nietzsche, and he makes this distinction only by revealing the assumptions hidden within the Enlightenment. And from this point of view, he underlines that it is necessary to see the periodical distinction as "the beginning of self-understanding of modernity" rather than the overcoming of modernity. As explained in detail in the previous section, Nietzsche is seen as the source of postmodern pessimism. This type of postmodernism, called the "postmodernism of despair", is "a postmodernism responsible for the death of the subject, the appreciation of the text above the author, the end of the sublime and truth conceptions, the death of modern myths"(Rosenau, 1998, s. 39)

In his article titled “Towards a Concept of Postmodernism” (2008, pp. 267-268), Hassan also includes a list of names along with the schema of differences between postmodernism and modernism. He thinks that these names he lists can recall the fields of postmodernism and style. These names and their fields are: Jacques

Derrida, Jean Francois Lyotard (philosophy), Michel Foucault, Hayden White (history), Jacques Lacan, Gilles Deleuze, RD Laing, Norman O. Brown (psychoanalysis), Herbert Marcuse, Jean Baudrillard, Jurgen Habermas (political philosophy), Thomas Kuhn, Paul Feyerabend (philosophy of science), Roland Barthes, Julia Kristeva, Wolfgang Iser, “Yale Critics” (literary theory, Merce Cunningham, Alwin Nikolas, Meredith Monk (dance), John Cage, Karlheinz Stockhausen, Harold Pinter from Pierre Boulez (music), Robert Rauschenberg, Jean Tinguely, Joseph Beuys (art), Robert Venturi, Charles Jencks, Brent Bolin (architecture), and Samuel Beckett, Eugene Ionesco, Jorge Luis Borges, Max Bense and Vladimir Nabokov , BS Johnson, Rayner Heppenstall, Christine Brooke-Rose, Helmut Heissenbuttel, Jurgen Becker, Peter Handke, Thomas Bernhard, Ernest Jandl; Gabriel Garcia Marquez, Julio Cortazar, Alain RobbertGrillet, Michel Butor, Maurice Roche, Philippe Sollers and in America, Writers as diverse as John Barth, William Burroughs, Thomas Pynchon, Donald Barthelme, Walter Abish, John Ashbery, David Antin, Sam Shepard, and Robert Wilson.

Based on Hassan's list, it is a necessity for this study to include some of the names of postmodernism in more detail. Because the approaches put forward by some names such as Foucault, Derrida, Deleuze are frequently encountered in popular/postmodern literary magazines.

## **4.2. Important Theorists of Postmodern Thought**

### **4.2.1. Michel Foucault (1926-1984)**

Although Foucault's contribution to postmodernism is considerable, some of his concepts and approaches stand out in the popular/postmodern literary magazines will be examined in this study. Announcing the death of a person as a knowing subject, declaring the victory of language and discourse in place of the deceased

person, realizing all kinds of power and resistance areas in the body in which multiple selves live, and putting the concept of postmodern micropolitics against political economy are the defining features of postmodernism. While Foucault was developing his postmodern approach, he was heavily influenced by Nietzsche, Heidegger and the Frankfurt School, which were covered in detail in the previous chapters. Throughout the study, this historical and intellectual follow-up has been continued with great care to reveal the relationship between postmodernism and idealism.

The name that most influenced Foucault's work was undoubtedly Nietzsche. In particular, "Foucault's Nietzschean theory of power-knowledge" led to the abandonment of Marxism for postmodernists (Callinicos, 2001, p. 137). Foucault, like Nietzsche, finds the idea of power in a political system restrictive and directs his attention to the interdependence of power and knowledge, instead of the concept of power that Marx explains on the basis of production relations (Sarup, 2010, p. 112). According to Foucault (1980, p. 98), power should not be seen as the consolidated and homogeneous domination of the individual over others or one class over another. For Foucault, ownership of power is not what makes the difference between those who dominate and those who do not. Power should be defined as a circulating phenomenon. As can be seen, Foucault, who detaches power from the relations of production, excludes and makes the power struggle between the ruling and ruled class. Thus, power, which has no basis and foundation, turns into a symbolic game. Sarup (2010, p. 127) draws attention to the similarity of this idea with Nietzsche's idea that "People who are oppressed want justice, in fact this is the excuse for the power they want for themselves" and states that, according to this idea, history is "an endless game of domination".

Kumar (2013, p. 156) also states that Foucault unconditionally endorses Nietzsche who "kills man and God at the same time" and "questions the whole status of man as agent and subject by showing the essence of the problem is a matter of language". Thus, the "knowing subject" leaves its place to "discursive practices". It would not be wrong to state that the emphasis on 'discourse', which Marx and Engels emphasized (referring to Bruno Bauer) while criticizing the Young-Hegelians, also applies to Foucault. According to Marx and Engels (2013, p. 59), Young-Hegelian ideologues have found the phrase that accurately describes their activities, claiming that they are "struggling only against 'discourses'". However, they forget that they are doing nothing more than putting discourses against these discourses, and that this world has certainly not struggled against the truly existing world, by simply struggling with discourses." And that's why they're the staunchest conservatives, despite their "world-shaking" rhetoric. As it is seen, even in those years (1845-1846), Marx and Engels drew attention to the pointlessness of confronting the objective world with a discourse field and only struggling in a discursive field devoid of practice and explained that this situation could not have a function other than reproducing the existing one. Despite this, Foucault equated discourse and power, and defended the field of discourse as a field of struggle.

Foucault develops the theory of "power-knowledge" by saying that "just as there is no power relationship independent of the production of a field of knowledge, there is no knowledge that does not both assume and create power relations at the same time". This theory is another form of Nietzsche's will to power. Foucault's theory follows Nietzsche's, who sees "the appropriate analysis of theoretical discourses as belonging to the genealogy of forms of domination, not to the epistemological history of the development of knowledge". This pursuit can be

defined as “an opposition to realism based on the pragmatism of discourse and power” (Callinicos, 2001, pp. 130-131). Foucault's thoughts on knowledge, which finds its roots in Nietzsche, have epistemological problems. In this knowledge approach, which breaks the link between knowledge and accuracy, “knowledge based on perspective is always honored” (Sarup, 2010, p. 129). This "honoring perspective-based knowledge", which is also mentioned in popular/postmodern literary magazines, has been adopted as a principle. As explained in detail in the Idealism section, the conceptual equivalent of this situation corresponds to the subjective idealism and relativism approach.

Foucault, who is against the idea of the founding subject of the modern period, deals with the stage of the establishment of the subject. In other words, the subject is the established, not the founder. “The individual is not a being of a given nature, seized by the application of force. The individual, with his identity and characteristics, is also a product of the power relationship exerted on bodies, multiplicities, movements, desires and powers” (as cited in Callinicos, 2001, p. 140). Foucault, who both kills the subject and seeks the truth of the free subject, finds the truth of freedom in sexuality, like Marcuse's libidinal rationality, similar to the Freudian-based school of the Frankfurt School. However, Freud is also criticized in his theory. He sees Freud's psychoanalysis as a "new confessional" method. According to Foucault, by revealing the sexual instinct, Freud provided science with a new area of pressure. He criticizes this Freudian-Marxian position, which he calls the "repressive assumption", for placing the concept of power in a negative discourse practice of prohibiting and limiting sexuality. Because Foucault thinks that since the 18th century, power has a positive and productive function that serves the realization of new capacities rather

than suppressing them (Sarup, 2010, 110-111). In *The History of Sexuality* (1976-1984), he explains this idea as follows:

Since the end of the XVI. century, the "discourse" of sexuality, far from entering a process of restriction, on the contrary, takes place within a mechanism of increasing provocation; that the methods of power that operate on sexuality do not adhere to a strict principle of selection, but to the principle of casting and placing polymorphous sexualities; and it will be seen that the will to know will not hesitate in front of a taboo that needs to be removed, but on the contrary - with many mistakes - it will tear itself apart to create a science of gender (2007, p. 19).

For Foucault, who sees the theme of sexuality as an extension of an analysis of power, sexuality is one of the fields of application of what he calls "biopowers" (Revel, 2012, p. 35). According to Sarup (2010, p. 111), Foucault's main argument in *The History of Sexuality* is that our sexuality is not a natural reality, on the contrary, it is the product of a discourse and practice system that helps to keep the individual under control and observation. Therefore, our current "natural" sexuality is actually a product of power. According to Foucault (2012, p. 39), power; It has surrounded our bodies with various means such as "gymnastics, exercises, muscle building, nudity, glorification of the beautiful body". This body consciousness created by the power also leads people to desire their own body. In other words, Foucault says that while power travels distance inside our bodies, it is also attacked inside our bodies. In this case, as Hatipoğlu (2016, p. 24) states, "homosexuality is a revolutionary act against a government that has made sexual normality discursive at a discursive level, or not building a body, getting a tattoo" is an attack against the government. However, homosexuality is a sexual identity and cannot be explained by a revolutionary practice against power.



Undoubtedly, the LGBTI movement has struggle practices that intersect with revolutionary practices. However, as Foucault mentions, sexual orientations by themselves do not contain an opposition to power. Body and sexuality are also prominent in popular/postmodern literary magazines. Against fixed and stable identities and ideas, Foucault "completely rejects the institution of authorship in terms of self-expression, writes to escape from himself, to be someone other than what he is, to write as a person too faceless to be placed in a certain self-position." expressing that he cares about it" (Aksay, 2019, p. 14) is also one of the elements that we come across in magazines. According to Sarup (2010, p. 93), Foucault has been interested in madness, coincidence, and disconnection that reason excludes throughout his life. For Foucault, the literature of crime and sin is of the utmost importance, as it "strives to subvert the limitations of all other forms of discourse through its own distinction." Therefore, the literary tradition that he admires is the literary tradition that includes writers such as Sade, Nerval, Artaud and Nietzsche. For Foucault, there are some situations where the mind misses and there is wisdom in madness (Sarup, 2010, p. 98). It is possible to see the traces of this literary tradition and the praise of madness in the reviewed journals.

Influenced by Nietzsche in many subjects such as the literary tradition, Foucault's approach to science is also influenced by Nietzsche and Weber. Like these two names, Foucault thinks that science itself has turned into a myth while removing the veil of mythology in the world (Sarup, 2010, p. 104). Weber frequently refers to the "rationalization principle" when explaining modernism. "The rise and fall of institutional structures, the ups and downs of classes, parties and rulers are all reflections of this general rationalization trend." Weber, who argues that rationalization causes a disenchantment in modern society, borrows F. Schiller's

phrase “the distasteful world” to describe the changes in people's attitudes and mentality caused by this situation (Weber, 2004, p. 94). According to this approach, scientific knowledge has led to the disenchantment of the world. With technical rationality, tools can be pre-designed for their effectiveness. However, due to this technical rationality, the determination of goals and values has become problematic. The rise of instrumental reason causes reification, and reification leads to the incessant production of disenchantment. This analysis is "quite close to the one made by the 'critical theorists' of the Frankfurt School." Both Weber and Frankfurt School theorists analyzed “social forms that arise from technical or instrumental rationality, as a sign of a deep concern for human freedom rather than class oppression” (Sarup, 2010, pp. 107-108). Foucault's view of science and the Enlightenment is in this direction. As can be seen, the traces of the Frankfurt School, which is explained in detail in the First Chapter, can be followed in the approaches of postmodern thinkers. Again, it is possible to find the connection between idealist philosophy and postmodernism in the second part of the study in Foucault's thoughts on philosophy itself:

What is philosophy today - I mean philosophical activity - if not the critical study of thought upon itself and the attempt to know how and how far it is possible to think differently, instead of legitimizing what is already known? There is always something almost ludicrous when philosophical discourse wishes to impose its law on others from the outside, to tell them where their truth is and how to find it, or to dare to teach people their case in the form of naive positivity; but it is also the right of philosophy to search for what can be changed in its own thinking by using a knowledge that it is unfamiliar with. The "attempt" (by which I mean it is not a simplistic attempt to appropriate others for communicative purposes, but an attempt to transform oneself in the order of truth) is the living side of philosophy. Of course, if philosophy

continues to be at least what it used to be, that is, a "self-cultivation" through thought... (Foucault, 2007, pp. 125-126).

As it is seen, the task of philosophy, which Marx explained as contributing to the change of the world instead of interpreting the world, was changed to contribute to changing our thoughts in Foucault, or it was returned to the pre-dialectical materialist definition of philosophy. Thus, in postmodernism, our thoughts, not the objective real world, have become primary. In this case, as Sarup (2010, p. 129) points out, "knowledge based on perspective is always honored," similar to Nietzsche. Foucault was highly influenced by Heidegger's philosophy as well as his bond with Nietzsche. The border experience, which he defines as "the attempt to break the subjectivation that pulls the subject away from him" (Trombadori, 2019, p. 41), has an important place in Heidegger's philosophy, as explained in the previous section. While talking about Laing, one of the founders of counter-psychiatry, and his similar thoughts on madness, Foucault once again reveals his connection with idealism by stating that Laing is closer to Sartre and he is closer to Heidegger (Trombadori, 2010, p. 69). Thus, the intellectual/conceptual follow-up between the parts of the study can be seen more clearly. Just like Foucault, Derrida, one of the important names of postmodern thought, also reaches the deconstruction technique by interpreting Heidegger.

#### **4.2.2. Jacques Derrida (1930-2004)**

One of the first names that come to mind under the title of postmodernism is Derrida, the founder of the "critical reading technique", which he calls deconstructionism. According to Harvey (2014, p. 67), "Deconstructionism, a movement that started with Derrida's interpretation of Martin Heidegger, comes into play at this point, giving a strong impetus to postmodernist modes of thought." Deconstruction is not a method, as it is often referred to, but a reading technique/style.

This overemphasis on texts causes cultural life in deconstructionism to be seen as texts encountering other texts and producing other texts (Harvey, 2014, p. 67). As Harvey points out, Derrida's deconstruction occurred when he interpreted Heidegger and claimed to have surpassed him. "Derrida, in the footsteps of Heidegger, with whom he was very impressed, declared war against the Western 'Logos', that is, the 'Western metaphysics' perceived as the highest level of rationality." (Timur, 2005, p. 143). What Derrida calls "Western metaphysics" is that Western philosophy, including the Enlightenment philosophers, since Plato and Aristotle, has taken language under control and ascribed a metaphysical meaning to concepts and words. Because, according to Derrida, there cannot be a closed and absolute meaning. Every concept, every philosophy that has meaning in this way is metaphysics. In this metaphysical understanding, called "metaphysics of existence", there is an objective field of existence that exists outside of human consciousness.

Western philosophy uses central concepts such as "God, mind, idea or matter" to suggest objective areas of existence outside of subjective consciousness. However, according to Derrida, there cannot be a transcendent concept or indicator that proves the existence of other concepts (Hatipoğlu, 2016, p. 24). Here, Derrida developed the deconstruction technique in order to eliminate this "fundamental mistake" in Western philosophy and deconstructed the previous philosophical texts. However, while doing this, he must think in terms of existing concepts and terms. It is not possible otherwise. Here is a contradiction of postmodernism. Although Derrida tries to "frequently create new words, make etymological-semantic explanations, and use some words in quotation marks (sometimes with a cross)" (Timur, 2005, p. 144), in the end, he can only criticize with what he criticizes by using the same language structure. According to Derrida, this situation is inevitable. So much so that even his

intellectual pioneer, Heidegger, used the words of this metaphysical language from time to time. Derrida showed Heidegger as a witness to his own contradiction by stating that "while deconstructing the Western metaphysical language, he also benefited from the dictionary and syntax resources of that language for economic and strategic reasons" (as cited in Timur, 2005, p. 144). Despite this, Derrida's all efforts are about dismantling/destroying the written language created by Western metaphysics based on logos and constructing a new language formed with the instability of meaning instead.

So already here, phonocentrism, with all the sub-determinations that depend on the meaning of being as presence in the general plan and organize its systems and chains of history in it (the presence of the thing to the eye as eidos, the temporal presence of the present and the moment as the apex, the presence of the cogito to itself, consciousness, subjectivity, co-existence with the other, "intersubjectivity" as the ego's intentional phenomenon, etc.), this general form is felt to be confused with the determination of history. So, logocentrism must be in solidarity with the determination of the existence of the being as presence (Derrida, 2014, p. 22).

As can be seen, existence and time are two important concepts in Derrida. Logocentric philosophy based on a "first cause" is therefore metaphysics. Timur (2005, p. 153) summarizes the metaphysics Derrida wants to transcend as follows:

According to Derrida, at the origin of Western philosophy (and structuralist semiology), there was the assumption of a "first cause", which can be considered as another name for "God", and the problem of "being" constituted the fundamental problem of philosophy. After the ancient Greek philosopher Parmenid (5th century BC), Western philosophy, which did not think about the problematic of "being" or forgot "to be" as Heidegger said, also excluded the problem of time or adhered to the principle of a "monochronic", metaphysical "being"

(Sein,  tre, To Be). According to this principle, "being", which was thought in the framework of "what is", was always perceived in the present tense: there was no understanding of time other than past (present) tense; the present (present) and future (present) time. Such an absolute "presence" principle was based on a pre-acceptance, which Derrida calls "phonocentrism", which combines the "transcendent meaning" of concepts and words with the vowel (phoneme) and privileges this overlap. In this way, Western "logocentrism" emerged as "phonocentrism" at the same time. In this phonocentrism, every word (or every concept, every sign, every signifier) had a transcendental meaning.

Heidegger, like Derrida, described this situation as metaphysical. However, according to Derrida, Heidegger had not been able to completely break his metaphysical ties at the point of "the problematic of being". Derrida claims that he has found a way to transcend this metaphysics by going beyond Heidegger, who greatly influenced him. This way is deconstruction. In the Logos era, "writing, which is considered as the mediation of mediation and the fall into the externality of meaning" (Derrida, 2014, p. 22) was despised. With deconstruction, writing replaces sound-centered words. Deconstruction works by inversion and displacement to transcend metaphysics, where every word has a transcendent meaning. One of the terms used in opposition in a text always takes control of the secondary. When deconstructing such an opposition, the first thing to do is to break down the hierarchy of terms. So, the term must be turned inside out. In the next step, the reversed term should be replaced. Briefly, deconstruction can be summarized as the methods of placing the promising marginal text somewhere, revealing the moment of indecisiveness, curiously searching the text released by the positive gesture of the signifier, turning the established hierarchy inside out just to displace it, disassembling/dismantling it to reconstruct what has always been written (Spivak, 1997, p. xxvii).

Derrida claims that he opened the way for deconstruction, which would turn Western metaphysics upside down, by producing a new word. This new word is “différance”. The word “différance”, which derives from the verb “Differer”, means “difference”, “otherness” in French. The verb “differer” is also used to express two different meanings, “to make different” and “to postpone”. Although derived from this verb, the word "difference" simply means "to be different". Derrida believes that he achieved his goal by changing a single letter in the word "différance", replacing the letter "e" at the end with the letter "a", and transforming the word "to différence", which means both "to differentiate" and "postpone". Thus, with a single letter change in a single word, the paths of a "deconstruction" that would turn all Western metaphysics upside down were also opened” (Timur, 2005, p. 154). According to Derrida, the issue is to produce a new concept of writing. We can name this concept as *gramme* or *différance*. This is also the game of distinctions. The game of distinctions accepts the existence of synthesis and references. “But these distinctions forbid play at any moment, in any sense, for a 'simple' element to be spontaneously present (*présent*) and not to refer to any other than itself. Whether at the level of spoken discourse or written discourse, no element can function as an indicator without simply referring to another element that does not exist in itself” (Derrida, 1994, p. 49). As it is seen, there can be no signified independent of the signifier in Derrida's philosophy. Text/text is an endless game played with the signifieds. And there is no truth except interpretation. Sarup (2010, pp. 81-85) underlines that for deconstructionists there is nothing but interpretation. Because there is no source, no basis that is neither indiscriminate nor content with the literal meaning. There is a constant proliferation of interpretations of the text, and no interpretation can claim to be the last and most correct one. Therefore, meaning is always undecidable.

Advocating the instability of meaning also encourages some political consequences. Hatipoğlu (2016, p. 27) lists these results as follows: The first of these is that since the meaning is open-ended, no one can be described as progressive or reactionary. The destabilization of meaning lays the foundations for the destabilization of values. The presupposition that we cannot know the objective truth, even if it exists, because we are beings determined by language and culture, leaves the question of which political system is more preferable over the other from the agenda. Christopher Norris, on the other hand, states that deconstruction is an inappropriate method for Marxian thought. As a matter of fact, Derrida underlines the incompatibility of these two in the face of an effort to establish an alliance between the definition of "contradiction", which is one of the foundations of Marxist dialectics, and his own definition of "differance". What Derrida says on this subject shows that the claims of self-appointed materialist textual science and the claims of deconstruction, which sees no hope for a definitive break with ideology, are radically incompatible (Norris, 2004, p. 74). Norris also mentions that he has some difficulties while distinguishing Derrida's irrational and nihilistic project, which considers the terms truth and reason as outdated values, which claims that knowledge of the world cannot be attained without any mediation. According to him, Derrida's criticism is a criticism that constantly quarrels with the moral values of the Enlightenment, as well as the truth claims of the Enlightenment thought. "Once the critique enters the labyrinth of deconstruction, that critique is now more about a skeptical theory of knowledge that can be traced back to Nietzsche rather than to Marx" (as cited in Norris. Sarup, 2010, p. 87, 89). Thus, the connection of deconstruction and its literary criticism with Nietzsche and Heidegger is revealed more clearly.



Derrida disassembles previously written texts by discussing how each word can have other and connotative meanings other than the one used in the text. It pursues multiple meanings in parts of the text, not a holistic meaning. In this way he claims to have overcome metaphysics. However, metaphysics is "a way of thinking that tries to learn what each separate part is" instead of the whole (Cornforth, 2009, p. 132). In this sense, Derrida makes use of metaphysical thinking while trying to overcome metaphysics. For this reason, it is included in the metaphysics he is trying to overcome. He also clearly reveals this and states that it is not possible to escape from metaphysics. The concept of "différance" he coined can be conceptualized with the help of a language that necessarily includes the metaphysics of being. Difference is a priori to both existence and non-existence, therefore it is also unknowable. "Out of this contradiction emerges the practice of deconstruction, which involves conflict with the metaphysics of being, on its own soil, where there is no escape whatsoever" (Callinicos, 2001, p. 121).

While pursuing the plural meanings of parts, Derrida attaches primary importance to the "collage/montage" form for postmodern discourse. In painting, writing, or architecture, the heterogeneity of this form encourages us, as recipients of the text or image, to "produce an impression that can be neither univocal nor stable". For Derrida, every element quoted in a text breaks the continuity or linearity of the discourse. In this case, "perceiving the piece in relation to the text from which it originates; reading the piece as it takes place in a new whole, in a different totality", requires a dual reading. Postmodern thinkers, including Derrida, argue that it is a vain hope to expect a holistic representation of the world. Because the world is made up of parts that are constantly shifting. Consistent and holistic representation is either oppressive or fictitious (Harvey, 2014, pp. 67-68). For this reason, the instability of

meaning and interpretation are essential in postmodernism. Şaylan (2009, p. 264) summarizes these unstable meanings and what the citation and assembly technique mean for the deconstruction method as follows:

The writing of any text is a deconstruction due to quotations and references from other texts, but at the same time a construction is made with the formation of the text. This is an analysis taken by Derrida from Nietzsche. The meaning of the text written by a person, regardless of the purpose of that person to write the text, will be in a unique dynamic. According to Derrida, deconstruction will emerge in this process of making sense; The person reading the text will make sense of the text by making references to the texts he has read before. This is defined as making sense by reference, gluing and montage.

Accordingly, the deconstruction of the text refers to the interpretation of the text by montage or pasting from other texts. (...) Thus, due to the peculiarity of the language, an indecision and polyphony emerge.

A different reflection of this collage and montage technique mentioned by Şaylan is frequently seen in the texts in popular/postmodern literary magazines. Pieces from different texts are inserted into the texts without seeking a semantic unity. The reflection of the emphasis on fragmentation, discourse and text on the political field is as important as art. It is quite remarkable that Derrida wrote in the catalog of an anti-apartheid art exhibition opened in Paris in 1983. Commenting on the exhibition paintings, Derrida writes in the catalog: "Their silence is fair. A discourse compels us to reckon with the current state of power and law. It makes agreements, dialecticizes itself, and reappropriates itself." Therefore, resistance to apartheid should not have been articulated; It should not be attempted to create a political program and strategy. Every step to be taken to do this will encompass the "current state of law and power" and perhaps even re-cooperation with the "European racist discourse" (as cited in Callinicos, 2001, pp. 125-126). Callinicos states that if we accept this

argument as true, the resistance will be lost from the beginning. Postmodernism's confinement of resistance to the field of discourse reveals "lost" resistances and, accordingly, "honored weakness". For this reason, the discursive resistances seen in popular/postmodern literary magazines cannot go beyond being an example of resistance that has been "lost from the beginning".

Another important concept developed by Derrida like *différance* and used in his analysis is *sous rature*. *Sous rature* means scribbling on a word after it has been written. The written word has been scribbled because it is incomplete or insufficient. But the word cannot be thrown away entirely. Because people need this word. For this reason, the word continues to be used in its superimposed form. Derrida uses the concept of *sous rature* to justify the view that "there is no relation of representation between the signifier and the signified" (Şaylan, 2009, p. 260). Breaking the relationship between the signifier and the signified also has a decisive effect on the activity of making sense of the objective world through concepts. Şaylan asked, "What does it mean for the deconstruction approach to be decisive in the interpretation and description of accuracy, what kind of results will it lead to?" The question is of vital importance. Şaylan underlines that with this approach, basic concepts such as reason, progress, freedom, or emancipation, which dominate all discourses or paradigms of modernity, will lose their decisiveness (2009, p. 267).

Accordingly, deconstructionism's claim that "a text has no author" eliminates the responsible or active subject. In this case, the society becomes unable to act in postmodern theory (Kumar, 2013, p. 159). In any case, postmodern theory does not have such an expectation. The important thing is the interpretation, not the action. And there is no claim of accuracy in these comments. Everyone's interpretation can be right for oneself. The typical feature of subjective idealism and relativism is at play

here. At this point, the concept of "metaphor" comes into view. Metaphors can never be reduced to "truth". For this reason, their unique structures can only be considered as a certain "piece" of the text. As Sarup (2010, p. 79) states, deconstructionists use metaphor in the same way as parchment (a type of paper used in ancient times, on which other writings can be written by deleting the texts). Deconstructive text reading focuses on seeing the actual picture that remains under the text, just like the writing that has been erased from the parchment but whose traces remain. Spivak (as cited in Sarup, 2010) explains the metaphor technique as follows:

If traditional methods are used while deciphering the text, we see that we encounter a word that feeds a contradiction that cannot be overcome no matter what is done. Because of this contradictory word, we sometimes work towards one end of the contradiction and sometimes the other; Thus, we catch the word by pointing out that the text does not have a complete meaning. But if the metaphor seems to show us its connotations, then we have caught that metaphor. By seeking to reveal the metaphorical adventures in the hidden structure of the text, we prove that the text is breaking the rules it has accepted from the beginning, we reveal the undecidability of the text (p. 80).

The undecidability of the text revealed by metaphor is very important for the deconstruction technique. In *The Letter on Humanism* (1947), known as the main text that led Derrida to Heidegger, Heidegger writes that language is "both the home of 'Being' ('Sein') and the shelter of human essence". According to the German philosopher, "language exalts in the radiance of 'Being' (Lichtung)" and "although it constantly rules us, only then it was mysteriously happening (it came to the status of being) (as cited in Timur, 2005, p. 164). As can be seen, Derrida's philosophy of language was shaped by Heidegger's philosophy of language. And accordingly, the condition of being is not the objective world but language itself. At this point, it

should be noted that dialectical materialism, which stands against this idealist understanding of language, is not against the analysis of meaning in language. But dialectical materialism studies language in its real historical development. According to dialectical materialism, language is “considered as a fundamental tool of human society, a communication tool that expresses the reflection of the material world in the human mind and its transformation into thought forms” (Cornforth, 2009, p. 143).

The important thing is to resolve the objective contradictions, not the contradictions related to the words. Unlike in Derrida's philosophy, it cannot be separated from the social production and labor process on the plane of being-language. By making a comparison between apes and humans in the *Dialectic of Nature*, Engels reveals that the only correct explanation is that the source of language arises from and with the labor process. The domination over nature begins with the making of tools, that is, the development of the hand, in order to produce the means of subsistence, and this causes the development of human horizons. “The development of labor necessarily helped the members of society to come closer to each other by increasing the states of mutual solidarity, communal activity, and by becoming conscious of the benefit this communal activity brought for each individual. In short, people undergoing formation have reached the point where they have something to say to each other” (Engels, 1979, p. 220). Thus, language emerged because of this development. Language is neither a transcendent being nor, as poststructuralist thinkers argue, “the only (if not absolute) reality”.

#### **4.2.3. Gilles Deleuze (1925-1995) and Felix Guattari (1930-1992)**

The names of Deleuze and Guattari, who are important names of the poststructuralist tradition, are mentioned together because they usually perform their works together. The contribution of his meeting with Guattari in Deleuze philosophy

is great. "The encounter with Guattari acts as a detonator on Deleuze, initiating and shifting thought from fictional factors to real events, political tendencies that shake the social structure, and the actual field of madness in the current institutional framework" (Sauvagnargues, 2010, p. 23). The two thinkers came together and started their work right after the 1968 Movement. The aim of the two-volume *Capitalism and Schizophrenia* studies -as the name suggests - "seems to be a Nietzschean synthesis of psychoanalysis and Marxism, combining Deleuze's metaphysics with Guattari's psycho-social theorizations" (Gutting, 2001, 339). As it will be remembered, the Frankfurt School's efforts to synthesize psychoanalysis and Marxism were included in the First Chapter. With these connections, it becomes more understandable why the Critical School is considered as the starting point in the historical process leading to postmodernism and poststructuralism. Again, in the same section, Adorno and Deleuze's similar literary approaches (singularity/minor literature that begins in language) and the commonality of metaphysical orientation in art (Adorno's approach of "a metaphysical reality that is more realistic than reality" in the work of art, and Deleuze's "involuntary memory" "The fact that he attributes more importance to the fiction of reality in the work of art than to voluntary memory) has been pointed out.

The importance of Deleuze is that some concepts such as "nomadism" and "minority" that he used in his studies had a profound effect on the studies carried out in various fields of social sciences (Kızılay, 2009, p. 31). The "nomadic" approach, reminiscent of Heidegger's concept of "deterritorialization", became the source of the poststructuralist political stance -especially the postcolonial theories-, and the "minority" approach was the source of the postmodern understanding of art. Deleuze and Guattari's contributions to poststructuralist theory will be discussed under the title

of "Poststructuralism" in the next section. Therefore, in this section, their philosophies and understanding of postmodern art will be tried to be explained.

Deleuze, like Foucault or Derrida, looks at philosophy from the perspective of idealism and compress' philosophy into the field of language and discourse.

According to Deleuze, philosophy "has always been concerned with concepts, to philosophize is to try to invent or create concepts" (2006, p. 34). In this case, the task of the philosopher will be to deal with creations in the order of concepts (Deleuze, 2006, p. 35). As can be seen, the 11th Thesis of Marx, which carries philosophy from thought to practice, is rejected. Despite this, Colebrook (2009, p. 12) underlines that Deleuze accepts the world as a product of imagination and assumes philosophy as a tendency to construct an image in life itself, like the image of rational reason and subject, through creative interpretation. In fact, Deleuze's approach to philosophy coincides with the philosophical rationalism of the modern era (Gürkan, 2013, p. 139). Deleuze defines his own philosophy as "transcendent empiricism" against Kant's "transcendent idealism" (Gutting, 2001, p. 338). The "transcendent empiricism" developed by Deleuze was inspired by Bergsonian intuitionism. "To stick to holistic experience in the Bergsonian sense can only be transcendental empiricism. Transcendental empiricism seeks to capture the sub-representational virtual reality of lived experience. In other words, it is both transcendental and experiential, as it seeks the virtual conditions of real lived experience, not all possible experiences" (Makaskıran, 2017, para. 4). Another important concept in Deleuze's philosophy is the concept of "difference". Deleuze's "positive ontological project", which is based on the idea that "the thing is different from itself" and develops language, emphasizes the distinctions between difference and repetition. Deleuze

opposes the view that two concrete things differ by expressing different forms or repeating others by expressing the same form.

Deleuze asks us to think that our repetition is different. What will allow us to think in this way is standard metaphysics. “Each repetition (instance) of a form will not necessarily differ from other repetitions of the form, for example by having a different spatial or temporal location.” In Deleuze's thinking, a repetition would actually be different from a repetition. So, if "to be" is to be different, it also means an expression of the difference of a being with itself. Deleuzian difference; It's not rejection, it's approval. Difference should be understood as a matter of what is in itself, not how an entity relates to other things. “An entity, as a mere entity, is a focus of heterogeneity (innovation, creativity) that is difference. The repetition of an entity—for example, its continuing existence over time or a new instance—can only be an expression of this heterogeneity” (Gutting, 2001, pp. 335-336). This emphasis on "difference" in Deleuze's philosophy is a guide for postmodern political understanding.

Another important concept in the philosophy of Deleuze and Guattari is the desire for power. However, they underline that their approach has differences with Foucault's power approach:

Our difference from Foucault is revealed in the following points: 1-) For us, those who come together appear as desire rather than power altogether; so that desire is always brought together; power is also a stratified dimension of coming together. 2-) The schema (or the formal structure of assemblage) ... has an essential orbital form; Gathering is also a point of creation and dislocation rather than a phenomenon of resistance or reaction (as cited in Callinicos, 2001, p. 134).



According to Deleuze and Guattari, the dominant forms of power are not created by these forms themselves, but by the tendency of “desire” to overstep and “displace” (Callinicos, 2001, p. 134). Desire is a "sexuality" that extends beyond gender relations because it can relate wholly heterogeneous relations and land-territorials, multiplicity of the sexes. For Deleuze and Guattari the only immanent type of relationship is a spontaneous attraction between heterogeneous relationships that results in incorporating each other into their mode of existence. Because such relationships are paradigmatically exemplified by sexual attraction, Deleuze calls it desire. However, desire is a deterritorialized concept since it does not derive all its meaning from the place-dorm where it was first placed, that is, from sexual relations (Goodchild, 2005, p. 77). Defending the revolution of desire, Deleuze and Guattari are not concerned with creating a truly universal theory of society. The revolution of desire aims not to create a society based on equality, justice, and freedom, but instead a society of multiplicity, desire and creativity. “This is why Deleuze and Guattari’s social theory is about a knowledge of desire through and for desire” (Goodchild, 2005, p. 78). As subjective concepts such as desire, multiplicity and creativity are substituted for universal concepts such as equality, justice and freedom, the postmodern individual is imprisoned in his own universe, and the view of art and literature is shaped in this direction.

For Deleuze and Guattari, a book represents a form of organization and in that sense can never be attributed to a subject. The fact that it cannot be attributed to the subject does not mean that the book has universal values. What is meant here is that the subject has a multiplicity according to its forms of being. The book written by this plural subject is a multiplicity, because from the very beginning the author himself is a multiplicity. According to both thinkers, the book is not an organized whole. And

therefore, the book; it is an organless body that contains meaningless particles and pure densities. The style of each book emerges according to the coincidence of different possibilities. So much so that a book is not a single body without organs, but a multitude of bodies without organs.<sup>31</sup> Therefore, Deleuze and Guattari prefer to problematize where the function of the book combines and which other organless bodies it changes, despite the signifier-signified (subject-object) duality of structuralism (Akay, 1993, p. 9). Deleuze and Guattari, who argue that the author, who is a multiplicity, always produces something singular, agree on a similar line with Adorno, who emphasizes the singularity of the artwork. In addition, Deleuze and Guattari transcend Nietzsche's eternal return with their rhizome approach. Akay (1993) explains this situation as follows:

Just as a linear knowledge in Nietzsche's aphorisms breaks its integrity, just as rectilinear history leaves its place to a cyclic eternal return in the world that lost its stake-roots, the subject no longer even enters the act of double-forking. Non-double-forking is related to the disappearance of the subject. A world without a subject makes its world as much as its object as chaos. Although the book still carries the image of the world, it has now entered a state of chaos that is not rooted but depended on a root. In this way, the book, piece by piece, becomes a whole and ceases to be an image of the world (p. 10).

The concept of image also has an important place in the philosophy of Deleuze and Guattari. According to Deleuze, the image is an effect rather than a description, a combination of power relations that provide acceleration and deceleration, which shows a power variable. If the image is a reality, not an intellectual goal, it is neither a

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<sup>31</sup> The concept of the body without organs is a concept Deleuze borrowed from the poetic work of Antonin Artaud. In this concept, it is claimed that the body is thought without being reduced to an organic form. "For Deleuze, the organ is the opposite of life, and life must be understood as inorganic." (Sauvagnargues, 2010, p. 67).

representation of consciousness (psychological data) nor a representation of the object (object goal). The image is that which does not need to be noticed, it is in itself like shaking, vibration and movement. Deleuze approaches the image in a Bergsonian line. “In the Bergsonian sense, the image is treated as an appearance, a system of effects and reactions at the material level” (Sauvagnargues, 2010, p. 31, 59). Deleuze (as cited in Sauvagnargues, 2010, p. 59) explains the image in *Matiere et Memoire* as follows: “Let's call the image the whole of what appears. We cannot even say that one image causes an effect and reaction on another. There is no movement that separates from an action made, and there is no movement that leaves a movement that is taken.” Deleuze states that the quality of images changes in every branch of art but does not leave the technique. For example, colors and lines for painting, sounds for music, linguistic descriptions for novels, and image-movements for cinema (Sauvagnargues, 2010, p. 60).

Deleuze and Guattari advocate minor literature over major literature. Three features of minor literature stand out: the deterritorialization of language, the attachment of the individual to the directly political, and the collective organization of utterance. The narrow space of minor literature will ensure that every individual problem is connected to politics. “So, the individual question becomes necessary, indispensable, and magnified under the microscope to the extent that a completely different story moves within it.” In utterance, the subject disappears, and only collective utterance arrangements are present (Deleuze & Guattari, 2000, pp. 26-28). As can be seen, in the literary approaches of the two thinkers, importance is given to the political. But the question of what is critical and what is political, which is the subject of this study, gains importance here. Deleuze and Guattari's contributions to postmodern politics and post Marxism will be examined in detail in the next section.

Now, the features of postmodern literature based on the concepts of postmodern thinkers will be included.

### **4.3. Characteristics of Postmodern Literature**

The emphasis of postmodernism on the concept of multiple self, fragmentation and the other, and its understanding that puts desire and pleasure in contrast to the principles and values of modernism such as reason and science have deeply affected culture and its sub-field, literature. This profound effect has resulted in the "deepening" of literature. Because "lack of depth" is an important feature of postmodern literature. In fact, in postmodernism, text is in the center instead of literature. Postmodernism refuses to attach any special value to literary texts and asserts that everything is text. Nevertheless, as N. Lucy states (2003, p. 15) nothing is central in the postmodern world, everything is a paradox. For this reason, the idea of the text, compared to the idea of literature, is anti-foundationalist. If works of literature have a "depth", the texts are simply collections of "surface" influences. According to Lucy (2003, p. 15), if it is true that postmodernism understands everything as text and that it is indeed the *Zeitgeist* of our time, then literature cannot be the only thing that is understood as lacking in depth. Politics, like literature, must be baseless. "Forget the depth, think on the surface!" approach is like the summary of postmodernism.

"The loss of temporality and the search for immediate effect" has led to the loss of depth in postmodern culture (Harvey, 2014, p. 74). Of course, these cultural characteristics do not emerge spontaneously. According to Marx and Engels (2016, p. 9) the mode of production of material life determines the social, political, and intellectual life processes in general. However, the emphasis on "generally" is important here. Because this is not an automatic determination. "Political, legal,

philosophical, religious, literary, artistic, etc. development is based on economic development. But all these areas react to each other and also to the economic basis. It is not correct to say that only the economic situation leads to everything and that only it is active and everything else is passive” (Marx & Engels, 2016, p. 17). As can be seen, the thought of Marxism regarding the infrastructure-superstructure relationship is quite clear and explicit. In order to understand the relationship between material production and intellectual production, it is necessary to consider material production not as a general category but as a specific historical form. So that means; Historically different modes of production will have different modes of intellectual production. E.g; “The type of intellectual production suitable for capitalist production methods is different from the type of intellectual production suitable for medieval production methods.” Marx and Engels state that unless we grasp the specific historical form of material production, we will not be able to understand the concrete nature of intellectual production that suits it and the interrelationship between the two factors, and thus any conclusion we arrive at will be meaningless (2016, p. 35). To better understand this relationship, they give an example of Greek mythology:

Could the worldview and social relations that shaped Greek imagination and Greek art exist in the age of automatic machines, railways, locomotives, telegraphs? (...) All mythology controls, directs, shapes natural forces within and through imagination; That's why mythology disappears when man becomes dominant over the forces of nature. (...) Greek art could never have arisen in a society that did not accept the mythological explanation of nature, a mythological attitude towards nature, and demanded an imagination free of mythology from the artist (2016, pp. 25-26).

Just as in Ancient Greece, intellectual production is shaped by the mode of production of the society in the late capitalism stage today. And if postmodernism,

which Jameson defines as the "cultural logic of late capitalism" based on the relationship between material production and intellectual production, is not handled in this way, the result will be "meaningless" as Marx and Engels said. However, for postmodern thinkers, there is no such thing as historical continuity, including values and beliefs. Thus, in postmodernism, the work of art, including literature, is reduced to a text emphasizing discontinuity and allusion. Such an approach to art brings along many problems in terms of both aesthetic judgment and critical judgment. Harvey summarizes this problem as follows: "Postmodernism, which rejects (and actively "deconstructs") any authoritative and supposedly immutable standards of aesthetic judgment, can only judge a spectacle by how ostentatious it is" (2014, p. 74). Derrida's deconstruction, which was tried to be explained in detail above, is considered as an adequate method for literary criticism, and thus criticism is reduced to text. McHale (as cited in Harvey, 2014, p. 64), on the other hand, says that Foucault's concept of "heterotopia" is a perfect image to grasp what postmodern literature is trying to describe. With the concept of heterotopia, Foucault describes the coexistence of "many fragmented possible worlds" in an "impossible space" or, more simply, spaces that are superimposed or juxtaposed with each other although they cannot be measured jointly. The characters no longer think about how to solve or uncover a fundamental enigma, but are instead forced to seek answers to the questions: "What world is this? What needs to be done in this world?"

Which of my selves will do this? When the plurality of the self and the fragmentation of the world come together with the discontinuity of time, the basis of postmodern literature is formed. While criticizing the American novel of the period in 1987, Charles Newman, who is also the author of *The Post-Modern Aura*, writes that a "general helplessness" in American literature has become more easily identifiable

than ever before. According to Newman (as cited in Harvey, 2014, p. 76), the situation in literature is the retelling of the most stereotypical characters possible in the most stereotypical expression possible in the most stereotypical setting possible. "Helplessness" and "stereotype" mentioned by Newman also appear in popular/postmodern literary magazines chosen as samples. McHale (1987) states that this literature deals with "ontologies", the potential and actual plurality of universes, and creates "an eclectic and anarchic landscape of plural worlds" (as cited in Harvey, 2014, p. 336). These plural worlds, being one and the other at the same time, are similar to the words Marx uttered when describing a genre called "grobian" literature that emerged in Germany during the Reformation: "(...) At the same time, being both Solomon, Marculf, Don Quixote, Sanso Panza, soothsayer and suburban; the crude variant of anger; a kind of brute anger; above all, the venerable conscience of a self-satisfied philistine – this was the "grobian" literature of the 16th century" (2016, p. 84). In certain periods of history, depending on social developments, similar genres or similar approaches can be seen even if the genre is not tried. The trend that emerged in popular/postmodern literary magazines is like an adaptation of the features listed by Marx (2016) when describing "grobian" literature:

Stale, boastful, vulgar, smug, annoyingly ostentatious, hysterically touchy in a counterattack; not being able to touch any target by swinging his sword left and right, giving a terrible example of wasting energy; to break morals without ceaselessly talking about morality; an absurd mix of the pathetic and the vulgar; to seek the real truth, but to pass by the truth; arrogantly asserting the petty-bourgeois half-culture against popular understanding and the so-called common sense against science; lamenting with a shallow mind, quite content with his situation... (p. 84).

The cynical attitude of postmodernism also affects its understanding of literature. In a postmodern world, “literature” is seen as a text among texts, “truth” is seen only in circulation, and “values” are seen as a result of cultural traditions.

“Therefore, the importance of being cynical in order not to be crushed under the suffocating weight of 'culture' and 'tradition' is obvious today (Lucy, 2003, p. 14).

Another important point for postmodern literature is “centrality”. According to Deleuze and Guattari, a work does not have a single entry. "How to enter Kafka's work?" Their answer to the question is that the book has "plural entries". The work is a rhizome, a nest (2000, p. 7). “In a rhizome; there are no points or positions of the kind found in a structure, a tree, or a root. It has only lines.” Thus, for Deleuze and Guattari, the rhizome is a representation of what has been described as "decentralized systems." This situation can also be seen as another expression of the postmodern notion of “structureless” structure. “Trees are structured and hierarchical; rhizome, on the other hand, is non-hierarchical, unstructured, open, wandering, and consists only of 'many entry and exit routes and its own lines of escape' (Lucy, 2003, p. 264).

Decentralization and multiple entries, namely the rhizome metaphor, are an important feature of postmodern literature. It is not in vain that Deleuze and Guattari chose Kafka to study. Because Kafka “is like the pain expected in the womb for the birth of the postmodern.” In Kafka's *Trial* and later works, time is woven in spirals rather than a straight line. His texts are ambiguous. The isolation and introversion of the individual under the influence of World War II combines with a Kafkaesque attitude. The breaks about modernity in literature, which started with Proust and Joyce before, form a unity in Kafka (Koçakoğlu, 2018, pp. 72, 74-75). Best and Kellner (2011, p. 26) describe the breaks between modern and postmodern literature as follows:



Against the modernist values of seriousness, piety and individuality, postmodern art exhibits a new indifference, a new playfulness, and a new eclecticism. The elements of sociopolitical criticism (Burger, 1984) and the desire for radically new virtual forms that are characteristic of the historical avant-garde are replaced by pastiche, playing with quotations and past forms, contempt for morality, commercialism, and in some cases outright nihilism. While the modernist movement has hailed the political avant-garde, negation, and opposition, and called for a revolution in art and life, much of postmodernist art has often enjoyed the world as it is and happily coexisted in a pluralism of aesthetic styles and plays. However, other theorists and artists such as Jenny Holzer, Barbara Kruger, and Hans Haacke have sought an oppositional trend in postmodern art and have produced interesting new forms of political art that challenge and subvert prevailing ideologies and representational codes (see Foster, 1983; Conner, 1989; Hutcheon, 1989).

In addition to the features such as "outright nihilism" and "commercialism" described by Best and Kellner, "interesting new political art forms" appear as a dominant element in popular/postmodern literary magazines. For this reason, throughout the study, postmodernism has been tried to be handled not only as a cultural field but also with a political economy method. Engels points out that an incompetent literati can only attract attention with political implications, and says, "It has become a habit, especially for illiterate authors, to make political implications that are sure to attract attention in order to cover up the lack of intelligence in their works" (Marx & Engels, 2016, p. 103). Again, political overtones are a common feature in magazines.

The technical features of postmodern literature can be summarized as metafiction, intertextuality, pastiche, irony, and collage. In a very general sense, metafiction is the explicit emphasis that the universe in the novel is fictional and a

textual reality (Narlı, 2018, p. 21). The concept of intertextuality was first introduced by the French writer Julia Kristeva in 1965. Intertextuality, which means "the relationship between two texts with any phenomenon, communication, parallelism and opposition, transitivity and transfer", when viewed from a broader perspective, has a higher level meaning that includes the text and the author into an ontological process, especially in the field of literature (Bulut, 2018, p. 2). Intertextual relations were of course used long before postmodern literature. It is seen that intertextual relations are also used in classical texts and modern texts. However, as Broich states, the differences between the way it is used in the postmodern period and the way it is used in the previous period can be discerned by the reader. The time, space, plot, and character creation methods of the modern period lose their meaning in postmodern texts, and ambiguity and intertwinedness come to the fore. The novel allows for versatile references. "At this point, intertextual relationship becomes one of the most important tools of postmodern discourse. Because postmodern discourse, which knows no bounds in the production of meaning, does not accept a certain pattern of fabrication, and has not determined its route from the beginning, has adopted the intertextual relationship that will allow it this opportunity" (Bulut, 2018, pp. 13-14).

Bauman (2000, p. 148) states that the only way postmodern narrative refers to its premises is to refer to them, that is, to cite the original places where they were found, and thus to distort their original meaning, instead of confirming them. This brings to mind Derrida's deconstruction technique. As can be seen, deconstruction serves as a lifeline for postmodern narrative. Postmodern narrative "takes refuge in the world of texts" and a method that can be considered as "stolen" in modern literature becomes an aesthetic element in postmodern times (Koçakoğlu, 2018, p. 95).

One of the methods frequently used in postmodern narrative in connection with intertextuality is pastiche. Pastiche, which has been translated from Italian “pasticco” into French and is synonymous with imitation, means “chaotic, unoriginal or imitating the style of a particular person or period” (as cited in Koçakoğlu, 2018, p. 96). However, in most postmodern narratives, pastiche has turned into a cut-and-paste technique with a meaning that goes beyond imitation. Rosenau (1998, p. 16) explains this transformation with the analogy of patchwork: Patchwork formed by the random, chaotic, messy, collage-like coming together of ideas or opinions. Pastiche incorporates opposing elements such as old and new. It denies regularity, logic, or symmetry; it likes difference and contrast. For Jameson, however, the increasing scarcity of personal style as a result of the disappearance of the individual subject gives rise to the almost universal practice, we might call pastiche today. And in this strange state, it replaces the “parody” of the modern period. While there is a style in parody, “pastiche is an empty parody, a blind-eyed sculpture” (1994, p. 76). In popular/postmodern literary magazines, both Rosenau's pastiche samples and the use of pastiche as an imitation are frequently encountered. Creating a narrative by bringing together texts that are not related to each other and do not form a meaningful whole takes up a significant place in these magazines.

Kierkegaard (as cited in Koçakoğlu, 2018, p. 98) writes in *On Irony* that “Irony is the name of a word game that is frequently used in the art of discourse, and its feature is that the opposite of the spoken word is claimed”. In irony (ridiculous transformation), the form and figurative features of the exemplary text are deformed in order to ridicule fiction and techniques or to entertain the reader (Narlı, 2018, 21). Finally, collage can be defined as “the common unity of disjointed parts in a whole”. With the collage technique, disjointed elements are gathered in a work, thus

emphasizing that the work has the feature of an 'open work' or 'plural work' (as cited in Koçakoğlu, 2018, pp. 99-100).

Ahmet Sarı (2018, p. 45) summarizes the features of postmodern literature as follows:

Meaninglessness, pessimism, its own search for subjective truth, the orientation of the narrators, parodies of previously written and tradition-formed literary examples, hybridized and intertwined characters, form/style mixes, irrationalism, linguistic games that will provide different readings because the author expresses what he wants to tell with multiple narrations, it can be said that unreliable narrative is the characteristics of postmodern literature.

With all these features, postmodern literature includes an understanding that "everything is possible", "why not", "there is a place for you here", and "all the impossible can come together (ie grotesque)" (Sağlık, 2018, p. 51- 52). This understanding is also valid in popular/postmodern literary magazines. In an issue, both the authors and the content of the text appear as an environment where all the "impossibles can coexist". As C. Alexander (1994, p. 181) points out, postmodernism is play within play, a historical drama designed to convince its audience that drama is dead, and history no longer exists. What remains is nostalgia for a symbolized past. This nostalgia, too, turned into a left-wing melancholy and found its place in magazines.

In addition to these features described above, elitism is excluded in postmodern culture, for example in the field of art. In other words, the taste of the masses, or in other words popular art, has destroyed high literature, classical music, modern painting, and their aesthetic criteria; they have been replaced by criteria specific to popular art. It can be argued that commercial success comes first among

these criteria (Şaylan, 2009, p. 57). When popular art criteria are considered, two prominent concepts are populism and anti-intellectualism.

#### **4.4. Populism and Anti-Intellectualism**

Today, it is not possible to talk about a consensus definition of the concept of "populism" used by both the right and the left. While some theorists accept populism as an ideology, others see populism as a political strategy. As Weyland and Barr (as cited in by Weyland, Barr, Wodak, Hawkins, and Worsley) stated, this strategy is the strategy of politicians to reproduce and maintain power in public speeches. For Wodak and Hawkins, populism is a discourse. For Worsley, who describes himself as a Marxist, populism is a political style.

Ernesto Laclau, one of the founders of the "Radical Democracy" theory, which will be covered in detail in the Post Marxism section, sees populism as the "democratization of democracy". Chantal Mouffe, with whom Laclau developed his theory together, says in her book "Left Populism" that the neoliberal era erodes equality and popular sovereignty. It sees the "populist moment" as necessary in order to win the fight against this erosion. According to Bora, what Mouffe means is "populism as a political strategy, not populism as a full-fledged program." In order to restore the agonistic dynamic to politics and to create affective mobilization, populism is a procedure, a political mobilization strategy (as cited in by Laclau, Mouffe and Marchard, Bora, 3 July 2019). Laclau and Mouffe's postMarxist agonistic understanding of democracy will be discussed in detail in the next section. However, it can be briefly said that agonistic democracy is based on the concept of "conflicting consensus", in a way other than the consensus understanding of the negotiators. Populist political communication strategies divide society into "real people" and

“corrupt elite”. The symbolic core of populism may include the following three principles:

1. The continued use of the concept of "the people", often attributed as an organic body, positions "ordinary citizens" as the sole source of political legitimacy against the elitist portrayal of the political order;
2. Anti-elitism, which also emphasizes the rejection of the political class as a whole. Anger at all political and social institutions that are figuratively considered a “caste” and all their professionalized elements, including politicians, bureaucrats, journalists, and scientists;
- and 3. Condemnation of traditional institutions of representative democracy. For this reason, representative institutions prevent the realization of "real" democracy, where the sovereignty is actually in the hands of the people and politicians are simply its implementers (Taggart, Franzosi, Marone, and Salvoti as cited in Kaya, 2016, p. 8).

According to populism, politics should be an expression of the general will of the people. Although the theorists cannot agree on a general definition of populism, they seem to be united in elements that emphasize different aspects of populism. Some of those elements appear in popular/postmodern literary magazines as well. anti-elitism; anti-intellectualism; anti-establishment positions; These elements can be listed as the elements of populism that we encounter in magazines.

Probably the most common motif of populism is the glorification of the simple man of the people in the face of the corrupt urban/Westernized/cosmopolitan elite, by exploiting the intellectual-popular disconnect. A simple man of the people, besides his many virtues, he is considered the protector of religious and national values. The beautification of the peasantry and provincialism gains meaning in this context. The plain, baldness and simplicity of the rural people are aestheticized as the unspoiled national gem. The use of folk dialect, local dialects, and slang, when necessary, represents the healthy authenticity of the national-people against the artificiality and

alienation of the intelligentsia. We can see different accents in these representations. Most obviously, it is possible to talk about an approach that reflects the schemas of male sexism as "folk wisdom", and that clearly leads to anti-intellectualism (Canefe, 2007, p. 160).

While anti-intellectualism is a part of populist approaches, it is also fed by pragmatist and Bergsonian approaches. Intellectualism, which aims to grasp the truth with the mind based on scientific thought, is also the target of anti-intellectualism, just like the pragmatist and Bergsonian approaches. Many thinkers have different approaches to intellectualism. However, due to the dialectical materialist method used in this study, the main issue that makes an intellectual an intellectual is the bond he establishes between theory and practice. The form of criticism belonging to materialist criticism and therefore the method applied in this study also reveals the approach of materialism to intellectualism. While approaching a work, the materialist method asks how it is positioned against the social relations of the period. In other words: is the work in question in harmony with social relations; is it reactionary or aims to change social relations; So, is it progressive?" (Kula, 2013, p. 157).

Among the main features of anti-intellectualism is a lack of respect for any critical thinking, theoretical approach, academic research, and therefore intellectuals. Practicality, utilitarianism, and usefulness are important to anti-intellectualism. Lack of analysis and criticism is among the most prominent features of anti-intellectualists. Anti-intellectualism also forms the basis of neoliberal and conservative hegemony on the political ground (Gençoğlu, 2018, p. 66). The lack of analysis and in-depth criticism is a frequently encountered populist attitude, especially in the contents of the popular/postmodern literary magazines examined in this study. According to Rigney (as cited in Gençoğlu, 2018, p. 68), populist anti-elitism downplays academic studies and objective information, renders academic criteria worthless and attacks

intellectuals in order to defend the rights of ordinary individuals. Not being patient with anything that is not practical or easy is also among the characteristics of anti-intellectualism. Anti-intellectualism, which puts thought and reason behind and brings intuition to the fore, has a Bergsonian understanding as well as both populist and pragmatist features. Since Bergson is an anti-intellectual thinker, in his view, art should emotionalize ideas with an intuitive understanding (Aydoğdu, 2006, p. 190). The intuitivism, pragmatics, lack of analysis and depth of anti-intellectualism can also be found in popular/postmodern magazines.

#### **4.5. Aestheticizing Art and Politics**

One of the features of the postmodern age is the aestheticization of art and politics. Before moving on to the aestheticization of politics and art, it will be beneficial for the integrity of the work to continue by remembering Marx's aesthetic approach. Marxist aesthetics starts from Marx's claim that art is a mode of production in social relations. For a person to change a situation or condition, he must be active. All kinds of production, including aesthetic-literary production, is also an activity of creating or changing. Therefore, the determination of "man changes situations or conditions" includes works of art that are the product of the bodily-intellectual activity or work of the transforming power of man. According to this thesis, every activity and production that causes a change also changes the producer or the agent. According to the Marxist understanding of aesthetics, art/literature should not only describe the world, society, man, and nature, but should also aim to change it (Kula, 2013, p.7-8). However, with postmodernism, politics and art began to be aestheticized. According to Benjamin, fascism says, "even if the world falls, let there be art" and expects "satisfaction of sense perceptions changed by technique" from



war. This discourse is also the culmination of the understanding of “art is for art”.

Like the futurists in World War II, what fascism does is the "aestheticization of politics". Communism, on the other hand, responds to the aestheticization of politics and art by "politicizing art" (as cited in Benjamin Kula, 2013, p. 129). Benjamin tried to show how the Nazis used art and mass media to aestheticize politics and therefore their own ideologies. While it is the politicization of art that will save the masses from the alienation that the aestheticized capitalist life drags into them, both (politics and art) are aestheticized for the continuation of the existing system in today's postmodern era.

According to Benjamin, there are two elements from modern society at the source of fascism: “Aestheticization of life and blocking the natural development of science and technology, thus establishing a dominion over the organic over the death” (Oskay, 1982, p. 50). The "propaganda language" of the capitalist system has discovered the aestheticization of politics and art. Because aestheticized politics and capitalist ideology are extremely successful in producing masses that are loyal to them. Benjamin associates the aestheticization of politics and art with the deprivation of experience that has begun to manifest itself in modern society. This “lack of experience” (“Erfahrungsarmut”) is not just a “lack of experience” in one's personal life. According to him, the real deprivation is a “deprivation” in the “experiences of humanity” (as cited in Benjamin Men, 2019, p. 99). Supporting Benjamin's ideas for aestheticized politics, Koepnick argues that for the aestheticized politics of the existing capitalist system, "mechanical means of reproduction create auratic effects; He regulates primitive emotions with modern machines”. (1999, p. 4).

According to Benjamin (as cited in Erkek, 2019, p. 107), by aestheticizing politics, the fascist order aims to protect the "property relations" in favor of its own

interests, to distract the working class from its purpose and to organize them around a fascist ideology. The sanctification of war and death, the inevitability of what will be experienced for the future of Germany, and the aestheticization of politics and art in order to gain the support of the masses are a necessity due to the nature of fascism so that Germany and therefore Hitler can justify the war. Today, the aestheticization of politics and art continues to be useful for the continuity of the existing order. "Politics is now a collaborative spectacle of opinion polls and the huge political entertainment industry; with news programs and reality shows, [it is] aestheticized in such a way that it is basically no different from a fictionalized game" (Kreft, 2008, p. 10-11). Mass media is one of the most functional tools, as it was in the Hitler era, in order to numb the senses of the masses and prevent them from thinking deeply by aestheticizing art and politics. In the process of creating false consciousness, images are constantly bombarded with the masses today. According to the Marxist dialectical method and Benjamin, in order to get rid of this situation, it is necessary to get rid of the understanding of "art is for art", which gives art autonomy, and art should be politicized.

#### **4.6. The Phantasmagorical Expansion of Another World Purpose**

According to Benjamin, who took the term "Phantasmagoria" from Marx, phantasmagoria corresponds to a deceptive appearance (Morss, 2010, pp. 100-101). According to Benjamin, dialectical thinking is needed to make sense of the phantasmagoria or fantasies that Marx uses to describe the deceptive image of commodities in the fetishized state in the market. "Phantasmagoria, the deceptive image, is now the commodity itself; the exchange value or form of value in this commodity obscures its use value; phantasmagoria is entirely synonymous with the

capitalist production process, and this process confronts people who realize it like a force of nature” (Tiedemann, 1993, p. 22). According to Benjamin, “there is a connection between the emergence of images of desire and fantasies in the collective unconscious and the interpretation of social/historical changes. Objects, cultural images, works of art, in which these desire-images materialize, can enable these changes to be realized with the utopian possibilities they contain” (as cited in Avcı, 2015, pp. 25-26). Today, the capitalist era, which aestheticizes politics and art, also shapes, and presents fantasies through the culture industry.

The videogame machine that Marx articulated in his discussion of meta-fetishism in *Capital* is a strange nineteenth-century vision that presents a parade of ghostly shapes before its audience's eyes. It does this by inverting the painted slides. Their persuasive illusion is not the fault of subjective perception - it is not the eye that deceives the beholder, but the factual form of the reality presented. Such fantasies and illusions, such an abuse of reality, produced by the video game, rehearse how people perceive their social world in everyday life (Leslie, 2010, p. 171).

According to Benjamin, phantasmagoria is “an objective phenomenon and an unintentional fallacy produced and propagated by capitalists” (Leslie, 2010, p. 171). The effect of phantasmagoria is seen in Benjamin's view that “the structure of experience has aestheticized features”, which we mentioned in the previous section. According to Koepnick (1999, p. 157, 159), “the aestheticization of politics in fascism, not different from world fairs and passages, is based on the phantasmagorical structuring of life”.

Fantasy, which means “unreal”, is an activity style that does not require the subject to solve problems and act towards a goal. Fantasy aggression leads to a substitute target instead of the real one. It brings out animosity and resentment

harmlessly. It does this by making some computational arrangements just before the behavioral expression of hostility. Thus, the expression of hostility is alleviated or completely avoided. Thanks to fantasy, individuals exposed to it are prevented from burdening them with social costs while expressing their hostility. In some cases, violence provides entertainment while being watched in fantasy. With this fun state, mental tensions are reduced. This effect of fantasy is called the catharsis effect (Oskay, 2017, p. 465).

The most obvious fiction of the fantasy encountered in the popular/postmodern literary magazines that are the subject of the study is the magazines present to their consumers the illusion that they have left-wing values (resistance, struggle, revolution, socialist realist criticism, etc.). Especially thanks to the purification feature of fantasy, the tension and anger felt against the existing system are discharged in an expressive way. Through such a purification, thanks to the fantasy in the magazines, "the response to the stimuli of the magazines is accepted as a response that replaces the action in real life" (Oskay, 2017, p. 466). Magazines examined in this study; through fantasy, it distracts the left's goal of "another world is possible" from action. The reader falls into the misconception that he contributes to making "another world" possible only as a consumer of the magazines, through pre-designed fantasies that affect the cognitive level in the magazine. The aim of "another world" satisfies the readers at the intellectual level without going to the behavioral level with the fantasy design.

In conclusion, fantasy is part of the reality of the commodity world creating "an all-encompassing re-enchanted world with a magic that promises earthly pleasure." In a world where things become "commodities" through fantasies, man becomes alienated from the things he produces and from other people. In fact, the

possibility of pleasure/delight is this state of alienation” (as cited in Erkek, 2019, p. 38). Left ideals/values, which are phantasmagorical in popular/postmodern literary magazines and become imaginary by moving away from praxis, knowingly or unknowingly contribute to the creation of a false consciousness of the consumer mass of the magazines by breaking their ties with reality.



## **5. THE THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK OF POSTMODERN CRITICAL POLITICAL STANCE: POSTMARXISM**

In this last chapter, before moving on to the sample part of the study, the theoretical framework of critical political stance, postMarxism, will be discussed. Although PostMarxism has been theorized in our recent history, it will be revealed that the historical antecedents of the concept are far behind, by associating it with the Critical School and the philosophy of idealism at the beginning of the study.

PostMarxism claims to be an alternative to Marxism. This claim will be discussed especially through the approach of postMarxism to the concept of class.

New political designs such as complex collective will, alternative public sphere, pluralism, libertarian pessimism of PostMarxism will be analyzed in this section by associating them with popular/postmodern literary magazines. The relations of these new designs with the prevailing ideology (capitalism) despite their seemingly critical attitudes will also be tried to be revealed in this section. The "Radical Democracy" design of post-Marxism, which says that it is fed by Marxism, carries the claim of a new socialism suitable for the age. In this section, this claim of post-Marxism will be presented and criticized.

### **5.1. PostMarxist Theory and Its Pioneers**

It is not possible to talk about a single definition for PostMarxist theory. While the definition of theory is different for those who express themselves as post-Marxists, the definition changes critically for those who adopt the dialectical-materialist method, which is the method of this study. According to the idea that has become more and more widespread in academia with Laclau and Mouffe and accepts itself as post-Marxist, post-Marxism is "the questioning and rejection of the basic

assumptions of the Marxist theory, such as the leadership of the working class, the determination of the mode of production and relations, the dictatorship of the proletariat, socialism will be achieved through a political revolution" (Kaygalak, 2001, p. 34). However, this definition may not be a definitively accepted definition for Laclau and Mouffe. Because, according to them, appropriate to postmodernism, "no fact suffices to define a theory, because there is no guarantee that that fact will not be better explained by a more comprehensive theory that will emerge later, and therefore its meaning will be certain" (Laclau & Mouffe, 1992, p. 15). Although for Laclau and Mouffe the meaning of theory is not guaranteed to be precise, it is certain that postMarxism has a problem with the defining elements of Marxism. According to them, Marxism; It may be a sufficient paradigm to comprehend and explain the industrial capitalism of the 19th century. However, the society of the 20th century has very different characteristics from the society in which Marxism emerged. For this reason, it is a futile effort to try to understand and explain this age we live in with Marxist pioneers. According to Wood (2006, p. 14), "in various ways of their own, people have gone in directions that have little relevance other than rejecting Marxism or even socialism. PostMarxism is only a short stop on the road to anti-Marxism. As in the Frankfurt School and the poststructuralists, there is an effort to create a new formula of Marxism with psychoanalysis in post-Marxism.

Psychoanalysis has revealed that the actions of unconscious things obscure any meaning; that advances in structural linguistics allow you to better understand the functions of pure differential identities; In an age where the transformation of thought, from Nietzsche to Heidegger, from pragmatism to Wittgenstein, has absolutely refuted philosophical essentialism, we can reformulate the materialist program far more radically than Marx could in the conditions of his own time (Laclau & Mouffe, 1992, p. 23).

According to the post-Marxist theory, it is insufficient in this age to surpass Marxism only in the field of culture. In order to explain political processes, Marxism, which is now behind the time, must also be overcome in the field of politics, and therefore the basic concepts of Marxism such as 'social class', 'surplus value' and 'exploitation' no longer have any explanatory value (Şaylan, 2009, p. 39). Laclau and Mouffe, in the preface of their book *Hegemony and Social Strategy*, states: “It is no longer possible to maintain the understanding of subjectivity and classes to which Marxism refers, neither its view of the historical orientation of capitalist development, nor the understanding of communism as a transparent society in which antagonisms have disappeared” (2017, p. 29).

When viewed with the dialectical-materialist method used as a method in this study, post-Marxism; It is not a theory that tries to overcome Marxism and adapt it to the present day, but on the contrary, it is a theory that is positioned opposite Marxism by trying to harmonize Marxism with capitalism, although it is known that it will not be possible. It should be noted at the outset that with this feature, postMarxism does not oppose the establishment of power relations based on class, but rather helps. Because integrating something into something means harmonizing it. According to PostMarxists, it is inappropriate and even impossible to fight the centers of today's globalized economy. “In today's postmodern age, they do not see this age as an imperialist age, which is why anti-imperialism is an outdated expression like classes. In this age, the world has become more and more dependent on each other. In such a world, greater international cooperation is needed for the transfer of capital, technology and know-how from 'rich' to 'poor' countries” (Petras, 22 December 2018). The cooperation that we encounter here can be associated with the concept of "joining power", which is discussed in detail in the idealist philosophy section. However,



although it will be examined in more detail below, it should be noted that the cooperation of post-Marxism is a different kind of cooperation from the communicative rationality advocated in Habermas's deliberative democracy. It is an indefinite, agonistic collaboration, and in this sense it is ambiguous. Post-Marxism signaled its first formations in social sciences with the Frankfurt School. However, the first post-Marxist approaches can be traced back to Proudhon, based on Marx's critique of Proudhon in his book *The Poverty of Philosophy*.

Every economic relationship has a good and a bad side; this is a point which Mr. Proudhon does not deceive himself. He sees that this good side is explained and spread by the economists, while the bad side is that the socialists betray and strongly oppose it. He takes the obligation of eternal relations from the economists; it takes the deceptive dream of seeing nothing but misery from the socialists. If he relies on the authority of science, he agrees with both. According to him, science reduces itself to minute proportions of a scientific formula; Mr. Proudhon is a man after formulas, so Mr. Proudhon boasts of being critical of both political economy and communism. Yet he is below both. He is below the economists because, as a philosopher with a magic formula at his elbow, he thought he could not go into purely economic details; It is inferior to the socialists because it lacks the courage and vision to rise above the bourgeois horizon of vision, albeit speculatively. It wants to be a synthesis, but a compound is an error. As a scientist he wants to soar above the bourgeoisie and the proletariat; whereas he is just a petit-bourgeois who is constantly thrown back and forth between capital and labor, between political economy and communism (1966, pp. 139-140).

Considering the fact that Marxism, or dialectical materialism as its scientific method, is a method that tries to understand and change the capitalist relations of production, the theory of post-Marxism and why this theory will fail can be put

forward in a more realistic way. According to the post-Marxist theory, which criticizes Marxism for being an economic determinist and for the transformative role it gives to the working class; Marxism has fallen into dogmatism after a point and a new Marxist understanding is needed to save it from this dogmatism. In the post-Marxist understanding, which sees the aim of changing the capitalist system as dogmatism, there are no classes anymore, and therefore, instead of changing capitalism altogether, autonomous freedoms should be demanded, the power should be oppressed with constant criticism and struggled to get some rights. In this case, post-Marxist theory ascribes invincibility to the capitalist order, and with the view that no other system is possible, it actually becomes a dogmatic theory. In the new socialist project, whose ties with a certain class were severed, "ideology and politics were tried to be autonomous. In its most extreme form, this tendency is related to the tendency to make language or 'discourse' the dominant principle of social life, and the convergence of some 'postMarxist' currents with poststructuralism, the definitive severance of ideology and consciousness from any social and historical basis" (Wood, 2006, p. 24).

Just like Proudhon, whom Marx criticized, post-Marxism, which seeks a third way, should be examined within a much broader intellectual movement, such as idealist philosophy, with its many features. The philosophical thoughts of Kant and Nietzsche, which are given in detail in the philosophy of critical theory, appear in the historical process of postMarxism. Kant, who was examined extensively in the section of Idealism, positioned the individual as a subject instead of a concrete human being with his "transcendental" and "a priori" approaches. It has been seen in the Kant chapter the claim that the "transcendental" and especially the "a priori" arguments of the transcendental consciousness that led Kant to agnosticism that "objective truth

cannot exist" are nothing but subjective idealism (See the section on Idealism).

According to Kant, it is not possible to know empirically whether our experiences are universal or not. The theory of the postmodern critical political stance, postMarxism, also receives support from Kant's view that "it is subjectivity that adds universality to experience". In his Philosophical Notebooks, Lenin explained the element that distinguishes subjectivism, which he sees as skepticism and sophism, from dialectics: "In dialectics, the difference between relative and absolute is also directly and strictly relative. According to the objective dialectic, in the relative there is the absolute.

According to subjectivism and sophistication, the relative is only relative and excludes the absolute" (2013, p. 304). In postmodernism and its theory, postMarxism, objective reality is denied and truth is accepted as relative, leaving out the absolute. In this approach, it is the source of the meaning that post-Marxism attributes to difference, which will be examined later.

Nietzsche, on the other hand, has a great influence on the understanding of class and politics in postMarxist thought. According to Sarup, "Nietzsche is an anti-political thinker, and the individual seeking self-sufficiency is also anti-political. In Nietzsche, creativity is praised and the state is negated. According to Russell, "Nietzsche is a passionate individual." Nietzsche's choice "is in favor of the ruling aristocratic nobility." As Mark Warren said, "Nietzsche is the poet of tragic heroism and the philosopher of radical individualism" (as cited in by Nietzsche, Russell and Warren. Yilmaz, 1996, pp. 115-116). The idea of "eternal return", which fully dominates his philosophy, is also similar to the understanding of post-Marxist theory. As it will be remembered, the eternal return, which means "everything is reborn without borders, eternally disappearing" is actually a thought based on the rejection of a dialectical progress (Nietzsche, 2010b, p. 61). Because, according to Nietzsche,

people are in a cycle that will continue to suffer and alienate forever (Şaylan, 2009, pp. 156-157). This idealist understanding appears before us by changing its name once again, with the post-Marxist theory of "impossibility" attributing indestructibility to capitalism. Nietzsche's view of the working class is similar, although not entirely in line with the postMarxist theory's view of class. Nietzsche did not hesitate to use very clear terms to express his anti-socialist ideas (See section on idealism).

The goal of socialists to build a more progressive society, according to Nietzsche, is nothing but the pleasure of a thirst for revenge. Of course, postMarxists do not take a rigid approach towards the working class like Nietzsche, because according to them, classes are already dead. According to them, for a better future, a more democratic society and autonomous islets should be demanded within the existing order instead of socialism. Petras sharply criticizes the relation of postMarxism to Marxism and discusses what postMarxism really is. For post-Marxism, which claims to transcend Marxism, "socialism is a past mistake." This error will continue to be repeated if "integrated theories of society" are insisted upon. That's why all ideologies have come to an end, except the post-Marxist ideology, which sees ideologies as wrong. Because ideologies "reflect a worldview dominated by a single gender/racial system" (Petras, 22 December 2018). As Petras puts it, post-Marxism is a theory aimed at destroying Marxism, not overcoming it.

As mentioned before, Holz criticizes Nietzsche's concept of the historical cycle and calls this age, which is called the "post-histoire" age, as an age of "poisonous apathy elixir" (<https://ozgurlukdunyasi.org/arsiv/302-sayi-234/993-karsiyaydinlanmanin-gostergeleri-irrasyonalizm--modernlik--postmodernlik>). According to this age, the claim that "there will no longer be a new and different future in terms of quality, everything will remain as it is, a self-preserving

bureaucracy, the present situation of the world will always remain in circle" (See, p. 124). The claim is also seen in postMarxist theory.

In the theoretical approach of PostMarxism, contingency, which is another element of idealist philosophy, appears. Contingency, which is discussed while examining the elements of idealism, is a concept used to describe the situation that is the opposite of necessity in idealist existential philosophy. In the understanding of the PostMarxist theory, the view of relativism or indeterminism, which says that the events are in a random mess in the last analysis, is dominant. In post-Marxism, which is the theoretical framework of postmodernism, history is considered contingent and therefore the progressive understanding of history is rejected. The features of contingency, which is against essentialism, such as being "ambiguous, indefinite, ephemeral and relative" (Küçükalp, 2017, p. 19) are among the basic features of postMarxism. These features are also frequently encountered in popular/postmodern literary magazines.

In the first part of the study, it is stated in detail that the Frankfurt School accused Marxism of being a theory that "excludes people" and therefore it was seen they tended to establish links between Marxism and psychoanalysis in order to establish a "humane Marxism" (Çubukçu, 2014, p.12-13). The claim of a Marxism free from ideology was first put forward with the Frankfurt School. As it will be remembered, the infrastructure-superstructure approach of the Frankfurt School is a criticism of Marx. In the introduction to Political Economy (1993, pp. 23-24), Marx clearly laid out his thoughts for the infrastructure and superstructure. According to Marx, the dominant infrastructure in the infrastructure-superstructure relationship is the economy. The superstructure derives from the substructure and there is a multifaceted relationship between them. However, the theorists of the Frankfurt

School opposed the decisiveness of the infrastructure, namely the economy. This objection has brought critical theory theorists closer to Weber's theses. According to Weber, it is wrong to explain capitalism on the basis of economy like Marx.

Capitalism is a process related to the rational maintenance of economic activities and the existence of the capitalist spirit as a result of this rationality (Giddens, 2005, p. 64). According to him, institutions such as religion, politics and law are at least as determinant as the economy. For this reason, he says that determinism cannot be attributed to the economy, like Marx. This thought of Weber led to the development of a process that continued with the Frankfurt School, which emphasized cultural and aesthetic studies instead of structuralists and economics, and deconstructed Marxism. PostMarxists, on the other hand, brought this deconstruction to the political field with the concept of "radical democracy" and expressed their thoughts close to Weber on the decisiveness of the economy:

The decisiveness of the economy: The problem is that if "economy" is ultimately decisive for each type of society, it must be defined independently of all specific types of society; the conditions of existence of the economy must also be defined separately from all concrete social relations. In this case, however, the only reality of these conditions of existence would be to assure the existence and determining role of the economy – in other words, they would be an internal moment of the economy; difference will not play a constitutive role" (Laclau & Mouffe, 2017, p. 159).

The meaning that PostMarxism attributes to the "others" (identity politics) that declares the death of classes and replaces the class is compatible with the approaches of Adorno and Horkheimer, who are representatives of the Frankfurt School, that provide space for movement and attribute autonomy to the particular. According to Adorno and Horkheimer, the particular is autonomous from the general.

Thus, the particular can preserve its own existence without surrendering to the general and force the general to change in the direction of his or her own preferences. The emphasis of Adorno's negative dialectic on the non-identical instead of the identical, the particular instead of the universal, negation instead of affirmation, which is discussed in detail in the first chapter, is the theory of the postmodern critical political stance; it is one of the pioneering thoughts of his understanding of abandoning dialectics. Thinkers such as Deleuze, Guattari, Foucault, Derrida, whose names are heard with cultural approaches after the 1970s and some of them are covered in the upper section, have become the building blocks of the political understanding of post-Marxism by emphasizing the rejection of dialectical materialism. The new Marxism, previously defined as Western Marxism with the Frankfurt School, has removed culture from being the dependent product of an underlying economic base, as in Marx's materialist thought.

The new Marxists, who formed the tradition of Western Marxism, began to describe the Marxist approach as "economic reductionism" and to seek the truth of man in the "texts" produced by man. PostMarxism, conceptualized in the 1980s, is in this sense a continuation of Western Marxism. According to this new understanding, "there is no order in reality, the order is arbitrarily interpreted through discourse" (Kaygalak, 2001, p. 33). Marcuse, one of the third-period ideologists of the Frankfurt School, is influential on the approach that determines the view of post-Marxism to the working class. As mentioned earlier, Marcuse asked the question, "If there is a contradiction between the development of the productive forces and the production system, who, what class, which social layer is better able to see this contradiction? Who has the most opportunity to change this order?". His answer to this question is as follows; "Those outside the production process. Minorities of other races, the vast

majority of whom are excluded from the production process, people tossed aside by industrial society, the permanently unemployed, etc. (Tanyılmaz, 2014, p. 81). With this answer, Marcuse made a great contribution to the theory of post-Marxism today. According to Marcuse (1998, p. 33), who for the first time put forward the understanding of “Marxism without the proletariat” with the highest pitch by elevating those who are excluded from the production process to a priority position, “Marxist theory must be restored, not overhauled: it must be freed from its eloquence from its own fetishism and ritualization, it becomes petrified that hinders dialectical development.”

Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe were the most important post-Marxism ideologists after 1990, who sought a third way to understand the world apart from idealism and dialectical materialism, among the pioneers of which theorists of the Critical School such as Adorno, Horkheimer and Marcuse can be counted, but the path leads to idealism. Although these two ideologues theorized post-Marxism, we come across names seeking new formulas with the claim that Marxism was insufficient until they did. Although many of these names seem to be opponents of Laclau and Mouffe, the approaches they put forward fed their theories. For example, it can be said that Rorty inspired post-Marxism with some aspects of the postmodernist bourgeois liberalism approach. Democracy in Rorty's understanding of democracy (as cited in Kundakçı 2014, p. 114) is likened to a colorful quilt, as it allows for all kinds of differences and pluralism. At the same time, fragmentation in Rorty's understanding of democracy draws attention. "Social consensus", which at first glance seems to contradict the understanding of "continuity of conflicts", which also exists in PostMarxist theory, is seen as the key to the solution in Rorty. In the ideal society drawn by Rorty, the ideas that will encompass the whole of life are



rejected. Therefore, it is possible to say that the death of the great narratives encountered in post-Marxism is also present in Rorty. Absolute opposition to meaning, which is also a feature of postmodern philosophy, has also shaped Rorty's liberal understanding. Rorty, fed by Lyotard, one of the important representatives of postmodern philosophy, says that the most important element of postmodern liberal philosophy is the short-term struggle of fragmented groups.

This approach of Rorty (as cited in Kundakçı, 2014, p. 133) is compatible with the emphasis on identity, gender, sexuality and ethnicity that we see in post-Marxism. According to him (as cited in Kundakçı, 2014, p. 134), it is wrong to expect social changes to be revolutionary and radical. Political and cultural changes will occur in pieces and gradually. One of the main determinants of postmodern bourgeois liberalism is its emphasis on "persuasion" over "force". Democracy will be established by consent and persuasion. Persuasion and consensus must be produced among individuals for freedoms. According to Rorty, this is the greatest duty and mission of philosophers. Rorty's understanding of liberal society is also libertarian pessimist, just like post-Marxism. The negative understanding of freedom also dominates Rorty's approaches. According to him, political freedom means that people can freely decide their choices. In the understanding of freedom, which will be realized through the individual's distance between social structures and his own self, special goals and special preferences are prioritized (as cited in Kundakçı, 2014, p. 136). According to Rorty's postmodern liberal bourgeois understanding rooted in pragmatism, individuals in a liberal order will have the best chance of self-creation according to their abilities, and thus an environment of political peace will be provided. For this, an agreement should be formed on the protection of bourgeois freedoms (as cited in Kundakçı, 2014, p. 138). Rorty's evaluation of struggles such as

class struggles as "absolute" and replacing them with fragmentation is one of the main features of the post-Marxist understanding.

It would not be wrong to say that some of the thoughts of Cornelius Castoriadis, who previously criticized Marx as contradictory and turned into an anti-Marxist ideologue, are among the building blocks of post-Marxist theory. In particular, the understanding that sees autonomy and collective emancipation as the foundation of a just society is the most prominent of these building blocks. According to him, history does not mean a forward process. History is designed in a mental process. In other words, with a poststructuralist approach; history is established. Creation is the main area of truth (as cited in Kardeş, 2019, p. 398). Absolute knowledge is an obstacle to philosophy. The main thing in the relationship between creation and existence is multiplicity. A just society can only be achieved with the mutual conflict of agonistic elements (Turhanlı, 28 March 2007). This thought of Castoriadis coincides with one of the most important features of post-Marxism, conflict and the continuity of conflict. According to him, "a just society is not a society that has adopted just laws that will be valid forever. A just society is one where the question of justice is constantly discussed and the final answer to this question is not given" (as cited in İnsel, April 1998). Castoriadis saw the predecessor of the self-established society as Ancient Greece. Stating that there is the participation and creation of the people in the public life of Athens, Castoriadis states that there is no place for professional politicians and political experts in Athens, based on the fact that all citizens can have a voice in the public assemblies. According to him, the fact that agonistic conflicts avoid absoluteness and create turbulent continuity, as in Ancient Greece, is the source of a democratic and autonomous society. While criticizing Marx, Castoriadis emphasizes that societies do not have to live in a

targeted, predetermined system -or alternatives- which they need to reach (as cited in Turhanlı, 28 March 2007). For Castoriadis, who predicts that history is a creation, history has no end. Therefore, autonomy is an act of self-creation with constant questioning and constant conflict.

It is possible to see the traces of Rorty and Castoriadis in the approaches of Laclau and Mouffe, who are known as the names who theorized PostMarxism. Wood (2006) said the following about these two names and their ideologies:

The notion that capitalist democracy only needed to be "expanded" to reach socialism, or that socialism represented a higher ideal of life that could appeal to all sensible people of any class, aptly alerted Mac Donald, for example, and, for the same reason, John Stuart Mill. What is new in NGS [New Genuine Socialism] is that its adherents insist that they work either within the tradition of Marxism or within a tradition that is its continuation (postMarxism). Even those who have most radically broken with the Marxist tradition and settled most prominently on the far right of the new true socialist spectrum—Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe, for example—contend that one of their main pillars is Marxism, merely that they "shrink the empty arguments and scope of validity of Marxist theory" (p. 26-27).

The book *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy: Towards a Radical Democracy* (1985) co-authored by Laclau and Mouffe has guided all those who want to realize the design of post-Marxist theory in the political arena. Projects such as left liberalism and radical democracy, especially in the political arena; Along with the theories of Laclau and Mouffe, entered into a struggle with Marxism with the claim of building a new democracy in academia, within left parties and in non-governmental organizations that rose with post-Marxism. For this purpose, new social formations

have moved their political starting points to the cultural field. Politics is no longer a field to be explained by classes.

Different identities (race, gender, ethnic belonging, sexual preference) are dominant. The state is an obstacle to any democracy, but it is an unchangeable obstacle. Even if the current state is replaced by a socialist state, this will be the case. Therefore, "civil society" movements should be given importance for democracy and freedoms against the states. The call to struggle for a social transformation calls for oppressive reactions. For this reason, instead of struggling with the existing order, a democratic struggle should be given within this order. According to them, "there is no political order free from power relations that awaits us in the future. That is, the political order is also contingent. If a political proposal is to be mentioned, the agonistic democracy understanding" (Küçükalp, 2017, pp. 27-28) may be the most appropriate proposal. This approach of PostMarxism is exactly the same as Kant's understanding of freedom, as will be remembered from the idealism section.

According to Kant, freedom consists of the freedom to write and to speak. Kant, who sees reason as the only condition for being human and progressing, always favors order. It is important to understand the philosophy of post-Marxism, the theory of the popular/postmodern critical political stance, to mention here once again the thought of Kant, which is included in the idealism section, who strictly stays away from the idea of revolution on the grounds of not creating chaos. "Once a revolution has succeeded, a new order has been established, the illegality in its beginning and in its course does not leave the builders free to bow to the new order as good citizens, people cannot avoid bowing to the government that has taken power from now on" (Timuçin, 2000a, p. 324). From this point of view, it is possible to say that the political understanding

of post-Marxism is rooted in Kant's harmony of reason and Nietzsche's emphasis on "jointness of power".

The End of History thesis of Francis Fukuyama, one of the important thinkers of postmodernism, has also been one of the main points of today's postMarxists' understanding that the system that rules the world cannot be changed. "According to Francis Fukuyama, the Japanese-American thinker, history has come to an end; that is, there will be no major and comprehensive social changes or earthquakes from now on" (Şaylan, 2009, p. 28). The idea that history progresses through dialectical conflict is rejected in the contingent conception of history of post-Marxism. In this sense, postMarxism, as will be discussed in more detail below, refers to neoliberal ideology; It inevitably coincides with the absolutization of liberal democracy or free market economy as the most ideal place that human history can reach.

Searching for an alternative to Marxism, striving to create a new Marxism by combining Marxism with its own theories, started with Frankfurt School representatives Adorno, Horkheimer, who criticize Marxism as an economic reductionist, and moved further with Habermas and Marcuse, the last period names of the school. The efforts of the critical school to search for a new Marxism paved the way for poststructuralism. Post-structuralist figures such as Derrida, Deleuze, Foucault after Marcuse, who argued that class politics no longer had a place in the world, and that culture and discourse took the place of classes, with their political arguments, the theory of postmodern critical stance prepared the emergence of the concept of postMarxism and Radical Democracy.

## 5.2. Poststructuralism and Radical Democracy Theory

With the book *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy: Towards a Radical Democracy* (1985) co-authored by Laclau and Mouffe in 1985, post-Marxism has reached the maturity point of the theorizing process. In this book, Mouffe states how the 'Radical and Plural Democracy' projects offer a new imagination to the left, appealing to the left with a great liberating struggle and taking into account the new theoretical contributions of psychoanalysis and philosophy, as discussed in the previous chapter. He adds that in this way, they avoided falling into the traps of Marxist socialism and social democracy and realized the formulations of a new socialist project (2000a, p. 299). Laclau and Mouffe developed their theories, which they named "Radical Democracy", by following the path of structuralists Althusser, Poulantzas, Foucault and finally poststructuralists such as Deleuze, Guattari, Derrida. They explain this situation as follows: "(...) The main source of our theoretical reflection is the ground of poststructuralism; In the poststructuralist field, deconstruction and Lacanian theory are of decisive importance in forming our approach to hegemony. The concept of unable to connect to a decision we take from deconstruction is vital" (Laclau & Mouffe, 2017, p. 13).

Although poststructuralism has different tendencies and emphases, it generally opposes the Cartesian subject idea (Yılmaz, 1996, p. 129). On the other hand, the thoughts of poststructuralist names on power-politics, whose cultural characteristics we have covered in detail in the previous section, form the political foundations of the postMarxist theory. The primary area of inquiry for poststructuralists is through which practices the modern state has become the most important, singular and rational actor in world politics. They question how the historical phenomenon is naturalized in the discursive level (Bleiker & Campbell, 2010, pp.216-217). According to

poststructuralists, the model of state sovereignty restricts political options in world politics. The discourse of sovereignty produces state-centrism and should therefore be avoided. Poststructuralists Ashley and Walker (1990, p. 395) speak of an institution of freedom that allows the imagination of new-style political identities and societies, and where one is not privileged over the other. This understanding of poststructuralism, the new political design of postMarxism, found its place in the theory of radical democracy.

Poststructuralism is built on the pluralist approach of the structuralist Althusser. Claiming that ideology is structure, Althusser associates ideology with the Freudian unconscious thought, which Lacan and Frankfurt School theorists also benefit from. According to Althusser, ideology, which is the structure, can change, but this is only a change limited to the content. There cannot be a formal/modal change. Its shape and form are always the same, like the subconscious. Just like language, ideology that works subconsciously is a structure we inherit; “Ideology speaks to us (attention does not speak to us), but gives us the illusion that we choose to believe what we believe, as if we did it ourselves” (Erdoğan, 2014, p. 322). Even though the structuralist Althusser handled multiple relations within a structure, his pluralist approach could not save itself from being an inspiration for poststructuralism. Althusser criticized Marx for taking the understanding of the state as a whole. For Althusser, who describes the state apparatus as an apparatus of oppression, the apparatus of oppression cannot express a single whole. According to him, the mechanisms of oppression consist of the ideological apparatus of the state and many numbers. “Churches, families, unions, newspapers, cultural organizations, etc. They are devices, and most of them are in the private sphere. It can be assumed that there is unity between them. However, a unity that integrates the ideological

apparatuses of the state is not immediately visible” (Althusser, 2006, pp. 63-64).

Reproduction of production relations is ensured through the legal-political and ideological superstructure. Thanks to this reproduction, the ideology of the ruling class is taught to the society in mass forms by the ideological apparatus of the state (Althusser, 2006, pp. 69-78).

With Althusser, and thus with the structuralists, the precise knowledge and understanding of truth gave way to a definite type of sociability determined by the structure. The social structure has taken the position that determines everything against the subject. This approach means that the "subject" of Marxism in the process of acquiring knowledge loses its importance. However, according to Marxism, human being carries a social essence. The object in the process of acquiring knowledge, on the other hand, is a natural object or a social phenomenon chosen by human and included in his field of activity. Practice is the material activity in which human, far from losing his essence, gains it, thereby transforming the objective reality in which he creates himself and his history (Malinin, 1979a, p. 172). PostMarxism in line with the political philosophy of postmodernism; It is in the understanding that “the subject”, which corresponds to the universal self-understanding in the sense of expressing the abstract, isolated and common and permanent qualities of all people, is a fiction, and the self has a plural, dynamic and relational nature” (as cited in by Foucault, Küçükalp, 2017, p. 22).

Poststructuralists were also added to the process of transforming Marxism, which started with the structuralists and continued with the Frankfurt School. Benefiting from Althusser's pluralist approach, poststructuralists chose to move away from the concept of structure in order to get rid of power relations. “In poststructuralism, macro-politics are replaced by micro-politics” (May, 2000, p. 14).



Micro-organizations, on the other hand, necessitate the network of multiple relations in social relations. According to Mouffe, one of the theorists of PostMarxism, pluralism is “the basic dynamic of today's democracy” (2000b, p. 19). For Mouffe, the 'pluralism' he inherited from poststructuralism is at the center of his new project, Radical Democracy. Mouffe's understanding of pluralism is an understanding in which agonistic conflicts are experienced. Mouffe and Laclau's concept of antagonistic conflicts will be examined in more detail in the section of antagonistic democracy in relation to civil society theories. Here, it has become necessary to briefly mention the concept only to state that Mouffe and Laclau's approach to conflict and Marx's approach to conflict are different from each other. According to Mouffe (1999, p. 756), a democratic society comprehends the nature of democracy if it lays the groundwork for conflicting interests and conflicting values. It should be noted that in Marx's antagonistic conflict, the concept of class, which the post-Marxists agonistic radical democracy rejects, is of primary importance. According to the dialectical materialist philosophy, “each class creates its own consciousness and understanding of the world in accordance with the economic conditions of its existence. The social existence of different classes in an antagonistic society is not the same. It is necessary to keep in mind the class nature of social ideas and theories in order to find a person's place in social life and to be able to analyze different thoughts, social ideas and theories” (Şeptulin, 2017, p. 290). In the conflict of PostMarxism, which will be discussed in detail below, there are not only classes and, unlike the elimination of conflicts, a real democracy, according to them, is possible with the multiplicity and deepening of conflicts.

The government, who says that causality cannot be established in the formation of any discipline, and that there can be neither a human nature, a God nor a

class war that determines the course of history; The Radical Democracy theory of postMarxism, which accepts a dispersed, indeterminate, amorphous (heteromorphus), subjectless phenomenon, owes a lot to the poststructuralist Foucault. Another important figure that influenced Foucault, who defined himself as a Nietzschean communist for a while, was, in his own words, "Louis Althusser, who worked militantly in the French Communist Party" (Trombadori, 2019, pp. 55-57). According to Foucault, instead of the struggle between the two classes valid in Marxism, a pluralist and complex resistance or struggle should be started. "The struggle and resistance against the power processes is not unique to the working people. This struggle or resistance to power takes place in every part of the society at the micro level, but especially in institutions such as prisons, asylums, hospitals and schools. Foucault expresses this analysis with the concept of postmodern micropolitics" (Şaylan, 2009, pp. 334-335). Foucault is against all kinds of power because, according to him, there is a reason for this opposition: "It is not because the new will be better, but because the existing powers are not more legitimate than those who oppose them" (Yılmaz, 1996, p. 129). As in the poststructuralist Foucault, in post-Marxism, resistance and struggle against power are always handled on an individual basis, that is, on a micro scale (Şaylan, 2009, p. 337).

Foucault's approach to the individual is as follows: "Today's political, ethical, social and philosophical problem is not to try to liberate the individual from the state and its institutions; is to liberate ourselves both from the state and from the type of individualization associated with the state. We have to give validity to new forms of subjectivity by rejecting this kind of individuality that has been enforced for centuries. (Foucault, 2000, p. 68). According to Foucault, who opposes the subject of the

modern period, the subject is constituted. On this subject, Foucault said in his interview with Trombadori:

For example, to know madness by being constituted as a rational subject; to know the economy by being established as a working subject, or to know law by being established as a subject that has a relationship with law and has the capacity to commit crime. One's involvement in this way, his undertaking, always takes place in line with his own "knowledge" (*savoir*). In particular, being aware of this (conscience), I have made an effort to understand how man reduces some of his border-experiences to objects of knowledge (*savoir*) (madness, death, crime) (Trombadori, 2019, p. 68).

For Foucault, the subject is not knowing, willing, autonomous, self-critical or, as in Kant, there is no "transcendent" subject. For Foucault, the subject is the cradle of discourses that are versatile, scattered and cannot be managed from a certain center (Sarup, 2010, p. 114). According to him, questioning the subject is important because it means "to live in an experience that will perhaps result in its annihilation, decomposition, blowing up, transforming into something else entirely" (Trombadori, 2019, p. 52). Foucault, who has a critical attitude against the concept of the subject, argues it is power that creates subjects, based on Nietzsche's argument that moral control of an internalized behavior can only be achieved through violence and intimidation (Sarup, 2010, p. 115). According to Foucault, who follows the path of Nietzsche, who kills man and God at the same time, the subject, that is, man, is a fiction of linguistic practices. "Man is a recent invention. And maybe the end is near. As the presence of language shimmered more and more on our horizons, man was in the process of disappearing. Since man was created at a time when language was doomed to disintegration, will not language disintegrate after it regains its unity?" Asking (as cited in Kumar, 1995, p. 157), Foucault used the architectural structure

designed by the Bentham brothers in 1785 and named Panopticon, and the philosophical basis of this structure in his subject design. Jeremy Bentham wrote a letter to his Russian commander friend in Crecheff, Belarus, in 1787, explaining the philosophical thought of the structure. In the letter he writes:

“In the Panopticon, which is designed, accepted that it can be applied to all institutions without exception, which do not have a large space that cannot be surrounded or controlled by the buildings that meet the most important basic need, where a large number of people are intended to be kept under surveillance” (Bentham, 2008, p. 12). The design of the detention-house, which was built with the philosophy of controlling large masses, called the Panopticon, was created by the following: “Detention, imprisonment, isolation, forced labor and education are all purposes to be considered. The essence of architecture lies in the centrality of the position of the watcher, combined with the well-known mechanism of invisible surveillance” (Bentham, 2008, pp. 13-23). One of the most important features of the building that the Benthams built is that “the people who are being watched always feel like they are under surveillance”. However, according to them, this is not the only important point that makes the building attractive. It is also extremely important that “every person is truly under surveillance for the greatest possible time.” Thanks to surveillance, the highest correcting will be realized with the least problems. The more likely a person is to be under surveillance, the stronger the persuasion will be, so that even the most uneducated minds will be conditioned to tidy up (Bentham, 2008, p. 23-24). It is aimed with the method of "invisible surveillance"; It is the feeling that the individual feels like he is constantly being watched, whether he is a watcher or not, and he feels obliged to act in accordance with the wishes of the authority. Thus, it makes the

authority of power permanent. Foucault uses the Bentham brothers' concept of the Panopticon as a metaphor for power.

In *Discipline and Punishment*, he says that the Panopticon creates subjects responsible for their own subjectivity. The self's enslavement or self-enslavement begins with the moment of fear. According to him, the rulers of a time became individualized, while the masses became anonymous. Today, however, while bureaucracy has become anonymized, it has become an individualized subject. For Foucault, there is no clear answer to the question of whether the Panopticon is power or an instrument of power. For Foucault, like Althusser, who paved the way for poststructuralism, ideology will not end in the future, but it will never be reached in a transparent society (Sarup, 2010, pp. 115-116). Foucault, who sees power as a capillary structure, emphasizes an expanding network over a population or power spreading throughout the network. Actors are connected to each other through the power that radiates around this network. In this understanding, we come across an understanding of dominance established through discourse. For him, it is less important to explore the dominance that one person has over another. The main thing is to look at how the parties are positioned by a discourse. This view has been criticized by Marxists for ignoring the fact that some actors, groups and institutions have more power than others (Smith & Riley, 2016, pp. 181-183).

While for Marx, power is a relation of production, for Foucault, the successor of Nietzsche, it is a general focus of relations. According to him, power is not in a secondary position to the economy, and it is not even something that serves the economy. Power relations do not radiate from the sovereign or the state. Power relations cannot be conceptualized as being the private property of a particular individual or class. In this sense, power is in the form of a network and stretches

everywhere with its threads (Sarup, 2010, pp.112-113). Foucault, who is against holistic thinking, laid the foundation of the micro-power understanding of post-Marxists today by saying "We must avoid integrating what is always integrated by power" in his interview with Deleuze. According to him, if the holistic approach of Marxism is inevitable, the representative forms of centralism and hierarchical structure will be revived (Trombadori, 2019, p. 29). According to Foucault, who makes use of the concept of micro-politics, which we also see in post-Marxism today, power cannot be concentrated in state apparatuses. For Foucault, there is no class consciousness, class interest, class ideology or class conflict, because he does not believe in class perspective: "No one believes in the idea of class: 'No one has 'oppressors' on the one hand, the 'oppressed' on the other hand, and mass oppression cannot be mentioned, oppression relations are multidimensional'" (as cited in Sarup, 2010, p. 121). Especially these views of Foucault found strong support in post-Marxism. In PostMarxism, there is a multiplicity of resistances that are constantly changing, constantly coming together and regrouping. The views of Foucault, who, as Nietzsche's successor, rejects Marxian economics, Marxist history, Marxist politics and method, sees Marxism as an outdated current of thought (Sarup, 2010, pp. 128-130), which corresponds to the new understanding of Marxism advocated by post-Marxists today.

Derrida, one of the most important names of poststructuralists, also took a post-Marxist attitude, even though he considered himself a Marxist, and even shaped the post-Marxist theory with his ideas. He rejects interpretations based on "strict causality (historical materialism) and put forward as "scientific truth" by communist parties. Because, according to Derrida, such interpretations can lead to authoritarianism when it comes to practice. However, human rights, freedoms, a just

society and world order are still heavily on the agenda of humanity. For this reason, he argues that a certain interpretation of Marxism will not allow to exclude Marx completely and underlines that he is "still a Marxist" (Şaylan, 2009, p. 274). As mentioned in the Idealism section, the Heideggerian emphasis on self-occultation in Derrida appears with the concept of *différance* as "an erased starting point for existence and non-existence". Derrida deconstructs identity through the concept of *différance*. This approach of Derrida affected the identity understanding of postMarxism. With deconstruction, Derrida opened up not only identity, but also the political, the state, and sovereignty to discussion, and sought a new policy and a new democracy. Based on this search, Laclau and Mouffe theorized the new politics with PostMarxism.

Derrida, in his book *Ghosts of Marx: "The Debt Situation, the Mourning Work and the New International,"* states, "There will be no future without Marx. Without the memory and legacy of Marx; at least without a particular Marx, his genius, at least one of his souls" (2007, p. 33). According to Derrida, "the spirit" of Marxism" is not an ontology in the form of a metaphysical materialism, but a deconstructive "idea of justice", a "emancipatory promise (*promesse émancipatoire*)" or, in Derrida's favorite formula, "a messianism without a Christ". (Derrida, 2007, p. 135-136). Saying "at least one of his souls", Derrida chooses a Marx for himself. This Marxist 'soul' he chose differs from his other 'spirits', or 'ghosts', who systematized Marx and turned him into an ontological doctrine. For Derrida, that ghost can be said to be a kind of deconstruction. According to Derrida, who also criticizes Fukuyama's thesis of the end of history, time is perhaps more "out of reach" than it has ever been. This is

exactly why there is a need for a counter-conspiracy union<sup>32</sup>, the building of a new International. It should be the task of all Marxists to establish this unity of conspiracy. "A bond that is timeless and positionless, nameless and titleless, little if not secret, selfless, nailed, uncoordinated, partyless, stateless, national community, without citizenship, without membership of a particular class" is required. There is a need for an alternative globalization to globalization (*altermondialisation*) (Derrida, 2007, p. 135). For this, a critique that takes inspiration not from the spirit of Marxism but from one of its spirits is essential. This is only possible with deconstruction.

Derrida aimed to create a new Marxism like the Frankfurt School with his thoughts trying to blend Marxism using deconstruction. Efforts to achieve a synthesis between Marxism and deconstructionism contribute to the reproduction of bourgeois ideologies knowingly or unknowingly, as stated in the section on the Frankfurt School. The Marxist spirit that remained in Derrida is a spirit that distinguishes it from all "spirits" that imprison "Marxism in all the fundamental concepts of labor, mode of production, social class, and consequently all its real or imaginary apparatuses (Internationals, party, state, etc.)" (Timur, 2005, p. 187). With a spirit that demolishes all the founding values of Marxism (class struggle, class) with its deconstruction, Marxism is similar to Anglican liberalism's removal of the existence of God, Jesus' being God, and similar metaphysical elements from the spirit of Christianity, as Eagleton said (Timur, 2005, p. 188). Marxism, which Derrida separated from class and class struggle, inspired the Radical Democracy project of

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<sup>32</sup> Derrida uses this concept against Fukuyama's End of History thesis. According to him, the future is the timeless, which spreads to all the forms of time, and a "unity of mischief" has always been established against this timelessness. The establishment of the union of mischief concerns a timeless Thing. However, an oath is made between the parties for the realization of this establishment. The end of history thesis is the product of this conspiracy. Against this thesis, Derrida sees forming a conspiracy union as a solution (Derrida, 2007, pp. 85-135).



PostMarxism. Derrida's new international understanding also continues its traces in today's post-Marxists.

Timeless and positionless; anonymous and titleless, little public if not secret, no contract, out of joint, uncoordinated, partyless, stateless, no national community... A bond whose citizenship does not include membership of a particular class. What we refer to here as the New International is the non-institutional friendly alliance that it has established in a brand new, concrete real mode, continuing to be inspired by at least one of the spirits of Marx or Marxism, although they no longer believe in the socialist Marxist international, the dictatorship of the proletariat, the universal unity of the proletarians of all countries, the messianic-other-worldly mission. (Derrida, 2007, p. 135-136).

Derrida's deconstructionism, just like Foucault's approaches, is the exact opposite of Marxism's holistic subject understanding. Deconstruction has also inspired post-Marxists, particularly in academia, in the sense that the Radical Democracy project of pluralism and polyphony is of primary importance in politics. The contribution of this situation to the reproduction of the existing system was criticized by Eagleton (2013):

Many of the smashed new themes of deconstructionism do not go far beyond reproducing some of the most pressing issues of bourgeois liberalism. Noiseless rejection of theory, method and system; hatred of the dominating, totalizing, and definitively literal; privilege plurality and heterogeneity; hesitation and uncertainty as repetitive acts; adherence to gliding and movement; dislike of the identifier; It is not surprising that such a phrase was so quickly absorbed by the Anglo-Saxon academies (p. 213).

Drawing attention to the similarity between Derrida's deconstruction and Adorno, one of the representatives of the Frankfurt School, Eagleton (2013, p. 219)

states, “Adorno now insists on the power of heterogeneous parts that are not caught in the conceptual network, long before it becomes fashionable, opposes any philosophy of similarity, he refused to accept class consciousness on the grounds that it was objectionably 'positive' and rejected the intentionality of signification.” As Eagleton stated, the reflection of Adorno's works dominates in deconstruction. “The anger at positivity, the doubt about the specific meaning in itself, the fear of being complicit in making suggestions” (Eagleton, 2013, p. 219) can be as cited in as examples of the similarities between deconstructionists and the Frankfurt School.

Derrida also deconstructed the concept of sovereignty. The deconstruction of sovereignty does not refer to its substitution with another form, but to the fact that "new divisions of sovereignty, the reinvention of sharing and distribution never cease" (Derrida, 2005, p. 88). Derrida's deconstructionism, which carries traces of Adorno, also dominates the approach of Laclau and Mouffe, who theorized post-Marxism, to reread Marx in the light of contemporary problems. Deconstructing the founding concepts of Marxian theory is imperative for Laclau and Mouffe. They call the necessity of deconstructing Marx as “the process of reevaluating and simultaneously going beyond an intellectual tradition” and they continue: “In working towards this goal, it should be noted that this cannot be thought of as purely within Marxism, as a history of Marxism.” (Laclau&Mouffe, 2017, p.10-11). According to Laclau and Mouffe, there is now a need for “the theory of a decision made on an undecidable basis” (Laclau, 1998, pp. 99-100). In the decision theory given on an undecidable ground, the traces of Derrida are also seen.

One of Derrida's ideas, inspired by Nietzsche and Adorno, is conceptualized as "undecidability". Mouffe, in his article "Deconstruction, Pragmatism and the Politics of Democracy", has included the understanding of "undecidability", which is placed at

the center of ethics in Derrida. According to Mouffe's understanding of "undecidability" borrowed from Derrida, a decision in favor of one alternative is always at the expense of another. For this reason, a person can never be completely satisfied by thinking that he has made a good choice. The undecidability that lives on in decision never ends. Compromise gives stability to something that is inherently chaotic. These chaotic situations carry a risk. But despite this risk, it also signifies something positive. However, permanent stability and certainty mean the end of ethics and politics (Mouffe, 1998, p. 23).

According to Derrida, knowledge and law are not conditions for political and ethical decisions. Responsible decision, even if it promises justice to the other, is impossible and an aporia.

For example, if the decision is said to be made in the name of the other, this does not mean that the other will take responsibility for me whenever I say that I have made the decision on behalf of the other. Making decisions on behalf of the other in no way diminishes my responsibility, on the contrary, as Levinas strongly emphasizes this point, my responsibility is blamed on the decision I made on behalf of the other. This is a far more radical alienation than the classical meaning given to the term. I decide on behalf of the Other without reducing my responsibility in any way; on the contrary, the other is the root of my responsibility, which is far from identifiable in terms of an identity. The decision announces itself from the perspective of a much more radical otherness (Derrida, 2005b, pp.88-89).

Undecidability for Derrida; rejects pre-determined directives, rules, calculations. In this respect, it means not to be under the yoke of determination. It is this undecidability that also makes a real decision possible. According to him, a real decision breaks up the chain of systematized rules and considers the possibility of

being otherwise. According to Derrida, the decision is not generalizable. For this reason, it requires a constant reinvention and thus each individual situation requires a unique decision (Derrida, 2010, p. 71). Derrida's thought that the decision is not generalizable has found its reflections on the class perspective of postMarxism, which will be covered in detail in the subsections. For Derrida, a decision made on a singular situation in one part of the world cannot be valid in a situation where a similar event is encountered in another part of the world. Therefore, in Derrida's philosophy, each decision means a new decision: A decision that not only adheres to the task, but also responds to the singularity demanded by each unique situation (Derrida, 2010, p. 70). Differences are important for Derrida, so it is necessary to make room for the other "in the same". Responsibility first emerges in the relationship with the other, and the person is absolutely responsible for the other. PostMarxist Laclau (2000, p. 129), starting from Derrida's approach of "perfect time can never be reached", says that the ideal society of Marxism cannot be attributed to communism with transcendental value. For him, communism is not a uniquely ideal society. This understanding of Derrida found its reflections in Laclau and Mouffe's view of the concept of class. In the section of the political subject of PostMarxism, the understanding of class, which bears traces of Derrida, will be given in detail.

Another poststructuralist, Deleuze's understanding of philosophy, whose predecessor is Nietzsche, was also influential on postMarxists. The concept of "difference" is the central element in Deleuze's philosophy. Deleuze is another poststructuralist influential on postMarxists, both in this sense and with his approach to the subject and his rhizome theory, as the successor of Nietzsche, who shattered the rational mind and the subject. Despite this, Deleuze, like Foucault, considers himself a Marxist:

I think Felix Guattari and I remained Marxists, maybe in two different ways, but both of us. However, we do not believe in a political philosophy that does not focus on the analysis of capitalism and its developments. What interests us most in Marx is his analysis of capitalism as an immanent system that continues to push its limits forward and encounters them on an ever larger scale, for the limit is Capital itself (2006, p. 191).

However, despite seeing himself as a Marxist, Deleuze, like other poststructuralists, had a different understanding of Marxism than Marxism in the classical sense. As he noted in his *Difference and Repetition*, he conceived “a Hegel with a beard philosophically, a Marx without a beard and a moustache philosophically, like a Mona Lisa with a moustache” (1994, p. xxi.). Because, according to Deleuze, the aim is to destroy the existing philosophy and produce a philosophy again. Deleuze did not choose a method very different from his predecessors in his effort to destroy philosophy. In the name of destroying philosophy, the effort to synthesize Freud and Marx, whose first foundations were seen in the representatives of the Frankfurt School, was also one of the methods of micro-political philosophy in Deleuze. Deleuze, along with Guattari, insisted on attempting to synthesize Marx and Freud. Claiming that they surpassed both in this synthesis, he affirmed a world of machines in which capitalist technology was designed to coexist with the fields of nature, history and society retrospectively (Goodchild, 2005, p. 290-291). While making this affirmation, it can be said that they deal with Marxist theories not with the mode of production, but with libidinal “social machines”. However, it should be noted here once more that the Freudianism we encountered in Deleuze was in the direction of transcending it. Deleuze, together with Guattari, defended “schizoanalysis” against psychoanalysis with his “Freud Inverted” approach. For Deleuze, psychoanalysis should be criticized because it links all mental

states to the problem of parents. Psychoanalysis is always a working problem between the father, I and the body (Deleuze, 1998, p. 65).

Schizoanalysis is the deterritorialization of individual connections, of origin. Schizoanalysis does not reduce the existing event or problem to a simple, single origin. It develops multiple perspectives on events for more than one reason (Guattari, 1995, p. 61), which is also seen in post-Marxism. According to Guattari, elements or components that lack coherence or existence are separated by schizoanalysis (1995, p. 71). Deleuze and Guattari's schizoanalytic theory of the unconscious is based on desire production. Schizoanalysis advocates participation in the flow of life with the Nietzschean will to power ontology, which is covered in detail in the idealism section. The producers of this stream of life are schizophrenics or schizos like Nietzsche's madmen. Schizoanalysis, as in psychoanalysis itself not based on deprivation, fear, or castration. Schizoanalysis establishes itself through the production of creative desire. In schizoanalysis, it is essential to destroy the existing. It therefore destroys beliefs, representations and tragic scenes: "Destroy, demolish: the task of schizoanalysis proceeds through the destruction, complete cleansing, complete curettage of the unconscious. Destroy Oedipus, ego illusion, superego puppet, crime, law, castration..." (Deleuze & Guattari, 2014 p. 446). Schizoanalysis is the flow of deterritorialization as rhizome, so beloved by post-Marxism today.

The rhizome theory, which appears in Deleuze's philosophy, is very important for this section. Because the view of the PostMarxists to the concept of class has been shaped by the flow of deterritorialization as a rhizome of schizoanalysis. According to Deleuze, the rhizome can be fixed on a subject or an object. But the rhizome is the multiplicity without any unity or wholeness. It has no fixed order or homogeneity. On the other hand, any point of the rhizome must be connected with any point. There may

be a break or dissociation, but old connections will sprout again. This creates new connections. Although the rhizome always has a map of its connections, it does not have a structural or origin-based formation and logic of formation (Colebrook, 2004, p. 102). Causality and finality are sought in Marxism; rhizome does not have this causality. As Akay points out, Deleuze and Guattari bring a new perspective to Marx's theory of modes of production and write that 'a mode of production emerges as a form of production rather than being made by the state'. In this way, they eliminate the last reasons predicting an evolutionary development. They destroy the causal relation and say that it was destroyed by physics before the social sciences" (1993 pp. 5-6). There is no center in the rhizome theorized in Deleuze's philosophy. Each road can be connected to the other road. The rhizome is a labyrinth-like infinity with no exit. The theory of rhizome, which produces desires as a multitude of infinite connections from a centerless point, is also opposed to the center of Marxism, that is, to class-based ideology, due to its decentralized feature.

The complex collective will, alternative public sphere, left liberalism, pluralism and libertarian pessimism prevailing in popular/postmodern literary journals, which are the subject of the study, are the political designs that these journals are influenced by post-Marxist theories. In many of the post-Marxist designs, traces of the postmodern and at the same time poststructuralist philosophies of Foucault, Derrida and Deleuze can be seen. Foucault's approach, which sees the subject as the cradle of discourses that are multi-faceted, scattered and cannot be managed from a certain center, appears in the collective will and pluralism of post-Marxism. Derrida's "undecidability" approach has found its reflections in the post-Marxist view of class and left liberalist understanding. Deleuze and the rhizome

project are sustained in the pluralism and labyrinthine exitlessness and libertarian pessimism of postMarxism.

After examining in detail the philosophical background of postMarxist designs from their initial origins to the effects of poststructuralism, it is imperative to look at the political subject of postMarxist theory, which is one of the biggest problematics of this study. Because, according to the post-Marxist theory, which rejects the determinism of the mode of production, there is no causality between the economy and the existing established political order. In this sense, postMarxism is related to Deleuze's design of schizoanalysis. According to the understanding that removes causality, naturally there are no classes, instead there are identities. If the structure that creates these political identities is not the mode of production, what is? In short, if class has ceased to be a political subject, who is a political subject?

### **5.3. The Political Subject in PostMarxism: The Unifying or Articulating Subject Instead of Class**

While capitalism continues to create new crises all over the world to protect its own existence, post-Marxists seek different causes for these crises than those predicted by Marx. Mouffe and Laclau have completely abandoned their connection with the class struggle, albeit inconsistently, in their work *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy: Towards a Radical Democratic Politics*. With this work, the contradictory bond that the duo could not break with the class is now completely broken.

Rather than dealing with precipitated fetishes such as class, the triad of levels (economic, political, ideological) or the contradictions between the forces of production and relations of production, we sought to reactivate the preconditions that made them work discursively, and asked whether these conditions persisted in contemporary capitalism.



As a result of this exercise, (...) we realized that the field of Marxist theories is indeed full of ambiguities and variations (2017, p. 9).

As it is seen, according to them, the founding elements of Marxism no longer have a continuity in the era of contemporary capitalism. For them, “to understand the extent to which Marxist categories are valid today will only be possible if all epistemological privileges based on the ontologically privileged position of a universal class are given up” (Laclau & Mouffe, 2017, p. 29).

With the radical democracy project, the class was no longer a political subject. Wood (2006, p. 130) enumerated a series of vague questions for these new projects: So what is the goal if not the abolition of classes? If class interest is not the driving force, what is the new driving force? If there is no integration and class identity, what principle of collective identity or unity is put in place? If class relations are no longer the essence of political and social power, what is the domination structure that lies at the core of the new political and social power? If not the relations of production and exploitation that underlie the historical process, what social relations are they? What is the "bottom line", if not the material conditions necessary to sustain life? Who, if not the direct victims of capitalist exploitation, has an "interest" in the abolition of capitalist exploitation? If not those who are strategically involved in capitalist production and exploitation, who might have the necessary social skills to succeed in eliminating capitalist exploitation? After all, who will be able to form a collective agent in the struggle for a new type of socialism?

The answers to these questions are rather vague. Instead of the answers to these questions, Laclau and Mouffe focus on the loss of power of socialism all over the world and discuss the reasons for this.

1. Structural transformations of capitalism in post-industrial countries that led to the classical working class losing its importance. 2. The more and more radical penetration of capitalist relations of production into the spheres of social life, the shocking effects of which have created new forms of social protest. 3. The emergence of mass movements in Third World countries that do not conform to classical forms of class struggle. 4. The crisis and discrediting of the social model in the so-called Real Socialism (1992, p. 11).

Laclau and Mouffe preferred to see the crises stemming from capitalism as the crises of real socialism in the name of the new Marxism. The origin of the capitalist mode of production can be briefly expressed as the separation of producers from the means of production. At the same time, we must not forget the fact that these tools are owned by a single class, the bourgeoisie. According to Marx, the emergence of a class that has to leave the means of production in order to meet its daily needs and survive in the capitalist system is an inevitable result (Mandel, 1998, p. 35). Capitalist relations of production have two main aspects, one being capitalists and the other workers. On the one hand, the rich, those who own the physical and material means of production, and on the other hand, the working class who do not have the material goods to sell and the means to produce the necessary things for themselves (Lebowitz, 2008 p. 19). The essence of Marxism is class struggle. For Marxism, class struggle is what explains the dynamic of history. The ultimate goal of the revolutionary process is the abolition of classes, which are the outcome of class struggle. The working class in capitalist society has a special meaning for Marxism. Because the working class is the only class that can eliminate the class phenomenon as a requirement of its own class interests and thanks to its own conditions.

The unity formed by this view of history and its goal is an inseparable whole. “This is the most important feature that distinguishes Marxism from other

understandings of social transformation. Without this unity, there can be no Marxism” (Wood, 2006, p. 33). For this reason, it is not possible for the political subject of this system, namely classes, to disappear without the disappearance of capitalism. The crisis tendencies of capitalism, the antagonism between the bourgeoisie and the working class, the contradiction of the socialization of the productive forces and the special character of appropriation are still valid as undeniable contradictions in today's world (Savran, 2008, p. 149-150). However, according to post-Marxist theory, classes are no longer the determining political subject, and the crises of capitalism today are not due to irreconcilable class contradictions. If the political subject has ceased to be a class, then has capitalism ended? Of course, according to the methods of Marxist theory, the answer to this question will not be in the form of capitalism, or classes have disappeared. In order not to lose their political and class superiority, the ruling classes all over the world continue to keep the working class under pressure with the force of the state. Capitalism needs the increase of poverty and the exploitation of labor in order not to lose its hegemonic superiority. However, postMarxists follow a poststructuralist approach in their approach to social reality and the subject. With a Foucaultian approach, they see the subject as dispersed and uncentralized discourses. If there is no absolute, mechanical, linear, non-contradictory determination, there can be no certainty, no relation and no causality. There are no historical conditions, connections and borders.

What exists are arbitrary 'conjunctions' and 'coincidences'. Reality is only in discourse (Bank, 2019, pp. 385-386). In Laclau and Mouffe's post-Marxism design, as encountered in the approaches of many critical thinkers, it is seen that the system contributes to the reproduction of the system while criticizing it. Because such oppositional movements, which claim that the class has disappeared, are dominated

by idealist philosophy and have no power goals. Change and transformation within the system is essential. For this reason, the form of social struggle has been changed. According to Laclau and Mouffe, social struggle now continues on a much more complex basis in industrialized society than in the past. In order to realize this social struggle, it is imperative to establish a hegemonic strategy beyond the classes. In this sense, articulation is also a key to the hegemonic strategy (2017, p. 214).

Laclau and Mouffe deny that the ultimate core of a hegemonic power consists of a base class (2017, p. 113). According to them, “the democratization of mass struggles depends on the proliferation of rupture points that cross class boundaries” (2017, p.101). Laclau and Mouffe definitively reject the class character of hegemony, which is the starting point of the radical democracy project, and evaluate the field of hegemony as the field of different particularities. “(...) the deepening of a democratic mass practice, which avoids vanguard manipulation and an external understanding of the relationship between class hegemony and democratic tasks, can only be achieved if these tasks are recognized as not having a necessary class character and gradualism is abandoned altogether” (2017, p. 103).

According to the post-Marxist understanding of post-class hegemony, hegemony is not the highest stage of production relations at the superstructural level, but merely a discursive ability of articulatory power. Laclau and Mouffe accepted some elements of Gramsci's concept of hegemony while rejecting others, just like their claims to establish a new Marxism by rejecting the decisiveness of the infrastructure, which is the *sine qua non* of Marxist theory. “We will take from Gramsci's view the logic of articulation and the political centrality of boundary effects, but we will eliminate the assumption of the only political space considered to be the necessary framework for the emergence of these phenomena. Thus, we will

speak of democratic struggles where struggles imply a plurality of political spaces, and popular struggles where certain discourses tend to establish a single political space divided into two opposing domains” (2017, p. 218). As it can be understood from these approaches, there is no socialism goal that will be shaped by an internal essentialist logic in the new democracy designs that the duo will put forward by combining the left and liberalism. In this new design, the area of articulatory practices is the area where hegemony emerges (Laclau & Mouffe 2017, pp. 214-222). For Laclau and Mouffe, the system is constantly flowing, so it is not correct to make precise determinations.

Since hegemony realizes the incomplete and open character of the social, their new designs are also open-ended. It is ambiguity that makes articulation possible as a practice that establishes nodes that partially fix the meaning of the social within an organized system of differences (Laclau & Mouffe, 2017, pp. 214-215). Ambiguity is seamless. Seam-free means for them not to be closed and the “final” sewing moment will never come. That is, the meaning of all social identities will be constantly delayed. Another important factor is instability, which, according to post-Marxism, has become the condition of all social identities. Thus, for Laclau and Mouffe (2017, p. 146), the following conclusion emerges: All kinds of dualities and the field, class, which makes the opposition between dualities possible and intelligible, have been dismantled and canceled by postMarxist discourse. In this case, the demands of the working class, which has ceased to be a subject, can only be fulfilled by articulating the collective will. “Like all other social struggles, it depends on its own forms of articulation within a given hegemonic context. For the same reason, many other ruptures and democratic antagonisms can be articulated with the 'collective will' on an equal footing with workers' demands” (2017, p. 147).

### 5.3.1. Complex Collective Will

Instead of accepting the working class as a unifying political subject, Laclau and Mouffe created a new subject by seeing the working class as an element that can be articulated to the collective will. A decentralized, impotent transformation should be aimed for them. If power is not distributed equally to all elements, it will definitely result in centralization, and therefore the goal of power must be exceeded. For this reason, all subject positions starting from the concept of postalized hegemony have been decentralized and redefined on the relational plane. The only fixity that exists in this new approach is the fixity of decentralized different subject positions that are subject to overdetermination (Laclau & Mouffe, 2017, p. 148).

Collective will was manifested in the social sciences before Laclau and Mouffe, in views that substituted the idea of community for class analysis. These thoughts have served to set up a consensus perspective and an idealistic interpretation on behalf of the priority of the collective will against the class. By connecting with class contradictions and relations of domination, Austrian Marxism fosters the development of thought in two directions through collective phenomena. He inherits this from Max Weber. The same approach has been adopted by the Frankfurt School, which tries to explain the events with a social psychology (Bensussan & Labica, 2016, p. 977) that erases class consciousness and places great emphasis on collective ideologies instead. This social psychology has drawn attention to the double social alienation—individual and collective—and to mass phenomena (from Horkheimer to the critical analysis of “mass culture” from Marcuse) (Bensussan & Labica, 2016, p. 977). Marx also talks about collective action in the 1844 Manuscripts, but for Marx, collective action is class action.

When the communist workers get together, theory, propaganda, etc., is their first aim. But at the same time, as a result of their coming together, they acquire a new need—the need for society—and what appears to be a means becomes an end. Where French workers gather, you see this practical process with its highest results. Smoking, drinking, eating, etc. they are no longer a means of contact or gathering. Friendship, being together, talking – and their purpose is society – is enough for them; The brotherhood of people is not a word for them, it is a fact of life, and the lights of human nobility radiate from their hardened bodies (1993, p. 193-194).

As can be seen, Marx's collective action is not fragmented, as it is with post-Marxists, it is the action of the class. It is part of a revolutionary will. The collective will instead of the revolutionary will, on the other hand, is not the will of the class. The will of disconnected individuals assigns an exaggerated role to individual people and even makes many ordinary people heroic, as in popular/postmodern literary magazines. This, too, is inconsistent with objectivity. Because as it will be remembered; Objectivity in Marxism gives the proletariat a historical transformative role. However, in the complex collective will, everyone or every identity that is a part of the collective will can change their own life. That's what matters. A historical, holistic transformation is out of the question.

According to Laclau and Mouffe, there is no necessary relationship between the relations of production and socialist goals. This feature of PostMarxism is once again similar to Deleuze's rhizome design. Because “Many other ruptures and democratic antagonisms can be articulated into a socialist 'collective will' on equal footing with workers' demands. The 'privileged subjects' of anti-capitalist struggle have certainly been transcended—ontologically rather than practically” (Laclau & Mouffe, 2017, p. 147). While defending the interests of workers, the rights of women,

immigrants and consumers should not be harmed, and therefore the collective will should be built on equivalence. Only with a structure in which the working class is articulated to the collective will can a democratic struggle be waged against the government. Rights must be demanded with equal respect for the rights of all groups subject to the collective will. Once the notion of the working class as a 'universal' class is rejected, it becomes possible to acknowledge the multiplicity of antagonisms in the realm of what is delightfully gathered under the label of 'workers' struggles', and the invaluable importance most of them are to deepening the democratic process” (Laclau & Mouffe, 2017, p. 257).

In post-Marxism, new subject positions are set against class interests within the practice of hegemonic articulation. These new subject positions constitute the structure of the social. Today, there are many new subject positions that frequently find expression in popular/postmodern literary journals. Peace activists, gays, feminists, animal lovers, environmentalists, ethnic minorities, students. However, post-Marxism or Laclau and Mouffe do not make any suggestions about how these complex collective wills can be brought together in the same political project (Kaygalak, 2001, p. 43). At this point, it should be noted that identities such as race, ethnicity, and gender and their struggles have not been ignored in Marxism. These identities are not trivialized. Engels' (1979, p. 591) letter to Joseph Bloch is in response to the postMarxist claim that Marxism ignores identities: “The economic situation is fundamental, but the various elements of the superstructure also exert their own activities on the course of historical struggle and in many cases show their weight to determine their form. There is an interplay among the endless multitude of coincidences, which the economic movement eventually imposes itself necessarily.”



Rather than ignoring identities, as the PostMarxists claim, inequalities such as ethnic or gender, which are opposed in Marxism, are evaluated with a non-class perspective and non-class solutions are produced for the problems of these identities. Because these solutions are not realistic and permanent. As an example of the political subject being removed from the class and transformed into a collective will, one can look at the discourse frequently used by the women's movement: "Women will save the world." Based on this discourse, women were given a common identity. Under the leadership of Margaret Hilda Thatcher, a British woman politician who left her mark on the capitalist policies of that time, it can be said that women workers and even all poor women in England have a common collective will and identity. However, in reality, Thatcher, who reduced the support of the state in health, education, housing and care services, turned her eyes to women to close the deficit in the economy. Women were the first to return to their homes. Social security rights of mothers were restricted and turned into social assistance. In this case, the common identity of Thatcher and the women of the period could not show any collective will in the fight against capitalism, which is not possible due to its nature (Karaca, 13 April 2013).

In another example given by Petras; It is seen that the common identity of the Indian Prime Minister, who does not hesitate to implement the policies of the neo-liberal system and the free market economy, and the natives who were expelled from their lands due to these policies, is Native Americanism. As Petras (December 22, 2018) stated, "identity policies isolate groups that defend the poor, workers and peasants as competing groups, far from transforming the political-economic universe. Class politics, confronting 'identity politics'; It is the arena where institutions that care for classes and other inequalities are transformed." According to Wood, the distinctive social identity of anti-racism and anti-sexism and its power to create some

social forces cannot be denied. However, there are no clear indications that racial or gender equality is hostile to capitalism. Both these non-power spheres have their own unique relationship with capitalism. At this point, it should be remembered once again that capitalism is not interested in the social identities of the people it exploits (Wood, 2016, p. 306). PostMarxists summarize the political project they propose as the struggle for "radical pluralist democracy" waged by a "plural" subject, rather than the struggle for socialism waged by the working class as a united subject. Thus, a democratic impulse and a plurality of 'democratic struggles' replace material interests and class struggle as the driving force of history, while socialist demands become only a 'moment in the democratic revolution'. So, 'democratic discourse' is the bond that unites history and politics and loosely holds together disparate elements of the plural subject (Wood, 2006, p. 97).

Laclau replaces the exploited and the exploiter with the people/power dichotomy. According to him, the people is one of the two poles of the dominant contradiction at the level of the concrete social formation. The contradiction between the people/power dichotomy is an antagonism that depends not on the relations of production, but on the complex of political and ideological domination relations that make up the social formation. If the dominant contradiction at the level of the mode of production constitutes the field of specific class struggle, the dominant contradiction at the level of the concrete social formation also constitutes the field of popular democratic struggle. Since the class struggle has priority over the popular democratic struggle, the popular democratic struggle only exists as articulated with class designs. On the other hand, since the political and ideological class struggle is made on a plane of non-class naming and contradictions, this struggle can only consist of non-class naming and antagonistic articulation designs of contradictions (Laclau, 1998, p. 180).

However, “No matter how the doctrine of popular alliances is conceived and how it is explained, the result is the same: This doctrine takes away the privileged role of the working class as the subject of revolutionary change and reduces the function of the class struggle, which is the main engine of social transformation” (Wood, 2006, p. 44).

According to Laclau and Mouffe, who abandoned the political vanguard position of the working class and therefore the essentialist approach of Marxism, the subject of politics is now many different subjects. Laclau and Mouffe, or post-Marxism theorized by them, did not make a concrete proposition about how subjects, who are groups with variable and sometimes opposing interests, would come together according to this approach, which puts the individual in the foreground. According to them, no social group is in a more favorable position than another to undermine the structure of capitalist accumulation and exploitation. Everyone has the same capacity to form a collective actor in this project (Wood, 2006, p. 142). Based on these thoughts, they deduce the following: “Since the working class has no 'main interest' in socialism, it will not be able to occupy a privileged position; There is no necessary relationship between the working class and socialism” (Wood, 2006, p. 20).

PostMarxism, in which the collective will is the subject instead of class, advocates new social movements on behalf of the left. However, it is not possible to establish any connection between this left and a Marxist left, because the new social movements are not designed to “defy power structures but to bypass these structures by creating 'counter-cultures’” (As cited in from Hellman, Çoban, 2008, p. p. 24). From the point of view of democracy, it is aimed to revitalize small communities and to minimize the problems through intermediate mechanisms (Yılmaz, 1996, p. 145). These social movements have no pretensions to "change" the sine qua non of

Marxism, the greatest truth. Başkaya (2005, p. 539) revealed the lack of this target through environmental actions as follows: "They have created awareness in the society with their campaigns on topics such as anti-nuclear, climate change and energy independence, seas, agriculture and GMOs. However, 'to fight the negative consequences of the system without discussing capitalism, neoliberal policies and the destruction caused by these policies, without touching the current paradigm, does not represent a final solution.' Approaches that are not class-based and that establish their ideology on culture lock the political struggle at the point of recognition of marginal identities, and thus they risk becoming an ideological movement that can serve to cover up capitalism. In short, post-Marxism contributes to the reproduction of capitalism with its multi-structured understanding that takes the political subject from the class and gives it to the collective will. Such an understanding of politics reveals political pacifism instead of opposition and challenge to capital (Manni, 2004, p. 36). As Manni states, these new social movements that do not have a goal of power and move away from class cannot "raise an effective and persistent revolt against the existing structures of power and private property as in the power of organized labor" (2004, p. 58). Of course, as mentioned above, the importance of these social movements cannot be denied, but unless these movements are built on a class basis, they cannot contribute to the realization of a permanent social transformation. As Manni (2004, p. 58) states, the fact that the class struggle is the main determinant does not necessitate the disappearance of new social movements; on the contrary, it in no way means that the women's movement, blacks, peace activists, ecologists, homosexuals and others are unimportant or that It does not mean that they will have no effects, or that they should give up their separate identities, (...) that the class struggle is the principal (not the only) 'gravedigger' of capitalism. The issue of who

will be the carrier of the discourse or the articulating subject in the design of post-Marxism to be established through discourse, in which social actors are collective wills instead of class, is also left in suspense.

The effort to redefine or transcend Marxism as it is described has resulted in the removal of the working class from the center of Marxist theory and practice. As Wood (2006, pp. 35-36) states, this removal is determined regardless of whether the urgent requirements of the power struggle, the despair in the face of the non-revolution of the working class in the West, or only conservative and antidemocratic impulses, or the reasons are determined, whatever happens; Whether or not it involves a reformulation of both Marxism and the entire Marxist understanding of the revolutionary process, displacing the working class means necessarily and redefining both the means and the ends of the socialist project. However, Wood (2006, p. 37) states that none of these new definitions presented as alternatives engage in a "systematic reassessment of the social forces that make up capitalism and its decisive strategic goals". Wood (2006, p. 37) describes this as "the typical style of these alternative views is the expression of voluntaristic utopia or despair, or, as is often the case, both: the illusion of a transformed society with no real hope for a process of transformation".

#### **5.4. The Left of PostMarxism: Left Liberalism**

Post-Marxism and liberal thought are closely related. Post-Marxists, who are thrown towards idealism and poststructuralism with the claim of overcoming the Marxist/materialist understanding, have entered into a fraternal relationship with

liberalism, especially with their class perspective, even if they sometimes criticize some aspects of liberalism. Laclau and Mouffe illustrated this relationship as follows:

Since the radical democratization of society arises from a wide variety of autonomous struggles, which are themselves overdetermined by hegemonic forms of articulation; furthermore, since everything depends on the plurality of public platforms in which discussion and decision-making processes take place, which enable social actors to become more and more self-directed; then it is clear that this process does not go through a direct attack on state organs, but requires the consolidation and democratic reform of the liberal state. The entirety of the founding principles of the liberal state—separation of powers, universal suffrage, multi-party system, civil rights, etc. —must be preserved and reinforced. It is within the framework of these fundamental principles of the political community that it is possible to advance as far as possible the democratic demands of today (from the rights of national, racial and sexual minorities to the anti-capitalist struggle itself) (1992, p. 35).

Dinler (1998, p. 46), on the other hand, states with a critical point of view that the post-Marxist left, far from rejecting the liberal left, is on the contrary trying to expand and deepen it in the direction of a radical and plural democracy. Mouffe criticizes classical liberalism, but he does this by dividing liberalism into two. According to him, there is a distinction between economic liberalism and political liberalism. Mouffe, trying to reveal the difference between economic and political liberalism, claims that defending political liberalism does not make it necessary to defend economic liberalism (Benhabib, 1996, p. 245). Therefore, he believes that some political liberal values may contribute to democracy. “What the theory of radical democracy emphasizes is a kind of ‘radical liberal democracy’. We do not think of it as a rejection of the liberal democratic regime or as an institution of a new

political form of society” (1992, p. 20). In postMarxism, “democracy should spread within the liberal-democratic regime approach” (Mouffe, 1992, p. 3). According to Wood, post-Marxism or new left movements have tamed the concept of democracy. In this way, democracy “was made acceptable to the ruling classes, who could now claim their adherence to ‘democratic’ principles without seriously jeopardizing their own sovereignty. [Thus] the pure ‘formal’ principles of liberalism become identified with democracy” (Wood, 1992, p. 16).

It is not possible to give a precise definition of left liberalism, which is proposed to be democratically reformed and reinforced in the radical democracy theory of Laclau and Mouffe. Since it is not the subject of the study, a deep history of liberalism will not be entered here. However, if it is necessary to briefly touch on liberalism in order to understand left liberalism, it can be said that the liberal understanding, led by the ideas of John Locke and Adam Smith, and which lasted until the industrialization process of the 18th and 19th centuries, when the transition from feudalism to capitalist society in classical Europe included classical liberalism (Heywood, 2005, p. 47). The goal of classical liberalism is shaped by the idea that the individual can develop independently of the society. According to liberalism, which puts individualism at the forefront, a society should be built that will enable each individual to progress within the values they define in line with their own abilities (Uslu, 2013, p. 71). Defending the rights of the individual and the limitation of the state against the state is one of the most basic principles of classical liberalism (Heywood, 2006, p. 63). Another important point that is important for classical liberalism is individual freedom. Freedom is the freedom to seek our own good as long as we do not prevent others from depriving them of their happiness (Mill, 2015, p. 20). Liberalism is a bourgeois understanding and was created to ensure the interests

of the bourgeois class. For this reason, the liberal understanding of economy is called the bourgeois political economy (Hançerlioğlu, 1999, p. 261). To sum up, classical liberalism is an ideological understanding based on factors such as negative freedom, individualism, the narrowing of the state's range of action in social life, and the market economy. These elements caused liberalism to reveal many doctrines; natural rights theory, utilitarianism, economic liberalism, social Darwinism, neoliberalism (Heywood, 2005, p. 49) and left liberalism or social liberalism that postMarxists are trying to reform.

Today, left liberalism is at the forefront, especially right-wing neoliberalism and revisionist left-wing ideologies, including postMarxists. Neoliberalism, whose basic thesis is individual and market as in classical liberalism, is an updated version of classical political economy developed with free market economists such as Hayek and Friedman and philosophers such as Nozick (Heywood, 2006, p. 65). Together with the governments of Margaret Thatcher in England and Ronald Reagan in the USA, it started to come to the fore in the political arena. The discourses of Thatcher and Reagan together with the "New Right" discourse formed the political structure of neoliberalism. Neoliberalism has started to rise as an ideology that contains the basic elements of liberalism, which expresses itself with more conservative and authoritarian elements in the new right discourse (Özkazanç, 2005, p. 635).

Left liberalism, which emerged with the efforts of post-Marxists to combine liberalism and Marxism to overcome Marxism in the face of neoliberalism, is not a theory according to Savran (1986, p. 15), but an ideology just like other liberalist ideas. According to him, this ideology is “a movement that wants to make politics in a certain style by bringing together certain classes and categories, a cultural orientation with its own references, and above all, a mood.” First of all, it is necessary to know



what Marx, who is tried to be combined with liberalism, said about liberalism.

Regarding the science of political economy, which he accepted as the economic doctrine of liberalism, Marx says: “Economy starts from political labor, but gives nothing to labor. He gives everything to private property” (1993, p. 151). According to Marx, the economic view of liberalism imposes eternity on bourgeois society, which, as it will be remembered, is one of the most basic features of idealist philosophy. *In The Poverty of Philosophy*, Marx said: “Economists consider bourgeois relations of production, division of labour, credit, money, etc. as fixed, unchangeable, immortal categories. (...) Economists explain how production is done within the aforementioned relations, but they do not explain how these relations themselves are produced, that is, the historical movement that gave rise to them” (1966, p. 242). “In both political philosophy and economic philosophy, it brings the individual to the fore with his rights and freedoms in all relations in the triangle of state, society and individual; Liberalism, which advocates that freedom of thought, belief and conscience should be granted to every individual” (Güçlü et al., 2002, p. 891), could not avoid contributing to the reproduction of capitalism as an ideology that defends the free market economy that protects the strong while pulling the state out of industry.

It is argued that the meaning of democracy in post-Marxism passes through left liberalism. According to Savran (1986, p. 38-39), who does not agree with this argument, the real meaning of a liberal socialism is to accept a compromise with the existence of the state. This is a paradox of left liberalism. According to left liberalism, the state is both the source of all oppression and backwardness, and it is not something that should be destroyed and a new social order should be established, as in other left ideologies. Historical materialism advocates a gradual transition to a world

without the state. Savran explains this issue by quoting Mandel: “The starting point of Marx's theory of the state was the basic distinction he made between the state and society; in other words, it is necessary to realize that the functions performed by the state need not be delegated to a device separated from the mass of the members of a society at all, but that this occurs only under specific and historically determined conditions. What Marx refers to as "a device separated from the mass of the members of society" is the source of alienation, regardless of the body of this device.

Alienation, which is a product of class societies, will gradually disappear only by changing the conditions. However, in a civil society theory of the kind proposed by left liberalists, it is suggested that the separation between the state and civil society will grow, not the disappearance of the state. The goal is to strengthen civil society while limiting the powers of the state.

In this case, the existence of the state does not pose a real problem for left liberalism, only the narrowing of its jurisdiction is demanded. “For us, socialism involves deepening the division between state and society. (...) Separation of state and civil society should be a permanent feature of every democratic social and political order” (as cited in Held and Kenane, Savran, 1986, p. 39). As it can be understood from this explanation, the left side of liberalism is willing to domination and alienation represented by the state. The approach of left liberalism, which magnifies the conflict between the state and civil society, keeps people captive to the market economy, which alienates them from their own productive power. In addition, the assumption that everything is determined from top to bottom by the state reveals that left liberalism is a hopeless and faithless theory that attributes invincibility to capitalism. After all these determinations, it would be appropriate to define left liberalism as a theory that does not trust the organization and struggle capacity of the

working class, as Savran (1986, p. 39-40) states. While trying to understand the world, left liberalism or social liberalism, which PostMarxists advocate to surpass Marx, sets out from a fundamental distinction; the civil society/state distinction.

#### **5.4.1. Civil Society and Agnostic Democracy**

In post-Marxism, the state is seen as one of the biggest obstacles to freedoms and democracies, and therefore, no matter what kind of state (including the socialist state), social welfare will not be possible as long as the state exists. At this point, PostMarxists accept the basic concept that left liberalism uses while trying to understand the world. It replaces the state with "civil society" as the pioneer of democracy and the development of society. Because according to them, the source of social conflicts is no longer class. Touranian states that "the working class in the programmed society is not the privileged historical class that directs the society" and explains the reason for this as "the power relationship and practice in the capitalist firm with social change is not at the center of the economic system and the social conflict it creates" (as cited in Yilmaz, 1996, p. 95). According to Wood (2016, p. 276), "civil society" is now in danger of taking on the defense of capitalism, no matter how constructive a thought may be. When the class disappeared in PostMarxism, it became necessary to find another alternative instead. This alternative is multi-part civil society movements. But Wood draws attention to the danger that the multi-part project of "civil society" is closely related to the political realm of liberalism:

The "civil society" argument insists that we must not allow our understanding of human emancipation to be constrained by the identification of "formal democracy" with capitalism. But the irony is that this argument itself may result in allowing capitalism to limit our understanding of democracy by blurring the connections. If we think of human emancipation as little more than an extension of liberal

democracy, we may eventually come to believe that capitalism is its surest guarantee after all (1992, p. 16).

Başkaya (2005, pp. 537-540) on the other hand, talks about three different “civil society”. First understanding is an approach shaped by the bourgeois worldview, in which the capitalist enterprise, which is seen as separate from the state, is considered the basis of civil society, and civil society is accepted as an area of freedom for the development of the individual. Latter; It is a naive-benevolent understanding of civil society. In this approach, there is a struggle against the negative consequences of the system, but the main reasons that create these negativities are beyond the scope of discussion. The third understanding of civil society, on the other hand, approaches the problem on a class basis. In this approach, civil society is not a separate field independent of production relations. According to Savran (1986, p. 16), for postMarxists, civil society is “in short, the area where individuals freed from the control of the state freely regulate their production and private lives and can organize for this purpose”. PostMarxists treat the state as one-sided. According to them, the state is a vast bureaucracy that impoverishes the people and clogs the economy. In the political dimension, the state, which hinders civic participation and the free exchange of goods, is the source of authoritarian governments. The essence of democratic citizenship is “civil society” (Petras, 22 December 2018).

Left-liberal Heald and Keane define civil society as follows: Of course, we do not define civil society only in terms used by the new right – that is, as a non-state space dominated by capitalist companies and patriarchal families. In this sense, civil society is a reality today. But for us the concept has an additional meaning; civil society has the potential to be a non-state sphere that encompasses various legally secured and democratically organized social institutions – production units, household

units, voluntary organizations and locally regulated services (as cited in Savran, 1986, p. 16-17).

The subject-positions that Laclau and Mouffe dismantled with poststructuralism and put forward as the subject of politics instead of the Marxist subject, that is, class, as mentioned before, are directly based on fundamental principles such as peace actions, LGBTIs, environmentalists, feminists, ethnic minorities, religious communities, student youth. It includes different social groups that do not correspond to class interests. Radical democracy is essentially liberal democracy; It is a defense of the oppressed and liberalism has no fundamental problem with its market structure, so it is limited to civil society. Civil societyism advocates expanding the field of democratic struggles towards the entire civil society and the state, without aspire to the state and power. In the civil society approach of left liberalism, instead of aiming to eliminate contradictions and conflicts, a strategy of softening these contradictions and reconciliation is followed. In this reconciliation strategy, instead of social change movements, the discussion of more local and even individual issues is at the forefront. "Drucker (...) states that after 1973, the idea of salvation through society vanished into history and the individual indisputably came to the fore" (as cited in Yılmaz, 1996, p. 96). Among the plans of understandings that give up a social liberation, that remove the government from targeting it, the most embraced one today is left-liberal civil society. According to Wood, post-Marxism's strategy of "melting capitalism into a deconstructed and undifferentiated plurality of social relations and institutions is the analytic and normative power of 'civil society' can do nothing but weaken its usefulness, its capacity to deal with the limitation and legitimacy of power, as well as its ability to guide 'new social movements' (1992, p. 9).

According to Savran (1986, p. 19), the liberal left is based on the strength of civil society as a requirement of democracy. The sine qua non of liberalism is the market economy. He, like Wood, will say that if left liberalism accepts that civil society is based on a market economy, a market economy is essential for democracy to exist. In this case, in the left liberal discourse, civil society will become the instrument of the obligatory relations established between the market economy and democracy. The most important source of the civil society approach, which is glorified over plurality without breaking away from the relations and practices of the capitalist economy, is to accuse Marxism of economic reductionism. For civil societyists, as stated earlier, Marxism reduces civil society to “the mode of production, the capitalist economy. The importance of civil society and its other institutions (family, church, scientific and literary institutions, prison and hospital) is underestimated (as cited in Keane in Wood, 2016, p. 283). However, it has been tried to explain that this is not the case in the section of the political subject of post-Marxism. To reiterate, Marx did not disregard these institutions, he simply did not attribute a historical decisiveness to these institutions. Marx does not have an attitude of ignoring the existence of these fields. Marx evaluated these institutions within the integrative effect of capitalism. However, post-Marxists, as they are against totality, also subject the decisive effects of capitalism to an incoherent evaluation. According to Wood (1992, p. 7) one of the most flawed aspects of the understanding of raising the civil society project against class struggle is “no inclusive power structure, no integrative unity, no systemic coercion—in other words, its expansionist impulse and penetration into every aspect of social life. It is the conceptualization of the problem of capitalism in such a way that it disappears through the fragmentation of society – without the capitalist system with its capacity.”

PostMarxism, which divides society into parts, supports the theory of civil society with an antagonistic democracy approach. According to Dinler, postMarxists prove the falsity of the Marxist theory of value with a "delicious game of logic" and seek the antagonistic contradiction outside of the contradiction between the working class and the capitalist (1998, p. 23). In Mouffe and Laclau's antagonistic understanding of democracy, the dual class conflict of Marxism is no longer valid. Conflict of course continues in the new society, but these conflicts take place between multiple identities whose articulations are open to constant change.

The distinction between the concepts of "politics" and "political" gains importance in Mouffe's understanding of democracy. For Mouffe, the political is the dimension of antagonism that can appear in various forms in various social relations. "Politics" is under the influence of its "political" dimension and therefore means the whole of practices, discourses and institutions that always aim to establish a certain order in contradictory conditions and to organize people to live together (Mouffe, 2015, p. 23). For Mouffe, classical liberalism's understanding of politics without antagonism eliminates the "political". For this reason, classical liberalism must be purged of this thought so that a real democracy can be established. In post-Marxism, antagonistic conflicts are seen as the source of democracy, whereas in Marxism, contradictions are divided into two: irreconcilable contradictions, which are eliminated in post-Marxism, and non-compromise contradictions. As stated earlier, "the irreconcilable form of contradiction is one between hostile social classes, between classes with fundamentally opposing goals and interests. The contradictions between slaves and slave-owners, between opposing classes such as serfs and feudal lords, proletariat and bourgeoisie, are irreconcilable contradictions" (Malinin, 1979a, p. 123). For PostMarxists, what matters is the conflict arising from the contradictions

between social plurality. Thanks to these conflicts, the government will be made more democratic. According to Laclau and Mouffe (2017, p.17), antagonisms cannot be dominated by a system of rules. For them, the political is not the superstructure, but the ontology of the social; This is one of the most important assumptions of the theory of radical democracy. In the radical democracy project, it is argued that class, identity, gender and smallest units coming from different social formations will exist in a confrontational but not antagonistic agonistic way. According to Mouffe, the distinction between antagonism and agonism is important.

This means that, as in a completely antagonistic friend/enemy relationship, there must be some sort of common bond between the parties in conflict so that the parties' opponents do not see their opponents as enemies who need to be destroyed, and their opponents' demands as illegitimate. However, opponents cannot simply be seen as competitors whose interests can be negotiated or reconciled simply because in such a case the antagonistic element is completely removed. If we are to accept, on the one hand, the persistence of the antagonistic dimension of the conflict, and, on the other, allow for the possibility of "taming" this dimension, then we must envisage a third type of relationship. This is the type of relationship I propose to call 'agonism'. Whereas antagonism is a us/them relationship in which the two parties are enemies who do not share any common ground, agonism is a us/them relationship in which the conflicting parties recognize the legitimacy of their opponents as well as acknowledging that there is no rational solution to the conflict. In agonism, the conflicting parties are not enemies but 'opponents'. This means that during the conflict, they see each other as belonging to the same political union and share a common symbolic space where the conflict takes place. We can say that the task of democracy is to transform antagonism into agonism (2010, p. 28).



For Mouffe, politics is the discourse, the set of institutions, and the practice that organizes the coming together of people. Politics exists because it tames hostilities and makes the potential antagonism present in human relations less dangerous. The aim of Mouffe's democratic policy is to turn antagonism into contention (Mouffe, 2000b, p. 108). This is why Mouffe criticizes classical liberalism. Hegemony is not of sufficient importance to classical liberalists. According to Mouffe, the parties he conceptualizes as adversaries engage in an agonistic struggle within hegemonic relations, and democracy is established in this way. Therefore, the political confrontation that preserves the us and them distinction is important. Mouffe (2010) puts it this way:

I would argue that unless conflicts find channels to allow them to take an 'agonistic' form, they tend to emerge antagonistically. When the us/them opposition is imagined not as a political confrontation between 'adversaries' but as a moral confrontation between good and evil, the opposition is no longer perceived simply as an enemy to be destroyed, which in turn will not bring with it an agonistic stance (p. 11-12).

While Mouffe and Laclau transform antagonism into agonism, they are in the act of overcoming the deliberative democracy understanding that Habermas created with communicative rationality and public space approach, as well as surpassing Marx and Gramsci. The agonistic Radical Democracy project created on the basis of poststructuralism; It is based on Derrida's principle of indecisiveness and has been created with the concepts of agonism, identity/difference, hegemony. For Derrida, although true friendship is an unattainable concept - its very existence destroys itself - the effort to reach it should never cease (Mouffe, 2000b, p. 139). For Laclau and Mouffe, although the concepts of freedom and democracy offered by the modern are inaccessible, as deconstruction shows, the effort to reach these concepts should not

cease. A true democracy can only be established by deepening conflicts, not eliminating them. For this reason, Habermas's "communicative action theory", which aims to reconcile political subjects through negotiation on a rational basis, is problematic agonistically according to Mouffe and Laclau. In order to fulfill the liberating purpose of the Enlightenment, Habermas advocates "communicative reason" instead of "instrumental reason", and a political space determined by "intersubjective" relations/communication instead of a "subject-centered" public (Arslan, 2005, p. 72-73). According to Mouffe (2000a, p. 185), the universalist and rationalist framework of the Enlightenment prevents adequate understanding and analysis of the stage of democratic politics in the age of new social processes. For him, contrary to Habermas, the current rationalist and universalist framework should be abandoned, provided that the political aspects of the Enlightenment represented by the democratic revolution are preserved. For Mouffe, as Habermas and other proponents of deliberative democracy have argued, the epistemology of the Enlightenment is not a necessary condition for its political side.

According to Habermas's deliberative approach with his theory of communicative action, a ground for inter-identity questioning/discussion is prepared through the public sphere. Civil society is characterized as a field in which communicative rationality forms its normative basis. Politics is seen as an ethical practice. In the work embedded in democracy, the relation of "opposition" is rejected. Democratic administration is defined as "a participatory state-civil society relationship" (Keyman, 1999, p. 143-144). One of the important requirements of this theory is to ensure rationality in communication. The criterion of rationality is "criticism" and "defensibility" against this criticism (Habermas, 2001, p. 40). For Laclau and Mouffe, the rationalist understanding of human nature is actually its

weakest side because it rejects the negative aspect inherent in sociality. Rationalist human nature, by preventing the acceptance of the inalienability of violence, hinders the understanding of the nature of the political in the dimension of hostility and antagonism (Mouffe, 2000b, p. 54).

According to Mouffe (2000b, p. 139), perfect democracy actually destroys itself. In this understanding, Derrida's destructiveness and deconstruction are dominant. For this reason, it must be conceived as a good that exists only as good as long as it cannot be attained. In this sense, the radical democracy design finds the deliberative approach incomplete and problematic. Deliberative democracy does not foresee destruction. According to the deliberative approach, the more democratic a society is, the less power will be the founder of social relations. In the radical democracy project of Mouffe and Laclau, it is accepted that power relations are the founders of the social. According to Laclau and Mouffe, the most important shortcoming of the deliberative approach is that this democratic policy model assumes the existence of a public space where power is eliminated and a rational consensus can be achieved. In this sense, the deliberative model does not accept the antagonism dimension required by the pluralism of values and its irreversible character (Mouffe, 2000b, p.103). According to the theory of radical democracy, antagonisms can arise in many different ways. The deliberative approach based on communicative rationality believes that antagonisms can be destroyed through compromise. This is the main reason why differences are given a political outlet in a competitive pluralistic democratic system (Mouffe, 2000b, 117). In the radical democracy approach of Mouffe and Laclau, a transparent society in which a society can come to terms with itself is impossible. Radical democracy brings plurality and conflict. The reason for the existence of politics is conflict and plurality. Differences and contradictions

should never be eliminated. This approach can only survive by deepening and enlarging the ongoing conflicts within capitalism without destroying it or changing the existing market economy, as in Wood's and Savran's criticisms above. Therefore, according to the understanding of agonistic democracy, which is an element of radical democracy, the "end of history" has actually come and power cannot be destroyed. Capitalism can be tamed by civil society and agonistic democracy. In this sense, the radical democracy of post-Marxism serves to legitimize capitalism rather than to fight it, as it has been said from the very beginning.

#### **5.4.2. Pluralism**

Another element of radical democracy, which adopts the idea of an alternative to the capitalist system instead of eliminating it (Demir, 2014, p. 213), is pluralism, which is mentioned occasionally in the upper sections. With radical democracy, which is the project of PostMarxism, it is accepted that "capitalism is now insurmountable, and the best thing to do is to tame and domesticate it" (Demir, 2014, p. 174). The source of the post-Marxist idea of pluralism is liberal philosophy and poststructuralism. The representation critique of poststructuralists, opposing the idea that a group or party can effectively represent the interests of the whole, has also dominated postMarxist thought.

The radical democracy project of post-Marxism, which removes the working class from being a political subject and replaces it with the speaking collective will, is built on the understanding of pluralism. Two important pillars draw attention in the radical democracy project, which was put forward with poststructuralist roots. The first is the rejection of privileged breakpoints. The other is the acceptance of the plurality and indeterminacy of the social. Thus, a new political understanding, called "radical democracy" and claimed to have radically greater goals that cannot be

compared with those of the liberal and classical left, has been put forward (Laclau & Mouffe, 2017, p. 235-236). According to this political understanding, antagonisms formed on the basis of different subject positions need to be recognized. Pluralism can be considered radical if it is accepted that subject positions cannot be brought back to a positive and integral founding principle” (Laclau & Mouffe, 2017, p. 256). At this point, unlike Marxism, the conflict is no longer between classes, but between a series of new movements such as urban, anti-autaritarian, anti-institutional, feminist, ethnic, anti-racist. These forms of resistance, devoid of class consciousness, do not merely tear apart the integral subjects of Marxism.

According to Laclau and Mouffe (2017, p. 259), the new struggles that derive from these pluralist approaches also do not have a progressive character. When left to its own devices, it can be articulated into very different discourses. According to the agonistic conflict of the PostMarxist approach, new areas of struggle that do not have a progressive character can also be articulated with antidemocratic discourses, which is a reflection of the rapid progress of the new right. For Laclau and Mouffe, this is an indication that hegemonic articulation practices are the best policy tools. There are hegemonic practices as this makes it impossible to think of the ambiguous characters of the antagonisms, the political struggle as a game in which the identities of the opposing forces have been formed from the very beginning (2017, pp. 260-262). In the face of the rise of the new right by making use of these articulations, the left must also give up its old attitudes and improve itself. In order to do this, Laclau and Mouffe's suggestion; It is the left's abandonment of class politics that limits the object of political and action analysis. According to them, revolution is not an overdetermination of struggles at a point of political rupture, from which various effects spread across the whole pattern of society, and revolution is a perspective

incompatible with pluralism and opening up, which are indispensable for radical democracy (2017, pp. 271-272). According to the pluralism of radical democracy, socialism is only a component within the project of radical democracy. The idea that when capitalist relations of production, which is one of the founding principles of Marxism, will end, other inequalities will come to an end, is strongly rejected in radical democracy. “The classical conception of socialism assumed that the abolition of private ownership of the means of production would initiate a chain of effects that would lead to the extinction of all forms of subordination experienced over a historical period. Today, we know that this is not the case” (Laclau & Mouffe, 2017, p. 272) and defend this view.

According to the pluralism understanding of PostMarxism, each identity coexists with the other and thus a balance will be established. The never-ending hegemony struggle of many different identities over each other will organize the society. This approach is reminiscent of Foucault's identity and body approach. As it is understood, every political system is hegemonic for Mouffe. For this reason, the solution offered by the radical democracy they created with Laclau to social contradictions is even more contradictory with the pluralization of hegemonies. Mouffe's multipolar understanding of the world, rather than the world as a whole, is the result of postMarxism's proposition for pluralism. Mouffe says that “acknowledging the multiplicity of regional poles organized according to various economic and political models without the need for a central authority” will make the world “agonistic” (2015, p. 42).

As can be seen, all the elements of radical democracy are intertwined with each other. For agonistic democracy, pluralism; for pluralism, the subject needs to leave the class and be transformed into new collective wills.

### 5.5. Libertarian Pessimism

The perspective of the post-Marxist theory of radical democracy on freedom is quite clear in Laclau's sentence: “(...) it seems that emancipation becomes impossible no matter which way we go” (2003, p. 62). Of course, it is not possible for a design that regards the impossibility as an indispensable condition to lay the groundwork for a possible future. For this reason, Laclau and Mouffe's understanding of freedom is pessimistic. It is possible to say that the perspectives of Laclau and Mouffe, who shifted to an existential understanding with their approach to impossibility and undecidability, are also contradictory. To remember once again, freedom has a positive meaning for Marx. From the point of view of Marxian philosophy, true freedom is knowledge of necessity, the ability to act on the basis of “consciousness of what one is doing” (Malinin, 1979b, p. 253). A freedom independent of society is not possible for Marxism.

According to the radical democracy bill, the demand for equality is insufficient. “It is the balancing of the demand for freedom with the equality that enables us to talk about a radical and plural democracy. A radical but non-plural democracy would be one that creates a single meaning of equality on the basis of the unrestricted functioning of the logic of equivalence and defines the irreducible moment of the plurality of fields, this principle of separation of fields is the basis of the demand for freedom” (Laclau & Mouffe, 2017, pp. 280-281). Laclau and Mouffe's understanding of freedom does not fully comply with the negative meaning of classical liberal theories. According to the negative concept of freedom, freedom is the absence of restrictions. According to negative freedom, free action can only be restricted by external prohibitions and interference from other people. Internal and social layers are not taken into account in the understanding of negative freedom

(Silier, 2003, pp. 51-53). As mentioned in the Idealism section, this is the classical liberal view's understanding of freedom. Capitalism argues that when the worker sells his labor, he sells it with his free will. However, the worker does the job for which he has to work for a wage that does not get the real value of his labor because he has to live. What liberalism calls the free market economy is the cover of the exploitation of capitalism (Silier, 2007, p. 134). The freedom approach of Marx in the sense of "self-realization of people by developing their own potential" does not seem possible in the understanding of capitalism and its free market economy. Laclau and Mouffe's understanding of freedom is not compatible with negative freedom in this sense. However, their understanding of freedom does not coincide with Marx's understanding of positive freedom. This is due to the fact that they see "emancipation as impossible".

Does the radical democracy project that they put forward for the emancipation of the society and which they claim to overcome by finding Marxism inadequate really contribute to social emancipation? It is not possible to give a positive answer to this question so far. The founding propositions of the radical democracy project; agonistic understanding of democracy, indecisiveness and impossibility stand as the biggest obstacles to real emancipation. Freedom, which requires human consciousness, according to Marx, is not a moment in history, but a process of attained self-realization. Only with this kind of self-actualization can social freedom be achieved, and the driving force of social freedom is the working class, as it is known from Marx.

The biggest contradiction of Laclau and Mouffe's radical democracy project is once again revealed at this point. The liberation aim of the radical democracy project is far from putting an end to capitalist production relations. Although for Laclau and



Mouffe (2017, p.292) capitalist production is seen as the biggest obstacle to liberation, the emphasis on the need that the conflict with the understanding of agonistic democracy should never end and the approach that the working class is no longer a pioneer turns their plan into a contradictory one. Such an ambiguous project cannot save itself from approaching the system with the understanding of impossibility. For this reason, the freedom understanding of the radical democracy project does not coincide with Marx's positive understanding. The radical democracy project, which does not aim for power and is based on identity politics, in which contradictions are replaced by differences and the only element of democracy is the plurality of these differences, ignores the property relations of the system and abandons the "purpose of politics to identity game" (Kaygalak, 2001, p. 53). For the post-Marxist theory, which adopts an ontological understanding of freedom with an agonistic democracy approach, the political public sphere is also a field of struggle where all kinds of differences can express themselves (Küçükalp, 2017, p. 28). The important thing here is the expression of the differences. Post-Marxism deconstructs Marxism and sees the system, reason and power as impossible, and because of this perspective, the understanding of liberation is pessimistic. As it is seen, a more just order or political space expresses an inaccessible situation, and according to postMarxists, the aim is to pursue this inaccessible order despite its inaccessibility. In this sense, post-Marxism could not escape from being stuck in idealist philosophy.

In this last chapter, before moving on to the analysis part, the theoretical framework of the critical political stance, post-Marxism, is given in detail in a holistic manner with the previous parts of the study. As can be seen, post-Marxism, in which capitalism and its political elements are trivialized; It has postulates such as ambiguous style, disconnected private areas of struggle, uncertainty, indecisiveness,

impossibility, the multiplicity of differences and social conflict areas that matter. One of the biggest impasses of the theory is that it inevitably ascribes immutability to the existing system due to the uncertainty of the driving force of social freedom. Many of the postulates of the PostMarxist theory mentioned above also appear in the popular/postmodern literary journals that are the subject of the study. The critical political stance of popular/postmodern literary magazines; Idealist philosophy, postmodernism and its theory is a critical political stance compatible with postMarxism. Where appropriate, the characteristics of the journals that have a critical political stance compatible with idealism, postmodernism and postMarxism are included throughout the study. In the last part, the relationship of magazines with idealist philosophy, postmodernism and postMarxism will be presented with examples.

## **6. ELEMENTS THAT REDUCE THE DOMINANT IDEOLOGY IN POSTMODERN/POPULAR LITERARY MAGAZINES**

### **6.1. Methodology**

Three basic approaches are emphasized in social sciences: positivism, phenomenological approach and critical school (Kümbetoğlu, 2015, p. 15). It is assumed that these three approaches are effective on how the method used should be. In other words, a certain point of view necessitates the selection of a certain method. For example, while the positivist approach requires quantitative analysis, the hermeneutic approach and the Critical School prioritize qualitative analysis. However, when it comes to critical approach/critical school, what is usually pointed out is the Frankfurt School and its critical theory. However, Marxism and its method, dialectical materialism, is an approach in itself that cannot be included in the critical school due to the reasons that are tried to be explained throughout the thesis, and there are places where it fundamentally contradicts the critical school. (For example, the negative dialectic and open-ended dialectical method of the Frankfurt School, which is opposed to the Marxist dialectical method, etc.).

This study, which aims to reveal how popular/postmodern literary magazines contribute to the reproduction of the dominant ideology despite its critical political stance, will be guided by the Marxist approach, which is a part of the critical approach. As Erdoğan (2012, p. 133, 135) stated; “What gives the character of a Marxist approach to a research is not how the data is collected, but the theoretical structure that is created by the reasoned presentation of the issue/problem and determines the framework of the solution.” Marxist approaches are qualitative analyzes in the context of data collection and evaluation. In this study, qualitative

analysis will also be used to "understand the real essence under the visible". Because qualitative research is one of the ways of producing knowledge that people develop in order to solve their own secrets and to explore the depths of the social systems that they have formed with their own efforts (Özdemir, 2010, p. 326).

The scientist who wants to do social research has three basic tools; concept, method and theory (Kümbetoğlu, 2015, p. 45). In the study, these three basic tools are determined as follows: The concepts of postmodernism and critical political stance will be discussed with Marxist theory, and the literary magazines selected as samples will be examined with the dialectical method.

This study is written within the framework of dialectical materialist philosophy. Choosing the method of a study whose philosophy is materialism as a dialectical method was deemed appropriate in order not to go beyond the philosophy and conceptual framework of the thesis. It is important to carry out data analysis by following the concepts explained throughout the thesis with the dialectical method, without resorting to any other analysis method, in terms of the consistency of the philosophy of the study. For example, there are reasons why critical discourse analysis, which is the most preferred method in similar studies based on text analysis, is not used in this thesis. As Atabek (2007, p. 152) states, "discourse analysis presupposes a break from materialism." It would not be correct for this study, which adopts the materialist approach, to adopt a method that is thought to predict a break with it. "The use of the concept of discourse explaining life, instead of the concept of ideology as an expression of material life, inevitably points to a position close to idealism in the ancient debate over whether matter determines thought or thought determines matter 'in the last instance'." (Atabek, 2007, p. 152). For this reason, while revealing how the dominant ideology is reproduced through postmodern magazines, it

has become a necessity to adopt the dialectical method that uses the concept of ideology rather than adopting the concept of discourse, which replaces ideology, as a method.

Scientific theory [dialectics] helps us to go beyond the visible surface to understand the hidden laws that govern the motions of things. According to Marx, the necessity of science begins here (D'Amato, 2016, p. 38). As Marx put it (2017, p. 317) "All science is superfluous when the external appearance of things and their essence directly coincide." The main feature that distinguishes dialectics from other methods is that its subject is about change and interaction. The dialectical method answers how change and interaction should be studied. And reaching this answer goes through the process of abstraction. Although it seems real, the world that the mass media offers us is a representation of reality. Moreover, this representation is not independent of ideologies. Since media messages carry values and ideologies. Media messages are produced within economic, social, political, historical and aesthetic contexts (İnceoğlu & Çomak, 2009, p. 28). It is important to analyze popular/postmodern literary magazines, which are mass media, in terms of these contexts. Because, as Ollman (2006, p. 30) states; "The main problem is that reality is actually more than its own image, and in this respect, focusing only on images, on instant and direct data that catches our eye, gives extremely misleading results." The Marxist approach and the dialectical method are essential in order to look beyond the critical political stance represented in the image in popular/postmodern literary magazines and to understand what this critical political stance actually represents.

A dialectical research first begins with the whole, the system, or whatever is understood from this whole. Then, he slowly investigates the part, how it occupies the whole, how it functions, and finally reaches a clearer understanding of the whole,

which is the starting point (Ollman, 2006, p. 33). In this study, too; first of all, including popular/postmodern literary magazines, it is aimed to analyze postmodernism, its theoretical, cultural and philosophical framework, then analyze the journals that are part of this whole, the politics of the critical stance in these magazines, and finally to reach a clearer understanding about the starting point of postmodernism and its critical political stance.

Ollman (2006, p. 49) states that how we abstract the literature, how we draw the borders, which works and which parts of these works are determinative in relation to which other subjects and even by whom. E.g; When we abstract literature in a way that examines the followers of literary products, we create a field of sociology of literature<sup>33</sup>; On the other hand, when we focus only on the forms of literary works and abstract to the exclusion of everything else, what emerges are different structuralist approaches to literature. Based on this explanation of Ollman, it is aimed in this study to go to an abstraction that goes beyond the sociology of literature and the structuralist approach. E.g; We could create a field of sociology of literature by examining the followers of popular/postmodern literary journals, limiting our abstraction to influence research. Or we could just focus on the text and examine how the magazine texts are set up. However, in this study, starting from a more holistic approach, an abstraction will be made in terms of the relationship between the postmodern period and these magazines and the quality of the criticism in the journals. Marx states that

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<sup>33</sup> Sociology of Literature consists of four main elements: author, work, reader, and society. Approaches with theoretical differences sometimes focus on one of these elements and sometimes focus on the relationship between these four elements. Here, too, Ollman speaks of creating a field of sociology of literature with the reader element. For detailed information on the sociology of literature, see N.S. Kösemihal (1967), *Introduction to Sociology of Literature*, Istanbul University Faculty of Letters: Istanbul.

his dialectical method starts from the "real concrete" and reaches the "concrete in thought" through the process of abstraction. Abstraction means separating the concrete whole into rational parts in order to grasp it correctly. To make sense of objects and phenomena, first of all, we should start by distinguishing some of their qualities and focusing on those qualities, and then organizing these qualities appropriately. In its simplest sense, dialectical abstraction is a rational activity to draw a boundary between what is left out and what will be included while examining a subject (Ollman, 2006, pp. 46-48). In dialectical materialism, abstraction is "the most important moment in the transition from sensory knowledge to rational knowledge in the learning process." At the starting point of the learning process, that is, the activity of acquiring knowledge, there are objects that can be perceived with our senses, and the "concrete" that emerges in the form of properties and relations of those objects.

Abstract concepts are created by focusing on the individual characteristics and relations of the concrete object and phenomenon. In this way, acquiring knowledge begins to progress from the concrete to the abstract. It is necessary to create these abstracts in order to reveal the essence of objects and phenomena. And ultimately it must be ascended from this abstraction to a higher form of the original concrete (Buhr & Kosing, 1976, pp. 263-264). Thus, with the abstraction process in the dialectical method, "from the appearance to the essence" is reached. It is possible to say that the method of abstraction is a necessity for the "conceptual reproduction of objectivity" that Marx stated. Ollman (2006, p. 48) gives the example of a concert so that we can better understand the abstraction method: "While listening to a concert, we usually focus on a single instrument or a repetitive melody and then turn our attention to other things. As soon as we do this, the whole music acquires a different character, (...) each sound gains a different meaning and value." In other words, how we make sense

of music is determined by how we abstract it. In this study, various sub-categories will be created through a dialectical abstraction process, and the philosophical, cultural and theoretical framework of the postmodern critical political stance will be examined separately, and the relationship of popular/postmodern literary magazines with these frameworks will be tried to be revealed. Dividing the work into parts within these frameworks and basing it on the interaction between these parts is a result of the dialectical method adopted. The importance of the dialectical method for this study is that it allows a holistic approach as well as following the dialectical abstraction process.

Ollman (2006, pp. 72-74) draws attention to three different simultaneous manifestations of the dialectical abstraction process. These views are scope, level of generality, and positioning point. Essentially, all three aspects point to the limitation of the investigated case. There is a temporal and spatial limitation in the process called scope abstraction. In this study, which aims to investigate how popular/postmodern literary magazines reproduce the dominant ideology, the period called "postmodern period" has been focused and a spatial limitation has been made with the magazines selected as the sample. The Generality level, which is another aspect of the abstraction process, makes it possible to consider not only the part but the whole system to which the part belongs. Thanks to this view, the part being examined starts to be examined from the most specific side that separates it from the whole, and it is possible to move towards the most general features of the part and therefore the most similar features to the other parts of the whole. In this study, the critical political stance seen in popular/postmodern literary magazines will be discussed at the level of the social system as a whole, namely its relation with capitalism. Thus, the postmodern critical political stance; The philosophical



framework will be divided into idealism, the cultural framework postmodernism, and the theoretical framework postMarxism/poststructuralism, and the relationship among each specific part will be tried to be revealed. Positioning point, which is the third view in the abstraction process, is the starting point from which point of view to approach the studied phenomenon. The positioning point of this study, which will look at popular/postmodern literary magazines from a critical perspective, will be the Marxist approach and its focus will be on a postmodern critical political stance.

One of the important stages of research design is to determine the data collection source that is suitable for the subject under investigation. This resource, determined in the empirical design, is called the population. Population is the sum of theoretically defined research units. For example, if the research is about newspapers, which newspapers are the population of the research. The samples selected from this generalized population constitute the sample of the research (Erdoğan, 2012, p. 201). Popular/postmodern literary magazines constitute the population of the study, and Ot, Kafa and Bavul magazines selected from this population constitute the sample of the study. Ot magazine; Since it was the first magazine to start the trend of popular literary magazines, Kafa magazine; Among the magazines in this trend, the magazine with the highest circulation and the Bavul magazine were considered suitable for the sample because of its organic ties with the Freedom and Solidarity Party (ÖDP), which positions itself in a leftist politics.

In the study, twenty-one issues, seven each, from three different journals (Ot, Kafa, Bavul) defined as popular/postmodern literary magazines; The concepts of idealism, postmodernism and postMarxism were followed and analyzed. The analyzed magazines were selected by random sampling method. Random sampling in qualitative research is a sampling method in which all items in the universe have an

equal and independent probability of being determined. In random sampling, the negative impact of the researcher's biases on the determination of sampling from the population is eliminated (Grix as cited in Baltacı, 2018). In this context, the 2013 March, 2018 March, 2018 May, 2018 June, 2019 October, 2019 November, 2020 June issues of the Ot Magazine; 2014 September, 2015 January, 2015 February, 2015 July, 2015 August, 2016 December and 2019 August issues of Kafa Magazine; On the other hand, the 2015 October, 2016 November, 2016 December, 2017 June, 2018 October, 2019 May and 2019 November issues of Bavul Magazine were examined. These examined numbers were analyzed at the content level with the dialectical method.

In addition, in order to reveal the left melancholy on the covers of the magazine, eight covers that meet this concept are included in the analysis section. In this context, the 2013 May, 2014 January, 2014 June, 2014 September, 2017 March, 2017 July, 2018 April, 2019 June issues of the Ot Magazine; Kafa Magazine 2016 December, 2015 January, 2015 May, 2015 September, 2017 February, 2018 January, 2018 July, 2019 April issues and Bavul Magazine 2016 April, 2016 November, 2016 December, 2017 June, 2018 October, 2018 November Covers of May 2019, November 2019 issues are included.

## **6.2. Magazine “Ot”**

### **6.2.1. Copy Right Page**

Ot Magazine started its publication life in March 2013 with the motto of “culture and art magazine that is read with pleasure and at a good clip”. On the website of the magazine founded by Metin Üstündağ and Dündar Hızal, in the About Us section, the Ot Magazine is described as follows:

Since 1996, with the aim of "a magazine that is read quickly and with pleasure", respectively; Öküz (Ox), Hayvan (Animal), and finally OT magazine, which started its publication life in 2013 with the slogan "Just for the hell of it (The direct translation is "let there be greenery")", represents a deep-rooted tradition. OT magazine has grown by taking humor and literature as its roots, keeping its branches unfamiliar with everything from football to politics, from the street to music, and by always showing the courage and desire to come together with everyone who has a say in the country (otdergi.com/about us).

In this definition, it is possible to see Deleuze's root-stem approach. Metin Üstündağ explains this diversity in an interview with Evrensel Newspaper: "A magazine open to everyone who has something to say, just like Öküz (Ox). There are prostitutes, there are those who do high literature. There are young people as well as veterans. There are some magazines you feel humiliated when you read them. (...) There is a definition of authorship, for example, you say, 'No, I can't be a writer, I'm a slum boy.'" (Universal, 2013). In this definition of Üstündağ, there are traces of anti-intellectualism. Metin Üstündağ, one of the founders of the magazine, associates this diversity of writers with "democracy" and expresses the magazine's connection with ideology as follows:

We can't stand people's names yet, how are we democrats? (...) We open our pages to guest writers who appeal to very different audiences. It wouldn't be a surprise if a few people always wrote about a file with a certain point of view, so it wouldn't be attractive. For example, I learned a lot from Nihat Doğan's views in the Özal file. Everyone already knows about Özal, which we are going to tell, and I think Nihat Doğan's Özal is more of a surprise. Looking at Özal from the left is a cliché. There are things we don't see. This literary magazine is open to anyone with a paragraph. But this will not be an insult, it will be a paragraph that will contain information. We need joyful things more

than ideology. We have a lot of fun while making this magazine (Estukyan, 2013).

As can be seen, Üstündağ gives an example of an extremely ideological figure such as Turgut Özal, saying that "we need more joyful things than ideology". It is possible to say that the "ideology without ideology" of postmodernism is at play here. However, Üstündağ, who later published the *yumuşak g* (soft g) magazine, emphasizes the similarity of postmodern pluralism and magazines, and gives an extremely ideological answer when describing his vision of the Gezi resistance:

Grass came out in February, its slogan was 'Let there be greenery' (just for the hell of it). In June of the same year, the country came together because of a handful of greenery. So it was a magazine with a vision. There are types that we can call marginal in soft g, everyone is here. I wanted soft g to resemble the country we dreamed of. (Çınar, 2015).

Another name, Dunder Hızal, who is one of the founders of *Ot* magazine, defines the magazine as "a cultural magazine witnessing its age". After underlining that they are "a magazine that can contain many elements such as literature, cinema, thought and popular culture", he explains two features of *OT* that distinguish it from its peers. The first of these is that it leans on a tradition from magazines such as *Öküz* and *Hayvan*, and the second is that it "[has] a stance." According to Hızal, the magazine's philosophy of "existence and formation" is a "pluralist, democratic, libertarian" philosophical perspective (Sert, 2019). This philosophical perspective, as will be remembered, is the post-Marxist perspective described in the previous section. As can be seen, Hızal also describes magazines from an extremely ideological point of view. Hızal explains the postmodern stance where all dissimilarities are together as follows: "There is no other publication where you can see such dissimilarities together. (...) Let me quote one of the two founders of the magazine, Metin Üstündağ,

we are a street. We are side by side with a grocer and a draper, a restaurant and a bookstore” (Sert, 2019).

In another interview about the magazine, Üstündağ answers the question asked about whether the target audience of Ot magazine is young people, "We definitely want to make them read it". The reason for this is that “no institution is doing its duty, neither family nor school... We want to give these children a conscience first. Because there is no institution left to teach good and bad, right and wrong” (Doğan, 2013). Penguin writer Faruk Kaya, who was introduced as Metin Üstündağ's right-hand man in the same interview, uses the aphorisms that we frequently encounter in magazines and the function he expects from them: “Today, everything can be reduced to a few sentences. So that's what we're trying to do. In the İhsan Oktay Characters with Lines section, the drawings attract his attention, for example, he sees a sentence like an aphorism and it stays in his mind. The fact that the book has a name can cause him to go and buy the book as a result of the curiosity arising from that sentence. It is possible to understand from the following words of Kaya that there is no integrity in the magazine in accordance with postmodernism: “We can say that there is a section in this magazine that will attract the attention of everyone. Didn't he like this page, let him pass. Maybe he will come across something else that interests him on the next page” (Doğan, 2013). Metin Üstündağ, in the following lines of this interview also shares his ideas about the place of art and literature in daily life practice. Üstündağ's opinion on this subject is also very important for our thesis:

A good magazine is one that makes you want tea, coffee, smoking, making something, and even making love while reading it. It makes you say “I wish I was in this magazine too”. For example, the secret spread of humor magazines happens like this: A man tells his girlfriend something he read there in the evening, and picks up the woman with a

joke there. If it can get into daily life, it has become a magazine. That's hard to do in a serious literary magazine. Literature and art are perceived as something heavy that some big shots are interested in. We change it, we create something that you will prefer in your daily life and do it without getting bored (Doğan, 2013).

The practical equivalent of art and literature is “picking up girls, tea/coffee etc. arousing the desire to drink”. However, as it is tried to be explained in detail throughout the thesis, the relationship between art and practice should not be as described by Metin Üstündağ, the founder of Ot magazine. Postmodernism's emphasis on pleasure and desire and putting these two at the base of everything came to the fore when explaining the practice of art here.

The opinions of the founders and the team about the magazine are very important in terms of supporting our work. Many of the points described in the conceptual section appear in these views.

### **6.2.2. Idealism in OT Magazine**

In this chapter examples of why the philosophy of the critical political stance seen in Ot Magazine is idealism will be given. Features such as pessimism, great rejection, and praise for loneliness that dominate the magazine in general are compatible with idealism and the new Kantian philosophy. Again, as in the other magazines that are the subject of the study, hedonism, individualism, eulogy for seclusion, uncertainty of place and time, the author's relationship with the "other" self, the pleasure of defeat, the praise for insanity show that the magazine was influenced by Nietzsche's idealist philosophy. The basic categories of Heidegger's idealist philosophy "timelessness" and "homelessness" are also compatible with the character of these magazines that emphasize "living in the moment". The idea that "knowledge

based on perspective is always honored", rooted in idealist philosophy, is another idealist philosophy element that we encounter in Ot Magazine.

In the June 2020 issue of the magazine with the cover of Camus, we come across an article in line with the understanding of Lyotard and poststructuralists whose philosophy is idealism, rejecting reality and seeing everything as language games. Murat Menteş constructs his article titled "Novelist Philosopher Albert Camus" in an "unrealistic" way, which is an element of idealism, as if he had an interview with Albert Camus today. With this unreal, fictionalized interview, Camus conveys the following messages to the readers: "Everything is meaningless, politics should be tolerant, the opposite situation, namely, "contempt is fascism", "the teachings that explain everything" should be avoided... It also contains irrational elements.

Menteş: Is everything really meaningless? Camus: When we say that everything is meaningless, we are saying something meaningful. / M: What do you think the writer does exactly? C: It is at the service of those who have suffered the wrath of history. / M: You used to see the novel and theater as ways to present your philosophical views... What is the connection between philosophy and literature? C: Great novelists are philosopher novelists. In other words, they are the opposite of "thesis" writers. Balzac, Sade, Melville, Stendhal, Dostoevsky, Proust, Malraux, Kafka. I think every one of them is a philosopher. / C: Fascism is contempt. M: Is contempt at the core of fascism? Is it that simple? C: Do not belittle contempt. Any contempt that seeps into politics prepares fascism. / C: Freedom is dangerous, living free is difficult. M: So maybe we shouldn't push too hard? C: But we cannot enjoy happiness without being free. / M: What would you particularly like to warn us about? C: Stay away from teachings that explain everything. M: Why? C: Because they relieve you of the weight of

your own life. M: What's wrong with that? C: You will become weak. You should be able to carry the burden of your life alone.

In the March 2018 issue of Ot Magazine, Onur Ünlü's sub-titled "State, Not Position" is in line with Foucault's approach to the individual. The main propositions of the text appear as the best remembered parts of the discourse contained in the text. Ünlü's article begins with the sentence "I problem is the subject and the construction process". This first sentence coincides with Foucault's refusal of individuality to validate new forms of subjectivity. According to the article, the subject is "constituted" as in Foucault. However, according to Onur Ünlü, the middle class is not aware of this situation and therefore does not think much about the subject problem. However, the middle class must now come up with new definitions of "I" as in Foucault. "The question of the self is the subject and the process of construction. It doesn't end. The middle class doesn't think of it that way. He takes a middle-class position and is about his 'me'; Then he doesn't think too much about it. However, we have to come up with a new definition of 'me' out of the problem of 'me' and we have to establish a new dramaturgy built by this new definition of 'me'. This paragraph is in line with PostMarxism's view of class. If class is to be spoken of in PostMarxism, it can only be the "middle class". The end of Ünlü's writing, which is compatible with the Foucaultian subject construction, ends with the Heideggerian state of being. The characteristics of the existential philosophy, which includes many elements of irrationalism such as the absence of absoluteness and rootlessness of existence, are conveyed by showing the Kalenderis, who are considered as the existentialists of the period, as an example. "Very roughly, I believe in state, not position/authority. Just like the Melami, like the Kalenderi. There are maqams in classical Sufism. But some



say that what matters is the state, not the rank. So sometimes you are on top. Sometimes you are at your lowest. Sometimes you're in the middle."

In the June 2020 issue of the magazine, Altay Öktem's article titled "Don't have pleasure, desire is Enough" shows the contradiction between pleasure and desire as the basic contradiction of human beings. It has been criticized that desire prevents pleasure.

The fundamental contradiction of man is the contradiction between pleasure and desire. The order, morality, religion, tradition, custom, rules, laws in which we live; Now, whatever comes to your mind uses them all to try to keep us away from pleasure. Enjoyment is either forbidden or a sin. Those who take pleasure are either punished or feel guilty. Because pleasure is a result and whoever reaches that result is satisfied. So the road ends there. There is no continuation. Now we come to the crux of the matter: What does not continue has no profitability either! However, there is no end to desire. As long as you desire it, it doesn't matter whether you can achieve what you desire or not... You will desire something else anyway... Then something else, something else... What you desire can be a villa with a view of the Bosphorus. It can also be a state-of-the-art car, anti-wrinkle cream, rye bread, toothpaste that makes teeth white in three uses, Hermes bag, serrated condom, lozenge-shaped abs, sharp blades made with nanotechnology, or slippers with pompoms. Everyone's desire is his own. No desire is more valuable than another. What matters is the desire itself.

After emphasizing that what is valuable is actually the act of wishing, the author made a transition to the criticism of the desire to consume with what happened during the corona epidemic. The criticism that started with the statement "The monkey opened its eyes, nothing will be the same as before... If you think it will never happen...", the criticism was finally tied to the idea that it is possible for the world to

change under one condition. The article appears to be a critical article at first glance, explaining that the world must come out of the epidemic process by changing. However, the author says that it is possible to get rid of the order he criticizes by "having pleasure". As it will be remembered, according to hedonism, the only purpose of life and the only condition of virtue is to avoid pain and achieve pleasure. The only thing one finds worth attaining in life should be pleasure. In Öktem's writing, it is explained in accordance with the idealist philosophy that another world is possible only by having pleasure.

If you say that nothing will be the same again, so if you say that another world is possible, I respect your opinion, but I'm sorry, I doubt it too! Another world is certainly possible. But for now, it is only possible to dream. When it comes to the question of whether another world can be formed... Look, it's in doubt. Because whether another world is possible or not depends on how much we give up wishing and how much we enjoy the life we live. (...) Another world is possible, of course. This epidemic may have opened your eyes and made you realize the truth. If it taught you to stop wishing and have pleasure in the moment you live...

Irrationalism, one of the most important elements of idealist philosophy, replaces reason and logic with "intuition" and "life experience". Thus, an individualistic pleasure-taking situation comes to the fore. Dücan Cündioğlu's article titled "Searching for the Truth in Tales" in the March 2018 issue of Ot magazine is a strong example of idealism and its element, irrationalism. In the article in which it is explained that art does not need reason is presented to the reader that the important thing for the field of art is intuition - in line with Kant's philosophy. A Nietzschean opposition to the Enlightenment is observed throughout the article. In the article written with the understanding of "the option of rationality at all costs is devoid of the

inner world of man" we come across in Nietzsche, the area where art takes place is defined as "the land where intuitions fly".

Sophos: Its exact equivalent in our language; wisdom, that is, wisdom. (...) Wisdom means knowing what is as it is. Therefore, wisdom is not the name of the visible, but the name of trying to know what is behind the visible! Not the phenomenon, but the nomen, the thing-in-itself, the one behind the curtain. Mythos: Aristotle puts belief before knowing, belief before knowledge, and says that philo-mythos (love of superstition) precedes philosophos (love-wisdom) in any case. (...) There is no need for reason here, neither is it necessary. Once a person is surprised, he immediately gets help from his intuition and starts to float into the images, with his intuition, unknowingly, unnoticed but easily, suddenly. This is the field of art. This interval is exactly the region where the artist resides. These lands where intuitions fly belong to the artists. The land where the mind is not allowed to enter. Ritus: Origin of ritual, worship, rite, simi, ceremony. The only answer to the question of what is the most authentic sign of knowing the truth (sophos) or sensing the truth (mythos) is ritus, that is, prayer, that is, the call. The whole product of the knowing and sensing of the weakness of the soul in its striving to know the truth, a cry from the heart, all its reward!

When writing is evaluated with a holistic approach, it is compatible with the way irrationalism interprets social processes. As it will be remembered, according to irrationalists, social processes are guided not by the development of objective material factors, of which man can acquire knowledge, but by mysterious instincts, "passion for extreme power", mystical "life", in short, by irrational forces that cannot be known" (Malinin, 1979b, p. 247).

The article titled "My Beautiful Mistakes" by İsmail Güzelsoy in the March 2018 issue is also in line with the attitude of irrationalism towards truth. Subjective

idealists' understanding of "no such thing as objective truth can exist" appears in this article as a praise for believing in what is established in the mind against truth.

According to the article, the source of true knowledge is not hidden in the objective world, but in the nature of sensitivity and intellect in the mind. Again, according to the result of the article, "if what will be good for the individual is the lie he has built in his mind against the truth, then the truth is that lie."

Did I want to learn this truth, brother Adam? How am I going to forget all this now? How hard it is to think of a girl in a dimly lit room with a flowing roof, under the moonlight filtering through the window, playing that composition with a wry smile and voicing the last missing piece in the fragile world that innocent darkness has built in her heart. Even uttering the sentence "Look" took my breath away! Sometimes the truth holds us captive. What harm do our feeble and shaky mistakes do to whom, brother Adam? What is the truth now, falling in love with a countess and not being able to marry? Take it, brother Adam, there is so little left that cheers us up, stay away from the dreams we want to be fooled. Let's do it this way, even though we've never met. Let us blindly believe that the moonlight is hiding in that tune. What does a song have to do with reality? What can an agreed possibility, namely the truth, contribute to our song? There are mistakes that wake us up, brother Adam. Galatians that are like a breath of fresh air in these gloomy times. We have the power to imagine people dreaming of moonlight in distant times. We can live without them, but we are deprived of that magnificent work of illusion, of literature. Brother Adam, did you ever listen to fairy tales as a child? The fairy tale told by someone you love ... The more you love someone, the easier it will be for you to believe the story they tell, think about it. Should I believe the big Beethoven's lie or your truth? Look, our mistake is like Turkish delight, your truth is stone... Trust me, some mistakes are the guardians of our secrets. Some facts are the night make-up of fraud... Do you understand, brother Adam? I'm canceling our meeting now, with your

permission. I'll get drunk on my own little and harmless delusions. You continue to live as real what the cruelest and strongest put into the thickest framed showcase...

In the May 2018 issue of Ot Magazine, in which Gustav Klimt's painting Kiss is used with the motto "Love is Being Organized" on the cover, the article titled "Ser Hıvde" by Kutub Şimşek is fully compatible with the attitude that irrationalism imposes on the mind in the face of truth. According to the main idea of the article; man has the ability to make true what his mind believes.

According to the narrative, Companion (Sehabe) Muaz Bin Cebel made an expedition to Diyarbakır at the request of the Prophet a few days before the wedding. His old mother does not have much desire for this departure. She goes to him and says to him: "O Muhammad, may my life be sacrificed for you, but my son is the groom, his wedding is near. I want him to go, but I know I can't handle it." Then the Prophet made a promise to her: "When Muaz returns, I will arrange a wedding for him for a week." Muaz goes on an expedition. He is ambushed and martyred in the borders of Silvan district of Diyarbakır. People all around gather at the place where Muaz was martyred and where his grave is in.

(...) The issue is not whether the rumor is true or not. Do you believe everything that is true, is everything you believe true? If something eases the pain inside you, you believe it. If you believe in something, you make it true.

The meaning that irrationalism attributes to the human mind in the face of truth appears in Berrin Karakaş's article titled "Debt" in the March 2018 issue of Ot magazine. Karakaş narrates the story of her son Özgür, who, like Gülşen Hanım, who is indebted to the banks, and Gülşen Hanım, who is also in debt to the banks, turns off his phone to get rid of the banks, in a way that alleviates the situation. In the article, which does not mention the sources of the economic distress experienced by the

people and the conditions necessary for the end of these troubles, the cynical sentences heard from the mouths of the characters and the rebellion against the financial difficulties are compressed into the mind. The writing, which has the characteristics of irrationalism, is also compatible with the situation of seeing thinking as a practical form of action, which finds its roots in Adorno. In the article, the rebellion of the characters who owe money to the banks begins in the mind and fades away in the mind.

“I swear I did well. We also turned off the phones. Özgür and me too.”  
 “How nice, it's super...” “Ha ha ha ha, super of course,” said Ms. Gülşen, reaching for the mailbox. She took the envelope in her hand and threw it on the ground beside the other torn papers and laughed; “Look, I'm twisting and throwing envelopes from banks from their waists now ha ha ha ...” “I've been seeing these papers for a long time too. So you ...” “Me, of course. I don't even open anything anymore. I can't deal with anything. Instead of debts hurting me, I'm bending their back ha ha ha ...”

At the table in the evening, there was a stronger Ms. Gülşen from all banks in front of me. A mother who will make her day to all creditors to give her son Özgür (it means freedom) his name back. I, who completed his death, was not happy with the happy Özgür and fearless warrior Gülşen lady, whose team won the Beşiktaş match.

According to the irrationalist understanding, which says, "The philosophical worldview should start from the richness of life experience," -as it will be remembered- it is possible to exist between idealism and materialism or other philosophical movements. An article fully compatible with this approach is in the June 2018 issue of Ot magazine. Dücan Cündioğlu's article titled “Cemil Meriç Mütercim, Müteffekkir, Münekkir (Cemil Meriç: Translator, Thinker, Critic)” is written about the affinity that Cemil Meriç established between Islam and Proudhonist

anarchism and his characterization of socialism as the “Islam of those who do not know about Islam” and the article ends with praising to loneliness.

As a matter of fact, he later writes: "I do not know why or how I left socialism. Did I leave? It is difficult to give a definite answer to this question." Socialism has always maintained its importance in Meriç's world, and although some aspects of it were amended, corrected and criticized on some occasions, it did not take an attitude of giving up on socialism completely. (...) He says on February 1, 1977: "Socialism is the Islam of those who do not know about Islam." While templates such as 'Islamic socialism' are in demand, Meriç sees no harm in establishing affinity between Islam and Proudhonist anarchism: "Anarchism represented by Proudhon is the philosophy closest to Islam among all the Western doctrines. Islam is also a nomocracy (the rule of law), so does anarchism. Only for anarchism the law is collective reason, for Islam it is revelation. Proudhon condemns a gain that does not arise from labor. Interest is a means of exploitation, according to the master." (...) From the moment he started to think, he formed his thirst with his suffering, his hunger with his poverty, his loneliness with his incompatibility, in short, with his inability to hold all the handles in his hand; In fact, it was Meriç himself who nurtured and nurtured his suffering, poverty, and disharmony. Loneliness is the only clothes he never takes off in his life. It is both an omen and a sign of the strangeness of its incongruity, its eccentricity.

In the June 2020 Camus cover issue of the magazine, Kaan H. Ökten's article named Absurd Camus states that although he does not accept himself as a philosopher of any movement, Camus, who is accepted as a part of absurdism and existential philosophy; Based on his writings on meaninglessness, alienation, absurdity and detachment from the world, Camus' attitude towards suicide is discussed. The state of trying to explain and justify the feeling of "the meaninglessness of existence", which has become the dominant form of contemporary philosophical irrationalism, led by

Albert Camus, is dominant in the article. In the article, which conveys Camus' philosophy as it is, all the features of irrationalism and therefore idealism are encountered.

Undoubtedly, Albert Camus was the most important writer of our age who dealt with this myth (Sisyphus). He was in a perpetual effort and wrote on the philosophical and moral implications and implications of this absurdly going nowhere. Moreover, he was only 29 years old when he published this text, entitled *The Discourse of Sisyphus*, and had been battling tuberculosis for more than ten years. In the same year, he also published his short novel *The Stranger*. He was dealing with a similar issue: meaninglessness, alienation, absurdity, detachment from the world, and relentlessly resisting death. Briefly, these two works were about the "absurd". (...) In the first part of the text, he deals with the issue of suicide and states that it is the only philosophical problem. Suicide can be assumed as shouting the ridiculous meaninglessness of life into the face of life. But should suicide be affirmed? Despite the meaninglessness and absurdity of life, Camus argues that one should still cling to life: "Let's not make anything bigger. There is something stronger in a person's attachment to life than all the fondnesses of the world." The meaninglessness and absurdity of life, resistance and open-mindedness as "privileged audiences of this inhuman play in which hope and death respond to each other" are both manifestations of the absurd and its limited condition. Life is as absurd as it is meaningless. It is inexplicable why life is the way it is. This is a state of his absurdity. Life is meaningless because it is absurd. It is absurd because it is meaningless. The absurd is always and everywhere. It can hit us in the face at the beginning of any street. The end of the absurd is death. Absurdity ends in death. In this respect, death is absurd, meaningless and nonsensical. It does not have an after or a feature. An already absurd life ends with death, which is much more absurd, even absurd in the absolute sense. It's just absurd.



Another article reflecting the characteristics of irrationalism in the Camus cover issue of the magazine is Murat Menteş's article titled "A Novel that is for the Brain, not for the Heart". In this issue of the magazine, which includes Camus, it is a normal result that the features of idealism and therefore irrationalism are frequently encountered. According to Camus, in Menteş's article citing quotations from the novel "Plague", "there is no real possibility of salvation in religion or in science, nor a power that can give meaning to life." Recovery is temporary, as science cannot completely eradicate the plague germ. Because the plague is an existential consequence.

A philosophical tension about the meaninglessness imposed by death is always on the agenda in Camus' works. (...) people accustomed to thinking in terms of binary oppositions claim that Camus defended atheism in *The Plague*. They assume that there was a conflict between the Jesuit Priest Panaleoux and Doctor Rieux. Pastor Panaleoux makes no sense, yes. But Doctor Rieux cannot outdo him. There is no real possibility of salvation, no power to give meaning to life, neither in religion nor in science... As a matter of fact, the priest invites Rieux to the church to give a speech. Rieux's words to the clergyman are in the form of "I don't know, I can't know". Moreover, the end of the plague epidemic does not come as a triumph of scientific efforts. Camus states that the plague germ will never go away. Thus, it indicates the transience of the state of 'recovery'. Health and disease are both deadly.

In the March 2018 issue of *Ot Magazine*, there is another article with the characteristics of irrationalism. As it will be remembered, according to the existentialist idealist philosophy, the way to end the distress and anxiety caused by alienation associated with being thrown away is extinction, that is, death. The attitude of idealist philosophy, which interprets the boredom as a necessity arising from human existence is also reflected in the story of the couple who forcibly visited a

ruined place built in 6000 BC written by Nermin Yıldırım. In the story named “Taş”, the woman who visits the ruins tries to understand her inner distress “no matter what she does, no matter how much she changes places”, “with stones that have been standing in the same place for eight thousand years and never get bored”.

On the fourth day of the holiday, when they were at the point of strangling each other out of boredom, they decided to visit the ruins near the town when they saw one of their friends in an Instagram photo. (...) They had to wander around the stones for a while out of desperation. The man took a photo of the sign at the entrance of the ruins so that I could read it later. The woman read the first line and passed. “In 6000 BC,” the explanation began. The woman didn't care at first. History kept spinning in her mind as she walked with distress among the stones. "In 6000 BC." Then he suddenly realized with horror that the stones had stood in the same place ever since. She shivered down to the roots of his hair. "They've been here for eight thousand years," she muttered, quickly calculating in her head. Leaning against one of the stones and trying desperately to take a selfie, the man couldn't hear what the woman said. "They've stood in the same place for eight thousand years without getting bored," the woman muttered again. She was very curious about what was in that stone that was not her own. No matter what she did, no matter how many times she changed places, she could not get rid of the distress inside him. Tassa had spent thousands of years standing silently in the same place. Moreover, she did not attempt to take shelter in time and break up. Death was often on her mind, though.

In Nietzsche's philosophical understanding, "there is no law that can be valid in every situation" and "people should take pleasure in uncertainty" approach is one of the most common elements of idealism in popular/postmodern literary journals. In the March 2018 issue of Ot Magazine, Mücahit Bilici's article titled "Freedom and Will", in line with idealist philosophy, presents a narrative of will that is independent of the

society, which puts the subject out of the society in which they exist. The state of enjoying the uncertainty, which Nietzsche sees as the condition of being free and creative, and the state of being able to reveal his own truth dominate the entire article of Bilici. And this "uncertainty", "contingency" is one of the elements of irrationalism.

Human freedom is not about doing the right thing. It is having an equal opportunity to right and wrong. This equal openness of man to right and wrong is the basis of the moral responsibility of man in the secular sense and the test of man in the religious sense. Since people who are condemned to the truth are not free, they do not remain different from animals or angels and are not tested. Well, why shouldn't humanity accrue when everything he does is wrong from the beginning or right from the beginning? Because the will of those who cannot step into the uncertainty and the unknowable will not be manifested and their humanity will not be realized. In the realm, uncertainty and unknowability are sprinkled into determinacy and knowability. And man is placed in those regions of uncertainty and obscurity. There is no free will. Independence (human independence) is possible only by will.

Marcuse's "great rejection" approach, which means focusing on the liberation of the individual instead of the combative power of the class and going out of the society, and which is also a feature of idealism, also appears in Ot Magazine. In such articles, in which the idea of "If you cannot change the world, change your world" prevails, it is argued that the independence of a person can be realized by will. On the June 2018 cover of Ot magazine, featuring La Casa De Papel, Kazım Koyuncu and Muhammet Ali, there are articles that praise solitude and that salvation is in seclusion, despite the motto "Hope is like a domino". One of them is Nermin Yıldırım's article named "You Exist". In the article, it is explained that loneliness is the way for salvation and for the individual to understand his own existence, over the tiredness

and depression of a character who forgets himself while running in the rush of getting somewhere in the city life. Here, Nietzsche's perspective on loneliness, which is given in detail in the conceptual part of the study, and his praise of loneliness are encountered. To remind once again his views on loneliness, Nietzsche stated in *Eco Homo*: "My human love is a constant reinvention. But I cannot do without solitude; loneliness, that is, healing, returning to oneself, breathing a free, gently blowing air" (2010b, p. 23). The praise of solitude, which has an important place in Nietzsche's philosophy, dominates the entire article.

How long do you think you haven't been alone like this? You always run in a hurry to get somewhere, without stopping, without looking at the road itself, without realizing what you see. You stopped and looked behind you. How much you have run, yet how little you have come. A gruesome weariness came over you suddenly. A delayed muscle and soul ache. The weight of the rush to get from one place to another. (...) There was no one. They raised you afraid of loneliness. Afraid to stay with yourself, considering it insane to mutter to yourself. Anesthetizing with noisy crowds, making you forget what you call yourself. They lined up everyone side by side like adjacent houses. (...) The smell of wood, finely decayed by the sea water beating the surface all winter long, came to his nose. You inhale it like it's the best scent in the world. You secretly love everything that decays, melts, and dissolves into itself. (...) In your most bare voice and without hesitation, you muttered to yourself: "The world is here. I am in it. I am. I am. I am."

The "libidinal rationality" approach that Marcuse put forward with the elements of pleasure-sexuality, liberation, re-sexualization and eroticization of life is also observed in *Ot* magazine as an element of idealist philosophy. In the May 2018 *Ot* magazine, Fatma Aydemir's article titled "Elbows", the problematic relationship and lovelessness between a woman and a man named Mehmet is eroticized and

conveyed with a pessimistic, helpless point of view -without avoiding the use of sexist curses.

Her angular chin with her velvet skin that the sun turns beige. After all, I would cry for a few days for sure, as I got used to sleeping with his smell every night. But after a while I would forget about it and mind my own business. After a while, everyone would forget, my mother said, when I slit my wrists just before my fourteenth birthday and when she found me in the bathroom, covered in blood and sobbing. We will all forget. "Maybe I would cry for a few weeks or months, but then everything would be back to normal," my mother had said back then. I shake Mehmet's arm. He doesn't move. What would have happened if he had gently stroked me this morning before he struggled over mine with his bony body? Tears fill my eyes, crocodile tears. I close my eyes and suppress my sobs. First I secretly fly to Istanbul, then I jump on Mehmet's bed and then I cry because it didn't go as I expected. What a disgrace! If I hadn't had to sleep with him from the first night, things would have turned out differently. Softer, more careful. Maybe more in love. All I want is a perfectly normal love. By the way, I started to get up a little earlier than him in the mornings. When you're on me I wake up and I know it's starting over. But I don't open my eyes and pretend as if I'm going to sleep. That strange feeling and strange pain until I tear open my eyes; until I saw his hard, elsewhere, sweaty, swaying face on me. Maybe he thinks I like it? Why does he never ask me what I like? I go to bed, climb over the fallen guitar and pick up my worn-out pillow that's beside Mehmet. I hold the pillow over his face so I can only see his body under his head. I carefully lower the pillow a little. I'm waiting. He doesn't move, he doesn't defend himself. All he does is breathe into the pillow. All Mehmet does for me is to breathe. One may think that hearing someone else's breath at night will make them feel less lonely. But this is not true. All it means is that even when a person is in the middle of a crisis, another soul can sleep peacefully. All it means is that he's an ignorant son of a bitch. And I wake up alone.

When I just want to get the pillow and I think I can do it, that I've already done it, I'm scared of myself and throw that thing away into the corner. There is no cure in my arms, I feel powerless. Two big tears are rolling down my face...

In the May 2018 issue of the magazine, this time the great importance given to love and the fact that the pleasure of it is valued above all is in harmony with libidinal rationality. In Gülşah Elikbank's article titled "Forgetting Is Also Included in Love", existentialism, another element of idealism, is also observed with the emphasis on loneliness and the narrative that man is absolutely alone.

The door we will reach at the end of long and tiring roads is always the same; loneliness... In the midst of all this crowd and pomp, man is a lonely being. A person who is cursed with the knowledge that he will die, perhaps for this reason, clings to his memories the most. As if the more memories he can fit, the more he will be remembered in his bosom. (...) Man loves to forget his own pathetic loneliness for a moment. It is to wrap your arms around someone else and hold on to life more tightly, maybe not to fall from this abyss called the world. (...) man comes into the world half-baked. That's why that feeling of emptiness in our hearts that never closes. That dark void never closes on its own. Glory, fame, money, applause; none of them profits the deep abyss within us ... Love; It is transforming, and a person can only destroy and rebuild himself by holding on to his passions. In a way, it is rebirth. It is a slap in the face of death. It is getting out of the storm of life, drenched but safe. To find one's true self, one must first forget it, and only love can achieve this.

### **6.2.3. Postmodernism in OT Magazine**

It is possible to encounter many elements of postmodernism in Ot Magazine, which is considered to be the first representative of the magazines called

"Popular/postmodern literary magazines" throughout the study. In this magazine, where postmodern literature is glorified, postmodern writers are also praised from time to time. Ali Lidar in the October 2019 issue of Ot magazine wrote an article about İhsan Oktay Anar, one of the representatives of postmodern literature in Turkey, whose features we can often see in his works, such as bringing together people and events that cannot come together in terms of time and space. Lidar, in his article titled "A Legendary Writer Producing Modern Tales" conveys the characteristics of Anar's novels, which he describes as having historical content, to the readers with the following sentences: It is a cult work when taken." In his article, Lidar states that one of the features of Anar's works, which he sees as the pioneer of postmodern literature, is the "dominant element of irony" with the following sentence: "It is necessary to add that irony appears as a dominant element in almost all of the author's novels." As it will be remembered, the sarcastic and ironic language that Nietzsche uses in his works and discussions is also a source of inspiration for the postmodernist style.

The rough, deep, text-centered approach of postmodern literature, which does not have integrity in terms of aesthetics and meaning, appears in Ot Magazine. Alpay Erdem's article "A Bird from the Birds" in the October 2019 issue of Ot Magazine is an example of writing in which images taken from their contexts by distorting the language are added to the end of sentences just to rhyme without meaning. "Why do we live?" At the beginning of the article, which gives the impression that it has a philosophical quality with its question, it is told that it is not regrettable to go after the minute hand and lose your mind.

Sometimes you fall in love with a bird. You want to go after him. You want to find it, you want to touch it. You want to watch that beak for

hours and get lost in those eyes. Those colors, that stance, I don't know, you can do anything for that bird. Because it is the most beautiful thing on earth and a person can even lose his mind for beautiful things. And he won't regret it at all. Let life be given for the beautiful thing, the rest is a truck, the rest is a triviality. Why do we live? If I'm not going to fall for a bird on the roads, if I'm not going to cross the mountains, if I'm not going to risk drowning in rivers, if I'm not going to get infected in caves, but why am I living, I want to ask you this here! I really want to ask you this.

“Why do we live?” In the next paragraph of the article, which gives the answer to the question “for beautiful things”, word games frequently seen in postmodern literature appear: The article ends with words that are unrelated to each other, such as “Tip, Slip and Limp”, which are included in the text by way of association.

They rarely land in the sea. Tip. They don't eat anything but meat, that's it. (...) there was such a day that not a single minute hand was concentrated anywhere in the world except Istanbul. I mean, there was definitely, and I think it wasn't. Here's the slip. It doesn't exist. Limp. (...) I don't know, let me tell you so that nothing happens later. I am also an intermediary. I am a person like nakkal, like ravi, like dengbej. Hey baby, I'm a person like hey. I am a human. That, spat and bat.

One of the features of postmodern literature and likened to patchwork in the relevant part of the study; The pastige, created by the random, messy, collage-like coming together of opinions and ideas, appears in the “Women's Day” issue of Ot magazine, dated March 2018. In the issue of Ot prepared for “Women's Day”, in line with the pastige technique that normalizes incorporating opposite elements; On the same page, Zeynep Direk's suggestions for feminist reading and Ah Muhsin Ünlü's poem, which is dominated by masculine language, are included together. “How to set up the Feminist Philosophy Library? We asked, Zeynep Direk suggested it for you.



Here are the feminist book suggestions presented as "must have books when organizing the Feminist Philosophy Library" and Ah Muhsin Ünlü's poem written in a masculine language, in line with the approach of postmodernism that "everything can come together with everything".

I admire you/ As if feeding a lamb / The pain inside me/ The scratch in my chest/ I am not God, but/ If I had survived the ambush/ I would have created myself for you/ I would have gotten rid of the issue. / This issue is not closed/ It won't close, it won't close/ I'm dying of love/ Don't say, God won't die/ Hot words to you/ the police won't understand/ By losing the rifle/ I won't give up on this position. / This place is hell./ Living a hell/ Looking at you if possible/ Where I can't tremble/ As bullshit as Redkits/ I dream of getting away/ Burning hell/ Burning hell.

Again in the March 2013 issue of the magazine, the article titled "A Few Experienced Issues From Me (As if you give a fuck)" by Batuhan Dedde is an example of a postmodern article with a lot of swearing and lack of meaning, as seen in the title. In the same issue, Hakan Günday's story named "Device" is again an example of abusive postmodern story. In Günday's article; The story of a character who goes to the hospital with the news of his father's death, who left him years ago, and learns that his father is in heaven during a colonoscopy. In the article, words such as "Torrul kipefa", "Jokali hifraz" that have no meaning in any language and that the author invented are used in harmony with postmodern literature.

In the first issue of Ot Magazine dated March 2013, the article titled "My Home When I Was Not On A Rope Like Pegs Only" by the writer with the pseudonym Monster Banavar describes the roommate friendship of a poet named Nadir Direk and a songwriter named Ali Simitçi. In the article, there is a "nonsense" and "defeat narrative" in accordance with postmodern literature. In addition, words

written in distorted Turkish such as “bikaç, diil” and sentences starting with a lowercase letter after the dot mark attract attention: “(...) Oxen sit on their sides. Cigarette gin, gin cigarette, light beer until morning. A few lines are half in my mind.”, “(...) all the taps are open. The most beautiful rain started this time, not from the clouds but from the pipes.” The main issue of the article is the laziness of two housemates in the house where the water has been cut off for 49 days. There is also a lot of swearing in the article, which is dominated by a slang language: "Well, you're out of it, damn you, Nadir said, it's unfinished from the hangover.", "the water didn't come and I'm pissed off, I'm too lazy to go to the mosque now.", "Eat my ass then Nadir, sorry but I'm sorry. Eat my ass.", “At Saliha's house, he missed a lot and woke up by vomiting vodka at night, his love life is next to 4 years.”, “Is it okay if I take a shit while you're taking a bath, Ali shouted after him”, “The baker has already chosen to faint. I'd be lying if I said he didn't make a big "fuck it"”.

Another postmodern element that we encounter in popular/postmodern literary magazines is the "phantasmagoric" content. As mentioned before, according to Benjamin, who took the term "Phantasmagoria" from Marx, phantasmagoria corresponds to a deceptive appearance. In the October 2019 issue of Ot magazine, the movie Joker, which was very talked about in those days, was chosen as the subject of the file and Joker's photograph was placed on the cover. The title of the magazine on the cover was chosen as “Nobody is Laughing”. Esin Küçüktepepınar's article titled "If I'm Bad There's a Reason" coincides with the deceptive image of phantasmagoria. Küçüktepepınar uses the following sentences for the film: “(...) the film first translates our rightful reaction against injustice into the absence of our mental health. Then, by turning these violent and destructive reactions into a revolutionary uprising, it puts itself in a difficult situation.” However, it is not possible to talk about a

revolutionary uprising in the movie Joker. The claim that there is a "revolutionary uprising" in the movie Joker causes the illusion that the movie has left-wing values (resistance, struggle, revolution, socialist realist criticism, etc.). The revolution referred to here is not a proletarian revolution. When the "revolution" is mentioned, it is important what the magazines that position themselves on the left and that use the pioneers of the proletarian revolution (Fidel Castro, Che Guevara, etc.) point to the reader. When the concept of revolution is used in this way, an ambiguous meaning emerges by breaking the bond with the class. In this way, the article also makes use of the criticism technique that Taylan Kara (2020b, pp. 48-71) describes as "analysis with the technique of free fabrication", causing the Joker character to be perceived as a revolutionary character.

Another postmodern element encountered in Ot Magazine is aphorisms. Aphorisms rooted in Nietzsche, who is described as the "prophet of postmodernism", appear frequently in popular/postmodern literary magazines. Many examples written with the aim of making Nietzsche-like "traumatic and shocking" sentences are one of the postmodern elements frequently encountered in the magazines that are the subject of the study. With this shocking style, the days of victory of the left struggle and resistance are also emptied. For example, in the March 2018 issue of "Women's Day" of Ot Magazine, the achievements of working women were taken out of context and reduced to aphorisms. On the inside cover of the Women's Day issue, titled "Love Is The Only Thing That Sets Us Free - Maya Angelou", the illustration of the black poet and civil rights activist, Maya Angelou, who was remembered by Bill Clinton's poetry reading at the presidential ceremony, was featured. Under this title, seven independent sentences of Angelou in the form of aphorisms are arranged one after the other on the same page. Among these sentences, there are emphases that can be an example of

idealism: Hearing the voice of God, changing yourself at the point where the disliked cannot be changed, and forgiving everyone.

Whenever a woman stands up for herself, she stands up for all women.  
 / If you don't like something, change it. If you can't change it, change  
 your own attitude. Don't complain. / Listen to yourself. In that stillness  
 you will hear the voice of God. / The best gift you can give yourself is  
 to forgive. Forgive everyone. / Life is a pain in the ass. Go outside and  
 kick his ass. / Women should be tough and sensitive. She should laugh  
 as much as possible and live a long life. / I've learned that people forget  
 what you say and what you do. But they don't forget how you made  
 them feel.

In addition to the aphorisms prepared according to the subject of the month in which the magazine was published, "aphorism columns" in each issue appear in Ot magazine in accordance with postmodern literature. The Linden Chronicles column, prepared by Başak Buğday, consists of numbered aphorisms that do not have a semantic link between them. The article titled "Linden Diaries: The Kitchen is the Black Box of the House" in the March 2018 issue of Ot Magazine is as follows.

451: The world has become such that kindness is just a defect that save time for opportunists! 452: You know, he says "I just called"; - actually, he's looking for a witness to believe in himself, that voice on the phone. 453: I forgive others very easily, myself hard. Those who can only be cruel to themselves, understand me. 454: Being unhappy is like riding a bike for the good-hearted. Let him see a reason arise, he immediately remembers! 455: Order is no longer fair. One cannot be right and hero at the same time. 456: There are people like intermediate stones. It is weak on its own, mighty and useful with its right and left. 457: Good ones are few! This is exactly why they should have a longer lifespan than anyone else! Their numbers do not increase, at least they have a longer time. 458: Where one says, the other controls; sincerity goes away, an irreparable resentment remains. 459: Quick to forget and

questionable, quick to get used to. There stands our past, in the middle of ourselves! 460: I do not trust what I hear in the hall. Because the black box of a house is the kitchen.

Again, Başak Buğday's article in the May 2018 issue of Ot, titled "Linden Diaries- Some Houses Are Hardly Heated" consists of aphorisms written one after the other: "472: Your room kept in case you return one day, toothbrush and slippers bought in case you come too soon." Sometimes hope is something tangible. 474: I'm not sick, I'm sorry as if I've lost my echo in the Valley. 476: We were all happy once, although few of us remember it now."

In the March 2018 issue of the magazine, the names of Deniz Gezmiş, Emma Goldman and Aşık Mahzuni Şerif are encountered in the Self-Portraits column. However, only one sentence of these names is included in the self-portraits corner. From Deniz Gezmiş "Homeland is not the homeland of those who sell it parcel by parcel, but those who go to the scaffold for its sake.", from Emma Goldman "Those thieves who are too cowardly to fight all wars and drive young people to the front for personal gain.", from Aşık Mahzuni Şerif " Woe to those who rob, Those who rob and run away and eat, Those who kill people, Woe to those who follow their id!" sentences are used. As it is seen, while the aphorisms that can be easily read are presented to the reader with one-sentence quotations, the names mentioned are reduced to these one sentence.

On the first page of the June 2020 Ot magazine, whose motto is "To Start Over You Must Be Happy" and which has the existentialist writer Albert Camus on its cover, sentences from separate texts by Albert Camus are quoted. The "aphorisms" page was made by Albert Camus with the sentences that were arranged one after the other, far from the whole.

Not being loved is just bad luck. Not loving at all is unhappiness.  
 Today, we are all dying of this unhappiness. There is no peace without hope. / A person is more human by what he does not say than what he says. There is so much I cannot say. Blaming yourself doesn't make you innocent. / Happiness is the greatest of victories over the fate that compels us. / I loved you, but now I'm tired... I'm not happy to go, but to start over, one has to be happy. / How nice is a flexible heart that can bend, it never breaks. / I smiled. But my heart was filled with sorrow. / Even if our history is our hell, we cannot turn our backs on it.  
 Everything I learned about life and morality, I learned from football. Because the ball never came from the corner I expected. / Those books that are not fully read, those friends that are not fully loved, those cities that are not fully visited, those women who are not fully embraced... / One of the most common ways to get to know a city is to see how people work there, how they love each other and how they die.

In addition to the features of postmodern literature such as pastiche, aphorism, and text production in the form of individual delusions, another prominent postmodern element encountered in magazines is postmodern criticism that shapes the political stance of these magazines. The nihilistic attitude of postmodern criticism, whose philosophy is idealism, and its "destructive state that consumes itself in the negative" dominate the entire critical attitude of these magazines. As will be remembered, this form of nihilistic criticism; Although it seems to take a critical political stance against the dominant ideology, it is actually a criticism that contributes to its reproduction and is not reflected in practice. In the June 2020 issue of Ot Magazine, Ali Lidar, in his article titled "Edgar Allan Poe as a Frightening Romantic", criticized the poet-author Poe's life, and the transformation of writers and poets into popular culture's commodities after his death. This attitude that Lidar criticizes is exactly one of the features of the Ot Magazine in which he wrote. The author's critique in a magazine that transforms poets and left values into popular

culture commodities is one of the clear examples of the magazine's effort to appear to display a critical political attitude. Also, in line with postmodern criticism, the practical reflection of "criticism" is ignored.

Poe's life was spent with financial difficulties and the sadness of not being able to get what he deserved in terms of literature. Alas, writers and poets have become commodities of popular culture today, and for this reason, Poe cements his reputation with the commercial objects created from the poem "The Raven" nearly two centuries after his death, and the beautiful stories and poems that are rarely read.

In the same issue of the magazine, there is an interview that creates the perception that there is a criticism of postmodernism at first glance. At the beginning of the interview with writer-social scientist Yalın Alpay, who prepared the "Empty Modern Conversations" program on Flu TV, the questions to be answered in the interview were listed. Those questions are: "How did modernity end? Does postmodernity mean the domination of meaninglessness and superficiality? Can we no longer seek help from God and reason? Why has truth lost its significance? Forced freedom? Is the internet saving us from ourselves? Why did utopias turn into dystopias? How did the experts become desperate?"

In the interview with Alpay, the most striking part in terms of our thesis is the part where the discussion is made whether names such as Foucault, Baudrillard, Deleuze can be qualified as postmodern:

While there are many high-level philosophers describing postmodernity, these philosophers vehemently oppose what they call postmodern. Foucault, Baudrillard, Deleuze object to being called postmodern. Why is that? Because these philosophers did not attempt to argue that life should go to the postmodern field, but to describe the characteristics of the period based on the signs of the postmodern new

era. The person may not like what he finds, he may not feel that he belongs to him, but this does not prevent him from describing the current situation. Marx also studied capitalism and even wrote a book called "Das Kapital". Does this lead us to the fact that he is a capitalist economist? The situation is similar with the philosophers of postmodernity.

The fact that Alpay criticizes postmodernism and defines Foucault, Baudrillard and Deleuze as philosophers associated with postmodernity, not postmodernists, by citing Marx's "Das Kapital" as an example, is in harmony with the characteristics of postmodern criticism and postMarxism. Thinkers such as Deleuze, Guattari, Foucault, Derrida laid the foundations of the political understanding of post-Marxism by emphasizing the rejection of dialectical materialism, as explained in detail in the conceptual section. In this sense, the claim that Alpay put forward for Foucault, Baudrillard and Deleuze, who are also poststructuralists, is an unrealistic claim that they are not "postmodernists". In the continuation of the conversation, Alpay states that postmodernity is not a constructed process, but an inevitable situation that emerges and is exposed to as a result of modernity:

The defenders of postmodernity were identities that modernity suppressed, tried to homogenize within the framework of standardization efforts, or tried to disadvantage compared to the "Western white male" image. In this sense, feminists, conservatives, religious believers, ethnically inferior, subalterns clung to the theoretical implications of philosophers describing postmodernity. Because? ... Against the "monasticism of the way of reason" that suppresses the locality, culturality and polyphony of modernity, they say that life does not only pass through the circle of rationality, that there are many irrational areas of life and that an identity is based on irrationality rather than rationality and they want to claim their own identities. They declared that they refused to let him go.



In the conclusion part of the long conversation with Alpay, the inevitability of the beginning of the era of transhumanism and posthumanism is conveyed with the imposition of postmodernism. In this sense, with the idealist philosophy of the postmodern critical political stance, which attributes invincibility to the existing, the critique of postmodernism turns into a nihilistic, self-consuming understanding in the negative. The interviewer said, "What will happen next, teacher?" Alpay answers the question as follows:

Man, who could not find a place for himself in the universe, had the opportunity to create a new space and a new self in the virtual world. The relaxation of virtuality and the immunization of people from the necessity of making reference to reality, which imposes physical restrictions, was a step that forced the physical universe to close in on itself. It can be expected that these steps will go to much more extremes with transhumanism and posthumanism.

The "construction of a new self", which includes the technological determinism mentioned by Alpay, coincides with Foucault's understanding of multiple self and space. As it will be remembered, Foucault (as cited in McHale, Harvey, 2014, p. 64), with the concept of heterotopia, means that "many fragmented possible worlds" coexist in an 'impossible space' and that although they cannot be measured jointly, they overlap or conspire each other. He was describing the places that were brought back. Alpay also joins this narrative by saying that new selves to be built in virtual spaces in the future are waiting for us.

In the March 2018 issue of Ot Magazine, in the article titled "It's Better Like This" by İlkey Yıldız; The alternative that is presented as better in the face of the current and unhappy life is "falling into the pavilion" and "drinking raki". Safiye is a character who "refuses to adapt to the life bestowed upon her because she thinks she

must have been born at another time, in another city, in another spirit". At the end of the story, she ends her own life. According to the author, the most beautiful sentence that Safiye uttered in this world is the following sentences given as reproaches to people with whom she is incompatible: "I wish I had fallen into the pavilion instead of falling among you. At least I would drink raki." In addition, with the emphasis on "longing for a life that cannot be lived", an invincibility was attributed to the existing and what was presented as freedom -in line with postmodernism- became suicide.

They say Safiye went mad with boredom. Don't believe it. She didn't have enough free time to go crazy. She was too old to make everyone around her believe in a new story, but Safiye believes that she accidentally fell into her place. She refuses to adjust to the life she deserves because she thinks she must have been born at another time, in another city, in another spirit. (...) But you cannot easily cope with the longing for a life that can never be lived. That's exactly why Safiye took half a bottle of liquor from the fridge and left on an April evening. She pasted the photo I took at the entrance of the apartment and wrote the most beautiful sentence she has ever written under it: "I wish I had fallen into the pavilion instead of falling among you. At least I would drink raki."

The article titled "One Breathe World" by the author of the pen name Angutyus, in the "March 2018" Women's Day themed issue of Ot magazine, is an article dominated by sexist profanity. The fact that the subject of the cover is "Women's Day"- in line with postmodernism - did not prevent the use of sexist profanity and masculine language in the texts in the magazine. Because in postmodernism "everything can come together with everything". The writing that reduces human life to a moment, to a breath describes the return of a person who has been on a world tour for twenty years, to Turkey for a reason not explained in the article. The narrator of the article conveys his "lack of ideology" to the reader after

stating that the reason for his sudden return to the country is not nationalism or revolutionism. As explained in the conceptual section, lack of ideology and aimlessness is an attitude in favor of the status quo and this attitude feeds the dominant ideology.

After nearly twenty years of traveling around the world, I returned to Turkey for a reason I couldn't tell anyone. To my country, to my homeland, to the land where I belong, rightly or wrongly... I have had many opportunities. I could get a British or Swedish passport, and have a Green Card in America very easily. I did not accept. Not because I'm too nationalistic or to play revolutionary at the beer table. I've always been a straight man. I didn't have an ideology, a goal, or a cause. It's a one-breath world, after all, with the motto of "how can I know that I won't die tomorrow as long as you can live", I exploited and exploited life.

In the article, which praises the exploitation of life, revolutionary names such as Lenin, Marx, Che and symbols of the left are interspersed among the reaction dominated by depression and despair.

(...) It's almost time for September 12; it's on fire. It is not clear who is what. There is a student at Ankara Gaziosmanpaşa Secondary School. Psycho revolutionary. Lenin, Marx, the revolution, Che ... He went crazy. All teachers dread of him. He is problematic. Anyway, the teacher gives a composition homework. Subject: "Tell me about Ankara!" (...) One sentence "Damn, when you look at Ankara from the Gençlik Park, Çankaya, Kuğulu Park, Tunalı, it is beautiful, but come and see how it looks from Saime Kadın, Topraklık, Tuzluçayır, Dereboyu, etc." That's right. Damn how does America, England, Sweden, Norway look like from the movies, not from the German Turks who come here and show off, come and look through my eyes? Shit doesn't change. "Istanbul is the most beautiful city in the world. Come if you dare, Bağcılar, Esenler and look at Haramidere, to see how Istanbul looks."

A postmodern critical stance dominates the article. By including important names of left/socialist ideology such as Lenin, Marx and Che between a slang expression, the reader is left with the impression of a critical piece of writing. In addition, the concept of "revolution" is positioned in a place that corresponds to the delirium of a secondary school child. With such articles, left-wing concepts such as "struggle, resistance, revolution" are reconstructed, and these concepts are emptied and they contribute to a postmodern transformation.

In the May 2018 issue of Ot magazine, which also includes a page titled "Feminist Library Proposal", Vedat Özdemiroğlu's article titled "I care and I go", the relationship between men and women is written in a masculine language. In postmodernism, "everything can go together with everything", even though they are the opposite of each other. In the article, with a generalized point of view, women are shown as if they turn into a "constant talk" at the time of separation.

The sense of ownership in women is so developed that when the time of separation comes, "I gave you my years!" she can easily say. It turns out it was his years. All right, but am I immortal, woman? At least you should have given me 2013, symbolically. No, she won't. Space is hers, time is hers whatever and what is not is hers. Isn't there a "female soul" separate from the "soul" we know? What will happen to the soul of a man, he is a sweaty boy. Does the one who has steam coming out of his head have a soul?

As a feature of postmodernism, the "aestheticization of politics", which is explained in detail in the conceptual section, and thus the state of hollowing out and romanticizing politics, is also encountered in the magazines that are the subject of the research. In the March 2018 issue of Ot, Onur Gökşen's article titled "Ali Koç President Fenerbahçe Champion" tells the story of a fan who met with a father whose

son is a leftist and a Fenerbahçe fan, in Fenerbahçe stadium. In this example, the situation of "disappearance/forced to be disappeared of a young person", which is a directly political issue, is conveyed to the reader by dramatizing and aestheticizing football support. "To try to distance the working class from its purpose and to organize it around another ideology" was achieved by aestheticizing the policy. Here, too, it is possible to say that that "other ideology" is football. The father is actually a father who came to the match in search of his leftist son, who could not be heard from. "Two years ago, he suddenly disappeared. They were last seen leaving the party office, no news after that. We couldn't find it. Nobody knows what happened." The father uses the following sentences when talking about his left-wing son: "He was a leftist. We used to argue a lot. I said not to go, I said not to, I said not to, he never listened. We even got offended by this political shit. We weren't talking when he disappeared." The article continues with the swearing of the father during the match and ends with the slogan "Ali Koç President Fenerbahçe Champion." The message left by a sad father is given.

"Turgay," he said, "Turgay was a Fenerbahçe fan, he was very fanatic."  
 "Who is Turgay?" I asked, "My son," he said. I understood that something bad was going on because he used the past tense with was, so I kept quiet. I kept quiet, but he did not. "He disappeared suddenly two years ago. Last seen when he was leaving the office of the party, there was no news after that. We couldn't find it. Nobody knows what happened," he said. I come to every match of Fenerbahçe in Kadıköy." He was facing the field, but I could clearly see the tears running down his cheek. "He was a leftist. We used to argue a lot. I said don't go, I said don't go, I said don't, he didn't listen at all. We even got offended by this political shit. We weren't talking when he disappeared. Maybe, maybe we'll see each other here and he'll forgive me," he said. A vague "Maybe" came out of my mouth. Meanwhile, the referee blew the

whistle and ended the match. "Fuck your mother, referee, it's only been two minutes, fuck your watch," shouted the uncle, and then without saying anything, he turned his back and started walking down the stairs with quick steps. The match that ended in a draw drove the fans crazy, the whole stadium was "Ali Koç President Fenerbahçe Champion!" he groaned. I looked behind the uncle, he was shouting, "Ali Koç President, Fenerbahçe Champion," with his fist raised in the air.

In the issue of Ot Magazine, which was published in June 2018 with the motto "Hope Is Like a Domino", La Casa De Papel, Kazım Koyuncu and Muhammet Ali, one again encounters the aestheticization of politics. The question asked to Selahattin Demirtaş in the interview can be described as a reflection of the aestheticization of politics. The question asked to Demirtaş is as follows: "You came to the fore with your artist identity in the prison you entered with your politician identity. In this world, which does not object to politicizing art, you add art to politics. Do you agree with the idea that art takes us to another way of knowing beyond politics?" It is possible to see an approach similar to the approach "even if the world goes down, let it be art" described in the section on aestheticizing politics. Demirtaş's humorous answer was: "For once, by answering this question, I do not want to spoil the wonderful atmosphere created by the question. Please don't ask me any more questions for which I can't give more eloquent answers. After all, I have my pride too." is in the form. "Politicizing art" has been given a negative meaning as a generalization. The article, which we encounter in the question asked to Demirtaş, with the attribution of an autonomous meaning to art from politics, also overlaps with the approach of the critical school that gives art an autonomous space.

In the June 2018 issue of Ot Magazine, Elif Şafak's article titled "Read Novel and heal" appears, this time as "work/labor", which is aestheticized. In addition to this

aestheticization in the article, the glorification of "going" instead of "arriving" also coincides with the aimlessness of postmodernism.

As Chekhov said, I believe that "Work saves us." Portership, drudgery, sweating, toil, labour, to scrape with your teeth and nails... I like these. I do not claim to be a hardworking person, but I am addicted to work, I know that. Not for a career; To get somewhere, to get titles, not necessarily to "be" something; Not even to "arrive", but only to "go", just to be able to go, to escape from here...

The title of the article by Ertuğ Uçar in the June 2020 issue of Ot is "Laces".

The phrase "For Deniz Gezmiş" was chosen as the top title. Titles are the first elements that are expected to give an idea about a text. Looking at the title, it is thought that we are dealing with an article about the socialist youth leader Deniz Gezmiş. Accordingly, a person who will start reading the text will code it as "left/socialist" in the mental category. However, when the whole short text is examined, it is seen that although the image of a boat, which is an image of Gezmiş's execution, is used in the article, it does not contain any content about Deniz Gezmiş and his political stance. Explained in detail in the conceptual section; Deniz Gezmiş is iconized in the text, which is in harmony with postmodern literature's lack of a holistic meaning, and in this respect, an example of a left melancholic political stance, which Benjamin defines as "left values becoming objects of consumption", is exhibited. Of course, left melancholy is not just a postmodern element. However, it appears as one of the distinguishing elements of the postmodern political stance in these magazines, and for this reason, it was found appropriate to be given under this title.

-My boots, my boots! -What happened to your boots? They didn't let me tie my laces. -What are you going to do? -This is my last request.

Let me. -I let you now. -My hands are tied. -What do you want from me? Shall I untie your hands? -Either untie, I'll tie, or bend over, tie my laces. -You will tell me why. -You wouldn't understand. -Try. -When they push the chair, my body will go down like an arrow. -Yup? My boots will slip off my feet. -Non-slip. -It will slip if not connected. -What happens if they slip? - My boots must be on my feet properly. My coat, my boots. -What difference does it make? -So many things ... I said you wouldn't understand. This is my last request. Tie the laces of my boots tight.

The article in the May 2018 issue of Ot Magazine, which deals with the constant attack of the Worker Statue by Muzaffer Ertoran in 1973 and the fact that Ertoran always repairs the statue, was written with a left-wing melancholy approach. In İsmail Güzelsoy's article titled "You are Vandal, stay Vandal"; The worker is described with a generalization over the statue as follows: "A worker is a hurt soul that withers on the grass where the cats lie. The most valuable monument in this city is the "worker". It is our broken mirror. Her secret is spilled and she is sad (...)". The sentences in the concluding part of the article are as follows: "They hurt us so much that even we may doubt that we are from here one day. We are now expatriates in the land where we were born and raised. As the worker broke, we grew..." Aside from the longing for the past and the emphasis on defeat and intimidation in the present, this nostalgic use of the worker symbol is an example pointing to the left melancholic policy of the magazine.

Muzaffer Hodja best understood how we became increasingly aggressive, intolerant and destructive. Each repair required greater effort now. The damage done to the Worker was beyond the limit of brutality, but the man persistently, unrelentingly, stubbornly repaired the Worker, and one day he got tired and died. I continued to watch him. I watched our brazen, derelict and aimless rage tearing apart his



body. I've always had one eye on the worker. Trying to believe that a time will come when we will value him as much as a bronze commander, leader, bureaucrat, and ancestor statue, I waited, imitating a hopeful person. It is very difficult to imitate happy people in these centuries. The makeshift smile we draw on our faces in times of need frightens even us, and we return to our sorrowful loneliness as if we had been pricked by a needle. How can we dare to smile! If Muzaffer Hodja had made that statue in the way he had originally designed, perhaps these would not have happened. If it were a statue with a big muscle and po-faced, we would be afraid to sit in its shadow. However, cats slept in the shadow of his disfigured body. Then the worker disappeared. Now a heavy void is left behind. That void is a painful, invisible sculpture. A worker is a hurt soul that withers in the grass where the cats lie. The most valuable monument in this city is the "worker". It is our broken mirror. His secret was spilled and he was sad... As he broke, I grew up and realized that we are beings that cannot grow unless something is broken. That's why I think it's necessary to find the worker wherever they lost it and plant it on a high pedestal in the void left by AKM (Ataturk Cultural Center- one of the reasons of Gezi protests was the intention AKP to rebuild it) in its shattered state, without repairing it. In order to be a memory that tells how fragile and broken labor is in this country... To be a picture of our anger and to whisper us to those who wonder thousands of years later. "Someone who did not bow to the power lived in this realm," so that we can be a witness. Because there is no trace of our existence in this city. They hurt us so much that even we may one day doubt that we are from here. We are now expatriates in the land where we were born and raised. We grew as the worker broke.

In the June 2018 issue of Ot Magazine, Ali Lidar's article titled "Sugar Factories and Utopia Islands" covered a highly political issue such as privatization with a nostalgic approach. Already in the article, Lidar has clearly stated that "My concern is not to get involved in political issues related to privatization policies" and

that the critical attitude of the article will be the criticism understanding of idealist philosophy. Lidar melancholy told his own childhood story in the article, which did not mention the economic repercussions of privatization.

The best times of my childhood and youth were spent in candy factory lodgings. My first love, my first raki, my first big disappointment, my first real happiness... When I look back, I experienced many firsts there that I think left a mark in my life. (...) As you know, the sale of sugar factories is currently on the agenda. Many of them have even been tendered. My concern is not to get involved in political issues related to privatization policies. My problem is to try to tell from my own story what will disappear with selling the factories. (...) Some of our fathers were managers, some were chiefs, some were civil servants, some were workers like mine, but we children were all equal. We used to wander freely, all together until the morning, and live a utopia without realizing it. I learned what friendship and brotherhood means there. (...) it is not just the factories that will be disposed of with these sales. For a time, thousands of children had the opportunity to live and grow up in a self-confident and civilized way, "utopian islands" where not only the elite but also the poor live in peace and security; memories, joys, sorrows... Maybe they will remain as faded pictures in the memory of us colony children. Of course, if this mistake is not reversed...

Left melancholy in popular/postmodern literary magazines reveals itself mostly in cover designs. On the covers of these magazines; predominantly a revolutionary leader, a deceased leftist/opposition artist (poet, writer, painter, musician, etc.) as well as names who are the subject of a struggle. However, as Benjamin states in his definition of left melancholy, these names and the left values they evoke have been transformed into commodities and made a part of a sales-oriented strategy. Most of the time, there is no information on the inside pages about

the names carried on the cover, except for 1-2 pages of superficial writings.

Moreover, contents that are in contrast with the political stances of these names are dominant.

In order to detect the left melancholy on the covers of OT Magazine, eight covers related to the subject were chosen as examples. Deniz Gezmiş on the cover of the 3rd issue of OT Magazine, dated May 2013 (A collage cover with a picture of a nurse making a silence sign and girls wearing a headscarf) (Appendix 1), on the cover of the 11th issue of January 2014, Metin Göktepe (Appendix 2), Kazım Koyuncu (Appendix 3) on the cover of the 16th issue of June 2014, Yılmaz Güney and Tuncel Kurtiz (Appendix 4) on the cover of the 19th issue of September 2014, Ahmet Kaya (Appendix 5) on the cover of the 49th issue of March 2017, 53rd issue of July 2017. The cover of the issue is Pir Sultan Abdal (Appendix 6), the cover of the 62nd issue of April 2018 is Sabahattin Ali (Appendix 7), and the cover of the 76th issue of June 2019 is Nazım Hikmet (Appendix 8).

#### **6.2.4. PostMarxism in OT Magazine**

PostMarxism dominates the theoretical framework of Ot Magazine's critical political stance. Many elements of the approaches that advocate the search for a "new left" against "left conservatism" are also observed in Ot Magazine.

In the first issue of Ot in March 2013, Halil Turhanlı's article titled "After Disappointment" was presented to the reader with the headline "For a world without capitalism and a society without a state". As can be understood from the emphasis on a stateless society, the article defends the anarchist ideology where the first deviations from Marxism are seen and clearly reveals its political stance. Turhanlı's article also overlaps with the poststructuralist Deleuze and Guattari's schizoanalytic unconscious

theory, which laid the groundwork for post-Marxism, which is widely covered in the conceptual part of the study. As it will be remembered, it is essential to destroy the existing in schizoanalysis, but there is no talk of putting something in its place. The goal is always to destroy. Beliefs, representations must be destroyed. In this sense, Turhanlı's writing has a destructiveness and deterritoriality that is compatible with both Deleuze and Guattari's schizoanalysis and Heidegger's concepts of deterritorialization. Turhanlı emphasizes the necessity of a radical policy against the "government of fear", which he borrowed from Critchley.

Critchley states that philosophy begins with disappointment, especially political disappointment. However, there is no necessary causal relationship between philosophy and political frustration. Let me be clear: Disappointment can also lead to nihilism, that is, to the total denial of all values, to the sudden disposition of values that have been obtained through many hard struggles.

(...) Today, politics is considered as the sum of management techniques, it is defined as such. Chief among these techniques is management by intimidation, and it is often said that the outsider, the community of foreigners, insidiously try to seize the social structure and fabric, in accordance with this technique, which Critchley calls the "management of fear". Communists, immigrants, Jews, Arabs...

(...) Citizens of liberal democracies do not want a politics that will overcome and counter fear. Moreover, they have long been indifferent to politics. The rule of fear can only be overthrown by a radical understanding of politics with high destructive power. Protests against the WTO meeting in Seattle in 1999 had revived radical politics. The Black Bloc continues this radicalism within the Occupy movement with hard-line and determination that will frighten liberals and "democratic leftists". No force has yet emerged in Spain to radicalize the Furies. Common to these movements is their suspicion of representative democracy, their growing rejection of it; because they

know that being represented is a form of being governed. To be represented means to be led.

The first thing to do is to recapture the areas that actually belonged to the community, but were usurped by the state. Of course, pushing back the state is not enough. Or rather, not radical enough. The main thing is to defend the ideal of a stateless society, the right to life without a state. To earn and live such a life.

(...) Bakunin called the devil "the first free thinker" because he had rebelled against god. This rebellious angel, expelled from heaven, sometimes incites the masses to rebellion and uprising. There are times when the devil enters the collective soul of Demos, the demos becomes demonic and rebels. It turns into an unmanageable, disorderly multitude. In this sense, Satan triggers radical action. Now is the time. It is time to open our souls to Satan, to heed Satan's call to rebellion.

As can be seen, in Turhanlı's article, a call for rebellion is made by reference to Bakunin. It can be said that Bakunin, the pioneer of collectivist anarchism, is one of the theoreticians who shape post-Marxism with his views. Bakunin's understanding of "wherever there is the state, there is domination and therefore slavery" is one of the views that shape the perspective of post-Marxism on the state. Although left liberalism is criticized in Turhanlı's article, anarchism is suggested as a radical style of politics. As explained in the conceptual section, although left liberalism and postMarxism sometimes criticize each other, their intersections are more dominant and the place they serve is the same: the reproduction of the dominant ideology.

In the first issue of the magazine dated March 2013, Ertuğrul Mavioğlu's article named "Gargara"; By saying that the comparisons between today's Turkey and September 12 are not very accurate, he attributed a worse meaning to the current time. "It used to be easy to establish an organization in the country. Now it's easier to set up an organization. It is stated that you do not need to say that you are a member of the

organization, or even be a member of the organization," and that the state can punish whatever it wishes with the accusation of being a member of the organization. Stating that humor is difficult in the country now, he said, "We need a pinch of grass in this country where joy and love are killed, it came just in time. Welcome laughing grass. We will draw you in, and we will clear our throat that is clogged with mouthwash, and we will relearn how to smack the powerful with laughter..." The article continued as a solution to the situation that was passed through and evaluated as worse than September 12, Ot Magazine was shown. This situation is compatible with the attitude of post-Marxism to show alternatives instead of class struggle against capitalism, and as such it contributes to the reproduction of the dominant ideology.

In the first issue of Ot Magazine dated March 2013, Hayko Bağdat wrote an article in accordance with the pluralism of post-Marxism and left liberalism and the emphasis on the "other". In the article titled "How Happy is the One Who Says I'm from Galapagos", the discriminations in the history of Turkey are listed by referring to Darwin's theory of evolution.

Being a citizen of the Republic of Turkey is a lucky situation. We are the group that has taken most of the situations Darwin described in his theory of evolution. We have evolved together to adapt to the conditions in order to survive. We have different senses, assumptions, predictions, judgments and even organs from those living elsewhere.

Let me give a few examples, don't think I'm making it up. In a short period of time, a group of people gathered. And one of them produced a solution to one of the most burning issues of the country. "Friends, there is no such thing as Kurds, they are Turks walking on the mountain. Let's say they think they are Kurds because of the voices that sound as they walk through the snow," he said. Those around him must have said, "This is a very good idea, let's put it into practice right

away," as we all "officially" lived with it until yesterday. (...) more interestingly, there were quite a lot of Turks, Circassians, Georgians, Armenians, Greeks and even some Kurds who believed in this. At this stage, Darwin stepped in. Tens of thousands of people who could not adapt to these conditions died, the rest evolved. Now the climate is changing and we laugh a lot at the outdated elements that are still under the influence of this period.

In the following parts of the article, discrimination against Alevis, the issue of the Ecumenical Patriarch, and the sentence "we didn't do anything, they massacred us" were emphasized by applying irony. Then, the Armenian genocide was given as an example, and it was stated that the climate has changed, "We are discussing what to do with our new organs that we have developed to survive. Let everyone have their say. Without forcing the limits of the appropriate language, the article was terminated. Although the article appears to be a critical article in line with postMarxism, it does not actually produce any ideas and does not contribute to the production of ideas.

Onur Ünlü's article titled "The More Risk You Take, The Closer You Get to the Truth", written in the March 2018 issue of the magazine, is compatible with the perspective of post-Marxism on the working class.

Upper Middle Class: human does not exist anyway. Let's say we started school together with Özgür, the son of Aunt Gülsüm. He went to Boğaziçi University to study business administration. He did his master's in London. He received his doctorate from the USA. Now he is one of a thousand global financial decision makers at such and such a bank's headquarters in Hong Kong. Is this upper class? Aunt Gulsum's son? It's not upper class. The man you call the upper class has already been selected from the middle class. Middle class talents are employed on that floor. Since the man we call middle class emulates the upper class, he still lives with the middle class mentality after he skips a class. That's why there are no workers' movements, no

revolution, no right and no place. Oddly enough, the lower class thinks like the middle class. He thinks things will get better. It would be revolutionary if he didn't think so.

The prevailing thought in the article is the attitude of left liberalism that belittles the struggle of the working class. According to the author, the main goal for the working class is to advance, and therefore, there are no workers' movements. If there is no revolution, the only reason is; distrust of the fighting capacity of the working class. In this section, where we examine the implicit ideological structure of the magazines, left liberalism and liberal criticism related to left liberalism are frequently encountered. In the continuation of Onur Ünlü's article, an example of criticism compatible with idealist philosophy is shown in the section with the subheading of "middle class critique". As will be remembered, this criticism has been extensively covered in the Frankfurt School section. This type of criticism involves the awareness that something is wrong in the material world. However, it is argued that these mistakes or the evils that harm society are caused by the nature of things and the inevitable flaws of human beings. In the section titled "Mid-decision critique of the middle class" in the continuation of the article, it is explained that the criticisms of the middle class stem from the nature of the middle class.

For example, there is a misconception here that a strange film would have more value abroad. The Toronto Film Festival put my film in the avant-garde section while showing it. There are also my avant-garde films. Just like here. Nothing changed. The middle class is the middle class all over the world. The middle class organizes movie events. Festival makers are of the same mold. Everyone continues with the subject in that comfort. These maniacs love to criticize the middle class with cliché arguments. In fact, they are actually complaining about the middle class. Those with high intellectual level also enjoy being slapped once in a while. They talk among themselves. Therefore, films



that criticize the middle class also make this criticism by using the paradigm of the middle class. Not with a new paradigm.

In line with left liberalism, the reasons for the self-alienation of the so-called middle class are not included in the article. For this reason, the conditions for the elimination of alienation have not been mentioned at all. Also, it should not be forgotten that talking about the "middle class" instead of the proletariat in class narratives is a political choice. Explaining society as "upper, middle, and lower" layers with the Weberian approach points to an opposition to the Marxist class theory. As Hançerlioğlu (1999, p. 303) states, "The distinction between cluster or stratum and class should be carefully considered. The criterion that distinguishes classes is the form of property relations over the means of production. Clusters and strata are groups of people who have gathered around certain interests and are not classed because they belong to many classes."

As can be understood from the title of Yüksel Taşkın's article titled "Spiritual Leftists, Materialist Rightists" in the June 2018 issue of Ot Magazine, an effort to put forward a new political design is observed. These new designs, which are a feature of PostMarxism, are problematic in their relations with the existing dominant ideology (capitalism), despite their seemingly critical attitudes. This understanding, which either pretends to say a lot but says nothing or reproduces the existing order with the claim of transcending Marxism, appears with a very assertive concept in Taşkın's writing. In the article, which we understand that it is a new age that Taşkın is waiting for, it is stated that that age is a "postmaterialist" age. Those who will overcome materialism and realize this age are "materialist rightists". The article of Taşkın, which started by interpreting what the word "materialist" means in his own mind, in

line with the attitude of idealist philosophy that puts objective truth on the mind, is as follows:

As for the journey of the word "materialist" in my mind, the situation became clear during my university years: In fact, leftists were deeply spiritualist, and rightists were extremely materialistic. While leftists denied their spirituality, rightists ignored their materialism. Who are those who talk about aesthetics and preserving the historical identity of the city in the face of the right-wing materialist attack on the City of Istanbul for decades? While I was thinking about these, a very nice concept came to my rescue: Post-materialism: Since people have reached a reasonable level of economic security and abundance, they turn to issues such as aesthetics, self-actualization and environmental awareness, which R. Inglehart calls 'postmaterialistic values'. Inglehart believes that this general shift in values will lead to a decrease in interest in religious traditions, but will result in a resurgence of interest in the "sacred" and spirituality. Let's not forget that the concepts of "sacred" or "spiritual" cannot be limited to religions only. For example, an ecological group that aims not to transcend nature but to live in harmony with it actually has a strong value (post-materialist) system. Again, let's remember the conservative sections who could not escape the lure of materialism, no matter how much they deny it. As they achieve a certain level of well-being, we see that their children's value systems change. It would be useful to consider the debates on deism from this point of view. It is clear that there is a connection between the definition of postmaterialism above and the pursuits of young people who turn to deism. The post-materialist generations we have been waiting for may already have arrived.

In the June 2018 issue of Ot Magazine, traces of the "other" attitude of post-Marxism can be found in Elif Şafak's article titled "Read a Novel, Find the Cure". The understanding of preserving the principle of the other, which is rooted in Adorno's "Negative Dialectic" approach, that is, "everything has the obligation to respect other

than itself and everything has the right to be other than itself” is an article which was made at Liverpool University in England and discussed in detail in the Telegraph newspaper appears in Şafak’s article based on the research. The article, which recommends the reinforcement of mutual empathy, is compatible with the post-Marxist approach. As explained in detail in the relevant section, this approach; It is an approach that aims to reconcile class conflict. Kara (2020b, pp. 242-254) explains this situation as “empathetic left”, “dying from empathy, dying with empathy”. The empathy reinforcement attitude seen in the magazines is such an attitude.

(...) when we love a novel, we don't just follow that story, its language and its characters. At the same time, we capture the projections of the narrative told in our own lives. That's why nowadays psychologists in the West are saying, instead of buying self-medication books, go read BALZAC, read SHAKESPEARE, read DOSTOYEVSKY. You will see more benefits. Since we aspire to peace, we are going through a turning point where we need empathy the most; to some readers PEYAMİ SAFA, CEMİL MERİÇ, TARIK BUĞRA ... To some readers YILMAZ GÜNEY, YAŞAR KEMAL, MEHMET UZUN ... It should reinforce mutual empathy. I am from the ANTON CHEHOV school.

An interview with Rapper Fuat Ergin was conducted by Ali Mert Alan in the November 2019 issue of Ot. The title of the article is "We Need Humanity, Not Politics". The words in the title belong to Rapper Fuat Ergin. Ergin used the following sentences while conveying his views on the song “I can’t be quiet”: “This song is a proof that the expected enlightenment in the world will happen sooner or later. This song is a proof that it is possible for everyone living within the borders of Turkey to live together in a civilized manner by reconciliation and to live together without

hatred. We need humanity, not politics.” Ergin's statements are dominated by both post-Marxism's reconciliation attitude with everyone and a left-liberal humanism.

In the May 2018 issue of the magazine, on the page with feminist library suggestions, postMarxism's self-respect feature and the views of experts on religious issues about deism are included. Thus, in addition to feminist library suggestions, religious writings and post-Marxism were coexisted in harmony. The section "Deizim Is Native But Immigrant", which includes the opinions of Mücahit Bilici, is as follows:

The nature and conscience reject what is artificial and false. The problem is superficiality, which thinks its sect is religion and its religion is faith. Because the foundation on which religion is built is faith and truth. In terms of truth, neither sect nor religion has any value in itself and cannot. Religion is legitimate and credible to the extent that it is the encrustation of a truth that can be universal. Religion should be a religion. He should know how to remove his body when he dies. Whoever believed in religion, should know that religion as he memorized may be dead. Whoever believes in Allah, let him know that He is eternal!

Right after this article, the section in which Hidayet Şefkatli Tuksal explains his views and titled "Religionization That Turns Youth Away From Religion" is as follows:

It is very easy to alienate young people from religion. Fill every place with Religious High Schools; confront playful children with the responsibility of religious resignation they don't understand. Get people who always say "religion, religion, religion" on television and have them say things that disregard reason. Injure feelings of honesty, justice and fairness at every opportunity. Then sit down and lament

why young people are slipping into deism! Why it happen, not to be like us...

Yasin Ceylan, on the other hand, described the shift of youth in Turkey towards deism under the title of "Miraculous Answers Do Not Satisfy Youth" in the magazine as follows:

Our young people began to doubt the information they believed and heard from their environment that this is the truth. God, Allah, created the universe, sent prophets, showed the right way ... So does God intervene in human relations? Yes it does. Then why so much injustice? Why doesn't it prevent this? That's what they think. This is rational thought. The theologians' answers to these ideas no longer satisfy the youth.

The "libertarian pessimism", which detaches freedom from its positive meaning and regards the impossibility as an indispensable condition for freedom, is one of the post-Marxist elements found in Ot Magazine. This pessimistic understanding, which makes liberation impossible, also brings with it a dead end. In the articles in which this pessimistic libertarian understanding, which is devoid of preparing the ground for the future, is seen, the impossibility of change is often revealed with a depressed reaction. The prevailing understanding in these magazines is not to make a suggestion to solve the problem put forward in the articles, but to show a reaction that is unclear to whom. As it will be remembered, Jameson (2011, p. 33) stated that this form of postmodern rebellion is a rebellion tolerated by the system, while Oskay (1998, p. 156) draws attention to that this objection is limited to the consumption moment of popular culture, rather than a real objection.

Throughout the study, it has been claimed that there is a state of "identification" with alienation in popular/postmodern literary magazines. Oylum

Yılmaz's article titled "I am Gregor Samsa", which he wrote in the 2018 June "Hope" themed issue of Ot magazine, was written, as the name suggests, with a Kafkaesque approach, devoid of the state of overcoming alienation, but with an attitude that only reveals alienation. By showing alienation as an insurmountable situation, the deadlock spread throughout the article with a libertarian pessimistic approach. The anti-hero of the article is designed as a character who is aware of the situation he is in but refuses to change. At the same time, the reference to changing the world with its own transformation has stuck the writing in idealism.

It wasn't a dream, it was utterly real, an insect-like entity in the human mind. What I am saying is now a miserable captivity both mentally and physically. Now I am the symbol of heroism. I'm Gregor Samsa, the human who turned into an insect, who changed the world with his own transformation. It's the opposite corner of fantasy. A mediocre salesman, staring at his boss, trying to catch trains and buses, immersing himself in superficial, insincere relationships and trying to make a trade out of it... I'm a person who has turned into a bug, whose only hope is to wait for someone to come and sweep my ugly and pathetic body aside. How familiar, how overwhelmingly I seem to be one of you, don't I! So, who found what in this miserable, ugly, poor creature, that is, me, and such an insect was given heroism? Why would someone be a hero when their boss fired them and their family swept away from the house? Because I am not an insect, but a representative of a stream; a flow from person to animal, from animal to object... Because how you live, you just die: life has no exceptions. A marketer dies as a marketer. What lives as an insect dies as an insect.

In the June 2018 "Hope" issue of Ot, we encounter another article in which the state of identification with alienation is dominant. In the article titled "Unhappiness" signed by Angutyus, the alienation of those who do the profession they dislike is revealed, while the sources of this situation and social relations are not mentioned. In

the solution of this state of alienation, which is a result of capitalism, there is no way to overcome this alienation. There is pessimism throughout the article, which combines a libertarian pessimism with a state of being detached from reality. The article emphasizes that a person living on the street does not have problems such as credit card, electricity bill, salary, and it is an article that contributes to the reproduction of capitalism because this situation is presented as liberation.

A job that you don't like or even hate. What you call a profession is a craft, an art; it's just a job. The most important cause of unhappiness and exhaustion. It's not your craftsmanship, it's a job you have to go to every day. I know by myself. It consumes, it finish you off ... Like a disease gnawing at you. Especially if your work is monotonous; always the same types, always the same hours. (...) I am not a very conscientious person. I don't feel sorry for lost lives... I don't feel sorry for a man living on the street, for example. I'm happy for him because he doesn't have to worry about credit cards, salary, electricity bills. But for the first time, I felt sorry for these office, civil servants, white collar, crappy people. I have dealt with tens and thousands of people, I have not seen a person who loves his job. Fake relationships, fake happiness... They are so cowards! They don't do somersaults or juggles for the three cents they get. The organ called the spinal cord has evolved. (...) I can't do a job that I don't like. I can't bear to a person I don't like.

In the rest of the article, swearing is presented as the greatest freedom and happiness of the individual. This attitude, at the same time, seems like a political criticism, but also instills pacifism. As stated in the theoretical section, as Manni (2004, p. 36) says, such attitudes reveal political pacifism rather than opposition and challenge to capital.

"Fuck you!" It's my biggest pride. Being able to shout, "What the hell, son of a bitch" is what connects me to life. Don't do the job you don't

like bro. Nobody dies of hunger. You can't be successful anyway. This is literally rape every morning! Business is not done to make money. If you do what you love, you make money. I know this, I defend it. Finally, I blacked out and went back to my work. I'm happy to console myself, to get drunk, to clean up shit, to vomit, to mop. I swear I don't care about the country agenda! The swamp called the Middle East, CHP, MHP, AKP and others... I don't give a fuck about football anymore. The nightmare is over.

The article titled "First Time on TV", written by Rewhat Arslan in the October 2019 Joker issue of Ot Magazine, aestheticizing politics, also carries the features of libertarian pessimism with no way out and helplessness. The article, which tells that we turn into Jokers because we have no other choice but to laugh at pain, and that sees Joker's laughter as the beginning of a revolution, has been included under the title of postMarxism, the theoretical framework of the critical political stance due to the elements of libertarian pessimism. As seen in the post-Marxism section, we see the revolution and the struggle everywhere (in the joke of the Joker, etc.) outside of the class conflict, in this example as well.

Circumstances were too unfavorable to stand the adoration of the villain—and still are. We cannot love even our own villains without healing them. (...) Finally, we can easily praise the Joker; The days have come when we put the one who adorns his superness with a costume, who hides his mutantness with his clothes, and who puts his humanity before the one who blacks out. Today, if the supers seems in lower status to us, if we are looking for down-to-earth villains instead of flying good ones, this is the result of the revolution that started with the laughter of the Joker. (...) None of us had superpowers, other than smiling at pain.

In the continuation of Arslan's article, superheroes' use of their inaccessible powers to consolidate their absolute power is criticized and a revolutionary mission is assigned to the antiheroes who are positioned against them. This understanding coincides with post-Marxism and its extension, left liberalism's understanding of



putting something else instead of class ideology or class conflict, which "does not trust the capacity of the working class to organize and struggle". At the same time, left values are emptied and aestheticized over anti-heroes:

(...) With this feeling, I turned to the bad ones of the comics. These men were the other, they were crushed. They grew up homeless on the streets. They were anti-establishment, chaotic. However, even while attacking left and right, they did not neglect to dress cheerfully and laugh happily. Every time they were defeated, they swore that they would return again, and they did not give up. These were people we could almost call revolutionary if they had a little political sensibility. (...) I liked Joker the most among them. It was like my destiny to turn into a humorist on my way to become a comic book writer. The way he laughed at his bad jokes reminded me the most. And he was dressed with moles, like the libertarian movement banners. If you put it in front of the cortege on May 1 or throw it in the middle of Newroz in Diyarbakir, he would fit.

Birkan Nasuhoğlu's article in the June 2020 issue of the magazine is an article that contains many features of idealist philosophy. However, due to reasons such as the pessimism observed throughout the article, and the state of attaining one's own freedom by dealing with one's own existence, it was deemed appropriate to be included under this heading. As it will be remembered, postMarxism also receives support from Kant's view that "it is subjectivity that adds universality to experience". The subjectivism of PostMarxism and the attitude of associating the truth with the "I" by basing it on personal experiences is also encountered in this article.

My tomorrows are lies and I have a little pain, some of them left from you, some of those before you, what difference does it make? (The music band called "Yüzyüzeyken Konuşuruz") The absolute self is the person himself. The main reason for all the emotions I feel, everything I experience and experience is mine, it belongs only to me! Don't look

at my rebellion against time, don't look at my search for my pain  
outside of myself. In fact, I am stuck in this because I am looking for  
an answer to a single question. Who am I? (...)

The writing is also an eclectic piece of writing that breaks down the original works and creates a new artificial text with those works. In the column named "Questions with songs", questions were given to Nasuhoğlu consisting of songs and works sung by Candan Erçetin, Ahmet Kaya, Müslüm Gürses and Neşet Erşat from the music band Yüzyüzeyken Konuşuruz. In the answers to the questions listed one after the other from the lyrics, it is emphasized that the important thing is "me", individual losses are the "person's rebirth day", and the reason for the reproaches is the soul. In the article, individual troubles and feelings that make you feel bad are glorified and self-objection is praised and it is explained that the important thing is to believe and keep working, no matter what happens, whether you are a loser or injured. In this sense, Nasuhoğlu's answers also reflect hedonism. The article, in accordance with the "me" exaltation of postmodernism in the introduction part, with "Who am I?" interrogations to seek an answer to the question. In the continuation of the article, the search for "me" continues without getting anywhere with the answers given to the lyrics in the form of question patterns that are unrelated to each other.

Why rejoice when a person wins! What's the use of winning when somebody loses? (Candan Erçetin)... One day you will lose so much that, That day will be the day you are born again. That day will be your biggest gain. (...) Am I always doomed to be defeated? (Muslum Gürses) object, my brother. But first start with yourself. Why do you want to beat? Why does being defeated bother you? Do not be afraid to experience these worries, live to the fullest, but do not forget to object to yourself! Because if you don't object, whatever is left in your hand will become a bird and fly away and leave you... Be grateful that you have a problem, be happy because emotions knock on your heart even

if it feels bad, but object. First to yourself... Am I the one who has no luck in the world? (Neşet Ertaş) I saw a child on the street. His hands were covered in dirt and rust. He was looking for food in the garbage with a big sack on his back. Could not find ... I saw an uncle in the corner. He had an instrument in his hand and a pain in his heart. He was begging for money for his hat, which he opened in front of him with folk songs coming out of his mouth. The hat was empty, not filled ... I saw a seagull on the ground. His wings were bloody and his eyes tired. His mind was on the sky and his cubs in her nest. He tried to fly, he could not fly ... But none of them gave up, believed, worked, tried and continued to live.

Together with Derrida's deconstructionism, the pluralism and polyphony approach of the postMarxist Radical Democracy design emerges as one of the most important elements of politics and academia today. According to the understanding of pluralism, which is also compatible with liberal philosophy, each identity coexists with the other, and thus a balance will be established. In this way, the never-ending hegemony struggle of many different identities over each other will organize the society. Thus, the class will now be replaced by the collective will. The understanding that class differences do not matter in our social associations is compatible with the general ideological attitude of the magazines we examined in this study. In the March 2018 issue of Ot Magazine, the singer Göksel wrote "Have a nice trip, my daughter!" In this article, the emphasis is on the coexistence of differences and pluralism.

With the first whistle of the match, the men's choir concludes the grand opening. This is such a chorus that all dissimilarities are together; engineers, doctors, students, the unemployed, those who don't belong anywhere, the outfits, the successful, the rich, the poor... Arms go up at the same time, heads turn in the same direction at the same time. Something amazing is happening and of course I can't keep up. Even if my eyes manage to catch the middle of the stadium among all the

human bodies, it is impossible to find the ball. Just when he starts to get bored, the whole stat simultaneously shouts, "Gooooal!" Huge men have turned into the children of our neighborhood, hugging each other happily... "Goooooal!" The moment when the desire is fulfilled ... I understand that even if I don't see the ball anymore, the real game is here and I am in the game.

Another point that draws attention in the article is the feeling one experiences when the team that is supported scores a goal, which is defined as "a moment of happiness at the border of insanity". This feeling, which the author describes as "the response of desire", brings to mind the following question Nietzsche asked by turning to the body and desire: "What are we left with after we suppress our passions?" As can be seen, the important thing in this article is the desire itself and the satisfaction of desire.

In the March 2018 issue of Ot magazine, Murat Menteş's interview with the members of the Losers Club titled "Oğuz Atay Made Me Coffee" reveals the collective will that post-Marxism replaces class, the coexistence of differences, and thus the traces of Deleuze's rhizome theory. A state of multiplicity that has no unity and integrity, and the praise of this state, is observed throughout the conversation.

LOSERS ARE NOT "LOSER"!:"Loser" is American, something like "poor". Our "Losers" has a dignified meaning. Maybe it can be thought of as our generation version of The Untouchables. One of our main sources is Oğuz Atay. At that time, the novel had ruined our lives. It can be said that we are building something on it.

PINK FLOYD AND KAHTALI MIÇİ: They were always asking us: "Are you a nihilist, an anarchist, a revolutionary or a Darwinist? We are all, I guess.

TOLERANCE WITHOUT OBJECTION: We have not kept a distance from anyone. Our door is open to everyone. We had a very colorful

audience, from the Muslim and intellectual formations in Sultanahmet to the well-to-do intellectuals in Kuzguncuk or the taxi stand of Bastard Osman to Kasımpaşa Coffeeshop. And they realized that they too could stand together. Because what we shared was actually a cool tolerance that never existed in those years. An unrelenting tolerance.

THERE WAS A Vagabondism AND THE LOVE: Yes. It's true, we've introduced the notion of a "pump" and mechanized sexuality a bit. Maybe we normalized it to some extent. But on the other hand, we preserved the state of infatuation. I mean, infatuated and vagabondism. Well, it's a macho contradiction for today. But then we were entering the age of paradox. Deleuze was on. Of course, people were aware of the irony, the dark comedy there, the desperation that surrounds us all in a philosophical sense. There was no one who actually lost. Understanding this is another thing, maybe it was a matter of consciousness. We can't talk too much about it. The one who understands changes the subject.

The praise of despair and loss at the end of the interview is also in line with the understanding of the "tragic person", which is the basis of Nietzsche's philosophy, that no matter what the active person experiences, his life is always positive. In this sense, writing also bears the traces of idealist philosophy.

In the Hope-themed June 2018 issue of Ot Magazine, the article titled "Nazım Hikmet and Mehmet Akif: Homeland Anxiety" by Sıddık Akbayır is based on the pluralist approach associated with the liberal left, with the understanding that "every identity coexists with the other and thus a balance will be established". It is compatible. Nazım Hikmet and Mehmet Akif Ersoy, two incomparable poets, are equated in the same article. Socialist Nazım Hikmet, who wrote his poems with the understanding of dialectical realism, was declared as the hero of tragedy at the end of

the article, together with Mehmet Akif Ersoy, in line with the philosophy of Nietzsche. In this sense, the article also carries the elements of idealism.

Both poets were deeply concerned about the fate of Turkey. And they saw the future of the country in different horizons. War of Independence: Both of them wholeheartedly supported the War of Independence. And they were dissatisfied with the actions taken after the war was won. EXILE: Someone writes a masterpiece like Kuvayi Milliye, but because he is not left alone, he goes into exile. The other chooses voluntary exile after the war, which he wholeheartedly supported enough to write a national anthem for it. (...) MOSCOW-CAIRO: Nazım Hikmet's preferred destination to escape is Stalin's Moscow, who brutally murdered intellectuals and dissidents. Mehmet Akif, on the other hand, cannot find a place where he can go, which fits his ideals to some extent; He goes to Egypt with the help of a friend. (...) TRAGEDY HEROES: Both are our tragedy heroes, like the heroes in Sophocles' tragedies, who walk towards that end even though they know the end.

After the article declaring Nazım Hikmet and Mehmet Akif Ersoy the heroes of the tragedy by equating them together, on the back cover of the same issue, single-sentence quotes from the names that are irrelevant, even opposing, are included. The back cover, which includes the words of Marx and Necip Fazıl, Cahit Zarifoğlu and Bertolt Brecht about money, is a cover that fully corresponds to the pluralistic understanding of post-Marxism.

People who do not believe in the same god and do not obey the same leader happily use the same money. YUVAR HARARI / Money is only a problem in two ways: Too much or too little. CHARLES BUKOWSKI/ If the people are without love, the streets are full of bank shops. CAHİT ZARİFOĞLU/ Money is a good slave or a bad master. FRANCIS BACON/ What is robbing a bank besides founding a bank? BERTOLT BRECHT/ Paradise is where money does not exist.

NECIP FAZIL/ Money is a necessary evil. PAUL AUSTER/ Halal money comes with its blessing, haram money comes with its disaster. NOUMAN ALI KHAN/ Money is the alienated essence of human labor and existence. And this alien essence dominates man, and man adores him. KARL MARX/ Property is a lie, possession is also a lie There is a little bit of you lingering YUNUS EMRE/ Your beauty wouldn't be worth it if it weren't for the love in me. AŞIK VEYSEL.

### 6.3. Magazine “KAFA”

#### 6.3.1. Copy Right Page

Kafa Magazine started its publication life in September 2014 with the motto "Head, a world". In “who are we?” section, Kafa Magazine is introduced to the readers as follows:

KAFA Magazine was founded by journalist and writer Candaş Tolga Işık. The magazine started its publication life on September 1, 2014. The website started its publication life with the magazine. As of February 2016, it has earned the title of Turkey's best-selling literary magazine (<http://blog.kafadergi.com/hakkimizda>).

Kafa Magazine, which does not seem to set out with an ideological argument as much as Ot and Bavul magazines, draws a political image especially with the revolutionary and leftist figures it carries on the cover. One of the examples illustrating this situation is a section in the magazine's 12th issue dated August 2015, in the interview of the editor-in-chief Ayça Derin Karabulut with Ara Güler. At the end of the interview, which included Güler's thoughts on photography and love, it was stated that Kafa Magazine is a "left" magazine:

The interview was over, I gave him the magazines we brought with us. I gave him 11 issue of Kafa. We started to examine the covers one by

one. "This is a leftist magazine," he said, "So, yes," I said. "Let it be," he said. "Everyone on this cover is my friend anyway." He put Kafa magazines that I gave him in the library of the cafe. "Put Yaşar [Yaşar Kemal] at the top," he said. I did so.

As can be seen, the magazine was clearly defined as a "left" journal by its editor-in-chief, Ayça Derin Karabulut. Again, in an interview with her, Karabulut answered the question, "To what extent do social events affect the cover or the content of the magazine?" "As a magazine, we give a lot of space to what is happening and what is going on with the agenda in the content. We always talk about the agenda in the content meeting, unfortunately we cannot put everything on the agenda in the content. But in general, we try to stay in balance". In the continuation of her answer to this question, she states that they are even more sensitive about the relationship between magazine covers and social events, and gives an example: "For example; Our three women's caps... Aunt Emine, who rebelled against those who killed the children who went to buy bread with her slingshot, Aunt Kıymet, who stood up to the dozer with her bag in her hand, saying, "You can't demolish this park," and the governor, who came to cut trees in the company of the gendarme, with a stick in her hand, "There is no state, there is the people. That's us too!" There was Mother Eve who said. Karabulut says that as people living in this country, the magazine team cannot stay away from anything that is happening in Turkey while preparing the magazine. "For example; Our three women cover... Aunt Emine, who rebelled against those who killed the children who went to buy bread with her slingshot, Aunt Kıymet, who stood up to the dozer with her bag in her hand, saying, "You can't demolish this park," and mother Havva, who resists the governor coming to cut trees in the company of the gendarme, with a stick in her hand, "There is no state, there is the people. That's us too!" said. Karabulut says that as people living in this country, the



magazine team cannot stay away from anything that is happening in Turkey while preparing the magazine.

Thus, it emphasizes the magazine's connection with politics. In the same interview, Karabulut, who was asked whether the rapidly increasing number of magazines in Turkey has a bad effect on literature and journalism, said, “I think it is a positive and important situation that there are too many magazines. As the magazines come out, the interest increases. The value of literature, books, paper and reading is increasing. Well, it wouldn't be very exciting to be alone, without competition. I like the way the magazines come out...” she answers. But then she points out that these magazines should not be the same. “But if we start doing the same things, the situation can get a little uncomfortable. For example, if we start making the same designs, the same covers, if they start to write the same names...” (Palabıyık, 16 February 2016). However, from the very beginning, these magazines are the same, from the cover designs to the names of the authors in them, so that they can be said to be copies of each other. Still, the best-selling magazine among these magazines is Kafa magazine. Journalist Candaş Tolga Işık, the founder of the magazine, explains the reason for this situation as follows:

Today, the magazines sold five thousand copy are the best selling magazines in Turkey. We sold thirty thousand this month, last month we sold forty thousand. (...) In other words, in a country where five thousand copy selling means best-selling magazines, we sell thirty thousand magazines in our worst month. God forbid it gets worse. While we were doing this, of course, we tried to do this by getting out of the general concept of literary journalism in Turkey and its mind. The biggest advantage here is my origin as a journalist (Üsküdar Intellectual Art Center, The Birth of Kafa Magazine, 2016, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kFFdSHTqrWc>).

In order to understand the "Kafa (head)" mentioned by Işık, the founder of the magazine, as "the concept and understanding of general literary journalism", it will be eye-opening to look at his definition of literature. Işık considers all expressions that have meaning for the individual as literature and thus makes a definition of literature compatible with postmodern idealism. An individualistic approach to literature and defining art/literature as "everything" that reflects the inner world of the individual, rather than a meaningful social activity, are present in Işık's definition of literature. The emphasis on separation and sadness is like an expression of the melancholy imposed on both literature and the individual.

I believe that literature is everything about life. I mean, it's not just love, it's literature, it's separation. Literature is not much happiness, it is also great sadness. And it's not just poetry. Sometimes literature is two lines of words you write on the wall. Any expression that you translate that feeling, that sense, that makes sense to you, is literature. This is how I think (Üsküdar Intellectual Art Center, The Birth of Kafa Magazine, 2016, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kFFdSHTqrWc>).

Candaş Tolga Işık, who defines literature through the individual, expressed his thoughts on long sentences in the continuation of the interview, "I especially like to write short articles. In other words, I hate long sentences and such, constipated determinations". The aphorisms and the short and incoherent articles in the magazines seem to indicate that the magazine stays away from the "long and constipated determinations" that Işık speaks of. The period when Metin Üstündağ, the founder of Ot, the pioneer of these magazines, proposed to him to write in Ot, said, "Meanwhile, it was a period when I was very emotionally elevated. Come and go, I'm living and so on. I wrote something in that spirit and that article was highly appreciated" (Üsküdar Intellectual Art Center, The Birth of Kafa Magazine, 2016,

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kFFdSHTqrWc>). The articles about emotional tides, which are frequently encountered here and in magazines, are affirmed by Işık. Thus, literature is reduced to a kind of emotional tides, delusions. On the other hand, in accordance with the postmodern criticism, the team of Kafa magazine criticizes some of the features of their magazine. For example, in an interview with Kitap Newspaper's Elif Şahin Hamidi (September 2015) with Kafa magazine's editor-in-chief Ayça Derin Karabulut, Karabulut criticizes the rapid consumption of everything and living lives compressed into 140 characters with the following sentences: In our country, which consumes almost everything at such a rapid pace, every branch of art, including literature, is stuck in 140 characters. This state of being stuck shows itself not only on social media, but also in all areas of life. We live cramped.” Karabulut claims that Kafa magazine is a challenge to this state of being stuck: “Kafa” magazine positions itself on the opposite bank of this dizzying speed and challenges everything that flows. Moreover, it offers the opportunity to give a very pleasant “sneeze” to anyone who has to run and forgets why they are running like that after a while.” In Karabulut's statement, critical concepts such as "challenge" and "consumption society" are decontextualized and transformed into "opportunity to give pleasure" in the hedonism of postmodernism. What Karabulut said in the continuation of the same interview about the political stance of Kafa magazine is like the concrete equivalent of many points that are wanted to be explained in the conceptual part of this study:

As a literary product, of course, "Kafa" has a backbone that deliberately and willfully shifts to political humor, while at the same time forming its political view. However, this backbone comes from social democracy at best, rather than from such traditional authoritarianism. An extremely wide range of writers confirms this. “Why did you have him write it?”, “What was that and that thing doing

in your magazine?” Reactions like these are actually pleasing for us as they carry an emphasis of ownership. It's encouraging to see someone take ownership of the magazine. But we have been fighting for 12 issues in order to break that established perception and polarization. Looks like we'll struggle for at least another 12 issues. In this context, our magazine defines its attitude towards life as “everyone speaks, everyone writes”. Until now, names such as Tarkan, Sezen Aksu, Ferhan Şensoy, Müjde Ar, Süheyl Uygur, Adalet Ağaoğlu, Hayko Cepkin, Müjdat Gezen, Ertuğrul Özkök, Ataul Behramoğlu, Gülse Birsell, Selahattin Demirtaş, Teoman have written in the magazine. In addition, the main staff of the magazine who writes every month is Can Dündar, Sunay Akın, Rıdvan Akar, Emrah Serbes, İlber Ortaylı, Nihat Sırdar, Umay Umay, Kerimcan Kamal, Ali Ece, Levent Erden, Metin Uca, İsmail Saymaz, Hayko Bağdat, Başar Başaran, Zafer Algöz, Armağan Çağlayan, Dilan Bozyel, Can Yılmaz, Bedia Güzelce... The sine qua non of a magazine that has something to say is to oppose something. The place of those who are not opposed to anything and cannot remain in opposition to anything is not literature or art, but other fields. We are aware of our place, and we are aware of our responsibility (Hamidi, September 2015).

Karabulut's emphasis on "social democracy", "being opposed", "everyone speaks, everyone writes" is the concrete equivalent of the postmodern political stance.

### **6.3.2. Idealism in Kafa Magazine**

The philosophy of the critical political stance of Kafa Magazine is idealism, like the Ot Magazine, which is the subject of the study and examined in above section.

In the article titled "Half a Century with Poems" written by Ataul Behramoğlu in the February 2015 issue of Kafa Magazine, the question of what the perception of time is like is pursued. While pursuing this question, the relationship between the

concept of time and duration is examined. Behramoğlu, on the question of what our perception of time is like, conveys that he suddenly produces three words from the verb to pause and continue. He says that "duration" comes "spontaneously" from these words. This situation brings to mind the thoughts of the structuralist Levi-Straus about language. According to Levi-Straus, language, if it was born, was born at once. In line with this structuralist result of the reflection of time's loss of meaning on language, Behramoğlu also states in his article that the elapsed time/period loses its meaning when the subject is language:

What is it like, our perception of time? Is the concept of time only about duration, continuance, process? Undoubtedly it has something to do with them. In other words, there is no doubt that time is a matter of duration, duration, and process. By the way, I liked that three words were derived at once from the verb to drive. What could be the differences between these three words and what distinguishes them from the word time? Duration is already used as another equivalent of time in Turkish. Process means a certain period of time. What about continuance? I think I 'made it up'. Or it just came by itself. Because I just searched the Turkish language dictionary on the internet, it says no equivalent was found. Let's put the previous sentence together as follows: "Process means a certain period of time..." Since we have derived the word extension from the verb to extend, why not derive my duration from continuing? When it comes to language, I cannot distinguish the time passed. The elapsed time, in other words 'duration', loses its meaning.

In the continuation of his article, Behramoğlu leaves the language issue aside and turns to his own personal experience and determines the way to overcome the feeling of death by revealing his half-century relationship with poetry with a quote from Baudelaire. In his article, Behramoğlu evaluates time and history with the perception in the human mind in accordance with the philosophy of idealism.

Leaving the language issue here, and going back to the beginning, what does it mean to say "half a century in poetry"? When it comes to this, is it okay not to remember Baudelaire? He said: "It's like I've lived for a thousand years, I have so many memories..." Interpreting this phrase will lead us to the fact that what we call time is the sum of the traces left by experiences. Or the sense of time, perception... What can a thousand years without a memory mean other than being the name of any number! On the other hand, half a century full of experiences can really compete with hundreds of years. My memories, my experiences are embodied in my poems. In other words, I am the same age as my poems. I think I will continue to be the same age as them in the future. The longer they live, the more or less I will live. What I want to express by this is not that the name of the poet will continue to live along with the poem... Or it's not just him... The emotion in the poems; As the tone of voice, the beating heart in verses and words reach other ears and other hearts, it is as if I will be touching and reaching those hearts and ears. No matter how individual we are, aren't we all part of one humanity? The only way to overcome the feeling of death is to reach such an understanding of life and time and to internalize it. Perhaps the most important achievement of the last half century with poetry is this feeling; It is the feeling that we are, are, and will be found in the same 'duration' of existence as yesterday's, present and future readers...

In the January 2015 issue of Kafa Magazine, there is a present tense article, which is also an element of the idealist philosophy that approaches art from an idealist perspective and reduces art to the moment. Nilay Uçar makes an art narrative through Marina Abramovic, who she mentions as "one of the first representatives of the body art movement that emerged in the 60s" in her article titled "After Hugging and Separation". At the end of her article, Uçar includes the following words of Abramovic: "Art that compels and tampers with the definition of danger attracts my attention, and moreover, the observation of the viewer should be here and now. It was

to focus attention on danger, to be at the center of the present, the moment.” Based on Abramovic, the author started her article in which she explained that art should be in the moment, by stating that she imprisoned other sounds in her mind in order to get rid of the voices she did not want to hear.

After the brief biography of Marina Abramovic is included, it is explained the idea that art can only be a thought is embodied in Abramovich's art. References are made to the performances of Abramovich and Ulay where art is a performance formed in the mind.

She is one of the first representatives of the body art movement that emerged in the 60s. As a woman, she is referred to as the 'father' of performance art, that's all. Ever since the idea that art can be composed of a thought, independent of painting or sculpture, came to mind, she has worked on the subject a lot, and she is running from that performance to this performance. One day comes, she and Ulay cross paths. Soul mate or pot and lid or such a tone of analogy... Every work they do together brings a different sound, they always create an event. I think the most impressive of these duo works is the "Breathing In / Breathing Out" they performed in 1977. During the performance, they give mouth to mouth and breathe each other's breath for minutes to explain the exploitation of individuals on the lives of others. The performance ends 17 minutes later when they faint from lack of oxygen.

In 1988, they come to a crossroads after Ulay's betrayal. It takes ninety days to walk 2500 kilometers from the two ends of the Great Wall of China to each other and meet in the middle. Hug and parting...

After giving place to Abramovich's biography and performances, the article continues by returning to the present. The author conveys to the reader that he watched Abramovich's performance in 2010. In the performance, which impressed the

writer very much, Abramovich this time understands the thoughts of the other person with her gaze. This mind-reading situation is also compatible with idealist philosophy.

I'm watching the rest on the bus. The year is 2010. A woman in a red dress sits with her head forward to perform a performance on understanding what the other person is thinking with her eyes. Hundreds of people line up to look at her. Once again, when she waits for the empty chair to fill and raises her head, it is Ulay she sees. 22 years later... Holding hands. A few drops of salt water trickle down the cheeks into the red dress... Then the eyes open and close again, Ulay is gone...

In the last paragraph of the article, which reduces art to the present time in accordance with the present tense understanding of idealist philosophy, it is emphasized that art should be established at the "center of the present".

Currently, Marina Abramovich is 68 years old, although she never seems so. As she says, "The art that challenges and tinkers with the definition of danger attracts my attention, and moreover, the viewer's observation should be here and now. To focus her attention on the danger is to be set in the center of the present, the present moment.", I am in the middle of dangerous Istanbul traffic conjunction.

In the January 2015 issue of Kafa Magazine, the article titled "Nobody is as Happy as Those Who Know the Value of the Present" without the author's name; As can be understood from its title, it is an article that is compatible with an idealist philosophy that compresses the past and the future into the present.

Time does not fix anything, it only covers up. The pain you hide will definitely come out one day. Everyone wants to turn back in time. Some want to live the good old days again... Some want to correct their mistakes... Some just want to feel alive... Those who are afraid of the future want to stop time. Everything is so good that they try not to spoil it, but no one is as happy as those who appreciate the present moment.



They have both the past and the future. Others are like time itself. And every person is a scar that time leaves on the world.

In the article titled "Volunteer therapist" by Simge Fistikoglu in the July 2015 issue of Kafa Magazine; The possibility of getting rid of the pain of remembering by forgetting is given by Nietzsche's words "the one who forgets heals". According to the article, which praises forgetting, it is possible to get rid of pain in the mind of a person.

"You will listen less to those who talk a lot," says my friend Zeynep. And this is a skill that I have never learned/I am not capable of; little listening. Half an ear, even less than half concentration. Where??? I listen to the person in front of me with an endless awe, making eye contact (and never missing) as if they are going to give me the secret of life. (...) I meet 3 people on average for the fourth time in a month (oddly, I have a weak memory of names) and I never (cannot) forget when it comes to conversations!

Even though I feel that all the experiences I have listened to have deepened and enriched me, I give endless credit to Nietzsche who said "the one who forgets gets better" and I envy those who can only forget in life.

In the January 2015 issue of Kafa Magazine, Dilan Bozyel's article titled "Paid Love Permit Approved" describes the earth we live in as "the utopia of the wicked".

(...) And on that day; The world has begun to get rid of good and become obsessed with evil. As you guessed, I am writing these lines secretly from the utopia of the bad guys. No, I'm not a pessimist, I just couldn't find another definition for years. Think about it, we are in endless wars for centuries. Every day we hear the news of the death of dozens of children. Or dozens of women. Or dozens of young people. Or dozens of men. In each season, we read studies about the extinction

of another animal. There is no need to go that far, we listen to the brutal events that are happening around us every hour. "I don't understand, how can a person do such evil?" It has become the phrase we use the most. There can be no other explanation for this, the view of a handful of people crammed into the cluster of goodness is very clear; This World is the utopia of the wicked!

In the utopia of the wicked, the remedy shown for the good to live is love for the good to establish their own personal world of goodness: "In 2015, also in this fresh year; We have no other way but love, we have no other way but love." When the writing is approached in accordance with the dialectical method; While the writing has the characteristics of hedonism with the praise of individual utopia, it is also encountered with the aestheticization of the blessed individual goodness and lives. In addition, this approach, which puts an abstract concept of "goodness" before everything else, is compatible with the idealist philosophy of Plato (2002, pp. 508-509) who said "No matter how beautiful science and truth are, if you consider the idea of good apart from them and above them in terms of beauty".

Of course, we have no choice but to build our own world in such a chaos; To greet each morning despite the sullen face of the next door neighbor, to wish him a good day, to ask sincerely every day the woman who had set her goal to fire us at work, to build a cardboard house for a shivering cat on the street on a cold winter day, to put on our cardigan for even a second, to the Syrian child who had to beg in the rain or falling in love. Yes, I think this is the most sacred thing in our utopia; 'fall in love'. Without expecting anything in return, without puncturing, breaking or without being broken, from near or far... (...) I am writing these lines to you from the utopia of the wicked. We have no choice but to live in our own utopia, dear ones. We have no choice but to wake up with a smile every morning, fall asleep every night forgiving the bad guys, and wash our hearts with a glass of water every

day. There is no other way but to live in our own colors, in our own rules, in our own law, in our own beauty.

We have no other way but love, we have no other way but love. We have no other way but love, we have no other way but love. We have no other way but love, we have no other way but love. We have no other way but love, we have no other way but love.

In 2015, in this fresh year too, we have no other way but love, no other way but love.

In the January 2015 issue of *Kafa*, Simge Fistikoğlu's "Is Ink Healing or Poison?" article, titled, gives an individualistic meaning to literature. In the article, which approaches literature as if it is an autonomous field from society, literature is squeezed between a cure or a poison that deepens these feelings, in accordance with idealism.

(...) While Kafka, Dostoyevsky and Chekhov carry traces of inheritance from the father, in their works, Marcel Proust settles accounts with his mother. (...) It should not be thought that the only common point of the writers whose names I have written is childhood traumas. All of them experienced severe psychological disorders; all were treated for depression, chronic insomnia, and shortness of breath. In other words, the traces of the past have neither been erased from their souls nor from their bodies... The fears, anger and resentments that have been etched into them for years seem to have not diminished as they wrote. Maybe it got stronger, who knows? Their fathers, mothers, whatever they want to forget about the past, and whoever is, fell on their shoulders and hearts, perhaps with all their weight, while they were writing. As they say, "Writing liberates", now I'm thinking and I can't decide; Is writing to remove the crust of a wound that has bled for a long time and finally crusted over, or is it to be a balm for that wound?

Gökhan Dağıstanlı's article titled "Without Contact" in the August 2019 issue of Kafa was written for the lover who left Istanbul. According to the article, which contains the elements of postmodern literature and consists of the delusions of the individual, it is the outgoing lover who can make the whole city laugh or make the whole country cry. In the last paragraph of the article, which is dominated by pessimism from beginning to end, a fatalistic understanding is adopted in accordance with idealism.

People passing by on the street, who shoulder to live without knowing it, constantly make a feeling out of life. If that's not underestimating God, what is? If you let it, you would die at the foot of the first wall that catches your eye, in a place where wiping is used. Righteous poems were buried in shrines. If I told, a poet would carry out dreams in rhymes. Simple songs expected to be praised. In this city, you would rise when the sun went down. My teeth hurt from clenching. I am unfortunate! The curtains of my loneliness were drawn. Recurring passion of my exhausted results! Our dreams do not touch each other. This ignoring upright posture is sheer desperation. If we kill, our expectations do not cross. Without contact...

Your eyes alone make a city smile. If you turn your back, the country will cry.

In the December 2016 issue of Kafa, Aylin Balboa's article titled "a perfect day"; tells the story of a desperate woman arriving at her workplace after she encounters various novel characters such as Raskolnikov, Vladamir, Estragon, Selim Işık, Anna Karenina, Holden Caulfield during her ferry journey from Kadıköy to Beşiktaş. At work, the hopeless woman awaits Clerk Bartleby. At the end of the article, the reason why the hopeless woman encounters these heroes is given in accordance with the idealism that proposes individualist escapes/solutions to social issues and seeks the solution in mind: "The country was sinking more and more every

day. As we tried to pull our heads out, it was as if a force was pushing us deeper with a stick. Of course, I didn't meet the heroes of the novels on the streets. But I couldn't find any other way to cope than to hide myself among the books." Seeing art as a shelter in social issues and the argument that its alienation effect would be sufficient to destroy the dominant ideology appeared in Adorno's understanding of art. As it will be remembered; According to Adorno (1998, p. 103), art should respond to the holistic character of oppression and will with a total alienation. It is possible to find traces of the same approach in this example.

In the 2015 July issue of Kafa Magazine; Meltem Gürle wrote an article by including Franz Kafka's story named Judgment. It is not possible to comprehend the judgment, which is considered as an autobiographical showdown of Kafka with his father, and the autobiographical story that, according to Gürle, tells that "fathers" have an inevitable sense of guilt through an existential process, with the conventional methods of the mind. According to the author, our existence in this world is a pathetic state, and this pathetic state is an existential cycle. Gürle, while talking about the success of the story, also gives positive place to the "timelessness" element of irrationalism. The article, which praises unconscious literature through Kafka's Judgment, is compatible with the elements of irrationalism.

Kafka's semi-conscious writing style is highlighted as a feature that makes the author unique.

(...) With this story, Kafka saw that the field of literature opened in front of him in an unlimited way and realized that "anything can be said". I admire the fact that despite the fright he feels in the face of this dizzying depth, he can stand up and continue to speak by looking at that depth. It seems inconceivable to me that such awareness itself and being able to write despite (or thanks to) this awareness. But Kafka is

not just any writer. As a matter of fact, he is unlike anyone else but himself. The interesting thing is that he himself is aware of this. Even when he was writing *The Judgment*, which would be the first important work of his career, he felt the uniqueness of his work. He would later view this work as "one of the most successful and perfect creations" of his life and say that he wrote it "semi-consciously".

The attitude of idealism and postmodernism, which rejects knowledge and replaces it with subjective knowledge and relativity, which can change from person to person, is presented to the reader through Kafka. In line with the idealist philosophy that wages war against the mind, which is the only valid device to reach objective knowledge, it is suggested to abandon some of the tools of the mind.

Precisely for this reason, it is impossible to fully grasp this story with the usual methods of the mind. Our mind, which seeks a plot based on cause-effect relationships, characters defined through similarities and differences, or a fixed and consistent point of view, is short-circuited when it encounters this text. When this moment comes, I think we should turn our attention to the clue Kafka gave us: We can read a text written in a semi-conscious state only by leaving some areas of consciousness or giving up some tools of the mind. We can only describe the effect it left on us by looking at it from such a place.

Kafka's timelessness, that is, his ahistoricity, is his greatest achievement, according to the author. So "great success" is the transfer of the relationship between fathers and sons as an unchangeable destiny.

Kafka's greatest achievement in *Judgment* is to make the reader feel its timelessness. This cycle will continue like this. Fathers and sons will always move forward in the same curse. Fathers will always be full of anger towards their sons, as they will live on when they die. Sons, too, will write letters that will never be answered in this completely "fathered" world. "Love me," they will say to him, "See me, notice

me..." The world will always be a careless traffic flowing at an endless speed. It will neither hear their voices nor listen to what they say.

In the last paragraph of the article, it is said that the curse of existence can never be changed and that we should bow before Kafka because he had the courage to say it.

That is why the Judgment explodes like a fist in our flanks. We can't just read it as Georg's story. Kafka made a brief summary of our pathetic existence in this world in this story. From the moment they give life to them, parents sign the death warrant of their children and curse the moments with their own existence. This will always remain the same, the curse of existence will be passed on from generation to generation. We must bow before Kafka just because he dared to say it.

Mahir Ünsal Eriş's article titled "fear bet", written in the August 2019 issue of Kafa, "Fear is a form of strangeness. It begins with the sentence "The mind is trying to dissuade the body from accepting the present reality". As can be understood from this sentence, an irrationalist approach to reason is observed. According to Taylan Kara (2020a, p. 83), the irrationalism of postmodern philosophy, that is, its attack on the mind, does nothing but weaken leftist thought in the face of power. In fact, these criticisms of the mind also have a destructive function. That destructive function; legitimizing reaction. The praise of madness encountered in Nietzsche's philosophy and Foucault's (as cited in Sarup, 2010, p. 98) approach of "there are some cases where the mind misses and there is wisdom in madness" appear in the article that begins with a quote from Gündüz Vassaf: The author continues the quote as follows: "I think this is enough to explain the incalculable fearlessness of all the people we know as 'crazy'. Fear is the protector of the mind first and then the body." According to the author, who stated that the first known fear of a person who was born with the thought of being alone in this world is the fear of "self"; The idea that man is alone is

compatible with irrationalism's attempt to explain the fears felt by man who has been thrown into the world.

Journalist Erhan Karadağ's travel article titled "Life is 1 Day" in the 1st issue of the magazine dated September 2014 is in harmony with Marcuse's Great Rejection approach, which is one of the elements of idealist philosophy. As will be remembered, Marcuse's individual revolt against the cultural industries, which he pessimistically sees as an invincible power; He predicted that by refusing to adapt to the system, creating their own alternative lifestyles, pursuing individual happiness, and developing their personal creativity without being dominated by the rulers, they could avoid the difficult path of class struggle full of suffering (Holz, 2014, pp. 78-79). Thus, Marcuse advocated the Great Rejection, seeking emancipation outside of society. The article advocating the understanding of "Life is a day, and that is today", "In summary; I gave up quickly... If we cannot make the world better, then let's make our own world better." He proposes an individualist escape.

(...) I am not one of those who seek peace in Sufism, but it would not be a lie if I say that I found adventure in Sufism. Hasan El Basri gave the route in the 14th century: "Life is a day you call it, and that is today!" Because we don't know what will happen. Nah we don't know; If you stay where you stand, the day and the night will probably be the same. We will go to bed and get up; tension, injustice, unhappiness... We will sleep then get up; injustice, fight, unhappiness... I don't even want to write the traffic. Stop- move... Excuse me; It's a day, we reach a 5 minute place in Ankara in exactly 15 minutes! I gave up quickly... "If we can't make the world better, let's make our own world better." Afterwards it was easy.

Also featured in the first issue, an interview titled "We woke up one morning and left the city" by Can Durukan tells the story of a "white-collar" couple returning



from the city to nature. Durukan, in his interview with the Sayıcı couple, said, “Over 80 ecological farms in Turkey are increasingly emerging as a serious alternative for those who are bored with the city. The couple Serhat and İlgin Sayıcı are among those who live in one of these farms. Let's leave the word to them for a very real, but also a fairy tale journey”. The Sayıcı couple explain their reason for leaving Istanbul as follows: “We started to spend the money we earned to forget our tiredness. We could not rest, we could not listen to each other. Even when we made a heartfelt intention, life did not delay in bringing opportunities before us.” As can be seen, in the article, with an idealistic approach, "heartfelt intention" is put before us as the first step for every opportunity. Saying "We set out to let ourselves go with the flow of life, we enjoy the freedom to stay in the moment and make decisions", the couple Sayıcı creates a narrative that coincides with the present-timeism approach of idealism.

In Kafa Magazine dated August 2015, Hayko Cepkin tells the story of escaping from the city -again in line with Marcuse's big rejection approach- in his article titled "barrel camping". In the 9-decare garden he established, Cepkin said, “I add greater spirituality to my life that has never been material. Whoever finds peace from what he finds should turn to it. He gives the formula of escaping from unwanted lives as courage by saying that all he needs to know is that he is not helpless, he just has to teach himself that he should have little courage. This singular praise of escapes contributes to the reproduction of the existing order.

In the article titled "There is nothing better than love," written by Mehmet Coşkundeniz in the first issue of Kafa Magazine dated September 2014, the praise made to the state of being ecstatic with love is compatible with libidinal rationality. “When love enters your head, appreciate it. Release yourself. There is no substance in

the world that makes a better mind than love.”, “Fuck it man, you are in love, you are in love. Get high, that's enough for you.

In the August 2015 issue of Kafa Magazine, Metin Uca's article titled "mammalia" describes a memory that Uca had with Private Recep under his command, during his duty to take the garbage truck to the city in Erciş, where he was doing his military service. Uca said that after Recep looked "like he was going to jump out of the left window" and said "commander, boob, boob", he also looked outside and saw nothing but a closed curtain. He states that he saw two boobs on the window of the house where he shouted while passing by and that Recep was right. The writing finally connects to Anatolian sexuality. There is an idealism that corresponds to Marcuse's libidinal rationality in this narrative of events, which is described as "a woman's call against the siege between women and men in a small town in the east of Anatolia...". An example is the woman showing her breasts through the glass as "free sexuality" versus "contained sexuality". Thus, the place where liberation comes and rests is “libidinal rationality”.

Başar Başaran's article titled "Waiting for You" in the February 2015 issue of Kafa contains many elements of idealist philosophy. In the article, a stubborn nonsense is put before the mind. “To be the sorrow of an unknown poet”, “to be saddened by an uncommitted holiday”, “to be defeated by an unexciting race” is glorified and all these exaltations are presented as “freedom”:

We will hide behind a veil, the advice of those in the house who are after us, the advice thrown behind our ears. When we say don't we will do it, when we say don't run we will run. We are stubborn bullshit in front of our own minds. We will forget everything we know. We are the nook of heartbreaking calls with you, the smoke of the hijacked bus. People will look after us over and over again. We will reject the

answers without questions, the meaningless good deeds and the lies that everyone believes. What to do, we stood before us, fate, the memory of a picture that was not taken, stole our eyes. "Do you remember before you ever lived?" said Plato. How does a baby come out on its own?

(...) You will stop when you hear an unborn child cry. God says be quiet while your life is being written. He is confused by angels, earthquakes and mists. The loser of an unexciting race, the provocation of a voiced woman. Well done, we will keep denying ourselves.

(...) We are the lips of a penitent bitch with you, the birthday of an orphan, we are the sadness of an uncommitted holiday with you, the sorrow of an unknown poet. Days will pass in front of us, arm in arm with ukts, we will burn for the meaninglessness of a life without a fight. A bend will turn, twist and turn, a sea will rise before us. We will be a native of a village we have not seen, with you. The light bulb of a poor wedding. Like a weak tabby, we will envy the fish's bone.

Başaran's article, which he deals with with a fatalistic understanding and a pessimistic attitude, ends with the understanding of idealist philosophy that ignores objective reality and attributes reality to the perception of the human mind. The last sentence of the article is compatible with the state of meaninglessness we encounter in postmodern literature.

From now on, the world will laugh when we laugh, the world will cry when we cry. Since we are a writer's dream with you, you are the character of a text. In the end, we will always meet, novels so that my darling can sell. We will cash ourselves where the market does not reach.

(...) Poplars turn yellow because they are poplars. Because pines are green pines. What do we become for what we are?

In the 2015 July issue of Kafa Magazine, there are articles that are far from the integrity of meaning under different headings in Emrah Serbes's column named "Explosion Pieces". With this aspect, the writing sets an example for the superiority of words, not the meaning, and the importance given to the moment of interpretation. The article with the subtitle "The Poverty of Words" attempts to explain that the real victory is death. According to Serbes; A writer will achieve true victory and thus freedom only on the day he throws all his writings away. The importance of literature is attributed to words in the article, which has the characteristics of postmodernism. Thus, art is viewed from the framework of idealism. According to the article, the rebellion of the self is hidden in the "misery of words". Gogol, Dostoevsky, Kafka, and Camus are counted as immortal writers. And the common point of these names is that they know that "the real victory is death".

Neither the disasters nor the deaths nor the trauma of the disappearances have ever interested me, including nonsense that has nothing to do with literature, such as the working and form of the story, the arguments for substance and form. The only thing that interested me was the misery of words. It was the effect miserable words made when they came together. The effect of misery. He cannot explain the person who does not believe in the effect of misery. Writing is the acceptance of misery, the acceptance of the unspeakable, the acceptance of the self and the rebellion of the accepted self. The day I throw away all my writings, this will be the greatest victory of my self. And the greatest victory of all my writings, which are now my own. Only mediocre writers hear the wish for immortality. There are truly four great writers, Gogol-Dosto-Kafka and Camus, none of them wished for immortality, they knew that the real victory is death, death in every sense.

Although we see a postmodern narrative in Aylin Balboa's article titled "Unbreakable" in the 2019 August issue of Kafa Magazine, it is possible to say that the main emphasis is on an individualist idealism. "I really couldn't get over the world anymore, I wanted to take a break for a while. If we had the chance to die temporarily, just once, I would have used this right in those days." So I decided not to take care of the world." As can be understood from this sentence, "ignoring the world" has been suggested as a solution to the problems.

It was right after the robbery. The thief had stolen all my valuable stuff, and of course, things didn't stop there. When I say valuable, I'm not just talking about money. Many of my memories inside the computer, which were not copied anywhere but my personal memory, and which I could not replace, would also be dismembered in an underground robbery house. They would all be flown. So they were gone too. This part of the story is about the importance of backup in the digital age.

As if the others weren't enough, I was left with no money and no memories. I was feeling depleted. I couldn't really take my mind off the world anymore, I wanted to take a break for a while. Just once, don't die temporarily! If we had a chance, I would use this right in those days.

The subject of the writing, who is penniless and without memories, goes skiing with the advance he took in order to get away from the problems he experienced.

I took an advance payment from the workplace so that I could get away for a while and went to the mountain. I had to go as high as possible to put everything behind me, it seemed like a good idea at the time. But where are those old mountains? The facilities were packed again. I had come across an unpleasant weather. Just after the snow had fallen, the sun had set and the track had turned to mush. Creaming was not wise

under those conditions. But I was not in a position to stop. I couldn't stop anyway, I was slipping inside.

The subject of the article also injured his foot after he was penniless. However, it is pleasing to him that he is not broken, but he could not get rid of the incident "for free". But this is not so important. Because, according to the article, "Being able to do things from the computer without seeing anyone" is a good reason to ignore all kinds of negativity.

Still, I needed to rest for a long time and wear a splint for a few months, and I couldn't save it for free either. It didn't matter to me. I was able to do my work from the computer. Besides, I wouldn't have to see anyone, so I would work from home comfortably, I can even say I'm happy. However, in the first days of my recovery, they started to demolish the apartment next to me. Dozers, excavators, all kinds of big vehicles were coming and going and hitting the walls. It was fun to watch, but over time it became unbearable to listen to. It was as if they were getting into my head with a crane, it was no longer possible to stay at home.

I said I would go to Taksim. Taksim was Taksim back then.

According to the article, having to go out and work because of the noise starting at home is of course difficult for someone with an injured foot, but the article idealistically introduces a method such as "ignoring the world" to combat these difficulties.

It was not easy for me to walk that path, as my computer was stolen and I could only do my work on the computer and I did not have the money to buy a new computer, and the computer I had entrusted with my friend was an old model and the old model computers were quite heavy. But the world doesn't care about your pain. So I decided not to be concerned with the world. I was going to ignore him now. He could see what he was up to, I didn't care anymore.

### 6.3.3. Postmodernism in Kafa Magazine

One of the magazines called "Popular/postmodern literary magazines" throughout the conceptual framework has been Kafa Magazine. It is possible to encounter many elements of postmodernism in Kafa Magazine. In the February 2015 issue of Kafa, Ali Ece's article titled "The Erkin Kızılok Trio from Kandıra" seems to be an effort to criticize popular culture; It is an article that overlaps with many elements of postMarxism and postmodernism, while praising madness on the one hand, and glorifying plural identities on the other. However, the article is included in this title as it is compatible with the characteristics of postmodern literature when considered as a whole. Writing can be considered as a postmodern article in which word games are frequently used and certain patterns of social media language such as "let's spread the info, it is certain" are also used.

Previously, some of my leftist friends at university used to look at me as "a lumpen but good friend who is a fan of the West and plays imperialist music" just because I play electric guitar. The only difference between a real guitar and a saz is that if you look at it from the left, there are 4 extra flat notes, if you look from the right, there are 4 extra sharp notes. If you plug in the magnetic side on top, they both become electro!

Erkin Koray's "Streets of Ankara" is a great song no matter which guitar or baglama you play, what's wrong with you? Just as the holiday television that Mustafa Kandıralı does not play on the morning of the feast is like a football team without a right-back, saying "I am listening to music" by ignoring the vast interior of the wonderful music triangle with Aşık Veysel-Fikret Kızılok-Beatles corners is just as much pretending to listen to music!

As in the understanding of postmodernism to bring everything together with everything, many names from the Beatles to Hasan Şaş, from Hasan Şaş to Erkin Koray are together in the article.

Fikret Kızılok, who sang the Beatles and Rolling Stones' "All My Lovin" and "Let's Spend the Night Together" in his first 45s, half translated and half improvised, as "My Beloved" and "Let's Be With You Tonight", broke his saz due to sadness when Aşık Veysel died! Let's spread the info...

Speaking in Hasan Şaş, David Bowie "Ooooo" when he performed the Rolling Stones' "Let's Spend the Night Together", "yooooo" when Fikret Kızılok adapted it to his own language and did the same. Well, can you imagine David Bowie as a dentist? 99% no, but after Erkin Koray had brain surgery, he played at one of the first pizzeria of Bağdat Street, 'The King and I', to be able to pay off his debts. And without a guitar, he had to play those legendary songs with just a crappy organ. The fact that the name of the place is 'King and I' is as ironic as the name of one of Father Erkin's the best song is 'Kings'. As in another of his masterpieces, Father Erkin was 'Alone'... But he was still a king. 'I' was there... The important thing for me was not to eat pizza or lahmacun, but to be there with the King when I was only 12... There is one of the old guitars played by Erkin Koray at home. An SG (AC/DC and Black Sabbath's classic electric guitar) is a Japanese SG from the 70's. Every time I pick up the instrument, I play at least twice as well as I normally do, although not as well as Erkin Koray. Doesn't it work, too, damn pop culture fast-foodsport? How can these folks be content with what is still the most popular internet, even in the Mp3 era? How can this 'blind to genuine music' malady?

To the part of the article so far, when we ask "what is this article about?", it does not seem possible to find an answer that can be given. The author is already aware of this, and in the last paragraph of the article, "Isn't it a crazy article?" he



began by asking. Because in postmodernism, it is not what the text tells, but the text is important, and making nonsense in writing is a part of "freedom".

What a crazy post, right? In fact, it is 'abnormal' that even the music writers and makers go crazy this low! In fact, is my commander online, who wrote a fine because we stole Ahmet Kaya in a soldier's casino and then got angry when he got in the car and got angry saying "I wish you could put a tape of Ahmet Kaya"? I don't have a big objection to paid military service, but don't be penalized when you play "Take the Girls Also To Soldier" by the single young Erkin Koray, who can't do it for pay, bro... The song is just a joke; Indeed, Basel's right-back Xhaka, whose name is pronounced as "joke", is not a bad right-back...

In the July 2015 issue of Kafa Magazine, Emrah Serbes wrote in his column named "Explosion Pieces"; His writings, which are disconnected, separated and do not form a whole, are compatible with the anti-integrity feature of postmodern literature. In addition, seeing literature as a "magic" separate from the "whole" is a reflection of idealism's view of art.

1/1 Homeland: I thought about my homeland for years and finally realized that I am a patriot. My homeland is words. It is magic in the coming together of bits and pieces, magic without a passport and without borders, independent of all literature.

The subject of experience has been passed on in the other paragraph, irrespective of the subject of homeland.

1/3 Again on Experience: A person either becomes aware of the basic things about himself at once or never realizes it. It either covers the longest path in one leap or is condemned to loop around the shortest path. The greatest lie inherited by ancient generations is the experience. Experience is just an accumulation of prejudice and always shows the wrong way. And man is most prone to making preconceived judgments about himself. The rat who circled a maze for five minutes has far

more experience than the 120-year-old sage. When it comes to experience, there is only one question one can ask oneself, and that is who wants to die in his arms. I've been asking myself this every morning when I lay my head on the pillow for twelve years. I forgot my umbrella at home.

After the subject of experience, short narratives written with irrelevant and postmodern features continue in the column belonging to Serbes. With these short articles, it is tried to give the impression that "he says something very important" at first glance. However, what the article, which seems to make a deep philosophical determination, is not understood. This is also in line with the attitude of postmodern literature that glorifies "being incomprehensible".

1/5 Admiration: Admiration is also a form of conservatism. Likewise, admiration is a manifestation of general human stupidity. All admiration is fed by the pleasure of first taking someone to the skies and then sinking them to the ground. A real person who stays away from the feeling of admiration and fans, who is far from humanity, is a person who is too blind to see his way. It can neither be lifted into the sky nor sunk into the ground. Fortunately, he has no guide other than his own darkness.

In the 2015 July issue of Kafa Magazine, Hemingway and Dostoevsky are compared. However, this comparison is a one or two-word comparison that is not related to each other, does not form a whole, in a way compatible with the elements of postmodern literature, and is far from giving any information about the two authors. Thus, these two writers were reduced to consumption objects without actually giving the reader any information about Hemingway or Dostoevsky.

Hemingway bullfight/ Dostoevsky roulette

Hemingway passion / Dostoevsky confession

Hemingway period/ Dostoevsky comma

Hemingway the baseness of war / Dostoevsky the glory of insanity

Hemingway whiskey/ Dostoevsky vodka

Hemingway the soul of reality/ Dostoevsky the reality of the soul

Hemingway social depression / Dostoevsky individual gloom

Hemingway lead/ Dostoevsky gallows

Hemingway Patience for Happiness / Dostoevsky Forgive Happiness

Hemingway the dark of the known / Dostoevsky the knowledge of the dark

If Hemingway is beautiful, it must be mine/ If Dostoevsky is beautiful, it must be a problem

Hemingway action/ Dostoevsky discourse

Hemingway sailor knot/ Dostoevsky knot

Hemingway I can't live if I can't / Dostoevsky I can't live if I can

Hemingway dives into the horizon / Dostoevsky looks into the darkness

Hemingway the disgrace of grandeur/ Dostoevsky the splendor of disgrace

Hemingway The Sun Also Rises / Dostoevsky White Nights

The article titled "Separation" in the January 2015 issue of *Başar Başaran* contains elements of postmodern literature such as placelessness, glorification of loneliness, and individualism. When evaluated as a whole, the individualist anarchist rejection of postmodern literature is encountered in this article.

So now I'm an evil that will live on someone else forever. I will be forgotten like a movie that doesn't get anywhere, a joke that doesn't make you laugh, like a wedding without fun. I've loaded my memory

like a porter, I'm climbing the hill that touches my nose. In the midst of a foul fog, I stand on the brink of true separation. It takes my breath away to be myself. My ears are ringing, my knees are shaking. A gust of wind blows past me from below. This is my first time coming to this place where I have no place to go, no where to go. Neither the seas nor the mountains of the world remained. The landscapes of those postcards, the long highways, the air of the forests, the cafes overlooking the squares have all disappeared. The universe is as much as the inside of this house, this room, this bed. So I'm learning that loneliness is a stage of lack of space.

After the emphasis on placelessness, insanity is shown as the salvation of man against the state of being smart. In this sense, the article coincides with the attack of postmodernism on the mind.

(...) It's as if I hung my own body from my own hair. I'm swinging like a sooty light bulb on the ceiling. It won't be like this, I won't quite confirm it in my mind. I want to leave my consciousness on the branch like a dead bird. I want to avert my eyes like a beggar, forget my language, break my glasses, change my religion. I'm on the edge of the pain of separation in the middle of a burned forest. I'm falling like an old sycamore. I'm under my own smoke.

At first glance, it seems like a criticism is being made in the continuation of the article. However, criticism cannot go beyond being an idealistic criticism. In the article; The emphasis on changing the past and the necessity of rewriting a history for oneself takes place in harmony with postmodernism.

(...) It is possible to survive by writing history in its own way. Everyone should make up lies like nation states. Heroic epics, sacrifices, myths, everyone should make sure they are doing their best. Because people have a bad habit -which I think will end the world- they always want to go to bed right at night, otherwise they can't sleep. So I have to justify myself somewhere. To reclaim my lost being, to

break the mirror and free myself from it, I have to change the past. I don't know how to do it.

The article continues with the feeling of no exit and pessimism, which is one of the elements of postmodern literature.

I have nothing but the coldness of the photographs. I enlarge my eyes, I enlarge your eyes, I do not remember anything. At the end of a lost test, they will tie me up and take me somewhere. They'll put a lock on me, I'll wait. I describe the desperation of having to rely on time. If I had any confidence other than the trust of an atheist, the prayer of an atheist, the repentance of a gambler. If only I had a branch to hold on to. I'm scared of loneliness, not loneliness.

The last paragraph of the article titled "Separation" begins with emulating the concept of apriori, which is included in the conceptual part of the study. Making use of the idealist philosophy's narrative of being thrown into the world, the article ends with a pessimistic and unknown rebellion in line with postmodernism. This situation feeds political pacifism as stated before.

I wish love wasn't an empirical knowledge. I wish love fell on us as apriori. If only we knew the truth without trying. If we hadn't hit ourselves like a fly. I'm tired of spraining my ankle. From touching the stoves. I tangled in the sheets under a reality covered with forty shawls. Those who don't know, those who don't know don't know, I'm alone in this terrible game. Why do we have to bleed so much, in the middle of a life that passes in the blink of an eye? I know the answer to the question. We suffer so that the world can turn. Otherwise, this is the cure for everything, what is the use of time for us? We loaded this mean orb like pushing a broken car. We sacrifice moments so that hours can run. Together we carry eternity. Because we are miserable, the stars are shining, the waves are foaming with our anger, the nightingale sings to us as if nothing happened in a poisonous life. They

have established this order by trusting us. Get the stone as much as you can. We spend our lives explaining what happened to us.

In the January 2015 issue of Kafa Magazine, there is an article that can be given as an example of the carelessness of postmodern literature. In the section titled "Leaf Doner Bookmark"; There is a quote that is said to be from Yaşar Kemal's novel *İnce Memed*. That quote is as follows: "I'm exhausted like an eraser. I tried to erase what other people did. They wrote with ink, though. I was a pencil eraser, I'm stuck with it." These sentences in Oğuz Atay's novel *Tutunamayanlar* are attributed to Yaşar Kemal. This example can be evaluated as a reflection of the dominance of "cut-copy-paste" texts from the internet, rather than a deep research, in the postmodern narrative where information has become trivial.

Başar Başaran's article titled "After a foster love" in the August 2019 issue of Kafa Magazine has many features of postmodern literature. It is unclear who the rebellion was against, in the article honoring the suffering of the individual. At the first reading, the writing seems to be struggling with something, resisting something. But the final point of the article, with sentences like aphorisms lined up one after another, is this: "If a man loves a woman, he should stop writing. Maybe only then can he really write."

I fell in love, I was wrong so many times. I fell in love, I didn't put it on myself. Did you say it to me? The bullet had already walked into my heart, but I did not believe the sound of the gun.

I fell in love, I'm as artistic as a spider. I fell in love too dishonest to tell myself. I was in soot in the fire spread by a sneaky wind. I fled the forest like a fox with legs on fire. I considered myself cunning, I made the crows laugh at me. Cones exploded, trees fell behind me, flames rose in lakes, I did not give up my glass of water. Even though I woke up in a sweat, the dream continued. (...) I left love in the middle like a

murder that no one took responsibility for. I got out of bed, my body drawn in chalk behind me. He's a self deaf man. I believed in my heart, my mind, and I spoke bigger than my size. Come on, friend, sit down and tell me your situation, you will be hurt like everyone else, I didn't tell nature to resist. I plugged my ears and sang loud songs. One night, while you were sleeping, I saw my face in the mirror, I was scared of my arrogance. I escaped the joy of the April sun, sensing the gloom of the December night. I made up calculations, math. I fell in love, I was so wrong. I fell in love, I didn't put it on myself. Did you say it to me? The bullet had already walked into my heart, but I did not believe the sound of the gun.

It is unclear whether the author's rebellion is about love, the person he is in love with, or himself.

It is easy to add a thousand to one, and it is difficult to subtract one out of a thousand and live. I explained, but I did not understand. I preferred to talk about the hill rather than die for that hill across the street. Who would take a bumbling soldier seriously? However, getting shot and falling is more befitting than running away. My sweet soul hurt, I couldn't stand it. I fell in love, I wrote verses, I couldn't compare them to anything. You can't sit on the skin of the dervish lodge you haven't suffered, Mister Dervish! I took a lot of speeches. I talked about God, death and fighting. My forehead did not touch the prayer rug, I did not entrust fate to God, nor did I give my heart to the palm of love. I was neither a loved one nor a believer.

In Başar Başaran's article, in which he says "I talked about the fight", love is attributed to be as a revolution that will change the whole world and order, and the emotions of the individual are put at the center of the article in line with postmodern literature.

However, an earthquake was hidden in the invitation of love. There was a revolution that would raze the city to the ground, change the

order, and bring the end of my life on my knees to the treason. Like Yakup Kadri's brats hide under the bed when recruiters come. That's how I ran away from going to war. You were lying on top of me. You were in proud agony like a faint moon that didn't need the sun. You sighed all night long. You were not afraid to cry. Without fear of drunkenness, of the police, of your father and your womanhood, you kicked my doors. You lowered my window frame. I waited in silence. I prayed that you would go away without shame from God. If she says, "Why did I give you this heart? If I am the owner of the word, did I blow inspiration in your ear so that you can escape from love?" What do I say?

In Başaran's article, the resistance of leftist and socialist names is attributed to the praise of madness, and the paragraph, which includes left-wing symbols such as Lorca, Che, Nazım, ends with a slang phrase such as "köpekledim".

I preferred bowing my head to the noose. What should history do with a Lorca who was on the run, Che who was tortured, Nâzım lying in the palace? It is a cradle with needles that makes a poet a poet. The world is a straitjacket. Can't live without wearing it. Freedom comes from staying and fighting. To truly live is to surrender to disgrace at the hands of gassal like a dead man. Shame on those who make hell to heaven, winter to June, jack the lion, and drown the lover in hand. I couldn't get up and slap myself. I fell in love... No lie, köpekledim.

At the end of the article, it is recommended to "give up writing" in order to write "really".

(...) If a man loves a woman, he should stop writing. Maybe only then can he actually write. A person who is afraid of not being able to write does not become a writer. You can't live without being afraid of dying. Don't look for opinions in those who keep their word when the police see you. I don't have the heart to carry you. Don't blame yourself... I fell in love, I got to know me. I'm like a distant relative to be ashamed



of now. I'm coming off your finger like a ring that has lost its meaning. As I speak like a miracleless prophet, I sink. You go along the Nile in boats. The sun dazzles you. Don't call me on the beach. Do not search in history, in your heart, next to you. I was trapped in that first day that we have no memory of yet.

(...) If a man loves a woman, he should stop writing. Maybe only then can he actually write.

In the first issue of Kafa dated September 2014, Nihat Sırdar's "Does death give hope to people?" The article titled, at first glance, seems to be an article that seeks hope through the people who unite after their deaths. After referring to the general hopelessness in the country, Sırdar said, "The theft you know is right in the middle. (...) you get angry, you criticize, you rebel. Later? Then you look at it again, you're at fault. He tried to reveal his side by saying "You are a looter, a separatist, a traitor and many other things". There is an illustration of Berkin Elvan in the middle of the page. The article, which states that the people who unite after the deaths of Berkin Elvan, Ali İsmail and Süleyman Seba give hope and that these people are a source of hope, explains that we are not alone but can feel when we unite with the deaths. While doing this, he equates all deaths in accordance with the postmodernist understanding: "Isn't it honesty, courtesy, and mastery that we all seek?"

It is cut off from the political context it carries by being reduced to the "kindness and mastery" sought by Berkin and Ali İsmail, who were killed in the Gezi resistance. With this aspect, it sets an example for the idealist philosophy that Plato recommends to put the "idea of goodness" before everything else. In the article, MIT (Turkish Secret Service) employee Süleyman Seba and Ali İsmail and Berkin Elvan are mentioned at the same time, in line with the postmodern literature's ability to bring everyone and everything together. Again, in line with postmodernism, on the next

page that follows this article, an article was prepared, thinking that it would be enjoyable for us (the reader) and describing "the most rotten transfers ever to the country". The rapid transition from the writing we unite in death to the delightful "football head" is compatible with the eclectic state of postmodern literature.

There is a promotional poster in the December 2016 issue of Kafa Magazine, which came out with the cover of Fidel Castro. The feature of postmodern literature, which empties ideologies and mixes everything with everything, is observed most clearly in this poster. The following words of Fidel are placed on a photograph of the illustration: "I started the revolution with 82 men. If I had to do it again, I would have done it with 10-15 people with absolute faith. It doesn't matter how little you are if you have faith and a plan." On the back of the poster, the Kafa 2017 Calendar has been prepared. A poet's illustration is included in each month of the calendar. On the other side of the poster, one side of which is devoted to Fidel, the poet of the right-wing ideology, Necip Fazıl Kısakürek, was added to May, and the photograph of Cahit Zarifoğlu to July. Other poets such as Nazım Hikmet, Sabahattin Ali, Sevgi Soysal were included as well.

In the magazine dated September 2014, Can Durukan's article titled "You have always tried, you have always been defeated, okay... Is it the congress again?" is based on his CHP (Republican People's Party) criticism. The CHP's approach to the right, not the left, has been criticized over the upcoming party congress. However, this critique is not a deep, meaningful critique, but a populist critique. In the box that covers one third of the page, in the article titled "Codfish Food Critic", which is unclear why it was included in this article, suggestions on what to eat and where to eat in Istanbul are given. This corresponds to the approach of postmodernism that

"everything can coexist with everything". While reading CHP criticism on the same page, you can also take a look at gourmet suggestions.

In the February 2015 issue of Kafa Magazine, Levent Erden, in his article titled "The Weight of Spinach", criticizes the age we live in, sentences that fit in 140 characters and the state of being alone, based on a sex worker who says, "Read, read, and don't sell yourself for the price of weigh of spinach like me". The criticism in the article is compatible with the postmodern critical political stance. Capitalism, the main source of the problems identified and criticized by the author, has never been mentioned in the article. In line with the political stance of postmodernism, the article was introduced with a depressive reproach to the existing situation.

When the woman saw the police passing by on the main street, she suddenly climbed the slope leading to the school's door and came to him. In order to normalize the situation a little, he asked her "Are you studying here?". He would never, ever forget what the woman would say in return for the answer he gave with a nod: "Read, read and don't be alone like me and sell yourself for the price of weigh of spinach!"

He shook his head again, but understood very little, of a freelance 'Prostitute' whom he had met for the first time in his life. That's what it said in the newspapers. They used to call me a womanizer or something. It was a 'Woman of Life'. He wondered if the others were 'woman of death'. By habit. He didn't understand a word of what they were saying. How much is a kilo of spinach? Why does man sell himself? Would it sell if it was more expensive? He didn't understand. The only thing he understood was to be alone.

(...) Then it happened. All, more. Much more... Let alone the phone, mobile phone, color TV (in every room), stereo, game consoles, tablets, mp3 players, computers... Not just he had them, but also everyone else. The number of mobile phone lines was much greater than the total population. On the tops of the buildings, bowl fields were

constantly opening. It was beyond his dreams to get the phone he had waited for twenty years and to leave the shops in ten minutes... No one should be considered alone anymore. There was an explosion of sound. Platforms to talk about were going on forever. Even the fact that the phone that the man who was collecting metal soda cans in the garbage container near the house was wearing on his belt was ringing every now and then should have been an important indicator. But people have confined the sound to themselves. They muted their own voices almost completely.

In the article, it is criticized that people get lost in technology so that they cannot hear each other on the streets, that the narratives are limited to one hundred and forty characters, and that people live in lanterns. However, the source of the criticized situations was not mentioned in any way, and the reason for this situation was presented only as individual preferences. Again, in line with postmodern criticism, no solution is offered to eliminate the criticized situation, and the loneliness of the sex worker at the beginning of the article is linked to this technological siege.

On the street, on the bus, on the train, on the ferry, in the cafe, in the canteen, wires were coming out of people's clothes and protruding into their ears. Everyone was listening to what they wanted. No one could hear each other. Because nobody said anything. If he had something to say, he was not speaking, he was writing. Those who did not write letters and did not even send cards on holidays were writing epics. By text message. Short. Always short. Up to one hundred and forty characters. But plenty. Short. Word? No. There are no words to say... The concept of 'friend' and 'follower' have become mixed together and become an organ measuring contest. The outside world prevents the voices of seagulls and hawkers from being heard through the headphones. All of them walking in a lantern, without even hearing the sounds of lanterns colliding with each other.

And now he was alone. Thousands of followers, with dozens of apparatus that can make a sound. With phone in different size, screen and memories.

Maybe more alone. How much is the weigh of spinach?

In the February 2015 issue of Kafa, Dilan Bozyel's article titled "Turkey, I'm Not Your Mother" criticizes problems such as human alienation and fatigue caused by the effects of capitalism. In accordance with postmodernism, a narrative in which the subject disappears dominates the article.

Our silent thoughts are crushed as they get crushed by the wheels of the public transport vehicles, where we stand staring at each other, like walls, blankly. We are approaching the stern of the ferry after work so that our boredom is lost in the sound of the engine. While the evening news is returning in its open stupid box, while those who are full of lies, worse and worse, eat with the balance of the bills accompanied by pain, we quickly chew our food; our nausea so that it will not be disrespectful to the blessing.

In daily newspapers, we read all the irrational political strategies, using the sentence 'I can't understand how could this be', which we actually understand but do not want to understand. At the end of every day, we kiss our pillows tiredly as if a truck had passed over us. Instead of giving a glass of water to our body with gratitude, we fill our glass with anger so that our nervous breakdown will pass.

While looking at the Japanese tourists photographing the Bosphorus Bridge with envy, we are calculating how soon the traffic on the bridge will decrease, because we draw less oxygen into our lungs due to the lack of trees cut for the construction of the new bridge.

Do you feel like the mother of a teenager, not a citizen of this country like me?

Do you think about our future by adding new lines to your forehead with the worry of 'what will happen to our child' every day?

The way to get rid of these problems is shown as Aysel Gürel and Barış Manço. The article is an article written with a postmodern criticism, as it reveals the bad things and finds the solution in Aysel Gürel and Barış Manço. These two names were given as examples of "strong stance against injustices" and a humanism emphasis was made in accordance with left liberalism.

Let's start from the beginning today, let's start living in this country, first of all, let's mention two important names of the songs that add meaning to our lives in spite of the ill fate of this land; Aysel Gürel and Barış Manço. Let these two precious names inspire us with their strong stance against injustice, their heart-warming works that can not even come close to many chemical therapies, their colorful and striking costumes despite our streets where the same dark clothes are displayed, and their beautiful hearts that give humanism its due. And let's take strength with their immortality, if two such powerful names could remain immortal with their beauty in this weary land; Why shouldn't Turkey be worth living? Come on, let's start from the beginning today to live in this country...

In the February 2015 issue of Kafa, there is another article in line with the postmodern critical political stance. At first glance, the article seems like a criticism of ÖSYM(Central Foundation for every kind of academic exam). However, when the entire article is read, this criticism appears as an insubstantial and unsolvable criticism in line with postmodern criticism.

ÖSYM, which deletes 1 correct when the student makes 4 wrongs, although it asks the wrong question in every exam it organizes neither apologizes nor uses an embarrassing expression such as "We made a mistake, we took your time".

Those who want to enter the university, those who want to become a district governor, a police officer, those who want to do a master's degree, doctorate, who want to become an expert in medicine, and

those who want to do many other things, have to take the exam of the same institution: ÖSYM...

They are the institution whose existence I felt for the first time in the university entrance exam, where I said goodbye to my doctorate in ALES, and that I did not like all the exams, measurement and evaluation methods. More and more strangely, they practiced their exams. What kind of institution is ÖSYM?

Cheating is suggested as a solution to the existence of ÖSYM and this action is accepted as "student's self-defense". Thus, a situation that is seen as wrong regarding the education system is taken out of its context and corruption is responded to with corruption.

(...) How many lives have been given up because of ÖSYM? Go back and look at the archives... Who is responsible for the death of the student, whose heart could not stand the stress of the exam, and his parents, who were upset about this, also had a heart attack and passed away from this world? How many students committed suicide after the exam? And how many of these people did ÖSYM send their condolences to? Has it sent a wreath or? Does it suit such an institution, such practices when dreaming of having a picnic in space?

And the last word: In an education system that is based on rote, does not teach, commands, and does not understand the situation, cheating is the self-defense of the student.

Postmodern criticism, in which criticism has become worthless, simplified, and unscientific, is observed in another article in the 2015 February issue of Kafa Magazine. At first glance, it seems that Orhan Gencebay's stand on the side of the government is criticized in Cansel Poyraz Akyol's article titled "Arabesque Head-You Won't Have That Last Spank". However, it is seen that there is a postmodernist criticism that alleviates the criticism. In the article; After a hero was created from

Orhan Gencebay, the destruction of this hero myth turned into disappointment. As explained in the conceptual section, "romanticism, which reflects a non-existent world and heroes, provides the reader with a baseless and imaginary world, and allows them to escape from the contradiction and yoke of life" is also seen in this example. Creating a hero is a feature of the individualist approach.

Father Orhan... Father Orhan is the most powerful weapon of those who have to defend their arabesque friends like me, for whom great professors write theses and books, button up in front of musicologists, even those who hate arabesque put somewhere else... landed in our face. He didn't hurt me, but he did wake me up from a nap.

Orhan Gencebay, the man who wrote a song with the depth of "I have no strength in wailing, love me without wailing", was spanking butt in the magazine. By writing the words "woe to those who serve the servant"; The father, who injected the man into the rebellion that would lead him to the revolution, was now at the head of the government tables. Saying "I am neither a beggar nor proud", the man who made a song to be considered the ancestor of the horse was giving his mind to another mind by saying "If Tayyip says it is because he knows more than us". Gencebay, whose song "There is a way from the lips to the heart, is through love and compassion" dozens of times in my youth, said to those who booed Berkin's mother, to those who killed Ali İsmail; He was on the side of those who said "they wrote epic".

The article turns into a subjective confession of disappointment in the following lines, with a form of criticism devoid of depth and quality.

While all this was going on, I didn't rebel, but that spanking was so bad, Orhan Gencebay. Because while all this was going on, I always hoped, 'Father Orhan didn't go to the dark side, he was at those tables to say something to them'. He doesn't show it to us, but I thought he was speaking very slowly to those at the tables, and I found a consolation in my subconscious. I waited for the end of the movie,



because soon he would stand up, say enough and turn the tables. Because that's how it always is. The end of Gencebay movies... Father Orhan will stand up, shout for a better, happier, more just world full of love, for peace, for brotherhood, shouting that this world should sink and slapping the powerful people twice in the face, those slaps landed on Hülya Avşar's butt...

What's wrong with that, you can say that the man was joking with his friend who got excited. The issue is not that the charisma of Father Orhan over the years has become a tabloid entertainment. The issue is not that Father Orhan chose his side in favor of power. The issue is that, in these strange days we are going through, the mountains that we know as solid are the 'unknowable not to be disposed of' side... The issue is the disintegration of the whole semantic map we know. The issue is that those who we think will be on the side of freedom, tolerance and conscience do not miss the opportunity and join the ranks of the dark side. The issue is now; that what we know is not enough for what we see... It didn't happen, Gencebay (I can't call you father anymore after I saw the fathers of the miners in Soma), it didn't happen... You weren't going to throw that last spanking... I don't have the strength to cry" that's why I'm leaving you without a cry, Mr. Orhan. Let me tell you in the language of magazines so you can understand; "You're not with us."

In Emrah Polat's article titled "He was like this This Neighborhood Crazy" in the July 2015 issue of Kafa Magazine, the situation of turning all values into consumption objects while criticizing postmodernism and emptying the values is encountered. In the article, using the name of Sinan Cemgil, an important name belonging to the socialist struggle, the crazy of the neighborhood, Ali Haydar, tells a memory to the reader in a very abusive style.

(...) It was rumored that he was tortured for one hundred and fifty days on September 12, and then went crazy. But what the hell: Sometimes,

he would enter the neighborhood cafe with a haughty commander, wander between the tables, get on one of the chairs and wave his index finger and shout to the nation: "Chinese, the Chinese will come, they will fuck your regiment. I am telling you.

(...) What was I saying? He also caught Sinan in the turmoil, but he was content with pulling his ear. He liked Sinan, who was disciplined for selling political magazines in middle school. Who knows, maybe the "ore" in the smartest baby in the neighborhood reminded him of his own past. He was guarding, caring. When the neighborhood started to become more and more politicized, he pulled ours aside and gave solid advice. No one was surprised when Sinan won the Faculty of Law, he became the president of the association in a short time. The boy can't stand still because his nature is mercury. One day, Ali Haydar took this to his side and said, "My dear Sinan, I've been slapped off, I'm going to get involved in politics!" "Finish your school, be in a position of authority, do whatever you want to do after that. You will be more useful to your people that way, won't you?"

Sinan is very genius, of course; He put the sherbet on Ali Haydar's pulse, and then he did what he would do: At the end of the second grade, he vanished into thin air. All sorts of rumors... The following year, the newspapers printed a half-sealed passport that was apparently taken from Sinan's identity. In other words; "A member of the organization was captured dead in an armed conflict with the police in a cell house belonging to an illegal leftist organization in Istanbul."

What is said to the reader at the end of the article from the mouth of the madman is that Sinan Cemgil is dead. Announced from the mouth of the madman; In keeping with postmodernism, great ideals are in fact commonplace and die. Moreover, this advertisement is carried out with a slang sentence. To describe Sinan Cemgil in this way indicates a political choice. While Deniz Gezmiş is featured on the

covers of other issues of the magazine, in this example, his comrade Sinan Cemgil is presented to the reader with a narrative of defeat.

The residents of the neighborhood hated Istanbul so much that approximately twenty years have passed since the incident, that is, even today, no one sends their child to study in Istanbul. You will not be surprised in this world. Anyway, when Sinan's funeral arrived in the neighborhood, whatever God's intention was, it rained like crazy. The coffin, forming a long cortege, on the shoulders, said, "Sinan won't die" Ali Haydar appeared suddenly as he was walking towards the Cebeci Cemetery with the slogan. He came to the front of the cortege, trampling the muddy road with the steps of a circumcised child. He turned to the shouting crowd. The people are silent, of course, staring gawdly; This is Ali Haydar, it can be anything. This is not the place to laugh. Then, he grabbed his shin with his hand and lifted it up: "Of course he dies fuckers, he is dead, he is dead so we bury it!"

In the article titled "I Died A Hundred Times" written by Başar Başaran in the July 2015 issue, the process leading up to the death of Amy Winehouse, who lost her life from alcohol poisoning at the age of 27, is presented in line with the postmodern literature's understanding of rebellion -a state of revolt without a way out, aimless and depressed.

The promise of the world is described in the language of order. Just like religions that paint orchards, milky rivers, ahu and houris, the prophets of the time also describe concepts such as success, wealth, happiness and fame that we will establish a paradise on earth. Our perceptions are shaped according to this dominant narrative, the great expectation we call life is built with these captured perceptions. (...) The world has now turned into a stage full of people living their roles, not themselves. First we become hands to each other and then to ourselves. Here authenticity is traded for spectacle.

However, there are times when we realize for a brief moment that this dead-end show is a lie. A stubborn rebuttal, a true marginal falls from the sky before us. The feeble voice of an irrefutable antithesis momentarily overpowers the chorus of order. I'm talking about someone who laughs loudly at a time when everyone is silent. All heads turn to him for a moment. Then everything goes back to normal. It is a fleeting awareness that will be overcome by our power to make ourselves forget the truth. It is an awakening that will melt away in crowds like a flaneur coming out of the cinema. That's how I remember Amy as a state between sleep and wakefulness. She interrupted our training in an ecstatic cry like herself. This skinny boy was throwing away all the promises the narrative described. I saw her boarding her private plane, dying of grief. There were cameras, guards, people screaming around her. She would cry if you touched her. She was trembling like a sad lip in front of tens of thousands of fans in Belgrade. She didn't feel like singing because the girl herself was singing. I've seen children who can say "I'm not playing" shrugged their shoulders with obstinacy. Don't do it girl, don't do it girl, whatever they say didn't happen, we said it was a problem. Everyone was calling her out, obviously not believing that way.

Although the world of show seems to be criticized in the article, this criticism cannot go beyond a postmodern criticism that includes idealist elements.

Although the good children of the world were fascinated by this naughty friend at first, they gradually found it more fun and even more comfortable to include Amy's self-destruction and burnout in the show. The audience settled in their seats, demanding sacrifices like the ancient Romans. Because Amy as she existed was a threat to us. It was necessary to turn it into a performance quickly, to isolate it from its tragedy, to evoke real grief, and to dissolve it in the axis of the one who watches what is going on. Because she and we couldn't be real at the same time. We were dying for a talent, she had it, we were dying for a fame, she had it, she had money, we die for, and as the essence of

everything, we wanted power, she had it. How was she still dying of unhappiness? She was throwing away everything that we had arranged our lives for the sake of this handful of girls. We couldn't stand her existence, we wanted her to die in her glory as soon as possible. Then we said we would throw ourselves into the comfort of necrophilia. Regardless, we should have talked Amy without prejudice to the order's descriptions of success, fame, money and power, and we did. We tried to question it, not the system. We quickly personalized the issue.

We said it was her fault. In fact, as Sertap Erener, who sings a duet with the monkeys of the telephone network, in the advertisements, we thought, "Intelligence is not enough, talent is not enough." Because if Amy was the fault, the order would not be questioned, and if Amy was the weak one, the order would remain strong. We intuitively hone our language. So we were hungrily immersed in her terrifying personal stories from love to family. We talked about her addiction to drugs, sex and, in short, vulgarity. As we defiled her, we were cleansed. We did our best and we managed to bury Amy without asking ourselves a single question.

Looking at the whole article, Amy's incomprehensibility, her unique existential pains are exalted. As a result of these glorified features, Amy's death pattern is conveyed as an inevitable end. The glorification of death in the face of the increasing life in literature with postmodernism is also observed in this article through Amy's death.

Amy cared too much. She sang her songs while breaking into pieces. She sang, feeling all the madness of the tones in her soul. She was an anti-thesis over her head. She came and passed through this dark world like a firefly. She wanted to tell us something without knowing what it was. She had neither the strength to say nor we had the heart to listen. There was nothing she could do but destroy her body. First with love, then with drugs, but perhaps most deadly of all, she slit her wrists with

the sharp side of art. The skinny child smoldered like a stubble on the side of the road and went out. As for us... We watched, listened, wrote, read, and got tired. As Şule said, "Let's have some cake," we said, and we slept. The world is this world...

In the January 2015 issue of Kafa, there is a state of criticism and objection in Umay Umay's article titled "Understanding is a Confession", which has the characteristics of a postmodern text. However, this objection; emptied, it is compatible with the pessimistic objection of postmodernism, devoid of change.

You spray cologne instead of perfume, you walk around like a blooming tree among magnolia, white lily and concrete heaps, the stale air of the musty-smelling basements cannot suppress the scent of flowers, your boots trying to contain the dissonant ups and downs of the sidewalks, you get lost in a city that multiplies and becomes lonely as it multiplies.

You always wrote about being lost, the pain of a loss. you turn into it, this is what it must be like to move forward in life, overturning time, walter benjamin walks next to you, you buy socks from the passage, he is just surprised, not at you, he is surprised at eared socks, if there is a buyer for everything in this city, you are not alone, those who walk for freedom, Those who march for social rights, those who demand justice, live at this point where smells and sounds come together, you walk together until you disperse with a scream, you look at yourself from the shop windows. you are looking for a single moment without fear and odor...

The smell of wood and candles worn by the prayers of the churches, the scent of sandalwood burned by the incense sellers. The smell of Syrians, the smell of money and you smell of flowers, it is never silence that makes the difference, this noise, for example; something brought by the wind passing through the tram. the sound of rubber shoes crushing the rain. There is the voice of hunger in these streets, an arrogant and overwhelming voice. Whatever is following you is a

moment when you will die if you stop, and if you run you will not be able to catch up. a moment drawn for you. I dive into the side streets where the underground water channels wind like arteries, will you get lost with me? will you be with me belonging to nothing but love...

The criticism of the writing is also compatible with the irrationalist criticism that starts and ends in the mind. This form of criticism, in which the shrinking subject is at the center of everything, is compatible with the postmodern critical political stance.

Watching those who succumb to fate in SE minor, was that a virtue? Or is it something very pathetic? Definitely a pathetic thing. Whatever happened, you remembered love, you scribbled a smile into the void. in their emptiness; I hope life will not embarrass you... oh SE minor, what happened, now go on our way... this country is a nature and condolences now, oh you lost those beautiful children. You still take pictures with their pale, unlivid eyes. You shook the snow globe, the words blurred at the same speed, then stopped, have you reached your destination or are you already lost? Did you drown watching the water flow? Those who submit to semi-minor fate... those who gag on the third page of the newspapers and rejoice that I scored a goal on the last page... and how many, while we are leaning our foreheads against the wall and shouting our arms and wings; We won't love you.

In the August 2015 issue of Kafa Magazine, the entry of Emrah Serbes's article titled "Efforts" in the "exploded parts" column is as follows: "My whole effort was to write the noisy language of the world with all its vulgarity and save it from vulgarity. It was half an effort, in vain. It got nowhere." In the one-paragraph article, it was emphasized that the world is a problematic place, but the effort to change it was in vain. The eulogy to the dread of postmodernism is more evident in the following lines: "I need a long silence, the darkest of darkness, and a new muteness. Maybe I need death."

In the December 2016 issue of Kafa, there is an article that contains all the elements of postmodernism, titled "I didn't love you 2016, I wouldn't have loved your father either", which Zeynep Miraç analyzes for 2016. At first glance, the article seems to criticize the year 2016. The article, which started with the statement of 1100 academics titled "We will not be a party to this crime", continues with "Koç Holding Chairman of the Board Mustafa Koç died of a heart attack". The article mentions TAK's(an armed organization) Çankaya attack, and then continues in the same paragraph as "When Leonardo Di Caprio was nominated for an Oscar, which he could not win for years, we said, 'I think we broke the devil's leg,' but our enthusiasm remained in our crops." Ken Loach, who received the Palme d'Or at Cannes, said: "We must keep on hoping. Another world is possible and a must", the author said, "Another world? Come on, dear". According to the author, is it true that "another world is possible and necessary" or is it "come on dear"? The coexistence of these two opposing ideas brings to mind Kant's attempt to overcome the "paradox" of true knowledge with the concept of antinomy. As it will be remembered, antinomy were opposites that were both true or considered true. This contrast, which is very common in postmodernism, is also encountered in this article.

Jumping from Tarkan's marriage to the Cumhuriyet Newspaper investigation and arrests, the article ends: "Still, one is afraid to rejoice that it's over. We do not make totems and play tambourines in case the incoming calls. We entered December with the prudence of 'Hold on', 'Good luck', 'Let it begin...'. There is hope within us, and we are silently waiting in case we overturn the 31st of them, in case our luck will turn." As can be seen, a criticism that is compatible with the critical political stance of postmodernism can be given together with everything.



Anti-intellectualism, which is one of the elements of postmodernism; The attitude of not respecting any critical thought, theoretical approach, academic research and, as a result, intellectuals can be found in Kafa Magazine. In the February 2015 issue of the magazine, Alen Markaryan's article titled "How I Became a Cheerleader" is in line with Rigney's (as cited in Gençoğlu, 2018, p. 68) determinations for populist anti-elitism. The way in which he devalues academic studies and objective information, and thus attacks intellectuals with the aim of defending the rights of ordinary individuals, is observed in Markaryan's article in which he gave his answer to a psychologist.

Even though there were others in our way, we made it! Even though they tried to disrupt our Beşiktaş stance, we did not give up! We covered it not like a basketball player covering the opponent half, but like a warrior covering death in the enemy's side! Greetings to everyone who does not have a 'whore' in their heart...

I had an argument with a psychologist on TV, he said we were ignorant or something. I shouted at him, 'We are shouting together with the chief physician of the Yedikule Armenian Hospital. I said, 'If it's a diploma, he has a diploma.'

In the February 2015 issue of Kafa Magazine, in Armağan Çağlayan's article titled "We Will Call You", popular culture praise is made with an anti-intellectualist approach. In his article, Çağlayan gave place to a job interview he had with a young graduate of the Faculty of Communication, Radio and Television. At the end of the interview, which was in the form of questions and answers, Çağlayan made a determination that is compatible with anti-intellectualism. According to that determination; "Outdated" professors, who know that they have no chance of being successful in the market, describe popular culture as a bad thing in faculties to compensate for these failures.

(...) -I don't like domestic serials. I think the Turkish television industry is very unsuccessful in this regard. I watch foreign series. - Alright. What programs do you watch on TV? - I never watch Turkish channels like that. I find it very unnecessary. I like watching documentaries on the National Geographic channel the most. Then Discovery, Discovery Science and History Channel.- Do you ever watch Turkish television? - If I'm going to watch it, NTV, CNN Türk, Habertürk etc... I only watch news channels and talk shows. - So you have nothing to do with popular culture? - I don't like popular culture. I'm against popular culture, they don't interest me at all, such as Hülya Avşar, Gülben Ergen, Bülent Ersoy, Nurgül, Kıvanç. I find it unnecessary to deal with them or something. Besides, who are they to let me spend my time with them, right? - Are you sure you want to work in the television industry? -Of course.

- You want to work in the television industry in Turkey, right? The company you are currently interviewing for only produces works for Turkish television and Turkish popular culture. Not even a mistake! - How will you be successful in this industry without dealing with popular culture? In communication faculties, your 'wonderful' teachers always tell you how bad 'popular culture' is, right? For four years, they have been teaching the same lessons, turning over and over again. As far as I understand, they don't train you for the 'market'. But when you finish school, you fall into the heart of 'popular culture'. And you don't know what to do. Because they disgusted you with popular culture at school! I think those who understand that they will fail in the market have also become your teachers! You know that none of your teachers have a chance to be successful in this market, right? Because most of them are outdated! Moreover, it is possible to be very successful in popular culture (...)

In the August 2015 issue of Kafa Magazine, the article by journalist Ahu Özyurt titled "on the border of love and death..."; aimed to tell what happened at the border gates. However, it cannot go beyond being positioned in a place based on

"goodness and love" by aestheticizing the Suruç Massacre and the deaths. "The heat of the border attracts you like a magnet. You go again. In front of, behind, near those wires... One is drawn there by a strange magic. It is the place where you see life, love, death and the future clearly," says Özyurt, describing the children who went to Suruç and were murdered with a romantic legend: "Let's talk about night and day, life, love, death again. Let's listen to each other all night like a Thousand and One Nights. Let's calm our storms. Let's understand. Let's love more. Because that's how life goes at the border. They also went to Suruç for him. They sought love, life, revolution." Özyurt's article ends with the sentence "The real revolution is to live in this country despite everything, out of spite". Thus, the life on the border given by aestheticization and the Suruç Massacre ends with the emphasis of "love". As will be remembered, according to Feuerbach's abstract moral theory, "connecting everyone with love would be the source of the solution of problems." In this example, the meaning attributed to the word revolution is; "To live out of spite" intersects with Feurbach's idealist philosophy.

In the January 2015 issue of Kafa, Melda Urhan's article "They were Brave; "They Are in Love"; A political situation that should be criticized in the simplest form of capitalism has been aestheticized. In the article describing the heart patient couple who could not find the money for the operation and had surgery in return for working at the hospital, there is not a single criticism about why the couple with heart disease could not find the money for the operation. However, his work in the hospital is romanticized and aestheticized because he cannot afford the surgery. Writing cannot go beyond contributing to the reproduction of the existing order.

(...) While I was watching and reading all these and thinking about love, affection, relationship and marriage, a newspaper clipping came

to my mind that I kept hidden. It was the news of two heroes of a miracle. It is news that makes clean feelings and hope bloom in our hearts. Maybe you will remember too. Halime Esen and Mustafa Anuş. Both had suffered from heart disease in their teenage years. Both had heart transplants. Interestingly enough, the hearts of two young people who both committed suicide and were brain dead were implanted. So, on the one hand, Halime and Mustafa, who are willing to pay any price to live one more day, and on the other hand, two young people who put an end to their lives with their own hands. Neither Halime nor Mustafa could pay for the surgery, but a solution was found for this; They started working at the Koşuyolu Heart Training and Research Hospital, where they had surgery. Maybe the old owners of the hearts who chose death because of lovelessness and hopelessness got the love they missed so much with their new owners. Because Halime and Mustafa fell in love with each other. (...) While they were making a living on minimum wage, they participated in a special program organized by a television program for heart patients, earned household goods and furnished their houses in this program.

Throughout the article, the causes of Halime and Mustafa's poverty, the reasons for not being able to find the money for surgery, are aestheticized through their love and heart disease. In the end, we are advised to learn lessons from Halime and Mustafa's love, which is presented by being aestheticized.

What about us? As we read, hear or witness such stories, maybe we can remember to be a little braver, look at ourselves and our lives and put ourselves in a little more tidy up. We realize the values in our lives and think how lucky we are. But a few days later, routine troubles and daily hustle are throwing us into the palm of their hands. Even the simplest events can lead to deep unhappiness. Until we lose what we have and realize its value. I am writing this with my heart hurting and my throat stuck, but Mustafa died 2 months after his marriage as a result of a sudden rhythm disorder and cardiac arrest. Despite the doctors saying

"Mustafa was our best and most compatible patient", his heart could not stand the stress and tiredness of a wedding he attended in Bursa. Would he choose to go through the same things if he went back again? Would he marry even knowing it was risky? None of us can know this, but I think Mustafa was brave and his choice would have been for love and life. Even for 2 months.

In the December 2016 issue of *Kafa*, Başar Başaran's article titled "gloomy light" is embellished with a postmodern defeat by glorifying a state of depression over Leonard Cohen's death. Beginning with a quote from Leonard Cohen, the article admits defeat and describes a grandiose depression. In accordance with postmodern criticism, the article expresses the discomfort felt about "people being held captive by the order". But in doing so, a defeat is accepted and the rise of the soul through art is praised. Similar to the art understanding of Adorno, who claims that the salvation of the bourgeois society will be possible with art, and Deleuze, who values art above life, the salvation of the soul is seen in art in this article.

Turntables, libraries, dusty scenes, endless arguments. It is the ascension of the soul. They hold our hands. The place that Cohen symbolizes with the bottom of the arches in Granada is the place where it is possible to grasp such burning sadness, creative boredom, the effort to change the world, and moreover, the universe-like eternity. Art is only a possibility for those who pass behind that door.

(...) Illusions, anxieties, troubles, being trapped in a potential. I am describing the blindness to life, far from what one can clearly see, in the middle of what one cannot see, that is, the glorious depression that is the hallmark of man.

(...) I'm trying so that they don't turn on my lights. They're burning for the sake of it. They've been trying to disperse the gloomy light ever since the fight ended, that is, people were captured by the order. They want the art bowl to collect its comb and let it go. (...) Our life

coincided with the renewal of the world. It fell to us to tell the departed, not to give good news of the incoming. There is nothing to do, sometimes it takes a thousand years to lose. That's why, if you'll excuse me, I'm not telling you my problem, but to a moonlight among the moonlight.

In the February 2015 issue of *Kafa*, Ertuğrul Özkök's article titled "Who am I tapes of a spotify head" reveals a postmodern critical political stance along with the hollowing out of criticism and the cynicism of criticism. In addition, a postmodern identity approach is dominant throughout the article. Özkök begins his article by questioning his own identity: "After leaving the editor-in-chief, my sociologist side returned. When he returned, the question of 'Who am I?' also returned. The armor of 'The Editor-in-Chief of Turkey's Largest Newspaper', which I wore for twenty years, was so heavy that it was not easy for another identity to live next to it." Özkök, following the identity questions that he started with the end of the editor-in-chief, "Who are the Turks and Kurds?" continues over it. Spotify, a paid music streaming service, helps him in this pursuit.

The return of the question "Who am I?" was magnificent. And besides, "Who are we?" question also took the question and the situation got worse. "Who are we?" When a plural identity question such as "Who is a Turk?" came the question. Normally next to it "Who is a Kurd?" question should have come as well, but these days, I don't care about that identity at all. Because in the last 20 years, they have declared who they are with such a loud noise that "Who is a Turk?" The question awoke from that noise. That's when Spotify came into my life. If you haven't heard of it yet, Spotify is a music streaming service... It has free and paid versions. I paid 9-odd TL a month and got the paid application. You find music, download it, and make your own playlists with incredible ease."

In the rest of the article, Özkök states that Spotify is a "great identity research engine" and with the music lists shared on Spotify, "who are we?", "what do we believe?" It tries to explain whether such questions can be reached or not. Özkök's conclusion is that we cannot find answers to these questions with the Spotify countries list, but personal lists, that is, differences, can mean a lot.

First, let's look at what kind of head the 'Kafa' is. It's mixed... It's very confusing. Literally a 'Shuffle' head... There is Mahler 5 and after a while İbrahim Tatlıses' or 'Have you forgotten me?' is coming. Of course, there is also 'Like Sand'... Well, are all 5 people who can complete a common high school with five songs on Spotify the same person? Does the same flag, the same national anthem, the same schools make them children of a nation? No, that's the point. Because one part listens to "Like Sand" with love to Ahmet Kaya, and the other part listens to him with grumbling even if he doesn't hate it. The situation is the same for Sezen Aksu. So, the second conclusion of the Spotify mentality is this: Listening to the same songs is not enough to make us all children of the same nation. It is not possible to remove a Turkish identity from the individual star Spotify list.

So where can we derive that common identity? Come on, let's try to remove the only nation we are looking for from 'common lies'. Don't feel disturbed. One of the most important things that make a nation a nation is 'common lies'. More precisely, the criteria for believing in common lies... For example, the 16 Great Turkish States... Let's look at this costumed rehearsal space, three inches ahead of this school performance at the Presidential Palace... We have had many common truths in history.

Özkök, in his article, which he continued from history to the present, concluded that we do not have common truths because we do not have common lies. It evaluates the issue of ethnic belonging through the false claims made during the Gezi resistance and the bad economy.

But can we have a common lie today? You can say that there was an ethnic Turkish identity that gave its name to the states here. So it is difficult to create a common lie about ethnic affiliation. Well then, let's take a look at the belief affiliation that has recently brought the concept of ummah to the fore. Alhamdulillah, aren't 99 percent of us Muslims?

So, let's look at the "Great Kabataş lie" based on a premise that can be easily understood by everyone, such as "They attacked our headscarved sister", or the "Great Dolmabahçe Mosque lie" based on the premise "Drunk Gezi protesters entered the Mosque with a drink in their hands". Can we create a common nation lie here too?

The Republic of Turkey, the most authoritarian, the most one-man power, strongest and most powerful rulership in its history, has not succeeded in deducing a common ethnic lie from the dress rehearsal on the stairs, nor a common ummah lie from the mosque and the headscarf-wearing sister.

But it succeeded: Those who believed in the fragmented lies of the fragmented country believed more, and those who did not believe at all.

Societies that do not have a common lie cannot have a common truth. For example, you can't even make common truths such as "Turkey's economy is doing very well" supported by concrete information such as growth rate, income per capita, number of cars, size of shopping cart. The dissolution, polarization and disintegration of nations begins with the disintegration and dissolution of common lies. This feeling spreads to common truths and poisons them. Hatred, anger, enmity and hatred take the space left empty by common truths and lies.

Özkök's article concludes with an emphasis on plural identities and therefore pluralism, with the importance attributed to differences by stating that the hope is not in common lies and common truths, but in Spotify.



The last 12 years we have lived in Turkey are the advertisement break of common truths, common lies and common feelings. But let's know that the situation in the engine room is very bad... The film broke, there is no master to paste it. In fact, it is not trying to glue it, on the contrary, it is trying to tear it off. Social engineers who aspire to be the founding fathers of the new Turkey have turned into destructive fathers.

My final word... It will be good for all of us if someone teaches Spotify to the founding fathers. There he makes his own lists and opens them to everyone. We don't have a common lie, we don't have a common truth, but at least we can have open listening lists, albeit different.

You see, one day we will all start to listen to both Sezen Aksu and Ahmet Kaya with the same feelings. The feeling that we live in a democratic, libertarian, just, tolerant, advanced country, even if it is a common lie or a common truth... It can make us a nation again. Hope is on Spotify...

Left melancholy appears as another postmodern element in Kafa Magazine.

While values/names belonging to the left are transformed into consumption objects, as Benjamin stated, there is a longing for the past and the days that will never be reached again. In the 2015 February issue of Kafa Magazine; Rasim Öztekin, in his article titled "The Most Beautiful Head of All Time", shows the 70s as the most beautiful head of all time. Values to the left; The green parka was given a superficial relationship with Bob Marley in a nostalgic expression of revolutionism, anti-capitalism, anti-imperialism.

The year is 70-odd... We haven't had an encouraging time with Bob yet. We were very sharp back then... The green parka would be worn, the free end of the scarf would be thrown over the left shoulder... The first cigarette would be smoked, the rest from Cem Karaca and Mahzuni, lumpen... We had given the 'grass love' to vegetarianism in

those years. Turns out it was Rastafan. (If I haven't learned this recently, I'm a dushbag. It's because I'm bald.) What does "No women, No Cry" mean when we are fighting a revolutionary struggle here! We are not formalists. In those years, the iPhone was not discovered, we were uncommunicative... This is why Marley came into our lives as a floor covering. We learned at the age of 30 that he was a revolutionary, anti-capitalist, anti-imperialist. This Bob is a good hearted man... We learned this when we are 40's that he was good to the people of Jamaica and Africa...

In the February 2015 issue of Kafa Magazine, another article that can be an example of melancholy, one of the criticism forms of critical political stance, is the article titled "Yellow Tramways Pass Through My Heart" by Güçlü Mete. In his article, Güçlü Mete compares the technology age we live in with the past and conveys that we were free in the past. Left melancholy dominates the writing, which is far from changing the problems of the age we live in, and whose criticism is impractical.

The taste of the past is stuck in my throat. My childhood, my youth... Were those years more beautiful, or did they seem beautiful to us because we were children? Was the world always dirty? Is the love of nostalgia just ours, or does it miss a generation or two ago? Or will future generations miss these days too? There was a need to type this article on straw paper instead of a computer. Now, when you read this, I'm sure you will hear the sound of the typewriter. And the smell of that straw paper...

We are losing. Smells, feelings... We are getting away from emotions and becoming insensitive. Instead of feeding the cat we see on the street, we kick it and despise the boy who sells water. We do not wake up early one morning and watch the sunrise; 'we don't have time', 'we are asleep' because we are tired. We live without accepting these, we miss life. Although we are few in number, we love to read and research, and we become unhappy as we read and learn. It is clear from

the researches; As the level of culture rises, we question the environment and life we live in more, and we begin to look for something better. We know from what we read that societies with a low level of education say "we are happy, we are satisfied".

How many of us go to the second-hand booksellers and buy the books with their experiences from the dusty shelves? I like books that have been read and even written notes on. Along with the book, I get to know a person. Even when I'm eating, I don't prefer my plate to be changed. Wait bro, there are neither words nor memories on that plate. Don't put a shiny new plate in front of me just because I ate two appetizers. Let it stay dirty...We're moving away. We avoid each other, pretending to be close to each other. If they ask, they say, "I will go even if I have blood on both my hands", and when we stretch our feet towards the sea, we forget the world. We take tens of photos a day and archive thousands of them as a memory.

So far, there is not a single word in the article about the source of the criticism about the alienation and isolation of people from oneself. In the continuation of the article, examples from the past are given with a melancholic mood.

Do we go back and look at one? We don't even know where most of them are. In the past, we could barely take a 24-pack film and put it in the camera, pay attention to the frame we would shoot since the number was limited, and take the unburned photos from the photographer and put them in the album. There were albums that we showed when guests came. If you open the archive as an album now, it would take hours to look at the photos... Lots of similar frames. Dozens of shots taken from the same saying "Maybe it wasn't clear"...

After the longing for the past, the article returns to the present and compares freedom between yesterday and today, and comes to the conclusion that we were freer yesterday.

Day by day, instead of being free, we are becoming more connected, even dependent. Our dependence on the socket, plug, adapter, internet, telephone and computer is increasing. The more we connect to them, the more likely we are to be watched, and the more we are followed, the more restricted our freedom. Were we freer before? Was evil less when free? Was it more Hulusi Kentmen? Or was it because we were children?

The taste of the tomato cheese bread we ate when we were hungry while running around the streets is still in my mouth. There is neither the smell of that day's tomato now, nor the taste of that bread. The horns of the trolleybus would be beating, the driver would get down and straighten up, we would look at each other when the electricity went out, we would get off the trolleybus and walk. Schools are not that far away, there were no shuttles.

In the last paragraph, the author says; he is not against progress, on the contrary, he says how much he likes progress. It is not clear what was criticized in the article written with melancholy, what was intended to be explained to the reader.

Let it not be concluded from all this that I am against development and innovation. On the contrary, I am one of the most loved ones. As long as we do not get away from the memories and flavors that will remain on our palate. Let's collect good memories to tell "in our time...". Without losing value...

In Kafa Magazine, left melancholy appears more prominently on the covers. In order to detect the left melancholy on the covers of the magazine, eight covers related to the subject were chosen as examples. Fidel Castro (Appendix 9), the leader of the Cuban Revolution, is on the cover of the 28th issue of Kafa magazine dated December 2016. However, in the content of the 69-page magazine, 3 pages are reserved for Fidel Castro. Both of these are pages of photographs. In short, Fidel Castro has been transformed into a poster icon, as there is no informative text about

the Cuban Revolution or Fidel Castro. This left melancholy can be understood even when only the covers of the magazines are examined. Again, Hrant Dink (Appendix 10) on the cover of the 5th issue of Kafa magazine, dated January 2015, Deniz Gezmiş, Yusuf Aslan and Hüseyin İnan (Appendix 11) on the cover of the 9th issue of May 2015, Yılmaz Güney on the cover of the 13th issue of September 2015 (Appendix 12) Nazım Hikmet and Vera (Appendix 13) on the cover of the 30th issue of February 2017, Uğur Mumcu (Appendix 14) on the cover of the 41st issue of January 2018, Aziz Nesin (Appendix 15) in the 47th issue of July 2018, 56th issue of the April 2019 issue Sabahattin Ali is on the cover (Appendix 16).

#### **6.3.4. PostMarxism in Kafa Magazine**

In the February 2015 issue of Kafa Magazine, Rıdvan Akar wrote in his article titled "The Unforgettable of the Land of the Dead"; Based on the day Abdi İpekçi was killed, he explains the importance of "reconciliation". Reminding the slogan "Those who fight will not mourn those who died", Akar stated that he said the opposite of this slogan in Abdi İpekçi's newspaper, Milliyet. Stating that İpekçi was "terribly nervous" when he was 17, Akar continues his article by stating that İpekçi was the only name of the period who could say "stop, you are brothers". Thinking that İpekçi "acts with the responsibility of intellectuals to keep alive the dream that a coalition government to be formed by CHP leader Ecevit and AP leader Demirel will prevent young people from dying", Akar compares İpekçi to "the last militant of reconciliation". Akar criticized the "times when he sharpened his young soul" and explained how important it is for social peace to reconcile right and left, all segments of society.

I was a 17-year-old high school student when I heard that he had been killed. I met him and I knew him. Because Milliyet was taken into our house. I would read what he wrote in the status corner, but I would not

agree. Because he would say the opposite of the belief that I was increasingly taken over. It was a time when guns spoke and ideas were silent. It was the time when we knew our young souls with vengeance and hatred by saying "Those who fight do not mourn the dead".

However, Abdi İpekçi would say just the opposite, it would piss me off badly. "I know it is my duty to defend the freedom of everyone, including my opponents. I am against the abuse of this freedom, for example, the freedom to impose one's views on others by force and pressure, and I am against the use of violent methods for this." It was 1978. It was a time when the country was moving step by step towards civil war. Guns and anger reigned left and right. Turkey was such a rule that there were cities, towns, neighborhoods, schools, factories, etc. between the right and the left. He left his mark on all of them when he broke up. For those who thought that blood should be cleansed with blood, it was an outlandish voice saying "I suggest you speak, not die". Imagine, that moderate person had become the 'contrary name' of the years he lived.

If it was asked in the second half of the 1970s who the 'self-real wisdom' was, Mr. Abdi's name would be mentioned in the first place. He was chasing the ideal of a social democratic, Kemalist, democratic country. CHP's 'hope' was close to Ecevit. However, with his common sense and wise identity, he was a name that centre-right politicians, such as Demirel, could never neglect. He was perhaps the only person who could say "Hold on, you are brothers" even when the country turned into a bloodbath. That's why he was defending the 'most radical' ideas for those who hoped for help from the bloodshed in the country. He was acting with the responsibility of intellectuals to keep alive the

dream that a coalition government to be formed by CHP leader Ecevit and AP leader Demirel would prevent young people from dying.

“Tolerance” and “reconciliation”, which are the most important pillars of left liberalism and post-Marxism, are given as an ideal system.

He had become an ideal target. If this last 'militant' of the reconciliation was destroyed, the aim would have been achieved for those who dreamed of establishing a fascist junta 'from the horizon of the bloodbath'.

In the July 2015 issue of the magazine, in Rıdvan Akar's article titled "Sameness of the Others"; In accordance with the radical democracy understanding of post-Marxism, it is explained that coalitions and the reconciliation of differences are one of the most important remedies for democracy, and the current situation is criticized with the example of yesterday's coalition governments. The article, which glorifies the reconciliation that will be formed by the coming together of different worldviews, contains elements of both post-Marxism and left liberalism.

(...) However, 13 coalition governments were formed in this country only in the last 55 years, and democracy had continued. Were there any difficulties? there was. Have there been any crises? It happened. But the opposite poles of this country, as well as those who are not the same, formed a coalition. Apart from the 8 years dominated by the juntas, 21 years, one-third of the 60-year history of democracy, passed with the coalition. The first coalition was formed after the May 27 junta between the suspect and the alleged perpetrator, namely the Justice Party on the Menderes line and İsmet İnönü's CHP, representing two opposite poles,. There were four parties in the parliament as it is now. Since the soldiers thought that the regime was not in place, they were eager to seize power again for nasty reasons. In other words, the regime was in danger and İsmet İnönü undertook the mission of saving the regime, not the art of reconciliation, by saying "I

work with everyone" in those days. The coalition was formed and it lasted seven months. (...) Perhaps the most concise statement about coalitions, the most veteran political figure, the late Süleyman Demirel. "Democracy is inexhaustible," he said. Democracy was an art of compromise. Parties with completely different worldviews, beliefs and faiths could come together for the benefit of the country, and the will and expectation of the voters reflected in the ballot box could be answered. What if it doesn't? In the history of democracy in Turkey, there was more room in the graveyard of former parties for parties that disregarded the will of the electorate.

In the 2015 July issue of Kafa Magazine, İlber Ortaylı begins his article titled "We Haven't Ride A Ferrari Yet", describing the necessity of a coalition government for Turkey, with a class analysis. However, this class analysis is a postmodern class analysis. Because the production relations are ignored and it is claimed that the real fight is a fight between cultural classes. This point of view, as it will be remembered, in Huntington's Clash of Civilizations (2008, p. 24-26) thesis was explained that "the most widespread, most important and most dangerous conflicts in the new world will arise not between social classes, economically defined groups such as the rich and poor, but between peoples belonging to different cultural entities". The article, which also intersects with PostMarxism, ends with the narrative of the inevitability of a compromise compatible with left liberalism as a recipe for getting rid of the process the country went through in 2015.

The biggest disaster in Süleyman Demirel's career was that he left the seat to Tansu Çiller. In our country, classes are not based on financial power and wealth accumulation, so they are simply foreign cultural formations. Demirel graduated from a Technical University, Çiller could not even pass there... Çiller, who lives in Bebek, received a Robert College formation, Demirel; A graduate of Afyon High School from İslamköy... The biggest problem in Turkey is the fight between



cultural classes. These classes were not formed with a great historical wealth accumulation and a great aristocratic structuring. Two different groups, to which Demirel and Çiller belong, have always shunned and even hated each other in Turkey. Unfortunately, Demirel could not grasp this.

(...) Now you are creating a president out of nowhere in this country. We established the new Turkey after the War of Independence, our national resistance, with the 1920 Assembly. Tragedies are behind them. This country will never be built again. What does this mean, someone is talking about establishing a "New Turkey" every now and then? I'm losing my sleep! These are not normal visions, they are hallucinations! These words should be used very carefully. These are extreme terms coined by people caught up in the psychology of social engineering. (...) In politics, the art of compromise, coalition is largely a rhetoric, it is persuasion; is to show goodwill, at least for a period of time means "distraction". It is like that all over the world. No diplomat would come to an agreement with the other side, saying, "I have so many soldiers, so many deputies". Only Hitler did this, and it's obvious that he already did. Everyone has to somehow persuade, somehow seem sympathetic, somehow agreeable, use a correct rhetoric. Coalitions cannot be formed with such hustle and bustle. You have to know exactly what to do in coalitions that are formed. There is a political culture in Turkey that has never had its share of reconciliation. I am very worried about this. Because if a coalition is not formed, good things are not waiting for our country... Let's not forget: God helps, but only to his wise servants!

Başar Başaran wrote an article on the La Casa Del Papel series in the August 2019 issue of Kafa Magazine. "This Is Not A Robbery, It's Revenge!" Başaran describes the characters of the TV series as "crazy" and affirms this insanity. According to Başaran, as "different slaves of the same machine", we have a common anger with the anger of the characters in the series.

They don't have names, each has the name of a random city in the world. Because the injustice of the system manifests the same all over the planet.

(...) There is no single example of life on earth that did not kneel before money, which was invented by man himself. Everyone is a slave to the same machine on different levels. We love these madmen who have infiltrated the temple of order, because we share our anger with them.

In the continuation of the article, it is told through the series that "ideologies" are left behind and the spirit of the time requires another struggle. In this respect, writing is compatible with postmodernism, which declares the death of ideologies, and as a natural consequence of this, with the need for new forms of struggle that are not based on ideology. According to Başaran, left values and revolutionary symbols take action again to get a share from the world of interests in accordance with the spirit of the time. The aim of the revolution is not to seize the means of production. Because the working class no longer exists. Revolution is no longer a means of production, but of consumption. This is the spirit of the times. As can be seen, in this example, the concept of revolution was reconstructed and moved beyond its Marxist meaning.

They stand on the brink of death and sneer at order. A political excitement stirs in us that we have forgotten. They go after the money, we go after them. Because our revolution is not an ideological revolution. The mortar that holds people together is no longer ideologies, but interests. Therefore, in this story, all revolutionary symbols resurrect and re-create themselves in the struggle to get a share of this benefit. Songs, marches, left punches. In this new revolution simulation, the target is not the means of production as it used to be. There are no more workers who want to take over factories. In the consumer society, the revolution is directed towards the only

means of consumption, not production. The target is money. The song of the oppressed World has gone beyond the desires of living in fraternity and dividing fairly. Our common ideal is unlimited wealth. That's why the new revolution demands wealth, unlike the old one. This is how the spirit of the time emerges in this work, taking over our common imagination. Their codes are old, but the way of fighting is new.

We love these madmen who have infiltrated the temple of order,  
because we share our anger with them.

Gökhan Dağıstanlı's article titled "We did not love to rejoice!" was written on "Beşiktaş love". As a Photograph "We are all Eto's. Çarşı Against Racism" is used; "We were the minority kids in the class. The number of Beşiktaş members in a primary school class does not exceed 5-6. That's why we learned from childhood to be a minority and to support minorities. Isn't that why the "We're All Eto'o, We're All Negro banners?" it begins. In the rest of the article, Dağıstanlı argues that being a Beşiktaş fan equals everyone: "No matter what your job is, no matter what your social status is, no matter how much money you have in your pocket, you are equal with everyone here. And you would be surprised to see the happiness that this sense of equality creates on the faces of those rich people" As can be seen, in the article, everyone is equalized regardless of class, and the importance of togetherness is emphasized. The revolutionary leader Che was also included in the article by saying, "Even Che Guevara could not imagine seeing the kind of people gathered on the denominator of Beşiktaş love, arm in arm, shoulder to shoulder like this," and the illusion was created as if Che's dream was a human diversity, including the rich.

Tayibe Önel's article "Self Betrayal" in the February 2015 issue of Kafa Magazine; The pluralistic approach and sub-identities of post-Marxism are compatible with its attitude that highlights the subjective problems of individuals who

are part of these sub-identities. The article describes the relationship between two LGBTI+ individuals. Looking at the whole article; It is understood that it takes place in the magazine as an “other” narrative.

(...) Hatice and Aslı ran hand in hand through the door of the cafe. They saw their friends, whom they would meet at the table a little ahead. There were people at the table they did not know. Their friends had just learned that they were lovers. "Ooooh, our lovely couple came. Where have you been?" said Tufan. They sat down at the table, greeting each other. Their friends started hanging out with them after the little talk. Hatice and Aslı were looking into each other's eyes with great love, they were laughing at what was said. Erhan, who was sitting at the table, was a dark-haired man with a large build. After chatting for a while, he said, "Wait a minute, I don't understand who is dating who," he said with a curious and confused look. "Asli and Hatice," said Filiz, laughing. Erhan turned and looked at the two of them and said "Yeah sure". Laughing, Filiz continued, "I swear they are." (...) Erhan continued sarcastically, "I'm not prejudiced or anything. I just don't believe it's love. Besides, can't I say my opinion?" The atmosphere suddenly turned cold. Asli was very red, and it was obvious that she was uncomfortable being there. Asli came face to face with Yigit, who was sitting across from her. He was stout, green-eyed, brown-haired and tall. He was never involved in the discussion. He was staring at Asli. Zeynep intervened, "Anyway, let's leave this conversation. Let's talk about other things." Hatice turned to Erhan, "I was born once. I will live this life once. Do you understand? There is no repeat. And I will live this life not as others want, but as I want, as I believe. On the one hand, the wishes of the society and the family, on the other hand, the wishes of the person. We made a choice, taking into account such reactions."

So far, the article seems to be making an effort to discuss whether two LGBTI+ individuals are in love with each other at a friend's table. In the next part of

the article, it is expected that the social problems that LGBTI+ individuals experience, at least due to their sexual preferences, will be included. However, the article ends by maintaining the status of being written from the quota of others.

(...) Asli continued, her voice shaking, "I love you so much and I can't stand the absence of you. But I have to tell you something." Just when Hatice was going to say something, Asli did not give the opportunity, "Listen without interrupting me. There was Yiğit, whom we met at the cafe recently... I don't know if you noticed, he was very interested in me that day. Then..." Hatice began to listen to Asli with full attention. Asli was talking without looking into Hatice's eyes, she suddenly became defensive, "I, I just... I tried, I tried with a man. I wanted to be a normal person. I regret it too much, please don't be angry with me. We talked a few times, we just texted or something... But I didn't really feel anything emotionally." Hatice stared into Asli's eyes, dumbfounded, "A normal person?!" She was able to say... Asli said, "What we experienced in that cafe... You are comfortable, but I was not like that. I don't know, I was so embarrassed that day. Just for a moment, Yigit was always calling..." Hatice wanted to cry out loud, she couldn't cry, she smiled forcefully, took a deep breath, "You know? I wouldn't be so angry with you if you cheated on a woman... Or let me put it this way, what was the name of that boy, yes Yigit, even if you really liked him, I wouldn't be mad. But you say 'I tried to be a normal person'. So you are ashamed to be with me, to love me, to fall in love with me..." Asli did not want to accept this accusation/Okay, I betrayed you, but I said emotionally... "Hatice wanted to finish her sentences as soon as possible, "You betrayed yourself, not me. Maybe I could handle your betrayal of me, but you betrayed yourself (...)

In its July 2015 issue, the postmodern literary magazine Kafa, in line with pluralism, has included an article criticizing postmodernism, in which it is also included, this time. Can Dünder's article titled "The Generation of a Little Bit of Everything" is a critique of the postmodernist age. The understanding that dominates

the magazine has this time attempted to prove how pluralistic the magazine is. Many identities are simultaneously represented in the magazine, in accordance with the pluralistic understanding of postmodernism. This situation is criticized in Can Dündar's article. When looking at the article alone, it can be described as an article that criticizes the elements of the postmodernist age. However, when Kafa Magazine is considered as a whole, it is seen that the article was included in the magazine in order to be compatible with "pluralism". In addition, Kafa Magazine presents an example of criticism that is not reflected in practice by including such an article in which all the features that dominate the magazine are criticized.

The choice is hard bro... Because we are a "a little bit of everything" generation. For example, we hear that the generation before us used to sit at the table, eat, then work, watch TV in the evening and talk on the phone from time to time. While we are working in front of the computer screen, we are drinking our soup in a mug, while we skype with our girlfriend, we watch the TV. This is the difference...

In the continuation of his article, Dündar criticizes the concept of "a little bit of everything", which is also prevalent in the Kafa Magazine.

We fill the plate with whatever is around and taste it one by one. This is also the case in sex... We can't get along with one spouse. It is the siege of the family. We, whoever is in the environment, make a decision by trial and error. Shall we vote; We do not make ideological decisions. It is the pressure of the neighborhood. We'll see, we'll assign the most suitable person to him. This year, this year, next year... Depending on the situation...

For example, we hear; My father used to put an album on the record player and listen to it without a hitch... If it were a stone, it would crack. We find a little something from each album and record it. We listen through headphones all day long (...)

Is it greed? It would be more accurate to say "appetite"... We moved from the world of generations who could not cross the limits of their home, neighborhood or city, to a universe where we played chess with a Singaporean while playing chess with an unknown person in Argentina. It was a little quick, I admit; We were caught unprepared. But we are armed with an appetite to buy, taste and use everything we see. The options were endless; opportunities are limited... Even though we didn't get it, we dreamed a little bit of everything. We have such a confused world.

In accordance with postmodernism, Kafa Magazine's "confused world" and "giving place to everything and everyone in the name of differences" are criticized in Dundar's article on the new generation.

Look for example me: I love Che; I haven't read much, but handsome boy, I support it. He has a song called "Comandante"... I listen to it in my ear. Then I move on to Rock. HDP is a good party... It says good things, I support it. But I love my national flag, I put it above everything. I likened the parties to myself. They all promise a little bit of everything. I give some credit to all of them. My decision is final in the election: I will put the stamp on all of them...

May they all win; I'm going to make some use of all of them.

In the January 2015 issue of Kafa Magazine, there is another article from the "other" quota of postMarxism. Hayko Bağdat's article titled "We eliminated manchester united..."; It comes across as a profanity article describing the racism against Armenians by taking it simple.

(...) We talked, talked, talked... We arrived at Kurtuluş. Uncle clung to my arm when I was about to descend and gave his last advice softly. "Look, my son, you are young as a diamond. Always stay like this. The people of this land should always support each other. There may be those who want Manchester to win inside. Don't look at them. What are

we going to support the fucking Armenians while our teams are standing there?!"

The car stepped on the gas and drove away. I stayed like that in the middle of the street for a while. What happened now? Uncle did not know that I was Armenian, how did it get here? Uncle was the sweetest of the world, you know? Why did he curse me after such a nice conversation? It's funny... Uncle didn't curse me. He cursed Manchester. Well, Manchester is an English team? Ignorant is probably a little bit of ours...

Bagdat's article is an article included in the issue with its sub-identity to support Kafa Magazine's claim to be pluralistic.

(...) There is confusion ahead. The crowds are very angry. What happened now? On a day like this, isn't it a dead end that fights between us? The apocalypse breaks out right in front of our school. Where are they grinding? Private Pangaltı Armenian High School... I guess Manchester United...

We came to school in the morning. Kamer, Jilber and I arrived home at night without speaking. We didn't speak at all in the morning. We read our oath and went to classes. We sat in rows. First lesson date. Neriman Hodja tells; "Everyone living in Turkey is Turkish, children. Your sub-identities are different, this is different, remember." My place is right next to the window. The glass was broken in four places, they were temporarily covered with nylon. Still, cold air is leaking in. This is the first time I've been this cold. our driver was not ignorant...

In the February 2015 issue of Kafa Magazine, Hürrem Sönmez's article titled "In order to withstand the Earth"; It focuses on Tezer Özlü, one of the important names of postmodern literature, and includes writers who committed suicide in February. In particular, the article in which Tezer Özlü's statements such as "The world is a painful place", "Killing oneself to protest fascism and war is one of the



greatest heroisms in my opinion" is a libertarian pessimistic article with the praise of suicide. As explained in the conceptual section, libertarian pessimism emerges as a feature of postMarxism. Being aware of the evils in the current order, but advocating that freedom is possible with mental rebellion and a life isolated from society, and keeping personal freedoms above everything is dominant in this article as well as in post-Marxism.

(...) In the book of the same name, Tezer Özlü answers the question of why literature: "In order to withstand the earth" and adds: "...I write to come to terms with life and death." Because her sense of the earth is very clear; "... the world is a painful place." she says, "... there is no such thing as a better life." It's been 29 years since she left this world where she doesn't really belong, and Sylvia Plath, who decided to go at a young age like Tezer Özlü by a strange coincidence, and Stefan Zweig, who committed suicide by drinking poison together with his wife, are among those who left in February. Maybe the nakedness of the truth in the pen of February is the time for writers who feel cold to say goodbye to the world, who knows?.. (...) In fact, she determines her relationship with writing and life through 'belonging nowhere', because this is also a rebellion for her, the one imposed by you. and whatever identity you claim to be says, "I am not that, nor will I ever be", as if all cities, countries, days, nights, every sky are foreign to her. Its rootlessness and lack of belonging is a state of 'being out of all this', she says, "You've gnawed at me with your homes, schools, workplaces, private and public institutions", which is perhaps why, according to her, order and trust are the two most terrible things. Those who aspire to become an outfit but do not respect the imposed life and rules, know well that gnawing feeling. "A person's life can be 40 years," she says, "It should be, it's not a yearning for death." As a matter of fact, Tezer Özlü was only 43 years old when she left this world. After she left, the world became a more difficult place, a more unjust, more painful place. The cold reality we experience every day slaps us in the face, now we

know "There is no such thing as a better life." What we call better life is as much as we can forget our dead... As long as we remember, there is no peace on earth for us anymore. II. In an article he wrote about Zweig, who committed suicide by drinking poison with his wife during World War II, Özlü says, "In my opinion, killing oneself to protest fascism and war is one of the greatest heroisms.

The article, which presents the praise of suicide through the "impossibility of a better life", also glorifies the homelessness of post-Marxism.

Ahmet Kaya continues to play; "How will you know why I am silent?" says. The answer to the question lies in the deep divide between those who see rootlessness and lack of belonging as an unfortunate destiny, and those who see it as a flag of rebellion against the established order. We will destroy your smelly houses, your established order, your hypocritical morality, your false happiness with the freedom of belonging everywhere by not belonging anywhere... Or maybe we will always be 43 years old like Tezer, we will leave not only sadness but a blond smile on the earth.

In the January 2015 issue of Kafa, Naci Sapan wrote in his article titled "3325 Center"; Through the murder of Gaffar Okan, he offers a search for a solution to the problems of the country, with the wish of increasing individual well-being. The solution proposal made without mentioning the source of the problems in the country and the distortion of the system and order is compatible with the postmodern critical political stance. According to the author, the country's problems will end with the increase of "Gaffar Okans". The article also glorifies the desire of postMarxism to "live together" within the existing order.

The legend of Ali Gaffar Okkan, which started with the "3310 Center" announcement, is followed by his assistant Serdar Irmak's "3325 Center! Mr. 3310 was martyred! Thanks to the head of our organization..." It ended with the announcement. (...) The headline of

Hürriyet about the funeral was: 'The People Funeral' Ertuğrul Özkök's column was titled 'Like a Referendum.' The introduction is as follows: Could there be a referendum that is more meaningful to a people than this? A spontaneous referendum. The question is simple: "Do you want to live together?" The answer is simple: "Yes, we want to live with the Gaffars in the land of the Gaffars." Yes, He showed with his death that there would be no problems in this country as the Gaffars multiplied. He was a good son. He was a leader when he existed. He went like a leader when he left. It went well. He told such things to every corner of the country with the people he protected...

#### **6.4. Magazine “Bavul”**

##### **6.4.1. Copy Right Page**

Bavul Magazine started its publication life in September 2015 with the motto "Life is a journey, have it (the name of the magazine is baggage and here the “it” refers to the baggage) with you". Önder Abay, one of the correspondents of the newspaper Birgün, was the editor-in-chief of Bavul Magazine. Founded as the publication organ of the Freedom and Solidarity Party, Birgün newspaper has adopted a publishing policy in line with the party's leftist identity. Due to this organic connection with Birgün newspaper, Bavul is located in a more political place compared to Ot and Kafa magazines. Önder Abay states that Bavul Magazine, which he defines as "the literature of the street", is "the place of expression of people who cannot find a place for themselves and are talked about". The difference between them and other popular literary magazines is “We are not in a field independent from them. The street they enter is just not like our street. Our neighborhood is a little further down. We are the children of the streets that are described as dangerous,” he

explains. Abay reveals the side they are standing on as follows: “There is a street in Bavul. However, we never accept the expression of being a bridge between the street and the reader. We are not bridges. If there is a bridge, we are on the opposite side of that bridge” (Güngör, 19 September 2015).

In order to better understand Abay's side, it would be useful to look at what the magazine said about its target audience. “Who is the target audience of the magazine?” He answers the question by explaining who is not his target audience: “Those who do not look at the events taking place in our country from the lens of conscience and who are in favor of the oppressor for their own benefit are not among our target audience. But they will be the target of Bavul magazine” (Güngör, 19 September 2015). As it can be seen, Bavul Magazine openly declares its side and presents a political stance through the duality of "tyrants" and "those who stand against the oppressors". However, when we look at both the writer staff and the contents, it is understood that this political stance is a postmodern political stance. Names such as Emrah Serbes, Uğur Yücel, Hayko Cepkin, İsmail Saymaz, Ali Lıdar, Ahmet Büke, Nejat İşler, Erk Acarer, Fulsen Türker, Alev Karaduman and Küçük İskender, as well as sex workers and patients treated in mental hospitals, also adhere to the liberal pluralist approach of post-Marxism can be appropriately included in the magazine with their articles.

In an interview with him about the magazine, Önder Abay persistently emphasizes the magazine's connection with "reality":

Baggage (also means the magazine itself) is everything that does not leave the person. It is the only thing that is next to a person no matter what happens when meeting, leaving, abandoning, returning. The contents of the baggage also tell us who that person is. In fact, we

chose such a name to reflect all aspects of reality. Whatever is on the street, what is real in our lives, is where we want to reach it. (...) as the inside team, we have created a strong backbone and a realistic publishing policy. We took the street to the center and carried the stories from the street to our pages. Reality is like a magnet, it attracts everyone. For this reason, the different people you mentioned met us on the basis of reality. (...) I think that when we leave the street, we pass into a virtual world. The reality, sharpness and harshness of the street is the clearest face of life, but no one wants to see it. We wanted to show this face (<https://www.neokuygum.org/sokagin-edebiyati-bavuldergisi/>).

What kind of reality is this reality that Abay is talking about, and how much does this reality find itself in the content of the magazine? We will try to answer these questions in the analysis section. For a while, Bavul Magazine ended with Gizem Çıtak's column called Feminist Closing in every issue for a while. Abay said, “Unfortunately, we live in the world of men and the language we use is turning into a masculine language. We can't interfere with our writers on this issue, but we said we can give a self-criticism as the inside team”. This situation is exactly an example of postmodern criticism. The content of the magazine is dominated by a masculine language and includes sexist swearing. But on the last page, “self-criticism” is given. However, this attitude of the magazine did not last long, and the "Feminist Closing" on the last page was replaced by the character "Otisabi", who can take the first place in the history of cartoons with his masculinity. Thus, the postmodern features, which do not have any consistency and where everything can replace everything, have been adapted.

#### 6.4.2. Idealism in Bavul Magazine

Bavul Magazine started its publication life in its 1st issue, dated October 2015, with an introduction article addressing its readers with the title "Hello". In this introduction, it is seen that the magazine is addressing the "individual". According to the article, the new time is no longer a time when production is based on reality. The new time is people's own realities. In this sense, the magazine has placed the elements of individualism in its motto. Life is a journey of unknown destination. The Bavul targets the individual. "Those whose hearts are broken, those who stay on the sidelines, those who love but cannot meet, those who are stuck in the plaza elevator", in short, is the magazine of the losers. And in this respect, it is compatible with idealist philosophy.

While we know the faces of those who create loneliness from the paving stone, those who make the cobblestone a pillow are just shadows for us. (...) We have passed from the times that built all his production on the truth, to the times that he built his own reality on the reasonable stories he read, saw and listened to. (...) we took our luggage and set off on a road. We don't know where it will lead. We didn't really think about it. (...) The baggage is the only thing that goes with a person wherever he goes, unchanged and without leaving. It carries the memory, the new and the defeat at the same time. It is the first one to come out of the closet, both when leaving and reuniting. For those whose hearts are broken, for those who stay on the sidelines, for those who love but cannot meet, and those who are stuck in the plaza elevator, we hope that we will have many lovers and a long life. Life is a journey, have it with you.

Also in the first issue of Bavul Magazine, dated October 2015, Fulsen Türken's article titled "God loves fugitives and lunatics the most", as the name suggests, contains praise for both great rejection and madness, which are elements of

idealism. As it will be remembered, the concept of great rejection, in which Marcuse suggested individual escapes by going out of society, was given in detail in the section of idealism. Again, in Nietzsche's philosophy and in Foucault's approach, a state of glorifying madness and attributing wisdom to it was encountered. It is possible to say that these two elements explained in the conceptual section dominate Türken's writing.

Until two years ago, I was walking straight on the path drawn for me by the geography I was born into and the society that populated this geography. One day my life turned upside down and we've come this far. What do you mean we came? Me, my soul, its wicked twin brother, and the dark cloud above us. Is it here? Datça. (...) Nine months ago, I couldn't show the location of Datça on the map, I thought Marmaris was a city. Geography was my worst subject anyway. There is only one thing I have learned in my life in the end, that life is just a road story. Axiom 2: Only fugitives and lunatics passed beyond Balıkaşiran: Istanbul is the heart of life, and for many people, the capital of the world. Ankara, cheesy bureaucracy. İzmir is an inland country that has declared its independence. The rest of Turkey? Damn if it's yellow in the middle of the steppe, heaven if it's blue and green on the coastline... Datça? From afar, a romantic comedy with an Aegean accent or a roadside resting place!

Hello, I'm Fulsen. In October of last year, I came to Datça. I had no plans to settle down here, but I had nowhere to go, and I had no idea what to do with the rest of my life. The season is over, the people who came here for a holiday are gone. I remember the days when I did not want to return from Bozcaada. It's destiny, I said. Besides, I've seen some really good movies that start with the girl moving to a beach town.

In the continuation of the article, although it seems like the narrative is made that escaping is not good for the writer, and the problems continue in Datça, in fact,

this state of not being well is glorified and at the end, the article is attributed to the fact that "God loves fugitives and lunatics the most (if any)". Madness and escapism in the face of reason appear as an element of gaining God's love. As such, the article is an example of the idealism section in which "the reaction to the inevitable triumph of new social relations is expressed in various ways, from irrationalist 'activism' to pessimistic fatalism and taking refuge in the mercy of God" (Malinin, 1979b, p. 238).

When people settle in a seaside town called a 'holiday destination', they get the illusion that every day will be 'like a holiday'. When she meets the truth, she feels like she's stuck in a resort. A half-open prison in the middle of nowhere ... (...) Hypothesis: God (if any) likes fugitives and maniacs best. I have never liked their travels. (...) I used to say that it is not for me to get out of my comfort zone and try new things to find the best. (...) Today, when I have the opportunity to return to Istanbul, I choose not to. Not that I can't take another ride. If life is a road story, because we still have work to do with those here before we set off on the next road. What I've learned so far is that people know people best in towns. Besides, if I were God, I'd love runaways and nutcases. The rest is so boring...

In the 1st issue of the magazine (October, 2015), where Bergen is on its cover, Uğur Yücel wrote in his article titled "I'm going to die, Brother Uğur"; He talks about his memories with Bergen in a very abusive way. While "Feminist Criticism" is on the last page of the magazine, a masculine language is dominant in this article and the narrative of "men who save helpless women" is made. In this sense, the criticism of postmodernism that is not reflected in practice appears once again. Bergen, on the other hand, is a woman who cannot be "saved" and her death is an unavoidable one. Adopting a fatalistic approach, the writing is compatible with idealism with this feature. From the myth of Oidupus, one of the most tragic stories of Greek



mythology, which conveys the message that "you can never escape your destiny" to the public, "fatalism" is similarly present in idealist narratives.

I loved Bergen. She was a very good girl. A man desires to take away such helpless women. (...) As we were getting into the car of the chauffeur, nicknamed Gencebay, and crossing the street, our girlfriend always had the phrase 'We can't get together' on the pickup truck. One day she leaned on my shoulder and cried. I know we can't get together. You are studying at the conservatory, who knows, you will be a man of the worlds, I said why not. What? said. So get together? Who? With me? Fuck... I got a sharp punch in the shoulder. But what boy hasn't thought of even saving the brothel. Let me give you your money, get out of here girl!

It was hard for me to say that to my sister Bergen. She knew the end. Neither I nor the realms could prevent death.

(...) When I went backstage, the reeds were in my taxi. Bergen's eye patch co-commissioner is exfoliating. "Uğur brother slammed the front table on the stage! Should I fuck up that table?" He would.

In the first issue of the magazine, a column named "Nihilistpedia-Nihilistpedia, Guide to Nihilist Novel Heroes" by Esra Tanrıbilir was included. Nihilism, which is an element of idealist philosophy, has found its place in this corner. As it will be remembered, Nietzsche was the one who advocated nihilist aesthetics instead of Marxist aesthetics, and as discussed in the postmodernism section, a "blind nihilism" was one of the main features of postmodern literature. In this article, it is seen that the character of Yevgenly Vasilievich Bazarov is described. The nihilist anti-hero Bazarov in Ivan Turgenev's novel *Fathers and Sons*, one of the Russian pioneers of the nihilist movement, is introduced to the reader with the following sentences:

A science student in his twenties who plans to become a doctor. Bazarov's vulgar frankness, sarcastic, sexist and angry personality draws attention from the very first pages. Arkady introduces his friend, "Bazarov is a nihilist." (...) Not only does he challenge the traditional Russian-Orthodox views of his own family and the liberal ideas of the Kirsanovs, he also rejects all authority. He only exalts an independent and science-based life. According to Edward Said, Bazarov is a prototype of the modern nihilistic intellectual.

In the November 2016 issue of *Bavul Magazine*, Esra Tanrıbilir evaluates the nihilist Kayra character in Hakan Günday's novel *Kinyas ve Kayra* in the column named "Nihilistpedia", which is defined as a guide to nihilist novel heroes. She makes this evaluation by referring to Nietzsche's understanding of "will to power", which is frequently included in the idealism part of the conceptual part of the study.

Kayra carries out Nietzsche's metaphor of killing god at an age that can be considered a child, and continues his life by testing whether everything is permissible in a world where there is no god. Things that ordinary people do easily, such as working, establishing a regular life; It is impossible for Kayra, who comes from a cultured family, studied at very good schools, can speak several languages, and has a background in literature and music. He has enough hatred in him for which he doesn't even know why. It can neither make sense of life nor its own disharmony in life; He has anarchist leanings but doesn't like anarchists either. He just knows that he is not normal and has serious problems with social norms. Although Kayra has crossed the line between good and evil many times, he is aware of what he has done. He just doesn't regret any of them. "I am a bad person. Besides, I'm aware, and that makes me worse!" He knows himself well enough to say. Although Kayra's nihilism seems to have emerged with an existential concern, we should not forget the schizoid, sociopathic and sadistic features of his personality.

Manuş Baba's article titled "Everything Will Be Alright" in the June 2017 issue of Bavul Magazine is an example of postmodern literature in its entirety. However, in the last paragraph of the article, which is dominated by a pessimistic narrative, it is said that "everything will be very good if we believe" in accordance with idealist philosophy. Believing that everything goes "spontaneously" is an idealistic approach that distances the subject from being an actor.

My hair hanging from the balcony was touching your faces, your smiles, your glasses... I know all of you there, a lot of colors, smiles, attitudes that make up my life and personality... Beliefs, habits, filth that I realized at a young age amidst my social anxieties... A lot of reactionary stances that I learned and acquired... He left me only one thing... My father's words spilled out of his mouth on the roof of Tarsus on a summer evening... The only true truth I believe in... "Sometimes things may go wrong in our life, but everything will be fine." Believe it...

Again, in the June 2017 issue, we see idealism's approach to reality. Fulsen Türker wrote an article titled "Farewell Air" in the Cream Color Stories column. In the following paragraphs of the article, which is also a pessimistic text specific to postmodernism, the distinction between reality and truth is explained to the readers with the following sentences:

"No matter what the Great Turkish Dictionary says, 'truth' and 'reality' are not synonyms," she said, looking at Ebru and taking a deep sip from her glass. "Truth is what you know with your back turned and your eyes closed. We, the people, created the realities. It has no equivalent in nature. Like Monday, Thursday, Friday... We defined a reality with measures, units, statuses, words of our own invention. Words... The world's most insane invention ... We knew the truth at our core, but for everything that went wrong in our lives, we created a reality with the splendor of words."

As it is seen, the intuitive truth, which is said to exist in our essence, has been put in front of the reality by ignoring the objective reality. This attitude is a reflection of idealism and includes a metaphysical view of the concept of reality. As explained in the section of idealism, the source of true knowledge in idealist philosophy lies not in the objective world, but in the nature of sensitivity and intellect, and in idealism there is no such thing as objective knowledge in reality (Malinin, 1979a, p.181).

In the October 2018 issue of the magazine, Sedef Orman's article titled "Love in existence, always be love"; Libidinal rationality, which opposes Eros to Logos with a view that glorifies love, and glorifies it, is compatible with idealism's view of art, as it describes writing stories and thus literature as a playground disconnected from real life.

I am writing now, small stories in my own way, thanks to you, with the trust and support you have given me. My stories are always hopeful, but don't worry, I don't bring real-life troubles there. It's my playground where I make myself happy. In fact, considering that I wrote it so I wouldn't go crazy, it's my own personal asylum. Writing is not a smart job anyway, every line is a separate abyss, every line is a prison for a different feeling. And then the feeling of constantly falling, writing. Going crazy by falling, thinking that you will get smart by writing. My eyes are always in the sun; I mean, in your eyes... Your eyes are the capital of hope, if it really is for me. Your eyes are the sun and the light of life for me. He wants to accumulate, when one loves ... (...) In other words; Let there be love in existence, love in absence, love in negativity, love again, always love, always love! Greetings to those who know this, see and value it, and hug the most precious one more tightly with love after these lines!

It is possible to say that Esin İris's article titled "Our Conscience That Screams Without a Place" in the May 2019 issue of Bavul Magazine is a confused article.

*"Because Jerusalem is holy land, human history has blood-drenched droughts. It is because people worship the strong and power... We are responsible for every penny we spend, every opinion we defend, everything we say thank you for, and every greed we call breadwinner",* and emphasizes that we can produce better by taking personal responsibility in the face of social problems. However, the explanation on human nature in the next paragraph bears the traces of an idealist philosophy, and human history is tied to the cruel nature of man, thus adopting a metaphysical "human nature" approach as things-in-itself.

Maybe this is human nature, injustice, to be superior, to live in herds, to beat, to hunt... Is it not natural to be brave enough to be victorious in the battle for survival, not by equality, but by cruel natural conditions? Isn't man, after all, a highly intelligent and aggressive animal?

However, what great expectations do we have from humanity! But on the one hand, besides all this pain, so much poetry, goodness, so much development, so much curiosity and discovery, so many songs, stories, civilizations, technologies... To exist, to live, to the fullest... We reject the human history that is full of blood and flourishing in a primitive manner... We reject human beings. We are only trying to hold on to the good and the beautiful in people, the sun, the sky...

In the November 2019 issue of the magazine, Murat Tırpan's article titled "Boxes and Sins" is an article on Richard Kelly's *The Box* movie. In the article, the film is told to the reader with reference to Sartre's "Hell is Others" statement based on existential philosophy.

That's why I thought of Richard Kelly's interesting and favorite movie again. It has a paranoid, mysterious, sometimes incomprehensible, and yet self-closing narrative structure that encompasses all the meanings of the movie box metaphor. "Hell is other people," says Sartre in his play *"Huis Clos"*; "huis clos" means a closed box on four sides and

tells the story of three different people being locked in a room with nothing inside and questioning themselves in that room. The character Norma Lewis, a literature teacher played by Cameron Diaz in *The Box*, has her students read this work in her class. Hell is others, the good is within us, the danger comes from the outside and is uncanny. Indeed it does, and a stranger brings the young couple Norma and Artur Lewis the box in which they will be trapped, (...) Sartre was saying that the judgments of others can lead us astray, that the essence is in our existence, and *Box* highlights how our moral judgments can collapse when it comes to others.

Although the film's transition from a realistic attitude to supernatural boundaries is criticized in the continuation of the article, this situation is also made meaningful with an existential film analysis.

(...) Why such a box was chosen, was there a conspiracy involving his colleagues, was there something about the signs of life on Mars but was being covered up, was it a government conspiracy, all of these remain unanswered. Perhaps this is because the film is based on the Sartrean argument that we should really take care of ourselves, that what really happened to us stems not from the mysterious Mr. Steward but from ourselves.

Although it is said at the end of the article that closed boxes should be broken, the emphasis on the importance of "we are the ones who punish each other" and who brings the boxes or the ones who make the boxes places the article in an appropriate place with the individualist understanding of idealism.

After all, we are the ones who trample moral values and punish each other with the push of a button, the mystery man only doing is revealing what we are. Does it matter who it is in this situation?

The November 2019 issue of the magazine, featuring Yılmaz Güney on the cover, features an interview with the screenwriter of *Çukur*, a mafia TV series. Selçuk

Özbek held an interview with Gökhan Horzum, the screenwriter of the series, entitled "I wrote the pit(Çukur- TV series) to put language on the borders". At one point in the conversation, Özbek asks about Çukur, which turned into a book after the series, and thus we learn Horzum's interpretation of freedom, which coincides with idealism. According to Horzum, who states that he does not claim that his book is a literary work, the freedom to read or not for every creative production is in the individual. And the important thing is this freedom. Those who want to read/watch popular culture products, those who don't read or watch. Again, according to Horzum, it is time as a transcendent subject that will decide whether a production is permanent or not. Thus, an autonomous time approach independent of people and social conditions is advocated.

(...) Apart from that, there is not even the slightest reference to a literary work anywhere in this book. I have never claimed otherwise. You have the freedom not to read. You are using this freedom. So why do you look down on those who choose to read? I'm not just saying this is over the book Pit, either. I think the same for every creative production. It is not always the producer's concern to produce something that remains a century later. Let the reader read, the listener listen, and the viewer watch. The song "I Love You Too Lie" will not disappear just because you don't like it. It will disappear in time. Six months, one year, five years, or fifty years? Its arbiter is only time itself.

In the continuation of the conversation, Horzum is asked a question about the most teased scene of the series. Horzum, on the other hand, states that he can write such scenes when he "releases his lower self", thus basing his act of writing on a Freudian explanation. In addition, he places the sentence "Everything solid evaporates" in the Communist Manifesto of Engels and Marx, which expresses the

dialectical change, by placing it on an idealist philosophy, reducing it to the transience of everything, and therefore attaching it to the fact that he does not take any work seriously. Thus, the displacement of concepts occurs once again in this example.

I can't help but ask this. Some scenes were talked about a lot; For example, the man with the wheel. What kind of mind should we say? In the "own maniacs" category you mentioned in the foreword? Erkan Kolçak Köstendil made the best explanation on this subject in Caner Özyurtlu's chat program on Youtube, "Dim Chats". I'll put my signature under it. My "own maniacs" are usually things that come out when I let go of my lower self.

Of course, you also made fun of this scene afterwards. It's actually something we're not used to. "Making fun of yourself." What would you say about it? Doesn't everything solid evaporate? I've never been a person who takes my job too seriously. Actually, I'm not someone who takes anything too seriously. It has become almost taboo to tease.

#### **6.4.3. Postmodernism in Bavul Magazine**

It is possible to encounter many elements of postmodernism in Bavul Magazine, as in Ot and Kafa magazines. In the first issue of Bavul (October 2015), right next to the article full of swear words by the author named "Every thief steals the car he fell in love with first" (A story with the word "dead fuck" twice, once "ass"), on the same page. There is Umut Yiğit's corner with the title "Alinteri" as a separate section within the frame. In this corner, photographs of a garment workshop and construction worker are included. The fact that there is a column titled "Alinteri" right next to the article with a lot of swearing and a thief's feelings is compatible with the situation of postmodernism where everything can be side by side with everything.



In the October 2018 issue of Bavul Magazine; Although it is a magazine that includes feminist names and articles, Yılmaz Aslantürk's "Otis Abi" cartoon, which is known for its sexist style in accordance with postmodern coexistence, appears before us. In the first issues of Bavul Magazine, the "Otis Abi" cartoon, which is an extremely sexist representation, has been used instead of the page presented to the reader as the Feminist Closing Page. This radical change in the content of the page is also a change in line with the culture of postmodernism and is an indication of sales-oriented action.

In the May 2019 issue of the magazine, which featured Deniz Gezmiş on its cover, one again encounters the state of being suitable for postmodern literature's ability to be side by side with everything. On the page where Deniz Gezmiş, Hüseyin İnan and Yusuf Aslan illustrations are displayed, the last letter Deniz Gezmiş wrote to his father and the following lines are written under the photograph of Edip Cansever: "Ahmet brother, dear, why does a handkerchief bleed? blood sounds on my handkerchief." Again, on the same page, the sentence "Memories are more precious to me than clothes" is included under the photograph of Anne Frank. Right after the Deniz Gezmiş page, on the closing page of the magazine, there is the sexist Otis Abi cartoon by Yılmaz Aslantürk, in line with the postmodern literature's ability to bring everything together with everything. The content of the cartoon is that Otis Abi, who is forced into a homosexual relationship, opposes this situation and the main reason for this opposition is to understand whether the woman he is writing to is gay or not. "If there's a chance you're in a woman's life, you already have the information. They are like the state, they send their agents and learn everything before they get into a relationship with a country. Because there are survival problems, the owner of the gene/genes that she will accept to her only egg is very important. Then it continues as

hair on the shoulder, lipstick on the collar, searching for a woman's name on the mobile phone.” The cartoon featured right after Deniz Gezmiş's page is both homophobic and insulting to women.

The May 2019 issue of *Bavul Magazine* welcomes the reader with the biography of feminist writer Virginia Woolf. However, the magazine, which opened with the feminist writer Woolf, also included the mafia characters of the *Çukur* series and their lines with the same number of illustrations. The magazine's ability to give everything together with everything is a typical feature of postmodernism. The lines used on the page are as follows: “We do not save money, we save people. / You will not touch my loved ones. / If you have many enemies, it means you are giving your life its due. / My father never told me fairy tales. Tell me a tale. / We are all after our bread... / Which mountain are you the wolf of, lion? / Hey baby hey! Look at love, my tall lover, Let's Write It Down. / Those who were seen dancing were thought to be crazy by those who could not hear the music...

Necati Tosuner's article titled "Transitive Days" in the 2017 June issue of the magazine is in line with the postmodern literature's glorification of loneliness.

At night, a feeling of loneliness, whose weight becomes darker, gains an inconspicuous prevalence there, multiplying with such bouncing steps, now on land or on the sea, in order to find a place for itself in the adolescent consciousness. Solitude travels along the coast in silent strokes where night falls. The night makes solitude a more dominant solitude. (...) You open the sound of loneliness: The shattering sound of the sea, which hits the shore with an ever-increasing anger in the dark, hits your ears as it hits. And you are content to endure the laments of your loneliness with your heart that has been beating for a long time.

Ah, your experienced solitudes. Always so far away from anyone. With your apparent absence in the counts. And with your singular existence. That is, without even trying to push it. With the loneliness in his forgotten poses and tired of collecting and having already given up collecting. Self-transcendent from anyone to anyone. Encompassing you completely, covering you, making you exist by covering, -as if: Your loneliness.

The praise of solitude that dominates the writing is a Nietzschean blessing of solitude. If this understanding of loneliness, which is also included in the conceptual part of the study, is to be remembered once again, it is as follows: "My human love is not to share the emotion of another, but to endure the emotion I share. My human love is a constant reinvention. But I cannot do without solitude; loneliness, that is, healing, returning to oneself, breathing a free, gently blowing air" (2010b, p. 23).

(...) And stubbornly donning his neglected individuality. By knowing everything and never knowingly ignoring it. By resisting yourself. By resisting yourself with yourself. By filtering the infallible fatelessness of destiny. Destiny by separating from oneself. Carefully separating. Headstrong but not overbearing. Conscious but not vindictive. Implicit but not hidden. It's obvious that he's always there. Known and trusted. By developing such a self-luminous solitude. By defending yourself with your own loneliness. There is nothing to hide: thinking of taking three steps when you cannot walk two is also a fact. O Bavaria! O Brandenburg! These mind-blowing illogical days will pass, the ice age will come to an end. By cultivating more hope than little...

The postmodern literature that dominates the magazine appears in a column called "The Rest is on you" in the June 2017 issue. This column is announced to the reader with the sentence "complete the story, tag #bavuldergi". In this section, the writer Canan Tan wrote the introduction of the story and left the rest to the readers. This situation can be evaluated as a reflection of postmodern literature's

understanding of play within a play, which transforms the text into fiction. A selected story from reader stories will be published in the magazine next month. At this point, it would be useful to recall Deleuze and Guattari's interpretation of the books.

According to them (as cited in Akay, 1993, p. 9) the book is not an organized whole. And therefore the book; it is an organless body that contains meaningless particles and pure densities. The style of each book emerges according to the coincidence of different possibilities. So much so that a book is not a single body without organs, but a multitude of bodies without organs. It is possible to say that these sentences for the book are also valid for this example in the magazine. The story that Canan Tan started will emerge according to the coincidence of different possibilities.

I don't like the phone ringing and doorbells ringing early in the morning or unexpectedly. The sound of my cell phone, which I set to a very early hour to study during exam times, also gives me the effect of a cold shower. ....Written by: Canan Tan and ..... Complete the story and You can send it togerisisende@gmail.com. The selected story will be published in our magazine next month.

Again in the June 2017 issue of the magazine, Alpay Erdem's article titled "A weird stuff" appears as an article that is fully compatible with postmodern literature. Erdem put the problem of not being able to create himself in the center in his article. He considers the inability to create as the reason for existence. He tells the reader the pleasure he gets from the "feeling of not being able to create".

Actually, there is such a thing. I don't know what to tell you about this month. You know, I don't talk to you about anything every month. I couldn't find what to talk about this month. If I find out what I will not talk about, how will I not talk about that subject, you will be out of your mind. I'm not going to talk about it in an extraordinary way, but

here's what I can't find to talk about. I'm going crazy. I'm having trouble creating an image. I exist because I cannot create. Everyone is creating something. I cannot create. This is what makes me special. You smack. I have a blank brain. Anyway, what was I saying? Wait, I guess I'll say something. Maybe something will come out. It didn't. Look what happened once. We have a drink with friends one evening. This is the downstairs house. My home. It's on the ground floor but there is also a balcony. (...) here we are drinking with friends, there is a friend, his girlfriend kicked his ass, he goes out to the balcony, after a while the doorbell rings, we open the door, that's it. Then he goes out to the balcony again, then the door knocks again, we open it, again this. When I did this over and over again, I said "what the heck". Here's the thing. Every time this idiot was going out on the balcony and committing suicide, he was jumping down, not dying, going back home. He committed suicide eight times in one night, the freak did not die.

The article, which has not explained anything so far, is concluded by continuing to tell nothing with an abusive, simple style of expression in the continuation. In fact, the purpose of the article is, as the author has clearly stated, based on "not talking" about something, that is, not telling anything. As will be remembered, "meaninglessness" is one of the important features of postmodern literature. Also, what Marx (2016, p. 84) lists when describing "grobian" (cowardice) literature is "stale, boastful, vulgar, smug, annoyingly ostentatious, (...) an absurd mixture of the pathetic and the vulgar, (...) It is possible to see the features of "complaining with a shallow-mindedness quite satisfied with the situation" in this article.

What was I saying? We went to the sea in February, too, when we were children. (...) We took off the underpants, we went into the sea. We are children, but not that much, actually, the age is twenties. Some of us

even have regular sex lives. Of course, one goes to the doctor or something to show his dick once in a while. We are at sea, that's it. We are like bears. Hohoho, hahaha, we're swimming. Then people started to come towards the shore. So many people came. There is a family. They feel like to come to the shore. In February. So we were stuck in the sea. Our clothes, our underwear are on the shore. We have reached the freezing point in the sea. At that moment a thought took me. Shall I die, or should I consider disgrace? Let me go out to the beach like that. We discussed it with friends in the middle of the ocean. We decided to die. So we're dying. We're just about to die, we see they're leaving. We were purple when we came out of the sea. I was in the hospital for three months. We lost a friend of ours on the evening of the event, but we didn't love him anyway. Other friends died, respectively, and I was the only one left. This is such a moment. See you next month then. Take good care of yourself. Good bye.

In the May 2019 issue of the magazine, there is an article by Selen Baranoğlu that glorifies the defeats of postmodern literature and is compatible with the pessimistic style. The state of taking pleasure from pain is presented to the reader as "happiness".

The most crucial point of my being with him was our falling out of sight. Not being able to touch his hands, not being able to put his face in my palm was making me resist even more. The pain that causes some to give up, whips others up so that they do not give up. I got all the pleasure of my love from the pain that covered my heart. The pain inside me was my source of happiness, but when he said to me, "Let's both suffer no more," then the taste of that pain that I welcomed in my heart came to my mouth; so bitter and rusty.

(...) Now I'm trying to get through "the last month that hasn't passed", but no matter how hard I try, I know that I can't do it until it expires in my heart. Still, there is no hope in me. It happens, maybe at sunrise, a phone call comes in saying "I missed you" or a message tone is played

in the deepest part of my sleep with the words "I came" in my ear. Who knows? I'm helpless, I'll wait for him, even if he doesn't know. My phone will always be on, in case he gets back to me before I pass him by... Maybe. Maybe he'll come back.

In the October 2018 issue of *Bavul*, which featured Che Guevara on its cover, İsmail Saymaz's article titled "Mixed Toast" describes the relationship between waitress Yaşar and a foreign sex worker woman in an eroticized manner. In this sense, the article coincides with the sexuality narrative of postmodern literature.

While Emanuella is undressing on the screen; Yaşar's cry was heard: - Those who want tea and toast, raise your hand! Yaşar took his orders and distributed tea and oralettes in the light of the television light. Emanuella gripping her breast, which she took out of her lace bra, tightly; A warm river flowed through the cafeteria. Steam emanating from Yaşar's tea kettle and toaster; It mingled with Emanuella's fresh breath, sprawling on the pool table. As Emanuella said "Ah", the tea glass fell from a table... As she said "Oh", cigarettes were lit. Yaşar was outside of this landscape and even far away, in a dream decorated by Georgian Mgela. This is the quirk of fate; In Ardeşen, where he went to "be unmaiden" last month, they had met with a clear purpose from the very beginning, at one of the hotels he accidentally knocked on his door. Mgela had entered the room, where the single bed barely fit, wrapped in a towel. Yaşar would say to Mgela on their next meeting, "It was as if you were in my heart that evening, not in the room."

The article continues with an empathy expression suitable for postmodernism, which Yaşar builds on foreign sex worker Mgela and her own mother, without making any systemic or social criticism about sex worker women.

(...) Yaşar was the son of a mother who was stabbed to death by his brothers at the tangerine counter in the bazaar, women bazaar because of her name being a prostitute. Yaşar wept as Mgela sobbed. They

began to heal their wounds, hugging each other. - Waiter, bring some tea!

(...) That morning he promised Mgela to marry the day he was promoted from waitress to coffee shop owner. "Even if I make mixed toast, we'll get along perfect," he said. She just smiled, Mgela ... She did not say that she would return to Batumi in the evening and would not set foot in Turkey again. Yaşar stated that he had lost his Mücella when he went to the hotel in Ardeşen a week later; He found out when the bald-headed pimp said, "Mgela bitch fled to Georgia." The socket connected to the toaster, which Yaşar pressed angrily, exploded with sparks. First, the curtains of the Good Hours Coffee House caught fire, then the poster of Gülbeyaz from Andon covering the window, and finally Emanuella's boobs.

One of the elements of postmodern literature, aphorisms are frequently encountered in Bavul Magazine. On the back cover of the October 2015 issue of the magazine, there is Nejat İşler's article titled "Sour Barış", which conveys the obstacle of peace to dominate the world in an aphoristic manner in line with the irony of postmodern literature.

My friend, if there is no cure for this diabetes, there will be no peace between people.

I'm eating, he starts to eat my meal

-We can order for you too?

Why are you eating mine?

-Brother, I have diabetes, I need to eat urgently.

This self-destructive disease, with a good name, creates an urgent hunger in his body.

Wars are due to similar sickly emergencies.

May peace rule the world...



In the June 2017 issue of the magazine, Pınar Ergün's article titled "Boutique Relationship" is in the form of aphorisms that postmodern literature inherited from Nietzsche. *"All the dead are born again. Because the most romantic act in the world is reincarnation. / Even time needs to be reminded of time. If you don't set it up every day, it forgets itself."*

Again in the June 2017 issue of the magazine, Sinem Keyik's article titled "Three Pieces from Ahmet Arif's Poems" is compatible with both the fragmentation of postmodern literature and the attitude of "making literature" in the form of aphorisms. The verses taken from three different poems of Ahmet Arif were distributed on the same page. Ahmed Arif's poems are reduced to aphorisms. Thus, the reader cannot get an idea of either Ahmed Arif or his poetic style. But the reader disillusioned by assuming he reads Ahmet Arif poems. *"Loving you is philosophy, perfect. It is faith, terribly patient. / Absence is the other name of hell. I'm cold, don't close your eyes. / It is the tune of the whole universe that roams, Known and unknown desolations. Take my soul, with your own wind, now in wrapping my feathers."*

In the October 2018 issue of the magazine, Pınar Ergün wrote her aphorisms compatible with postmodernism on the page accompanied by two large drawings. *"Nature descales the soul, opens the pores of the emotions. / You can't understand the spicy ground beef between two lines, nor does an intense smell of lard emanate from the meat before it appears in the room."* In this way; literature is reduced to concise and incoherent aphorisms, and the postmodern perspective on art is reinforced. On another page of the same issue, there is a column directly called "Aphorisms". Nietzsche's aphorisms are included under the title of "Friedrich Nietzsche":

Sometimes people don't want to hear the truth because they can't  
handle the destruction of the illusion they live in. / Anyone who wishes

to fly one day must first learn to walk, run, climb and dance; You can't start flying by flying. Every time we are tired, we are attacked by the thoughts we have conquered. / Those who cannot hear the music think that the people they see dancing are crazy. / Being human is a complicated mess. So embrace the spirit of the dark night. Howling oh endless yes! / Immortality is costly for man. One must die many times while still alive.

In the continuation of the Aphorisms column, this time after Nietzsche, the aphorisms of the poet Edgar Allen Poe are included:

The past is a pebble that remains in the shoe. / A wise man understands two things when he hears a word. / The scariest monsters are those that lurk in our souls. / Day dreamers are conscious of many things that those who only dream at night miss. / Wondering is bliss; dreaming is bliss. / Reality, along with other factors related to it, is the primary cause of insanity. / Keep going even if you run out of ideas; you will get there.

In the column named "Love Words in My Suitcase" in the May 2019 issue of *Bavul*, the verses of Nazım Hikmet, Melih Cevdet Anday and Sabahattin Ali are presented as aphorisms in accordance with postmodern literature. *"You are one piece, my darling, my sea, I am full of sunken loves"* Melih Cevdet Anday / *"When I thought of you, everything would smile, the trees would sing, the wind would blow sweetly."* Sabahattin Ali / *"Living: a hopeful job, my darling, living: a serious job like loving you..."* Likewise, in the November 2019, Yılmaz Güney cover issue of *Bavul*, in the column named "Love Words in My Suitcase", Walt Whitman, Turgut Önen, The poems of Can Yücel and Furuğ Ferrukhzad were reduced to aphorisms by breaking them into pieces. The sequences presented to the reader in the form of aphorisms are as follows: Walt Whitman: *"Comrade, I give you my hand! I give my love more than money, I give myself before God or law, will you give yourself? Will you go out with*

*me? Shall we never part as we breathe in and out?" Turgut Uyar; "Who knows how beautiful you would look, my love, If I knock on the door one morning, If I wake you from sleep, the fog has not yet lifted from the Golden Horn. Factory whistles are blowing." Can Yücel: "And something in my kidney is grass grass grass. I guess that's how I am, Güler, I will die greening for you" Fırat Fıratlı: "Leave your hands like burning memories, let my loving hands and your lips leave the warm feeling of existence to the caress of my amorous lips, the wind will take us, the wind will take us."*

In the November 2019 issue, Pınar Ergün's aphorisms are encountered. The aphorisms placed under two photos on a half page are as follows: *"You can never prove to a liar that you are honest. / I am a slender woman who shakes the carpet in the storm and washes the balcony in the rain."*

It is possible to say that in the magazine, where aphorisms and aphorism-style expression are used intensively, the readers are addressed with sentences that are considered to be short and shocking.

Since the first issue of Bavul Magazine (October 2015), articles showing a critical stance specific to postmodern critical political stance are also frequently encountered. The article named "Open Air Taverns-Highway Side"; seems to be criticizing the unemployment of thousands of people as a result of the thirteen-year policies of the government. According to the article, the problem of the economically impoverished worker is the closure of the taverns. Even though workers are mentioned as class representation, they are handled as people who listen to Azer Bülbül, who are sad about long working hours, and who distribute this sadness in taverns.

There have been many changes in our country in the last 13 years when the current government was in power alone. Skyscrapers rose, people whose names we had not heard before entered the list of our country's tax record holders and Reza Zarrab married Ebru Gündeş. During this relocation among the sovereigns, it was the small shopkeepers who were again. Hundreds of textile workshops operating in the neighborhood were closed and thousands of people became unemployed. The closure of these workshops dealt a heavy blow to the tavern sector as well as the clothing sector. From the early morning to the dark of the night, the workers, who were on the one hand and listening to Azer Bülbül on the other hand, would stop by a tavern at night to get rid of the intense anger that had formed on them, and would go to his house in two-shots. But most of those taverns on our way are now closed. There is Neighborhood Pressure on the drinker: The pubs and taverns in the neighborhood have turned off their lights, one by one, due to the financial crisis and the conservatism of the society.

(...) It is not easy for a drunk to fall by the wayside from taverns. It is a heavy and painful process. When we ask him how he started drinking on the edge of E-5, he answers as follows. "Before, young people who were not allowed in the tavern and those who did not have money drank here. It is not a place we discovered. Over time, we started to help them as we had no place to go.

The last page of the first issue of Bavul Magazine (*October, 2015*) is devoted to an article titled "Feminist Closing". The first issue of the magazine draws attention with the abundance of sexist swearing and the abundance of articles that contain libidinal rationality elements. Gizem Çıtak shares with the reader that she is aware of this situation in her article titled Feminist Closing.

Since the masculine language cannot escape from the ubiquity of the masculine language, as a magazine coming from the street, I wanted to take a look at what came out of the Bavul together, in front of you.

The writing, which is aimed at self-criticism for the issue in which the masculine language is dominant, is a feature that is compatible with the postmodern critical political stance that is not reflected in practice. It is seen that this language, which is encountered in most of the first issue of the magazine, is allowed to be used in the magazine. However, this language is criticized in the closing letter. However, looking at the whole of the first issue of the magazine, it can be understood from the examples shared above that the masculine language criticized in the article was reproduced. Thus, “criticism” is wasting itself, the transforming purpose of criticism is ignored, and it coincides with the criticism approach of idealism that is not reflected in practice.

In the country, on the planet -almost- every place, every platform, every environment is under the control of men and patriarchy. We are killed, we are crushed, we are pushed around materially and morally. At the same time, we stand up, resist, raise our voices. When a magazine is published, it cannot be avoided because it does not fall from the sky and is produced by people. I talked about this situation that bothered me during the preparation of *Bavul*. I am (was) annoyed by the sexism I see in the magazines, books and blog posts I read and that these are not addressed in any way. It was then that the idea of this “feminist post-reading” emerged.

(...) It is very clear, the point is, these insults humiliate me, they attack my body, violence is applied to me when power is established over the sexual organ or when being at the lower level is expressed through femininity. (...) It seems that we are people who love shopping and gossip, who make dressing up and nagging a hobby, and who do laundry and dishes.

(...) As a result, this month I looked at us, at *Bavul*, and while looking at us, I came to a complete conclusion. I wanted to see what escapes

our language, our hands, where the language of patriarchy has taken us under the influence (...)

In the June 2017 issue of Bavul Magazine, İlham İrem wrote in his article titled "Give Me a Wet Cloth and I'll clean the Dust of the World"; He tells about his memories in Özdemir Asaf's bar called "Now" in the 70s. In his memoirs, which he tells by making comparisons with today, the old days are described as "pure and cotton-like, illuminated by nature and goodness". Now Turkey is sinking into the dark ages. By comparing the past with the present, the article cannot get out of the state of nostalgia for the past in accordance with the postmodern criticism. The article, which ended in this way, ended without mentioning the causes of the dark age we are in and without offering solutions to get rid of this dark age.

(...) My "Farewell" poem ends like this: One day, a month, a year later, the seed met its god. When I think about when that privileged first awakening happened, I remember an impossible dream in which I was a baby in a quiet house. After that magical day, magic started to rain from the sky... I was outside of everything now. The years flowed into the inevitable great loneliness. My house was in the clouds! Under the foggy suns of another galaxy, a realm of its own, in the silence of limitless thoughts, where different music is listened to...

(...) After a few years, Asaf flew away... His lines will always fly in the sky with a sparkle. "Now" is closed... First it became a patisserie, then a baklava shop. Boutique these days. They plastered and closed those beautiful memories on the walls. Those pure cotton days, illuminated by naturalness and kindness, are over. When I donned my armor and mounted my horse, Turkey was sinking into the dark ages after the cavalry fell from her horse. With light and love...

In the May 2019 issue of *Bavul Magazine* with the cover of Deniz Gezmiş, Özge Doğan's story "Live and Erase" criticizes the human relations of the age with a postmodern, pessimistic approach.

The number of unloved sex you have had, the variety of masks you wear to run your business has increased. Your water in raki, your enthusiasm in your soul, your life lost color. You embellished it and put it on the showcase, then you passed yourself and watched your work in front of it; According to you, the most artificial is the most beautiful, of course... How, are you beautiful, but what about good? What a possibility to watch the news! It's not some weird scene from the thriller you're watching, it's your life itself. It's not his life, it's your life you're watching now. You know, you don't even have selfish statements that you used to say 'you wouldn't come to visit us' or 'do we live like this so that this should happen to us'. Yes, this is your life. How are you beautiful, but good? A screaming fear of an earthquake, a flood, the smell of people burned in the war, the cry of a child who cannot wake up from his nightmare, a man's hand struggling with deprivation, an abused woman... Now these are the whole of your soul. Do you play the leading role in your own life or is there someone playing with your lives ... Can one laugh in this nightmare? He laughs of course, meeting the fake is enough. We are ashamed of even herding. So is that what you wanted? I hear a voice saying 'there's worse, shut up'...

In the continuation of the article, in line with the characteristics of postmodernist texts, it addresses “someone” whose subject is unknown. The article blaming everyone, its solution in accordance with postmodern criticism; It connects it to “the person who does not fit well, who can have a laugh” and proposes disinterested love to be free. The individual revolt of Marcuse (as cited in Holz, 2014, pp. 78-79) pessimistically against the cultural industries, which he sees as an invincible power, is “the refusal of individual individuals to adapt to the system, to

create their own alternative lifestyles, to pursue individual happiness, to develop their personal creativity in the hands of the sovereigns. He envisioned that by his development without being subjugated, he would be able to avoid the arduous path of class struggle full of suffering." The suggestion of "non-compliance" in the article supports Marcuse's prediction. As it will be remembered, in Feuerbach's abstract moral theory, "the bonding of everyone to each other with love was presented as the source of the solution of problems". In this example, the solution offered to the criticized problems is in parallel with Feuerbach's approach.

Don't you know how to love, laugh, be happy... Of course you don't know! The artificial activity you do to trick your brain is your love lie. Kind of sweetener. The person in your life is not even a bad copy of the real thing, because he is plastic now, just like you. How do you not love each other just because you are looking at each other's faces, smelling a kiss, saying the magic words in the nights of catharsis, "you are my friend, you are my dear, you are my lover, you are my partner, you are my brother, you are my love". It won't stay until the morning, the brain will clear everything with a single button. One button: Delete... The news is bad, the people are bad. Where are you, human... Did you protect yourself from this grave work? Or did you take it easy and say "this is the order" with the big bite in your mouth. Easy is always comfortable, it is because of him, the feeling of loneliness in him, the weakness of not being able to perceive what is going on with him. You have passed beyond the virtual of life and lived with a single button. The name of the key: Delete. Your Philosophy of Life: live and erase... Believe human, there is still a tree inside us. There are those who water that tree, plant other seeds, smile at each other, forget yesterday, do not confuse love with excitement, in short, those who are impractical, but know that they live with those like you. In short, there are people who do not conform to the generality and refuse to be a part of a game, laughing and even laughing. So what are you waiting for,



grow the tree inside you and love, love selflessly. Aren't you more free, more beautiful, better like that?

In the interview with Çukur series screenwriter Gökhan Horzum in the November 2019 issue of Bavul Magazine, an example of graffiti as a form of self-expression of the subculture is given and a subculture narrative suitable for postmodernism is made. As featured in the Frankfurt School chapter, Marcuse created a subculture ideology for those who left society by seeking emancipation outside of society. The similarity between Cultural Studies and the Frankfurt School was explained as the oppositional identity of youth subcultures has an important place in both approaches (Kellner, 2016, p. 142). It can be said that the statements of the Çukur series and its screenwriter reflect this ideology.

One of the forms of self-expression of the subculture Çukur tries to describe is graffiti. It is a space of freedom where you can fit a problem you told in half an hour in two sentences in one part of the series. In addition, the fact that it can be remembered and said much more easily brings a great speed of spreading to that content.

In the continuation of the conversation, a criticism of Turkey is encountered. However, this criticism is a postmodern criticism. In the article, which emphasizes the importance of togetherness in order to overcome fear, the togetherness that Horzum mentions; The mafia characters in the series are helping and supporting each other.

The Çukur (TV series) actually covered an interesting place. those who got the tattoo of that famous symbol, the graffiti of that symbol on the walls...It is very scary to try to move forward in such darkness in your daily life. Moreover, life itself changes at an incredible pace, with an astonishing chasm between each generation and the previous one... Then being alone at work is really annoying, unsettling, and sometimes frightening. But things change when you know that there are people you can walk hand in hand in that dark. Fear diminishes when shared.

The heroes of Çukur are not very different from us in this sense. They share the fear and go against it together. They help each other, support each other, try to cure each other's problems. I guess that's the bottom line.

In the October 2015 issue of the magazine, the article titled "Combined" by Alev Karaduman tells about the suicide decision of two roommates, one of whom is broke, the other is lonely and very afraid of death, sharing the same house in Gültepe. This narrative is accompanied by curses from time to time. The depressed situation in the two characters is glorified by analogy with the novel and the story. The article is generally compatible with the dark, dead and depressed state of postmodern literature.

(...) It was the last days of the house in Gültepe. It was my loneliest, his most penniless time. The fear of death, which had always been somewhere in me, was starting to get tired. (...) If he is... Now I think about it; He was 33 years old, dealing with the crisis of disappointing himself in every way; perhaps my obsession seemed false to him. The meanings we attributed to each other became gigantic, but the stance that emulated my novel and his story became the most obvious metaphor of our friendship. While he was depressed for lack of money and failure, I was having episodic, footnote seizures.

(...) "I don't want to live anymore. "My life has turned into a damn sad novel," he said. "I want to die. My life has become a fucking story that can't go on," I said. We talked until morning about how we could do it. I never knew planning a suicide for two would be this hard. At one point, we even talked about things like if we're dying, let's be a suicide bomber and it'll work.

The following sections of the article describe what the two friends did on the day of suicide. When that moment comes, it is understood that one of the characters committed suicide and the other could not. The subject of the article is the person who

thinks he is the murderer of his friend and cannot commit suicide. He summarizes why he wrote this article with an abusive sentence at the end of the article.

(...) I couldn't. I was left alone with his corpse piled on the table in front of me! The table was full of blood. (...) I had become a friend killer out of nowhere! I couldn't understand why he was doing this. Was his own suicide plan different? Why did he set this trap for me?

(...) I stayed like that for a while, then quickly walked away. I was never angry with him again. I was left with only one choice; so I made it a fucking story with a beginning and an end like that.

In the October 2015 issue of *Bavul*, another pessimistic article peculiar to postmodernism, which portrays the common aspect of humanity as loneliness, and which also includes the existential features of idealism, is the article named "Mustafa" by Kader Büyükbingöl. As stated in the previous examples, this praise of loneliness was rooted in Nietzsche and developed in postmodernism.

As she always does, Firuze did not meet his eyes until she sat down at the table. Then she sat down and smiled faintly at him and lowered her eyes sincerely to the floor. She loved him again. It was like dying, everything was like dying somewhere.

(...) "I know there is a greater loneliness inside you than yourself. Like everyone. Like all bank clerks, statesmen, painters, and cobblers. This is the world. There is no cure for anyone here. You are looking for a cure in the wrong place, you are scattered and piling up in the wrong places. You want me to be God, Mustafa, you want me to be God and save you from this loneliness. But I am not good for your loneliness, I am not good even for my own loneliness. Think about it, no one can cure anyone's loneliness, one just looks for someone to be alone with."

Murat Meriç's article titled "Unending Pain Bergen" in the Bergen cover issue of the magazine dated October 2015 is compatible with postmodern criticism.

Bergen's death as a result of femicide is explained in the article with the following sentences: *"Her misfortune was her murder in one of the most complicated periods of the country."* However, the article has been conveyed with an understanding that connects these murders only to male hegemony, as if they were autonomous from the system, without ever mentioning that femicide is a political issue, without conveying their relationship with the system. *"In this country where pain, torture and power tests are the right of women, they have taken the brutal blows of male hegemony before our eyes. (...) Bergen, like hundreds of women, lost its right to live in this turmoil. With a man's hand. The one she loved killed her, and we didn't say anything about it at that time."* In the continuation of the article, it is recommended to talk more and raise awareness in order to end such murders.

We know Bergen in the 80s. The atmosphere was dark in every sense: the music had become arabesque, and at that time, there was a mob who ignored and overlooked arabesque. (...) Bergen finds herself on the stage of big casinos at the end of her journey that started in the pavilion. She makes a hit not only with her voice but also with her "suffering": People go to the place where she works, not just to listen but also to "see"(...) We are talking about Bergen today, but it is not enough. We have a lot of murders to talk about. Bergen is in sight. Her misfortune is to be killed in one of the country's most turbulent times. Well, what would have changed if the event had happened today is unknown. We don't know if talking like it happened today will change anything. Talking is good, but: Talking and raising awareness. This is what we need.

Although the article takes a critical stance against the Bergen murder, it is actually a postmodern critique by not mentioning the political arrangements that should be made to prevent the murders.

Manuş Baba's article titled "Everything Will Be Alright" in the 2017 June issue of Bavul Magazine bears many features of postmodern literature. Elements of postmodern texts that focus on the suffering of the individual and include language games, instead of grand narratives, dominate the writing.

I couldn't tell you that there were some issues. Nothing got better. Although, after a while, I realized that it wasn't any worse, and frankly, I didn't care much. How many times have I experienced joyful situations with you, and I am still alive... But when one of us was more inclined to sadness, we always lost from that side. There are things that confuse me right now. Endless details hang in every corner of my mind. (...) "It is possible not to forget, but perhaps not to remember," said Muzaffer brother. I burned old photos, letters, dried flowers the night before... I didn't like saving anymore. It was not very cute for me to be able to stay in the same photo frame for years with people you could never be with again.

Mad dogs and elephants were making love in the middle of the street. If the elephant ejaculates, the whole street will be choked with sperm. I'm back. I went through the back streets. I undressed. So I guess so! I think this is possible. I can't remember. His mouth, his hand, his lips are a strange sound, ringing in my ears. I don't know, I can't remember. What I said and heard for the last time. I don't know what I wrote. Nothing about last night. I can't remember anything.

In the continuation paragraph of the article, consumption culture and advertisements are criticized. However, this criticism reveals the alienated individual of our age with a "naturalistic reflection". The article is far from transforming and changing the situation it criticizes in line with postmodern criticism. Again, in this article, Marx (2016, p. 84) gives a terrible example of wasting energy, which Marx (2016, p. 84) listed while describing the "grobian" (cowardice) literature; It can be

evaluated as a text similar to the features of "seeking the real truth, but passing by the truth, (...) complaining with a narrow-mindedness quite satisfied with the situation".

(...) Shop windows, window walls, televisions were filled with advertisements that they chose the best things for people. This pulls the best hair, this dyes the best hair, you eat the best meals here... The houses with the most beautiful views are here... The best beds... The best scents... Don't miss it, gentlemen! Are these all for you? Your... Who are you? When we first came together with you, I realized that we couldn't be together. It was unnecessary to say goodbye.

In the November 2019 issue of *Bavul Magazine*, Evrim Kuran's article titled "You Are the Talent Turkey"; The issue of unemployment of people, which is one of the consequences of capitalism, is emptied and criticized in accordance with postmodern criticism. The article considers the "problem of not finding talented people", which is defined as a problem, as a problem of societies that cannot read well the globalization and the rapidly changing demographic structure of the world.

One of the important problems that the business world has to deal with today, in Turkey and in the world, is talent shortage. This phrase describes the difficulty of accessing young employees with the competencies that organizations need to stay innovative and keep up with the times. In other words, schools lag behind the times in raising people with the quality required for sustainable development, development and enlightenment. There is a striking fact revealed by Manpower's 2018 Talent Gap Report: 45 out of 100 companies worldwide do not have access to the quality human resources they need, namely talent. This is the highest level in the last 10 years. In Turkey, the situation is a little more dire. Despite tens of faculties and one million graduates that open every year, this rate is 66 percent in our country. In other words, only 34 out of every 100 companies in Turkey can access young talents of the quality they need. At this rate, we are the sixth in the world in talent shortage. Turkey's situation

reveals the talent gap in the Global Talent Competition Index prepared by Adeceo in cooperation with INSEAD, one of the best business schools in the world. In 2018, Turkey was ranked 68th out of 125 countries in the competitiveness of young people graduating from universities in the global business life, but this year it dropped to 74th place. Let me put the researcher jargon aside and summarize the subject in colloquial language: You are incompetent, Turkey!

In the continuation of the article, which states that Turkey is not only lacking in talent in the global business life are also criticized for suffering this deficiency in fields such as art, sports and technology. The article, which states that "the departments where the Higher Education Board accepts students with the aptitude test will now have a negative effect on the central placement and the decision to admit students" in the spread of talentlessness, criticizes Turkey's inability in art, science and technology in a roundabout way. The article ends with a reminder of Michelangelo's words, which sees the ladder of the development of civilization as art.

Under these circumstances, the country's hidden talents will try to create a future for themselves between the lips of a jury who has no competence in competitions where uncles imitating birds or dogs, cats or monkeys, dancing teams, loud singers, mediocre illusionists are considered talents. "The ladder of high civilization is art," said Michelangelo. We are rolling down those stairs.

In the June 2017 issue, Fulsen Türker's article titled "Cream Color Stories-Farewell Air" describes people whose names, genders and identities are unknown, who sometimes think of committing suicide, who leave the big city from time to time, who "brew tea like Chekhov", "prefer to drink another cup of coffee like Camus", but ultimately are compatible with postmodern pessimism. The lives of these characters, on the other hand, are criticized in a way that is aimless and far from contributing to transformativeness in accordance with postmodern criticism. In this state, the article

cannot go beyond contributing to the reproduction of the depressed characters it criticizes.

His/her name was Zeynep or Halil, I don't remember. But s/he had very beautiful eyes, s/he looked as if s/he had discovered the secret of life. Like every healthy person, s/he would consider committing suicide once a day, preferring to brew tea like Chekhov in the mornings and drink another cup of coffee like Camus in the evenings. Until... s/He was neither a runaway nor a lunatic, yet s/he had left the big city and settled in one of those little seaside towns. s/He didn't want to live happily ever after, s/he just chose a life without a piggy bank.

Everyone was exaggerating happiness, especially the Great Turkish Dictionary. He ate as much as he needed, drank more than needed, and made love to people he didn't need to talk to. She was reading the news twice a day as a birth control method. Her/his name was Özgür or Özge, it doesn't matter. Like Hassan, s/he didn't like his name anyway. Everyone had a circle that s/he couldn't break and get himself out. Everyone had a piggy bank where s/he scribbled on the truth word for word. Everyone had a cream-colored life, under which the truth was hidden.

In the continuation of the article, in accordance with postmodernism, praise of madness, the state of seeing salvation from the crisis in which we live in suicide, and the great rejection expressing being out of society are encountered.

(...) "You are sad because I am leaving. Actually, you should feel sorry for me if I force myself to stay. It is obvious that I will not be able to commit suicide, but maybe I can get rid of this fictional humanity game. Humanity will not be derived from the word human. You are the most merciful creature in the world. The rest are total creatures ... Burcu was right to go crazy. These are not things that can be solved with the mind. But it is not enough for Burcu to go crazy alone. Why can't we all go crazy one night?" At that time, fascist people in their homes, capitalists in their workplaces, and hypocritical



groups in their relations continued to break the rules of rights, law, justice and equality on social media. Barış was calculating that no matter how many tablets of sleeping pills the doctor wrote to his mother, he would overdose and kill the woman silently in his sleep. Ebru, on the other hand, thought how lucky she was to not have a child, and what a luxury it was for her to go crazy or commit suicide.

(...) Every person has a circle that he cannot break and get himself out of. When he was about to cry, "Please let's go home," he remembered that he had no home to return to. He was neither as brave as Ece nor as lucky as Hasan. His name... You know his name. The truth hurt him a lot. After that day, his whole life was just a suicide, given the appearance of 'he died of natural causes'.

In the June 2017 issue of the magazine, İsmail Saymaz's article titled "Sound Cinema" appears to be a critique of changing values through a movie theater in Rize, but proceeds in accordance with postmodern criticism with a nostalgic narrative that is far from practice.

I got to know Bruce Lee and Jean Claude Van Damme by the huge posters hung in the entrance of the "Sound Cinema". It was after September 12. A few years ago, those who shook the sky at the Tea Meeting in Cumhuriyet Square were silenced so that they could never open their mouths again. Yılmaz Güney is a haunted memory, Tarık Akan was a young man who had been scratched by the state. Cuneyt Arkin? It was as if, while jumping from one bastion to another, he was caught by the kaiser's soldiers and was held hostage in the castle. In such a darkness, The Ses became the city's only cinema after its rival, Yeni Melek (New Angel), was closed. Serving in the old two-storey building in Republic Square, Ses took shelter in kung-fu, karate, boxing and fighting movies to survive. Did he have any other choice? Adjacent to the cinema, there was the gendarmerie command, the police and provincial buildings across it, the Sheikh Mosque, Rize Courthouse and Atatürk Statue on the right. The eyes of the state and

the imam were on Ses Cinema. And it was the time of those who put their fists on the side of order, not the bullies who provided justice.

The article continues with the similarity between the sex worker women who came to Turkey to work after the collapse of the Soviet Union and the characters of the erotic films shown in Ses Cinema. The article, which ends with the fact that the children watching Zerrin Egeliler, who mostly play in erotic films in Ses Cinema, are getting married in Ses Cinema, which is now converted into a wedding hall, is in line with the inconclusiveness of the postmodern form of criticism.

(...) When the Soviet Union collapsed and the Sarp Border Gate was opened, every corner of the city turned into a Ses Cinema. It was now possible to creak a bed in any hotel room with Russian and Georgian girls the age of Zerrin Egeliler and Dilber Ay's granddaughter, and for two movie tickets. (...) One morning, the posters in front of it were removed and the sign was changed. Ses Cinema became Ses Wedding Hall. The children watching Zerrin Egeliler were now getting married in the same building.

In the November 2019 issue of the magazine, singer Aydilge's article titled "What difference does it make?" article; At first glance, it seems that the singer named Deniz is describing her reaction to the show world she is a part of. It starts with preparation for Deniz, who will sing in a TV program, to oppose the system she is in and evaluates as artificial.

"What am I doing here?" The feeling was gradually settled into Deniz's mind. But Deniz was a good actress. She would play to the last drop of his blood. (...) She would rather be a hypocritical actress than nobody. After a minute or two, one of the assistants came running and brought the orchestra and Deniz back to the stage. (...) The guitarist struck the first note, the music straightened once more. Deniz hid in her role and started to sing her song. But then something happened. She saw that

Ayla Altın, who was not satisfied with her make-up, nervously pushed the make-up artist. Then, the studio chief, who had torn himself apart so that the audience could applaud, and the people who were clapping forcibly caught her eye again. She had a severe stomach cramp. An aunt trying to take a selfie with mentalist Mehmet, the director trying to calm Ayla Altın, the audience trying to appear on the camera with rotating lights and exaggerated movements started to squeeze her heart. All of a sudden he couldn't sing. Sweat poured from his forehead. "I don't want to do that," he said into the microphone. The orchestra was stunned, torn between playing and not playing. "No," she said, breathing heavily. "I cannot do this. I feel like a circus monkey. I know none of you applaud me. You clap because you have to clap. My name is not Deniz Moris either. Deniz Gencer." Her eyes were beginning to fill with tears. Ayla Altın rushed to her side in a hurry. While she was about to take the microphone from her hand to silence Deniz, the studio chief made the "Let her talk" sign, excited for a new rating opportunity. Ayla Altın immediately changed her attitude and said, "Okay dear, tell me, pour your heart out to us," she said with a very kindly expression. Deniz's tears fell suddenly. "You are so pretentious, Ayla. I'm so sorry, but you're too fake," she said, crying. Her nerves were gone, Deniz couldn't hold back any longer. "Why can't I sing my own song? What am I doing here?" She blew her nose. "Besides, Mentalist Mehmet is deceiving you all," she said, like a little girl who had been harassed at the game by her friend. "We're all being deceived." Then she dropped the microphone and ran out of the studio crying.

In the continuation of the article, the criticism of the falseness experienced in the show world has been brought to an end in line with postmodern criticism through the manager of Deniz character, Kaan. Deniz's rebellion during the broadcast was conveyed as if it could actually be a part of the show. As such, criticism; it remains as a criticism without a way out, without an attempt to change the existing one.

(...) Her manager was really struggling to connect this program for days. "I'm so sorry, Kaan," she said through tears. Kaan enthusiastically said, "You were great, great!" she said, "I wouldn't have dared to show you inside. But you really are a very smart girl!" (...) I see the headlines tomorrow. The girl who wants to do her art can't stand the artificiality of the show she's on, and she naturally bursts into tears on this artificial market live broadcast! That's it!" Deniz was thoroughly stunned. Wasn't Kaan angry now? "What are you looking at, so confused," said Kaan laughing. You had it all planned out in your head. If you went out there and sang your song, you wouldn't have noticed anyone. But now everyone will talk about it on social media or something." As Kaan talked, Deniz began to relax and even rejoice. He liked the idea of attracting attention, getting out, being cared for, being talked about. Or was he really doing it on purpose? (...) Deniz was reading the comments with bewildered eyes. But he was happy. It was a wonderful feeling to be noticed. He still felt a strange pang of conscience. He turned to Kaan, "I really can't be sure. Did I cry because I felt it?" she said with questioning eyes. Kaan laughed and put his hand on Deniz's arm. He asked the golden question of the Golden Age: "What is the difference if you can't say the difference?"

Left melancholy appears as another postmodern element in *Bavul Magazine*.

Values/names belonging to the left are transformed into consumption objects, as Benjamin stated, and are intertwined with the concepts of popular culture. For example, Ayşen Şahin Aksakal's article titled "Solution Alfa", featured in the October 2018 issue of *Che Guevara*, featured revolutionary leaders Mahir Çayan and Deniz Gezmiş, with the concept of "alphaism" widely used in social media as a concept belonging to popular culture. Feminist writer Ursula K. LE Guin, Neşet Ertaş or Mahir, Deniz... All of these names are "alpha" and what we have to do is to choose an alpha for ourselves. Although the emphasis is on freedom and peace at the end of the article, the readers are not given any information about these symbolic names other than that they are "alpha".

(...) The alpha is humble, he never expresses these features, he does not say "I am the alpha". You understand and you know. Ursula K. Le Guin was alpha, for example. The words she uses to describe herself do not emphasize that she is a feminist who left her mark on world literature, it is a mixture of humility and the confidence of knowing that she is doing her job well: She says she is good at storytelling and housework. This much. In the face of thousands of spectators who came to listen to him, "No disrespect, can I take off my jacket?" Neşet Ertaş is the alpha. Who wouldn't want to be at the same table with him once? Mahir Çayan is alpha, so is Deniz Gezmiş. They walked without leaving anyone on the road, without regretting one day, with thousands behind them and writing the history. We will start this race by choosing an alpha and starting with it. By learning from him. And knowing where to lead the masses that we will drag after us. We will walk by reading, exploring, without fear of experiences. May we end up in freedom, let peace be upon us, let them fear your power, let us have stories to tell.

In the October 2015 issue of the magazine, Onur Gazdağ's "How many good people are left in Ankara?" The article titled begins by telling the reader what Yüksel Street used to be like. Afterwards, he deals with the actions in Yüksel Street and the interventions that followed them, with a left-wing melancholic approach. The struggle on Yüksel Street is romanticized and conveyed to the reader.

(...) When we went out on Yüksel Street, when we heard the slogans of younger people, who were older than us, when they gathered around the statue of a woman reading a book, our steps accelerated and we were afraid that something would happen soon. The event usually took off. When I learned that the statue, which I thought was a woman reading a book, was the "Human Rights Monument", it was the intersection of Konur and Yüksel. The struggle between those who defended their rights and those who usurped was called an event by both sides. ... by mistake, a child is shot by mistake, the teacher is not

appointed, the artist is fired, a tender is opened, someone wins,  
someone gets crushed, and our people leave to meet again. (...)

While the silence of the police against those who called for massacres on Yüksel Street is determined in the article, this silence is criticized in line with the postmodern critical political stance. This situation is romanticized and the article ends with the sentence "If an announcement is heard on the street, leftists are taking action".

The hatred that sprang from the streets of Beyoğlu sixty years ago is nowadays in every city, on every street. It's been a long time since we saw the tractor selling potatoes and onions on the sidewalk of our street. The most thought-provoking thing these days is, on Yüksel Street, around the statue of a woman reading a book, there are shouts of massacre and the police megaphones are silent. If you hear an announcement, don't be afraid, our people are there.

As in other magazines, left melancholy shows itself mostly in the cover designs of Bavul Magazine. In order to detect the left melancholy on the covers of the magazine, eight covers related to the subject were chosen as examples. Nazım Hikmet (Appendix 17) on the cover of the 7th issue of Bavul magazine, dated April 2016, Sabahattin Ali (Appendix 18) on the cover of the 14th issue of November 2016, Kazım Koyuncu (Appendix 19) on the cover of the 15th issue of December 2016, and the 21st issue of June 2017. Ahmed Arif (Appendix 20) on the cover, Che Guevara (Appendix 21) on the cover of the 37th issue of October 2018, Ahmet Kaya (Appendix 22) on the cover of the 38th issue of November 2018, Deniz Gezmiş in the 44th issue of May 2019 (Appendix 23), November Yılmaz Güney is on the cover of the 50th issue of 2019 (Appendix 24).

#### 6.4.4. PostMarxism in Bavul Magazine

It is understood from the information given above in the imprint that Bavul Magazine has positioned itself in a more political place due to its organic ties with BirGün newspaper and ÖDP. This situation manifests itself as giving place to people of all colors and voices in the magazine. Homosexuals, gypsies, sex workers, feminists, Kemalists can appear in different issues of the magazine or in the same issue. This pluralistic approach, which is an element of post-Marxism, can also be observed in cover designs. For example, while Mustafa Kemal Atatürk was on the cover of the September 2018 issue, Che Guevara was chosen for the cover of the October 2018 issue a month later.

When we look at the content level, we see the post-Marxist pluralist approach again. The article titled "Gypsies", written by Ali Mendillioğlu in the October 2015 issue of the magazine, is an article that, when taken alone, approaches the problems of the Gypsy society with an objective point of view, and also proposes to build a new one instead of what should be demolished.

(...) What you call a gypsy needs bread. You know, those aids they call social aid, food packages, coal, etc. These are the supporting elements of continuing life for the poor. For most Gypsies, these aids are the only way to live. These aids transform such a deep poverty into political rent. By turning many of the gypsy associations into the staff of this dirty politics.

(...) We have come to the end of the word. Did you find my way of describing pessimistic? Let's not forget that the most revolutionary thing is "truth". "Truth" can only change if it is grasped. We also need "hope". For hope, see Efkân Özçimen [President of the Gypsy Culture Survival Association]. Exceptions do not break rules. Exceptions break and destroy the rule. That's why you turn around and look at Efkân

Özçimen. You will see what is destroyed in Efkan's words and what will be built in his eyes.

However, when the article is considered in the context of its relationship with the whole, that is, with the magazine, it should be considered as a reflection of the polyphony of post-Marxism. In the following pages of the same issue, in which Bergen, a dramatic figure of popular culture, is on the cover, the story of a trans person is included under the pseudonym Masal Koltuk. The article titled “The Wingless Angels of Osmanbey Nights” describes the one-night shift of a sex worker trans woman. In the article, which proceeds with slang and curses, the cops' intercourse with trans people is attributed to the "state's secret homosexuality". State criticism is made over "homosexuality". It is possible to say that this article was included in the magazine due to the "other" emphasis of postMarxism and an article on LGBT+ individuals. However, the article is far from contributing to the LGBT+ struggle and is written in a language that can be considered pornographic.

I got in the car and they took me in the middle of the two in the back. One caresses my legs and buttocks, the other caresses my breasts. In the magazine shows, the guys who were hanging out with beautiful blonde and brunette girls at night started to attack like hungry dogs.

We gather in front of TRT Ses Radio at night. I have Cansu and Melis with me. We share territories with the girls. We cannot stay long there; because we have to get away before the “faggot cops” come. faggot cops? Yes, because many police, including some of the under covers in Taksim, would be with us. We are creatures that are easily crushed in their eyes. If you're a transvestite, you have no place in this country. It is filled in the place that existed before... First, your family rejects you, then your environment, then society... But is this a crime? Why do they not want to believe that Allah created us in a country that believes in Allah? The cops can have sex with us. In general, either his wife did



not give him the day before, or his lover, his fiancée... Whatever the fuck. The fact that the police, who felt offended with the word 'faggot' while joking among themselves, were with us shows that the state is secretly gay.

(...) He untied the belt on the right, pulls out the penis and is waiting for me at the ready. The big fuck in the front got angry for a moment: - hey slow down piggy! Fucking bitch Let me put it, wait a bit, what a hurry. The car was pulled into a deserted cul-de-sac in Bomonti. They took service from me for about 1 hour. One of them had a hold on his manhood for a moment. -Take off your skirt! -It goes extra. I'll take your fee. -You will get your Money fucker take off your skirt!. - Let's see the money first, honey. -I'm not your honey, fucking faggot! The punch that landed on my face all of a sudden pissed me off. (...) Now, we are faggots in their eyes, will the police believe us or these rich sons of bitches? (...) The officer, who got on the team car, suddenly started hitting me, I just protected myself. "Are you troublesome?! Why are you attacking people's cars, fuck you!"

In the December 2016 issue of Bavul Magazine, we see an article about trans people again. It is possible to say that Fatih Pınar's article named "Elçin" is an article included in the magazine from the "other" quota of post-Marxism, which is frequently encountered in the magazines that are the subject of the study. It is an "other" article compiled from an interview with a trans person named Elçin and the author for Geo Magazine. At the beginning of the article, attention is drawn to trans murders: "As always, trans murders were very high in 2009, and Elçin's story was actually the same as that of many trans people who were left with no other choice but to be a sex worker." In the article, the family, state and police violence suffered by transgender individuals is tried to be revealed with the expression of Elçin.

(...) I entered the homosexual periphery at the age of twelve, after graduating from primary school. As I got older, I worked in various

industries. Normally, my profession is clothing. I got into this business voluntarily. I've had enough of such feminine gestures. I mean, since elementary school. (...) Especially from my brother. He used quite a bit of violence. But they didn't look like they would, they sucked it up. That's how they had to accept it. My family is taking care of me right now. At the same time, after I came here and became a transvestite, after I had silicone implants inserted, my brother, aunt, and sister came here to see me.

Here everyone is alone, lonely. They're bound to find someone to hold on to. Look, we have transvestite friends who get beaten up and lose their money. But they still don't let them go. They see it as a pillar, a support. But I'm on good terms with my husband. It is the best thing that has happened to me in Istanbul these seven years. May God grant every transvestite a husband like this. I mean, not like other husbands. No money stealing, no tattooing... We don't have any of those topics. I'm lucky in that way, my rose.

A lot of thing has happened to me here. That's why I say it, it makes you feel tired and bored. On the one hand, there is no job, you go out, you can't find what you hoped for, like before. At the moment, the police are very involved, they do not open their eyes at all. They're beating, batons or something. Ohoooo what a beating I took. The cops are coming and suddenly stands in front of it. Let's run away. They are either spraying or kicking. The man literally lays you on the ground, face to face... He doesn't work anywhere else. With heels.... It wasn't like this when I first came, the police have been using violence for like two years.

We are standing in the corner. With the friend I call Gamze. A car arrived, black Laguna style. The windows are all black. The back is not visible. I leaned towards the man and said, "Ow". Not only did he say "are you swearing", the bullet was already on the edge. As soon as he bent, it was straight, so it was tight. It came to my arm as I pulled back. If I do not withdraw, that bullet will come directly to the heart. (...)

The same car shot a few more girls in Merter at that time. (..) Same car as described. In other words, five or six transvestites were shot at at that time. Not found though.

There was also a girl from Adana. She picks up two customers from here at around seven in the morning and goes to Kurtuluş. It was the month of Ramadan. She stays with someone when she was having drinks, love or something. After that, the men are pointing and looking at each other and stuff. They attack suddenly. They turn towards the girl's other friend, with a knife in their hands. This gets in the way of them, saying, "Don't touch her, she's already fasting" or something. Meanwhile, the knife comes to her throat. There she falls and dies, the girl. Extortion is their aims. They take the bags on the phone and run away. So they both run away and kill the girl.

The article ends with the following comments by Fatih Pinar. “(...) *Every time I remember, I think what is this family, religion, state, society system and so on.*”

The page titled "Feminist Closing", which was examined earlier, was evaluated as an impractical criticism and was given under the title of postmodernism. However, the existence of such a page in the magazine, as well as this method, that is, displaying it on the last page without interfering with the masculine language in the magazine, is in line with the importance that post-Marxism places on new social movements. The message given to the reader is that feminists are also included in the magazine -just like homosexuals, trans people, gypsies.

In the June 2017 issue of the magazine, there is an article about academics Nuriye Gülmen and teacher Semih Özakça, who were fired from their jobs with the Statutory Decree and went on hunger strike demanding reinstatement. Meltem Yılmazkaya's article titled "The one who leaves is not from you but from us, my beautiful sister" is an article that appeals to the conscience in the face of the risk of

Nuriye and Semih losing their lives due to the hunger strike. In the first paragraph, the author's individual sadness about this situation is conveyed to the reader, and it is believed that "the world will be a better place when we understand that it is a virtue to feed the hungry, not the greedy."

(...) My eyes are drawn to the food bowl that I always keep full for cats. A slug in the bowl came to share the sustenance of this evening, it was welcome. When we realize that it is a virtue to feed the hungry, not the greedy, I am sure that first my country and then the world will be a beautiful place. I started counting every bite I ate for the last few days, I thought a lot, I was very sad, I was very surprised. If I write, I am stuck with a few trilogy for pages... A separation, poverty, a death... This world is neither for you, nor for me nor for him... Sugar water, salt water, vitamin B... Then Semih later Nuriye then time...

It is clear that the article is a well-intentioned article. However, the author, stating that he does not want to be involved in something or something in the face of the current polarization, ends his article with the argument that if we can feel the same things even if we do not think the same, we can share our bread. The article shaped by the humanism understanding of left liberalism appears as an article far from seeing the source of the problem. Again, instead of political struggle, an abstract consciousness of virtue is considered sufficient and thus political pacifism is reproduced.

I don't know how many days it will be until this article is published, but all I want to know is that their voices be heard and they should not give up their lives. Because we have seen a lot of pain, we have seen a lot of loss now. Nothing should cost life, we just couldn't understand it. We live in such a time that with every word you say, every move you make, people immediately involve you in something. It can be a religion, a sect, a group or an opinion or whatever... There are many

times when I am surprised. Why? Am I good when I am with you, am I bad when I am with them? I'm human, I want to live humanely, I want to live. I am not involved in anything, nor do I want to be. (...) I'm just sad brother, everything will be solved if we stand back to back without you and me face to face, we may not be thinking the same things, but we haven't been feeling the same things for a long time, my brother. However, it is not difficult to be one in pain and joy, but our land is common, our sun is common, our water is common, shouldn't we share our bread, brother?

In the first issue of Bavul Magazine (*October 2015*), Alper Gencer's article titled "So-called Escalator of Altunizade" is in line with the understanding of left liberalism that puts all kinds of differences together as a solution to all problems stemming from capitalism.

Someone said 'airless human vehicle' about the metrobus, it is true. For those who already live in Istanbul, vehicles are sorely needed, people question themselves when they are stuck, and lack of air is essential in public transportation.

(...) while cramming in the airless metrobus with so many different people, the truth emerges as daylight that the people living in these lands actually have no problem living side by side in their Daily lives. Alas, when the conversations begin, war rehearsals and costume orders fill our faces. This is how separations ruin our togetherness.

In the November 2016 issue of Bavul Magazine, Cengiz Bozkurt's article "Life, Death, Legacy" is in line with the understanding of post-Marxism, which makes politics over different identities instead of class politics, and advocates the coexistence of each of these identities. Bozkurt begins his writing when he receives the news of Cem Karaca's death during his return to Turkey due to his father's illness. *"In the news channels, it is said that instead of not wanting applause at our brother's funeral, he wanted to be buried with the voices of takbir. Radical leftists declared him*

*a renegade even though they grew up with his songs over the years, and they weren't even upset that he was dead.*” The article continues with the narrative of saying takbir at the time of the funeral and the faithful leftists saying goodbye to Cem Karaca on his last journey. *“If I remember correctly, Muhsin Yazicioglu also came to the funeral with a group of Alperen and they said takbir. Not a single person applauded. The crowd looked ahead and walked proudly from behind the corpse to the place where he was to be buried. There were people from every perspective. There were also those who uttered takbirs, but the silent crowd, mostly of loyal leftist fans, walked very respectfully (...)*” Bozkurt continues his article, which started with the death and funeral of Cem Karaca, with Tarik Akan's funeral. The article, which continues with the criticism of the voices of applause at Tarik Akan's funeral, ends with the lines of the author's testament for his own funeral. In those lines, the unity of funerals and the coexistence of different identities are emphasized. This liberal "consensus" and the approach of each thought with "respect" are values that must be defended for post-Marxism.

Now it is my testament, first of all, remove my funeral from a mosque where my children, my wife and other members of my family will attend. It is true, this brother of yours is a leftist, a socialist, but he came from the heart of Islamic culture, and both his mother and father are religious people (...) had mullahs in his ancestors. His grandfather is a veteran of the War of Independence who ran from front to front for eleven years. His hometown is the only district with the title of veteran. (...) Later, even though this brother of yours was born Sunni, he accepted himself as Hacı Bektaş Veli. He counted his way. Take it to the cemevi, my wife is Alevi anyway. Don't say, brother, can it be like this or that, it will. I certainly do not want applause at any stage. I know that there are people from all walks of life among my fans. I didn't hurt any of you for a day, I didn't discriminate. Whoever wishes

should utter takbir, shout slogans, and shout, "Ya Allah, Ya Muhammad, Ya Ali". Let no one compete with anyone else, be respectful to each other. Let the nationalists, the Islamists, the Kemalists come to my funeral, the socialists, the Kurdish movement, and the Turkish nationalists. Leave the general organization and hosting of my funeral to my friends and youth from ÖDP. They don't disrespect anyone anyway. Cover my coffin with a fist star, the symbol of the political tradition I struggled with at the age of thirteen (...)"

In the October 2018 issue of *Bavul Magazine*, Selin Kalkan's article titled "Walls Behind the Sea" describes the feeling of not being able to belong anywhere after the Iranian Mohammed's arrival in Turkey for political reasons. The narrative of the article is compatible with the homeless element of postMarxism.

Is it harder to leave or to stay? While leaving contains a hope for the future, it also contains a longing and nostalgia for the past that goes into a blind well. If you want to have hope, you have to accept that a part of you will dive into the blind well. (...) Mohammed is 54 years old. He had to flee Iran 10 years ago for political reasons. He first came to Germany and then to Turkey. His home for five years is the cliffs on the Kadirga coast. The sea in front of it, the walls behind it.

In the continuation of the article, the feeling of not belonging anywhere of Muhammad, who lived in the Kadirga for political reasons, is exalted. And living on the street is presented as a freedom. The homelessness of PostMarxism, which defines man as a being who cannot belong anywhere, is observed in the article.

(...) I have arranged a hotel for myself for the days when the weather is very cold. I can stay there for a few days, but other than that, I'm always here. No rules, no laws, no problems here. There is freedom for me. Sometimes I feel like losing my freedom to the police. They come and destroy my house. (...) "I lost my passport, I need to get it out again. I want to go abroad. Maybe America, maybe Germany. (...)"

After this age, when I don't feel like I belong anywhere, I can't stay stuck anywhere. I have to drift away. Wherever the wind blows, wherever the wave throws." Think of the pieces of wood that washed up on the beach after a storm, a broken-down ship, and the calm that followed. After the storm, Mohammed washed up on this beach like a broken ship. He has been trying to maintain his composure for five years. Now he's looking for a new storm and a new shore to hit.

The May 2019 issue of the magazine, featuring Deniz Gezmiş on the cover, begins with a one-page biography of feminist writer Virginia Woolf. With the title "A Room of One's Own", Woolf's life from childhood is conveyed to the readers. It is mentioned in the article that Woolf attempted suicide twice with the diagnosis of bipolar disorder and eventually committed suicide by throwing herself into the river with a letter she left for her husband.

Having struggled with mental illness almost all her life, the author was hospitalized many times and attempted suicide at least twice. Although she was diagnosed with bipolar disorder, she received no effective treatment throughout her life.

When I can't see the words circling around me like rings of smoke, know that I am in the dark—nothing.

Also known for her essays, the author published *A Room of One's Own* in 1929, which had a great impact on feminists, especially in the 1970s. Virginia Woolf, a writer who influences women with her writings and thoughts, did not hide her homosexuality and relations with women, and she stood against the patriarchal yoke throughout her life. Virginia Woolf is one of the authors you can find herself in her books. You can trace the traces of a woman, a curiosity, and a struggle in her novels, letters, essays, and volumes of diaries written with the stream-of-consciousness technique. She is a mischievous, intelligent, social woman, even though she is labeled "crazy", as is tried to be done to many women in literature, under the influence of her illness.



This article about Virginia Woolf in the magazine where sexist swearing and masculine language are also seen appears in line with the pluralist structure of post-Marxism from the category of homosexuality and feminism.

In the May 2019 issue of the magazine, İrfan Değirmenci's article titled "Meryem and Yusuf" tells the childhood stories of the teacher Meryem, the daughter of a Bulgarian immigrant family, and Yusuf Türkkan, a teacher from Şırnak, separately. The article, which proceeds through the ethnic origins of both of their families, is evaluated as an article in accordance with the "others" apocalypse of postMarxism.

Good morning honey, did you wake up before me again? Shall I brew the tea?' Meryem yawned. She was a white-skinned, freckled-faced, petite woman who appeared to be in her mid-30s but early 20s. 1.65 m tall or not. The only love of her life, like her only man Yusuf, was a teacher. Yusuf was a Turkish teacher waiting to be appointed, Meryem was a history teacher who was appointed. In the first lesson this morning, approximately two hours later, Meryem was going to tell about the migration of tribes. (...) Meryem's paternal grandmother, Resiye Hanım, found herself in Edirne with her two children in 1950. Bulgaria deported tens of thousands of Turks that year and sent them to Turkey, and did not allow them to take any of their belongings with them when they boarded the train.

(...) Every morning in Şırnak, Yusuf Türkkan would wake up to the smell of fresh bread brought by his mother Mizgin. When she poured the butter into the warm bread, Yusuf, the youngest of the four siblings, would reach his ears. The chase would begin. They had 20 sheep. Yusuf and his younger sister Berivan gave names to almost all of the sheep. His older sister Derman would get angry at them and say, "You will cry when they are slaughtered tomorrow." Derman's older sister got married the year he started school, and henna coaches were cut at

his wedding. She remembered the names of the sheep, the smell of bread, her mother's lap and gunshots. The sounds of guns that had taken his father three months before he was born...

(...) His teacher had asked Berivan her name in the first lesson. When the little girl answered Berivan, she might not have liked the teacher, she always called her Perihan Türkkan in class. Since Berivan loved Perihan Abla and her school very much, she never objected to her new name. Berivan knew the teachers' sensitivity about the name, which was why she sternly warned Yusuf. Mother Mizgin had the television turned off when her eldest son went to the mountain, she did not want to watch the news, the television was not turned on for a long time next to him.

However, it is unclear what the article means through the narrative of otherness. It is not clear whether the article emphasized the brotherhood of all of us from Edirne to Şırnak through the marriage of two "others" or whether we made peace with marriages or something else. It ended with an indefinite ending.

(...) Berivan was watching Teacher Afet (a character in a Turkish TV), played by Perran Kutman, at her mother's house, Mizgin, where he had come to see off his 6-month-old baby brother. Yusuf's fiancée Meryem was getting recipes from Derman, her future great sister-in-law.

In the November 2019 issue of Bavul Magazine, Ali Murat İrat's article titled "No Animal Buries Its Dead" is an article comparing animals and humans. The article, which deals with the difference between animals and humans through an abstract good/evil, negates the "humanization" of the world with an idealistic point of view, and without seeing the main contradiction, it criticizes the liberal definitions of "right" by anti-speciesism and post-Marxism.

When we look closely at the animal world, we see that all animal actions are in danger of "humanizing". That's what circuses and zoos

are for. That's what "pet" status is for. The animal becomes "human" as it is domesticated, and becomes "lovable" as it is domesticated. The animal's greatest misfortune is the invisible power of human-centered thought on both man and animal. Man sees the whole world outside himself by centered himself. This is the shortest way to both make himself valuable and control his outside. Descartes opened this road. His intervention, which severely separated the mind/mind from the body, rendered not only the non-human nature and existence, but also the human body, which is outside the human mind, paralyzed, secondary and useless. To the extent that the body is functional and serves the mind, it has become bearable. Here, what we call Animals live in the world of people who are alienated from their own body and desires, and even for this reason, the world is their hell. Often the only way for them to continue living is through compassion. That is, the softening of some people's approach to the nonhuman world, who have become aware of their own destructiveness.

The animal, on the other hand, does not see the world in a self-centered way, and this is an advantage for humans. Because a contrary state of consciousness could initiate an interspecies war in which human beings would suffer great losses. What is happening right now, the world that is shaped between human destructiveness and compassion... (...) The animal does not oppose nature's plans because it is nature's plan itself. However, man fights with the nature he positions himself against and the plans that he thinks are constantly causing difficulties for him. Precisely for this reason, animals do not blame themselves for their actions, judge themselves, or humiliate other members of their own species. There is no morality in their world because any of their actions never have any good or bad value. The animal is not an extension of good or bad, but only of the natural. And it tries to live in need of human's insincere compassion in an artificial world that we have shattered and "humanized" by its good and bad evaluations.

In the November 2019 issue of *Bavul Magazine*, Sedef Orman's article titled "A Manifesto for the Women Inside Me" tells about the women within the author, based on a sentence by Frida Kahlo. This narrative coincides with Foucault's "constituted multiple personalities" approach, which also contributed to the shaping of the subject approach of PostMarxism. The plural personalities of Foucault's philosophy, such as the experiences that are the subjects, the truth games that establish these experiences, and the identities established by these truths, dominate the writing.

Frida Kahlo says, "Forty women inside me, forty foreigners, forty others"... Ahh, these women inside me... All of them are in different minds, they all play on different strings. The stormy sea may be inside everyone, but my crowd is too big! (...) But I woke up one morning and saw that I couldn't count these different women anymore... I was carrying a choir, not a soloist inside me. Maybe my shoulders didn't drop, but my steps got heavy. I admit that all of the women in me are leaders and warriors... That's why they're always at war, mostly with each other... They all live their lives in their own way, and they all tear my heart out to take the lead at any moment... But I'm not the least bit, I finally figured it out and learned to be an arbitrator, and moreover, to dominate this crowd... But still, this abundance made me very tired. However, if I bring the calm woman inside me to power, maybe my rivers will flow more gently. Maybe the skies will be less roaring, maybe my roads will be bluer. Maybe life will tire me less...

(...) My femininity is my equation that even I cannot solve. And it is my manifesto to all the women in me; Don't give up! Go on! Continue to make me who I am, by being silent, standing still, experiencing pain, joy, love and sadness in all seasons and all climates. What right do I have to complain about the crowd? Since everything I have experienced has transformed, added and increased me... Then, as I knew, continue to live as I am...

## CONCLUSION AND EVALUATION

It has been seen that revolutionary leaders such as Deniz Gezmiş, Fidel Castro, Che Guevara, leftist writers and artists such as Nazım Hikmet, Sabahattin Ali, Aziz Nesin, Yılmaz Güney, and names representing the left in the field of music such as Kazım Koyuncu and Ahmet Kaya were featured on the covers of the magazines examined in the analysis section. On the covers of the magazines, prominent names that have become symbols in terms of leftist ideology are frequently featured. These names are turned into memories of the past to be bought, looked at and consumed quickly. The struggles of the iconic names carried on the covers of the magazines, their efforts to change the world were hardly mentioned in the magazine or they were only mentioned superficially in a few sentences. However, this superficial point of view in the Kafa and Ot magazines appears somewhat differently in Bavul Magazine. It has been observed that detailed articles about the names carried on the cover of Bavul Magazine are also included. However, when evaluated as a whole, mental escapes are promised to individuals with the "melancholy of nostalgia" in these magazines. The political stance that we encounter in the popular/postmodern literary magazines that are the subject of this study is a left melancholy that Benjamin defines as "market-oriented exaltation of left values that have turned into objects of pleasure and consumption". This critical political stance carries with it a postmodern identity. In a postmodern era, left melancholy also glorifies individualism, turning nostalgia into consumption objects to be enjoyed, especially by focusing on mental escapes.

It is possible to say that the framework that stands out in all three magazines is postmodernism. The narrative structure peculiar to postmodernism is encountered in almost all stories. In the face of the current situation, what is happening in the inner world of the individual, a pessimistic mood, emphasis on suicide, glorifying insanity

in the face of reason, and the pleasure of defeat constitute the meaning universe of the stories. On the other hand, the fragmented narrative structure peculiar to postmodernism, aphorisms or aphoristic writing techniques dominate these magazines formally. In addition, as a result of postmodernism's claim that it cannot be an objective reality, its attitude that replaces meaning with interpretation has led to individualism in the magazines. In this context, the postmodern interpretation of the concept of freedom and the understanding of "whoever wants can write what he wants" are reflected in the contents of the magazines. While there is an article about feminism on one page, we can see a sexist text on the next page, or while Deniz Gezmiş is used on the cover, the lines of a mafia series can be included on the inside pages, and also in the issues in which political figures are transformed into images (Che, Fidel, etc.) and carried to the cover and texts that give the message of liberation by suicide can be presented to the reader. It is possible to say that this situation corresponds to postmodernism's opposition to totality and Lyotard's "let's fight against the whole" approach. The reader, who buys the magazine because he sees a left figure on the cover, is left alone with stories that describe tearing up and ignoring the electricity bill accumulated in the mailbox in the face of poverty as resistance, and freedom to resign from the workplace, where he lives in modern slavery.

Thus, left-wing concepts such as "struggle, resistance, revolution" are reconstructed in popular/postmodern literary magazines and these concepts are transformed in a way specific to postmodernism. In most of the articles in the magazines, the individual resists this self-depressing system and human relations either by losing his mind and rising to the level of insanity, or by going out of society -for example, by leaving everything and settling in a seaside town or by returning to nature and establishing his own farm. The individual, captured by existential pains,

can escape from this bondage either by escaping, ignoring or by a mental rebellion. However, as Marx stated, “the individual cannot be separated from society; because it grows, develops and takes shape within the society, which is inevitable to leave a mark on it” (Şeptulin, 2017, p. 330). Thus, what Erdogan (2014, p. 387) said about postmodernism; As a result of glorifying individual pluralities and reconstructing how the struggle is to be done by taking the concepts such as struggle, resistance and even revolution from the Marxist language and refilling their content, the situation of disrupting the organized struggle/solidarity becomes concrete in the magazines.

One of the prominent features of postmodern literature, "centrality" is in question for all three magazines. According to Deleuze and Guattari, who stated that works have multiple entries as stated before, in a rhizome; there are no points or positions of the kind found in a structure, a tree, or a root. It has only lines. The reflection of the rhizome approach defined as “decentralized systems” in the magazines; manifests itself in the form of being able to encounter articles on any subject at any time. When it comes to a tree, the qualities of that tree are obvious. For example, an apple tree is expected to yield apples under certain conditions, and it is known that other fruits will not grow on this tree. However, when the rhizome approach is adopted; Using Deniz Gezmiş or Che Guevara on the cover does not require you to prepare left-handed content in the magazine. Revolution, suicide, feminism, masculine language, homophobia, rebellion, desperation, etc. they can all be together. This inconsistency is usual and even necessary for postmodernism.

When the findings obtained from the three magazines that were the subject of the review were evaluated, it was seen that the philosophical environment of these magazines was idealist philosophy. Elements of idealist philosophy appear in many stories in magazines and articles containing a direct political argument. The articles

that focus on a destructive rejection, a mental resistance that is not reflected in practice, and the contents that are directed to the unconscious instead of the objective world, cause a break from the struggle against capitalism and thus moving away from praxis. In many of the stories in these magazines, the subject has disappeared, and instead of objective reality, the only reality has been transformed into a single individual. Reality is reduced to the human mind. The oppositional attitude in the journals was combined with an individual hedonism, which was compatible with idealist philosophy. Even in cases where social progress is not completely denied, the driving force of this progress is sought in the mental field, and thus progress is handled with an idealist approach.

Features such as pessimism and great rejection, which dominate the magazines in general, are compatible with idealism. Again, the praise of seclusion, the abundance of anti-hero characters, the author's relationship with the "other" self, creative destruction, the pleasure of defeats, the praise of madness, which are frequently encountered in magazines, can be accepted as proof that these magazines were influenced by Nietzsche's idealist philosophy. A Nietzschean nihilism was another idealist element that appeared in the stories in the magazines. The existence of a page directly named "Nihilistpedia" in the Bavul magazine, one of the reviewed magazines, can be considered as one of the most important findings that the magazines were influenced by Nietzsche's philosophy.

Another idealist philosopher, as well as the basic category of Heidegger's idealist philosophy, "timelessness", on which many postmodern philosophers are based, is also observed in the "live in the moment" attitude that is reflected in the stories in these magazines. In magazines; The emphasis on the possibility of individual salvation and escape from problems is in line with the idealist philosophy's



point of view, "if you can't change the world, change your world". The presentation of individual escapes to the solution of existing problems contributes to the reproduction of the existing order.

Fighting against reason, which is the only valid device to reach objective knowledge, overlapping with the idealist philosophy that replaces reason and logic with "intuition" and "life experience", sees art as an autonomous field and focuses on "the writer's pain, psychological problems and depressions", Articles written with the characteristics of existential philosophy, which includes many elements of irrationalism such as the rootlessness of existence, support that the philosophy that dominates these magazines is idealist philosophy.

From the very beginning of the study, it has been argued that postMarxism constitutes the theoretical framework of politics in popular/postmodern literary magazines. The complex collective will, alternative public sphere, left liberalism, pluralism and libertarian pessimism observed in Ot, Kafa and Bavul magazines have emerged as the political designs that these magazines were influenced by post-Marxist theories. In the articles with clear political arguments that appear in all three magazines; The post-Marxist attitude, which replaces equality with freedom, destabilizes meaning, focuses on defeat, and replaces the concept of class with "others" (with identity politics), is dominant. "The idealization of the historical role of non-proletarian strata and the downplaying of even the sharpest class contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie" (Timofeyev, 2021, p. 556) is used as a common tool today as it was in the past. In this sense, it is possible to say that an unnamed post-Marxism is as old as the history of Marxism. "You can use socialism as abstract ideas such as 'justice', 'equality', 'humanism' etc. From Bernstein (USSR Academy of Sciences, 2021, p. 279) who theorized postMarxism, to Laclau and

Mouffe, who theorized post-Marxism, the class approach seems to be opposed to Marxism.

Traces of the "Radical Democracy" project, in which Mouffe and Laclau put forward identity struggles instead of class struggles, are frequently encountered in the political writings of Ot, Bavul and Kafa. It has been observed that in the articles in the magazines, the consequences caused by capitalism, such as the poverty experienced today, are mentioned. However, the reason for these results was not seen as irreconcilable class contradictions. On the contrary, more consensus is offered to the reader in order to get out of these crises. Change and transformation within the system is essential. In the texts with such a political background in the magazines, the subject is determined as the collective will instead of the class. As in the collective will, everyone or every identity that is a part of the collective will can change their own life. A historical, holistic transformation is out of the question. In the political articles examined in these magazines, instead of struggling with the dominant ideology or power structures, it exhibits an attitude of "creating counter-cultures" in line with the "left" understanding of post-Marxism. Many postmodern subject positions have been encountered in the political writings in Kafa, Ot and Bavul. Feminists, LGBTI+ individuals, and ethnic minorities are the most common new subject positions in the magazines. In accordance with the pluralism understanding of PostMarxism, each identity exists together with the other in the magazines' texts.

Another element observed in the articles analyzed in the Kafa, Ot and Bavul is left liberalism. The effort of the PostMarxist left to broaden and deepen the liberal left in the direction of a radical and plural democracy has also been observed in the political writings in the reviewed magazines. Mouffe's stance that divides liberalism

into two dominates the left liberal writings of the magazines. These are articles that defend political liberalism, not economic liberalism in a Mouffean way.

The libertarian pessimism of the PostMarxist design, which regards the impossible as a *sine qua non*, has also been frequently encountered in the political articles in the magazines. Laclau and Mouffe's approaches to impossibility and indecisiveness, and libertarian pessimism, which shifted to an existential understanding, were encountered in all three magazines examined.

The post-Marxist approach, which is based on identity politics, which argues that differences replace contradictions and that democracy can only be established with the proliferation of these differences, as seen in the analyzed articles, dominates the political attitude of the magazines.

In the analysis section; although idealism, postmodernism and postMarxism in the magazines are evaluated under separate headings, it has also been revealed in the examined examples that all three concepts are intertwined and feed each other. In this context, the postmodern political stance; It is possible to say that there are three pillars of idealism, postmodernism and postMarxism. *Ot*, *Kafa* and *Bavul* magazines selected for analysis also exist in the field of culture as representations of postmodern political stance. In order to better understand this representation as a whole, it has become a necessity for the study to include long quotations from the texts.

As a result, as seen in the analysis section, the founders or editor-in-chiefs of all three magazines position on the “left” and clearly state their political stances. It has been tried to reveal the philosophical framework of this political stance with examples of idealism, the cultural framework of postmodernism, and the theoretical framework of postMarxism. The existence of any one or all three of these frameworks implies the

reproduction of the dominant ideology. It is important to reveal the relationship between the dominant ideology of popular/postmodern literary magazines, which use left figures in the cover design, left values in their content, define and introduce themselves as "left". Because it is a common phenomenon that what is presented "critically" both in academia and in the cultural field intersects with the "sovereign" and even serves it. Thus, it detaches the "sovereign" and the "critical" from its context and produces a "criticality" suitable for its own interests. It is not a coincidence that concepts belonging to the left are used while doing this. For this reason, it should be noted that the magazines that are the subject of investigation do not emerge as products of popular culture. There is a certain ideology and political preference here. "The Marxist approach to ideological struggle, in addition to revealing the class-determined character of a particular ideological or political attitude, also envisages identifying the epistemological roots of ideas belonging to an ideological rival and the logical confusion that distinguishes them." (Timofeyev, 2021, p. 568). In this study, which uses the Marxist approach and its method, dialectic, the philosophical, cultural and theoretical frameworks of popular/postmodern literary journals are determined in this context.

As in the magazines, the denial of the social and historical role of the concept of class does not begin with postmodernism and poststructuralism. Timofeyev (2021, pp. 558-559) states that the foundations of this tradition were laid in the 19th century by Comte, Spencer and later Weber and notables of bourgeois sociology. In the crisis periods of capitalism, he draws attention to the existence of left revisionists who "show off with words specific to Marxism" as well as those who follow the path of this tradition. Timofeyev, revisionist approaches to class; Those who "oppose a non-economic conception of social class to the Marxist doctrine of classes", "those who

argue that the main class contradiction has shifted from the economic base to the realm of the superstructure”, “certain New Left ideologues who treat the concept of class as a psychological phenomenon”, “a clearly defined working class and Those who argue that the concept of scientific class, even if it once existed, no longer exists”. It is possible to see these approaches today. Especially postMarxist and poststructuralist theses have been developed following these historical themes. “Although this kind of philosophical revisionism becomes more and more refined at each new stage of social development, its ideological and social roots remain essentially the same as in previous historical periods.” (Timoyev, 2021, 566). The concept of class, the spokespersons of “left” opportunism; From G. Sorel and other anarchosyndicalism ideologues to some 'neoMarxists' of the Frankfurt School, to Sartre, to advocates of petty-bourgeois radicalism (USSR Academy of Sciences, 2021, p. 573), it has been widely removed from the Marxist definition. In particular, the argument that a new "middle class" has emerged is frequently repeated by these groups. After trying to explain how these arguments come across in historical turns in the conceptual part, the reflections of these arguments in the cultural field are exemplified in the analysis part with the texts in popular/postmodern literary magazines.

On the other hand, these magazines; In accordance with the "spirit" of the postmodern era, with stories and essays that turn any defeat against life into pleasure, glorify meaninglessness as the only meaning, and articles that find freedom in suicide, reveal the solution as insanity, and thus belittle reason, it reinforces intimidation and passivity to the benefit of the dominant ideology. And with this approach, it absorbs the power of the society to take action and causes individuals to seek refuge in a state of out-of-society seclusion or mental escape. In these magazines, non-dangerous

"alternatives" are constructed by assigning new meanings to the concepts -as the poststructuralist approach advocates. The individual-oriented explanation of concepts such as resistance and struggle, by removing their social meanings, leads to ignoring the real causes of the phenomena. In the writings that do not mention the sources of the economic hardship people experience and the conditions necessary for the end of these troubles, the cynical sentences heard from the characters' mouths and the rebellion against the "livelihood distress" is pressed into the mind. On the other hand, as a political project, consensus-based unity, where everyone can express their opinion, is defended in the name of the "left". Pluralism; It has appeared in the magazines that every voice, every identity -even if they have opposites- can take place together, and even more so, postmodern fluid/plural identities can appear in the body and mind of individual individuals. To say that what Marx (2016, p. 84) said about the 16th century grobian literature, "to be both Solomon and Marculf, Don Quixote and Sanço Panza, a seer and a suburban at the same time" applies to these magazines as well will not be wrong. As seen in the examples examined, being "nothing and everything" at the same time is one of the sine qua non of the postmodern period.

The current system, which tries to spread the idea that capitalism has no alternative, and that even though it has some crises, that the highest democracy will be achieved by correcting these problems within itself, tries to create a sense of deadlock in the society. At the same time, it reinforces individualism and creates a "giveaway" mass. Popular/postmodern literary magazines also reinforce the lack of alternatives and exits, as well as commodifying literature/culture. In these magazines, whose target audience is predominantly young, the readers are advised to change their own world instead of "changing the world", while on the other hand, their pessimistic mood is glorified. While doing this, left values and concepts are used as phenomena

to reproduce the dominant ideology. In these magazines, an opposing structure is revealed and a critical political stance is displayed as an immanent result of youth subculture and identity politics. But this criticism is the kind of criticism that Rockhill defines as "compensatory criticism". In an article he wrote on Foucault, one of the important names of postmodernism, Rockhill (2020) calls his radicalism a compensatory radicalism and explains the contradiction of the "radical compensator" as follows: "These intellectuals seem radical in some circles, but their main social function is to bring real radical criticism into the system. and thus patrolling the left margins of criticism." The critical content that we encounter in popular/postmodern literary contains such a compensatory contradiction and, as Rockhill puts it, "patrols the left borders." For this very reason, it reproduces the dominant ideology despite its critical appearance.

Popular/postmodern literary magazines have an important place in the cultural field with their circulation of 50 thousand. And even though these magazines are products of popular culture, unlike thematic magazines such as fashion, sports and music, they set a "left" political mission for themselves. Despite this, it is clear that they commodified politics, culture and art together with left values, and that they are products of mass culture. So much so that this commodification is not limited to the consumption moment of the magazines, but also continues with other commercial activities. For example, cloth bags, badges, mugs, coasters, t-shirts, etc. products are sold, on the website of magazines and in various fairs. Ot and Kafa Magazine also carries out business activities by opening cafes with the same names. Ot Magazine also has a beach club with the same name. Bavul Magazine, on the other hand, preferred to open its cafe in Germany and declared this cafe as a "collective cafe without a boss". Although it differs from other magazines in this respect, sales of

similar products are also made on the website of Bavul Magazine. As can be seen, a "subculture" ideology goes beyond the borders of the magazines and is carried to a spatial dimension. Moreover, commercial product advertisements can also be included in these magazines. Considering the limitations of this study, the subject of commodification of readers was not included and focused on the political stance of the magazines. Of course, it is thought that examining the commercial activities of the magazines with a political economy approach, which is outside the scope of this study, will contribute to communication studies. However, it should not be forgotten that the critical political stance of these magazines, which assign a "left" political mission to themselves, use the "left" as a phenomenon in a way to reproduce the dominant ideology, which also affects the structure of the commercial activities of these magazines.

It is important to reveal that the political stance and criticism of popular/postmodern literary magazines intersect with the "sovereign" under a "left" guise. It is essential to discuss the political economy and, accordingly, the social reasons for this policy in the magazines, and to show what sources it has been fed from historically, in order to understand and transform the current social conditions. The replacement of the concept of class, which is increasingly excluded from the academic and cultural sphere, with new subject positions and the emphasis on postmodern meaninglessness contribute to the acceptance of the political stance of these magazines as "left".



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Bavul Dergisi (2017). Haziran, Sayı: 21.

Bavul Dergisi (2018). Eylül, Sayı: 36.

Bavul Dergisi (2018). Ekim, Sayı: 37.

Bavul Dergisi (2019). Mayıs, Sayı: 44.

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## Appendices

### Appendix A: OT Magazine Issue 3

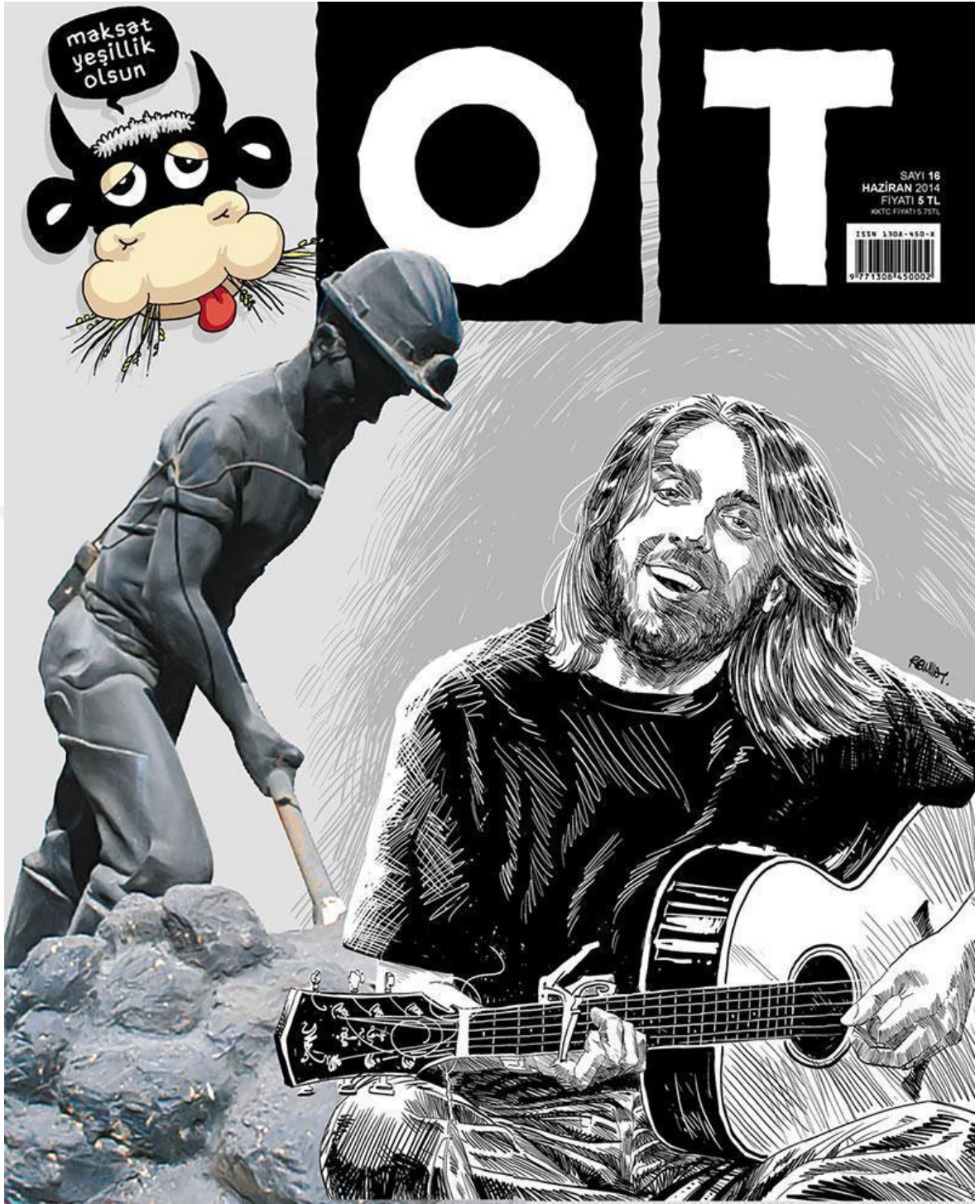




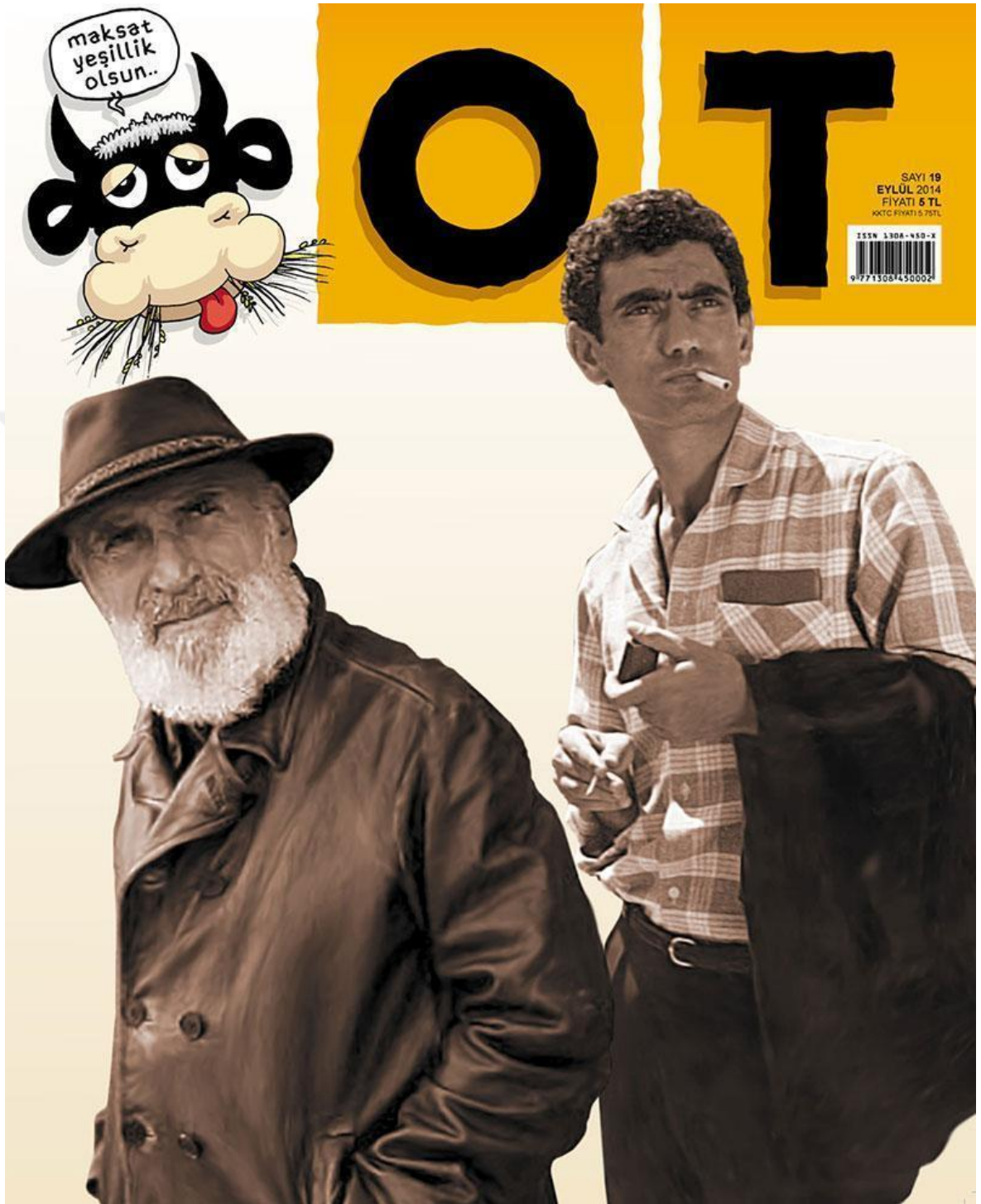
## Appendix B: Ot Magazine Issue 11



## Appendix C: Ot Magazine Issue 16

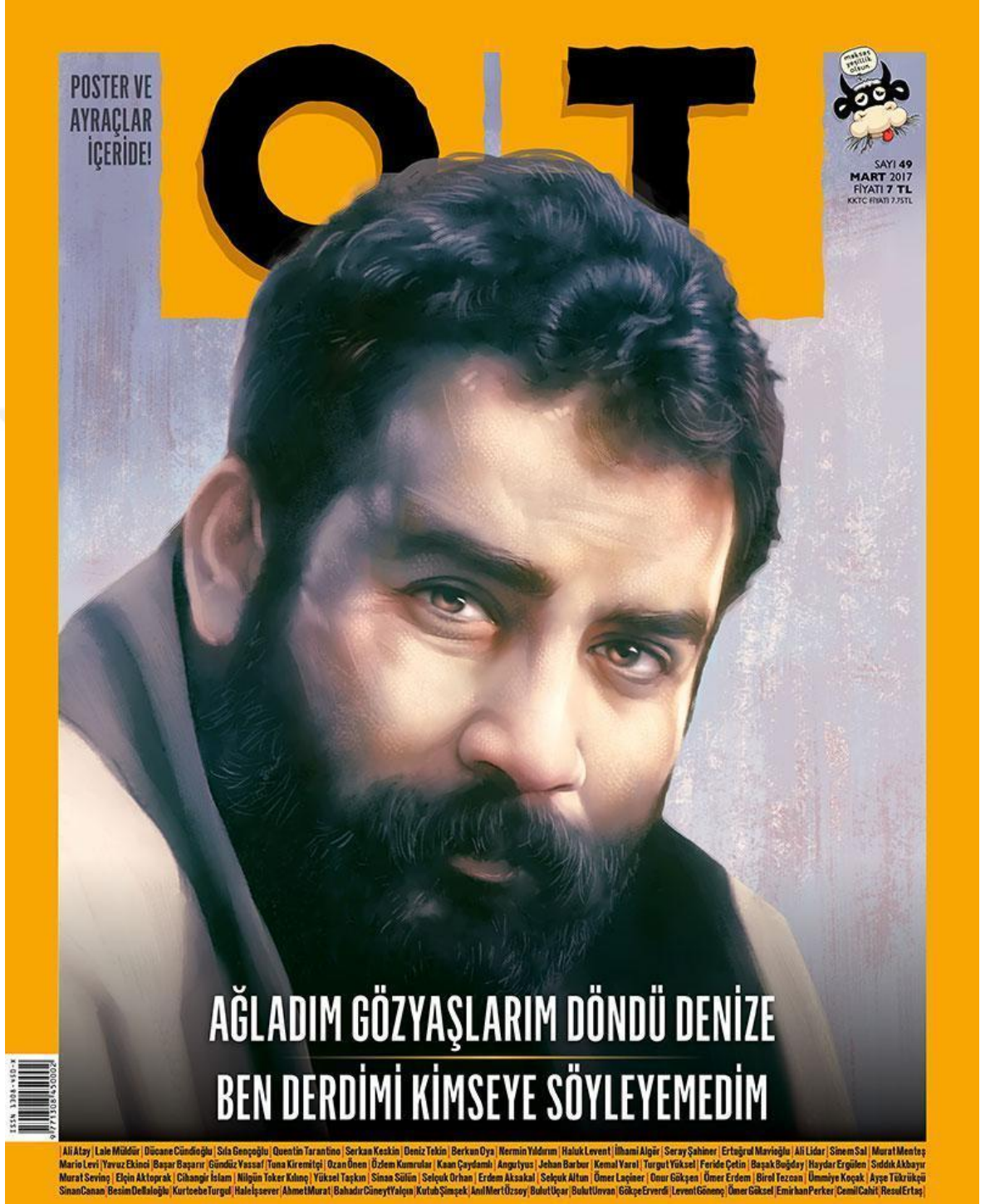




**Appendix D: Ot Magazine Issue 19**



# Appendix E: Ot Magazine Issue 49



## Appendix F: Ot Magazine Issue 53

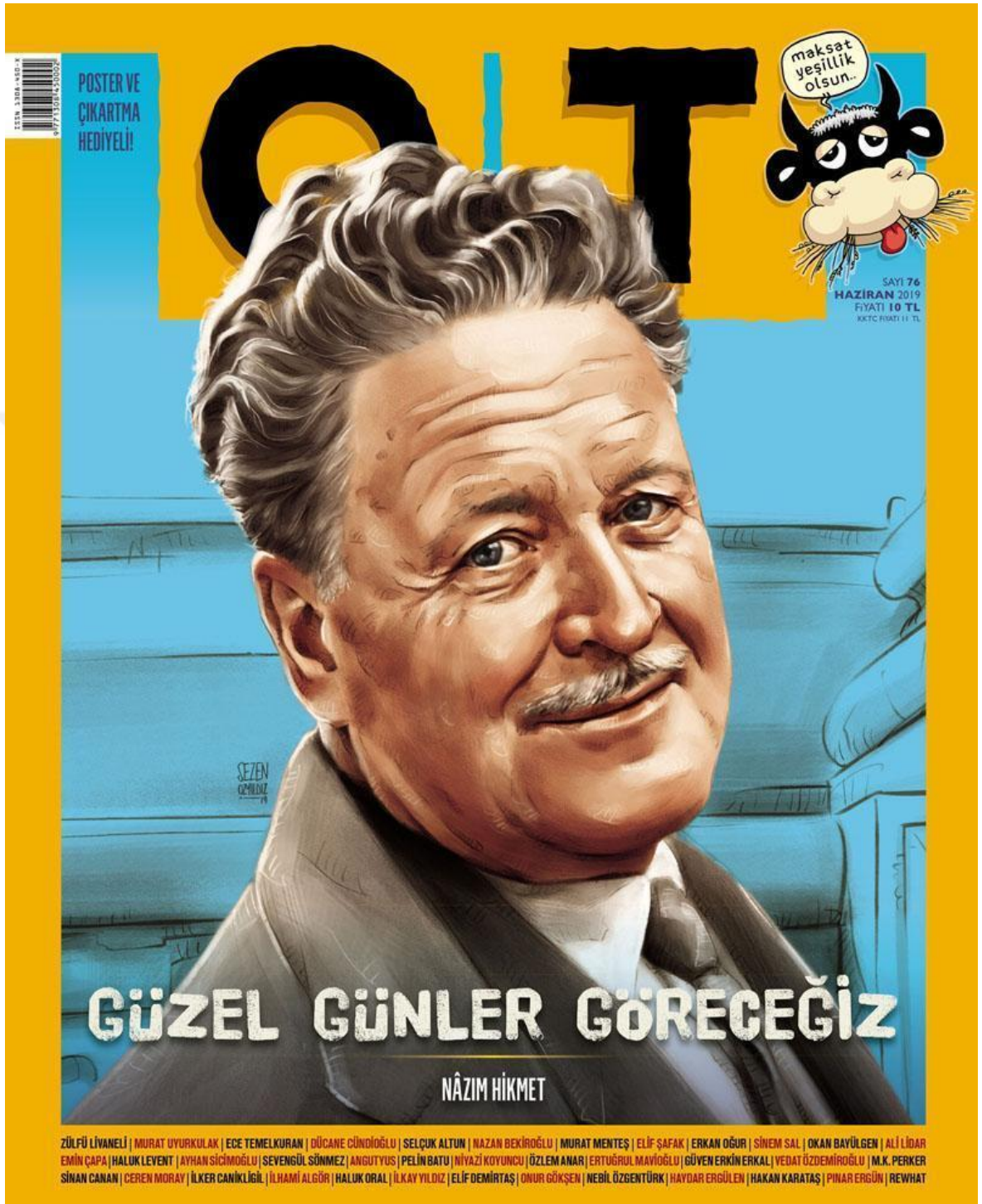




## Appendix G: Ot Magazine Issue 62



Appendix H: Ot Magazine Issue 76





## Appendix I: Kafa Magazine Issue 28

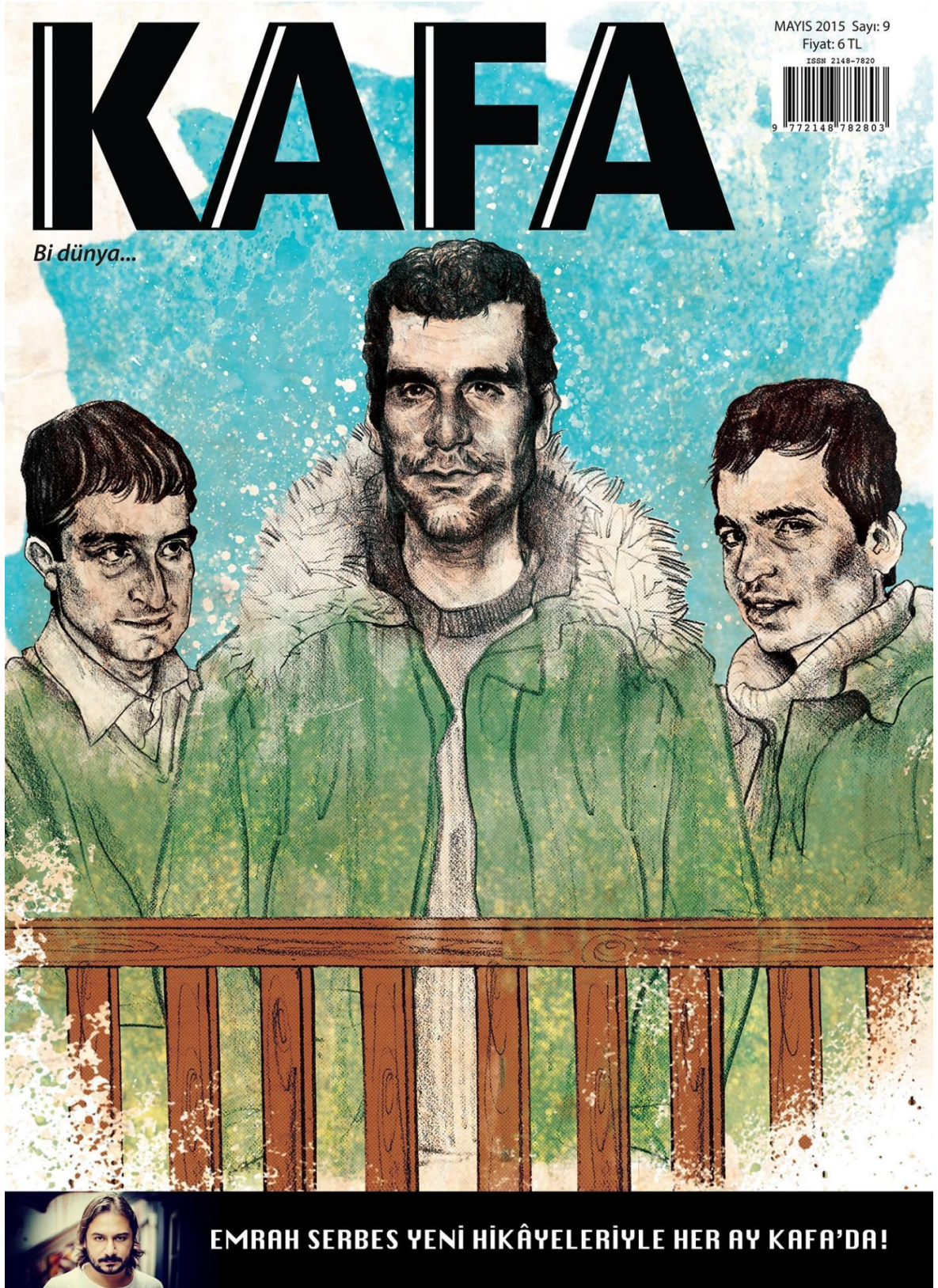


## Appendix J: Kafa Magazine Issue 5



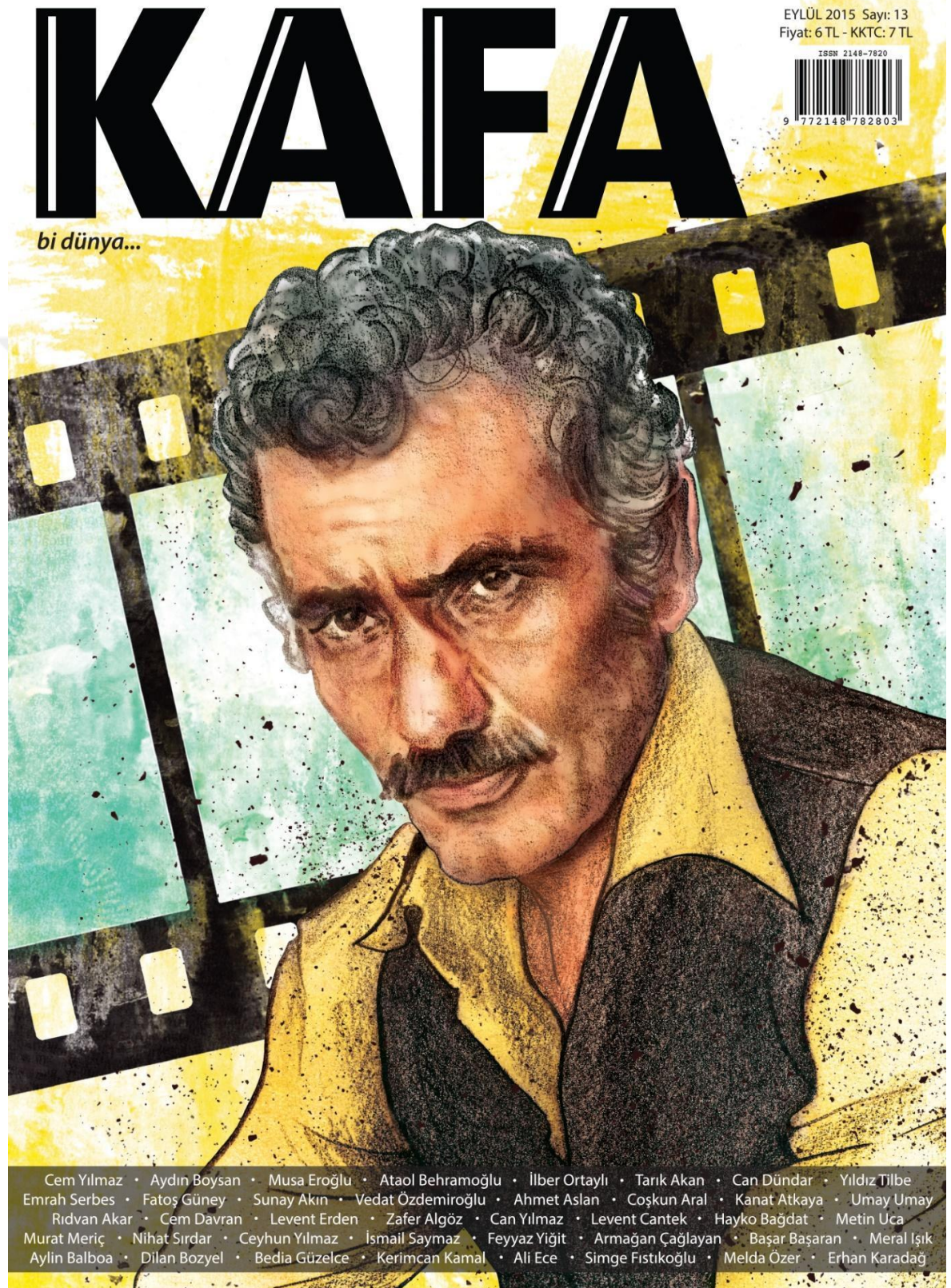


## Appendix K: Kafa Magazine Issue 9



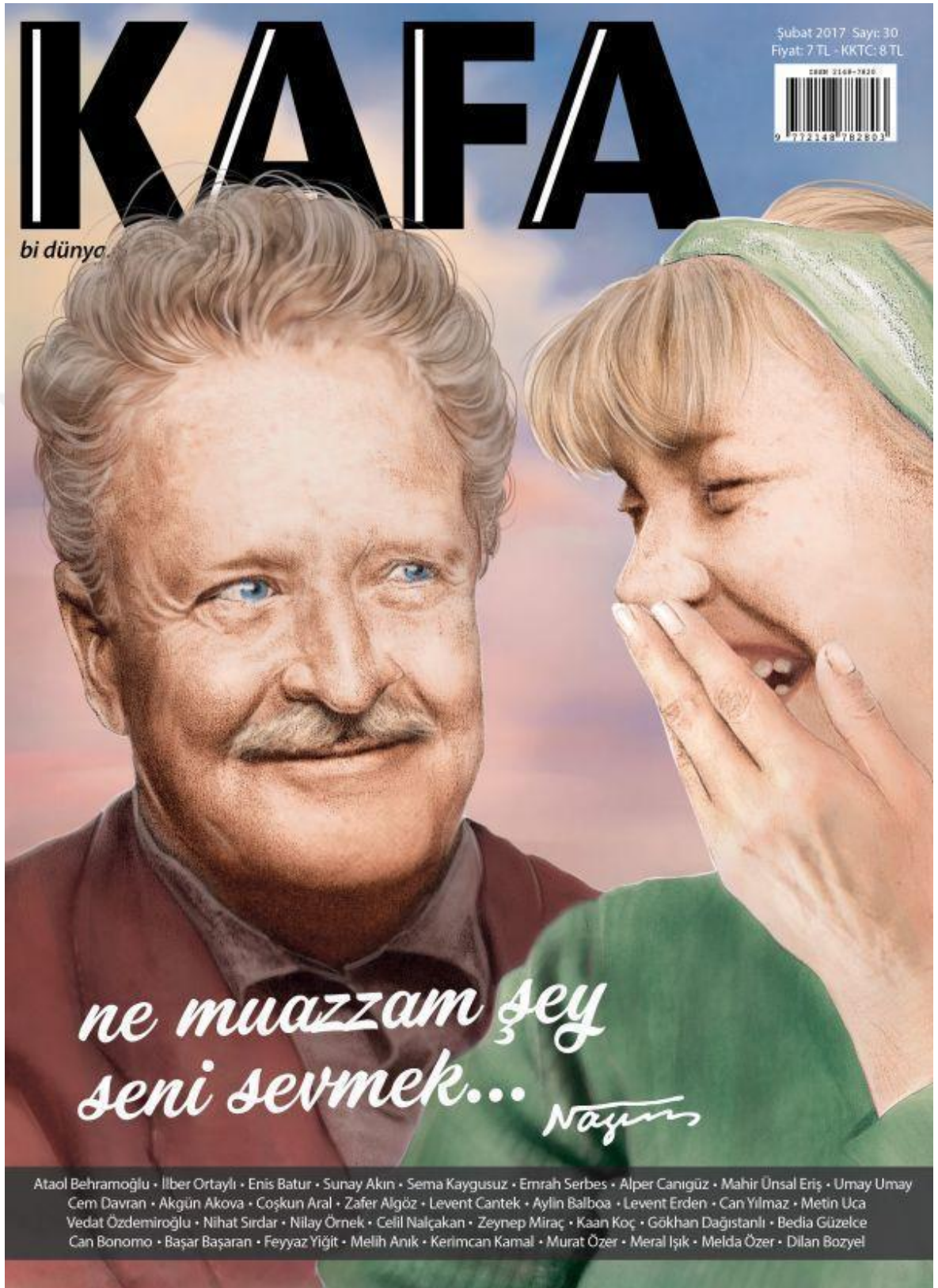


## Appendix L: Kafa Magazine Issue 13





## Appendix M: Kafa Magazine Issue 30





## Appendix N: Kafa Magazine Issue 41





## Appendix O: Kafa Magazine Issue 47





## Appendix P: Kafa Magazine Issue 56





Appendix Q: Bavul Magazine Issue 7



Appendix R: Bavul Magazine Issue 14





Appendix S: Bavul Magazine Issue 15

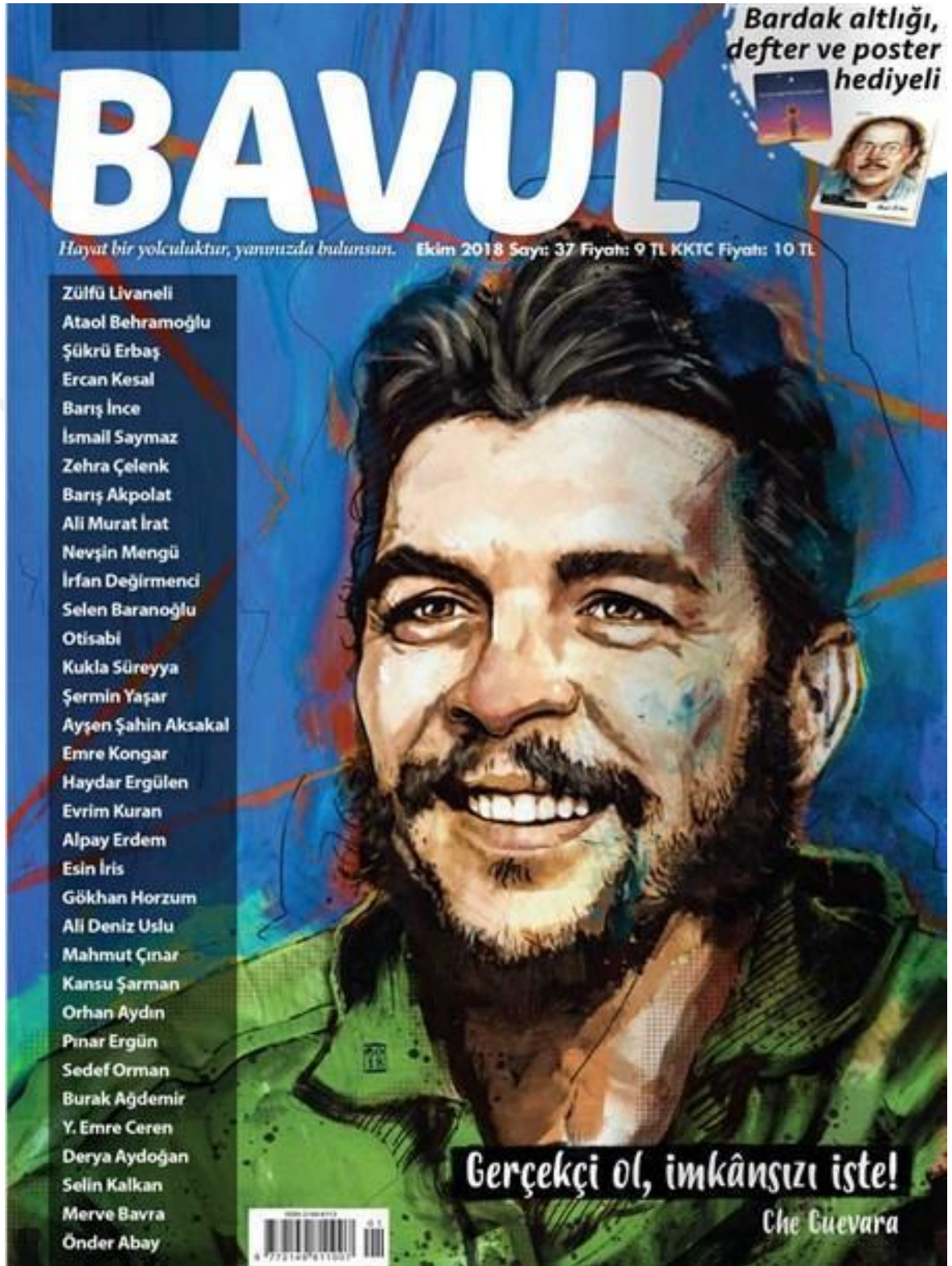


Appendix T: Bavul Magazine Issue 21



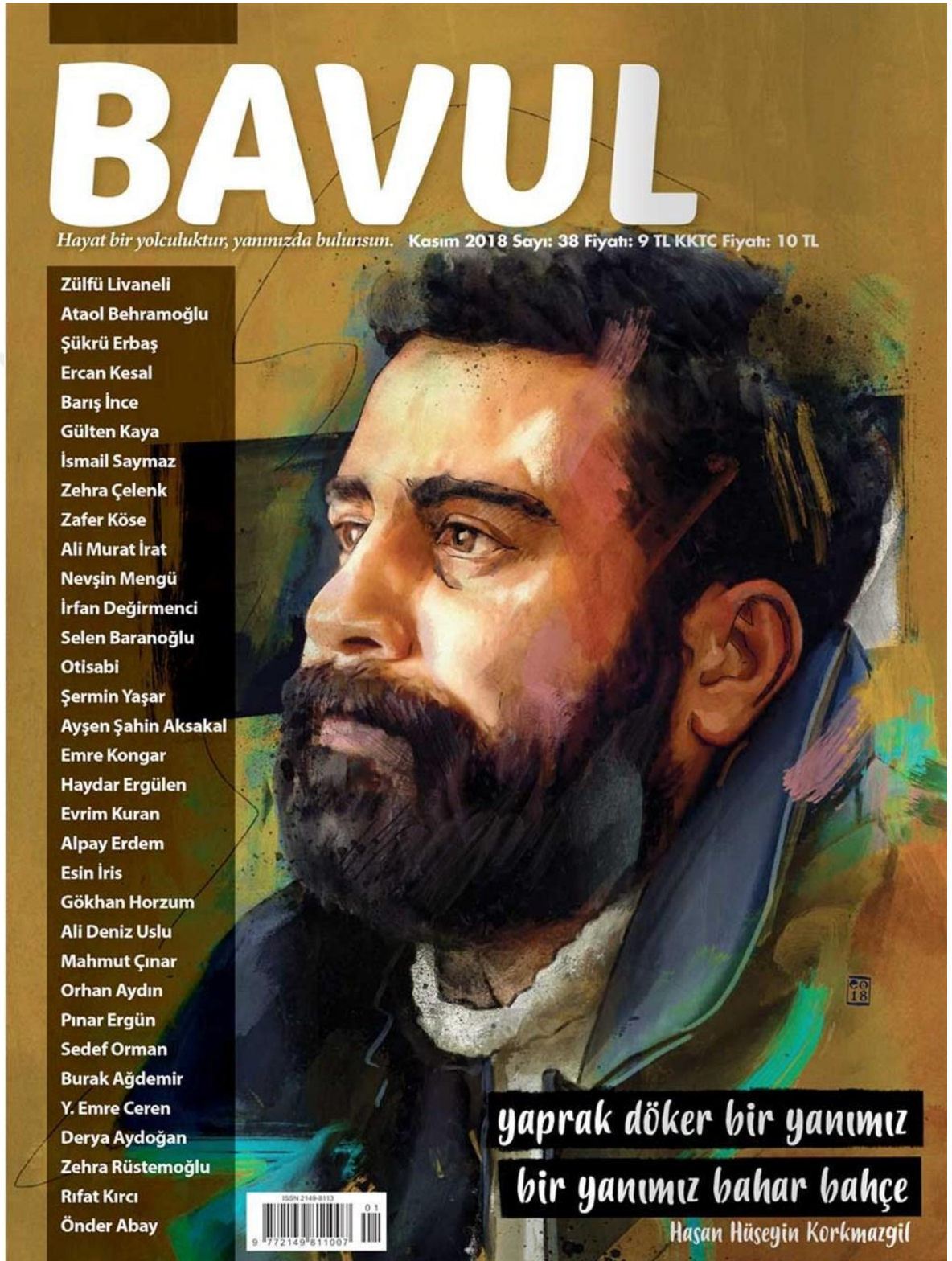


## Appendix U: Bavul Magazine Issue 37

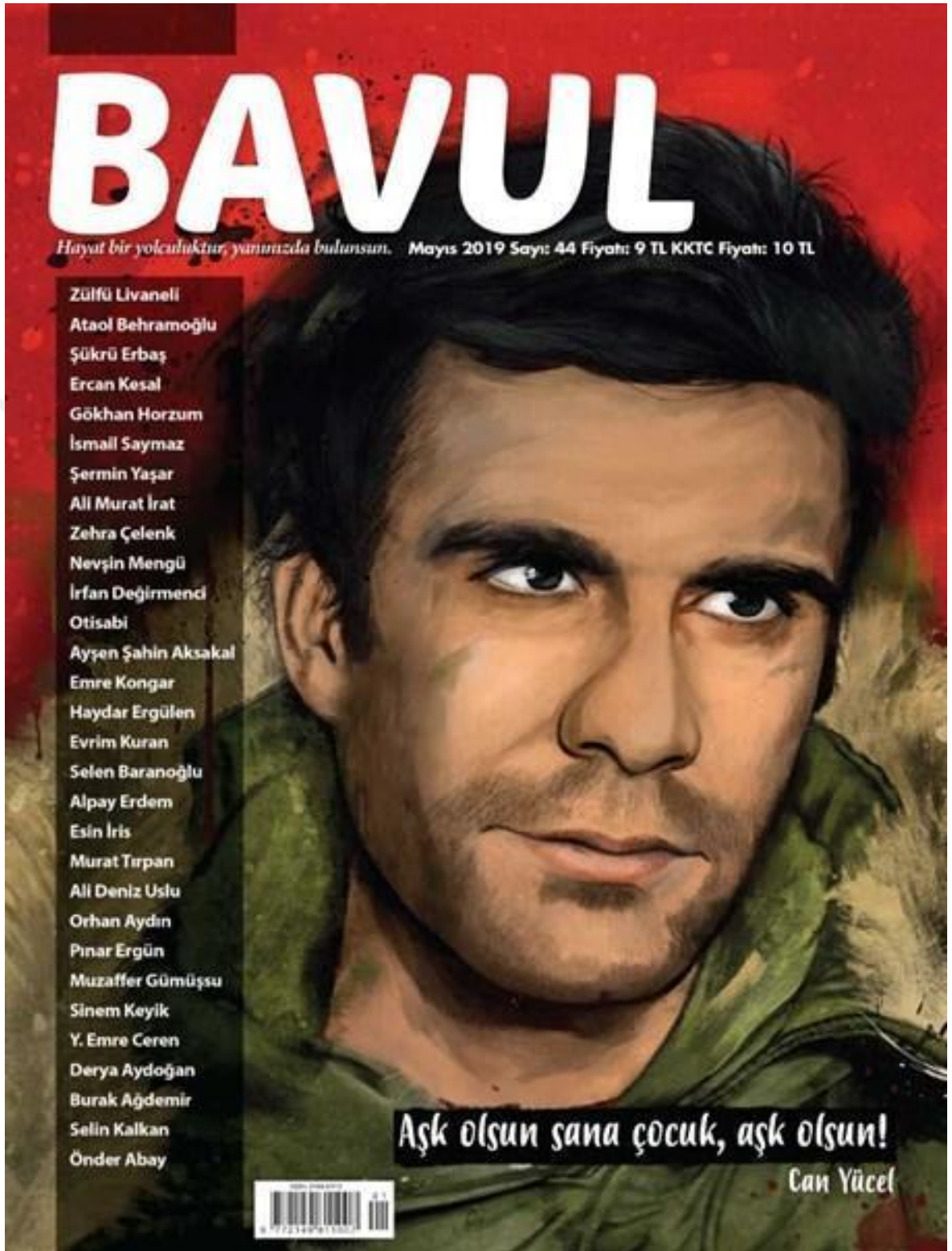




Appendix V: Bavul Magazine Issue 38



## Appendix W: Bavul Magazine Issue 44





# Appendix X: Bavul Magazine Issue 50

