

**THE RISE AND COLLAPSE OF FINANCE-WAR HEGEMONY:
AS ANTONIO GRAMSCI DEFINED ITS RISE AND AS DR. MAHATHIR
MOHAMAD SPELLS ITS COLLAPSE**

By:

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ABSTRAK

Kajian ini adalah satu kajian pemikiran Antonio Gramsci (1891 – 1937) dengan membuat perbandingan dengan seorang negarawan Malaysia, Mahathir Mohamad (1925) dan mengaitkannya dengan dinamik Politik Ekonomi Antarabangsa. Tujuan kajian ini adalah membuat rujukan kepada penulisan Gramsci sebelum *Prison Notebooks* berserta pembentangan Gramsci atas trajektori sejarah hubungkait kewangan kapitalis dan perang selaku tapak hegemoni dunia Anglo-Saxon pada zaman Gramsci sehinggalah dewasa ini. Kajian ini juga memperkenalkan kontradiksi dalam *bloc* sejarah Neoliberal; dan memperkenalkan potensi pergerakan Mahathir dalam menyusun satu *counter-hegemony* baru agar terbinanya satu *bloc* sejarah yang baru. Kajian ini berbentuk kualitatif dengan mendalami dialektik epistemologi Gramsci yang berteraskan ‘falsafah praxis’. Terdapat dua pergerakan *counter-hegemony* Mahathir Mohamad; pertama pembinaan *bloc* sejarah Dinar Emas; kedua pergerakan Menjenayahkan Perang. Pergerakan-pergerakan ini dilihat sebagai *war of position* ke arah pembentukan *bloc* sejarah alternatif. Walaupun pergerakan-pergerakan ini masih dalam tahap awal, ia menjanjikan kemungkinan perubahan dalam orde dunia masa kini.

Kata Kunci: hegemoni, counter-hegemony, war of position, bloc sejarah, kapital kewangan, dinar emas, penjenayahan perang, politik ekonomi antarabangsa.

ABSTRACT

This is a breakthrough in the study of Antonio Gramsci's (1891 – 1937) political thought, in its comparison with a leading Malaysia statesman named Mahathir Mohamad (1925-), as well as linking them to International Political Economy dynamics. The purpose of this study is to draw rich access to Gramsci's pre-Prison Notebooks and his articulation on the historical trajectory of connections of finance capital and war as the basis of the emerging Anglo-Saxon world hegemony. It covers Gramsci's lifetime and to the current era. It identifies the contradiction within the Neoliberal historical bloc; and the potential of Mahathir-initiated movement in organizing a new form of counter-hegemony as a new historical bloc. The study employs the qualitative research method underpinning the dialectics of Gramscian epistemology of 'philosophy of praxis'. There are two major assertions of Mahathir's counter-hegemony; first is the construction of a Gold Dinar historical bloc; and second is the movement to Criminalize War. These movements are considered as Gramscian war of position toward the formation of a new form of alternative historical bloc. Although these movements remain at an early stage, they offer the possibility of change in the prevailing world order.

Key Words: hegemony, counter-hegemony, war of position, historical bloc, finance capital, gold dinar, criminalize wars, international political economy.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ASEAN	: Association of Southeast Asian Nations
ASLI	: Asian Strategy and Leadership Institute
BA	: Barisan Alternatif
BN	: Barisan Nasional
BIS	: Bank of International Settlements
BPA	: Bilateral Payments Arrangements
CEOs	: Chief Executive Officers
DAP	: Democratic Action Party
EAEC	: East Asia Economic Caucus
EAEG	: East Asia Economic Grouping
FDI	: Foreign Direct Investment
G-7	: Group of Seven Industrialized Nations
G-10	: Group of Ten Nations
G-15	: Group of 15
G-77	: Group of 77
GATT	: General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade
GDP	: Gross Domestic Product
HPAEs	: High-Performing Asian Economies
ICC	: International Chamber of Commerce
IFI	: International Financial Institutions
IMF	: International Monetary Fund
IPE	: International Political Economy
IR	: International Relations
ISA	: Internal Security Act
KLFCW	: Kuala Lumpur Foundation to Criminalize War
KLSE	: Kuala Lumpur Stock Exchanges
MCA	: Malaysian Chinese Association
MIC	: Malaysian Indian Congress
MFP	: Malaysia Foreign Policy

MPA	: Multilateral Payment Arrangement
MPS	: Mont Pelerin Society
NAFTA	: North American Free Trade Agreement
NATO	: North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NAM	: Non-Alignment Movement
NEAC	: New Economic Action Council
NEP	: New Economic Policy
NGOs	: Non-Governmental Organizations
NOC	: National Operations Council
OECD	: Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development
OEEC	: Organization for European Economic Co-operation
OIC	: Organization of the Islamic Conference
OPEC	: Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries
OPP	: Outline Perspective Plan
PAS	: Pan-Islamic Party of Malaysia
PPP	: People's Progressive Party
PRM	: Malaysia People's Party
SAMA	: Saudi Arabian Monetary Authority
SAPs	: Structural Adjustment Programs
SIPRI	: Stockholm International Peace Research Institute
SMIs	: Small Medium Industries
TC	: Trilateral Commission
TCC	: Transnational Capitalist Class
TINA	: 'There Is No Alternative'
TNC	: Transnational Corporations
UNCTAD	: United Nations Conference on Trade and Development
UK	: United Kingdom
UMNO	: United Malays National Organization
UN	: United Nations
UNGA	: United Nations General Assembly
USA	: United States of America

WBCSD	: World Business Council for Sustainable Development
WCF	: World Chamber Federation
WEF	: World Economic Forum
WSF	: World Social Forum
WTO	: World Trade Organization
YMCA	: Young Men's Christian Association

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Capitalism is a world historical phenomenon and its uneven development means that individual nations cannot be at the same level of economic development at the same time.

Antonio Gramsci, 'The Return to Freedom . . .', *Avanti!*
(26 June 1919)

1.1. Objective of the Study

This is a study of Antonio Gramsci's theory of hegemony and counter-hegemony. It will elaborate on the significance and relevance of his theory in the understanding of international relations. The study will depict Dr. Mahathir Mohammad's prime international agenda covering both his critique of international financial order, the returning gold dinar exchange economy and war as an international crime, all as major parts of an international hegemony move.

This study attempts to apply and expand Gramsci's concept of hegemony. Hegemony is defined as the leadership of any given dominant social force through the consensual and coercive means within a given historical bloc, which explains further the relations among the social forces which are mainly depicted with the concept of hegemony and counter-hegemony. Furthermore, at the national level, hegemony is exercised by the dominant class. The international relations is recognized as the competition of national dominant class in order to establish a certain of global historical bloc that consists connections of 'national' politico-economy formation (the national

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