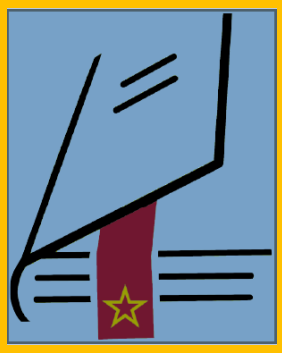
THE STRUGGLE TO BECOME THE NEW HUMAN

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BORAN PUBLISHING

The Struggle to Become the New Human

Translator's Note: Translating from Turkish into English presents challenges. One of them is the use of third-person singular pronouns such as 'he' and 'she'. In Turkish, the pronoun 'o' represents the third-person singular regardless of gender. To avoid affecting the fluency of the book, we have preferred to use 'he', even though the number of female revolutionaries in the Anatolian people's struggle certainly matches that of their male counterparts.

FOREWORD

When the writer of this book, my colleague and dear comrade Aytaç Ünsal, started his journey to define the human of the future, whom we call the "New Human", most of us did not know him that well; he was only one of 80 million people in our country and one of 8 billion people in the world.

In that sense, he is just one of us, "an ordinary man". But as you begin to understand the New Human that this book attempts to define, you will see how Aytaç, with all his feelings, thoughts and, most importantly, his practice, refuses to be an ordinary man and evolves into "a rank-and-file soldier of his cause."

That is because dear Aytaç and, of course, Ebru[1] put forward the most real, clear and significant example of a "New Human", whose simplest expression is to overcome one's focus on oneself in order to create a new self: struggling with the old and replacing it with the new.

When Aytaç started writing this book, he had been a Free Prisoner[2] in Burhaniye T Type Prison for two years. Fascism has made him pay the price for his struggle for justice in the courtrooms, corridors and squares of towns and cities, for defending the people's longing for justice and for acting as an advocate of the people. He is still paying the price for not defending the bosses who killed 301 miners in Soma for the sake of untold profits, but for defending the 301 miners who were killed—their mothers, fathers, siblings, wives and 432 orphaned children—for standing as a barricade against the attacks of fascism, and for defending the people whom they want to silence and suppress through torture, massacres, repression and prosecution.

The fascists make such lawyers pay the price for defending the rights of the people whose streams, forests, lakes and habitats have been plundered for the interests of imperialist monopolies, and whose wheat, oil and sweat are poured into foreign rivers.

[1] Ebru Timtik (1978 – August 27, 2020) was a Kurdish-Turkish human rights lawyer who died after going on hunger strike in pursuit of a fair trial. She was one of a group of 18 lawyers from People's Law Bureau, known for representing clients critical of the Turkish government, who were arrested in September 2017.

[2] Free Prisoner is the term used for revolutionary prisoners who refuse to submit to the fascist regime and maintain their free minds even in captivity.

The people's lawyers responded with resistance when fascism decreed: "You will either be the type of lawyer I desire, or I will not allow you to carry out your profession." For them, this was a matter of life and death. They were told that they must choose either to give up defending 432 children who were orphaned for profit, or to give up their freedom and, when necessary, their lives…

They chose the latter.

Aytaç was one of them. Because he did not give up his legal practice for the people, they first took away his freedom. After that, he was given an unjust sentence in an unfair trial. Neither Aytaç nor the other people's lawyers accepted this; instead, they said that they would never bow to this injustice and unlawfulness. A caravan of resistance was already on its way before them. The People's Lawyers Ebru and Aytaç said: "We too must be part of that caravan." They shouldered the people's yearning for bread, justice and freedom against all this unfairness, unlawfulness and injustice; they filled their saddlebags with belief and the spirit of resistance and joined the caravan. The first to reach the target was Grup Yorum [3]member and people's artist Helin Bölek[4], who had joined the caravan months before them. She had said, "I want to sing my songs freely," and she turned into a song herself. Following her, Mustafa Koçak,[5] who had said, "I'd rather be a stubborn mountain goat than a scapegoat," reached his goal by leaping and jumping from the tops of the mountains to the depths of the valleys. Another Grup Yorum member, "star-hearted İbrahim Gökçek,[6]" hit the target dead centre. They reached their targets while this book was being prepared, and the caravan of resistance continued its journey. Aytaç, Ebru, Özgür and Didem marched towards the target with determined steps.

In addition to what we have explained so far, this is the story of Aytaç's journey towards becoming a New Human. This is also the story of an only child from a middle-class family, the son of a judge and an engineer, who at the same time became the child of all the people. This caravan was not only for justice—it was also a caravan towards transformation into a New Human.

A New Human… What is a New Human? How can one become a New Human? How can one reach this goal? Dear Aytaç thought a great deal about these issues: the character of a New Human, the values

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[3] **Grup Yorum**: the revolutionary music band, established in mid 80s, and since then continuously threatened, tortured and persecuted by the fascist state. Y*orum* means 'interpretation' or 'comment' in Turkish. has released twenty-three albums and one film since 1985. Some of the group's concerts and albums have been banned over the years, and some of the group members have been arrested, jailed, and tortured, while 2 members of the group died of hunger strike over the Turkish state's treatment. Yorum remains popular and their albums continue to sell well in Turkey and internationally. Yorum has also given concerts in Germany, Austria, Australia, France, Italy, the Netherlands, Belgium, Denmark, United Kingdom, Greece and Syria.

[4] **Helin Bölek** (5 June 1991 – 3 April 2020) was a Kurdish member of Grup Yorum. She was arrested for the first time during a police operation at the İdil Culture Center in Istanbul in November 2016, when she was detained with seven other members of the group. They started an "indefinite and irreversible" hunger strike on 17 May 2019, to end the pressures from the state, the concert bans, and the raids on cultural centers. Helin joined the hunger strike in June 2019. She was released in November 2019 but kept on fasting. She died on 3 April 2020, the 288th day of a hunger strike at her home in Istanbul.

[5] **Mustafa Koçak** fell in a death fast in 2020. The Turkish state wanted to make an example of him.
Mustafa Koçak was given 2 aggravated life sentences for no real reason. Aggravated life imprisonment was applied in Turkey instead of the death penalty. In fact, it means staying in prison until death. The state wanted Mustafa Koçak to become a defector and incriminate people with statements that the state wanted to put in prison. Mustafa refused to do that. The police threatened him, "Then you will never see daylight again until the end of your days." Mustafa has also gone on a death fast demanding a "fair trial". And he said: "I would rather be a free stubborn mountain goat than a scapegoat". In Turkish, both are goats: Scapegoat and mountain goat.

[6] **İbrahim Gökçek** (30 September 1980 – 7 May 2020) was a musician of the revolutionary band Grup Yorum in which he played the bass guitar. He died on 7 May 2020 after a 323-day hunger strike, which he had ended two days before his death.

he holds and their meaning in daily life. This is how this valuable work materialised before us. Of course, what makes this work so valuable is not only the work and effort spent to realise it. Its true value comes from Aytaç's weeks of hard work explaining the New Human and the struggle to achieve it while he was on hunger strike for hundreds of days; his work was concretised in his character and in the resistance. It is only possible to understand this very difficult journey of Aytaç and Ebru when one understands the difficulties faced by those marching on this path, as well as the obstacles and everything awaiting them at the end of their journey—in short, everything related to this journey.

In that case, let us begin our effort to understand by starting from the end: the New Human who awaits them at the end of their journey.

First, let us emphasise the term "New Human". It does not mean renewal only in terms of time, but also renewal in terms of quality. It defines something more progressive and developed in qualitative terms. Likewise, the term "old" does not define what is old in terms of time, but what is reactionary in terms of quality. Based on the qualitative difference we have discussed, there is a contrast between the social systems defined by these two terms. The equivalent of what we describe as "new"—what is historically and socially more progressive—is socialism; while the equivalent of the "old" is decaying and dying capitalism, which has ultimately become reactionary.

The difference between the old and the new is the fundamental difference between socialism and capitalism. This difference is as clear as night and day, or black and white.

The actual question is not the definition of the New Human; it is how this New Human can be created—how this goal can be reached. If we think that a person's character is determined by his or her material living conditions, we can say that it is necessary to establish a socialist system in order to create this "New Human" so that all individuals in society are able to reach this state. But this should not give the impression that it is impossible to create the character of a New Human without first building a socialist society. The human being of a future socialist society—its morality, cultural values, way of life and way of thinking—can already be concretised and created within our own personalities today.

Indeed, that requires serious and constant effort, as well as systematic education. It will likewise be a painful process, but there is no doubt that it is possible to realise.

That is exactly what Aytaç defined when he spoke of creating the New Human today. This is the core of our struggle today: to create the new socialist human. Therefore, we can say that the effort to create a New Human is essentially the same as the effort to establish socialism.

If we return to the question of what and who the New Human is, we need to express many characteristics of the New Human, and dear Aytaç has already done this. In the simplest terms, we can say that the New Human is the one who destroys the old and constructs the new. The "old", as we expressed before, is an expression of everything that belongs to historically and politically decaying capitalism, including all its personal characteristics and ethical, cultural and moral values.

Thus, the New Human refuses everything that belongs to the system, everything that binds him or her to this system and the status quo, and replaces it with socialist values and socialist culture. The effort to create a New Human is the effort to reach the socialist "New Human" by cleansing oneself of all the cultural remnants of the capitalist system, which Marx defined as the birthmarks of capitalism. As people

achieve this cleansing, they progress along this path, reach the point of becoming a New Human and concretise this in their character.

The struggle to reach the New Human that we have explained here is also the essence of being a revolutionary. For this reason, from the outset, taking steps towards a revolutionary character also marks the beginning of breaking free from the filth of the system. The birthmarks of capitalism start to disappear and are replaced by the physical and mental reflection of the "New Human". Slowly, the old transforms into the new. This is also how the dialectical process of development continues. In fact, this break is a serious ideological struggle. It continues through conflict and struggle and will result in the creation of an alternative to the personality produced by the system. The alternative personality, also defined in Che's essay "New Human", is nothing less than the revolutionary personality.

The reason I have tried to explain all this about the New Human is that my esteemed colleague, the writer of this book, my comrade Aytaç, as well as Ebru, Didem and Özgür, who shared his hunger, have long since reached the "New Human" on this honourable path, and their march itself is an expression of the New Human personality.

They refused everything that belongs to this system and that's how they managed to become the New Human. First, they refused the blessings of the system, its obscure promises, its shiny but fake freedoms, expectations for a future which probably would never come true, as well as individual longings for liberation—and they dedicated their lives to collective liberation and the people's liberation struggle.

If they had wanted, they could have turned their diplomas into money—described since the Lydians as "dirt on one's hands", humanity's wolf and the greatest enemy of the peoples. But they placed their diplomas in the service of the people. They chose to be advocates of the people, not of money, taking on all the difficulties and all the costs they had to pay, and even more. They took the side of the oppressed, not the oppressor.

And one day, when the oppressors they had stood against all their lives wanted to make them pay for it—when a kind of death was imposed on them (when a person is condemned through injustice, making him suffer that injustice is worse than killing him)—they did not bow down. They chose resistance in the midst of hunger for hundreds of days, saying, "We do not beg for our lives; the oppressed would be upset with us."

> *[["Now they are commanding me to give up all this. They say you cannot defend the workers, peasants and Anatolian peoples. They say you cannot act as a lawyer at the People's Law Bureau. They say you cannot see Didem for the next 10.5 years. They are trying to bar me from my people, my homeland, my love and my profession. But these are not such easily dispensable, worthless things. It is not simple to say 'Anyway, nothing can be done.' I will never give up on my people, my Anatolia, who taught me life and made me human with their labour. I might die, but I won't give up."]]*

That is what Aytaç said when he began the resistance. By saying this and defending hope in the midst of death, he was at the forefront of the struggle to establish a new life, from devotion to self-sacrifice and from labour to love, and to create a New Human. Ebru, with whom he had fought shoulder to shoulder for justice for years, and his clients Özgür and Didem, for whom he had sought justice for years, were also with him.

I think that enduring hunger for hundreds of days, turning one's body into a weapon, is one of the greatest challenges that a person—the human body, brain, soul and will—can face. It is clear that overcoming this difficulty requires great strength, great faith and a strong will. It is, of course, their love for the people and the homeland, their unwavering belief that they are historically and politically justified, and their limitless trust in their comrades and their great family. What dear Aytaç said when he began his death fast is the simplest expression of this.

Ebru and Aytaç, with this strength and belief, ignored the calls—some from the enemy and some from friends—that "life is sacred", "it is not worth dying for anything", and "Stop it." As dear Ebru expressed very plainly: "If they chose to kill us, we decide how this will happen—resisting or quietly," and they continued to resist…

That's why today the shortest and simplest answer to the question "What is a New Human?" is: the New Human is Ebru, it is Aytaç.

With my endless love and respect for the new people, Ebru and Aytaç, Didem and Özgür, those who turn their bodies into a barricade against oppression,

Lawyer Günay Dağ

INTRODUCTION

When the New Human is mentioned, different thoughts may come to mind. “How can humans be defined as old or new?” To begin at the beginning, the concept of the human, on its own, is abstract. It has no place in life in the abstract. First, the question should be: “Humans under what conditions?” Are we speaking of a woman, a man, a worker, a boss, an oppressor or one of the oppressed…? In line with the answers to these questions, the definition of the human finds its meaning in life.

The US Constitution can be used as an example to clarify this and make it more concrete. In the US Constitution, the concept of the “human” was used when defining rights. But in fact, the human being described by this concept was a white male from the ruling class, because Black people and poor people, even if they were white, had no rights at all. Women were also deprived of many of the rights men had. From this, it can be understood that human existence cannot be considered in the abstract, as isolated individuals.

Humans have always been social beings. In class societies, they are members of a certain class, and their lifestyle, way of thinking, mental state, emotions, behaviour and so on bear the stamp of the class interests, ideology and social psychology of the class to which they belong.

That is, human existence is always historically defined. For example, the needs and feelings of a mother whose son set himself on fire because of unemployment are completely different from the needs, feelings, way of thinking and lifestyle of Caroline Koç, a member of the Koç Group[7] family. As a cliché from Yeşilçam[8] films puts it: “They are people from different worlds.”

Well, what do we mean by New Human? As we stated above, humans are embodied in social conditions. He is a product of the society in which he lives. Everything is determined within these social conditions. Humans cannot be seen independently from this.

In other words, humans who are born, grow and develop in the imperialist states of Europe are different from those who are shaped in a neo-colonial country or a socialist country. For example, in Cuba today, it is ensured by the state that nobody is homeless and starving. This has become normal for a person living in Cuba. Also, in the education system there, the values of the people are prioritised. It is completely different culturally for the capitalist states.

These conditions are different in the imperialist states and in the neo-colonial countries.

Why are people living in these different conditions different from one another?

The answer to this question lies in the concept of “knowledge”, because knowledge is what makes human beings what they are. Human beings are the product of their habits, behaviours and knowledge. Acquired knowledge creates thought; thoughts create emotions; thoughts and emotions create behaviour. Habits, on the other hand, are behaviours that are persistently repeated. All of this also reveals personality. In the capitalist system, in bourgeois society, there is poverty and wealth—this is knowledge. The contrast between poverty and wealth in society is accepted as a reality and considered legitimate, or is presented in this way—this too is knowledge. It is also knowledge that the ideology prevailing in such a

[7] One of the richest and oldest dynasties of modern Turkey.
[8] “Hollywood” of Turkey

society, that is, bourgeois ideology, constantly forces into people's minds the idea that "everyone must fight to save himself."

A person born and raised in bourgeois society is shaped by this information. His feelings and thoughts begin to form in this direction. Exploitation is now "normal" for him. It's ordinary and natural. He begins to think that going against this is "abnormal." Or he draws the conclusion that he must quickly save himself in this reality. This personality is the human personality of a creature of the capitalist system. Capitalism is now a spent system that can give nothing great to humanity. It's rotten; it represents the old. Therefore, the person created by capitalism is an "old person."

Juxtaposed with such a person, who grew up under the conditions of capitalism and acts within bourgeois ideology, is the New Human. A New Human is a person developed by the values and rules of socialism and shaped by socialist ideology. That is our new definition of the human being. A person who was born, raised and has lived under capitalism carries, in Marx's words, its "birthmarks". As people in our country, where distorted capitalism prevails, we all carry these diseases within ourselves. Today, Turkey is a bundle of contradictions experienced by the poorest, the most humiliated and the richest. What holds this society together is corruption, alienation, oppression and terror. The result is a distorted cultural formation.

The distorted cultural formation needs to be further explained. Our country is where millions of hungry people live alongside a handful of billionaires and the majority belongs to the petty bourgeois subclass. It is a country that has no security; where the strong survive; where the people always live under oppression, torture and persecution. It is governed by a form of government called fascism. Fascism rules by scaring the people and creating empty hopes. Therefore, petty-bourgeois individualism in the public finds the opportunity to develop. Because a sense of self-preservation, an animal motive for survival begins to guide life. The petty bourgeoisie must protect and stand up for its "self" against all predators in this wild forest; it must show itself to be different, to be successful. It must be vigilant, must trip up "rivals," and must not care about anyone else. And everywhere it must primarily think of itself. The conditions of cultural distortion are preserved here. Complexes, troubled lives, jealousy, lying, outbursts of emotion, etc.—any kind of distortion comes from this source. In other words, a person is not like that because he is a "bad person," or "liar," but because he lives in these conditions and is shaped by these circumstances.

The ruling classes consciously distort the scientific fact that "man is the product of the conditions in which he lives," preventing the masses from understanding this fact. But they themselves shape their policies according to this fact. This is why they apply their policies of corruption in accordance with social conditions. It is for this reason that the entertainment cultures of their TV series, their art and their films derive their sources from the same corrupt culture. Therefore, we do not accept the concepts of "good person-bad person," "guilty person," "immoral person" presented to the public. This is not true. The truth is the human reality that capitalism has created, the New Human reality that we have created. "If the conditions in which he lives form a person, the conditions should be shaped in the most human way," Marx says. Creating a New Human is also nothing more than the humane organisation of the conditions in which people live. That's the reality.

This is the real reason for this work. Today, power does not belong to the people. It belongs to the ruling classes. It is an order that imposes slave-like exploitation on the people. We do not accept it; we say, "No. A thousand times no." We want to create a new order, a new society. Who can establish such

an order? People who think only of themselves, who care only about the lifestyle offered to them by the rulers, who are alienated from the values of their people and who consume all emotions, thoughts and values within consumer culture—in short, who consume themselves—cannot create such a change or even demand it. Those who want this change must first create a New Human within themselves.

It's true, we're all the product of this order. We've been brainwashed by drugs, humiliated by corrupt sexuality, drugged by anti-depressants, tried to be who we couldn't be, to live lives we couldn't live. Our souls were stolen; our personalities were crushed; our emotions were mocked; whatever we possessed was destroyed. Yes, we're bogged down in mud. But we know that mud dries much faster than ordinary soil and becomes more fertile. Those who have deteriorated the most are also those with the greatest desire to be reborn. With this reality, we will change ourselves. We will be new people; we will create new people from our people.

How will this come to be? Here is a book trying to answer this question. The peoples of the world have a lot of experience in this regard. What have we not achieved in history…? It has been scientifically proven again and again that the children of poor folk can do anything: change and govern themselves. Considering this scientific knowledge, we will move forward. But with the practical advice and experience of everyone who has read this book, the book will become richer. After all, this book and the values written in it, for which we die, for which we are imprisoned, and the scientific fact that socialism will come to be one day, will gain more meaning as socialist society manifests the New Human personality that socialist culture will create.

The struggle to create the New Human is a war. It is a bloody war against the petty-bourgeois dictatorship entrenched in our personalities. It is a struggle to drive the petty bourgeoisie within us to commit suicide and to carry out our class suicide. Petty-bourgeois pride, complexes, ego, negative tendencies and so on—this is a call for a militant struggle against these habits. We want this book to be an arsenal, a call to war and a means of strengthening the blows we will strike.

Who Is the New Human?

The New Human has been a widely used concept over several decades in the history of the world revolution. So, who is this New Human? Is he special, or does he have extraordinary abilities? Or is this an ideal that will never come into being?

This concept needs to be better understood and given a clear definition. In the struggle for the New Human there are two main deviations. The first is the mechanical point of view: the idea that the New Human can be reached immediately simply by accepting certain thoughts or truths. This point of view believes that one becomes a New Human merely by accepting revolutionary ideas. But in life it does not happen this way; ideas do not come to life this way. The existence of a New Human is possible only through continuous struggle. Can a perspective that does not embrace this concept achieve the desired result? Is it possible for this to happen spontaneously? Obviously not.

The second point of view sees becoming a New Human as impossible to attain. From this point of view, it is not possible to be a New Human or to create a New Human starting today. Only extraordinary people can do it; the New Human is seen as an ideal, a dream that will never come true. From such a point of view, it is of course impossible for the New Human to be achieved and brought to life.

To conclude these discussions, it is first necessary to define the concept of the New Human. To identify the New Human, it is necessary to go even further. We must talk about the human being before we talk about the New Human. This discussion may sound very simple. One might think: "What, now we do not know what a human being is? Who does not know that?" However, a human being is not merely a physical being. Human beings are not abstract. Without understanding the human reality as a whole—the dynamics within which a person lives, thinks and works—the New Human personality cannot be understood.

The concept of the New Human presupposes the existence of the old human. The New Human develops from the old, so it is essential to understand the old human and the human being before understanding the New Human. There is no abstract truth; truth is always concrete. The New Human is not an abstract theory; he draws his strength from existing reality and from his embodiment within it. The seeds of the New Human are present in today's human being and await their growth.

A human is a social being. He can only live and develop in communities formed with other people. What defines a person is the social conditions in which he lives. In the dictionary definition, a human is defined as "a living being who lives in a society, within a culture, has the ability to think and speak, can understand the universe as a whole, can change and shape it as a result of his or her findings."

That is, both the dictionary definition and the philosophical, anthropological and sociological meanings of the human being lead us to the same conclusion. As a social being, a person lives within the rules of the society in which he lives. The essence of the human being is a product of social conditions.

Let us go back a little further. What is society? It is the totality of the social and mutual relations of people and the organisation of life that arises from these relations. Society was born when human beings separated from the animal kingdom through labour. As humanity's struggle through labour and with nature developed, the concept of society began to take shape. People began to coexist and to live in an organised way within the framework of certain rules. The history of human beings becoming human parallels the formation of societies.

As a spontaneous and natural process, through labour and struggle, the separation of human beings from animals and their socialisation entered a different stage after the emergence of private property. After the emergence of private property, class struggle became the most important driving force in social development. The history of societies became the history of class struggles.

Telling the history of societies or the formation of societies is not the subject of this book. It will be mentioned only briefly in relation to the socialisation of human beings.

Primitive human beings came together in the struggle against nature while they were relatively weak. They shared life with other people. They developed through common hunting, common food-gathering and common protection from natural conditions. These conditions created primitive communal society. Every society has material living conditions; these are natural and social material conditions. Part of the natural conditions is the geographical environment. The climate, forms of cultivation, natural resources,

plains, flora and vegetation of the part of the earth on which people live make up the geographical environment, a condition of natural and social life. The natural conditions of geography have themselves been transformed and reshaped by the labour and life activities of many generations.

These natural material living conditions are increasingly involved in the process of social life through the active struggle of human society with nature throughout social development, and the fact that people themselves use nature to create value through production means that this becomes part of the sphere of influence and activity of people. In the conditions of primitive communal society, nature's influence on human life was much greater. Natural conditions also shaped human life and had an impact on social life.

Among all the material living conditions of society and their mutual effects, the most decisive is the mode of production. How and to what extent people can make their natural environment useful for their own purposes, and learn to dominate the forces of nature, are determined by the mode of production.

Human beings were held captive by the uncontrolled effects of natural and social living conditions in the primitive society period, that is, in the initial periods of social development. Rain, heat, drought, etc. all kinds of natural phenomena created serious consequences. But as humanity's knowledge and the relations of production developed, technology developed and control over nature increased too.

Especially at the stage of capitalism, the enormous growth of the productive forces has expanded the limits of humanity's domination over nature. But because production in capitalist society is based on profit, capitalists consume natural resources in a haphazard and wasteful manner, causing destruction and damage to the environment.

Returning to our subject, these social conditions are the foundations that determine human beings. When we speak of a New Human, it is very important to ask when, under what conditions and where this person lives. For example, slavery was the main mode of production in the Roman state.

A slave living in the cities of Christian Rome was different from a free subject living in the Anatolian cities of the Muslim Ottoman Empire.

In a society divided into masters and slaves, the way a slave is exploited and his outlook on life, and consequently his understanding of truth, are different from the outlook and character of a worker or civil servant exploited in capitalist society.

It is social consciousness that reveals the difference here. In other words, worldviews and understandings comprise theories and social psychology.

Social consciousness is based on and determined by material social relations.

Marx writes:

> *'The mode of production in material life determines the general character of the social, political and spiritual processes of life. It is not the consciousness of men that determines their existence, but, on the contrary, their social existence determines their consciousness'*
>
> Karl Marx, *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1977

Consciousness is the human ability to recognise oneself and one's environment. Recognition consists of information and facts. A person gains knowledge from the life he lives and from concrete, material reality. Of course, he filters this information, compares it with previous information, interprets it and

finally draws from it new knowledge that may differ from what other people have drawn. But this does not change the fact that knowledge and consciousness are products of material reality and social conditions. Therefore, it is life itself that creates consciousness.

In the dictionary, social consciousness is defined as "all forms of consciousness that form institutions such as thought, art, politics, and customs in social life." As can be understood from this definition, social consciousness is different from individual consciousness; it influences individual consciousness and defines the consciousness of society. Social consciousness is therefore consciousness determined by social conditions and by the relationships that people establish with one another within those conditions.

In terms of its content, social consciousness initially reflects various aspects of social life and, over time, the whole objective world. Of course, social consciousness reflects not only social relations, but also the relationship between human beings and nature and, furthermore, relationships within nature. Social consciousness has political, legal, philosophical, scientific, moral, aesthetic and religious forms. Together, these constitute social consciousness.

In this respect, social consciousness is closely related to the concept of ideology. Ideology, on the other hand, is defined in the dictionary as "the body of political, legal, scientific, philosophical, religious, moral and aesthetic ideas that form a political or social doctrine and direct the behaviour of a government, a political party or a social class."

The definition clearly reveals the relationship between social consciousness and ideology. This relationship consists in the determination of all the elements that constitute social consciousness by the body of ideas expressed as ideology. In other words, every element of social consciousness is determined by the systematic ideas belonging to that element; for example, political consciousness is determined by thought or perspective about politics. Therefore, social consciousness is directly or indirectly affected by changes in social conditions and by their reflections in the ideological field. This means that social consciousness changes continuously depending on the time, place and material conditions of life in society.

For example, the understanding of aesthetics and beauty in a feudal society and the understanding of aesthetics and beauty in a capitalist society are different. Or the moral standards of a slave society and of a feudal society are also different. This is created by the differences between the social conditions.

Social consciousness includes the consciousness of individual people; in that sense, it consists of their sum. But, as the definition above suggests, it is more than that. For this reason, individual consciousness is a direct or indirect reflection of social consciousness, although it also has a character specific to the individual, arising from that person's living conditions and experiences and shaped by the direct or indirect influence of social consciousness.

Social consciousness carries a class character from the moment societies are divided into classes. Marx says:

> *"The ideas of the ruling class are in every epoch the ruling ideas, i.e. the class, which is the ruling material force of society, is at the same time its ruling intellectual force. The class which has the means of material production at its disposal, has control at the same time over the means of mental production, so that thereby, generally speaking, the ideas of those who lack the means of mental production are subject to it."*

If we make what Marx said a little more concrete, the rulers of the Babylonian slave state made the Laws of Hammurabi. These laws defended slavery and separated slaves from free people. The rulers' understanding of morality was based on justifying the system of slavery; defending slaves was considered immoral. Today in Turkey, the situation is no different. The dominant class in Turkey today is the comprador bourgeoisie. For example, the understanding of art promoted by the Koç and Eczacıbaşı families dominates art in general. Education is shaped according to their needs. They publish philosophy books and pave the way for idealist philosophy. Any political party that the rulers do not support cannot form the government. Political ideas that they do not want or support cannot be discussed or written about on television or in newspapers. In other words, the ideas of the ruling class also dominate society.

In these conditions, consciousness is formed. Views, theories and ideas emerge in these conditions. People recognise their natural and social environments, their class position and objective interests, and become conscious of them; they comprehend the development tendencies of the society in accordance with the general legal regulations to one extent or another. By formulating tasks, goals, and programmes based on theory, they try to consolidate the existing social order or put an end to it and replace it with a new society. This social consciousness formed under social conditions can also serve to strengthen the social order in which it flourishes. That is, there is a mutual dialectical relationship between them.

Social consciousness creates the people of that social order. Feudal society, slave society, capitalist society create their own people.

Human personality is also formed in the social order and shaped by social consciousness. Personality is defined as "the totality of specific characteristics, spiritual and mental qualities specific to a person." It is a concept that expresses the man who is effective in social life with his abilities and characteristics (productive, mental, political, moral and emotional), who is essentially conditioned by society, as well as individuality, as a genuine and unique being.

Personality is the totality of a person's emotions, thoughts, behaviours and character traits. All of these make up human personality. There is a dialectical relationship between these parts of personality. Social conditions create thoughts; thoughts create feelings. These thoughts and feelings direct people towards behaviour. Sometimes one or the other may influence behaviour more strongly. Of course, the scientific method is for thought—the mind—to direct behaviour, not emotion. In other words, thought is fundamental both in the relationship between emotion and thought and in the relationship between them and behaviour. However, just as in the relationship between matter and consciousness, there is a dialectical reciprocity between feelings and thoughts. While thoughts create emotions, emotions also affect thoughts positively or negatively to a certain extent. Behaviour is also directly affected by this. Human behaviour and the practice of life create feelings and thoughts in a person. We can express this fact as: "One thinks the way one lives and lives as one thinks."

Therefore, a person's personality begins to take shape from the moment he is born; we can even say that it begins to form in the womb. The child will certainly be born into a family and social environment in which he or she must live, independently of his or her own free will, until reaching an age at which the rules, traditions, behaviours and ideas surrounding the child begin to shape the personality. For this reason, some basic personality traits are determined even before the child is born. A child born and raised

in an agricultural village differs in personality from a child growing up in city apartments. Values, rules, lifestyle and ideas in rural life are different from those of urban life. The reason a rural child grows up with greater endurance while an urban child becomes more sensitive is the difference in living conditions.

There is collectivism in villages, especially before agricultural life is liquidated. Village people live in the form of "we". Solidarity is embodied in their culture. Fields are planted together, crops are harvested together, weddings are held together, funerals are held together… In the city, by contrast, individualism is fundamental. Life takes the form of small families of three or four people. Other families and children living in the same way are "strangers". In this life, the child is constantly told to protect himself and that the stranger is dangerous. In this way, he or she is taught to think only of himself or herself.

A child who is prepared for school age in this way is shaped by similar thoughts and behaviours in school. They learn to think certain thoughts, beginning to learn that they should not trust anyone, that everyone is their opponent. For example, in exams such as the entrance exam to high schools, they are clearly competing. Those who score the most can pass this exam, and only those who pass the exam are likely to succeed and are valuable in this society in which we live. Those who are successful can have a profession; they can earn money, get married, and become accepted. Those who fail have no value in this society and they are isolated.

This is true for children throughout their school life. From then on, other children are competitors who must be defeated. Children's social and cultural lives, in addition to the influence of school, are also affected by the social order in which they live. Children are presented with idols such as pop stars, athletes and television actors. These are the successful people accepted by the system. Children envy them. They are beautiful or handsome, they are "cool", wear expensive brands, eat in expensive places, have fun and associate with other popular people. All they think about is their self-image and remaining popular. Apart from that, they have no purpose. "You have to be like them" is what children are told on television, in television series and on social media, because these are the people in society who are presented as transcending the ordinary and living gilded lives.

After all, the child follows the example of these idols as he or she grows up. The child wants to dress like them and to be like them. In this context, rules, values and measures begin to form within the group and within the children's community. Middle- and high-school age is when young people begin to follow these rules. The most noticeable people in this environment are now those who wear particular clothing brands, the fashionable ones who can go to places such as clubs, and the "coolest" ones. Those who cannot are seen as "losers", as people whom no one wants to interact with. These unwritten rules come to life and influence life. Children and teenagers are told again and again that, in order to achieve their goals, they should think only about themselves. Others are now rivals who must be pressured and made to fail.

The child continues to grow in this hotbed of abstract, unattainable goals and selfishness, learning thoughts, emotions, and behaviour inside it. His personality begins to mature during this learning process. That's how a person's personality is formed in a social order. Apart from this, education occupies a very important place, especially in capitalism today. Education today is a method of making people, of creating people. Objects are made by means, and the means of making people is education.

People's habits and behaviours are the result of their knowledge. In everyday life, an ordinary person is fed with information directly and this knowledge is good enough to ensure the continuation of social

order. For example, the image of the state is shown in schools as a referee between the population, not a tool of enforcement. This knowledge leads to judgments and thoughts. As a result, the people who have undergone this training follow the rules set by the state because they believe in the necessity of the state. This information is conveyed in schools, especially in basic subjects related to many aspects of life.

For example, the superiority of the nation is taught in history lessons. With this indoctrination, the behaviour of defending the state begins to form. The information used in human creation is given in accordance with the type of person they want to create. For example, capitalists want to create people suitable for capitalism, so they do not teach the people's values in their educational systems. Just like it's necessary to train a mechanic or a bricklayer, they need to impart knowledge to them. In imperialist states like Germany, individualistic knowledge is encouraged at an early age. For example, in Germany, children are taught from the nursery about private ownership. Children are told not to share their toy personal belongings with others,

This is presented as moral. After all, a person who learns that owning personal belongings and being an individual are right begins to behave accordingly.

Every social order has a ruling class. This ruling class governs the state and shapes society. A social order in which the people rule continues to exist in the interests of the people. But in a society dominated by a handful of rich bosses, social life is organised in the interests of that handful.

Everything is shaped accordingly. Law, education, everything is shaped by this reality, because it defines the rules of the game, sets out rules that are profitable and protect their interests.

Through this education and culture, rulers create people who believe that injustice is right. People who have undergone this training are not angry at families of Koç and Sabancı, the comprador bourgeoisie, who are their killers, but try to be like and are eager to work for them.

Those who receive rewards and approval from US monopolies are products of the regime's education policy. They then emulate the compradors who turn Anatolia[9] into a market and are responsible for starving babies only a few months old, instead of hating them. They are taught an idealist method of thinking; scientific thinking is not taught. Thus, they are not taught to ask questions, investigate and inquire into life. Instead, the ruling class favours abstract, backward ideas and gets people to act in accordance with them. Causes, conditions and consequences are not explained. For example, the Turks are presented as having come to Anatolia from Central Asia almost instantaneously and as having founded great states in Anatolia through heroism. But how and under what conditions they lived, and what difficulties they faced, are not explained. They were heroes and superior; the Ottoman Empire is presented as having advanced when ruled by talented people and regressed when incompetent people took over. Then, in an instant, the Republic of Turkey was established. This process is taught and memorised without any cause-and-effect relationship. Mathematics and the basic method used in every subject, including literature, are disconnected from life; education becomes the memorisation of abstract information. This method does not produce better understanding, only better memorisation.

Seeing it as shameful to ask questions results in making people ashamed and hesitant about asking questions. But asking questions is the basic means of getting information and the truth. Someone who has learned to ask questions for information is someone who knows how to learn. They can also learn the

[9] Anatolia is the geographic name of the Asian part of Turkey

causes, consequences and contents of events and cases. This means learning the true nature of the system. It's no problem if the quality of the education system is improved for a system that has nothing to hide. But the 1% has everything. In contrast, millions of people suffer hunger and poverty in a system based on lies.

Every truth in such a system is dangerous because it threatens the system. So, instead of creating minds through education that can reach the truth, it creates minds that do not question and do not think.

Education, culture, law, religion, morality… These devices in the field of thought of the social system build the human personality. They work to convince you through the education system that this is the most appropriate system. Culture leads people to individual satisfaction, puts the individual forward and it causes individualism to solidify. Law is the acceptance of the rules set by sovereigns for the people. They seek to make people satisfied with an unfair, unjust system.

If we consider the issue in our country more concretely, it is better to start with the basic character of the socio-economic system. The phenomenon that determines this basic character is neo-colonialism, and distorted capitalism develops from it. Turkey is a distorted capitalist state. Its capitalism did not develop according to its own dynamics and rules. Some time after the Republic was established, the government tried to create a national bourgeoisie. But the rich, including families such as Koç and Eczacıbaşı, did not use the resources allocated to them to build a national industry, because establishing such an industry would have required them to pay a higher price. They would have been likely to make less profit and to struggle to find markets. These rich people, who considered this and did not want to pay the price, handed their resources and capital over to imperialist monopolies. Industry in our country was established by these monopolies in favour of their own interests rather than those of Turkey. From outside, the imperialists created a distorted form of capitalism through the industries and assembly production they established.

In the natural functioning of capitalism, feudalism becomes liquidated. But in a distorted capitalism, the remnants of feudalism on the one hand continue to survive. On the other hand, because a national heavy industry cannot be established, the working class is disorganized; there is not a heavy industrial worker type, and the workers are not disconnected from the peasantry. Society is shaped according to the material conditions of distorted capitalism. In distorted capitalism, everything is distorted. Morality, culture, urbanization—the same distortion is seen in all areas. For example, on the one hand, there are skyscrapers, villas, and apartments in the cities, but there are slums where cows and chickens are fed. And in cities, corrupt, instant entertainment imported from the US or EU imperialism exists side-by-side with village associations that create examples of solidarity from village life.

Villagers in their minds and urban in their daily lives, they are in reality neither one nor the other. This is the result of the distortions produced by "arabesque music"[10] and culture. In neo-colonial societies, industry is created by imperialist monopolies through the labour force of villagers who migrate from the countryside. The village population is transferred to the cities. The judgements and culture of the people who come from the countryside have their roots in feudalism. They try to live according to these values when they come to the cities. However, in the cities they have to live within the relations established by

[10] Since the end of 1960s, the arabesque music and consequently arabesque culture established its place in Turkey, especially amongst the poor. This culture encourages people to believe that all the problems in their lives are their destiny and nothing can change that. It discourages people from fighting for their right and turn their lives around.

capitalism. Arabesque culture is the product of people caught between wanting to think and live in accordance with feudal values and being forced to live under capitalist rules. It is music and culture arising from the feeling of being caught between two worlds, impoverished, humiliated and excluded from their own society.

As an example of the value judgments of people from the villages, we can give the concept of love. The people's value judgements are based on love and love is measured according to the values created through labour. Whereas capitalism in general forms relations based on economic interest.

In neo-colonial societies where distorted capitalism rules, these two cultures collide and begin to take shape together. Besides the natural formation arising from the distorted capitalism of neo-colonial society, neo-colonialism also produces other effects on human reality. A neo-colonial society is, by its nature, subject to exploitation. Its people are exploited economically through the export of capital, and the neo-colonial state determines the exploitation of everything. The colonialist power, having established economic sovereignty under neo-colonialism, also establishes sovereignty in military, political and cultural matters—in fact, in every field.

Open occupations and military interventions created resistance against the imperialists, who saw this and changed their methods of exploitation. The governments of neo-colonies collaborated with them and developed neo-colonialism in their own countries. Turkey's neo-colonial relations with the United States began in 1945.

Neo-colonialism is the concealed occupation of a country. In other words, the country has a flag, a national anthem, an army and institutions. This gives the impression that the country is independent. However, it has become completely dependent in every respect. Most of the wealth created in the country is seized by imperialism. The army is organised in the interests of imperialism. Culture, art, law and everything else are determined by the imperialists.

Imperialism comes not only with its capital, tanks and cannons; it also comes with its habits, emotions, thoughts and consumer goods—that is, with its culture. The country's resources are exploited, and the imperialists and their neo-colonial collaborators try to prevent the people from seeing this reality in order to stop reactions against it. No matter how much it is hidden, exploitation is felt by the people and creates discontent. This discontent and the resulting reactions are repressed by state terrorism. On the other hand, they try to create a human reality that prevents people from seeing what is happening. Culture is also important here, so they try to make imperialist culture dominant in the country.

Hasan Hüseyin Korkmazgil[11], in his poem Kızılırmak describes how neo-colonialist relations and imperialist culture were introduced:

One day they turned up,
And brought their meaningless faces and smiles
Their consumption surpluses, organs of production and old underwear
They brought their chewing gum and chocolates and left them here.
They brought their tics, gestures and crudity
They brought the dreams of young girls and left them here.
They brought and left them here again and again every day, every day

[11] Hasan Hüseyin Korkmazgil (4 March 1927 – 26 February 1984) was a leading Turkish socialist realist poet

They brought their strings, fishing lines and tin cans
Milk powder, soya, Salem cigarettes
Birth-control pills, medals, collars,
flags, flag-ripping, curses
to our mothers, sisters and children
to our most precious things
using their organs of production and consumption surpluses,
with the permission of God, Jesus and our own collaborators
They brought their horses, grooms and Tshombes
They brought their haircuts and their teeth
They brought and left them here again and again every day, every day
And then their nice, nice agreements
And then their nice, nice contracts
And then their nice, nice divisions
With the permission of those who were hanged and those who would be hanged
And endlessly, endlessly, their Balthazar festivals
After that, their "lovely" fighter jets
Their radars, ramps and atomic bombs
Their things beneath the sea and above the sea
All their subconscious and superconscious things
Their PXs, Bitexes and flea markets
They brought their heroin and cocaine and left them here
They brought and left them here again and again every day, every day.
And then they did not withdraw to their ships
And then they did not withdraw to their ships
And then they did not withdraw to their ships
And by then they had brought so many things that
And by then they had brought so many things that
And by then they had brought so many things that
There was no room left for independence in my country."

Hasan Hüseyin Korkmazgil described how neo-colonial culture entered our country. One's lifestyle and habits shape one's thoughts. The way one eats, sleeps and dresses, one's choice of music—everything in life shapes a person. Sleeping late and getting up in the afternoon are indications of a lack of organisation and discipline. Eating random junk food greedily is very likely to lead to selfishness, dissatisfaction and depression.

This is why imperialism exports their culture to the neo-colonies like our country. export to our country. However people live, they think the same. Let's look at the field of music. How come imperialism is so effective in music? First of all, every song and album released in our country is made by its production companies. No song or album that the production companies do not accept or approve of can be effective in the "market" in Turkey. It is not accepted; therefore, it won't be broadcast by the media. Production companies work with distribution companies and advertising firms. In other words, albums are made, their ads are made, then distributed, then sales are made.

All the companies dealing with Production, sales, distribution, advertising, etc. work with imperialist companies and monopolies. The musical productions are filtered by all these companies.

None of the pro-people productions that oppose the culture of hegemony is accepted by these companies. Their sales and broadcasting are obstructed. In addition, the imperialist monopolies and the oligarchy in Turkey have cultural policies. Their goals are pursued through established methods and programmes. On TRT music channels—the state media in Turkey—folk songs are no longer included in programming as much as they were in the 1970s and 1980s, although young people and society in general have not lost interest in folk songs. Artists such as Neşet Ertaş and Aşık[12] Mahzuni are very popular. But the people are not asked for their views when the media implement these policies.

The fact is that folk songs are the product of thousands of years of accumulated experiences of peoples, and the mirror of their characteristics. And for those who listen to every folk song, they learn the values of the people. For example, when a folk song say, "Take your medicine from pain," it tells you that suffering will teach you a lot, to be strong. When they say, "Let us not surrender, Halil" this teaches you not to bend. They organize resistance to power by saying, "If the decree is the Sultan's, the mountains are ours." These are folk songs. And every folk song is a school in the sense of knowledge, emotion and thoughts that it disseminates. Everyone who learns from this school begins to be shaped by these values. Shaped by these values, directed by these rules in life, man learns not to accept an unjust life. In other words, they become people who do not conform to the system. This is the reason that folk songs are being abandoned.

It is not a coincidence that featured songs and singers tend to be so much like one another. This is the preference of those who determine the content in the sphere of music. So, while Justin Bieber is famous in the US, Aleyna Tilki[13] is famous in Turkey. The importance of such singers is not what is in their music. They are not supported because of the music they make. They are the bearers of a lifestyle and culture. They are presented as an example to children and young people between the ages of 10-18. The lifestyle they suggest, spread, is one of pleasure. In other words, the only purpose of life is to consume in accordance with the satisfaction of pleasure, living a carefree life, constantly changing the people with whom they have relationships, trying to be different, to be popular an irresponsible type of personality is presented to them. In this way, the personality of millions of children and young people is shaped. Through music, thoughts, feelings, such behaviour is taught. Pop songs for example say, "*I don't care who left me*." The understanding and irresponsibility of "*Let the world fall apart if I am not happy*" is instilled. A socialist singer or group would not be supported in this market—that's the main reason they are blocked from it. It is the rulers who determine what is music, who determine what makes up culture.

Cinema is also like that. Explaining and reflecting the reality of the people, no film that encourages the people to struggle has any hope of making it in the film industry. As the name implies, cinema is an industry. Production is run on huge budgets by companies that control cinema and define their sector. Those who hold the sector work with the rulers. They decide together what to put forward and what to ban.

[12] Aşık is a traditional musician and troubadour
[13] A Turkish pop singer following the footsteps of Taylor Swift.

Making fun of the rulers, revealing the beauty of the people in a comedy film can't find a place in movie theatres. The Recep Ivedik character is advertised everywhere. The people do not have rights in this matter.

Some people can think, "but the people love them, they prefer them" but this is not a choice. On the contrary, it is a lack of choice or lack of an alternative. The people are not given the right to choose, or an alternative. They are not asked "shall we make films like Recep Ivedik, would you like that?" Dissident films are either not shown at all, or everything is done so that as few people watch them as possible.

For films that do not give anything to the public, even humiliate and mock the public, such as those of Recep Ivedik, the Ministry of Culture and other state institutions and even imperialist institutions offer unlimited support, million-dollar budgets are created. With advertising in newspapers, on television, on the streets under the name of publicity, all ideological propaganda tools of the system—these films are put in the public eye. Quality films about social or political issues lack such support. They do their best to prevent advertising for them and there are all kinds of censorship… In this way, the public is only sent to watch films such as Recep Ivedik. That's how millions of people flow to cinemas, these movies break box office records. And then the masses only see these films that are advertised.

Preferences are possible where there are different alternatives. Where there are no alternatives, preferences are out of the question. The people want to fill their time left over from work. They seek escapism after all the problems and troubles of work. In the system, individualism and loneliness are imposed on people and they want to fill the gap in their lives, not with other people but with television and films. They just watch without thinking about the consequences of what they are watching or who it serves. They even think that what they are watching is apolitical, far from politics. However, politics is not independent from daily life. Politics is about life and relations of power. The problem of power in anything that concerns the people is a political matter. This aspect of the people's life is the subject of the policies of the ruling bourgeoisie. The audiences who don't see this watch these movies thinking they're innocent. Because they remove people's defence mechanisms, they more easily take in the corrupt culture in the content of the film.

Rulers who know this prohibit films that are contrary to their own interests, while distributing films that serve them. For example, not many cinemas showed F-Type Film, which described the struggle against isolation in the F-Type type prisons. After it was shown in some theatres, censorship and repression continued. Police were waiting outside the halls where it was shown and checked the IDs of people leaving the film. As a result, it was also removed from movie theatres. Here the subject is not whether the people like or do not like F-Type Film. The criterion is not what the people like. The criterion is whether the film is contrary to the system.

The same is true for Yılmaz Güney films. The favourable attitude of the people towards his films is clear. But despite their popularity with the people, they are not broadcast on television, because they tell the truth about the situation of the people, mention the problems of the people and describe solutions. The system does not want people to see these films. There is no other reason why Yılmaz Güney films are not shown on TV.

Another area that the system educates the people in its schools is through literature, to provide information created in line with the version of reality it desires. Everything can be turned into education and schooling in this way.

Literature is another field that conveys knowledge and truth to people, processing their feelings and thoughts. The situation in this area is also no different. There are certain sale centres and bookstores, and on their shelves are sections of books called “bestsellers.” Specific shelves and sections stand out in these bookstores. Do you ever see the books of the revolutionary poet Umit Ilter on these shelves? In the research sections can we find books on the shelves with the thoughts of revolutionaries?

It could be said, “but poets such as Hasan Hüseyin Korkmazgil, Nazım Hikmet, revolutionaries like Marx and Lenin have books that are sold in the bookstores. Why don’t they ban these?”. They can’t ban them because their authors and books have already reached a wide audience. Their banning and censorship would make the seriousness of the oppression clear. However, censoring authors and publications that are not yet sufficiently recognised by the masses does not have the same consequences. Despite this fact, the system still tries to push revolutionaries and socialist writers and publications known to the people into the background as much as possible, trying to keep them out of sight.

One of the most important ideas spread among the people—that there is the spontaneous development of literature, culture and art—is a lie. A very simple fact is hidden. Those who possess power do their best to ensure that it is their own ideas that are widespread. However, even an apartment manager does not leave any problems with the apartment building to be solved spontaneously. The rulers are even more sensitive on this subject in a system where hundreds of thousands face starvation and death, for the sake of protecting the existing system.

How imperialism works in culture is narrated in Frances Stonor Saunders’ book “*Who Paid the Piper”*

> *“During the height of the Cold War, the US government committed vast resources to a secret programme of cultural propaganda in western Europe. A central feature of this programme was to advance the claim that it did not exist. It was managed, in great secrecy, by America's espionage arm, the Central Intelligence Agency. The centrepiece of this covert campaign was the Congress for Cultural Freedom, run by CIA agent Michael Josselson from 1950 till 1967. Its achievements -not least Its duration- were considerable. At Its peak, the Congress for Cultural Freedom had offices in thirty-five countries, employed dozens of personnel, published over twenty prestige magazines, held art exhibitions, owned a news and features service, organised high-profile international conferences and rewarded musicians and artists with prizes and public performances. Its mission was to nudge the Intelligentsia of western Europe away from Its lingering fascination with Marxism and Communism towards a view more accommodating of "the American Way".* (Introduction-page 1)

As was clearly seen, the CIA was founding organisations and setting up programmes to control every area of art and culture including publications, books, music and cinema.

Today this is done in a more widespread and institutionalised way. Besides controlling publications, authors and movies and establishing bonds with intelligentsia, the CIA was also censoring books. Again, from the Who Paid the Piper.

> *"After visiting United States Information Agency (USIA) libraries in seven countries, they announced that 30,000 books of the two million on the shelves were by 'pro-Communist' writers and demanded their removal. The State Department, far from defending Its libraries (which were visited by 36 million people annually) Issued a craven directive prohibiting any material, Including paintings, by ‘any controversial persons, Communists, fellow travellers, et cetera'. Thus, with Kafkaesque*

vagueness, were the works of hundreds of American writers and artists consigned to the dustbin of politics" (page 193)

Nazis held mass book-burning ceremonies and in the same way, the CIA prevented thousands of books from reaching the public. Authors such as John Reed, Agnes Smedley, Maksim Gorky—their books were not on library shelves and instructions were given to that effect.

These policies, produced in culture, art and all areas of life, have only one purpose. In Ernst Alexander Rauter's book "*How an opinion forms in the mind. Creating Subject People",* he says.

> *"In school people are created. The process of creating people is called education. In a sense his family, cinema, television, theatre, radio, newspapers, books and posters are schools. There is no information that doesn't possess a purpose. The information that is used to create people has to be suitable for the type of people we want to "create". The information that "creates" us, is chosen for those whose primary purpose is to produce and sell goods. Can a rocket producer benefit from defining rockets as fatal weapons in schools? Those educators who supposedly possess more knowledge about life than us, do not put their knowledge into action for our benefit."*

In the "process of creating people" described here—that is, in education—the aim is to raise people suited to the system. This effort is made to create people who are accustomed to exploitation, oppression, torture, degeneration and theft, who take these for granted and consent to injustice. For example, through education, culture and consciousness, the Koç family is presented as benevolent and as the sympathetic leadership of Fenerbahçe. In reality, however, the Koç family exploits the labour of our people to the marrow and hands the wealth created through this exploitation over to US imperialism.

They are responsible for the starvation of our infants, for the death of our mothers before our eyes because of lack of medication, for our people who are overwhelmed by unemployment and set themselves on fire, for the suicides of entire families, for our hunger. What we have goes into US coffers at the same time we cannot get medication from the US. Our wheat, oil and the sweat of our brows flow like a river into foreign hands. It is capitalism that creates unemployment. In short, every person should naturally feel a grudge against them, but on the contrary, the people may even sympathize with the Koç family due to their economic, political and social alienation.

This is the purpose of the system's policies of corruption. Degenerated, torn from his roots, a person begins to become corrupt, and loses the good qualities in his essence.

The people embrace the knowledge, values, and rules that filter through the life experience of millennia. They keep them alive through folk songs, traditions and way of life, and pass them from one generation to another. They follow these rules within their thought process and the way they live. They build their lives based on values like respect, love, trust and labour. These were reflected on proverbs and idioms. They say, "*even grass doesn't grow without labour*", the people know the value of labour. They become degenerate when they are alienated from these values, truths and rules that belong to their essence. They keep a distance from the accumulation of values that have been created by peoples for the last thousands of years and they lose their essence. They deem easy life and consumption as the real thing and achieving by means of labour, as a burden, for instance.

The policy of degeneration is a voluntary policy of imperialism to rule the people easily. It causes people to lose their values. Values give direction to life.

[[Values are our guides to determine our priorities. The values we teach our children form the foundation of their conscience. They complete their character. They help them to help others. They support them to stand on their own feet. They help them to separate right from wrong. More Importantly, they provide their lives to become a happy journey.]]

Values are measures that determine the importance of something. When a person who, acts by measures such as helping each other, making others happy, loving and trusting, loses his values, -when he acts on how own pleasures, happiness and interests. For example, instead of male and female relationships that develop based on labour and love, relationships develop based on sexual pleasure and individualism. This is the result of the depreciation of values.

Imperialism's perspective on sexuality, culture, drugs and alcohol habits lead to the disappearance of a person's self-esteem, the loss of people's values. It is also known that these include television, cinema, TV series, and music, that's why it's widespread. Officials of the state actually tax prostitution, and prostitution is apparent almost everywhere.

This is an effort to turn humans into animals. A dissatisfying person who only consumes, lives with his instincts, and continuously leads a life of discontent is created. This person will want to consume everything that the imperialists sell. This person will do anything for his own benefit. He'll put his interests ahead of all sorts of things. As a result, this person will remain indifferent to plundering of imperialism in his country, exploitation and consequently his people's poverty. This man will not question how imperialism and its products and values take over the minds of the people and make them stupid. For example, he will not question why Halloween has started to be celebrated in Anatolian lands. Even this he'll find it "sympathetic" and innocent. He won't be surprised by hundreds of *liras* being spent on special shoes considered fashionable. US dominance is accepted. According to him, the United States is strong and is impossible to beat. Being "realistic" he will thus begin to think and experience its reality.

The system trains people using every method to achieve its aims. The man who is created by this social system will become corrupt, out of date and will disappear for good.

People who keep up with this system, who are integrated into the system, are people who defy and resist development, because the system that creates this man is reactionary. History steadily moves forward. Life improves steadily. Everything changes.

With the development of means of product and knowledge, the time moved forward by societies and revolutions. But the rulers try to maintain this system to prevent establishing relations of production that's compatible with the means of production. Whereas the relations of production, that's capitalism, must be changed. Because the quantity and quality of production are sufficient enough for the entire humanity.

Since the means of production, i.e., industry, factories are in the hands of a handful of rulers, they use production only for their profits. Therefore, when they cannot make a profit, thousands of surplus products are wasted. Everything is for the profit of a handful of parasites. In Europe alone, the money spent on cosmetic products is more than the annual food expenditure of the whole world and more than necessary to save millions of people from hunger in Africa. In other words, while people spend millions of dollars on perfumes and make up, a child dies of hunger every five seconds.

Since everything determines profit in this system, some diseases that could be treated are not, so that more drugs can be sold. For this reason, thousands of people die from diseases that can be prevented. While technology is at a level that enables information to reach every corner of the world, millions of people are illiterate and doomed to live in darkness. This system constitutes an obstacle to the development of humanity. Apart from developing humanity, it is a system that destroys humanity and so, it is doomed to disappear as an obstacle to humanity. It is like a dying person. On the one hand, all its organs are dying; on the other hand, it clings to life, because it's on the verge of death. For this reason, the rulers who want to protect the system and keep it alive kill, imprison and torture thousands of people.

Just as the system is reactionary, it is doomed to disappear, and the human created by the system is now an obstacle to social development; they are behind and against the cultural accumulation that people have created throughout history. People have drawn conclusions from their life experiences throughout history. They theorized the information derived from these results. But the human truth of this system in which we live is alien to this accumulation. Great humanity has found scientific thinking, but the man of this system is doomed to be as idealistic as the primitive man living in the cave. Humanity has brought the power of collectivism and the results it creates to consciousness. The human created by system stumbles into the blind pit of individualism. We can list many more examples. The personality created by the system is an obstacle against the possession of accumulated values and even rise above them.

When we talk about the ancient (old) person, we are talking about this personality. Let's don't separate us from this "old" man, because this personality is in us. We all live in this social order and go through the stages we mentioned above. We all are educated in the schools of this order and subjected to the culture of the same order. Because of the conditions we live in, our personality is shaped in this order.

It is necessary not to think in an idealistic, absolute metaphysical way. Possessing the system-shaped personality isn't a moral definition. It describes the objective conditions. And this does not mean the personality Is totally damaged and a negative one. No matter how much the social orders that are established based on exploitation try to create degenerate characters, the people continue to protect the values and hide the dynamics within Itself. This Is the reason why there's solidarity amongst those who are at the worst level of degeneration. This Is the explanation for those who are coming from such degenerate background and join the revolutionary struggle.

The people possess wealth, creativity and dynamics of change. The essence of the matter is this: the values of the man conveyed to it by the people and the values taught by the order clash with each other. In other words, a person has positive and negative characteristics. In the clash between these values, naturally the system-shaped personality Is the dominant one. Because the social order and the conditions of life create this personality.

The system in our country is distorted capitalism. There is no heavy industry. In other words, there was no widespread organised industrialization. The modern industrial worker is physically absent. The working class in the assembly industry is dispersed and unorganized. It is not proletarianized by class.

Our country is a country of petty bourgeoisie; citizens who own little, or no property are the reality of our country. The petty bourgeoisie is ideologically dominant. The petty bourgeoisie, which does not create value with its labour and lives from it, is an intermediate class, detached from the production process. It does not own the means of production. It has no capital. In this respect, it differs from the

bourgeoisie. On the other hand, this class of small, personal property owners, is separated from the working people living and working themselves to death. It is a class that lives in between. As the crisis of capitalism increased, it mostly started to enter the ranks of the people, and they became impoverished. The poor people's situation and impoverishment have come to the fore more in terms of economics and lifestyle. In terms of lifestyle, the boundaries with the working people are thinned. The bourgeoisie steals more and more from the petty bourgeoisie. The petty bourgeois, who have been getting poorer, are afraid of falling to the living standard of the poor people; being hungry and being without property frightens them. However, they can always dream of being bourgeois because of the small properties that they can acquire. Their eyes are dazzled by the pomp of the bourgeoisie. It dreams of jumping up a class.

Karl Marx says about petty bourgeoisie "*their eyes get moist when they see the poverty of the people, they dazzle when they see the wealth of the bourgeoisie. Because their eyes are always misty, they can't see facts.*"[14]

Because of these contradictions, the petty bourgeoisie is an ambivalent class. The anxiety of being impoverished by the bourgeoisie's anger, the dream of becoming bourgeois by acquiring more property is the basis of its selfishness. Selfishness arises from these material conditions.

The selfish person is one who puts his own interests above everyone else. Every primitive human being whose interests are at stake attempts to protect himself without thinking. The source of this selfishness is the fact that the petty bourgeoisie is under constant threat as a class. They believe that the way to find comfort is to acquire more goods, and therefore that they should put their own interests first. As long as this class is outside the production process and continues to live on what it has without producing anything or creating value, it becomes parasitic. It begins to consume without thinking.

It must consume; it must focus on itself in order to have enough to consume. This is the dire class reality of the petty bourgeoisie.

Our country is dominated by petty-bourgeois ideology. Ideology is life, work, the way of thinking, almost everything that guides life. It can be said that ideology is life itself. A worker in a factory lives and begins to acquire small amounts of capital to buy houses, cars, personal items. He dreams of eating in luxury restaurants and vacationing in accordance with the petty-bourgeois lifestyle on his vacations, and he begins to act under the influence of petty-bourgeois ideology. Although he is part of the proletariat and the working class, both in terms of class and material living conditions, he begins to become petty bourgeois in his mind. First, he begins to think like the petty bourgeoisie and then to direct his life to be like a petty bourgeois.

The regime spreads the petty-bourgeois ideology with the tools we have described above and tries to impose it on the masses. In this respect, the old man, the personality that was created by the regime, acts with petty-bourgeois ideology.

The petty bourgeoisie is idealistic. In other words, they live their lives according to the thoughts and emotions that have been taught, made them memorise like a parrot. They do not see the truth before their eyes. They ignore the fact of being part of the people who are deprived of the means of production, who are exploited, receive only enough wages to live. They believe themselves to be different from the people by attributing great meaning to the status that the order offers to it. For example, they think that

[14] The Poverty of Philosophy. Karl Marx

having a university education makes them very different. However, universities in Turkey and in capitalist countries don't teach, anything about life. They are taught some professional knowledge that is subjective and based on rote. There is nothing in this information that distinguishes the petty bourgeoisie from the people. On the contrary, the life knowledge of the people is much more advanced than the personal life experience of the petty bourgeoisie, but they do not see it.

For example, in school education and everywhere in life, the petty bourgeoisie is taught by rote that the people are uneducated, rude, ignorant, not able to defend their rights, etc. Even if they are part of the people, they must quickly leave this "unprogressive community" below, and rise. For this reason, they do not actually recognise the people but see them as inferiors. For example, in a village of Aydın-Kuyucak, the people were on guard against the construction of a Geothermal Power Plant (GPP) for months. They waited for days without returning to their homes in olive groves far from the village to protect the olives. People protect their land and olives; they value the soil, which is the basis of their life, and on which they labour for goods in exchange. But the petty bourgeoisie has nothing in their lives that they value and own. They cannot keep their homes and workplaces.

(*TN: The author is aware that the petty bourgeoisie in Europe can acquire possessions after a long period of work. In countries such as Turkey, however, this is an almost impossible goal unless people have additional income or an inheritance.)*

A father named Ramazan, who lived in one of the mountain villages of Muğla, built a road to the primary school attended by his young daughter so that she could go to school. He owed thousands of *liras* for the four-kilometre road even though he lived in poverty. It was the power of love that made him do this. Love is material; it grows through labour and practice in life. And a person who loves does what is necessary to make the beloved happy. The people know this; this idea has a place in their lives. But the petty bourgeois has never loved in the way this father does. Because they love themselves like narcissists, their own happiness is what matters to them. In short, in terms of the practice of life, they are far below the people, yet at the same time they consider themselves entitled to look down on the people.

Thinking makes the petty bourgeois depressed, because they haven't learned how to think, or rather they have not been taught to think scientifically. They are educated illiterates. They don't know life; they don't know the laws of life that have proven results in life. But they think they know everything, based only on their own personal experience.

Selfishness and individualism impose the need for superiority and self-assertion everywhere. That is why the petty bourgeoisie must be at the forefront of everything, everywhere. As in the famous saying, they have to be "the bride or groom at every wedding, the dead person at every funeral." This state of mind and this distortion of thought lead a person to act as though he knows when he does not know, believes when he does not believe, wants something when he does not want it, and can endure what he cannot endure. For example, such people do not properly read any book, but behave as though they were very intellectual simply by gleaning a little from here and there.

People shaped by these and many other features have only one concern: building life around the "I". They must protect themselves, overcome others, be the best and be different from others; they must create themselves. Otherwise, they believe that they will disappear, that they will cease to exist. This is the reason for the whole culture of consumption, its habits and corrupt life. They can do anything to achieve this "egoistic" purpose.

This personality created and formed due to social conditions collides with the personality that carries the values of the people. But unless there is a voluntary struggle, the petty-bourgeois personality prevails. According to scientific law, the strong remains strong in spontaneous processes. Here, too, it is the ideology of the order and the personality it has created. This power does not come from righteousness. Order ideology derives its strength from being an old and official ideology. It is old because people have been living in the order of the rulers for millennia, with the culture and habits appropriate to this order.

It is official because the existing social order is capitalism. Capitalism works with all its institutions for the survival of this personality.

That is why the system-shaped personality is decisive. No one can say "I don't have the personality of order" or "I am outside of this picture created by the order." We cannot say that we fully possess popular values and don't act with petty-bourgeois ideology before stepping into revolutionism, because this is not a personal phenomenon; it is an objective situation. In other words, the conditions we live in independent of our emotions, thoughts and intentions create this result.

No result can be obtained without accepting reality. We live in this order, we have been educated in this order, we ate, drank, laughed, wore and consumed what this order put before us. All of this has had consequences for us.

In the simplest of terms, they created a desire "to have" in us with advertisements. If you can't have it, they make you feel your lack. In every ad they make, they tell us that we didn't get enough, good enough, beautiful enough. They create complexes that we normally don't have. How long have people believed that the upturned nose is more beautiful? Does anyone remember this? Have the people not washed their dishes for centuries and had any hygiene problems? They haven't, but they created the feeling that the dishes are not clean enough without the detergent in the advertisements they made.

A famous and expensive shoe brand produces especially women's shoes with a red sole. When women walk or in everyday life the soles of their shoes are visible, so they stand out. "We sell emotions, not shoes," says the shoe designer. Yes, he's telling the truth. They sell us emotions. They turn emotions into a commodity, the subject of a commercial relationship. Wearing this shoe feels different, special, superior to others. Those without shoes feel incomplete and inferior. First, they sell these feelings, and the shoes are a giveaway.

Thus, they can easily sell a shoe costing 30-40 *lira* for 10-20 times more or even more. Those who want to create and complete themselves tear themselves apart to attain this shoe. They start to shape their lives accordingly. The 5-*lira* slippers used by our people for bathing can also be sold for 100 liras in this way…

Class differences arise based on consumption habits. Status Quos form in life. These differences can now be clearly seen even by preschool children. It is obvious whether you have had your hair cut at an expensive barbershop or not. It is noticeable whether the jeans you are wearing are expensive and original. Those who can go to certain places, who can consume food and alcohol there make a difference. Those who own a top end car are treated differently. Women who want to get married in TV programmes (marriage programmes), first ask the man who wants to marry her; "Do you have a house?" Because if you can consume, if you can have it, you are considered human. You are nothing when you cannot. They understand when the poor people among the millions have bad hair and shoes. Even if the poor try to make themselves accepted, they cannot succeed, even if they try. They are denied, belittled, ostracized.

The ones who do not have, cannot consume what the order has to offer, have no rights. They make you think that nobody would marry them, nobody would befriend them, nobody would accept them. However, we are the same as the millions, we are in the same conditions. But we start to dislike each other, by trying to enter loftier "environments." Hitting the reality of life, dreams are shattered. In this time, the immoral ways of earning easy money are opened wide to achieve this.

They fill our brains with animalistic sexuality from a child age. Now, 6-7-year-olds can go online with tablets and learn of a corrupt sexuality by visiting porn sites. These practices continue as they grow older. A kind of sexuality develops with no human side where physically exaggerated women constantly enjoy being with exaggerated men without any emotion. The child and the young want to achieve this pleasure, accepting it as it should be. But in this sexuality, there is no love, no respect, no regard for the other person as human. There is boundless pleasure demanded by the "Ego."

Since he thinks of nothing other than his own pleasure, his partner or partners become commodities. In other words, they are nothing more than tools for achieving his satisfaction. At the root of sexual assaults and rapes lies this instinct and feeling. The attacker or rapist focuses on his own satisfaction with animalistic hunger. They fill our brains with this filth, these feelings and thoughts, and turn us into animals. A young person whose brain is filled with these has no space for anything other than sex. He thinks and sees in this way. He experiences hunger as if it were the end of the world. He may engage in sexual experiences of which he later feels ashamed. He loses respect for his body. His honour is damaged. He feels like a low-life.

The essence of the issue is that this is not a spontaneous problem that only a group of people experience. It is a very planned and programmed policy. The petty bourgeois who thinks they are very clever, can react with these words: "Dear, why do we need to think there are so many conspirators? Do you think a group of dark forces rule the world?" They do not see the decisions, policies and preferences of those who have power. For example, they cannot answer why revolutionary sites do not spontaneously become common on the internet, while corrupt sexuality fueled by porn sites is spontaneously spreading! They cannot understand that they are so narrow-mindedly believing that the powers to be leave such gaps in life. They evaluate the class-conscious ruling forces by comparing them with the spontaneities in their own lives.

In fact, in this way, the imperialists both profit and control the brains of the people. It devalues personality by creating people who are sex addicts. A person controlled by his motives, who does anything to satisfy them, does many things to be ashamed of. Then, to mask this degeneration, he tries to protect his ego even more intensely.

Propaganda for a luxurious life is spread through advertisements, radio and television programmes. Ideals that a person cannot attain are imposed. With this conditioning, a person who sees his own life as inferior and worthless does everything to reach the "higher" life he wants. He lives with an intense inferiority complex under the conditioning that "you have to do this", "you have to act like this", "you must be this person."

Our soul is riddled with all the policies of the order. We are oppressed until we're made unable to stand on our feet. Our brains are distracted; we become depressed. The root cause of this crisis is idealism. Idealism is a philosophy based on thought or emotion. In other words, if a person ignores the objective reality and pays attention only to the feelings or thoughts in his mind, he acts idealistically. For

example, a worker can never be rich with a salary slightly above the hunger threshold. This is scientifically impossible in the face of the money he receives, the expenses and the cost of living. But if the worker thinks that this is possible and acts based on this idea, he acts with idealism. Because he acts upon the abstract thoughts and expectations in his mind, which do not correspond to life, he will not be able to get the desired result. Here is the source of the crisis. This is the same in every part of real life. Anyone who evaluates the other person not with his concrete reality, but with the abstract reality created in the own mind, will be mistaken and disappointed. In fact, if someone who makes mistakes, does wrong things and hurts people and expects to be loved by people and tries to create this result, he will not achieve it. As life contradicts this because a person thinks in an abstract way, "I am a very good person, everyone should love me," the result of this contradiction is depression.

Another cause of depression is humiliation and devaluation. The regime steals the products of the people's mind by means of politics of corruption; makes them feel stupid, numbs their minds and degrades them. It destroys our traditions, value judgments, morals, knowledge that was filtered from history and correct thinking.

All the values and traditions created by the people are the guidelines of life that's developed in time. And with these rules, the people protected their lives and got results. The people acted according to these standards and protected themselves from the corrupt culture spread by the rulers. In this way, they made life valuable and kept their values alive. They have maintained their existence as a people. The regime, on the other hand, humiliates the people, puts corrupt practices into the lives of the people, and strips them from their values. With the liquidation of these values, which have been created for thousands of years by labour, the people are turned into a ship that has lost its route.

The family suicides experienced in the period when the book was written are concrete examples of this. Solidarity and supporting each other is a popular value. However, the families who committed suicide neither demanded solidarity nor saw any real solidarity from their circles. They were consequently desperate.

In this regard, the most effective method used by the regime is isolation and loneliness. Isolation is not used only in prisons. The people, individually and in groups, are also isolated from one another. They are alienated and isolated from emotions and thoughts as well. In this way, they are alienated from life itself, from others, from values and even from themselves. A person becomes immersed in himself; he cannot go beyond his own feelings and thoughts. His limits, solutions and experience extend only as far as his own capacity. To achieve this, the regime puts an intense policy of disorganisation into practice. It organises urban life accordingly. It separates the places where people come together. It creates isolated people who live individually or in small groups among millions of others. Nuclear families of three or four people become enclosed within their own lives. In life, creating happiness and sharing are made possible through labour. Those who remain in their own cocoon become consumers; they reach their limits and, after a time, consume themselves. They run out of solutions and become helpless.

However, there is always a solution in collective life. Suffering and difficulty, problems and solutions—in short, everything about life—is shared. Difficulties and obstacles are overcome in this way. This is part of the traditions of the people of Anatolia. The people do not leave those who are mourning or celebrating alone. Our people—relatives, friends, neighbours, even an entire village or neighbourhood—come together and provide food for the family of the deceased. They do not leave them alone and help in every way they can. They prepare the dowry for a wedding and provide financial help.

They cook meals for the poor and needy when necessary and do not leave them without food. The people of Anatolia have lived through all kinds of difficulties for thousands of years in this way. This unity completes what is missing, whereas an individual alone cannot achieve this; when self-reliance is not enough, collapse becomes inevitable.

Revolutionary poet Ümit İlter[15] describes the collective life of the people and the strength of this life in his poem in "To the People with Kissable Hands[16]":

"When unemployment is sky high, Ferhat[17]
And not stealing the majority,
When they have nothing left,
How do these people live Ferhat.
What's the secret of this
What's its chemistry, alchemy, magic
When we put our heart to the chest.
We understood Ferhat
we understood what can only be understood by heart
we understood what it is in people's heart
And once again
We kissed from the hands of these great people.
They are sharing Ferhat,
They are sharing Ferhat
weeping and sharing their sorrow,
dancing and sharing their joy,
sharing their hunger
This is how these people live Ferhat
we have this reality of people
who feed them all
with a fistful of bulgur[18]
This is our strength and beauty,
we understood Ferhat
And once again
We kissed the hands of these great people
And put them to our forehead
The star on our forehead
is a souvenir of these hands.
This is our strength and beauty."

[15] Ümit İlter is a Turkish revolutionary and poet who's currently in Kandira prison.
[16] "Kissing Hands" is a tradition in Anatolia meaning showing respect.
[17] the name "Ferhat" is of Persian origin and there is a legend, a love story between Ferhat and Sirin, when Ferhat quashed mountains to reach his love. Here the poet is referring a Grup Yorum song with the same name. Lyrics by Arkadaş Zeki Özger
[18] Cracked wheat

And they are trying to snatch this beauty from the people's and our hands. They try to drown us in the icy waters of selfishness. We cannot trust anyone, we cannot believe. We cannot say that there is person A and person B they will solve my problem.

We cannot love anyone; we cannot say that I live for the happiness and well-being of this person. We do not think of solidarity with anyone. We cannot say I live for him. We start living for ourselves. Life becomes meaningless.

Life turns into instinctive activities such as eating, drinking, sleeping, waking. Then life is no different than the life of algae. This is the value of this life. “To live, "to live" simply/ Is a mixture of algae and worm” says the great master (poet) Ahmed Arif; life turns more and more to a mixture of algae and worm.

This is the picture they created. We become the people who live under the social conditions that’s created by the regime and become the regime’s people with the conscious policies of hegemons. They shatter our personality. We become complex; we do anything to prove ourselves. We consume our lives to possess more. We work and pay loans for a lifetime to buy a nice house. Our mental health deteriorates due to the problems arising from this effort. We are killing our spouses and children. We fall into depression and face crisis, solving problems with anti-depressant pills to cover up the problems. They numb our brains. They bring dull happiness, plastic joy, and a stupid smile into our lives. We drink to solve and overcome problems that we cannot share or overcome. We drink alcohol, we take drugs, we crawl on the floor, our brains become numb, but we still cannot escape our problems.

In the sea of insensitivity, we cannot find a friend to say, “Let’s have a chat,” because we have no friend to listen to us. We are amongst billions of people but drowning in our problems. We cannot show our hearts; we hide ourselves. Our brains’ chemistry is disrupted with the concern of always looking our best.

We are in a position to curse and humiliate our own values. We are upset that we cannot buy a smartphone in a country where young children are starving. We laugh at those who are lamentable. The funny ones are now boring us.

These conditions are conditions in which our souls are shattered, our brains are raped, and our personality is crushed. While explaining this, we say that its “us doing this.” Because even though we are revolutionaries, we are the people, and we came from this reality. And if we are lying today, if we are lying to protect ourselves or to hide the truth, it is because we come from these conditions. If we want to show so much because we are highbrow, this is because of these conditions, and they are the source of us feeling that we must prove ourselves. If we still have an idealistic mind, it’s rooted in this reality, we talk about. If our ego is so strong, and we are afraid that our personality will be attacked, it is because of the excessive blows that our personality received. As Marx said,

> *"What we have to deal with here is a communist society, not as it has developed on its own foundations, but, on the contrary, just as it emerges from capitalist society, which is thus in every respect, economically, morally, and intellectually, still stamped with the birthmarks of the old society from whose womb it comes."*
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> *Critique of the Gotha Programme (letter to Bracke, May 5, 1875)*

None of these are acceptable but they are our reality. We need to understand, grasp and change this reality. This is where the struggle to create the New Human begins. We will scratch these birthmarks off our bodies.

The families of Koç, Sabancı, Eczacıbaşı, etc and the members of TÜSİAD[19] and MÜSİAD[20] are the examples of the people of the regime that we have explained above. They are the ones who have created the conditions of our wounds, deficiencies, and weaknesses. They are the ones who attack our morals, values, and traditions and create the people of regime. This is the reason why the people of the regime are the people who protect their creators' interests and consent to their rule. Therefore, the human created by the regime becomes the regime itself. Like capitalism, the old are destined to perish. It is not possible to change the existing social order and to sustain the struggle without changing this personality. Because the personality created by the regime keeps the regime alive, wherever it lives.

We have explained the human truth we want to change, so who is the New Human we are trying to create today?

The New Human is the human who will make the revolution. When we speak of making a revolution, are we talking about super people who will change the country?

Revolution is the establishment of a new, more advanced, replacing an outdated socio-economic system. The revolution manifests itself in the passage of political power from a reactionary class into the hands of a progressive class.

In the revolution, the power of the reactionary class is overthrown, and the rule of the revolutionary class is established in its place. This also expresses the distinguishing feature of the social revolution, which is a political revolution. The outdated production relations are abolished and the whole superstructure gradually changes together with the economic basic structure of society, so that the result is a new and higher social organisation. Marx says that *"Revolutions are the locomotives of history.*" [21]

The nature of a social revolution is determined by the historical problems it solves and the forces in that revolution, by the classes that shoulder the revolution. Therefore, not every class-based change of rule can be considered a revolution.

In the case of our country, with the establishment of the power of people, that is, the democratic people's revolution and followed by the socialist revolution, the exploitation and oppression will disappear. People living in this society are formed consciously and for the first time shape their own choices by grasping the laws of social life, life itself and the struggle. These conscious people of socialist society will form the general society in the social conditions of socialism. But also, these are people who act with consciousness and can lead the revolution today.

Because revolutions are neither exportable nor spontaneous. Revolution happens when both the objective conditions mature and the subjective conditions exist. The subjective conditions are like a revolutionary organisation. It is the human who will set up the organisation and set it in motion.

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[19] Turkish Industry and Business Association

[20] Independent Industrialists and Businessmen Association

[21] The Class Struggles in France (Chapter 3: Consequences of June 13, 1849)

"*The revolution is the work of the masses*," says Lenin, which means that the people will make the revolution. But it does not mean that the vast majority of the people will become revolutionaries with a Marxist-Leninist consciousness and make a revolution in the country. What is meant is the fact that the main element and maker of the revolution is the people. The concrete equivalent of this is that the majority of the people are not satisfied with the social order they live in and demand a new social order and struggle for it. It is not a necessity for the people to be revolutionary, to carry out revolutionary struggle. Revolution is the revolutionization of the people as a whole and the destruction of the old and the establishment of the new.

This does not happen spontaneously. It cannot be ensured that the people can suddenly be mobilized and make the revolution with nice words, big speeches and effective books. No single thought, in its own, can spontaneously enter people's minds and move them. Explaining this point, the masters Marx and Engels said that "*ideas do not independently determine material conditions. For that determination, it is necessary to have people with power*"[22] Because thoughts and ideas are abstract at first. It is people who put thoughts into practice. We expect a lazy student to be diligent. If this expectation remains just a thought in our minds, it will have no equivalent in life. However, if people who understand the necessity of the student to be diligent make efforts to make the student diligent, then it is possible for the student to change in that way.

Revolutions are no different, as in Marx's phrase, "*Theory also becomes a material force when grasped by the masses.*"[23] The masses must understand the fact that the existing social order is changed, replaced by a new one, and do what is necessary. In other words, people should want the power to belong to it and fight for it. People want revolution, as in every wish, through conviction. They must understand the fact that a new social order is replacing the old and do what is necessary. In other words, people should want power and fight for it. As with every desire, the desire of people for revolution comes through conviction.

Belief is the intensity of emotion created by knowledge and truth. All of the wishes that are formed within the man such as: "it must be like this; we must do this; I must act this way; we must do this; we will; we will succeed" are expressions of belief. One cannot love and want what he does not believe. One doesn't act for anything he doesn't want. Especially in a bloody act of violence, such as revolution, where there are many costs, nobody would join without believing in it.

As can be understood from the definition of belief, it is not an abstract emotion that creates belief. Belief alone is not an emotion or an abstract thought. Faith is created by knowledge, by reality. This is so in every respect because it is a law of life. For example, if I believe that a friend can accomplish a job, it's because I have knowledge that he is able to succeed. So, I know he has skills with which he can do this job. I see that my work can come true. These two situations create belief in me. So is the belief in revolution. I have a belief in revolution if I know how revolutions develop, if I know what causes it, and if I understand that revolution happens in life, that it is a reality. Then we would make a revolution, think that we can establish power and do what is necessary.

In short, belief is about knowledge and reality. So, it is a matter of consciousness. Consciousness is a person's knowledge of him and his environment. A person who knows the country he lives in, who knows

[22] The German Ideology, Marx-Engels collective works,1845
[23] "Contribution to the Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Law", Collected Works,

the world, knows who he is and his enemies, and who knows how to win is a conscious person. Consciousness is understanding and recognizing. It is grasping the reality. Consciousness is the reflection of the material world in ideas. Revolutions can only be carried out by a certain conscious mass. The regime works 24/7 to disrupt this consciousness, preventing the people from seeing reality in front of their eyes with lies. It prevents the formation of consciousness.

Nazım Hikmet[24] describes the policy of blurring consciousness in his poem "Regarding Your hands and Lies".

Your hands,
Dignified like all rocks,
Solemn like songs sang in prison,
Outsized and heavy like beasts of burden,
And like resentful faces of starving children.
Your hands
Light and able like bees,
Loaded like milky breasts,
courageous like the nature,
and hiding friendly softness under rough skin.
This world is not supported by the horns of a bull
This world revolves on your hands
And people, Oh my people,
They are feeding you with lies,
Whereas you starve,
You need to be fed with meat and bread
And before you dine on a white linen table
You leave this fruitful world
People, oh my people.
Especially those in Asia, Africa
Near East, Middle East, Pasific islands
And my fellow countrymen
That is, more than seventy percent
Of the whole population
You are old and pensive like your hands
You are curious, enthusiast and young like your hands
People, oh my people
My European, my American
Vigilant, daring and forgetful like your hands
You would be readily deceived
Easily bypassed
People, oh my people
If broadcasts are lying
If presses are lying

[24] Mehmed Nâzım Ran (17 January 1902 – 3 June 1963) commonly known as Nâzım Hikmet was a Turkish communist poet, playwright, novelist, screenwriter, director, and memoirist.

If books are lying
If the posters on walls, advertisement columns are lying
If haunches of girls in movies lying
If prayers are lying
If Lullabies are lying
If Dreams are lying
If the fiddler in the tavern lying
If the moonshine during hopeless nights is lying
If words are lying
If sounds are lying
Besides your hands,
If everything and everyone are lying
It is to make your hands obedient like mud,
blind like darkness
dumb like sheepdogs
and to prevent your hands to revolt.
So that, in this mortal world worth living,
-where we are mere guests for a short while-
the rule of merchants and cruelty should not come to an end.

"Nazım Hikmet, Ellerinize ve Yalana dair, 1949, Bursa prison"

Just as Nazım said, their deceits are there for accepting, blindly and obediently like mud, the boots of the Texan Sergeant, who entered Anatolia. They are there for turning our daughters into prostitutes and our men into drug addicts who cannot think of anything other than sex, for turning our values to, waste and for making us accustomed to all these. They are there for making us silent when Arda, a 1-year-old motor neuron disease patient, died because his family couldn't have enough money to buy medicine to treat him, when the imperialist monopolies uproot our mountains and when the families of Koç and Sabancı deny our severance pay, retirement salary, food. Because the person who sees the truth acts. The step after thinking is action. Nobody wants to suffer on purpose; nobody accepts humiliation or living like a slave knowingly. Those who know that they will suffer greatly would not hesitate to make small sacrifices. But those who have no idea accept injustices. The issue is not just seeing the truth; the main issue is to establish a causal link with the facts and to understand how the truth will change. This is consciousness.

It is not possible for the public to gain this consciousness spontaneously in the conditions they live in. Consciousness is not just theoretical understanding. Consciousness is not just to know; it is the ability to do. Nobody can claim something that they know but cannot do. The information possessed by such a claimant is just subjective textbook information. Therefore, the essential element of consciousness is practice. Moreover, theoretically, it is not possible for people to understand their own basic problems. People leave home in the morning to go to work, and they return to their home late in the evening. Within this routine, one must take care of one's family, rest and deal with one's own private affairs. Under these conditions, our people do not have time to research, analyse and question to become conscious. A more fundamental problem arises when the time problem is resolved. No television channel produces

programmes related to scientific knowledge and the reality of life. No newspaper writes these. No book to raise awareness is sold on the shelves. It takes very special effort to find scientific information within the junkyard on the internet. Any information that explains the reality of the public at work, at school or on the internet is criminalized. Saying “children should not die” in our country is a crime that mothers are sent to prison with their babies. Anything from a press release to a concert or even a football game where the people will become conscious can be banned. Special efforts are made to stop consciousness.

Consciousness cannot arise spontaneously under these conditions. Consciousness can be only formed with voluntary intervention. Voluntary intervention is carried out by the revolutionary organisation. The revolutionary movement carries consciousness from outside to the people. It is humans who found and moved the revolutionary organisation. It is humans who realise and spread the goals of the revolutionary organisation. That is, the main point of the matter is humans. Without humans, there is no revolutionary organisation. Without humans the policies of the revolutionary organisation cannot be implemented. Revolutionary practice is only possible with humans.

The New Human steps in here. The New Human appears during the organised struggle to destroy the social order and establish a new social order. Within an organisation aiming to achieve revolution, the New Human gains a pioneer conscious to organize the people. He recognizes oneself and the enemy, learns the characteristics of the world and realizes how to struggle. As long as he has this consciousness, his struggle is continuous. It will raise the awareness of the public to the extent that it is clear. There is nothing abstract and ambiguous. The man who participates in the struggle to destroy the social order destroys the existing order in his own mind. He wants a new order instead. He begins to live and fight for the values and rules of the order he wants. Now it begins to keep the New Human alive.

The values, demands and desires of people who want a new order that rejects the old social order change. His personality changes, his feelings, thoughts and behaviours change. This is normal, what should be, because anyone who steps into revolutionary struggle must first make a revolution in him/herself. He must refuse and demolish the “old” human -the character created by the regime- we have described so far, because the personality created by the order cannot participate in the revolutionary struggle. Even if he participates, he cannot hold on to this struggle and cannot be permanent. To be revolutionary to the end of his life, he must establish a new personality. This personality is a New Human.

The New Human is the man who embodies socialist consciousness and values in his personality. But this is not an abstract situation. Revolutionary struggle never proceeds through abstract thoughts and intentions. The revolutionary struggle is based on material consequences. A handful of exploiting parasites are on one side, and the people are on the other. The class struggle between the ruling classes and the people is continuous. Where the revolutionary struggle is strong, the class struggle deepens.

War is a clash of willpower. The war continues until one side defeats the other, - until one side says, “I will not fight anymore.” Willpower is the power to do or not to do (to restrain) something. It is to implement a decision made in life. We said that having the will to fight is about consciousness. Having class consciousness, that is, knowing the class and the interests of this class shows people who they are. It also allows the people to recognise their enemy. People who begin to gain this consciousness take their place in the revolutionary struggle. But is that enough?

Is this enough for the revolutionary struggle to continue and grow to the end of the war between the people and the rulers? Of course, not enough. The system-shaped personality must be destroyed and replaced by a new one, and this must be done repeatedly for a lifetime. The New Human is the one who wages this war, and as long as he wages this war, he is the New Human.

We are not talking about superhuman or superhero. What we are talking about here is a reality within life. Let's go a little further. The man who wants to establish the power of the people and fights for it has class consciousness. He loves people because he knows himself as part of the people and thus knows the people. His love for people is intense. All this constitutes the will of this person. Before a person can start doing it, he must decide to do it. He must want it in order to make the decision. To want it, he must understand and recognise, that is, believe. The main source of all of these is the emotions, thoughts, behaviours, principles, rules and measures that direct the life of a person, namely his ideology. As a result, the will of the person who is ideologically clear is also preserved and strengthened. A person who owns ideological clarity of "We are the people; we are fighting the people's war, and we will establish the power of the people" will protect his will to struggle under all conditions. In short, to maintain the will to fight, one must have a revolutionary ideology and maintain ideological clarity. The New Human is the person who has an ideological clarity.

Ideology is everything that guides life. It can be said that it is life itself. It's the things people love, hate, miss. It's thoughts like: "I have to do this; I have to act like this; this is my friend; this is my enemy." It is the ideology that preserves the will to fight. No group, nobody who lives and thinks with the ideology of the rulers, that is, their truths, principles, rules and thoughts, can struggle against the rulers. They cannot be in revolutionary struggle. They cannot continue their revolutionary struggle.

Ideology is decisive in the protraction of a war. The main reason for the collapse of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries by counterrevolutions is ideology. The USSR and other socialist states gave up the ideological struggle. They defended coexisting with the ideology of the hegemons, i.e. imperialism is possible. Such a thing is not possible. Advocating for coexistence is spontaneism, in spontaneism the strong has the advantage over the weak. Here too, the ideology of the hegemons, that is the bourgeois ideology, is the strong one. It is strong because it is old. It has been in people's lives as an ideology of individualism for centuries in thought and life, it has become a habit. It is the official ideology. The material conditions, that is, the social order systematically maintains the ideology of the hegemons and spreads it purposefully. In other words, imperialists protect and spread their ideology intentionally. In such a situation, it is impossible to win the revolutionary ideology of the people without the voluntary effort of its defenders.

As the master Lenin said, they do not go together. Either one or the other prevails. Where the ideology of the hegemons is strengthened, the revolutionary ideology weakens, and vice versa. These two ideologies cannot coexist. One will surely prevail over the other. If the ideology of the hegemons, that is imperialism, is a wolf, the people are lambs. The wolf will want to eat the lamb. That is the nature of the wolf, it continues its existence by eating the lamb. If the lamb wants to live, it must kill the wolf.

Lenin said:

"*International imperialism . . . could not . . . live side by side with the Soviet Republic, both because of its objective position and because of the economic interests of the capitalist class which are embodied in*

it. . . ("Report on War and Peace, delivered to the Seventh Congress of the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks), *Selected Works,* FLPH, Moscow, 1952. Vol. 2 Part 1, p. 422).

Furthermore,

"*. . . the existence of the Soviet Republic side by side with imperialist states for a long time is unthinkable. One or the other must triumph in the end. And before that end supervenes, a series of frightful collisions between the Soviet Republic and the bourgeois states will be inevitable.* ("Report of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks) at the Eighth Party Congress", *Selected Works,* New York, Vol. 8, p. 33.)

Its counterpart in the ideological field is the ideological struggle. A continuous ideological struggle will eventually kill the wolf. This ideological struggle puts like with like and unlike with unlike; by separating right from wrong, it crushes bourgeois ideology and spreads revolutionary ideology. The USSR and the revisionist power gave up on this. As such, their perspective on the people changed after some time, because the view of the people from the ideological window of being the new rulers and of those making the revolution are different. Their perspective on imperialism and the people changed. Their judgement of what was right and wrong changed, along with their priorities. For example, there was a technical competition with the imperialists in industry, which caused it to start to break away from the people's wishes, problems, demands, criticisms. Its priorities ceased to be people's welfare, the salvation of the people, and started to become a bureaucracy. The socialist parties have become bureaucratic. After a while, revolutionary values began to disappear, and a self-promoting bureaucratic capitalist caste began to emerge. It is a law of struggle, first ideological defeat followed by physical surrender.

In other words, when the organisations that are physically destroyed, this does not mean that they are totally annihilated, this does not mean the struggle ended. Those who are ideologically clear take more root with physical destruction and continue the war even stronger. This is clearly witnessed in the history of revolutionary struggle in Turkey. The THKP-C[25] is a very concrete example of this. Despite its physical annihilation, by the revolutionaries who followed the same ideological line, the struggle was reorganized from scratch and stronger than before. Because those who are ideologically clear know the causes and consequences of defeat, they do not admit defeat and persistently continue the war.

Defeat truly begins in the ideological field. Those who begin to think, "There is no point, no reason for this war to continue," no matter how strong they are physically, cannot continue the war. It is the same in the history of the world revolution. The closest example is FARC (Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia).

With thousands of guerrillas, people, and physical facilities, the FARC, although physically strong, perished because it was ideologically defeated. In their minds, they lost the reason why they were fighting imperialism and the Colombian oligarchy.

Instead of realising revolution, they prioritise surviving and protecting themselves. They deviated from their martyred founding commander Marulanda Valez's line that "the war will not end unless the causes of the war are eliminated." Even though the people weren't in power and continued to live like slaves, they ended the struggle. Thus, ideological clarity is decisive in war, not material power.

[25] Revolutionary People's Liberation Party-Front of Turkey; on 30th March 1972 the leading cadres of the organisation was murdered in Kizildere village.

Regardless of whether it is a state, group or individual, those who experience ideological defeat surrender physically and return to order. Nothing is static in the ideological field. There is a constant struggle between the two ideologies. Waiting here means death, because scientifically, the dominant keeps its dominance when there is no struggle against it and makes the weak to retreat further. The longer you wait, the further you retreat. This initiates the process of compromise to surrender and of surrender to betrayal. The end of this is liquidation. A counter-revolution overthrows a state, a revolutionary organisation liquidates itself and disbands, a revolutionary character dissolves. Therefore, the New Human is the one who owns and maintains ideological clarity.

The New Human is an ordinary person. We are all new people, it's us. Once a person changes his system-shaped personality and gets rid of its birthmarks, he begins to become a different person, because now his feelings have changed. He loves passionately, for example. He feels rage towards the rulers. He makes a difference with his interest and effort. His thoughts have changed. His moral values have changed. He is a different person now.

This New Human has a new personality. How is this possible? How does a person acquire a new personality? What is called personality is not a personal phenomenon that is only about the person. As I said before, it is produced by social conditions. Personality changes as emotions, thoughts, behaviours and habits change. The personality of the revolutionaries is like a construction site, it is constantly under construction. It is demolished and rebuilt, demolished and rebuilt again, the New Human is the one who can continue in that state of constant construction.

It is not possible to transform the system-shaped personality into a new personality all at once and for it to become fixed and permanent. This is because the conditions in which we live are those of a neo-colonial society under imperialism. The contradictions, shortcomings and weaknesses arising from petty-bourgeois ideology cannot be completely eliminated. Under these conditions, it cannot be claimed that they have been completely destroyed. In fact, with revolutionisation, revolutionary power has been established within the personality. But this situation is like socialism in one country: imperialism still exists and continues its ideological, physical and every other kind of attack intensely. Under such conditions, preserving socialist power requires striking imperialism harder and forcing it back. Waiting without struggle and trying to coexist peacefully leads to destruction; just as it brought about the end of the USSR, it brings about the end of every revolutionary power.

The same is true for personality. The person itself made the revolution, established revolutionary power. But the revolutionary personality is faced with the constant onslaught of petty-bourgeois ideology. Not fighting petty-bourgeois ideology, living together would be the end of the revolutionary power within us. After a while, it becomes bureaucrats, detaches from popular ideas and disintegrates like revisionist powers. For this, the war against the enemy inside must be continuous. This war will continue until imperialism is erased completely. Until then, it's impossible to talk about a final victory. Lenin says that the realisation of this victory, that is, the cleansing of the deficiencies and weaknesses created by the regime, and the creation of a New Human personality, is only possible three generations after socialism is established. This is not a prophecy or fortune telling. It is a scientific determination. As long as the conditions that dehumanise people continue, the struggle of man to remain human will continue. However, to the extent that these conditions disappear, the necessity of this struggle will also disappear.

Today we cannot discuss whether the contradictions created by petty-bourgeois ideology exists or not, but we can discuss their quantity. Regardless of their experience, whether they are newcomers in the revolutionary ranks, who have just entered the revolutionary struggle, or a revolutionary of 10 years or 30 years, all revolutionaries potentially carry an incomplete and weak personality. The more they struggle against these deficiencies and weaknesses, the more they succeed in reducing them further and keeping them under control. But it will be wrong to say, "I killed the old person completely" This death must occur on daily basis.

Therefore, the New Human cannot be described simply as "someone who has certain characteristics" or "someone who lacks certain characteristics". Of course, the New Human is a person who has certain positive qualities and has freed himself from certain negative ones. But this is not the fundamental point. What is fundamental is that the New Human is constantly at war with himself and kills the old human within himself every day. The person who continuously wages this struggle is the New Human. The New Human will still make mistakes, suffer defeats and fall into weaknesses; none of these determines whether or not someone is a New Human. What is decisive is the will to continue the struggle. The New Human is the person who possesses this will. In Fire from the Mountain, his memoir of guerrilla life, Omar Cabezas says, "the New Human is beyond the mountain." The unit is walking along a path; ahead lie longer roads and steep rocks. They will overcome them and reach the other side of the hill. Cabezas says that the New Human is the person who labours and moves towards the goal with the will to overcome those obstacles. That is right: this will lies at the foundation of the New Human.

Therefore, the New Human is not unattainable. Becoming a New Human is something straightforward and achievable. The New Human is Faruk the minibus driver, Ömer the greengrocer, Ali the butcher, Auntie Saniye the housewife, Grandfather Mahmut and fifteen-year-old Berkin. Everyone among the people who shows this will is a candidate to become a New Human.

The New Human Is the Person Who Loves the People, Who Trusts the People

We are revolutionaries. A revolutionary is someone who makes the revolution, who sets making the revolution as a task and struggles for it. Therefore, a revolutionary is someone who wants revolution. So who will make the revolution? Will it be a handful of revolutionaries who have thrown themselves to the forefront and fight with the greatest vigour? Of course not. Our people will make the revolution; we will make it together with the people. Our role, as the people's vanguard student, is to guide the people along the road to revolution. A guide sets out together with those he guides. He does not lecture them; he simply shows the way and is the first to walk the path he points out. When the first dangers appear ahead, he is the first to suffer harm. But those who truly walk the road are the real owners of the journey. On the road to revolution too, our people will be the principal force making that journey.

We will achieve revolution with the peoples of Anatolia. Our people's reality also reflects the contradictions in life.

The reality of our people was exactly described by Nazım Hikmet:

"They are so many, so that,
like ants on earth
fish in sea

birds in the air.

They are
coward,
brave
illiterate
wise
and childlike.

And they are those who damn
and those who create,
in our epic there is space for only their adventures.

They are the ones who fall for the traitor's lie
drop their flags
and leaving the field to the enemy
run to their houses,
and they who pull their knives on the apostate
They are the ones who laugh like a green tree
and cry without ceremony,
and swear with no boundaries,
in our epic there is space for only their adventures.

Iron,
Coal,
and sugar,
and red copper
and textile
and love and cruelty and life
and all the branches of industry
and sky
and desert
and the blue ocean,
and sad riverways,
the destiny of plowed earth and cities
will be changed one morning,
one morning when, at the edge of darkness,
when they push against the earth with their heavy hands,
stand up.

They are the ones who inspire the brightest shapes
To the most knowledgeable mirrors.
In this century they were victorious, they were defeated.
Many things have been said about them,

and for them:
-they have nothing to lose but their chains-[26].
was said."

The people are under the influence of corrupt policies. They live under conditions of hunger, poverty, oppression and terror. They have been left ignorant, live in fears and have been crushed like grapes. But, on the other hand, they have created principles, rules, values and traditions that enable them to survive without extinction for millennia. And they have always moved forward, demanding a more progressive life. They wanted what was right and demanded justice.

The people are under the influence of policies of corruption. They live under conditions of hunger, poverty, oppression and terror. They have been left ignorant, live in fear and have been crushed like grapes. But, on the other hand, they have created principles, rules, values and traditions that have enabled them to survive for millennia without disappearing. And they have always moved forward, demanding a more progressive life. They have wanted what is right and demanded justice.

It is the reality of existing people, arising from these conditions, who are cunning, fraudulent, thieves, liars and vote for and support those murdering them. On the other hand, the mother who dares to be tortured for her children in prison every day, the father who goes on hunger strike till death at the age of 70 in order to retrieve the body of his son, those who set themselves on fire so that others would not die, those who resisted for 1000 days for their right to work, the mother who stabbed the dealers who sold drugs and poisoned her child, this is also the reality of this people. They are both the same people. The second is not the exception but the decisive one. This is the essence of the people, the dynamic force of change. The most concrete proof of this is that a judicial prisoner, who was charged in a drug case, went on a hunger strike for Nuriye Gülmen and Semih Özakça[27] and received disciplinary punishment. The revelation of the people's longing where there is the most intense corruption shows that it is the progressive side of the people that is decisive. What is decisive here is to be able to negate the policies of corruption, to learn from the people and pass it on to other people. In this way, the essence will be revealed.

I talked about this reality in the history of world revolution. In none of the countries that the people achieved revolution are very conscientious, enlightened, intellectual or free of blemishes. There is no such reality. It is the illiterate French workers who created the Paris Commune. 90% of the creators of the Soviet revolution were the tsarist peoples of Russia who were illiterate, plied by the Romanov Dynasty with vodka. The Chinese revolution was carried out by the Chinese people, mostly left ignorant, serfs enslaved by the warlords. The Vietnamese people, who crushed US imperialism, were peasants who walk barefoot and with nothing to eat but rice porridge. The Cubans mobilized by Che, Fidel and the of July 26th Movement are the people who were treated by the US imperialism as servants and prostitutes. These people succeeded. They became the architects of righteousness and dignity by seizing the power from the rulers.

[26] The Communist Manifesto, Karl Marx and Friedric Engels.
[27] Nuriye Gülmen is a Turkish academician and activist. She was falsely accused and expelled from her work. Together with her colleague Semih Özakça, she began a sit in protest and were detained many times. Currently she is serving a 6-year sentence with no evidence against her.

Once the corruption is no longer an obstacle in front of revolution, it can be said that it serves as one of the basic dynamics of revolution. A concrete example is told in the movie "*Libertarians*"[28] about the Spanish Civil War. A women's militia goes to a place where women are employed as prostitutes. Their aim is to liberate the women there. The female commander of the militia agitates the women: "*Will you continue to sleep under 10 men every day for a bowl of soup?*" and calls them to join.

Seeing their reality and finding salvation, women join the militia. The corruption and suffering that women have been through until then becomes their reason for fighting. They fight with greater power.

The New Human Is the Person Who Rebels Against Forcing People into Submission Through Poverty and Corruption

Once corruption is no longer an obstacle to revolution, it can be said to serve as one of the basic dynamics of revolution. A concrete example is given in the film "Libertarias", about the Spanish Civil War. A women's militia goes to a place where women are employed as prostitutes. Their aim is to liberate the women there. The female militia commander agitates the women: "Will you continue to sleep under ten men every day for a bowl of soup?" and calls on them to join.

We can understand the situation better when we look at the worker who could not pay his debts in Kızılay Square and self-immolated, saying: "I am a worker, I am hungry and demanding justice."[29] This labourer paid a great price, he has no longer has any fear, he set himself on fire. But he has no hope and power to change, so he is helpless. If he had the power, it is not difficult to predict what someone who immolates himself can do to those who put him in this situation. Take Oğuz Meşe, who was a drug addict before being a revolutionary. Using drugs mean being humiliated. The ineffectiveness of the brain makes you an animal. When Oğuz recognised that the regime turned him into an animal and caused him to crawl on the ground, he felt a great hatred against the regime and entered the struggle.

Imperialism exploits the people in two ways: it steals the labour of their hands and impoverishes them, or it steals the product of their minds, alienates them and corrupts them. Poverty and corruption are two consequences of imperialism. These two consequences are also two fundamental dynamics of revolution. When poverty is not organised, it degenerates. When corruption is not organised, it causes the people to become frustrated and hopeless. However, when the causes and consequences of poverty and corruption, and who created them, are brought to consciousness, a great motivation for struggle emerges. That is why the poorest and most humiliated are the vanguard of the revolution. They are a dynamic force in revolutionary struggle. This is a scientific fact: those who sacrifice the most fight more fiercely. Those from whom much has been taken try to win it back with an even greater demand. Those who suffer the greatest injustice react most strongly. This is a law of life, of the struggle for life.

We can understand the situation better when we look at the worker who, unable to pay his debts, self-immolated in Kızılay Square, saying: "I am a worker, I am hungry and demanding justice." This labourer paid a great price; he no longer had any fear and set himself on fire. But he had no hope and no power to change his situation, so he was helpless. If he had had that power, it is not difficult to imagine what someone who immolates himself might do to those who p*ut him* in s*uch a s*ituation.

[28] *Libertarias* (*Libertarians*) is a Spanish historical drama made in 1996. It was written and directed by Vicente Aranda.
[29] A 45-year-old, unemployed R.C. committed the act on 11 September 2019, in Ankara's famous Kızılay Square.

Take Oğuz Meşe, who was a drug addict before becoming a revolutionary. Using drugs means being humiliated. The disabling of the brain turns a person into an animal. When Oğuz recognised that the regime had turned him into an animal and caused him to crawl on the ground, he felt a great hatred for the regime and entered the struggle.

These are the conditions that created the fear expressed years ago by Tuncay Özilhan, the Anadolu Group boss and a member of TÜSİAD (Turkish Industry and Business Association), when he said: "They will come from the slums and cut our throats." The people are full of anger, and when they become conscious, they will not forgive those who created these conditions.

We say that to be a New Human is to have ideological clarity. So how will this be? The ideological clarity means, there is no complicated and uncertain situation in life, and everything is clear and doable. It means to be clear about emotions, thoughts, living and working, fighting and the rights and wrongs of the revolution and the people. How is this possible?

First, the New Human must know life, himself, the enemy, the people and the war. He must be able to see the truth. This starts in the brain, and it is tangible. Correct thinking is the basic condition of seeing the truth. Correct thinking is to think scientifically and in terms of class war.

People cannot be organised without becoming New Humans. Otherwise, the will to fight cannot be maintained under these conditions of war. Even mental health cannot be preserved under conditions in which ordinary people are killed every week by unmanned aerial vehicles and unmanned combat aerial vehicles, people released from prison are arrested again as they walk through the doors, houses are raided at midnight and torture takes place in the streets. This kind of struggle requires becoming a New Human, preserving the will to fight and keeping ideological clarity intact.

The New Human Is a Scientific Thinker. The Philosophy of the New Human Is Dialectical and Historical Materialism.

First, the New Human must know life, himself, the enemy, the people and the war. He must be able to see the truth. This begins in the mind and has tangible consequences. Correct thinking is the basic condition for seeing the truth. Correct thinking means thinking scientifically and in terms of class struggle.

Humanity had to turn to idealism when it lacked knowledge. After a time, the rulers began consciously to rule the people through idealism. Basing themselves on ideas instead of truth, they established their power through idealism. For example, the Egyptian pharaohs claimed that their authority to rule came from God.

Idealism is present in our lives. From childhood we are taught to use idealism as a philosophical method; in every aspect of life, unexplained definitions and general truths are embedded in our minds. For example, the phrase "do not trust strangers" is put into our minds without proper explanation. Who are these strangers? They say, "men don't cry" and "a proper young woman should act like a lady". These ideas are put into our minds through conditioning. We begin to act on them without thinking. This continues and intensifies at school. In history lessons, countries are suddenly liberated and suddenly collapse. How, why and under what conditions are not questioned, and people are not taught to question

them. This kind of education ensures that we think through rote memorisation, like parrots, and accept things without thinking or questioning. In other words, we are not taught to think; we are taught not to think. An idealist mind cannot acquire scientific knowledge; it cannot properly process the scientific information it receives and use that information in accordance with its own needs. In this way, idealism is the philosophy of the enemy. It is the philosophy used to impose the interests of the ruling classes.

The third is the class war. The war between classes reveals new realities in law, morality, and many fields, including the military. So, it is a source of information.

Information flows into the human mind from these three sources. When a person says, "I know this," his knowledge comes from these three sources, namely life.

Otherwise, the human mind does not generate information out of nothing. Or there is no personal information specific to the person. All information is transferred to the human brain from life.

The New Human is the one who gathers scientific knowledge from life. That is, the only method of obtaining scientific knowledge is dialectical materialism. The New Human needs this system of knowledge gathering. Because humans only get the information they need. The New Human knows that to fight, one must recognise oneself, life, the war, one's enemy, and the necessity of this recognition to be continuous. Because life is constantly changing, and information is constantly updated. For example, the laws and rules of war constantly change. The methods and tactics followed by the enemy constantly change, the possibilities and conditions of the struggle constantly change. People's feelings and thoughts can change. All this is the new information that must be acquired.

A desire to learn is required to obtain this information. Whoever assumes to know and sees oneself as sufficient cannot obtain information. So, the New Human learns passionately like an primary school student. This is how he approaches the whole of life. He does not split life as important and unimportant. Because he knows that every piece of knowledge, big or small, will contribute to the struggle. Because those who comprehend the laws of life, struggle, and war, and understand their conditions, fight much more effectively and get results in war.

The method of learning is dialectical materialism. The New Human understands the philosophy of materialism. There are two stages of obtaining scientific knowledge. The first is observation, that is perceptual information. Perceptual information is knowledge acquired through emotions, by observation. It gives the perceived visible part of reality.

It is important to understand the visible part of reality, and it is an indispensable condition for acquiring knowledge. But it is not enough in itself. This is the reason why Marx said that "science would not be necessary if the apparent was the truth." And the point of a story that Marx told is the fact that perceptual knowledge is misleading.

The story takes place in a village. Cacus[30], who is half human, half monster and lives in a cave, goes out at night to steal oxen. It takes the oxen to its cave by pushing them from their heads and making them walk backwards so that no one can understand that they are stolen. Unable to find their oxen in their places in the morning, the villagers, looking at their footprints, think that the oxen did not enter Cacus's

[30] According to Evander, Hercules stopped to pasture the cattle he had stolen from Geryon near Cacus' lair. As Hercules slept, the monster took a liking to the cattle and slyly stole eight of them – four bulls and four cows – by dragging them by their tails, so as to leave a trail in the wrong direction. When Hercules awoke and made to leave, the remaining herd made plaintive noises towards the cave, and a single cow lowed in reply. Angered, Hercules stormed towards the cave and eventually Hercules strangled the monster.

cave, on the contrary, they came out of there and disappeared in the field. The main problem here is that reality is more than its own image, and in this respect, focusing solely on images, on instantaneous and direct data that catches our eyes, is extremely misleading.

Yes, they are questions and research that turn perceptual knowledge into mental knowledge, to scientific knowledge. It is experimenting in practice. The mother of questions is the question "why." Perceptual information acquired by observation is the first data. Appearance is always a result. The result cannot be fully understood without understanding the reasons and the inner face of this result. When questions are asked on the first data acquired, the reasons arise and when it is tried and tested in life, scientific knowledge, in other words, the truth is understood. For example, if in the story told by Marx, the peasants had asked such questions like, "Why did our animals enter this cave. Who lives in this cave." and tried their answers in life, they would have reached scientific knowledge. For example, if they had entered the cave, they would have encountered the bones of their animals and seen the truth.

We can give many examples of perceptual and mental information from life. For example, when we met a friend, saw his face is sullen. This is perceptual information. This is the first data, being content with this, leads us to idealism. Because we then start to comment. This is how comments such as "his face is sullen because he is angry with me," "he behaves capriciously" emerge. But by asking questions, "why his face is sullen," "I wonder what happened" and confirming the answers to these questions by asking the person himself leads us to scientific knowledge. A person scratches one's feet in front of elder people and does this constantly. Asking questions and talking to the person here takes us to the truth. But if we interrupt the process of obtaining information by making comments such as "What a disrespectful man, he is constantly playing with his feet," etc., we will be embarrassed to learn that this person, in fact has a fungus on his feet.

The last example is one of the most common examples in the struggle. A press release or a protest action is organised. It is clear who will be participating in it. But although a friend says he will come, he does not come to the press release. What is seen and perceived is the fact that the person does not participate in the press release. A petty bourgeois approach may think "What a coward, I already knew that he is cowardly" in the face of this reality and even act upon this interpretation and take decisions about the person. Yet, when the issue is investigated and asked, "why didn't he come?" It will be easily understood that the friend did not attend the press release because he took his mother to the hospital or because he did not have travel money.

The New Human is aware that thinking and acting in that way, that is with interpretations, intentions, emotions, conditioned thoughts; in short idealism serves the enemy. Because idealism is an enemy philosophy.

The philosophy of the New Human is materialism. His perceptions are open, and he observes with 5 senses. He asks questions with 5W1H method, he does not stop asking questions until they find the source. He asks the question of why towards everything. He does not accept anything as it seems. Because he knows that stopping asking questions and not learning scientific knowledge means being idealist. He knows that there is no great gap between acting with idealism and supporting the enemy indirectly. By asking questions to everything and everyone in one's life, he learns the bottom of the truth, gathers information in hand and understands with materialism.

After obtaining scientific knowledge, it must be processed and used. Marx said, "*The philosophers have only interpreted the world, in various ways; the point is to change it*." in the 11th of his Theses on Feuerbach. The method here is dialectical, which takes a revolutionary transformative method of thought and action.

Dialectics, by its shortest definition, is the science of contradiction. It is science that explains the truth through internal contradictions and reciprocity. Dialectics is a way of thinking that recognizes opposites are together and that they are in constant struggle with each other, and that change, and development cannot be explained without understanding these oppositions. Dialectics examines the reality within its own movements and changes and learns the opposing parts in integrity by making an analysis that considers the opposition. By grasping the transient side of everything, always turning to the new, knowing that there is relativity in every knowledge, by constantly deepening and enriching, directing knowledge to practice as the criterion of accuracy dialectics gives scientific knowledge its creative, concrete and revolutionary character.

The concrete life equivalent of this theoretical expression is the fact that every object, every person is together with its positive and negative aspects. This is also the reality of the people. A person who is willing to fight against oppression can also be a liar or a coward. He can be jealous, complex, ambitious, arrogant and at the same time have love for the people and the homeland. Dialectics shows us this fact. He can be a person who complains all the time and be very loyal and devoted to revolutionaries. These can coexist in the same person at the same time. The rejection of this reality is the rejection of science.

Contradiction: The whole of spoken words and behaviours

Paradox: Contrast.

Opposites coexist in every human being and are in struggle with each other. Movement and development occur in line with the course of their mutual struggle. The struggle between opposites disrupts the unity between opposites, and when there is enough accumulation, when it is mature enough, the unity collapses and the balance changes. Concretely, lies and honesty (truthfulness) coexist in a person. The person becomes whichever of the two opposites is more dominant. A liar who lies often in life may change and become an honest person after a while. There may also be times and places in life when a coward is brave and not afraid, or more accurately, when he or she overcomes his or her fear. A person who is afraid of many things can become a brave person after a while when he overcomes his fears.

Dialectical contradiction is never dull and unchanging. That's why the sentences "this man is too lazy", "this woman is too gossipy", "these can't be revolutionaries" are contrary to dialectics. Because they are not decisive, because they can change. Moreover, they are only negative characteristics. We, on the other hand, evaluate people not only by their negative characteristics but also by their positive characteristics. Because we know that positive and negative characteristics coexist in human beings and that they are in constant struggle. For this reason, the correct, dialectical way of thinking, is the perspective of evaluating people together with their positive and negative aspects, enlarging their positives and fighting with their negatives, giving them the power to destroy the negatives. Another fundamental point is that the determinant of who becomes revolutionary and who does not is revolutionary willpower, that is, the determination of "I will be a revolutionary". As long as this willpower, this determination continues, it

depends on our labour and our willpower that the contradictions we encounter in the form of good and bad sides, positive and negative characteristics in the person are always resolved in favour of the revolution.

According to the dialectical point of view, it is necessary to distinguish between contradictions as principal and secondary. The main contradiction, which makes all other contradictions dependent on itself and determines character and development, is called the principal contradiction. The contradictions which do not have a decisive influence on development, and which are subordinate to the principal contradiction and whose solution depends only on the solution of the principal contradiction are called secondary contradictions. In the revolutionary struggle, the principal contradiction in a person in the ranks of the revolution is the contradiction between the choice of revolution or order. Personality traits are secondary to the choice of revolutionism.

The New Human with a dialectical point of view regards others according to their willpower of "I will be a revolutionary". Because he knows that when this decision becomes stronger, it also determines personality traits. In other words, a person may be a sleepy person or planless. Changing only these characteristics of the person may not increase his revolutionary preference. He can regulate their sleep or live their lives in a more planned manner but their decision to become a revolutionary does not grow stronger depending on these. However, when the willpower to become a revolutionary grows and strengthens, personality traits will begin to change accordingly. There are many examples of this in life. There are revolutionaries who are stubbornly dissatisfied as a personality trait but martyred. There are revolutionaries whose style and approach to the people is not right, but who were martyred. There are people who lied to their organisation in the past, stole the money of the organisation, that is, the people, who come to terms with these shortcomings and weaknesses, but on the other hand, they are the ones who rushed to death for the revolution. These are the realities of life written in blood, sweat and tears, far superior to crude, abstract theories.

All negative traits in people can be transformed into positive ones. We can turn cowards into brave, immoral into moral, liar into honest, impatient into patient, problem into solution. Dialectics is the method of achieving this transformation. In short, dialectics is the method of finding contradictions and solving the problem by reversing them. What is necessary to solve problems, to change the existing reality, is to acquire knowledge by understanding and to develop a method to solve the problem. This is the power of dialectical materialism.

The problem of knowledge and method is the most important problem that we face when starting any work or solving a problem. Because it is necessary to have the right knowledge and the right method both in doing something and in solving a problem. If our knowledge or method is wrong, we will not be able to get the desired result from our work or solve the problem correctly.

Therefore, we first try to have the right knowledge about the problem we want to do or solve, and then we try to have the right method. It is materialism that will give us the right knowledge and the dialectical point of view that will provide us with the right method. So, when starting a job or solving a problem, we first gain knowledge by understanding it with materialism and then find a method from a dialectical point of view. In short, we can turn this into a slogan as, "understand with materialism, solve with dialectics". The next step is persistent labour and struggle until the change takes place.

If there is a problem before us, waiting for a solution, and if this problem is not solved despite all our efforts, it is not because the problem is unsolvable. This is usually related to the problem of knowledge and method. Either our knowledge of the problem is incomplete or the method we use is wrong. Or both are also possible.

For example, lack of planning is a problem. When changing this characteristic of a person, we cannot solve the problem if we do not have information about why he or she lacks planning; or if we do not know this person well enough. Or, even if we know the person but do not approach with the right method, for example, if we only advise our friend whom we want to convert by just saying "having a planned approach is revolutionary and therefore we need to be that way" and do not show how to do it, the change will not take place again. Here, too, there is a problem of method. In other words, wherever there are no results, there is a problem of knowledge and method. When a New Human who looks at the world through the window of dialectical materialism is left without a solution to a problem, when he cannot solve the problem, he either knows that his knowledge is incomplete and makes efforts to increase his knowledge, or he realises that his method is wrong and changes the method. He does not blame conditions or causes outside him/herself. Because he knows that the inability to repair the television is not because the television cannot be repaired, but because the repairman cannot repair it.

Dialectical materialism is science itself. The mind of the New Human is in dialectical materialism and with the strength of this mind he has the power to solve all problems. Life is simple for him. It is to understand the facts and struggle to reverse them. He knows that he cannot change reality without understanding it. To reverse reality, one must first accept reality. Realising the truth does not mean accepting it. One cannot solve any problem; one does not recognise. To solve the problem, he must first define the problem. Just as it is imperative for a doctor to diagnose a disease correctly before he can treat it. No doctor can treat a disease or cure a patient without a diagnosis or with a wrong diagnosis. He must first diagnose it correctly, that is, he must have the right information. For example, for independence, it is necessary to first understand how the occupation took place and how dependency is. Change goes from what is to what should be.

To reverse the facts, it is necessary to acquire knowledge and develop methods, and then to labour and struggle until results are achieved. This is how the whole history of humanity has progressed. They laboured with sacrifices, acquired knowledge, understood the environment he lived in, then resisted the conditions and struggled to change the conditions. It is the labour and struggle that make man human. These are the essence of the New Human's scientific thinking.

The New Human also thinks through the class war. In every event, every phenomenon, every behaviour, every policy, he sees the interests of the people, the interests of the rulers and class relations. He is conscious of class and history. Class consciousness is the recognition of one's class. It is to know the conditions of life, the reason for its existence and its relationship with other classes. The New Human is within the people; he is the people themselves. It is the people whose production activity provides the necessities of social life, creates favourable conditions for progress, but who cannot share in social wealth. It consists of millions, except for a handful of ruling exploiting parasites. The New Human is also a member of the people. He knows who he is because he has this consciousness.

Class consciousness is to know the people. It is to know how the people live, what they like, what they hate, what their characteristics are. He who has class consciousness knows who he is. He knows the enemies of his class. He thinks in the clarity of "us and the enemy". He becomes pure because he looks at

every event and everything in this way. The purified human fights, fights the class enemies and wins. There is no other way. For example, when the US imperialist monopoly Rockefeller gives a philanthropy award to the Koç family, the question of "whether the Koç family are philanthropists" does not even come to the New Human's mind. Because the Koç family are comprador bourgeois. Rockefeller is a US monopoly. Both belong to the ruling class; both exploit the people to the bone. Therefore, there is no need to even discuss "philanthropy" about them. It is class consciousness that provides this clarity.

The New Human also has a historical awareness. It knows under what conditions and how people lived, how they were exploited, what they did against exploitation, how they resisted. Knowing this shows what to do today.

To have class and history awareness is to know and to understand. It is knowledge that creates the feeling of love. Things known and knowledgeable about can be loved. Nothing unknown can be loved. For example, someone who has never lived in a country cannot love this country. The more you know about it, the more you get to know it, the more love you will feel.

The love of a person to the people will grow if it has class consciousness and knows the people. It knows the positive and negative characteristics and beauties of the people. It is aware of the wealth and creativity of the people, understands how the people have resisted so much oppression for thousands of years. Its love for the people becomes stronger as it grasps this dynamic and knows the people. As it deepens the awareness of history, it learns the history, traditions, culture and folk songs of the land it lives in. It knows its country. It knows what prices are paid for the existence of this country. As it gets to know its history and country, its devotion to the country grows. The love of people and country develops with class and historical awareness.

The two fundamental sources of being a revolutionary are love for the people and love for the homeland. Those who passionately love their people and their homeland fight for liberation. The New Human knows how the people have been brought to this condition and left ignorant. He understands why children of the people such as Dilek Doğan and Berkin Elvan were martyred. He knows that people die because they cannot obtain medicine for their illnesses or find bread to eat, and he knows who is responsible. He knows those who tear into the mountains for mining and pollute the homeland with thermal power plants in order to produce energy. This knowledge and this reality create love for the people and the homeland. The New Human carries this love in his heart.

Love arises from consciousness. Love is labour. Love is a value created through labour, a concentrated emotion. At the same time, love and hatred are two intertwined emotions. We want the well-being and safety of what or whom we love. Anger, and even hatred, arises towards those who consciously harm them. This is a very simple reality. A child loves his mother. He wants his mother to be well and happy. He feels hatred towards those who harm his mother and reacts against them. This is entirely natural. Human beings have memory; they retain and remember what they have lived through. By accumulating knowledge in memory, humanity distinguished itself from animals and opened the way to development. Therefore, it is natural for a person to feel hatred towards those who harm them or their loved ones.

Contrary to what is commonly assumed, it is not feeling hatred but being unable to feel hatred that is contrary to humanity. A living being that can think, be sensitive and process its emotions can feel hatred. A cockroach cannot feel hatred towards anyone, and seals cannot become angry at those who harm their young for their skins. Moss and algae cannot hold hatred for years. Hatred is intertwined with love and is

particular to human beings. Those who truly love, and especially those who love passionately, feel great hatred towards those who harm their loved ones. Those who feel hatred towards those who have covered Anatolia with kilometres of US bases are those who are bound to Anatolia with devotion.

There is a strong relationship between love and hatred. Those who love also feel hatred. Those who do not love do not feel hatred; those who feel no hatred do not truly love. No one remains simply indifferent, without feeling anger, when their family is harmed. Only those who have become alienated react in such a way.

The New Human therefore possesses class hatred. He knows that class hatred is his compass. This hatred shows him the right path. "We can forget everything, but we will not forget our martyrs," he says. With this hatred he labours much more and struggles much more. Because those who feel anger and hatred, those who love deeply, want to make the responsible pay a greater price, hold them to account and reach their goals.

During the seven-year Great Death Fast Resistance of 2000–2007, some prisoners were subjected to forced medical intervention. A group of prisoners who were forcibly intervened upon completely lost their memories; their minds were reduced to those of five-year-old children and they became living dead. They could no longer speak or walk. Yet even in such a condition, when they had forgotten everything else, they remembered being revolutionaries. Those who had forgotten their own names, their mothers and their fathers still remembered that they were revolutionaries. What reminded them of this truth was the hatred they felt. Like love, hatred is a very powerful emotion, and it creates desire.

It is class consciousness that creates this hatred. Those who do not know the people and their enemies cannot understand the cause-and-effect relationship between them. Love and hatred are material. Without knowledge, these emotions cannot be felt strongly. Class hatred, and consciousness in general, is like a lighthouse on a dark sea. No matter how dark the sea or how great the storm, the lighthouse always shows the way and enables us to stay on course.

It uses the same thinking dynamics while looking at everything in daily life to maintain class consciousness. It thinks "us and the enemies." It thinks about the interests and benefit of the people and the revolution. While looking at some news in newspapers and watching a programme on TV, it looks from the point of view of imperialism, oligarchy and the people, opportunism, reformism and revolutionaries; it thinks what would be in benefit and what would harm the people and the revolution.

He does not surrender his mind to spontaneity. He protects his mind by looking at everything—from his own emotions to events taking place in the world—through class consciousness at all times. By thinking scientifically and from a class perspective, he sees the truth and lays the foundations firmly.

Turkey is a petty-bourgeois country. The masses of people in our country are under the influence of petty-bourgeois ideology. The ideology of the petty bourgeoisie is individualism. There's the "I" in its emotions, thoughts, and behaviours in its whole life.

The issue here is not that people think about themselves. In the pre-capitalist villages, the people living in the countryside lived a largely collective life. Due to this life in their feelings and thoughts there exists "Us." These are the reasons why one thinks about one's neighbour while cooking, and why it reserves a room for the guest that no one uses in his home. But with the distorted urbanization of

distorted capitalism, isolation has increased. Selfishness has become widespread with the increasing isolation and the dominance of the culture of petty bourgeois groups working in cities.

Today, both the factory workers and the people living in poor neighbourhoods are under the influence of petty-bourgeois ideology.

For example, it is still idealistic. Although it verbally accepts dialectical materialism, it does not do what is necessary. It idealizes persons, events, war, revolutionary movement. It magnifies or shrinks in its mind and thoughts, and unless these thoughts fit into the reality of life, it becomes depressed. For example, it exaggerates the enemy's attacks and the damage it has done, begins to think "we are dead, we are over" and becomes desperate. It exaggerates oligarchy, security measures, cannot see the truth, and this point of view drives one to inactivity. It magnifies the mistakes and negatives of the people it works with. It is thrown from emotion to emotion. It cannot see the truth before his eyes.



The New Human
A bullet from you as well, my Lion*
My right,
left,
front
and back
everywhere I see bullets
they're on their own,
no different from iron particles,
vulnerable to the slightest wind,
they are thrown from right to left,
like a bullet,
they want to penetrate the wind

But in vain
because they alone
are just pieces of iron

Some of them embedded in dirt
Crushed under the grass
We can see their tips
they struggle to emerge from earth
I can feel it
They're filled with scary energy
they want to scream

But in vain
their cries
are as much as whisper
because they alone
they're just pieces of iron

they were abandoned
from their main mission
the bullets without a barrel
what good is a bullet without a barrel
besides being a piece of iron

When the bullet united with its barrel
and turned into a weapon,
when the trigger of the weapon is pressed,
it starts to have a meaning

then the screams of the bullets are heard,
then they pass through the wind,
then it is no longer a piece of iron
and unites with the fight called life

While it was a piece of iron on its own
It is now a lethal weapon in the barrel
when the trigger is pressed

Now I look again
to my right,
to my left,
to my back,
and in front of me
and what I see is that
there are deadly bullets around me,
they just
need to be driven into the barrel,
one by one
they need to be turned into a weapon

rather than a piece of iron,
the bullet that leaned on its people
Fires at the enemy

Now fire all your anger
and destroy the enemy's castles,

you are not alone anymore,
Now here we are
you are now a bullet of the magazine,
empty the magazine
to the palaces of tyrants

My lion, you are one of the bullets now
one of the bullets

Now I am walking with great hope towards my future. I think what a bullet I was when I was a piece of iron. I remember the years I spent alone. The days when I was sad thinking, isn't there anyone to hold my hand. The days when I dived deep into why I don't have a friend I can trust and worry about. I remember I used to take lots of walks. I would bend my neck and follow the long narrow road at the back of our house. This road was the way of despair. I was quietly leaving my steps behind as the storms broke in me. Like my footsteps, an invisible man was coming and passing this long narrow road. As if he'd never walked there.

The difference between my presence and my absence was not felt. I wanted to feel life, to understand it, to touch it, but dreams of despair captured me. Sometimes I just felt like shouting, then I was silent again because they could think I was crazy. However, there were so many things I wanted to tell the world. I wanted to scream all but to whom? Who was responsible for my condition? Was it me or? Had I been able to change it but couldn't. I argued with myself for a long time about how everyone can live joyful and happily, when I couldn't …

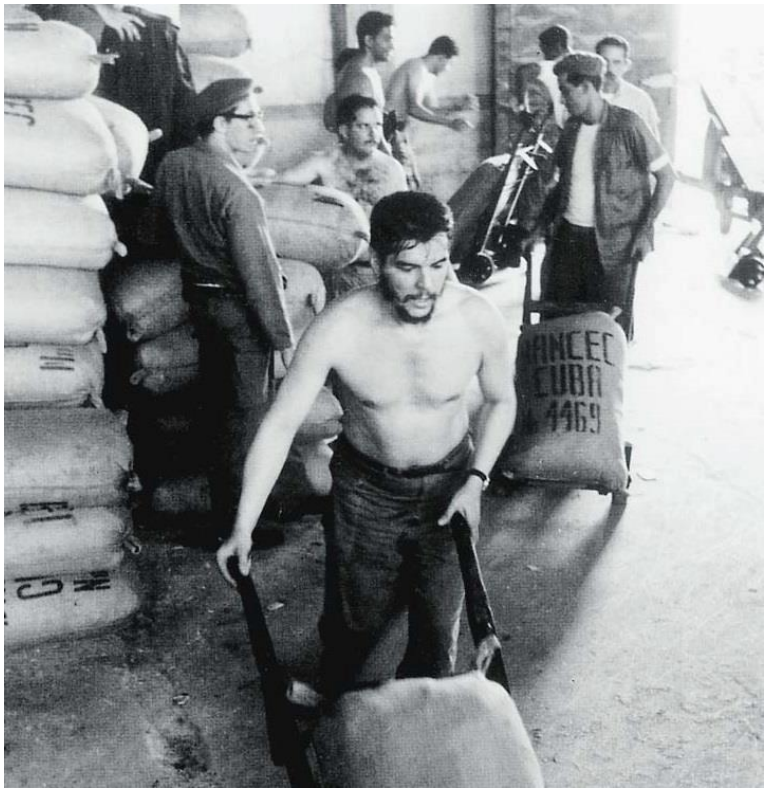
After a while I realised that I am not alone. There is no one who is happy in this system. Everyone is playing the role that is assigned to it in a theatre scene because there is no alternative. Everyone grapples with a thousand and one problems. I am just one of those billions of people. A young man with anger at heart, abandoned to despair and loneliness. "This must change," I thought to myself. This order must change. But the point where I got stuck was always this. What can I do alone. How can I change it. I have even produced theories in my own way. The days I was thinking seriously … But I couldn't find a solution in any way.

Then one day I went to the revolutionaries. I spent time with them. This process has been my turning point. My experiences with the revolutionaries have constantly put me in contradiction. Either I will revolutionize, or I will continue to walk the long and thin road of despair. The value the revolutionaries gave me, their ownership of me, their way of guiding me, their teaching me how to change… Their giving a belief and claim made me make a choice. And my preference was clear; my preference was certain. It was to be revolutionary.

In this order, there is no other way than revolutionizing. Our hope is revolution; our hope is socialism. Never again despair. I have comrades I can worry about now. I now have an organisation that takes my hand. I have an organisation, a big family that provides me with all opportunities and constantly improves me, corrects my mistakes and deficiencies, is open to me, gives me confidence. I have full self-confidence. I am not desperate, now I am the remedy for others. I lead; I produce solutions.

These are just a few of the possibilities my organisation has given me. It allowed me to recreate myself. It put me on the route to the New Human and brought me back to my feet whenever I was down with something. I love my organisation, being organised, the revolution, being revolutionary. I believe in the revolution; we will make the revolution because there are so many "I" s on the streets. Walking the way of despair. Now it's my turn to run faster to reach them, to revolutionize them too. I will carry hope to them. I will continue our struggle with this responsibility and after the revolution, whoever says crazy "I will scream all my joy while running in the rains." We will win because we are the people, and we are right.

* This article was taken from the 61st issue of March Against Imperialism and Oligarchy Magazine dated 8 April 2018.



The New Human is the person that kills the petty bourgeois within itself and commits class suicide.

One of the leaders of the revolution of Guinea Bissau, Amilcar Cabral, says that a revolutionary must commit its class suicide first by killing the petty bourgeois within himself. Because the petty bourgeois in us is like a malignant tumour. When we do not cut it away, when we do not clean all its remains, it appears again and again, in the march of revolution, it ties us down, slows us down, makes us regress… And finally, we find ourselves outside that path.

Why is this so, with what features, with what qualities the petty bourgeois in us ties us down?

First, it is emotional petty bourgeois. But being sensitive is different from being emotional. Scientifically minded revolutionaries and New Humans have very strong feelings. If shadow falls on the faces of their companions, their hearts will tremble. They wait for their sick friends overnight. Sometimes they cry together. With their grudges and rage against the cruelty and injustice inflicted on their comrades and their people, they patiently wait for the days when all these will be held to account. These are very strong feelings. But emotionality is different. Being emotional is acting based on personal feelings. Their personal feelings are everything to the petty bourgeois. In Gorky's words, if the tooth hurts and cannot afford to have it pulled, the whole world looks like hell. Yet it is the tooth that hurts. If it is unhappy, if it is sad, it will reflect this in its whole life. It becomes unable to do its work and leaves oneself. If this person feels it has been wronged, it is offended and retreats. It does not think that one has personally done wrong to it, or that it should continue to behave with principled rules. It is this feeling that is fundamental to it. This is partly the basis of petty bourgeois idealism.

Petty-bourgeois emotions are unjust. For example, when a revolutionary is martyred, the petty bourgeois revolts with many emotions such as pain, sadness and fear. His brain fills with thoughts such as… "He should not have died, such mistakes should not have been made, no one cared about him enough" etc. However, it is not thoughts but emotions that fill his brain; but he does not even realise this. He has no knowledge of how martyrdom is realised. This is not decisive for him anyway, but the eyes of the petty bourgeoisie are so blinded at such times that they see nothing but their own truths. For him, no one has thought of anything, everyone has made mistakes, no one is as sensitive and as touched as he is. He thought the most about this situation. This is the picture he created in his own mind and projected outwards. However, he does not have any contribution in this incident, he does not know who laboured and how much they felt sorrow. There is no such measure of justice for him, he is unfair. He is so caught up in his emotions that he has become stupid. Deaths and martyrdoms create a wide range of emotions in everyone. This is natural. The New Human is also touched, experiencing the most intense emotions in the deepest depths of his brain and consciousness... The New Human knows that a revolutionary has sacrificed his life for his people and for the end of oppression. The hegemons massacred a child of the people for their power. That is why the revolutionary experiences the most intense, deepest feelings. He feels the pain of the dead revolutionary, his comrade most deeply. But there is more anger in him. Most importantly, the revolutionary acts with his reason and logic, not with these feelings, but by kneading these feelings with class consciousness. He does what is scientifically right. This consciousness is the reality of war, the reality of revolutionism, the reality of the people. He kneads his emotions with this reality. For example, he knows that there can be mistakes in war and every experience consists of mistakes. A mistake in war means death, experience in war is gained with blood. No matter how difficult and painful it is, this is a scientific fact. A New Human knows this fact and adds the pain he has

experienced, and the feeling of the price paid to his consciousness. He draws strength from these feelings to ensure that mistakes are not made again and to become even stronger.

The New Human is Anatolian. He also learns from the folk songs of Aşık Mahsuni[31]; sometimes he takes his medicine from pain. In other words, the intense emotions he experiences sometimes show him the solution, the remedy.

The petty bourgeoisie is indifferent to matters that do not interest him. Because he lives as "me". He cannot realise that the problem next to him should concern him too. If the problem does not affect him directly, he thinks, "What do I care, it does concern me", "Do I have to do everything?". Because the problem that he thinks he cannot solve troubles the petty bourgeois. The petty bourgeois cannot handle difficulty well. "If you have a toothache, get rid of it, if your neighbour is bad, get rid of him" is his basic philosophy.

The petty bourgeois does not feel responsibility, he thinks of his comfort. He is doing a very important and very risky job, but he thinks, "Nothing will happen at this time of the morning". He doesn't even realise what the police are thinking and planning at that moment. When something happens and he is arrested, he relives his personal experience. In an event that is already known and experienced, by applying his personal experience, not the experience of the organisation, he prevents the experience from coming to life. It causes serious damage to the struggle.

The petty bourgeoisie is liberal in itself. Liberalism is not only a right-wing attitude. Sometimes it also appears in its left-wing form. For example, the petty bourgeoisie is told "don't go to that press conference". He says, "nothing will happen". He thinks that not going to the press conference is liberalism. Because he trusts only his own mind. He does not trust the mind of the collective, of organised thought. Even if he does not express it openly in this way, he says so with his practice. Let’s say, he is told "don't criticise that person". But he doesn't bother to think about why he is told this, he doesn't think carefully about it... He can't hold himself; he criticises; because according to him he is the most revolutionary, the most sensitive. He must criticise. He must immediately intervene in the wrong that exists there.

Such examples are left-wing manifestations of liberalism. Because here the main aim of the petty bourgeois is not revolution, but the satisfaction of his own sense of “me”. He sets his measures accordingly. The New Human, on the other hand, is principled and lives in accordance with rules. Being principled and rule-based are not empty political discourses. Applying what is said as it is, without filtering it through the filter of reason, without asking questions, sometimes appears as being mechanical. Being principled and rule-based are different. Rules are "guidelines, commands that guide the realisation of various actions, the execution of practical and intellectual work in order to scientifically reach a certain goal...", that is, tools.

In life, we follow tens or hundreds of rules without thinking about them. All the rules we follow create results in life. For example, stopping at a red light in traffic is a rule. Those who obey this rule are protected from accidents, but those who do not obey the rule have accidents. Being quiet in libraries is a rule. Those who do not obey the rule may have to leave the library. There are many rules similar to these in life.

[31] Aşık Mahsuni Şerif, (17 November 1939-17 May 2002) was a Turkish ashik, folk musician, composer, poet, and author. *Aşık* is a title used to indicate his position as a respected musician and his relationship with Alevism.

Life, struggle and war also have rules. These rules become laws as they are repeated through events and processes. These have been tried, tested and proven in life. Those who act in accordance with these rules and laws get results, while those who do not comply with them face negative consequences.

Trying to solve problems requires labour and paying the price. The petty bourgeois, who cannot look at the problem scientifically, does not realise that the problem is a result made up of causes. He wants it to be solved immediately as he wishes, because he is easy-going. If the problem is not solved as he wants, he gives up and does not shoulder responsibility. Because his main criterion is to protect himself. The New Human knows that all problems stem from the problem of taking power, so every problem solved brings the solution of the problem of taking power closer. He knows that every problem solved strengthens the revolution and revolutionism.

For example, if a comrade of a revolutionary is lazy, this is a problem for him. Because solving this problem means that the labour of a revolutionary is more productive. A hard-working revolutionary contributes more to the revolutionary struggle. The stronger the struggle, the closer the revolution becomes. The stronger the organisation, the faster the revolution. Since the New Human wants the revolution, he thinks about the revolution, not himself. Therefore, he does not take his comfort and difficulty when facing problems as base, he focuses on solving problems in favour of the revolution.

The political line of the petty bourgeoisie in the face of problems is liberalism. It is an individual libertarian. In other words, he behaves how he wants to behave at that moment. He is like this in the face of all problems. He is individualist, he attaches great importance to his own mind, his own experience. He assigns missions to himself. He ignores that each political decision is a collective decision created with thousands of emotions, thoughts, sacrifices and values. For example, it is necessary not to use the telephone in order not to fall under enemy control, the petty bourgeois think "nothing will happen", says "only once is ok", and comments further on the matter. However, the petty bourgeois does not know whether there has been a problem before when used in that way, whether there is any experience in this regard. For example, a decision has been made that no more than three people will be allowed in any of the institutions. The petty bourgeois immediately comments further. Just as there is a law of gravity in physics and those who say "I will not obey the law of gravity" are doomed to fall off a cliff, those who do not obey the laws in daily life and war face the same consequences. For example, "war is a clash of willpowers" is a law. This means that those who preserve their willpower can continue the war. "War is learnt in battle" is a law. No one can say that I can learn to fight without fighting, without getting into this practice. "Love is exchanged with love" is a law. That is, those who want to create love in life must love a lot. There are many laws such as "carrying out activities outside of supervision", "not using mobile phones", etc. There are many rules.

Rules and laws have been experienced, proven and verified in life. They have become tools for getting results. They are so real that they are as concrete as the rule of cooking food at a certain temperature for a certain time. If the rule is not followed, the food will burn, it is as clear as that. The New Human knows that to disobey them is now as irrational as a person trying to reinvent the wheel. Because it has already been tried and found. It is irrational to deliberately disobey something that has already been found and yielded result. Rules are objective and scientific. It has become theorised as "doing such and such gets

such and such results". Theory is the systematisation of practice. For example, first a dish is cooked, certain ingredients are randomly thrown into the pot. Then, after being tried and tested, it becomes a rule that when certain ingredients are thrown in, which results will be obtained. In other words, the theory of cooking is created. Knowledge about cooking becomes a recipe. Depending on whether this recipe is followed or not, Ahmet, Mehmet and Özlem get the same results. There is no personal situation. This is also the case in life. Many criticisms and self-criticisms have been made. With the results of the practice of criticism, the idea that "criticism cannot be made without reserve and openly" has been theorised, it has become a rule. Therefore, the rule is not personal. There is a saying in law that "procedure is the mortal enemy of arbitrariness". It is said that rules eliminate personal measures and arbitrariness.

The New Human knows this and has rules. If revolution is a race, rules are the signposts on the way to this goal. It is necessary to follow them. Results are achieved through principles and rules. If a revolutionary organisation wants to get results, it must have principles and rules. The more principles and rules, the higher the fighting power. The New Human wants the revolution as much as he feels the pain of children dying every 5 seconds. With this desire, he adheres strictly to principles and rules as a line soldier to achieve the goal of revolution. He is disciplined and acts in accordance with centralism. He knows that to be like this is to be a single fist and to hit the order with all one's might.

The New Human puts into practice a proletarian and labouring revolutionism with principles and rules. As the African revolutionary Amilcar Cabral said, the petty bourgeois destroys his petty bourgeois personality only by "committing class suicide".

Petty-bourgeois revolutionism preserves and acts on bourgeois morality. This is a reactionary and idealist morality. This understanding of morality is based on personal characteristics and justifies the regime. From this point of view, the petty bourgeoisie separates people as good and bad. It fills the good with bourgeois morality, that is, according to it, "good" is the one who is polite, calm, hardworking, respectful. In short, the person who is sympathetic to the petty bourgeoisie is good, and the person they do not like is bad. However, the issue is not a matter of good and bad, but of the people and the hegemons, revolutionary ideology and bourgeois ideology; these are the real distinctions. By doing so, the petty bourgeois, again acts according to his own personal feelings and thoughts, not according to the revolution.

In the eyes of the New Human, the good man is an organised man who is detached from bourgeois ideology, who rejects bourgeois morality and has class hatred. This is the Marxist understanding of morality. In other words, Marxist morality is one that “defends the reaction and interests of the oppressed” as Engels said. According to revolutionaries, a good person is a person with this morality.

That’s why it is not decisive whether the person is a thief, drug addict, alcoholic, gambler, etc. What matters is that he is one of the people, he has potential for being organised, has class contradictions and class hatred. Therefore, even though they commit these crimes, the main reason for them is the regime. They are the results created by the regime. The New Human knows that these corrupt people who commit these crimes have much greater hatred for this regime and can become revolutionary. Even though the behaviours, actions, feelings and thoughts of these people disturb them personally, this is not the criterion for evaluation, but regime and revolution. He is aware that tomorrow’s rose gardens will grow

in today’s swamp. Therefore, it does not approach people with its petty bourgeois understanding of morality and subjective feelings.

He knows that approaching people based on his own feelings and thoughts is an obstacle on the path of struggle. For example, a revolutionary may be uncomfortable with some of the characteristics of a person he has just met, but his personal discomfort is not important. If this disturbance is taken as a basis, the labour of a person, who will make a serious contribution to the revolutionary struggle later, will not have participated in the struggle.

Therefore, the New Human is patient. His patience is not about being expectant with pipe dreams or holding back when he is slapped. At the root of his patience is confidence in his ideology. He knows that it is right, that it is based on scientific truths and facts. Sooner or later, the truth will declare its sovereignty. But the realisation of each goal requires labour, struggle and a certain amount of time. Knowing this reality, the New Human waits for the completion of development and change. The patience of the New Human is his second mind. It is a scientific and active patience. In other words, whatever he aims at, he does what is necessary to achieve his goal and waits for his labour to yield results.

Against the liberalism and insensitivity of petty bourgeois revolutionism, the New Human is interested and sensitive.

Interest is a person's orientation towards positive attitudes to certain people, events and objects. It is the focus and concentration of one's attention. In life what is a person interested in? A person is interested in what makes him or her happy, what he or she loves, what he or she needs. This is a law, and it also applies to revolutionaries. Revolutionaries are also interested in what they consider important, what they value, what they love. The source of seeing and valuing things as important is ideological. While bourgeois ideology attaches importance to self-interest and coming to the forefront, revolutionary ideology attaches importance to the unity of the people. While bourgeois ideology says "I", revolutionary ideology says "we". The matters of interest of the two ideologies are different from each other.

The Koç and Sabancı families, who have class and power consciousness, are interested in many issues to strengthen their power. They give scholarships to the orphaned children of 301 miners from Soma, whom they themselves murdered, they open art exhibitions and try to organise the feelings of the people. In Nevşehir, they go door to door and campaign against the early marriage of women. The reason why they are interested in such issues is their desire to protect their power. They try not to leave anything to spontaneity.

The New Human also has his own class and power consciousness. He has the belief that "we will take power" with all his hearts, with all the folds of his brain. He knows that every problem in our country stems from the problem of power, that is, the fact that power belongs to the hegemons. The problems of his own personality, the problems experienced by the people, the problems experienced by the organisation all depend on the problem of power. Solving these problems in favour of the revolution strengthens the revolution and brings the people's march to power closer.

For example, lack of discipline and programme in an organisation is a serious problem. Without programme and discipline, no desired result can be obtained from any work.

The New Human, who is aware of this, knows that a wrong must be turned into a right. Because solving this problem will increase the results to be achieved. To get results means to develop. To develop is to get closer to the revolution.

Being insensitive to problems and mistakes means the spread of problems and mistakes. For example, there should be no meetings in an organisation, but after a while meetings start to be held. This is wrong and should be intervened. Otherwise, this problem will cause a lot of damage. It will make the organisation a target for the police, it will cause people to be arrested. It will create many damages that will affect the struggle. When such mistakes or any wrongdoing is encountered, there are two ways. Either the wrong will be intervened and corrected, or it will be part of the wrong. He who cannot solve the problem becomes the problem he cannot solve; this is a law. Intervention means making efforts to solve the problem even if the problem is not solved immediately.

The New Human also pays close attention to people. Just as he struggles with other problems, he also struggles with others' wrongs. There can be many shortcomings and mistakes in life, in every person in or outside the struggle, in all of us. After all, revolutionism is the art of managing deficient and weak people, including ourselves. We constantly struggle with each other's mistakes. This is not a personal attack, on the contrary, it is a struggle to make each other a better person, a New Human. Criticism and self-criticism are our main weapons here. Criticism-self-criticism enters in our daily life, together with revolutionism. There is no criticism-self-criticism in the regime. There are complaints, gossip, bickering and personal discussions. None of these are criticism-self-criticism.

Criticism-self-criticism is the separation of rights and wrongs, positives and negatives from each other, never the twain shall meet. In this way, the positives are magnified, the negatives are reckoned with and turned into positives. In other words, criticism is not only the listing of negativities one after the other and the expression of dissatisfaction and discomfort. It is to magnify the right and turn the wrong into right. For this, it is to go to the source of the wrongs and wage an ideological struggle. This is a great labour, a concentrated love. Because those who criticise risk paying a price while criticising. They may clash with the person they criticise, they may argue, their relations may deteriorate. The critic may be declared a "bad person".

These are not important. The important thing is to eliminate mistakes. The daily bread of a revolutionary is criticism. He feeds from there. Because criticism is a powerful tool in the war against the internal enemy, just as when the resistance and the war are spread, the enemy is regressed. With criticism, mistakes and wrongs are eliminated and the inner enemy is regressed. Bourgeois ideology is crushed in every way. Criticism is one of the main tools of ideological struggle. Political victory cannot be achieved without ideological struggle. Consciousness cannot be strengthened.

"Our ability to self-criticize is our greatest strength," says Lenin. Because the person who engages in self-criticism gets the chance to see his mistakes, errors and shortcomings and correct them all. However, those who cannot engage in self-criticism cannot gain a chance to improve and develop, since they cannot see and change any of their mistakes. Therefore, the New Human puts criticism-self-criticism at the centre of his life. It turns criticism-self-criticism into something natural such as drinking water and tries to spread this culture by applying it both to the people around and to the people.

Trust is also reciprocal: trust can be exchanged for trust. The New Human is aware of this. If one person does not trust another, he cannot expect trust in return. If it is thought of someone that "he cannot

do work among the masses well, he cannot establish proper relations with the people, so he should not do it," then that person will develop the thought "I am not trusted" and a feeling of insecurity. To create trust, one must trust. But trust is not an empty feeling with no basis; it is material. Trust has material reasons.

For example, if we examine the problem concerning the person in the example above—someone we do not trust because we think "he cannot do work among the masses and his relations with the people are poor"—our comrade may indeed not have good relations with the people. Does that mean we should nevertheless trust him blindly? The petty bourgeoisie cannot grasp the scientific aspect of trust here and therefore sees this as naïveté. But we trust such a comrade very consciously. What we actually trust is that person's potential: the fact that he can do it once he learns and gains experience, and his will to do so—his determination that "I can do it." Mistakes and errors will certainly occur. The possibility of making mistakes does not determine whether someone can be trusted. Errors, mistakes and defeats are a scientific reality and part of learning. Whether we accept them or not, they will occur; what we can do is reduce them to a minimum.

On the other hand, trust has material reasons. In other words, someone who persistently acts negatively, does not correct their mistakes and does not take what is said seriously cannot be trusted. The important thing here is willpower. In other words, if a person makes the biggest mistakes, if he is willing to accept and overcome them, he can be trusted. But if he does not accept what he has done and does not show the will to solve, the smallness of his mistakes cannot be negligible.

As an intermediate class, petty bourgeoisie is weak. Its ideology is also powerless. It does not trust itself because it has no power. That's why it worships power. Where the power is, the petty bourgeoisie is there like a magnet. While the petty bourgeois intellectuals supported the demonstrations in the June Uprising[32], when the uprising faded and the AKP[33] got stronger, they began to do things that will receive approval of the AKP. It is also in the intellectual sense. Authority and power determine the thoughts of the petty bourgeoisie. It is not different in struggle. The petty bourgeoisie avoids saying words which could be criticized. In fact, even though it does not think so, it accepts without question, in order not to take risks and pay the price. In this sense, it is coward of thoughts.

Trust is a material feeling. So, it takes its source from life. It is embodied in life. Otherwise, there will be no trust established in abstract thinking.

The source of personal trust is also material. Self-confidence is not just about relying on one's own personal skills and qualities. The source of trust is ideology. In concrete terms, self-reliance comes from trusting the people. Those who know the positive characteristics, wisdom, values, traditions, creativity of the people and themselves as a part of the people, trust the people. This is also self-confidence. To trust yourself is to trust your comrade. Those who know the relations of comradeship, those who know the values and traditions created by comradeship, trust their comrades that they embrace them, and the accumulation created. Trusting yourself is trusting ideology. Ideology is concrete. It is life itself. It is mimics, emotions, attitudes, thoughts… Ideology is the combination of them. Belief in the truth and righteousness of the ideology; the consciousness of acting with reality creates self-confidence. The New

[32] A wave of demonstrations and civil unrest in Turkey began on 28 May 2013, initially to contest the urban development plan for Istanbul's Taksim Gezi Park.
[33] Justice and Development Party, the ruling party in Turkey.

Human is therefore self-confident. He rejects the weaknesses of the petty bourgeoisie. To increase his self-confidence, he knows the people more, strengthens comradeship relations and strengthens ideological clarity.

The New Human understands trust. He therefore knows that his own behaviour and practice create trust. He approaches his relations with the people in the same way. If he makes promises to the people and does not keep them, says he will come but does not, or promises to solve a problem but fails to do so—if his words continually remain unfulfilled—he knows that trust cannot be established. He is careful about what he says in order to protect relations of trust. He tries not to make material, fundamental mistakes. For this reason, he speaks with certainty only about matters he clearly knows. He does not make random comments or pretend to know something he does not. Although such behaviour may appear to answer questions in the short term, in the long term it damages trust, because the people eventually realise that the revolutionary is speaking without knowledge and inventing things. This creates serious distrust towards that revolutionary. The same applies to uncertainty. The New Human knows that trust cannot be built where everything is uncertain and chaotic. He makes matters in his life clear. A lack of programme and spontaneism also create a serious loss of trust, because where there is no plan or programme there is, in reality, uncertainty about what to do—that is, confusion. Our people do not trust those who are confused and do not know what to do. Trust is built where everything from A to Z has been thought through and programmed. The New Human knows that the feeling of trust depends on his own practice.

Revolutionism means making policies. Politics is defined as "the whole of the principles of organising and realising the activities of the state in terms of purpose, method and content". In fact, policy is briefly solving problems and solving all kinds of problems, not just those that belong to the state. In this respect, making policy can be summarised as solving problems.

So which problems are these? The main problem for the people and revolutionaries is the problem of power. Power is in the hands of a handful of oligarchs.

All the problems we face in life depend on this fundamental problem. For example, can't we find medicine? The reason for this is the health system based on making profit for pharmaceutical companies. It is because the oligarchy in power has made an agreement with imperialist drug monopolies such as BAYER and eliminated domestic drug production entirely. Are we becoming diabetic? This is because the oligarchy has paved the way for the use of Starch Based Sugar in all foods instead of beet sugar. Are we becoming obese? The fast-food culture spread by the oligarchy in our country and bread consumption due to poverty have a great share. Is drug use increasing? The reason is the state policy itself. We can extend these examples even more. The source of all these problems is the problem of power.

Since a revolutionary knows the real cause of these problems, he knows that these problems cannot be solved independently of the problem of power. But this does not mean that these problems cannot be solved without solving the problem of power. The main issue here is the fact that these problems must be solved with a struggle centred on solving the problem of power. Because every solution found without this strengthens the existing regime. For example, in Adana Aladağ, little girls were burnt alive in the dormitory building where they stayed. What is at the root of the problem here? There is the fact that families who cannot send their children to school in big cities due to poverty are condemned to sect

dormitories. Without changing this policy, these consequences will not disappear. This problem cannot be solved radically without the power belonging to the people. Temporary solutions can always be obtained. It is possible to solve the problem in different ways. For example, a struggle is waged within the law, without going beyond the boundaries of the law. As a result of this struggle, disciplinary penalties may be imposed on those responsible for the dormitory and some officials, and compensation may be given to the families whose children were killed. This is also a solution. But a solution limited only to this decision is a solution within the boundaries of the regime. It is a solution that exonerates the regime, which is the main source of the problem.

Unsolved problems continue to exist and even generate new problems. It becomes legitimised, taken for granted, and after a while it starts to influence those who want to solve the problem but do not take action to solve it.

Petty-bourgeois revolutionism is indifferent to problems. It is indifferent to everything that does not concern it. It is only interested in self.

However, the politicization of the peoples takes place by solving these problems. Those who first start to solve their personal problems then begin to become aware of their professional problems. A politicized person is who starts to see the problems of the country and the world as his own and shows the will to solve them. Therefore, the main source of many personal problems as for instance loneliness, drugs, gambling, alcohol, lovelessness, depression, etc. is the regime. And for the solution of these problems, people realise what the regime, the people's reality, the hegemons and their goals are about. They start to learn what their rights are. All of this is a political process.

The petty bourgeois does not see this. He does not see or care about the personal problems of the people. He disparages their solution. He will always undertake "great revolutionary tasks," and solve "big problems." What are these tasks, the big problems, these are ambiguous. He will be a remedy for the "big problems" of the people. But he does not know that the problems of the people are the sum of daily, minor and continuous problems. While thinking in such exaggeration, he remains insensitive to the problems of the people closest to him. For example, he doesn't care about his family's problems. However, their families are the people, their family's problems are within the people's problems. There is no answer to how those who do not work to deal with and solve these problems will solve larger problems. He is unaware of the scientific fact that it is the little ones that make up the big.

The petty bourgeois theorizes his distrust and disbelief in himself and the people in unimaginable words. He lists the deficiencies and weaknesses. As if, he, "the hard-working person", is very pure. He expects perfect people. In fact, his disconnection from the people and his disbelief in the revolution is reflected in his practice. He tries to do every job himself, after a while his work starts to get too much, and this time he rebels by saying "how can I do this much work by myself." He cannot make the people embrace the struggle. But here he cannot see his own flaws, he does not evaluate himself, but rebels against the circumstances.

When the person with this point of view establishes a relationship with a depressed young person, he thinks that it is a problematic guy and that he will cause trouble, be a burden. Here it is to protect the current situation, to surrender to the problem, to remain unsolved in the face of the problem, to lose faith in finding a solution. Leaving it to spontaneity, not taking a step causes the problem to continue and

the person to surrender to circumstances. But criticizing is a step forward, a daring step. It is a price to be patient and calm, to risk an argument, and risking paying this price is an effort to solve the problem.

The New Human proudly says, “we will take the power” in full, and believes in this truth with his heart. To solve the problem of power, problem-solving skills must be developed. It is necessary to be able to solve small problems one after another and gather the skills to solve big problems. For example, the oppression and terror methods of the regime on revolutionaries, physical and technical pursuit, detention, police operations, torture, slander policy and many methods are problems. Revolutionaries must solve these problems and carry on struggling to maintain their institutionalization under these conditions. So those who want to solve the big problem should be able to solve small problems. Our people have a nice saying, “This person even cannot herd sheep.” In fact, the meaning of this saying is that those who cannot do the simple thing cannot do the hard thing at all.

The New Human, who knows that being a revolutionary means problem solving, develops his problem-solving skills. One by one, he confronts all his mistakes and shortcomings and develops methods to solve them all. The method is planning; to make a programme and to set goals. It is to know the possibilities and conditions at hand, to investigate how similar problems have been solved in the past and to decide where to start with the existing conditions. The programme is determined according to the reality of life. Any programme that is detached from conditions, from the reality of life, is doomed to fail. In the face of the problem that confronts the New Human, no matter how complex and difficult to solve the problem may seem, he or she never falls into pessimism and a sense of insolvability. He asks, "what are we going to do under these conditions?", plans and acts. He waits patiently until he gets results. He tries many times but never gives up.

The New Human has infinite patience. But his patience does not express vain dreams of good things to come, baseless expectations, endless waiting, but a persistent and determined labour, an endless effort for transformation. In other words, his patience is scientific patience. It is to comprehend the existing reality from a realistic point of view in all its aspects and to wait for the result by labouring. This patience is a state of inner peace that comes from knowing that with the right knowledge, the right method and sufficient labour, results will be obtained.

The New Human is a student of his people. If the masses of the people are the sea, the New Human is a fish in this sea. People are everywhere in his life. He tries to understand how the masses think, how they react to events, what they like, their feelings and thoughts. His aim is to convince the people, to get them to join the struggle.

He tries to ensure that especially the poorest and the most humiliated participate in the revolutionary struggle, that they see this struggle as their own struggle. He acts based on what the masses understand from what he says, does and produces.

The New Human is a child of the Anatolian people. He seeks to know Anatolian culture in all its aspects, including religion and national characteristics, and learns its folk songs, values and traditions. He knows and embraces the Anatolian War of Independence. He possesses national honour and pride. His way of being a revolutionary is not abstract, bookish, theoretical or based on templates. He is a revolutionary of the Anatolian lands. Therefore, when taking his policies and programmes to the people, he does so with respect for their values. He fully embraces all progressive values created by the people through labour. He constantly uses agitation and propaganda to reach the masses; in other words, he

appeals to the feelings and thoughts of the people. For this reason, he must know how to address the people's feelings. His criterion is not to string together ornate sentences like the petty bourgeoisie, but to make himself understood by the people. Nothing that the people do not understand, are not influenced by or are not moved to act by has any value. Work among the masses that does not organise the people is a failure. He uses every method to go to the people and organise the masses in the ranks of the revolution.

The New Human believes in the power of the collective. He tries to ensure that the people rule, and the people do. While the petty bourgeois tries to establish its authority over the people and does this through bureaucratic sanctions, the main aim of the New Human is to organise the people. He creates flexible organisations to bring the creativity and wealth of the people to the struggle.

He creates conditions in which the people can contribute their labour within their own reality. Because he knows that the majority of the people cannot be like revolutionaries, he does not expect revolutionary practice from the people. He is realistic. A stage in which most of the people are politicised and revolutionised is already close to revolution. Until then, the people will support the revolutionary struggle in various ways. But they will also continue their life within the regime. The main problem is that the labour and the creativity of the broad masses are used in favour of the struggle. It is the revolutionaries who would achieve this. As the ability to organise increases, the organisation of the masses will accelerate.

Today the revolutionary struggle can create great hope in the people. This is the reason why millions attend Grup Yorum concerts and support the events. But without organisation this hope cannot turn into confidence. In other words, the masses will not have the confidence and belief that "revolutionaries can take power". The masses of the people will become organised and begin to have confidence as their own problems are solved and continue to be solved. As their personal and professional problems are solved, they will start to become politicised.

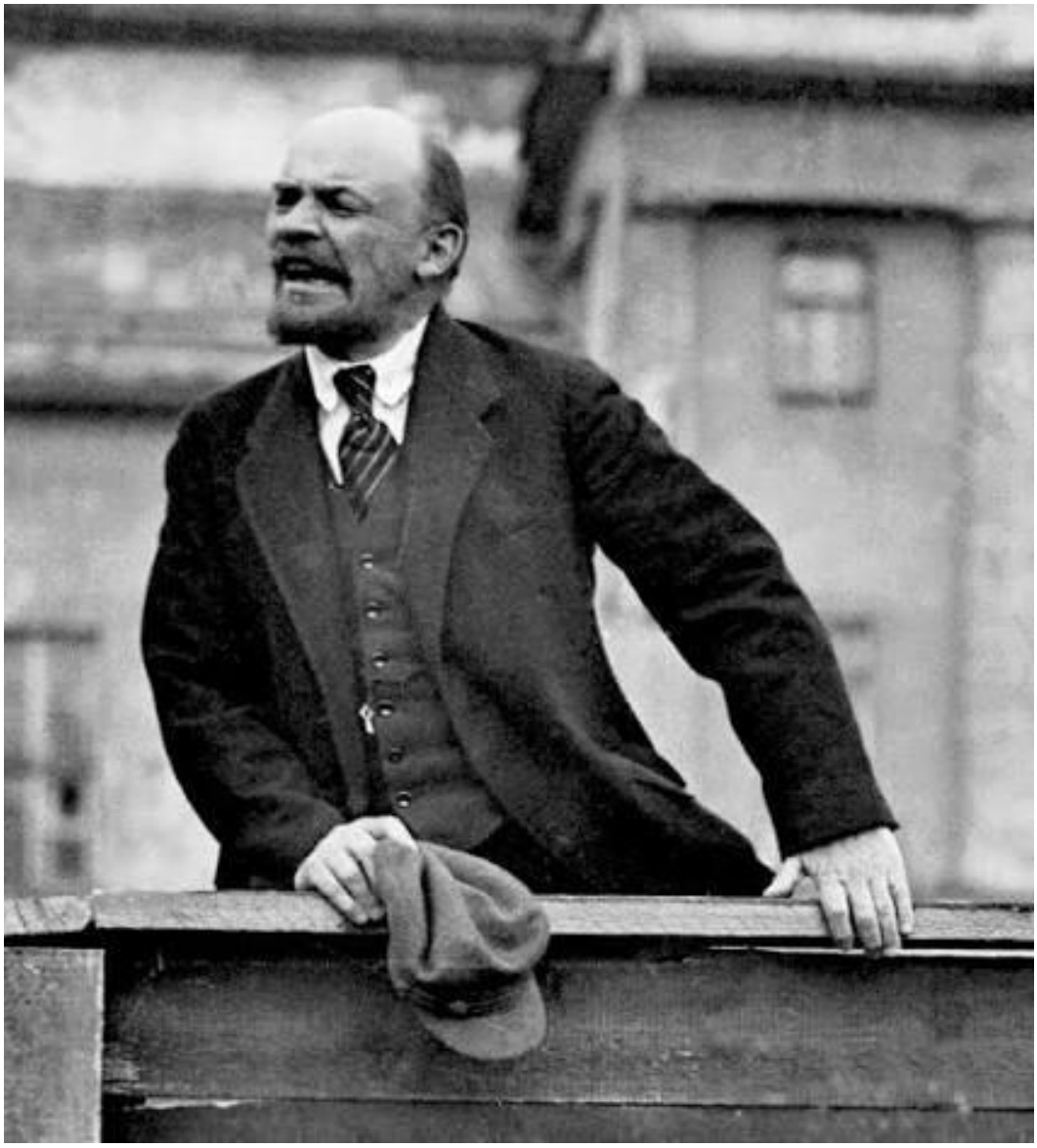
Since the people are not political, they cannot see and understand that the problems of the world and the country concern them personally. For example, when the state's policy on prisons is taken to the people, they may not embrace it at first. But he embraces every programme on the drug problem. The petty bourgeois does not see this fact and expects the people to react to almost every political development. The New Human, on the other hand, creates organisations by producing solutions to the problems of the people together with the people in this reality, and tries to institutionalise them. The language used by the New Human with the aim of organising the people is also plain, simple. He also uses bold and assertive language. He speaks with slogans. He reaches the public with slogans. Slogans are effective, they are short sentences. They can spread and be understood very quickly among the masses. Since the regime knows this, it uses their slogans very often. The New Human uses such confident language without being affected by any pressure. Because he knows that the people follow those who are assertive, that those who are bold spread their boldness. Words spoken with conviction carry conviction to the people. Since its main criterion here is to organise the poorest and the most humiliated, it uses a language that appeals to them.

Everything in the life of the New Human is shaped in accordance with the goal of revolution. The New Human lives, works and fights to organise the masses and march towards revolution. It is the petty bourgeois that hinders the revolution, the march; that puts his "me" in the forefront, not the laws of life

and war, and imposes the struggle in accordance with its own measures. Therefore, it is vital to commit class suicide, to become a New Human, to create the people of the social order to be created today.

If there is anyone who can implement policies and programmes, policies come to life, otherwise they will not be implemented. It is that simple and concrete. These New Human beings, whose policies are shaped in line with the needs of the struggle, will bring them to life. We must act with this responsibility and create the New Human of the future in our personality first and then spread this personality to the masses.

New Human beings will also turn the people in the land they live into a new people. This is how the revolution will be realised. Well, is it very difficult to have such positive features? How will this happen?



HOW TO CREATE NEW HUMAN

How to recreate a man from the ground? How can the old personality be destroyed and replaced by a new one? What is the law of this?

The Foundation of the New Human is the Belief Where Knowledge and Truth Meet.

The foundation of being a New Human is desire it. Anyone who wants and gives the necessary labour and struggle can be a New Human. So why would a person want to be a "New Human?" Because he believes that this is a need. The belief in the need to be a New Human is the belief in revolution. The person who knows that revolution is necessary and possible will want to fulfil its requirements. In addition, the person who wants to solve his own problems and change his personality and thinks that this is necessary, can be a New Human.

What does create this desire, this belief?

As we said at the beginning of the book, belief is made up of knowledge and truth. For example, a person who does not know the concept of revolution, only evaluates it with the visible situation. This is the reason why millions of people do not believe in revolution. Because they only know what appears. The USSR has collapsed; socialist countries have collapsed. There is currently no socialist alternative; then there can be no revolution, they think.

Yet revolution is necessary. This is a scientific imperative. Because the developing means of production forces the existing production relationship to change. While the means of production are developing, the relation of production, that is, capitalism, falls far behind this. This contradiction is increasing day by day. The crisis is growing day by day. On the other hand, revolution is possible. In many countries before, the powers were taken by the people, and the countries were ruled by the people. One third of the world has been ruled by socialism. That is. It has been proven that it can be done.

The collapse of socialist states is not because socialism is impossible. Socialism has been implemented very successfully for years. That is why the Soviet people today still yearn for socialism. These facts create the belief in revolution.

Without Conviction in Revolution and Revolutionism It Is Impossible to Become a New Human

To become a New Human, one must first be convinced. He must be convinced to make the choice of being revolutionary and then become the New Human. The basis of this convincing is primarily emotional. To be emotionally persuaded is to be happy. Can a person desire something or show willpower in a place or a condition where he is not happy? So, can he be happy by saying "I have to be happy"? A presupposition like "a revolutionary person is already happy" will not be enough. Yes, the revolutionary is happy because there are reasons for this in life. The happiness we mean is never abstract and without cause. This happiness does not come from an obligation. One cannot be happy with the thought "I have to be happy."

For happiness, first, relationships of love and trust must be established. Nobody interacts with people whom he does not like or trust. The opposite is also true. That is why love and trust must be shown to the New Human candidate.

The New Human is Created by Giving Attention and Labour

Love is referred to in dictionaries as close attention and devotion. Attention is a positive attitude that intensifies. Attention is labour. Attention is showing concern with everything about the person, his characteristics, state of consciousness, deficiencies, emotions and habits. It is feeling their pain in your heart, thinking hard to solve their problems; it's laughing together, crying together. When it comes, it is being a mother, being a father, in Lenin's words, "being a nanny." It is to value. It should not be pretence, not be as a task or a job, but should be done in a real sense, with a sincere desire.

Attention is concrete in life. For example, paying attention means listening carefully and trying to understand. Even the value created by just listening makes a difference, creates love. Listening word for word, with double attention, creates the feelings of being considered, respected, loved and valued. To understand all kinds of needs of a person and to show concern and help to solve their health problems is also paying attention and to labour.

Many more examples can be given. But since it is labour in its essence, this labour creates love, creates commitment. Love is to be loved as one of the people. It is not right for a person to be loved just because of having positive qualities or being useful for doing a certain job. Of course, our love is also ideological. Our love is based on loving the other person not only because they are human, but also with their efforts, productions and creations. In this respect, we like the positivity of people, but this does not justify evaluating the opposite, that is, based on only their negativities and shortcomings. The important thing here is to strike a balance between the two. For example, it is understandable to some extent to show less affection to a person who does not do much work, who has deficiencies and weaknesses, compared to someone who has the opposite characteristics. This is because the love we mentioned above needs to be ideological. But just because of this, it is also wrong to evaluate people with their shortcomings and mistakes and not value them at all and not see the positives in them. Another danger here is that the person before us will develop the idea of "what is loved about him is the ability to do work." This leads to a distorted perspective. The New Human candidate will begin to think that he must do work so that he will be loved.

That's why by creating a New Human, we do not mean someone who works, but in every way; In terms of thinking, life and working style, it should be raising an alternative person to the type of people that order wants to create. We must value people. Love should be like that too. We love the person insofar as it carries characteristics belonging to the people. We love its labour; it will give labour and preferences. We love its values. We love what is developing in it, it is the new. The person may have made mistakes; it can make mistakes. Our goal is mistakes and errors, in other words diseases. To save the patient from those diseases, we dance attendance on the patient. This requires intense, heartfelt love.

There must be such a love that it must create love on the other side. It must generate value, it must activate. There are many examples of this in life. For example, many of those from the peoples that revolutionaries love, and value have waited for revolutionaries for years. This is a sign of that love and devotion.

Love is wanting the other person to be good. It is to give labour and efforts to be better. This is also the basis of the feeling that creates love. Wanting its well-being is the ability to do what the person cannot do in his life, to cheer up, overcome his problems and many other things like this.

Love is to be able to love the other person as it is. But not to accept its mistakes and shortcomings and to make efforts to change them. Of course, to cleanse the person of these deficiencies, it is necessary to be able to love the person very much.

Another pillar of emotional persuasion is trust. We must believe in the friend we want to be the "New Human." We must believe that he can do it, overcome his mistakes, and learn even if he makes mistakes. We must show this belief to the person. This is the foundation that builds trust. We must first believe in this to feel the confidence that it can achieve anything when enough labour and effort are put in.

Trust is concrete. It is our comfort and our self-confidence. We should not overestimate the mistakes of the other person, and sometimes even make them smaller. A person should be able to open and see their mistakes easily. Our trust is embodied here. We shouldn't get caught up in its personal qualities, things it enjoys.

It should be able to live with us until it changes them. We should apply a controlled flexibility. We should be in control, and we must be able to stretch our rules before anything damages our principles. We don't go to the bar, but if the person we are going to change has such a habit and spends a lot of time in bars, we can even go to the bar with it. What matters here is our goal and programme. Our friend should be able to feel comfortable. It should be able to joke with us, to talk to us about any topic that it cannot talk to anyone in the order. It is also a sign of trust that people share sensitive issues that they see as special. This atmosphere of love and trust are the basic conditions that create emotional persuasion.

Emotionally convinced people love where they are, feel safe and happy. They think, "I'm glad I'm here." Emotional persuasion is also decisive at the beginning of revolutionism. Because the consciousness of the person has not yet been formed and human relationships are based on spiritual satisfaction. A person can continue to revolutionize just out of his sense of loyalty to one person. Of course, this situation cannot last forever. Only with a sense of loyalty revolutionary can be practiced to a point.

Because revolutionism can be sustained with the awareness of historical and political justification, with the love of the people and the country, with the consciousness of history and class. These are indispensable for lifelong revolutionism. However, the sense of loyalty can also be a first reason, a foundation ground, at the point of stepping into revolutionism and choosing between order and revolution. Therefore, emotional persuasion must be nurtured by scientific, ideological and political persuasion.

To be emotionally persuasive, a person must be able to ask all kinds of cultural, social, psychological, and sexual questions in his mind. Rather than being uncomfortable with these questions, we must be competent to answer them. We should care very much about them. Because the main factor that determines the survival and development of a person without scientific awareness is emotional persuasion. Nobody thinks that "this is the situation here now, but I have to be organised" in a place where it is treated badly before it becomes conscious.

We Will Create the New Human Through Education

What needs to be formed together with emotional persuasion and afterwards is ideological-political persuasion. So, it is education. Education is not giving or explaining the information as written in books to the person. Or not to give advice. Education is the ability to find answers to all questions in one's mind.

Answering a question is the understanding of the consequences of the causes related to the subject. To teach how to do it in life. It is to obtain information about it.

Brilliant information and facts given through education form opinions, judgments and thoughts by answering certain questions. In this way, human behaviour and personality change. This change does not happen overnight. To correct the mistakes that have occurred over the years, it is necessary to spend a lot of effort on the right. There are certain changes in a few training courses, but these are just the beginning.

It should not be forgotten that we are constantly being educated by the regime. We are trained. All places that convey information are schools. Take, for example, a movie we watched in the cinema; Even though the subject of the movie is an ordinary story, there is a lot of information in it. TV series, newsletters, newspapers, published books, music are all schools. They are constantly spreading false, wrong information. They try to change our perception of reality. Our consciousness is distracted. Whether we are revolutionary or not, we are compulsory in this school and subjected to the education of the school.

If we do not filter this information through a strong ideological filter and say true and false, mistakes start to take place in our minds. But in any case, we live under the bombardment of this false information. That's why our brains must bombard the truth and facts. Change can only be possible with such a continuum.

If we do not remind our brains of what is right from time to time and do not collide with mistakes, mistakes will dominate there after a while. Because it is the law of life, you come to terms with what you cannot change. Therefore, education should be regular, continuous and systematic. Every part of life is school. Education should spread to life and become continuous. Behaviours, thoughts, emotions, life are all sources of information and learning must be continuous.

This is a correct understanding of education. Otherwise, the training cannot be reduced to reading a text for 2 hours a month. If education is to learn, there is a lot of information everywhere. These must be obtained by passing them through a correct strainer. For example, the newspaper reported that the US monopoly called Rockefeller gave the Koç Group a charity award. This news is a complete educational work. In the continuation of the news, Semahat Arsel, the daughter of Koç, says, "My father always said that you should give some of what you took from the country to the country."

The Koç group, along with the US monopolies, take from the country. So how much do they get?

Why does the Rockefeller family feel the need to describe the crumbs they left to the people as philanthropy and reward it? The information here, the answers to these questions are an education. There is a lot of information about class contradictions, power relations, imperialism and neo-colonialism. Like this, it is necessary to learn from everywhere, to get information oriented.

Where education is regular and systematic, right feelings and right behaviours are reinforced by thinking right and they start to settle. Bourgeois ideology begins to be crushed and replaced by revolutionary ideology. The questions in the mind begin to give way to strong answers that are corresponding in life.

Of course, treating the whole of life as education does not mean that there will be no daily, weekly, monthly training activities. On the contrary, these are also essential. Regular education should not be in

the form of transfer of dry book knowledge. Because theory emerges from life, information takes its source from life. Concretizing abstract information and showing its response in life should be the main purpose of education. Therefore, education will be much more effective if it is active and visually strong.

For example, information about the Vietnam war or the people's war can be read from theoretical books. But the same issues can be told through a Vietnamese documentary. Then it will be much more concrete in the head. Such knowledge and truth will create belief. Education should not be dry; it should be fed with emotions. This consciousness is strengthened with poems and anthems that make the Vietnam War feel and convey the costs, pain and heroism paid by the Vietnamese people emotionally. In short, education should have an impact on the heart.

One of the main problems of education in the regime is that the lessons are in the form of advice. In other words, it is the constant repetition of abstract suggestions that have no equivalent in life. But New Human education cannot be like that. The New Human changes because it tries, tests and understands how to do it in life. The distinction is very clear. For example, "you should cheer up your friend" is some advice, but "tell jokes to cheer it up, sing a song" is to show how to do it. It is taught how to do it in education and whether it is leaned or not is experienced. So, the New Human candidate tries it. Because it is a scientific law: untested knowledge is not knowledge. It cannot be assumed that one "knows" about anything that one cannot do in one's life. The person should apply and try the knowledge learned how to do it in life, in practice. This applies to everything. For example, how to use the knowledge of dialectical materialism in life should be taught and tried, otherwise this knowledge is abstract.

A person who does not know how to apply the abstract to life and who does not learn cannot bring it to life. He continues to do what he knew and applied to before. Finally, the trainee must teach to learn what he has learned in real terms. Someone who cannot explain what he learned has not really learned.

The most important point that should not be forgotten when training New Human is the fact that everyone can be educated as much as their own horizon. There is a saying in Anatolia; "whatever you explain, you are as much as the other side understands." What the other side understands is decisive. Understanding is determined by the level of consciousness, dreams, goals, and the horizon. The bigger these are, the more is received from the training. Therefore, no matter how strong the information is, whatever concrete facts are mentioned, the important thing is as much as the other side can understand. Therefore, the first aim is to remove the borders and status in the mind of the New Human candidate by enlarging his horizons.

As we said at the beginning, the basic is desire. It is persuasion that creates the desire. A person whose consciousness is very weak cannot be convinced all at once with political discourses and arguments. Personal relationships are much more important to him. So, building love and trust is the basis for creating this desire. Sometimes a person only starts doing things for someone who puts effort into them. But then the more he is done, the more he gets to the subject, the more he becomes convinced to understand.

The basis created by personal love and trust paves the way for ideological and political persuasion. This is a very simple law. One listens more to the people he loves and listens more wholeheartedly. A person feels more comfortable where he is confident. He becomes much more open to learning. Another important issue is the obligation of the educator to do the things he tells and teaches himself. Someone who does not do it himself, but talks about what he cannot do, cannot create faith, nor can build trust.

Failure to prove what is told and what is taught in life creates an idea that it is not “doable.” Therefore, the educator who spends effort for the people and his friends and tries to create New Human must first be a New Human. What matters here is labour and willpower. For example, an educator who wants to teach patience must be patient himself. There is no genuineness, if the person that explains that one should be humble, isn’t humble himself. A person who says that one should think dialectically, scientifically, should think scientifically. It is not decisive to be able to do it all the time or to do it incompletely. The important thing is that the educator must make a constant effort and struggle to do this. This situation enables the trainee to see the subjects in life. Belief arises from this concreteness too.

The most important subject in terms of education is the continuity of education by the educator and all revolutionaries. The revolutionary fights a civil war within himself. This war is a war against the petty-bourgeois personality, against the deficiencies and weaknesses of the regime. The arsenal of this war is education. The classics of the science of Marxism-Leninism are full of tried, tested, proven, scientific knowledge. These are powerful weapons against the counter-revolution within us. This war must go on uninterrupted. If one of the armies stops fighting and stands still in the battleground; the other army, that is, the enemy forces, expand their positions and become advantageous. With sudden attacks, they begin to regress the army and eventually destroy it. This is the case of an uneducated brain.

Without knowledge and truth, consciousness cannot be preserved. Where there is no consciousness, emotions and thoughts of the regime come into action.

Where there is no consciousness, there is no belief. Ideological clarity cannot be maintained where consciousness is impaired. If there is no ideological clarity, war cannot be sustained under harsh conditions. For example, in the Vietnam War, US imperialism spent their arsenal that was the equivalent of 45 atomic bombs. It dropped an average of 1000 tons of bombs a day on the Vietnamese people. These numbers mean daily bomb explosions, chopped off limbs, dead babies, destroyed houses, murdered families. 1.7 million Vietnamese were slaughtered during the war. An ordinary person cannot endure this. Nobody can get used to this much death, nobody can protect their mental health. It is belief in revolution and willpower that provided this.

This willpower, which made the Vietnamese fight under all conditions and circumstances, rooted from ideological clarity. Leader Ho Chi Minh said about the war, “Even if this patriotic war lasts 10, 15, 20 years, we will win; because we are right.” The Viet Cong fighters spread this ideological clarity to the public.

This is a people’s war. Material power has been defeated by moral strength, the strong by the weak, the modern by the primitive, the modern technological armies of imperialism by the patriotism of the people and the determination to carry out the revolution. This perseverance did not come about spontaneously in the abstract, with empty words. The Vietnamese have started an educational mobilization. They organised education everywhere. They studied on rocks, in caves, in the countryside, in villages, in the tunnels, and they turned everywhere into a school. Education is a matter of utmost importance for the Vietnamese. Because it determines the fate of the war. For example, a guerrilla column walking on the mountain takes a break to sleep. At 04:00, while a group of guerrillas are sleeping, the education group gets up and conduct training via whispers to each other’s ears. The people of Vietnam won the war with this effort and devotion.

Le Vinh, one of Vietnam's training commanders, explains that they educated and prepared people in a very short time. Vietnamese education is about asking questions. They ask questions to those who are educated; how they think and reveal the contradictions in their minds with questions appropriate to their level. Asking questions, learning to ask, is the basis for reaching the truth. People who answer the questions in their mind are persuaded. Li Vinh says that they want the people they educate to ask questions about everything on their mind. There is no limitation in this regard. They ask questions on every subject and get scientific answers. They start solving their questions, which gives confidence, because the ambiguity disappears.

A person who has no doubts or questions in its his mind is confident and happy. He has grasped the cause and result context in life. Such a person knows what he does and why he is conscious. He fights with the power resulting from this. Le Vinh said "Finally, we teach people clearly who we are, who the enemy is, why we fight, and how to win victory." The Vietnamese who got out of this education were able to shoot the high-tech planes of the air force of US imperialism while bombing. What makes this possible is class consciousness, grasping the reality of war, and belief in victory. It is the creation of the will of steel.

The importance given to education in all the history of revolutions in the world is essential. Because everything starts in the brain. Those who do not think correctly cannot act correctly and those who cannot produce correct policies cannot get the results they want. This fact is very clear. In the Chinese Revolution, 70 thousand revolutionaries were killed during the "Long March." The revolutionaries marching lost their friends and families with them. But despite everything, they continued their way without stopping. They grasped the fact that the higher the price to pay was, the larger the costs were, the greater the power to win the war. They realised that not protecting oneself, but deepening the contradictions by striking them, would bring the revolution closer. They have never forgotten these facts. That's why they didn't despair. It is education that provides this. It is education that creates and grows hope.

During the "Long March," marchers had to take very short breaks. Most of their days pass by walking. Therefore, there is no time to sit down and educate for a long time. Chinese revolutionaries also developed a method against this. The marchers walk in a single line, and they hang a book in each marcher's backpack. In this way, the person marching behind can read the book while walking. Thus, they developed methods of reading books while walking. Because education is vital. Even if thousands of people die, the march does not stop, but if the thoughts die, there is no strength to make their feet walk.

During the Cuban revolution, there is no single day when Che didn't read book. There are also education camps in all the headquarters of the bearded men. In the Bolshevik revolution, too, the Bolsheviks risked freezing to death by passing through icy rivers to deliver the Pravda newspaper to the people. These are the consequences of the realisation of a necessity, not of pure heroism. In this way, the Bolsheviks politicized 90% of the vodka addicted and illiterate people.

Education is the most basic way to create the New Human and to create the new people's reality. An active, lively, concrete education that has spread into life is our greatest weapon. The New Human is the defeat of the old human by fighting. This is a daily war; the petty-bourgeois personality must be defeated day by day. This is no exaggeration. It is a concrete, doable fact. There is a difference in the brain, just as there is a difference between an obese and lazy man and a soldier with a steel discipline. A mind in complacency cannot fight this war. The brain must constantly struggle ideologically. The ideological struggle is education, criticism and self-criticism.

The personality of the revolutionary is a building site, there is constant construction; It is demolished and rebuilt, it is demolished and rebuilt. The New Human is the one who can establish this mechanism independently of the qualities he possesses. To create this, we're going to turn life into a school. We will turn everywhere into schools. We will spread the people's schools with great legitimacy, they will be in life, not schematic and nor mechanical. The women's tea parties, a chat at a coffee house, a fireside conversation with the neighbourhood youth; a journey on a bus, subway or metrobus will be our people's school. We will not idealize; we will not wait for a favourable time. Students and the times of the school may change; our important issues will be determined, and we will conduct regular, organised and systematic education. We will create new people with new people's schools; we will turn into brand new people. This is not a dream; it is a reality in our hands. Let's believe and trust this fact. The biggest obstacles to the New Human are inabilities, impossibilities and status quo. A housewife can be a very skilful revolutionary. It is us who can't transform her. We are the ones who cannot enter her world, understand or change it. Is our love big enough? Do we pay enough attention?

Do we believe and trust enough, we will look at that. Do we believe that we can create a revolutionary out of that housewife. This will be our focal point. Our belief is the belief in revolution. Because our people will achieve the revolution. We believe this, we must believe it. We must look at our own practice and spread the people's schools to create new people.

To become a New Human, the most important factor following education is self-criticism. "The ability to self-criticize is our greatest strength," says Lenin. Because the person who does self-criticism can see his mistakes and errors. Only those who can see the mistakes can correct them. Those who cannot detect mistakes cannot fight them. It is a very concrete scientific fact; The petty bourgeois takes self-criticism as an attack on his personality. When he self-criticise, he thinks that he becomes worthless and loses his reputation. However, the real power is daring to look into the eyes of mistakes and errors. This is what warriors do in real life.

The petty bourgeois perceives and grasps self-criticism in a moralistic manner through personal emotions such as "regret," "apology," "shame." However, self-criticism is realism. We are not afraid of confrontation. We are realistic, we accept all facts as they are. Truth can only be changed by grasping it. We are not afraid to understand the truth, to face the facts. This is how we face our own reality. We take our own truth in the calm of a surgeon, and we distinguish between right and wrong. We diagnose and apply treatments. The source of our modesty is to accept reality as it is. We are not talking about abstract moralism. Our self-confidence comes from this strength.

The more one opens himself up; the more he encounters injuries and damage in his personality. Those who see and find the damage, find the opportunity to understand and change its causes and sources. This is the most fundamental thing to be a New Human. That's why we're going to open ourselves up. We will try to be open without leaving as much space as a pin. We will accept the truth. We will be honest. Gaining this ability is very decisive while creating a New Human. The New Human is the one who is fighting on this road without hesitation. The way to do this is through self-criticism. Criticism and self-criticism should be naturalized like drinking water in revolutionary struggle.

The answer to the question of "how to create a New Human" lies in the ideological struggle. It is in human's gaining the willpower to recreate himself. Yılmaz Güney[34], the revolutionary artist of Anatolia, expresses these facts we have told as follows: "Since we are a living part of the society that needs to be changed, we must be one of the most fundamental areas of propaganda-agitation and educational work aimed at change." (Yılmaz Güney, My Cell, P.13)

Yılmaz Güney continues:

> "*Looking back, I had to be ruthless to evaluate myself with all my truth, my mistakes, my good deeds. I had to open myself with a scalpel without blinking. My purulent matter should flow. My contributions that gave a break to the regime should come to light. The Trojan horse of the bourgeoisie that I kept alive in me should have died." (P.26).*
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> *"It was not enough just to come from among the people, to experience some poverty, to be courageous and well-intentioned to change the world. There had to be a way to do this. It had to have a theoretical and ideological basis*." (P. 33).

And let's end it with the last quote:

> "*I had to recreate myself, by demolishing, rebuilding and constantly demolishing and rebuilding, like a building constructor*" (P.51).

Yılmaz Güney applied these scientific facts that we have described years ago when he was coming to terms with himself. These are proven methods that have yielded results in life.

When we do these, we will be the New Humans, we will create new people. We will have a willpower that renews and develops itself in all circumstances. The world will be changed by confident, determined people who know what to do. As we change ourselves, we will first change our blood relatives, our organisation, our people, our country and the world. We will establish a principled, regulated, disciplined revolutionism. Without surrendering to circumstances, we will not be passive but strive again and again to change conditions. As a student of life, we will act with scientific knowledge, understand and change.

To the extent that we are new people, we won't be irresponsible and ignorant; but we will be people with solutions to every problem. We will be people who hope, dream, and struggle with belief. Everywhere, under all circumstances, we will be the ones who will not give up the ideological struggle without seeking what is reasonable in times of bombardment of problems. Our labour and struggle will be like a worker who is on night shift, like a child carrying heavy weight suitable for older boys, like those tireless hearts working for hours on top of skyscrapers. We will be the workers of the revolution. We will be assertive like in the words of Lenin: "We may be alone now, but millions will be with us." We will have the enthusiasm and faith in conquering the world.

Our emotions will be very strong. On the way to martyrdom, we will be like warriors who think "here we are again at the peak of life" and feel the happiness of turning the dark to light. These powerful emotions are the product of clear thoughts. Being a New Human will earn us these. No power will be able

[34] Yılmaz Güney: 1 April 1937 – 9 September 1984) was a Turkish-Kurdish film director, screenwriter, novelist, actor and communist political activist. He quickly rose to prominence in the Turkish film industry. Many of his works were made from a revolutionary perspective and devoted to the plight of working-class people in Turkey.

to tear us away from the revolution to the extent that we embody the New Human. Neither being burned alive, nor locked into solitary confinement, neither imprisonment for many years, nor facing many problems, nor torture nor death will be able to detach us from the revolution, from the revolutionary struggle. We continue to shout “even, when they lock us down seven floors under the ground, we will conquer the power!” No obstacle can stand before us. No method of the police, no measure can prevent us from organising the people. Despite all the circumstances, we march to the revolution.

This is why we must be New Humans; we must create new people.

The most basic way of being and creating a New Human is love and trust. It is to possess love to the people and country. We can change everyone we love like crazy. Because we suffer, because we can tolerate their mistakes, because we keep working hard to change, because we believe in the change of that person.

There is a great love and trust established between the mother and her baby in their naturalness. The main reason for this is labour. The mother carries the baby in her womb for months. Bite by bite she nourishes her baby with care and sensitivity. While bearing it, she feels a pain equivalent to breaking 20 bones at the same time and gives birth to her baby. There is great effort and value there. While the baby cannot fully perceive the world, he/she perceives this love. He/she feels great confidence from this love. He/she feels confidence in his/her mother. This is the reason why a few months old babies say “mother” while crying, and suddenly stop when they see their mother. That is why the baby smiles when he/she sees his/her mother; because for the baby the mother means creation of life and he/she has great confidence in her. This is the reason for what bourgeois scientists call “oceanic trust.” It is the interest and love that creates this confidence in the baby.

A mother of ours is also our people. They are our own parents, relatives, neighbours, fellow peasants, our people who brought us to this day. As a child of these people, we should pay our debt to our mother and pay attention and effort to ourselves and the people.

We must give such an attention and effort, we have to put forward our heart in such a way, should be able to love in such a way that; must be able to build trust just like the mother created in the baby. This is the condition that will create change. This is what will save our people, that is our grandmother, from their suffering.

The suffering of our people continues exponentially every day. Every day, our people stay under tons of concrete blocks, our children are shattered under the train wagons together with their future. Every day the coffins of women are carried, our youth crawl on the ground with drugs, revolutionaries are tortured in isolation for years, mothers cannot find the graves of their children. Workers’ families meet the coffins of their fathers and husbands at the end of the workday. Fathers drink cyanide hand in hand with their daughters and go to death. If this fact scorches our hearts, if we want to relieve these pains, if we cannot tolerate it lasting even a second more, we must establish the power of the people. We will definitely establish, we will definitely make this land, Anatolia, a paradise for our people. The only way to do this is to become a New Human. We will be the New Humans; we will create new people. We will organize all the poor districts and villages of Anatolia with new people. All the mountains of Anatolia will be ours. Victory will be ours!

THE HIGHLIGHTED SECTIONS OF THE BOOK:

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The New Human is the human being with many ideological, political, moral and cultural values. However, the source of all these values is that he is a person who devotes himself to the revolution and the people. He has completely severed his ties with the regime, leaves no room for the longings of the regime in his mind and soul, sees himself against the regime; but he is a loyal and steadfast servant of the revolution and the people. It is to pursue absolutely no personal interests. We can easily say that anyone who has this essence is a New Human. He is a New Human despite the various weaknesses he is likely to carry. Because, if this person carries this essence, he can succeed in becoming the greatest enemy of his own weaknesses. He can always show the ability to overcome them. He is not afraid of his mistakes and defects. When he realises them personally or because of the criticism of others, he makes every effort to overcome them. No matter who criticises, he does not make it a problem. He is even grateful to them. He sees criticism as an incentive to do the best service to the revolution and the people.

Therefore, when we say New Human, we are not talking about flawless, weak, perfect, superhuman beings. We are talking about the human being who, takes a stand against capitalism whose only concern is to exploit and oppress people and does not recognise any moral and human values, and who embrace the people and the revolution as the only creators of our values. This is also, at some point, inviting people to become the New Human and to return to their true nature. It is to call people to return to their identity, which capitalism and all orders of exploitation have corrupted and destroyed. People who have this essence are undoubtedly capable of developing several talents and virtues. Among these are some indispensable ones. In a way, these are reflections of his essence. They are his outward manifestation and his visible face. Therefore, it is not enough to say, "I have dedicated myself to the revolution and the people". The political, ideological, practical, moral, etc. reflections of this should also become a part of one's own identity.

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Revolutionary Morality

The dictionary definition of morality is as follows.

1. The behavioural patterns and rules that people in a society adopt and must abide by

2. Good qualities, good habits

The Dictionary of Materialist Philosophy defines morality as follows: "Morality is the totality of the rules and standards of human behaviour and coexistence which determine the duties of people towards each other and towards society". In the Encyclopaedia of Philosophy, it is defined as "the rules of individual and social behaviour of a given society in a given period...". This definition also includes customs, traditions and habits in each society. We know that the rules of behaviour of every social section are not the same. A behaviour that has no place in the proletariat's understanding of morality may not be considered immoral for the bourgeoisie. For example, the exploitation of labour is a condition of existence for the bourgeoisie, but for the proletariat it is unacceptable immorality. The measure of morality for the bourgeoisie is its own interests. Everything that brings profit is considered legitimate. Everything is a commodity bought and sold with money. It is the bourgeoisie that turns even "justice" into a commodity that is bought and sold, that puts women on the market as a commodity. Behaviours that the proletariat sees as immoral are accepted as "sexual freedom" in the bourgeoisie's understanding of morality. While the proletariat defines corruption,

fraud, robbery and plunder as immoral, it is indisputable that these are part of the morality of the bourgeoisie. But what is the reason for this difference? Because morality has a class characteristic, and it is the conditions of social life that determine the content and shaping of morality. Society has so far developed within class contradictions. And in this development, morality, like everything else related to human beings and life, has acquired a class character. In other words, just as every class has an ideology, every class also understands morality. And morality is already included in the category of ideology. In other words, it is an appearance of ideology.

Engels expresses the class character of morality in his work "Anti-Dühring" as follows.

"(...) society has hitherto moved in class antagonisms, morality has always been class morality: It has either justified the domination and the interests of the ruling class, or ever since the oppressed class became powerful enough, it has represented its indignation against this domination, and the future interests of the oppressed."

Engels says that there are 3 types of morality in capitalist society:

1- Feudal aristocratic morality
2- Bourgeois morality
3- Proletarian morality.

The first two types of morality that Engels categorises with 3 types, namely feudal aristocratic morality and bourgeois morality, constitute the first category. In other words, it shows the interests of the ruling class as justified, reasonable (rational). The bourgeoisie tries to conceal the class character of morality, to make it accepted as if there is a single measure and definition of morality for all groups of people, and to show immorality as a behaviour that belongs to all people and thus to legitimise it. It wants negativities such as individualism, self-interest and fraud, which reflect the morality of the bourgeoisie, to be seen as inherent characteristics of human beings. They should not be linked to the capitalist system. However, this is not true. In class societies, morality is shaped as the morality of the oppressor and the oppressed. The bourgeois morality, which is shaped within the relations of exploitation, is also a tool for the easier exploitation of society. The morality of the proletariat, on the other hand, serves the future of humanity and the happiness of society, and in this sense, the liberation of humanity.

The morality of the proletariat, socialist (Marxist-revolutionary morality), is defined in the Dictionary of Materialist Philosophy as follows: The totality of the principles and standards of behaviour of those who build socialist society. The objective criterion of socialist morality is the struggle for the victory of socialist society. The main principles of Socialist Ethics are:

- wholehearted devotion to the cause of socialism,

- the promotion of social welfare through labour,

- a sense of public duty,

- collectivism,

- humanism,

- internationalism,

-taking an uncompromising stand against those who violate socialist moral standards, etc...

As morality differs according to classes, it also plays an important role in the class struggle. The bourgeoisie endeavours to spread its "morality" throughout society, to use it as an instrument of its hegemony over the people. The proletariat, on the other hand, brings its own understanding of morality, which prioritises social interests, against the selfish, individualist morality of the bourgeoisie.

However, in the capitalist society dominated by the bourgeoisie, the masses of the people are also affected by the morality of the bourgeoisie to one degree or another. Therefore, the fact that some forms of behaviour reflecting the morality of the bourgeoisie are also seen among the people, does not change the fact that they are forms of behaviour specific to the morality of the bourgeoisie.

Since morality is a form of behaviour and a set of rules shaped according to material living conditions, it will also change according to changes in material living conditions. Therefore, evaluations such as "selfishness is inherent in human nature and will continue to exist as long as human beings exist" do not express the truth. "Selfishness" today is a form of behaviour that is nourished by capitalist relations, and with the disappearance of capitalist society it will lose its influence, and its place in social life will be taken by altruism, sociality and similar values. This applies to the morality of the bourgeoisie.

In socialist society, which will replace capitalist society, the morality (immorality) of the bourgeoisie will be replaced by the morality and value judgements of the proletariat. The concepts of "morality" and "immorality" used by the people in daily life are also used based on the general moral values of the people such as honour and honesty. When we say, "an immoral person", we mean a person who acts contrary to the moral values of the people in this or that matter; on the contrary, the expression "a moral person" is used for people who act in accordance with the moral values of the people. Although there are inaccuracies and distortions in the existing values, behaviour and thoughts of the people as an extension of bourgeois morality, what is essential in the people are the moral values against oppression, injustice, injustice and dishonesty.

Revolutionary character can be created by rejecting the morality of this vile order that alienates people from everything and pollutes everything, and the system-shaped personality created by this morality. This is also the cornerstone of revolutionary ethics. Revolutionary ethics, contrary to the slanders of the bourgeoisie and the petty bourgeois intelligentsia, is not acting with the moral criteria of the regime (bourgeois or feudal remnant), it is not the defence of moral backwardness and bigotry.

Of course, the positive value judgements and moral criteria of the people are also the cornerstones of the revolutionary character, they cannot be given up, they cannot be ignored; however, the main point that distinguishes the revolutionary character from the order’s is, first of all, to completely reject all the theories and most importantly the morality of the capitalist order from which we came out and to create a brand new understanding of morality. While creating this understanding of morality, of course, the thousands of years of cultural accumulation and moral value judgements of the people will not be completely discarded. It is also our duty to include among the revolutionary moral values, the positive values of the people, that do not constitute an obstacle to social development and progress, that are suitable for the "New Human" personality we want to create and that will strengthen this personality.

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REVOLUTIONARY ETHICS

It is to reject the bourgeoisie with all its institutions and ideology. It is to have class hatred, hatred against imperialism and fascism.

- It is to have class consciousness.

- To be organised.

REVOLUTIONARY ETHICS.

1- CARRIES OUT THEORETICAL-SCIENTIFIC, POLITICAL, PRACTICAL CRITICISM OF THE BOURGEOISIE. To possess morality is to reject all institutions and ideology of the bourgeoisie

2- FACILITATES AWAKENING AMONGST PEOPLE TO HATE BOURGEOISIE. It is to know and tell everyone that the bourgeoisie is solely responsible for our hunger, poverty, suffering and murder, to spread and grow this hatred and anger.

3- TO HAVE CLASS CONSCIOUSNESS. To be moral is to raise the class struggle. To love your people and homeland.

4- CREATING THE ABILITY TO UNITE FORCES AND SOLIDARITY. An organised person is a moral person.

The conclusion from all this is this: The most moral people in the world are revolutionaries. Most importantly, revolutionism is a moral obligation in today's world.

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REVOLUTIONARY CULTURE

Without defining what this culture is, it would be appropriate to briefly define culture. Culture is defined in the dictionary as follows:

1. All material and spiritual values created in the process of historical and social development, and the whole of the means used in creating and transmitting them to the next generations, showing the measure of man's dominance over his natural and social environment, heritage, culture.

2. The whole of the works of thought and art specific to a society or a community of people.

3. The form of reasoning, taste and criticism skills developed through learning and experience.

4. The knowledge gained by the individual.

One of the most important aspects of our revolutionary struggle is the struggle to create a revolutionary socialist culture and tradition. This struggle continues in every field, every detail and every moment of life.

We said that the break with the regime is a break with the ideology of the regime, the morality of the regime. One pillar of the break is also embodied in the break from the culture of regime. Thus, a new culture emerges. This culture is a revolutionary culture, a New Human culture.

The toughest struggle against bourgeois ideology will be fought on this front, to create a revolutionary culture. Because the remnants of bourgeois or feudal culture, which have taken root for hundreds of years, cannot be uprooted in one fell swoop. A relentless struggle must be waged against the deterioration and degeneration created in the culture of the people by selfishness, individualism, self-interest and many other

worthlessness that the bourgeoisie constantly fuels for the continuation of the capitalist wheel of exploitation.

The New Human culture is reached by intervening in all areas of life, by reviving what will live in the face of what has died, and by learning, teaching and creating traditions within material conditions. While today inherits yesterday, at the same time it will remain for the future. The totality of socialist culture and values will be reached by starting from today, by rejecting bourgeois culture, by creating a brand-new culture on the remnants of this culture...

Of course, revolutionary culture is not a phenomenon created and to be created from scratch. We must develop and keep alive this culture by blending it with the thousands of years of cultural accumulation of the Anatolian peoples, the positive, beautiful, progressive values created, and the values created in the thousands of years of class struggle experiences of the peoples of the world. In the revolutionary struggle, we take the positive, progressive, beautiful values of Alevi, Sunni, Turkish, Kurdish, Laz, Circassian, Arab, Armenian, Assyrian... people of all sects and nationalities and develop and revolutionise them. We create a new way of thinking, behaviour and life. In a sense, we knead and recreate the people's culture with socialist values and Marxist-Leninist consciousness within the revolutionary struggle. This culture that emerges is the revolutionary culture.

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"*The main thing to be understood from the rejection of the system-shaped personality and the creation of a revolutionary personality is to break all ideological ties with the regime and to build a life outside the regime. The essence of the problem is whether or not to achieve a break with bourgeois ideology."* (Dursun Karataş[35])

It is not possible to gain a revolutionary personality, not even to be an ordinary moral person, by staying within the regime, by submitting to the culture of the regime or without being purified from its effects. Therefore, the basic quality of today's revolutionary is to break all ideological, political and moral ties with the regime. It is to make his war with the regime continuous within himself. In other words, to gain a revolutionary personality, we must first break away from the regime in every aspect. There should be nothing that connects us to the regime. Then our brain, our life, everything will be free. This is what it means to be a revolutionary.

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CLASS STRUGGLE IS THE MOTHER OF THE NEW HUMAN.

Some consider the problem of creating the New Human to be a problem of socialism only, a problem after the establishment of socialist power. This is not correct. The New Human is needed in every period

[35] Dursun Karataş (25 March 1952 — 11 August 2008) was a Turkish communist of Kurdish descent. He commanded the Revolutionary Left (Devrimci Sol), founded the Revolutionary People's Liberation Party-Front (DHKP-C) became the first secretary.

of the revolution, and wherever there is class struggle he will sooner or later emerge and fulfil his historical function. Our task is to make every effort for its emergence and development, and for its spread.

Of course, under the conditions created by the establishment of socialism, we will have great opportunities for this. First, every child born in a socialist society will be born into an economic, social, political and cultural environment very different from capitalism. From the moment he is born, he will begin to breathe the air of socialism. In addition to this social atmosphere, schools, cinemas, theatres, television, newspapers and all means of mass communication and education will be at the disposal of the creation and spread of the New Human on a mass scale. Thousands of specialists will work to educate the New Human of socialism. And most importantly, as the flagship of the people and of socialism, there will be strong, well-developed organisations that have seized power and acquired great experience in leading and educating the masses. All this will enable us to create New Humans on a mass scale. Today we do not have these possibilities. But despite all these limitations, the material basis for the creation of New Humans exists today. This is because class struggle continues today, just as it will under socialism. There is one difference: today it is the bourgeoisie, not the proletariat, that rules. But wherever class struggle exists, no matter who holds power, the material basis for the creation of a New Human also exists. In a sense, class struggle is its mother. The midwife is the political organisation that is the vanguard of this struggle: the theoretical, practical and political education within it…

In this struggle and in this school, we are, and we must mould people into a new mould.

We appear before the people with people who are very different from the people of the regime, with people who are alternatives to them, and this is how we must appear before the people. In addition to the basic characteristics described above, these people can carry a different culture to the people in everything from the simplest matters to the most complex. They can shine like stars amid the rottenness of capitalist society and, by leading the people, create every means necessary to overthrow the order of exploitation and oppression. If we fail to achieve this, we cannot make the people accept revolution as the alternative to the regime, and we cannot triumph. This is true no matter how strong our technical and material means are and no matter how strong our organisation is.

So, we must work with all our strength to become new people, we must not let go of the effort to create new people and to spread them on a mass scale without stopping even for a moment.

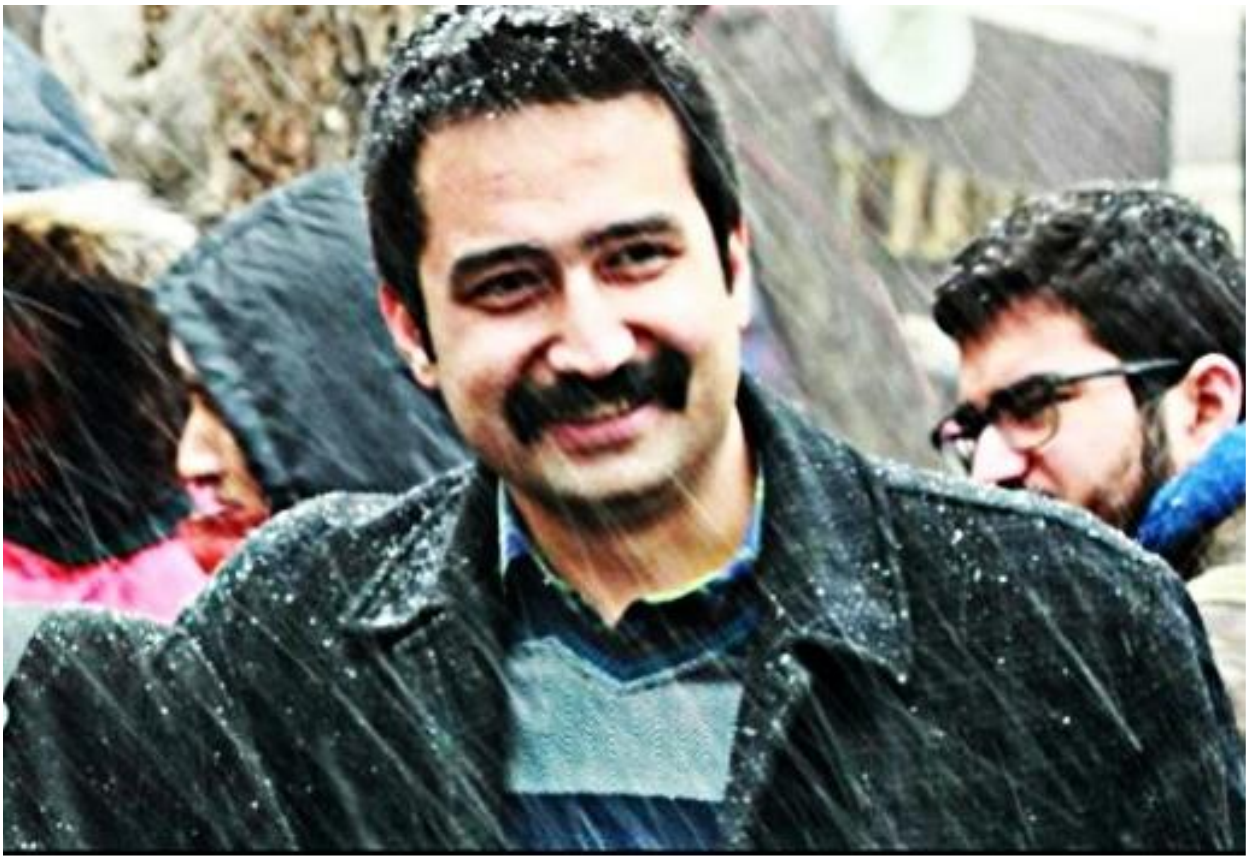
When we have achieved this, the New Human is present in the work that must be finished even when we are on the brink of collapse from exhaustion. He strains himself to take on more of the burden we are carrying.

The New Human is more labour, more sacrifice, more patience.

The New Human is in the place where one faces one’s difficulties uncompromisingly.

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The New Human is sometimes in the neighbourhood we have not visited, on the street we have not entered, behind the door we have not knocked on. Sometimes he is present in our clothing, our order and our discipline. We should know that, for a revolutionary, less sleep means more labour, patience, courage and sacrifice, and that the New Human is found in the struggle with whatever challenges him.



"Our people's suffering continues to multiply with each passing day. Every day, our people are buried beneath tonnes of concrete blocks; our children are torn to pieces beneath train carriages, together with their futures. Every day, women's coffins are carried away; our young people are left crawling on the ground because of drugs; revolutionaries are tortured for years in isolation; mothers cannot find the graves of their children.

Working-class families are forced to receive the coffins of their fathers and husbands in the evening. Fathers take cyanide hand in hand with their daughters and go to their deaths. If this reality burns our hearts, if we want to put an end to these sufferings, if we cannot tolerate them continuing for even one second longer, then we must establish the people's power.

We will certainly establish it. We will certainly turn these lands, Anatolia, into a paradise for our people. The only way to do this is to become the New Human. We will become New Humans; we will create New Humans. With New Humans, we will organise all the poor neighbourhoods and all the villages of Anatolia.

All the mountains of Anatolia will be ours. We will win the victory!"