



REVOLUTIONARY CONSCIOUSNESS AND PRACTICE

Problem-Solution • Ideology Is a Way of Life • Knowledge • Front Member

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FOREWORD

The contents of this book are drawn from the weekly magazine ***Halk Okulu*** (*People's School*). The magazine is published in Turkish and is widely distributed among Turkish-speaking people in Anatolia and Europe and, through the internet, throughout the rest of the world.

The editors, workers, journalists and distributors of this magazine have been imprisoned, tortured, shot and martyred. The publications that preceded ***Halk Okulu*** were ***Yeni Çözüm*** (*New Solution*), ***Mücadele*** (*Struggle*), ***Kurtuluş*** (*Liberation*), ***Yaşadığımız Vatan*** (*The Homeland We Live In*), ***Ekmek ve Adalet*** (*Bread and Justice*) and ***Yürüyüş*** (*Marching*).

One of the magazine's editors and its owner, İrfan Yılmaz, remains in prison despite having a 98% disability and being described by fascism in Turkey as "dangerous to society". For obvious reasons, what they mean by "society" is the bourgeoisie, their fascist AKP rule and their master, US imperialism.

We will carry on being dangerous to their system.

This book consists of four sections:

Ideology

Problem-Solution

Not a Matter of Personality, but of Knowledge

Front Member (Cepheli)

When these sections are brought together, they form a guide for a Marxist-Leninist revolutionary.

Those who are unfamiliar with the understanding and culture of the Cephe should study this book. You will find answers to many questions here: how to find solutions to our problems, how to overcome our weaknesses, how to become a leading cadre, how to approach people and how to develop collectivism. It does not, of course, cover every aspect of the struggle, but it helps us understand and gives us a perspective.

Our advice is to **study** the contents of this book. Simply reading it is not enough even to fully understand it. It must be digested and made your own, so that the qualities and skills required of a revolutionary become part of you and remain with you throughout your life.

This book is dedicated to all the workers of the Turkish publications mentioned above, and especially to **İrfan Yılmaz**, who is currently imprisoned in **Marmara No. 2 L-Type Prison in Istanbul**.

Prepared and translated into English by Gürkan Gür

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★ SORUN-ÇÖZÜM ★

Problem-Solution



I. PROBLEM – SOLUTION

PROBLEM: NOT HOLDING MEETINGS

SOLUTION: RAISING OUR COLLECTIVE CONSCIOUSNESS

Lenin held meetings with his cadres while organising the world's first socialist revolution.

Stalin directed the war against fascism during the Second Imperialist War through meetings with the commanders of the Red Army.

Victory was organised through meetings.

In the Soviet Union, 527,000 meetings involving 36 million people were held in order to prepare a socialist constitution.

After Mahir Çayan escaped from Maltepe Prison, his first task was to settle accounts with betrayal. He first wrote to the THKP-C cadres in Ankara and then, through a meeting, Münir Ramazan Aktolga and Yusuf Küpeli were expelled from the Party.

Before the declaration of the founding of the DHKP-C, Dursun Karataş organised a congress, held meetings with the cadres and took a further step towards organising the struggle of the Party.

Our martyr Leyla Aracı held 32 meetings a week in 21 of Istanbul's 39 districts.

WHY ARE MEETINGS IMPORTANT?

A MEETING IS THE MEANS OF MOBILISING THE MASSES.

A MEETING IS THE STARTING POINT FOR DIRECTING AND MANAGING THE STRUGGLE.

A MEETING IS A CENTRE OF POWER WHERE CADRES COME TOGETHER TO COMBINE NEEDS WITH THE POSSIBILITIES AVAILABLE TO THEM.

A MEETING IS THE ARENA OF IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE.

A MEETING IS AN ESSENTIAL MEANS THROUGH WHICH COLLECTIVISM IS BUILT AND SUPERVISION IS ENSURED.

A MEETING IS AN IDEOLOGICAL METHOD THROUGH WHICH OUR PRACTICE IS EVALUATED AND THEORY IS BUILT.

A MEETING IS THE BIRTHPLACE OF EVERY NEW BEGINNING.

A MEETING IS THE FIRST STEP.

A MEETING IS A SPACE WHERE UNITY AND TOGETHERNESS ARE ESTABLISHED AND PRINCIPLES AND RULES ARE MADE COMMON.

Holding meetings and putting the decisions taken at those meetings into practice are our duty and responsibility. We must go to meetings prepared, use time efficiently and leave with decisions.

“Lenin conducted meetings skilfully. When he chaired meetings of the Council of People's Commissars or the Council of Labour and Defence, he always tried to keep discussions short, encourage speakers to be concise and prevent them from drifting away from the subject. When an issue was clear, he demanded only figures and practical proposals.

He regarded long speeches at meetings as an unproductive waste of time. Vladimir Ilyich quickly grasped the issue being explained and, while listening to the discussions, dealt with other matters at the same time.

Lenin wrote his well-known note on 'purifying the Russian language' during a meeting. Vladimir Ilyich gave it the subtitle: 'Thoughts in spare moments; that is, while listening to speeches at meetings.'

But the slightest noise, people moving around and especially conversations disturbed Vladimir Ilyich; he demanded complete silence and order.

In April 1919, at a meeting of the Council of People's Commissars, Vladimir Ilyich wrote the following note to Kursky, the People's Commissar for Justice:

'It is time to establish a general rule for the Council of People's Commissars.

- 1. Ten minutes for those presenting reports.*
- 2. Five minutes the first time a speaker takes the floor, three minutes the second time.*
- 3. No one may speak more than twice.*
- 4. On procedural matters, one speech for and one against, one minute each.*
- 5. Exceptions may be made by a special decision of the Council of People's Commissars.'"*

(How We Learned to Govern)

PROBLEM: LIVING WITH ONE FOOT IN THE SYSTEM AND ONE FOOT IN THE REVOLUTION

SOLUTION: MAKING REVOLUTIONARY LIFE A WAY OF LIFE

Sometimes we think that there are no people in the area where we work with whom we can form a committee. Sometimes we cannot find anyone to distribute a leaflet or a magazine, write slogans or carry out other forms of propaganda. Why?

Is the main reason the people's indifference? Is it their fear?

These factors also have an effect. But they are not the main reason.

There are periods when people's participation in the revolutionary struggle increases and periods when it decreases. But being unable to organise even a committee cannot be explained simply by the condition of the people.

At that point we must turn and examine the shortcomings in the revolutionary work we carry out. We must examine how much effort we devote to the people and how we do so.

We cannot organise the people while living with one foot in the system and one foot in the revolution.

What Is Being a Revolutionary?

It is to reject capitalism ideologically, culturally, morally and politically; to struggle against capitalism in all of these areas; and to overthrow the capitalist system and establish the power of the people in its place.

If a revolutionary goes into people's homes in the evening and, instead of reading our magazine with the family whose home they are staying in, sits and watches a television series with them, then ideologically, culturally and morally they are not struggling against the system. They are leaving that family under the influence of the system.

Likewise, if in a home they sit down and watch a football match instead of talking about the people's own football and culture, then they are not struggling against the way the system uses football to lull the people to sleep and corrupt them.

A revolutionary must represent the revolution in the way they sit and stand, in their clothing, speech, work, the music they listen to, the films they watch and in every aspect of their behaviour. Only this kind of revolutionary practice can influence and organise the people.

In other words, we can organise the people when we stop limiting revolutionary activity to taking part in certain organisational work or attending certain actions and instead turn it into a way of life.

What Does It Mean to Organise the People?

It means taking the people out of the influence of the system and bringing them into the ranks of the revolution.

Those who will organise the people are our comrades carrying out revolutionary work. Therefore, comrades engaged in revolutionary work must:

- influence the people through their lives and behaviour;
- influence the people through revolutionary ideas and revolutionary practice;
- influence them through the revolutionary solutions they produce to problems; and
- free the people from the influence of bourgeois ideology and from the ideological and cultural propaganda of imperialism and fascism, and influence them with revolutionary ideology and culture.

To do this, a revolutionary must first educate themselves.

Reading our magazine, reading books, following daily developments, following the news and carrying out educational work are among the basic means of educating ourselves.

We will educate ourselves. We will spread revolutionary life into every area as a way of life. We will take revolutionary ideas, ways of living, habits, emotions, culture and morality into every home we visit.

We will turn every home we enter into an arena of ideological, cultural, moral and political struggle against the system.

When we do this, we will also remove the obstacles to organising the people.

PROBLEM: LYING DESTROYS TRUST

SOLUTION: OPENNESS

The dictionary meaning of a lie is: "A statement or fabricated information that does not correspond to reality, is untrue and is knowingly expressed in order to deceive others." A lie is the word of someone who lacks the confidence, strength, courage or face to tell the truth.

A "liar" is a person who makes a habit of lying, or something unreal made to resemble the truth.

Liars distort reality by presenting what happened as if it had not happened and what did not happen as if it had. They waste time, distract people, deceive them and lead them in the wrong direction.

A lie can never replace the truth forever. You can never deceive anyone forever with lies.

Our proverb says, “The liar’s house burned down and nobody believed him.” The story of the boy who cried wolf is also well known. The liar harms themselves most of all. Why? Because lies destroy trust in human relationships. A person may save the situation for the moment by lying, but the lie will inevitably be exposed and later becomes a weapon that strikes the liar themselves.

Lying does not belong to us; it is a behaviour that belongs to this system. There is no place for lies in the culture of the people or in revolutionary culture.

Lying is the product of weakness and powerlessness. It is the denial of reality: denying the truth, covering it up and concealing it. It means not being open, sincere and honest in relationships. Lying is not moral behaviour.

The system of exploitation is built upon lies. In this sense, lying is a form of thought and behaviour belonging to the exploiting ruling classes. It is one of their strongest weapons for persuading the people to accept systems of exploitation.

Marxism-Leninism is an ideology of truth. There is no place for lies in revolutionary relations. But revolutionaries themselves come from within this system. The illnesses created in people by the capitalist system do not suddenly disappear when they enter revolutionary ranks. Like birthmarks, we carry into revolutionary ranks, to one degree or another, the illnesses that capitalism has produced in our personalities. Lying is one of them.

Within our ranks we must also struggle against this illness created by the system. The cost of lying in revolutionary ranks is very great. A lie directly serves the enemy. Whether large or small, important or seemingly unimportant, every lie serves the enemy.

Lies destroy trust in revolutionary ranks. This is also understood among the people. The saying “The liar’s house burned down and nobody believed him” expresses the distrust felt towards a liar. Yet the foundation of revolutionary relations is trust.

Very often, lies are told in order to continue habits of the system that have no place in revolutionary relations. Although we may be within revolutionary ranks, we continue to carry aspects of the system that we have not transformed. The enemy will of course see these weaknesses and use them against us.

If, instead of struggling against the weaknesses carried over from the system, a revolutionary tries to cover them up with lies, they will constantly need new lies. In the end, those lies can lead the person into wrongdoing against their comrades and the organisation.

Solution

In an environment where lies and truth become mixed together, revolutionary principles and rules cannot function as they should. A person who lies also becomes open to violating principles and rules. This leaves an open door to hostile activity of every kind, including agent activity. When educating our people on this question, we must also make them understand its seriousness.

When someone lies, what we should do is not shout at them in anger or catch them in a lie and use it as leverage. We should explain the consequences that lying creates within revolutionary ranks, help them understand those consequences and raise the issue to consciousness.

Instead of covering the weaknesses we carry from the system with lies, we must struggle against them and transform ourselves. Lies are a weapon of the system; truth is one of the strongest

weapons of revolutionaries. We must arm ourselves with the truth. Revolutionaries have no need for lies.

We must be open towards the organisation.

*...if everyone
who lives by your hands,
everyone except your hands,
lies,
it is so that your hands may be
obedient as clay,
blind as darkness,
foolish as sheepdogs,
so that your hands do not rebel;
and so that, in this mortal yet liveable world
where we are guests for such a short time,
this reign of merchants, this oppression,
may never end.*

— Nâzım Hikmet, 1949

PROBLEM: COMPROMISING WITH WHAT IS BACKWARD

SOLUTION: CHOOSING WHAT IS ADVANCED

Throughout revolutionary life we encounter many points at which we have to make choices. Our choices are limited by our knowledge, by our objective and by our will.

If, through our consciousness, we cannot distinguish between what is advanced and what is backward, then compromise with what is backward becomes inevitable.

From the attitude we take when detained to the attitude we take in our relations with comrades, what we choose in each situation is connected with our ideological clarity. It is connected with having a militant mind.

Which book will we choose to read?

What will our taste be when we watch a film?

At the root of every choice, large or small, there is an ideology.

There are two classes and two ideologies. You choose one or the other; there is no third option between them.

What determines our choice is our choice to be revolutionaries. If we have resolved our fundamental contradiction and made the decision to be revolutionaries, then even when our other choices are wrong, we have the basis for changing them.

We must choose what is advanced, not what is backward.

What is advanced is what is good **FOR THE PEOPLE, FOR THE FRONT, FOR THE REVOLUTION.**

What is advanced is what stands, in class terms, on the side of the people.

What is advanced is what adheres to revolutionary principles and rules.

What is backward usually reveals itself immediately. Most of the time, even the person doing it knows that it is backward, or at least that it is not an advanced choice. Somewhere in their mind there is a question mark. Even intuitively, it does not sit completely right with them.

So what will we do?

We will question ourselves and the situation.

We will act with the consciousness that the eyes of our masters are upon us and that the responsibility of our people rests on our shoulders, and we will choose what serves the interests of the revolution.

The fundamental point is not to compromise with anything belonging to the system.

As far as our knowledge and consciousness allow, we must stand with what is advanced.

For Karayılan, what was advanced was overcoming his fear and taking up his weapon for his homeland.

For Kambur Kerim, what was advanced was delivering the note to the Kuvayi Milliye forces.

For Mahir Çayan, what was advanced was fighting for revolution even at the cost of his own life, and writing the path of revolution in a distorted capitalist, neo-colonial country tied to imperialism.

For Ebru Timtik, what was advanced was not merely being the lawyer of revolutionaries, but practising revolutionary law. What was advanced was refusing to surrender to fascism and resisting in the safe house.

What is advanced is not easy. You may be left alone. You may not obtain results immediately. It may bring imprisonment or death. You may have to multiply your energy two or three times over. But what is advanced is what is right.

Let us not deviate from the right path. Let us also struggle against our own backward aspects.

PROBLEM: SPECULATION

SOLUTION: SCIENTIFIC THOUGHT

Thought determines our attitudes. First we think, and then we act on the basis of that thought.

Wrong thinking leads us to wrong action and wrong attitudes. One of the causes of wrong thinking is acting on speculation instead of knowledge.

What is speculation? It is thought that remains at the level of theory and explanation without being put into practice; theoretical conjecture and speculation.

Speculation is not concerned with starting from facts. There is no concrete information and no investigation of the concrete situation.

A person who speculates tries to fit the situation into prejudices and templates already formed in their mind. As a result, their perception is wrong. The speculator does not think on the basis of material reality; instead, they take the judgements in their head as the basis and try to force material reality to fit those judgements.

What examples of this do we encounter in our practice?

We may see that a comrade has become withdrawn. When we investigate, we discover that they have constructed scenarios about events and the behaviour of their comrades and have interpreted everything as being directed against them.

In another unit, perhaps the magazine is not being distributed, actions are not being organised, seminars are not being held and mass work is not being carried out. The explanation given is that the people are afraid.

When we ask how that conclusion was reached, we may discover that it was reached through speculation.

What does it mean to reach a conclusion through speculation? It means deciding, without investigating, without speaking to the people, without reaching the real causes and without even asking the basic questions of who, what, where, when, why and how, that “it must be fear”.

Yet when the situation is investigated, the underlying cause may turn out not to be fear at all, but depoliticisation, loss of trust and the growth of habits and ways of life belonging to the system as a result of revolutionary work not being carried out. In other words, the cause is not fear; it is the failure to distribute the magazine, hold seminars, conduct mass work and so on.

So how will we reach correct knowledge?

The first step is to ask questions: to ask the right questions and find the answers not in our heads but in practice, that is, in material reality.

There are seven stages in acquiring correct knowledge:

1. Perception: we take individual events as they appear and perceive them through the senses.
2. Perceptions become impressions: as impressions accumulate, knowledge deepens and begins to form a whole.
3. Concepts and sciences emerge from impressions: the essence of phenomena and their internal relations and contradictions are grasped.
4. Knowledge becomes science: through this science we understand events and phenomena in their historical and social dimensions and analyse the laws of the objective world. This is the stage at which change becomes possible.
5. Revolutionary theory is formed: theory enables us to intervene in practice. If we still cannot solve the problem, either our methods and tools are wrong or the way we are approaching the problem is wrong.
6. The leap from revolutionary knowledge to revolutionary practice: if our theory or plan does not correspond to life, it is changed.
7. Knowledge is never frozen: knowledge is relative. Every new piece of knowledge we obtain about nature and society is limited by the level of knowledge and the conditions of that time.

Therefore, in order to perceive an event correctly, we first perceive it, then deepen our perception and form a whole. We then define it — that is, conceptualise it — using scientific criteria. We examine events through their internal relations and contradictions.

We connect the knowledge with our ideology, our policies, our revolutionary practice, our principles and rules, our values and traditions, and our statutes, because these are the tested, theorised and systematised forms of knowledge accumulated up to the present. A judgement that

is completely contrary to them should therefore be critically examined rather than simply accepted as correct knowledge.

To produce correct practice, we will use correct methods of acquiring knowledge.

We will not speculate. Speculation is idealism.

Idealism leads to surrender.

Scientific thought leads to organising the revolution and to victory.

PROBLEM: AN AIMLESS WORKING STYLE

SOLUTION: FIRST DETERMINE THE OBJECTIVE IN EVERY TASK

In military terms, a target is the point at which one aims.

Politically, an objective is the point one seeks to reach strategically, the task from which one wants to obtain a result.

The objective is our horizon. It is one step ahead of us; it is the future. The objective is what we want to become and what we want to do. It means going beyond the present situation.

In every task, we must first determine the objective. If we know the point we want to reach, we can arrange our time, our day, our programme, ourselves — in short, everything — accordingly.

We should promise ourselves not to leave the task unfinished before reaching the objective. Everything should be directed towards hitting that objective.

For every piece of work, every campaign and every person, we should set an objective. We should also set one for ourselves.

The objective must be attainable and concrete, while also containing a claim that takes us beyond the ordinary.

Let us list every obstacle to our progress. Let us identify whatever trips us up in our working style, determine the main link and establish our objective accordingly.

Just as the main link is the point at which a knot can be untied, the objective we determine should help us identify and resolve the deep contradiction holding us back.

The horizon we seek to reach must become our springboard.

We must lock ourselves onto the objective. If we devote ourselves to it, act according to principles and rules, and bind ourselves to our objective, there is nothing we cannot do.

Our birthplace is Kızıldere. We are Dayi's students. Our leaders are our horizon.

As we determine our objective, the objective will also shape us.

LET US START FROM WHAT WE HAVE DONE!

WHAT WE HAVE NOT YET MANAGED TO DO IS OUR SUBJECT OF EDUCATION!

WHAT WE HAVE NOT YET MANAGED TO DO IS OUR OBJECTIVE!

PROBLEM: "MANAGERIALISM"

SOLUTION: MILITANT REVOLUTIONARY PRACTICE

“Managerialism”, also called *idare-i maslahat*, means saving the day, making do and glossing over a problem instead of solving it at its root. Turning this into a line — *idare-i maslahatçılık* — means making temporary solutions, preserving the existing situation at almost any cost and managing problems rather than resolving them into a method of administration or a philosophy of life.

Its main characteristics are:

1. It is status-quo minded: it seeks to preserve what already exists and is afraid of innovation and risk.
2. It postpones: it avoids radical and decisive decisions and constantly delays solving problems.
3. It compromises: instead of resolving a contradiction, it compromises with it. Instead of resolving conflicts, it temporarily calms the sides and keeps things going.
4. It is pragmatic: instead of principled positions, it adapts to the immediate circumstances simply to save the situation.

In short, where managerialism exists there is no revolutionary development; there is only getting through the day. Instead of confronting shortcomings, weaknesses and mistakes, there is compromise with them. Managerialism is not revolutionary practice; it is liberalism. Where managerialism prevails, revolutionary development does not occur.

In an area led by a managerial administrator, there will be no revolutionary development. New cadres and leaders will not emerge. Existing cadres will not develop; instead, they will regress and lose revolutionary dynamism.

Where there is a managerial administrator, criticism and self-criticism do not function because of a desire to “get along with everyone”. Yet criticism and self-criticism are among the strongest weapons of revolutionary development. Managerialism destroys that weapon.

The cause of managerialism is ideological weakness. It is a deviation in revolutionary practice created by liberalism. Managerialism is an outlook that the system seeks to impose upon its administrators: it teaches them to adapt themselves to whoever is in front of them and to go with the current.

In an area dominated by this approach, people may perhaps still be persuaded to carry out many tasks through cajoling or pressure, but revolutionary development cannot be created.

Revolutionary practice means coming into conflict with everything that is wrong and non-revolutionary. Scientific method teaches us that contradiction is resolved through struggle.

The solution to managerialism is militant revolutionary practice. Militant revolutionary practice means refusing to compromise with what is wrong and confronting it in order to obtain a revolutionary result.

Let us not compromise with what is wrong. Let us fight the illness, not the patient. This is where managerialism goes wrong. It understands conflict not as a struggle against the illness but as conflict with the person who is ill. It therefore lacks the strength to confront the person and instead compromises. Because it lacks the knowledge needed to treat the illness, it postpones and avoids the struggle against it.

The solution is to operate the mechanism of criticism and self-criticism. In revolutionary ranks, criticism is one of the strongest weapons for destroying the old and creating the new.

Criticism is valuable. Criticism also places responsibility on the critic to help create the new, because everything that is left uncriticised becomes normalised.

Criticism requires intensive effort. To criticise is to labour and to take responsibility. This is also one of the reasons managerialism exists: managerialists avoid labour and responsibility. Therefore they do not criticise. They themselves have many shortcomings and weaknesses, so they compromise and do not want to be criticised either.

In the relations of the system, people do not criticise one another openly. Everyone smiles to one another's face and talks behind their back. They do not help to complete one another's shortcomings or correct one another's mistakes, because everyone is a competitor. From bottom to top, society is shaped on the basis of competition. No one trusts anyone enough to turn their back. Everyone merely manages everyone else according to their interests.

We are not managers of this kind; we are militant cadres of the revolution. To compromise with what is wrong, to flatter people according to the circumstances and merely “manage” problems is to keep the system alive inside revolutionary ranks.

We will not compromise with what is wrong. Everything that does not serve the revolution serves the system. We must be militant cadres of the revolution, not managers of the system. A militant cadre or leader does not compromise with what is wrong; through revolutionary principles and rules, they confront everything that is wrong. They fight the illness, not the patient.

PROBLEM: GOSSIP

SOLUTION: CRITICISM AND SELF-CRITICISM

One of the fundamental weaknesses that undermines comradely relations and organisational unity and creates distrust is gossip.

Gossip means speaking behind someone's back. It means lowering a person's value in the eyes of the people and their comrades through what is said about them when they are not present.

Any conversation about a comrade or a person from the people that does not serve the revolutionary struggle, that humiliates or demoralises them and that does not form part of an organisational discussion is gossip.

Through gossip, the gossipier wants to elevate themselves by diminishing and wearing down another person. They imagine that their own qualities are demonstrated by exposing someone else's weaknesses. They think that by pushing another person into the ground, they themselves rise higher.

Gossip finds fertile ground in apolitical environments.

Gossip destroys reality and creates a world of lies in its place.

Behind gossip there may sometimes be jealousy, sometimes curiosity, and sometimes dissatisfaction with one's own personality or life.

One of the most dangerous weapons that undermines trust in organisational relations is gossip. It destroys trust.

Gossip does not take development and problem-solving as its basis. On the contrary, it enlarges mistakes and undermines collectivism.

The gossip is unjust because the other person is not even given the right to defend themselves.

“Speaking behind a person's back is one of the greatest injustices you can do to them, because they have no chance to defend themselves.”

The gossip is cowardly because they lack the courage to speak to people face to face.

The gossip is unjust. Someone who is in the right has no need for gossip.

The gossip is parasitic. The way a worker and producer establishes themselves is not through gossip but through labour.

Instead of gossip, we must use the mechanism of criticism and self-criticism.

Gossip is like a fire. At first it may look like a small spark, but if it finds enough wind it can burn down an entire forest. We must therefore think before speaking and not immediately pass on everything we hear. Every statement carries responsibility; every word bears the signature of one's character.

Gossiping is wrongdoing, and sharing an environment in which gossip is taking place means becoming part of the same wrongdoing.

One of the gossip's biggest weaknesses is that they refuse to recognise that they are gossiping. When something is said about gossip, they assume it applies to other people, not to themselves.

Gossip is not an isolated incident; it is a product of the culture created by the capitalist system. It is not simply the flawed behaviour of a few individuals that only those individuals need to overcome. Everyone must review what they share with others, identify conversations that amount to gossip or do not help the person and the organisation to develop, and remove them from their lives.

Historical materialism teaches us that the way to transform society is not through rumours, but through knowledge, critical thought and open dialogue. Instead of gossip, we must put conscious questioning and honest, face-to-face communication. Development comes not from talking about others, but from thinking, producing and changing together.

PROBLEM: TAKING OFFENCE

SOLUTION: BECOMING POLITICAL

Taking offence is one of the problems we encounter. In the words of our people, it means “taking offence even at moisture from a cloud” — finding a personal slight in almost anything.

Someone who cannot make a correct assessment and does not think scientifically or politically takes everything personally, whatever is said. They look for hidden meanings where there are none.

When faced with problems in life or criticism, instead of carrying out a scientific analysis they personalise the issue. They do not treat criticism as a method for identifying and overcoming a weakness, but as a method of humiliating them personally. They take offence and sulk. They respond in the same way to difficulties in life and become pessimistic.

WHAT ARE THE PRACTICAL SIGNS OF TAKING OFFENCE AND SULKING?

A sullen face, making cutting remarks, giving reactive answers, knowingly insisting on something that is wrong, making it impossible to discuss the issue...

Taking offence and sulking are weaknesses in themselves, but they also prevent other weaknesses from being overcome.

Taking offence is not an ordinary personal characteristic. It is almost invariably followed by sulking.

The offended person builds a barricade through sulking. They cannot even move on to struggle against their other weaknesses because criticism is continually deflected away from themselves; the mistake is always sought somewhere else.

Taking offence cannot be overcome merely by "being careful", because it is not simply a question of intention. By being careful we only restrain ourselves temporarily. We must enter into a serious struggle with ourselves and remove the conditions and causes that produce the behaviour.

HOW WILL WE OVERCOME TAKING OFFENCE AND SULKING?

1. We will not treat events and problems personally. We will not think, "THIS IS BEING DONE TO ME" or "HOW CAN THEY DO OR SAY THIS TO ME?"
2. We will ask: what is the problem and what is the solution?
3. We will forbid ourselves from sulking. Sulking is a way of putting pressure on or threatening the other person.
4. A Front member does not take offence and does not sulk; they solve the problem, because they know that taking offence belongs to the system.
5. We will approach criticism from a revolutionary perspective and be self-critical. We will remember that criticism and self-criticism are among the principles of Leninism and that we are Leninists.
6. We will find the cause of the criticism and resolve it.
7. We will not pull faces at those who criticise us or react against them.
8. We will not think, "No one can do anything wrong to me." We will not personalise the issue.
9. Without making relations tense, we will learn to talk, explain the problem and ask about what we do not understand.
10. We will not belittle the problem of taking offence and sulking; we will approach it in a revolutionary way and struggle against it.

PROBLEM: ORGANISATIONAL GAPS

SOLUTION: GOING TO THE PEOPLE AND FILLING THE GAPS

Under the pretext of the NATO summit, the AKP government carried out widespread arrests against the revolutionary movement, with more than 250 people arrested in operations across a number of cities. Under such conditions, simply training one's own replacement is no longer sufficient, because in some areas and units all of the comrades carrying out the work were arrested and even people who merely greeted them were detained.

Every comrade who has not been arrested must therefore act with the responsibility of an organisation: not only meeting the needs of their own area, but taking responsibility for the needs of many areas.

Since 2016, our institutions have faced repeated police raids. We repaired broken doors, rebuilt demolished walls and kept our institutions open despite these attacks. The current arrests are an intensified attack of destruction and isolation.

This attack will not succeed because “the Front is the people”. The Front has deep roots among the people and retains political influence and respect across different sections of society.

Friends and supporters of the Front are therefore called upon to take responsibility like Front cadres wherever they are and to fill the gaps created by the arrests.

For Front cadres and leaders, training one's own replacement is no longer enough. Every cadre must act like an organisation, responding to the needs of a unit, area or region and closing gaps immediately.

Even when one person is alone in an area, city or region, they should not regard themselves as isolated.

The solution is to go to the people. Anyone can be organised and anyone can develop into a cadre. Cadres and leaders come from almost every section of the people; this must give us confidence in organising and developing new cadres.

TRAINING A REPLACEMENT DOES NOT MEAN BRINGING THEM TO EXACTLY OUR OWN LEVEL; IT MEANS MAKING THEM CAPABLE OF TAKING OVER OUR DUTY

Training a replacement does not mean making another person equal to us in every respect. It means bringing them to the point where they can take over the task we are carrying out at that moment. This can be done in a relatively short period.

The measure is whether the person can take over the responsibilities of the existing leader, ensure organisational continuity and, within collective work, continue education, actions, publications and mass work in that area. If they can do these things at a basic level, then a replacement has been trained. Beyond that, they will mature through life and become more capable through education.

Keeping our institutions open is an urgent task because every institution is a position against repression. The repeated raids on the İdil Cultural Centre and the imprisonment of Grup Yorum members and staff are examples of this.

How can the gaps created by arrests be filled? By going to the people. “Grup Yorum is the people”, and its members are children of the people.

The immediate task is therefore to keep such positions open and develop new participants from among the people. The same principle applies to other institutions affected by arrests. Families of prisoners helping to keep TAYAD work functioning and pensioners participating through pensioners' assemblies are examples.

Gaps caused by arrests must be filled quickly, institutions must be kept open and new ones established, with every supporter acting with the responsibility of a cadre and every cadre with the responsibility of an organisation.

PROBLEM: NOT USING TIME EFFICIENTLY

SOLUTION: ORGANISING TIME

“What is the one thing that, once lost, we can never find again?”

*Answer: **TIME!!!**”*

Time does not return. But it is in our hands to programme the present and the future. A day has 24 hours. We cannot change that. Therefore we must change ourselves and change our way of working.

| *"What is it that passes both the fastest and the slowest, that is missed regardless of what is longest or shortest, and that people regret once it has gone?"*

TIME!"

Time is critically important; it is vital. Managing it is in our hands.

| *"There isn't enough time. If only the day had 25 hours and the week eight days!"*

The problem cannot be solved by extending the amount of time available. It can be solved by programming time.

| *"I have too much work. There isn't enough time."*

When time is organised, tasks are put in order and the most fundamental task is done first, it becomes easier to see how much time is actually available.

Dayi's advice is to do the most fundamental task first.

| *"Time flows like water."*

It is not time itself but the lack of a programme that occupies so much space. What fills the mind and leaves our effort disorganised is the absence of a programme. Programme your time and take command of it.

Time does not stop and cannot be rewound or fast-forwarded. If we understand its value and race with it, then we can manage it.

Let us not become thieves of our own time.

There is no such thing as empty time; there is only time that is wasted.

Our people understand the importance of time very well. Their proverbs demonstrate this:

- Time is a river; it flows without stopping.
- Time is not a coin that can simply be slipped away.
- If time does not adapt to you, adapt yourself to time.
- Whoever gains time gains much; whoever loses time loses everything.
- Whoever kills time kills life.
- The person with work to do knows the value of time.
- Time and flood wait for no one.
- Whoever gains time gains strength.
- Lost time is never found again.

CONCLUSION

Those who race with time are those who organise and programme themselves. Those who do not race with it are always running behind it.

People who are constantly trying to catch up cannot be productive. They are always in a state of anxiety about finishing things in time.

Organising time increases our productivity and gives us a systematic working style.

Let us take hold of time's mane and run with it.

Lenin's April 1919 note on conducting meetings states:

"It is time to establish a general rule for the Council of People's Commissars.

1. Ten minutes for those presenting reports.

2. Five minutes for speakers the first time, three minutes the second time.

3. No one may speak more than twice.

4. On procedural matters, one speech for and one against, one minute each.

5. Exceptions may be made by a special decision of the Council of People's Commissars."

— Lenin, *How We Learned to Govern*

PROBLEM: WEAKENED REVOLUTIONARY ENTHUSIASM AND ENERGY

SOLUTION: CLASS ANTAGONISM

Class antagonism is not simply an emotion; it is a conscious political position. Society is divided fundamentally between the bourgeoisie and the people: one class lives through exploitation, while the people create through their labour without receiving the full return for it. This contradiction develops into class conflict.

Revolutionary enthusiasm weakens when the class character of exploitation is blurred. Class antagonism moves us from shared suffering to shared will: it is nourished by the arrogance of the enemy, the suffering of comrades, historical memory and hope for the future.

- Class antagonism is a decision, not merely a feeling.
- It is a strategy, not merely a reaction.
- It is the will of a class, not an individual state of mind.

The practical answer is to strengthen clarity, determination and endurance through ideological education, criticism and self-criticism, collective organisation and an understanding of the opposing interests of classes.

PROBLEM: BUREAUCRATISM

SOLUTION: LABOUR, PRODUCTIVITY AND CREATIVITY

Bureaucratism is the freezing and decay of revolutionary practice. A bureaucratic activist behaves like an official who mechanically applies what has been taught, avoids responsibility for results and says, "I did what I could, but it did not work." Against this, we need a working style that insists on producing a result.

A bureaucratic manager gives instructions but does not organise the conditions in which the task can be completed. They do not develop cadres, create possibilities, overcome obstacles or sacrifice personal comfort for collective responsibilities. This is an influence of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideology within revolutionary ranks.

The answer is labour, productivity and creativity. A revolutionary should be judged not by how much they speak but by what useful work they produce. Obstacles are to be met through effort, initiative and new methods. The opposite of bureaucratism is not simply greater activity but a conscious, creative and result-oriented working style.

PROBLEM: FAILURE TO PREPARE

SOLUTION: PREPARATION IS HALF OF VICTORY; THE OTHER HALF IS LABOUR

Preparation is "measuring seven times and cutting once". It means thinking before acting: asking questions about the task, discussing it collectively, identifying its requirements and organising the work in advance.

- Desk work and planning.
- Education.
- Meeting and collective discussion.

- Division of labour.
- Practice followed by supervision and evaluation.

Military drill gives us a useful analogy: courage alone is insufficient if people have not repeatedly rehearsed how they will act together. Every campaign and task should therefore be prepared, practised and evaluated. Preparation reduces improvisation, reveals weaknesses before the decisive moment and makes collective action more disciplined.

PROBLEM: PROCRASTINATION

SOLUTION: PROGRAMME AND DISCIPLINE

“Later” often becomes “never”. Tasks are postponed when they seem difficult, when they have not been clarified in the mind, when there is no programme, or when physical and mental laziness has become habitual. We must also reject dividing tasks into those we like and those we do not like and then indefinitely postponing the latter.

Postponement does not save time. It creates an accumulating pile of unfinished work, increases tomorrow's burden and interrupts the speed of individual and collective development. The solution is to distinguish priorities while assigning a definite time to every task. “Later” must mean a scheduled time, not an undefined future.

People do not change merely by deciding; they change through repetition. Planned behaviour, repeated with discipline, gradually replaces the habit of postponement.

PROBLEM: NOT REPORTING

SOLUTION: REPORTING

A report is a written account of what was done, what was learned, what was not done and what must follow. Reporting is an organisational duty rather than mere administration. It is part of collective functioning, accountability, evaluation and supervision.

Work that is not reported cannot be properly evaluated. Without information from practice, new programmes cannot be built because there is no concrete basis for judging what succeeded, what failed and why. Mao stresses the importance of information flowing from different areas to the centre so that leadership can make correct decisions.

Reporting is also a form of self-review: sitting down, remembering what has been forgotten, identifying unfinished work and reconnecting daily activity to the strategic objective. Our task is simple: carry out regular desk work, give reports and demand reports.

PROBLEM: ORGANISATIONAL VACUUMS

SOLUTION: EVERYONE MUST TRAIN THEIR OWN REPLACEMENT

Arrests, repression, illness, transfers and changing responsibilities can leave gaps in an organisation. Training replacements must therefore be a permanent activity, not an emergency measure introduced only after a loss.

Every area, unit, cadre and supporter should aim to prepare another person who can take on a concrete responsibility. Training a replacement does not mean reproducing oneself in every

respect or waiting years until another person reaches the same level. It means enabling someone to carry one real task independently.

- Give people concrete tasks immediately.
- Include replacement-building in committee agendas and programmes.
- Combine theoretical and practical education.
- Spend regular time working together; “doing together” is one of the most effective methods of training.

Everybody can become a replacement because everybody can take responsibility for something. The key question is whether we have a concrete plan, timetable and practice for developing people.

PROBLEM: NOT GOING TO THE PEOPLE, NOT ORGANISING

SOLUTION: GO TO THE PEOPLE AND ORGANISE

Organisation has two linked tasks: education and employment in concrete work. Going among the people is not occasional propaganda but sustained, face-to-face labour: understanding people's problems, educating and learning from them, giving them responsibilities and enabling them to participate in collective activity.

Organisation is measured by whether relationships become active responsibilities. Revolutionaries must not merely visit, speak and leave. The aim is to turn contact into participation, participation into responsibility and responsibility into lasting organisation.

The practical method is to begin with whoever is already around us, identify what each person can do, provide education suited to their reality, and follow the work continuously. Organisation means education plus the concrete use of people's abilities.

PROBLEM: FAILURE TO FIND THE MAIN LINK

SOLUTION: SET THE COURSE ACCORDING TO THE PRINCIPAL CONTRADICTION

Many problems contain numerous details, secondary contradictions and immediate symptoms. A correct solution begins by identifying the principal contradiction and then asking “why?” until the root of the problem is reached. Otherwise, attention remains fixed on secondary points and the problem is never resolved.

The principal contradiction is between imperialism and the peoples of the world, and the main link is refusing reconciliation with imperialism. Isolated events must be connected to the wider political structure rather than treated only as separate individual acts.

Its methodological conclusion is broader than the examples: correct identification produces a correct direction of action. The main link prevents detail from replacing essence and helps determine where limited energy should be concentrated.

PROBLEM: ACHIEVING RESULTS IN MASS WORK**SOLUTION: WORK WITH AMBITION, CONVICTION AND ENTHUSIASM**

The preparations for 1 May show that mass work cannot be reduced to distributing material or announcing a slogan. To persuade people, we must carry conviction, confidence and enthusiasm into face-to-face work.

We need door-to-door and workplace work, one-to-one conversations and committees in neighbourhoods, workplaces and schools. A committee may begin with one person, but the first aim should be to involve a second person and then widen the circle. People should not merely be invited to an event; they should be given responsibilities in organising it.

Daily work should be listed and evaluated: what was done, what remained incomplete, who was involved and what comes next. In this approach, the measure of result-oriented mass work is not only how many people attend, but how many people are drawn into the work itself.

PROBLEM: FASCIST REPRESSION AND BANS**SOLUTION: THE ONLY ROAD IS ORGANISATION; THE ONLY ROAD IS RESISTANCE**

Repression and prohibitions are methods used by a state facing economic, social and political crisis. Retreat does not end repression: fear and self-protection cannot substitute for organisation.

Our campaigns around prisons, music, public protests and 1 May show that resistance must be organised collectively rather than left to individual courage. Participation should therefore be prepared through committees, leaflets, posters, workplace and neighbourhood conversations, door-to-door work and other forms of public mobilisation.

Courage becomes politically effective only when it is organised. Each participant should not merely attend but bring others into collective activity.

PROBLEM: NOT KNOWING WHERE TO BEGIN THINKING CORRECTLY**SOLUTION: THINK CORRECTLY IN FOUR STEPS**

People often respond to unexpected situations through habits learned from bourgeois society. To replace habitual reactions with a systematic method, we use four stages.

- Ask questions: begin with “why?” rather than accepting the first appearance of the problem.
- Analyse: identify the theoretical or political cause behind the practical result.
- Find the contradiction and reverse it: if the problem expresses one tendency, consciously build its opposite.
- Change through education, criticism and self-criticism, practical work among the people, meetings and collective mechanisms.

Populism gives us an example: an arrogant or superior way of speaking is not merely bad behaviour but the practical expression of an ideological tendency. Once the contradiction is named, we place modesty against it and build modest conduct through repeated practice.

PROBLEM: COMPETITION**SOLUTION: OUR STRENGTH IS OUR UNITY**

Competition stands against comradeship. Capitalism teaches people to measure themselves against others; our revolutionary answer is unity, collective responsibility and the replacement of “I” with “we”.

Accounts of comrades who, even while facing death, remained concerned with the safety of others and the organisation as a whole show the measure of comradeship: loyalty, mutual protection, responsibility and confidence in one another.

Collective strength cannot be built through rivalry for recognition or status. It is built when people measure success by what the whole collective achieves and when concern for comrades comes before personal prominence.



İdeoloji Nedir?

İdeoloji Yaşam Biçimidir!

— What Is Ideology? Ideology Is a Way of Life! —



II. WHAT IS IDEOLOGY? IDEOLOGY IS A WAY OF LIFE!

REVOLUTIONARY THOUGHT BECOMES SUPERIOR TO BOURGEOIS IDEOLOGY BY CONSTANTLY OVERCOMING AND RENEWING ITSELF

Revolutionary consciousness is not something a person is born with.

No one comes into the world with a ready-made revolutionary consciousness.

Human beings are shaped under the influence of capitalist society.

For this reason, being a revolutionary is not a fixed identity; it is a continuous process of overcoming oneself.

A REVOLUTIONARY OVERCOMES THE INDIVIDUALISM WITHIN THEMSELVES STEP BY STEP

How?

- Through theory.
- Through practice.
- Through criticism.
- Through self-criticism.
- Through collective life.
- Through class struggle.

How?

- By overcoming subjectivism step by step.
- By overcoming liberalism step by step.
- By overcoming petty-bourgeois ideology step by step.

Only through this process does a person become revolutionary.

Because the hardest struggle is the struggle a person wages against the old ideas within themselves.

And the greatest victory is overcoming individualism.

LONG LIVE REVOLUTIONARY THOUGHT!

DOWN WITH BOURGEOIS IDEOLOGY!

REVOLUTIONARY THOUGHT BECOMES SUPERIOR TO BOURGEOIS IDEOLOGY BY CONSTANTLY OVERCOMING ITSELF AND CONSTANTLY RENEWING ITSELF.

REVOLUTIONARY IDEOLOGY IS IDEOLOGICALLY SUPERIOR TO BOURGEOIS IDEOLOGY

The fundamental elements of ideological struggle are:

1. A scientific world outlook — dialectical and historical materialism.
2. Class analysis.
3. Revolutionary theory.
4. Political organisation.

5. Work among the masses.
6. Cultural and ideological production.
7. The unity of practical struggle and theory.

IDEOLOGICALLY, REVOLUTIONARY IDEOLOGY IS SUPERIOR TO BOURGEOIS IDEOLOGY.

**TO CHANGE AND TRANSFORM, TO DEVELOP AND HELP OTHERS DEVELOP:
IDENTIFY THE CONTRADICTION CORRECTLY, CONSISTENTLY STRENGTHEN
THE POSITIVE SIDE, AND DO NOT COMPROMISE WITH WHAT IS WRONG**

In order to change and develop ourselves, we must first clearly identify our weaknesses and correct them. We will strengthen our good sides and kick away our bad ones.

**To Understand and Grasp Something, Examine Every Event Together With the
Events Around It, the Conditions in Which It Exists, and Its Place and Time**

Everything must be evaluated according to the conditions in which it exists. Existing problems have to be approached in this way if they are to be solved. Otherwise no problem can be resolved.

To Change the Result, Find the Real Cause and Change It

If you do not go down to the fundamental cause of a problem, you cannot solve it. You will only struggle pointlessly and exhaust yourself.

**Nothing Changes All at Once: Identify the Sides of the Internal Contradiction
Correctly, Strengthen the Positive Side and Defeat the Negative Side. Do Not
Compromise With What Is Wrong**

Yes, nothing changes all at once. To change, we have to learn. When we reach the root of a problem and arrive at the correct solution, we move one step forward. Find your problem and solve it. Confront your weaknesses, struggle and win.

**Nothing Is Permanent: Be Sensitive to What Is New and Developing; Do Not
Become Indifferent to Anything**

Indifference means becoming ordinary and decaying. For that reason we will not become ordinary. We will approach every one of our problems with the same seriousness. We will not dismiss them.

**Class Conflict Is a Natural and Inevitable Result: Do Not Deviate From Socialism,
Which Is New and Developing**

The division between oppressor and oppressed classes will continue until socialism. With socialism, this conflict will come to an end. When a system is built in which people do not suffer hunger and can live more comfortably, socialism will have reached its goal.

**The Natural and Necessary Road From Capitalism to Socialism Is Not Reform but
Revolution: Be Revolutionary**

We cannot create the world we dream of through reform.

Revolution is necessary in order to build socialism. Revolutionaries will make the revolution. Through a political-military strategy, they will unite with peasants, workers and the petty bourgeoisie and make the revolution.

Base Your Thoughts and Plans on the Concrete Situation and Scientific Knowledge

Everything must be concrete. From the smallest task we undertake to a programme of action, everything must be clear. We must act in a planned and organised way and be able to produce solutions to the problems that arise.

Act According to Scientific Reality and Concrete Conditions, Not According to Your Emotions

Emotions can lead you into error and cause mistakes. For this reason, we will not look at matters emotionally. We will understand that everything has a scientific explanation and act on that reality.

Not Abstract, Ideal Plans, but the Needs of Society's Concrete Material Conditions of Life

We will not abstract events inside our own heads. If we want to solve a problem, we will approach it materially and solve it dialectically. A programme must be developed according to each concrete reality, and we must address our problems through that solution.

There Is Nothing That Cannot Be Known, Understood or Solved

Yes, Marx showed us that problems can be solved through the simplest methods: look materially and solve dialectically. If we truly want it, no force can stand before revolutionary will and belief.

We must want it — and want it even more. Let us take back all our wealth from the hands of the enemy and create a new world.

Let our dreams be great, our anger great and our belief great.

ÜMİT DOĞAN GÖNÜL:

"To overcome our fears and anxieties and to change, it is enough to reach out our hands to our Movement."

The ideology that emerged victorious from the Second Imperialist War was socialism. Ideologically, the real historical victor of that war was socialism, and this victory produced concrete, institutional and ideological gains that the capitalist world was forced to recognise even against its wishes.

What Were These Concrete Gains?

1. The Nuremberg Trials.
2. The establishment of the United Nations.
3. The ideological condemnation of fascism.
4. The rise of anti-colonial struggles of the peoples.
5. The development of the social state and workers' rights.
6. The establishment of the concept of "peoples" in international law.

SOCIALISM IS SUPERIOR TO IMPERIALISM.

WHAT ARE THE PETTY-BOURGEOIS SIDES WITHIN US? HOW WILL WE STRUGGLE AGAINST THEM?

DORUK MINING WORKERS: “WE WANT THE RETURN FOR THE SWEAT WE SHED UNDERGROUND”

We believe that labour is the highest value. Everything about us has been shaped, and continues to be shaped, around labour and values.

Where revolutionaries exist, there is loyalty to values. There is labour devoted to individual people and to the people as a whole.

The objective basis of loyalty to the people is labour. A person who does not labour does not trust and does not inspire trust. They do not value the people and do not believe in the revolution.

Our martyrs represent the noble vein of these lands. They symbolise the possibility of victory. They are the expression of the people's hope and vitality. Our martyrs are seeds of rebellion that emerged from these people and these lands.

Loyalty to martyrs is a thousand-year tradition of the peoples of Anatolia. The people still sing laments and *deyiş* for the Babais, for Pir Sultan and for many others.

The consciousness of mutual aid, solidarity and brotherhood is a characteristic of the peoples of Anatolia — Turkish, Kurdish, Arab and Laz. From the Ottoman period to the oligarchy, the ruling classes have tried through countless provocations to set the peoples against one another. Particularly over the last twenty or thirty years, as a result of imperialism's central policies, corruption, loss of values and immorality have been poured over these people by the bucket. An outlook of selfishness — “save yourself and you are the captain” — has been imposed. But they have not succeeded.

The peoples of Anatolia have continued, and continue, to keep their values alive and develop them. The tradition of refusing to surrender to occupiers and the ideology of independence sometimes described as an “allergy to the infidel” are values rooted in these lands.

Revolutionaries represent those values, holding onto them, developing them and carrying them into the future. If Kızıldere is a manifesto of resistance, its roots also lie in Sheikh Bedreddin, in the mountains of the Aegean and in the efe tradition; by adding the values of Marxism-Leninism to them, it became a root on which the future can take hold.

Revolutionary personality means embracing one's values with this historical consciousness. Dayı says: **“Among the people, we are one of the people; we are the vanguard of the people.”** Without internalising the culture of the people, one cannot give confidence to the people. The loss of values begins at precisely that point.

Loss of values means forgetting one's values. It means becoming trapped in one's own small world, losing one's claims, becoming weaker and weaker, and forgetting the martyrs. It means the growth of the **“I”** and the loss of meaning of the **“we”**.

If this process has begun, revolutionary personality has begun to erode. This is how the loss of personality begins. For someone tightly bound to their values and ideology, such a loss cannot

occur. Therefore the way to develop revolutionary personality is to hold onto values. Here too our example is our people.

Despite every attack and policy of assimilation, the bourgeoisie has not been able to destroy the values of the people. Every attack on the people's values has ultimately struck back at those who carried it out. Even when revolutionaries emerging from among the people were executed before their eyes, the people did not accept that they were gone; they kept them alive in names, songs and daily life. It was as if Pir Sultan rose again and again to confront the oppressor. The saying "How many times have I died now, traitor? Pir Sultan dies and rises again" is one of many sayings and legends expressing this reality.

A Front member, too, must rise and resist against every attack of bourgeois culture, like Pir Sultan, like Mahir and like Dayı. This is the only method of continually developing and renewing revolutionary personality.

BEDİİ CENGİZ:

"I cannot live outside the country. What keeps me standing is being in the active struggle and among the people. I must labour, I must see the development of the people I labour for, and I must be inside the active struggle."

SABAHAT KARATAŞ:

"This metro is said to be one of the most beautiful works of art ever built in Moscow. It was constructed in the best possible way in terms of use, and Stalin also added the most refined taste of socialist humanity. We should be like that too. We should add something of ourselves to everything we do, large or small. Take this house, for example: if you do not know how it should be arranged, look at catalogues, then think about what sort of place we should live in and organise it. But labour over it and think. Approach everything you do in this way. It develops creativity in you, and that will also be reflected in your political activity. Large or small, you should do every task in the best possible way."

GÜLSÜMAN DÖNMEZ:

*"So we did not know how to live, is that it? So living should be as you say, is that it? You will eat, drink, go to the toilet... and talk all the time. Is that living?
(...) Can you understand the legacy I left to my eleven-year-old Sinan?"*

If we list them one by one, the following tendencies appear:

- arrogance;
- taking offence;
- putting oneself at the centre;
- needing approval;
- expecting praise;
- being disturbed by criticism;
- hopelessness;
- becoming enthusiastic too quickly;
- impatience;
- wanting results by the shortest route.

ALL OF THESE APPEAR FROM TIME TO TIME IN OUR PRACTICE.

SO WHAT WILL WE DO?

HOW WILL WE PREVENT THESE SIDES OF OURSELVES FROM GETTING IN THE WAY OF OUR PRACTICE?

- By educating ourselves.
- By taking decisions.
- By establishing rules.

THE COLLECTIVISM OF SOCIALISM IS SUPERIOR TO THE INDIVIDUALISM OF CAPITALISM

From a revolutionary perspective, the struggle between individualism and collectivism is not simply a struggle between two ideas.

It is:

- a struggle between capitalism and socialism;
- a struggle between exploitation and solidarity;
- a struggle between **I** and **we**;
- a struggle between individual interest and the interests of the people;
- a struggle between petty-bourgeois consciousness and revolutionary consciousness.

For this reason, real revolutionary practice is not only a matter of struggling against capitalism. It also means developing a collective consciousness by overcoming the individualism, arrogance, search for prestige, subjectivism and self-centred habits that live within the individual.

BECAUSE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION DOES NOT AIM ONLY TO CREATE A NEW SOCIETY; IT ALSO AIMS TO CREATE A NEW HUMAN BEING.

THE COLLECTIVISM OF SOCIALISM IS SUPERIOR TO THE INDIVIDUALISM OF CAPITALISM.

THE SAND BAGS AND THE MOTORCYCLE: FIND THE MAIN LINK

Juan arrives at the Mexican border on his motorcycle. Seeing two large bags on the back, a border policeman becomes suspicious and asks what is inside them.

"Only sand," Juan replies.

"Open the bags," says the policeman.

Juan opens them. The policeman searches them thoroughly but can find nothing except sand.

Not satisfied, the policeman has the sand subjected to every kind of test until midnight, but there is nothing in it except pure sand.

The policeman returns the bags to Juan and lets him cross the border.

The next day Juan again appears at the border with two large bags on the back of his motorcycle. The policeman stops him again, searches everything thoroughly, finds nothing and is forced to let Juan go. This continues for years, until the policeman retires.

One day, the retired policeman is sitting in a bar in Mexico when he sees Juan walk in and immediately grabs him.

"I know you were smuggling something for all those years. I am going mad. I could not sleep at night because of you. Please tell me what you were smuggling. You can be sure it will remain between us."

Juan smiles and answers:

"Motorcycles."

WE MUST GRASP THE MAIN LINK.

WHILE STRUGGLING WITH DETAILS, LET US NOT MISS THE ESSENCE.

What Is the Main Link?

At turning points, the main link always reveals a particular fundamental contradiction. It must be grasped in order to pull the entire chain.

Lenin is quoted as teaching:

"Find the main link in our work, grasp it and pull it in order to pull the whole chain and move forward."

(Stalin, Vol. 14)

TO FIND THE MAIN LINK, TO RESOLVE THE CONTRADICTION, IS TO ESTABLISH IDEOLOGICAL SUPERIORITY.

HOW SHOULD A FRONT CADRE BE? HOW SHOULD THEY THINK? HOW SHOULD THEY APPROACH EVENTS?

WHAT IS REALITY?

It is making a concrete analysis of the concrete situation.

HOW SHOULD WE MAKE A CONCRETE ANALYSIS OF THE CONCRETE SITUATION?

1. What happened? — What is the reality?
2. Why did it happen? — What are the material causes?
3. Who is affected? — Class analysis.
4. What are its historical roots? — Historical consciousness.
5. What are its internal contradictions? — Dialectical analysis.
6. What ideological influences are present?
7. What is the balance of forces?
8. What is the condition of the masses?
9. What is the political task? — What is the objective?
10. How is it to be implemented in practice? — What is the programme?

CONCLUSION

What is the law of dialectics?

- Everything is in motion.
- Everything changes; everything is transformed.

This is how we must think.

OUR IDEOLOGICAL SUPERIORITY IS OUR COMRADESHIP

Comradeship is the moral core of the society of the future, living in the present.

At the foundation of revolutionary morality is comradeship, because comradeship represents:

- collective human relations against individualism;
- solidarity against competition;
- social bonds against alienation;
- shared responsibility against relations based on self-interest.

Comradeship is not simply a form of organisational relationship.

It is not people walking towards the same goal using one another. It means developing and strengthening one another and carrying a common historical responsibility together.

For this reason, the essence of revolutionary morality is expressed as follows:

A person realises their own freedom by struggling for the freedom of others; comradeship is the living practice of this consciousness.

OUR IDEOLOGICAL SUPERIORITY IS OUR COMRADESHIP.

WE IS SUPERIOR TO I

I destroys.

WE builds.

I is individualistic and restrictive.

WE is historical and inclusive.

I builds life around personal success, career, relations of property, security and the happiness of the individual.

WE is a collective structure formed by people around a common future, a common consciousness and a common purpose.

For this reason, collective consciousness does not mean the erasure of the individual; it means the widening of the individual's horizon.

I looks at time by asking: "How can I be happy?"

WE experiences time historically. It carries the legacy of past generations and responsibility towards future generations.

CONCLUSION

In the conflict between **I** and **WE**, the main link is not the death of the **I**, but its **overcoming**.

WE IS SUPERIOR TO I.

WE REPRESENTS COLLECTIVISM; I REPRESENTS INDIVIDUALISM.

COLLECTIVISM IS SUPERIOR TO INDIVIDUALISM

From a revolutionary perspective, the struggle between individualism and collectivism is not merely a struggle between two ideas.

It is:

THE STRUGGLE BETWEEN CAPITALISM AND SOCIALISM.

THE STRUGGLE BETWEEN COMPETITION AND SOLIDARITY.

THE STRUGGLE BETWEEN I AND WE.

THE STRUGGLE BETWEEN PRIVATE INTEREST AND SOCIAL INTEREST.

THE STRUGGLE BETWEEN PETTY-BOURGEOIS CONSCIOUSNESS AND PROLETARIAN CONSCIOUSNESS.

For this reason, real revolutionary practice is not simply a struggle against capital. It also means developing a collective consciousness by overcoming the individualism, arrogance, search for prestige, subjectivism and self-centred habits that live within a person.

BECAUSE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION DOES NOT AIM ONLY TO CREATE A NEW SOCIETY; IT ALSO AIMS TO CREATE A NEW HUMAN BEING.

COLLECTIVISM IS SUPERIOR TO INDIVIDUALISM.

WHY CAN COLLECTIVISM AND INDIVIDUALISM NOT COEXIST?

Individualism: "Society exists for the individual."

Collectivism: "The individual develops within society."

Individualism: "Private interest is the engine of progress."

Collectivism: "Common labour and common interest are the basis of social development."

Individualism: "Success is individual."

Collectivism: "Every success is the product of the people's common labour."

Individualism: "Freedom is the breadth of individual choice."

Collectivism: "Freedom is social life freed from exploitation."

Why can collectivism and individualism not live together?

Because the ideas they defend are diametrically opposed. One is going in one direction while the other is going in the exact opposite direction.

Individualism:

- is centred on the **I**;
- produces competition;
- takes private interest as its basis.

Collectivism:

- is centred on the **we**;
- produces solidarity;
- takes the interests of the people as its basis.

For these reasons, collectivism and individualism, which arise from two different ideological roots, are in continuous conflict.

A revolutionary cannot say both "**collectivism is more important than everything**" and "**my feelings, my prestige and my interests are more important.**"

These two ideas can exist at the same time, **BUT ONE MUST BECOME DOMINANT OVER THE OTHER.**

TO REMAIN REVOLUTIONARY, COLLECTIVISM MUST OVERCOME INDIVIDUALISM.

IS THERE ANOTHER WAY?

THERE IS NOT.

WHAT ARE THE FUNDAMENTAL POLITICAL DIFFERENCES BETWEEN COLLECTIVISM AND INDIVIDUALISM?

COLLECTIVE DISCUSSION, SHARING AND PRODUCTION CREATE IDEOLOGICAL CLARITY AND POLITICAL PRODUCTIVITY

Reading, discussion and collective production remain alive only when they are experienced as a practical need. Memorised formulas eventually become inadequate before the richness of life. Reading, research, discussion and following current developments are therefore essential parts of becoming politically capable.

The aim is not activity for its own sake. Study should help people understand opposing policies, produce answers and put those answers into practice. Policies, tactics and programmes should be understood through their logic and causes rather than repeated as templates. Historical experience and publications are useful because they show how earlier problems were analysed and overcome.

Collective discussion exposes distorted, incomplete and correct views, creating the possibility of correcting errors and strengthening what is right. The absence of collective discussion, regular reporting and a continuous flow of information from below to above and above to below is a source of ideological uncertainty and political sterility.

“Developments should be learned from the organisation, not heard from here and there or from the press.”

CHILDREN IN SOCIALIST SOCIETY: EDUCATION, COLLECTIVITY AND RESPONSIBILITY

Socialist education and capitalist education are fundamentally different. Socialist child-rearing is based on collective responsibility, political education, scientific thinking and the unity of theory and practice. Nursery and pre-school provision is connected to the social participation of women, while polytechnical education unites learning with production.

Capitalist education depends on wealth: private education for those who can pay, exclusion or child labour for those who cannot. Figures from the Health and Safety Labour Watch concerning child workers who lost their lives in workplace incidents show that children's futures are a social, not merely private, responsibility.

The Moscow Declaration of the Rights of the Child states that a child is an individual rather than the property of parents, society or the state, and that society must protect the child's material conditions. Children should be regarded as active builders of socialist society.

REVOLUTIONARY THOUGHT AND PETTY-BOURGEOIS REVOLUTIONARY THOUGHT

There are two opposing ways of thinking. Revolutionary thought analyses the world through dialectical and historical materialism, recognises the determining role of relations of production, places collectivism and the interests of the people first, and directs knowledge and experience towards organising the people.

Petty-bourgeois revolutionary thought, by contrast, is centring personal satisfaction, individual success and individual explanations of inequality. It tends to search for personal solutions, has weaker class consciousness and ultimately adapts itself to the existing system.

Revolutionary ideology, rather than petty-bourgeois ideology, must direct thought and daily practice.

IDEOLOGY IS OUR REVOLUTIONARY WEAPON: FRAMING IS AN IDEOLOGICAL INTERVENTION

Ideology is a way of seeing the world and a way of life. Class, historical and organisational consciousness guide a revolutionary and prevent them from being diverted by appearances or misinformation.

“Framing” means determining the context, chain of causes and interests through which an event is explained. The decisive questions are not only “What happened?” but “Why did it happen? Who benefits? Who is harmed? Where does it fit within the system?” Every frame therefore reflects a class standpoint, an ideological position and a political objective.

Bourgeois framing

- Individualises events.
- Removes historical and class context.
- Explains structural problems through “bad management”, morality, luck or personal failure.

Marxist-Leninist revolutionary framing

- Places events within relations of production.
- Centres class struggle.
- Seeks the structural contradictions of capitalism.

The theoretical foundation is dialectical materialism, historical materialism and the analysis of surplus value and exploitation. Every Front member should learn to frame events in this way and turn correct analysis into a daily habit.

DEVIATIONS FROM REVOLUTIONARY THOUGHT: HOW DO WE RECOGNISE THEM?

deviation is the surrender of consciousness to spontaneity and lists several forms: right opportunism or revisionism, left adventurism or sectarianism, economism, bureaucratism, liberalism, liquidationism, tailism, subjectivism and conciliationism.

Ideological deviation can be recognised through several signs: changes in political language, intolerance of criticism, a growing conformist lifestyle and separation from the people. When an organisation becomes detached from the masses, it loses the ability to see reality clearly.

The answer is continuous ideological struggle and education, so that political language, practical conduct and daily life remain connected to revolutionary aims.

CONCEPTS ARE LIVING WEAPONS OF CLASS STRUGGLE

Revolutionaries, should not treat concepts as dictionary entries. Correct concepts used in their class and historical context become tools for understanding and solving problems. The bourgeoisie, by contrast, is said to distort concepts, empty them of content and use them against the people.

Bourgeoisie, proletariat, petty bourgeoisie, class consciousness, spontaneity, discipline, democratic centralism and practice are concepts that must be understood in their class and historical context. If concepts are detached from that context, they cease to guide action; if they are used correctly, they help clarify contradictions and possible solutions.

REVOLUTIONARY THOUGHT IS SUPERIOR BECAUSE IT USES A SCIENTIFIC METHOD

The superiority of revolutionary thought is not a matter of faith but of method. It rests on three linked tools: dialectical materialism, historical materialism and concrete analysis of concrete conditions.

- Dialectical materialism: understand movement, contradiction and change.
- Historical materialism: trace events to their class and material foundations.
- Concrete analysis: apply general theory to the specific circumstances of the moment.

Together, these take us beyond appearances, help us identify causes and enable us to produce solutions. Problems are not frozen facts; they are contradictions that can be analysed and transformed.

PRINCIPLES AND RULES: FREEDOM IS THE RECOGNITION OF NECESSITY

Every activity has laws, principles and rules. Traffic, medicine and biological development give simple examples: ignoring objective rules does not create freedom; it produces error. In the same way, organisational principles are accumulated knowledge drawn from historical experience, scientific reality and the needs of collective struggle.

Rules reduce repeated mistakes, preserve earlier lessons, make decisions easier, create unity and form the basis of organisational discipline. To treat them seriously requires class consciousness: once friend and opponent are clearly distinguished, principles and rules are defended as tools of collective survival.

“A Front cadre, whatever the circumstances, must obey principles and rules.”

REVOLUTIONARY PUBLICATIONS AND BOURGEOIS PUBLICATIONS

Revolutionary and bourgeois media perform different functions. Revolutionary publications should help readers understand and analyse the world, encourage questioning, motivate, give hope and offer solutions. They should support the development of popular culture and encourage people to struggle consciously for their future.

Bourgeois publications serve deception, passive acceptance, individualism and demoralisation. The distinction is therefore not simply one of content but of ideological function: one type of publication seeks to develop conscious agency, while the other reproduces the existing order.

AGITPROP AFTER THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION: ART IN THE SERVICE OF REVOLUTION

“agitprop” is the combination of agitation and propaganda and associates its first large-scale development with the Soviet Union after the October Revolution. Art, theatre, festivals and mobile propaganda were used to teach socialism and sustain revolutionary enthusiasm during civil war and reconstruction.

Soviet statistics show that cadres travelling on agitation trains, ships and bicycles visited thousands of offices and factories, organised meetings and conferences and distributed large quantities of printed material. Culture and art can therefore become organised means of mass education rather than separate specialist activities.

APOLITICISM IS A WAY OF LIFE

Apoliticism is not neutrality; it is a way of living in which social problems are treated as somebody else's concern. Daily questions of rent, wages, work, education and social life are already political. Saying "I am not interested in politics" does not place a person outside political relations.

For revolutionaries, apoliticism appears as indifference to the people's problems, failure to follow events, unwillingness to discuss politics and lack of initiative in producing solutions. The answer is conscious education, collective discussion and active participation in organisation.

WHY SOCIALISM is SCIENTIFIC

Five qualities of scientific knowledge — method, objectivity, generality, relative certainty and the ability to make predictions — show why socialism is scientific. This is connected to the study of social laws, relations of production and the historical development of class societies.

The transition from capitalism to socialism should be understood not as a moral wish but as a process rooted in material contradictions and class struggle. Scientific thinking replaces fatalism and impressionism with analysis.

WHO IS A REVOLUTIONARY CADRE? LENIN, STALIN, MAO, HO CHI MINH AND CHE

Lenin emphasises a disciplined organisation of professional revolutionaries; Stalin stresses ideologically educated and politically hardened cadres; Mao emphasises service to the people and learning through practice; Ho Chi Minh links cadre quality to modesty, discipline and closeness to the people; and Che connects cadre development with the creation of the "new human".

A cadre is not simply a person with a title. Cadres are formed through ideological education, practical responsibility, collective work, the ability to organise others and the willingness to train replacements. The principle is clear: work through committees, raise alternative people and replace "I" with "we".

HISTORY CONSCIOUSNESS, CLASS CONSCIOUSNESS AND ORGANISATIONAL CONSCIOUSNESS

these forms of consciousness is a chain. Historical consciousness means learning how classes and social struggles developed. From this comes class consciousness: understanding where one stands within relations of exploitation and which interests are opposed. Organisational consciousness is the practical form of class consciousness - the understanding that collective organisation is necessary to change those relations.

Revolutionary consciousness is not produced by isolated information. It is formed when historical knowledge, class understanding and collective responsibility are united in practice.

DISCIPLINE AND WILL: THE BACKBONE AND ENGINE OF REVOLUTIONARY CHARACTER

Discipline gives daily order, planning and a sense of responsibility; without it there is no continuity or consistent movement towards a goal. Will is the capacity not to retreat before difficulty, to act according to responsibility rather than passing emotion, and to preserve long-term objectives.

When discipline and will are joined, they produce qualities such as courage, loyalty, responsibility, endurance and determination. These are not presented as spontaneous personality traits but as

qualities formed through organised struggle. In this sense, ideology becomes a way of life because it is embodied in repeated conduct.



— KİŞİLİK DEĞİL, —

BİLGİ

— Not Personality, but Knowledge —



III. NOT A MATTER OF PERSONALITY, BUT OF KNOWLEDGE

HABITS: CHANGE THE MATERIAL CONDITIONS AND THE PRACTICE

Changing habits is not simply a matter of individual will. It is a process of transforming material conditions and internal contradictions.

From a Marxist-Leninist perspective, dialectical materialism does not treat habits as something that falls from the sky or as merely “mental” phenomena. Habits are products of the material environment in which the individual lives, the relations of production and repeated practice.

Using dialectical and materialist philosophy, we can identify four basic steps for changing habits.

1. Change the Material Basis (Materialism)

According to materialist philosophy, social and material existence shapes consciousness. You cannot change a habit merely by thinking about it or by “making a promise”. You must transform the material environment and conditions that feed the habit.

In practice: If you want to give up a bad habit, change the physical environment that sustains it. For example, if you want to reduce dependence on your phone, rather than relying solely on willpower, put the phone physically in another room. Change the material condition. If you want to acquire a new habit, keep the necessary tools - books, exercise equipment and so on - readily accessible.

2. Discover and Manage Contradictions (Dialectics)

Dialectics says that everything contains internal contradictions and that change arises from the conflict of these contradictions. There is a continuing struggle between your old habit - the thesis - and the person you want to become - the antithesis.

In practice: Recognise the contradiction between the immediate benefit provided by the old habit and its long-term harm. The process of change will not be linear; it will move in zigzags. Do not regard setbacks simply as failures. See them as a natural part of dialectical development: advance, retreat and renewed advance.

3. Turn Quantitative Accumulation Into a Qualitative Leap

One of the basic laws of dialectics is that small quantitative changes can, at a certain point, produce a major qualitative or structural leap. Water merely becomes hotter up to 99 degrees; at 100 degrees it changes into steam.

In practice: In changing habits, begin not with dramatic “revolutionary” leaps but with consistent small steps. A ten-minute action repeated every day can accumulate over time, create a breaking point - a leap - and become a permanent part of your identity, a new quality.

4. Transform Yourself Through Practice

The essence of Marxism is practice: theory becoming concrete in practice. It is not enough merely to understand the world and ourselves; we must change them. Habits are acquired through action and are also eliminated through action.

In practice: Stop limiting yourself to abstract plans. Turn the new habit into a social or individual practice. As you transform yourself, develop shared collective practices with the people around you - for example, form a study group or create mechanisms of comradely accountability. Human beings are the sum of their social relations.

In short, instead of treating the problem as a battle of willpower alone, reorganise the material conditions, consistently accumulate small steps and move into action.

COMPETITION: THE ESSENCE OF CAPITALISM; SOLIDARITY: THE ESSENCE OF SOCIALISM

Competition means rivalry and contest between people pursuing the same objective.

The opposite of competition is solidarity: collective work and production together.

If solidarity, collective work and collective production are more productive and strengthen relationships, why does competitiveness sometimes appear even in revolutionary ranks?

Competition is rooted in the social relations imposed by capitalism, which shape people through selfishness, individualism and rivalry. In capitalism, competition is a fundamental part of both economic and social relations and is continuously encouraged in social, psychological, cultural and economic life.

Within the capitalist system, a person is taught that they can exist only by being “better” than the person beside them. Competition is therefore turned into a condition of surviving and existing within the system.

To find a job, you are told that you must be “better” than the next person. You do not exist by producing together but by overtaking someone else. In education there is an examination system, and to enter a school you are expected to get ahead of other students - to defeat your rivals.

The capitalist system turns people into rivals against one another.

Competition and solidarity are presented here as expressions of the contradiction between capitalism and socialism. Competition divides people, while solidarity unites them.

Solidarity has shaped social relations throughout human history and has carried peoples forward. Solidarity is part of the essence of humanity.

Competition acquired its dominant form with the development of capitalism. Capitalism continually encourages consumption and implants the desire for something better, more plentiful, more beautiful and more expensive. “Better” and “more” constantly feed competition.

By contrast, solidarity and collectivism are basic values of socialism. Socialism places the common interests of society above the individual interests of separate persons. Solidarity carries society forward and brings peoples together economically, politically, socially, historically and culturally.

While capitalism imposes competition, we will learn and teach collectivism and solidarity and put them into practice. While capitalism produces competitive personalities, we will build personalities based on solidarity and collective work.

COMPETITION IS THE ESSENCE OF CAPITALISM;

SOLIDARITY IS THE ESSENCE OF SOCIALISM!

HOPELESSNESS: THE SOURCE OF HOPE IS KNOWLEDGE

Wrong behaviour arises from wrong thinking, and wrong thinking arises from wrong knowledge.

We overcome wrong knowledge with correct knowledge. Therefore, the first step towards changing wrong thoughts and behaviour is correct knowledge.

Hopelessness is one of these wrong ways of thinking and acting. Hopelessness leaves both the people and the revolutionary inactive. Hopelessness means surrendering to the enemy.

What is hope?

The dictionary defines it as a feeling of confidence arising from expectation - a positive expectation directed towards the future.

But is hope an empty expectation? Does hope arise by itself? Does hopelessness arise by itself?

No. A positive expectation for the future is also a claim: the claim to overthrow the present order of exploitation and oppression and to build a future of independence, democracy and socialism.

The foundation of hope is knowledge.

What do we know?

Systems of exploitation and oppression do not live for ever. Their internal contradictions undermine them. Marx explained the laws of social development; at a certain stage, relations of production begin to obstruct the development of the productive forces, and the contradiction is resolved through social transformation.

Lenin's theory of imperialism describes imperialism as monopoly capitalism and capitalism in decline. In this account, capitalism at the imperialist stage cannot free itself from crises, and the age of imperialism is also the age of proletarian revolutions.

From scientific theory we learn that capitalism is not eternal. We learn about the weaknesses of imperialism and the power of the peoples of the world. From the history of revolutions, we learn of victories won by peoples against imperialism and its collaborators.

Hope is nourished by this concrete knowledge.

Knowledge requires effort. Hope without effort and without knowledge leads to disappointment.

This applies to every area of life. To hope for peace, it is necessary to identify and remove the causes of war. Hoping for peace while leaving those causes intact becomes wishful thinking. To develop revolution, the people must be organised. Revolutionary dreams built without labour among the people will also collapse.

"One must seek to acquire new ideas carrying confidence rather than despair, struggle rather than submission to fate."

(Fundamental Principles of Philosophy, p. 32)

It is not enough to increase hope; it must be made unconquerable.

HOPE HAS TWO BEAUTIFUL CHILDREN:

ANGER AND COURAGE.

Imperialism and fascism seek to destroy hope. Nâzım Hikmet expresses this in his poem beginning, "They are the enemies of hope, my love."

Those who oppose hope are enemies of flowing water, fruit-bearing trees and developing life, while freedom walks openly through the country in its "finest clothes" - the worker's overalls - among workers, poor peasants and thinking people.

Because imperialism and fascism are hostile to the people and the homeland, they will be defeated. Revolution will prevail because it is rooted in love for the people and the homeland.

Because hope draws its strength from this source, it is unshakeable.

HOPELESSNESS IS NOT DESTINY.

PROCRASTINATION: PEOPLE CHANGE THROUGH REPETITION, NOT MERELY THROUGH DECISIONS

"Procrastination" is one of the obstacles to revolutionary work.

What is procrastination?

It means putting a task off until tomorrow or the day after. In many cases, leaving something until tomorrow means never doing it.

A postponed task may appear to save us time at that moment, but the reality is the opposite. Every postponed task produces further losses of time in a chain reaction and slows our development, both individually and collectively.

Every task postponed increases tomorrow's burden. Eventually that burden can become unmanageable. The result is demoralisation and regression in revolutionary work.

- Postponing something steals time.
- Postponing necessary work means postponing the struggle.
- One cause of procrastination is the absence of a programme and a plan.
- Another cause is avoidance of effort and laziness.
- At times, political or personal regression expresses itself in the form of procrastination.

These weaknesses complement one another like links in a chain.

If they are not corrected through a programme, small acts of postponement gradually become a working method and then a way of life. This way of thinking and living becomes an obstacle to revolutionary practice itself.

Where does procrastination come from?

Every action is the product of a way of thinking, while thought is itself shaped by material conditions of life. The habit of procrastination does not come from outer space; we acquire it from the society in which we grow up.

Lack of planning is linked to the capitalist organisation of production. In capitalist production, there is no social planning based on need; what is produced is determined by profit and the market. Socialism, by contrast, plans production according to social needs.

Under capitalism, working people labour for the interests of the ruling classes and their labour is exploited. One consequence is reluctance towards work. The education system is based on rote learning, separated from production and life and filled with pressure and prohibitions, producing another form of unwillingness.

Accordingly, the habit of procrastination is learned from the existing system. It is not a personality trait with which we are born. If it is acquired, it can also be overcome.

We must remember this principle:

A PERSON CHANGES NOT MERELY BY “DECIDING”, BUT THROUGH REPETITION.

IT IS NOT ONLY THOUGHT THAT CHANGES BEHAVIOUR; BEHAVIOUR ALSO CHANGES THOUGHT.

We should approach procrastination from this point of view.

First, analyse its causes and consequences. Then replace the habit of postponing work with the habit of planning and programming it.

This is the purpose of regular desk work: setting aside time each week to programme the work of the coming week and deciding what will be done, when and how.

Repeated consistently, this practice will gradually replace procrastination with planned and systematic work.

SELFISHNESS: AN IDEOLOGICAL PRODUCT, NOT AN INBORN TRAIT

Bourgeois ideologues argue that selfishness exists in everyone. In doing so, they seek ideologically to legitimise private property and capitalism. If selfishness is said to exist in a person's “creation” or biological nature, then thinking only of oneself is made to appear natural.

Scientific thought says the opposite: selfishness is not an inborn characteristic. Living beings develop through change and transformation.

The Dictionary of the Language Association defines selfishness as a doctrine according to which all human action is determined by self-love and morality is reduced to a form of self-preservation.

A superficial view may treat biological needs, the desire to live and the need to acquire the means of life as selfishness. But satisfying biological needs is not selfishness.

Selfishness is one of the consequences produced in human beings by private property; in this sense, it is ideological rather than biological.

Avoidance of labour stands both at the source and among the consequences of selfishness.

With the division of society into classes and the exploitation of labour, exploiting classes come to live from the work of others. The selfishness under discussion is therefore not the desire of working people to meet physical needs or secure an ordinary life.

The enormous wealth of a small number of families cannot be explained by a simple instinct for survival. Such inequality is created by systems of exploitation and the ideology that sustains them.

Over centuries, private property and exploitative social systems have formed modern individualism and selfishness. Wars for domination, mass death and the conduct of imperial powers are organised forms of ruling-class selfishness, not merely the survival instincts of individual people.

Selfishness has the following features:

- takes away our capacity to think clearly;
- prevents us from asking the right questions and finding the right answers;
- weakens the will;
- damages the spirit of unity and destroys the “we”;
- creates loneliness and magnifies fear;
- weakens the person and encourages submission to those perceived as stronger;
- spreads compromise; and
- legitimises surrender.

Selfishness entered social life together with private property.

The remedy offered is labour. We must learn to give effort and weave every task and every step with labour.

Selfishness is also a form of coarseness. Wherever selfishness dominates, we see the harshness of capitalism, which disregards human dignity and tramples social values.

If we see selfishness in ourselves or our comrades, therefore, we should not accept it as an unchangeable personality characteristic. We should struggle against it.

Likewise, when we see selfishness among the people, we should not regard it as an unbeatable instinct. We should understand it as an ideological effect of capitalism, private property and exploitation - and therefore something that can be changed through labour and collective practice.

MILITANCY: REVOLUTIONARIES ARE NOT BORN MILITANT; THEY BECOME MILITANT

Human personality is shaped by social conditions.

Militancy, too, is not an inborn characteristic. Revolutionaries are not born militant; they become militant.

How?

First we must define militancy.

For a revolutionary, militancy means participating in struggle not merely through thought or words but consciously, organisationally and actively.

A militant revolutionary does not simply believe in revolutionary ideals. They translate that belief into organised practice and work towards the aims of the party and the class struggle.

A militant revolutionary analyses the problems of the world and the country and takes part in the struggle to solve them. They analyse the problems of their own region and field, develop policies for their solution and put them into practice. They analyse problems in the organisation of the area where they work, produce policies and implement them.

In one phrase, a militant revolutionary is someone who organises the people in the ranks of revolution.

To achieve this, they seek to overcome obstacles, produce solutions and devote labour to putting those solutions into practice.

Militancy is also described as correct thinking: thinking through dialectical and historical materialism.

Militancy is not only “physical action”. It is the result of correct thinking and a theoretical understanding of revolution.

1. Militancy begins with theoretical consciousness and correct thought. A person must first understand the world through dialectical and historical materialism.
2. Dialectical and historical materialism produces the militant attitude:
 - historical materialism presents social contradictions as giving rise to class struggle and revolution;
 - theory takes the militant beyond observation and directs them towards active intervention in contradictions;
 - theory is the guide to practice: correct thought produces correct action.

The chain is:

THEORY -> CONSCIOUSNESS -> ORGANISATION -> ACTION

Dialectical materialism says contradictions must be resolved. Historical materialism identifies their social basis in objective conditions and class struggle.

By uniting theory and practice, the militant becomes an active part of a process of change.

For example, when students face a rights issue, militancy means taking concrete collective steps based on solidarity and organisation rather than merely complaining.

Militant revolutionary practice requires thinking through dialectical and historical materialism, translating thought into action and working persistently to solve the accumulated problems of the struggle.

This means setting priorities, trusting the people, believing that labour among the people can lead to organisation and action, recognising collective work as the basis of revolutionary work and taking one's place in the day-to-day labour through which the struggle is built.

MILITANCY IS NOT SIMPLY A PERSONALITY TRAIT; IT IS CONSCIOUS, ORGANISED AND ACTIVE PARTICIPATION.

BUREAUCRACY: A “DISEASE OF THE SYSTEM” THAT MUST BE OVERCOME THROUGH MILITANT MANAGEMENT

The dictionary meaning of *bureaucrat* is:

1. an official employed in a state institution; and
2. a person who attaches excessive importance to form and procedure in the conduct of public affairs.

The bureaucrat becomes separated from life, enclosed in the office and tries to conduct work from behind a desk. The bureaucrat decides in the office and expects the people to carry out the decision.

Bureaucratism, however, can appear not only in state institutions but also in parties, trade unions and revolutionary organisations.

In Marxist-Leninist analysis, bureaucratism is a condition in which the functioning of a revolutionary or socialist organisation becomes ineffective or distorted because “official procedures” and rigid formalism are placed above the fundamental objectives of the revolution.

Lenin says:

“Bureaucracy is a tumour ready to swallow the power of the proletariat.”

Its basic character is routine, hierarchical, closed to change, detached from the base and increasingly treating its own existence as an end in itself.

The damage caused by bureaucratism in revolutionary organisations includes:

1. separation from the people;
2. slowing of decision-making processes;
3. death of initiative and creativity;
4. passivity and degeneration within the organisation; and
5. in summary, bureaucracy “freezes the heart of the revolution and places its spirit in a coffin”.

The expression “bureaucratic manager” refers here to a manager whose connection with the organisation and practical work has weakened and who tries to have work carried out through orders alone.

The bureaucratic manager gives instructions and expects subordinate relations to implement them. But life does not work in this way. Many obstacles stand in the way of completing a task.

A militant manager is one who removes these obstacles through labour and makes a decision practicable. Militancy here is not merely physical. The manager is intellectually present within the practice: they do not simply decide or issue instructions; they organise the work and create the conditions in which it can actually be done.

This involves:

- making the decision;
- educating the cadres who will implement it and helping them become capable of carrying it out;
- ideological and political education;
- emotional and moral encouragement and persuasion; and
- where necessary, the manager personally taking up the poster, leaflet, brush or paint and working together with comrades and the people.

The bureaucratic manager says, “I told them, but they did not do it.”

The militant manager does not say, “I told them, but they did not do it,” because merely telling people what to do and waiting is not a revolutionary method.

Why does bureaucratic management appear in revolutionary ranks?

A manager who loses their connection with the people becomes bureaucratized. Bureaucratism is a class-related illness created by exploitative systems and an ideological problem carried into revolutionary organisations from capitalism.

Conclusion: Bureaucratism is a “disease of the system”; if it is not treated, it suffocates revolutionary work.

The way to overcome bureaucratism is:

- enter the life of the people;
- take part directly in revolutionary work;
- do not avoid labour;
- do not avoid struggling with obstacles; and
- replace bureaucratic management with militant management.

Militancy is not merely wanting struggle. It is conscious, organised and active participation. It means moving beyond ideas into organised, disciplined and self-sacrificing practice, and learning to think through dialectical and historical materialism.

SECTARIANISM: NOT A PERSONALITY TRAIT, BUT AN IDEOLOGICAL ATTITUDE

The dictionary defines *sectarian* and *sectarianism* as being rigid and intolerant towards the political, religious or other ideas and beliefs of others.

Within revolutionary struggle, sectarianism can appear in forms such as:

1. failing to think in relation to changing concrete conditions;
2. sharply criticising others while being unable to accept criticism oneself, or crushing others;
3. closing down discussion and remaining closed to opposing views;
4. forgetting one's class position and beginning to look down on the people;
5. narrow practicalism - closing oneself to everything beyond one's own experience;
6. resistance to change;
7. liking no one, treating one's own thought as absolutely correct and substituting subjective opinions for reality;
8. becoming trapped in petty-bourgeois elitism and relating only to people and events selected according to personal preference;
9. excessive conservatism;
10. arrogance - considering oneself superior to others, especially to the people; and
11. separating oneself from the people and turning inward, thereby distancing action and organisation from the people.

Political consequences

Sectarianism does not develop revolutionary struggle; it creates barriers before it.

Sectarians do not organise. They continually find excuses. By separating themselves from a class basis and becoming alienated from the people, they frequently fall into demoralisation and disappointment.

Sharpness without a popular basis can turn into pessimism, lack of belief and lack of self-confidence, eventually producing statements such as "Nothing can be done with these people."

Why, if these are the consequences, does a person become sectarian?

Sectarianism is not an inborn personality trait. It is an ideological and class-conditioned form of behaviour. Its source is the "I" mentality of petty-bourgeois ideology.

The petty bourgeoisie admires the bourgeoisie rather than the people. It lacks confidence in the people and takes bourgeois values as its reference point. This shapes feelings, reactions and behaviour.

A revolutionary, cannot approach the people as the bourgeoisie does. A revolutionary cannot humiliate or crush the people or comrades.

Solution

To overcome sectarianism, an expression of selfish individualism, our basic tools are:

IDEOLOGICAL EDUCATION, CLASS CONSCIOUSNESS AND CLASS ANTAGONISM.

Petty-bourgeois ideology is to be overcome through Marxist-Leninist ideology. Admiration for bourgeois life is to be overcome through a clearer understanding of class interests and class conflict.

We must know who our class friends and class opponents are.

Turning our faces towards the people, we will become **STUDENTS, NOT TEACHERS.**

We will replace arrogance with modesty.

Being among the people means being among the strongest educators. Through persistent revolutionary work among the people, persistent efforts to organise them and the experience of collective struggle, the people themselves educate the revolutionary, wear down sectarian tendencies and develop class consciousness.

The people teach us to think not as **I**, but as **WE**.

SECTARIANISM IS NOT A PERSONALITY TRAIT; IT IS AN IDEOLOGICAL ATTITUDE.

APOLITICISM: NOT PERSONAL, BUT A CLASS POSITION

What is apoliticism?

Apoliticism means indifference towards politics, lack of interest in politics or refraining from active political participation.

Depoliticisation was applied as a deliberate policy, particularly after the military coup of 12 September. Young people and the broader population were depoliticised. Political involvement was disparaged, while apoliticism was elevated. Interest in politics was made to appear foolish.

"I am not interested in politics" became a statement of pride and a language for avoiding responsibility and struggle.

This is a form of unconsciousness. In reality, no one exists completely outside politics. Everyone adopts a political position through their practice. Those whose conduct supports bourgeois interests are acting within bourgeois politics; those who act for popular interests adopt a political position on the side of the people.

What does a person from the people really say when they say, "I am not interested in politics"?

They are saying that exploitation and hunger do not concern them; repression and prohibitions do not concern them; torture and isolation prisons do not concern them; injustice in the courts does not concern them; repression of political and cultural organisations does not concern them; the transfer of mines to international monopolies does not concern them; killings in Palestine do not

concern them; foreign policy and wars do not concern them; and injustice, exploitation, hunger and poverty do not concern them.

Who benefits when people do not take an interest in these issues, do not react to them and do not organise?

The beneficiaries are those who hold economic and political power. Not opposing the existing order means submitting to the political order from which those groups benefit.

Apoliticism, therefore, is not treated as a personality characteristic. Depoliticisation is a policy of ruling systems, and apoliticism as one of its results.

Can apoliticism appear in revolutionary ranks?

Yes, though not necessarily in the same form as among the wider population.

Within revolutionary ranks, apoliticism appears as insensitivity and lack of interest. A person may choose revolutionary politics yet still become affected by the depoliticising pressures of the existing system.

A revolutionary who does not concern themselves with the problems of the people, does not produce solutions and does not devote labour to the people is becoming apolitical.

The practical signs are:

- not following developments in the world;
- not reading political columnists;
- not following the news;
- not reading the movement's magazine; and
- not maintaining regular study, such as reading ten pages of a book each day.

Solution

The first step is to reject and criticise apoliticism.

The socialist critique rests on four points:

1. apoliticism helps preserve the status quo and ruling class;
2. apoliticism is a sign of “false consciousness”;
3. politics is part of everyday life; and
4. apoliticism weakens organised struggle.

The second step concerns what socialists should do against apoliticism:

1. consciousness-raising and agitation;
2. organisation; and
3. creating alternatives.

Socialist movements should treat apoliticism not simply as a “crime” but as a result of alienation, the influence of bourgeois media and cultural industries, and disappointment produced by earlier failures.

The methods proposed are:

1. Consciousness-raising and agitation: educate people in factories, neighbourhoods and schools through the concrete problems of daily life.

2. Organisation: organise apparently apolitical people around their concrete occupational, local and personal problems so they experience the power of collective action.
3. Creating alternatives: counter one-sided dominant media through alternative media, publications and cultural activity.

Conclusion

From a socialist perspective, apoliticism is less a neutral absence of politics than a dangerous form of passivity produced by ruling-class ideology and serving its continuation.

Liberation requires a mass of people equipped with class consciousness, organised and actively intervening in politics.

To someone who says, "I am not interested in politics", it replies that the price of bread, rent, wages and working hours are themselves political questions:

| *"You are already inside politics; you are simply not aware of which side you stand on."*

TAKING OWNERSHIP: NOT A PERSONALITY TRAIT, BUT CONSCIOUSNESS

Taking ownership - standing by what is ours - is a class attitude rather than an individual characteristic.

Arrests of comrades and raids on institutions raise the question: what should have been done?

Some comrades, immediately went to the raided institutions, reorganised them and ensured that the work continued. One of the feelings moving them to act was the sense of ownership and responsibility.

To take ownership means looking at life through the division between the people and those who attack them, and consciously placing oneself on the side of the people.

The institutions raided are organisations of the people, while the arrested comrades take a leading role in those organisations. Responding to an attack by taking the necessary position is therefore an expression of class consciousness.

Taking ownership means looking clearly at the division between the people and their opponents, between the existing order and revolution.

Gürkan Türkoğlu is one of our martyrs. Comrades in his neighbourhood and in the areas where they worked organised actions and used agitation and propaganda materials to tell people about him.

Why?

Because: "Gürkan is ours. Gürkan is a martyr of our struggle."

Taking ownership means being able to say **"ours"**.

It is one of the strongest feelings of revolutionary commitment.

As revolutionaries, we take ownership of everything that is ours:

- our ideology;
- our principles and rules;
- our prisoners; and
- our comrades.

To take ownership means protecting them as carefully as our own eyes and standing against anything that might harm them.

Comradeship is a relationship built within struggle: by facing difficulties together, sharing and paying the costs of the struggle together, giving labour together and sharing everything within collective work.

To stand by a comrade is to stand by the struggle.

To stand by a comrade is to stand by the organisation.

To stand by our institutions is to stand by both the struggle and the organisation.

A strong sense of responsibility moves us into action. Even if we are inexperienced or inadequate, taking ownership can make us think, activate collectivism, devote labour, make decisions and solve problems.

Conversely, insufficient ownership is not treated as a fixed personality trait. It is interpreted as a weakness in class consciousness and in the ability to see social divisions clearly.

The solution, therefore, is to examine the strength of our class consciousness and our commitment to the people; to ask how far we have given ourselves to the revolution and how far we see the revolution, organisation and comrades as part of ourselves - and ourselves as part of them.

The deficiency is to be found there and corrected.

TAKING OWNERSHIP IS NOT A PERSONALITY TRAIT; IT IS CONSCIOUSNESS.

CONFESSION, COLLABORATION AND BETRAYAL: THE RESULT OF ALIENATION FROM ONESELF AND ONE'S CLASS

Confession, collaboration and betrayal are realities arising within class struggle. Why do they occur? What is their source?

Berk Ercan betrayed the movement; Mustafa Koçak rejected betrayal.

Repressive systems seek informers in order to legitimise attacks on the people. The informer is a seed of betrayal and distrust planted within popular ranks.

Confession and collaboration are attacks not only on other people but on one's own class position and one's own existence.

Why?

A person who betrays the people or their class first undermines the social ground on which their own existence rests. Social classes do not arise according to personal preference; they are formed by people's place in production and their share of its products.

Someone from a working-class or popular background does not become a member of the bourgeoisie merely by acting as an informer. Betrayal is an extreme form of alienation: the person attempts to destroy the social class to which they materially belong.

The main causes of this alienation are listed as:

- lack of consciousness;
- individualism;
- instinctive fear and a desire for individual survival;

- admiration for bourgeois ideology and bourgeois life;
- individualism and fear that obscure class divisions;
- undeveloped or damaged class consciousness; and
- absence of class antagonism.

What Are Class Consciousness and Class Antagonism?

Class consciousness means recognising that society is divided into classes and that a working person is part of the labouring classes; recognising that their interests conflict fundamentally with those of an exploiting class; understanding that liberation requires collective struggle by their class; and recognising the necessity of taking a side in that struggle.

Class antagonism is the ability to identify the opposing class and maintain a collective discipline of resistance towards it.

A person with developed class consciousness understands betrayal as a form of both social and individual self-destruction.

How Are Class Consciousness and Class Antagonism Built?

They do not arise spontaneously; they must be built step by step.

The solution is:

- organising the people, because it understands class antagonism as a collective response rather than merely an individual emotion;
- developing consciousness through active participation in class struggle;
- learning history, because the conflict is a struggle between social systems rather than a matter of individual personalities; and
- drawing strength from the arrogance of oppressors, the suffering of comrades and hope for the future.

This is a means of creating a strong consciousness able to withstand pressure.

Class consciousness means recognising that the existence of the individual is tied to the existence of their class and their people.

CONFESSION AND COLLABORATION ARE NOT SIMPLY PERSONAL WEAKNESSES; THEY ARE THE OUTCOME OF ALIENATION FROM ONESELF AND ONE'S CLASS REACHING THE POINT OF BETRAYAL.

TORTURE is A SYSTEM, NOT AS THE PERSONAL SADISM OF INDIVIDUAL OFFICERS

Torture is a political method, not an inborn character trait of individual police officers. Explanations such as “undisciplined officers”, “lack of training” or an “isolated incident” conceal the organised character of repression.

Many people have been tortured or martyred in custody, and torture is used both against revolutionaries and more broadly to intimidate the population. Torturers are not born with a fixed “torturer personality”; institutions, training, ideology and the political system shape behaviour.

POPULISM: NOT A PERSONALITY DISEASE

Personality is not fixed at birth but is formed through information, repeated behaviour and social conditions. Populism is therefore a learned expression of individualist bourgeois ideology rather than an unchangeable character defect.

The populist revolutionary seeks visibility, talks more than they work, avoids collective labour, does not train others, resists criticism and self-criticism, places “I” before “we” and wants recognition without assuming the labour required by responsibility.

The opposite of populism is modesty. Because habits are formed through repetition, populism is overcome not only by deciding to change but by repeatedly practising modest conduct: listening, working collectively, giving credit to others, accepting criticism and taking responsibility without seeking personal prominence.

LAZINESS IS NOT A PERSONALITY TRAIT; IT IS A LEARNED HABIT

Laziness is not an inborn quality. Exploitative classes live from the labour of others, while working people are compelled to produce. Within revolutionary ranks, habits of avoiding labour are ideological influences carried from bourgeois or petty-bourgeois life.

To overcome laziness, first stop treating it as an identity: “I am lazy” turns a changeable habit into a permanent label. The class reason for changing it is the scale of the work required to transform society; the ideological reason is that parasitism contradicts a revolutionary ethic of labour.

The practical method is repeated work organised through programme and discipline. People change themselves through repetition, and behaviour also changes thought.

HABITS ARE STRONGER THAN A SINGLE DECISION: ORGANISE WHAT COMES AFTER THE DECISION

A revolutionary may decide to stop postponing, to become more organised or to work harder, yet soon repeat the same behaviour. The lesson should not immediately be “I am a bad revolutionary” or “I have no will”. Habits built by years of repetition are stronger than a single decision.

A decision is a beginning. What follows has to be organised. To replace an old habit, the desired conduct must be repeated regularly until it becomes the new habit. This argument is connected to the series' wider thesis that personality is socially formed and therefore can be changed.

“A person changes not merely by decision, but through repetitions. It is not only thought that changes behaviour; behaviour also changes thought.”

GOSSIP IS LEARNED; IT BECOMES A HABIT

Gossip is speaking behind someone's back in a way that lowers them in the eyes of comrades or the people. It is unjust because the person being discussed cannot defend themselves, cowardly because the issue is not raised openly, and damaging because it deepens mistrust rather than solving a problem.

Nobody is born a gossip. Feudal and capitalist social relations teach people to use gossip as a form of self-defence, competition or indirect conflict. It becomes habitual through the culture in which people grow up.

The alternative is criticism and self-criticism: raise a criticism with the person concerned or through the appropriate organisational mechanism; think before interpreting events; focus on the objective rather than idle talk; build comradely relations; and use education instead of gossip.

PERSONALITY IS FORMED THROUGH KNOWLEDGE, HABITS AND SOCIAL RELATIONS

Labels such as angry, lazy, selfish, indifferent, irresponsible or immoral must not be treated as fixed identities. Personality is the totality of habits and forms of behaviour acquired within social life.

People raised in similar environments often develop similar outlooks and habits, while later experiences and different social surroundings can produce divergence. Personality is therefore historical and changeable. To transform a trait, one must identify the knowledge, conditions and repeated behaviour that reproduce it and replace them with new knowledge and practice.

SUPERFICIALITY IS THE REFUSAL TO THINK DEEPLY

Superficiality means stopping at the first appearance of an event and mistaking partial information for knowledge. In a world of rapidly consumed information, a person can collect fragments and still lack an analysis of causes, contradictions and processes.

A superficial revolutionary learns quickly and forgets quickly, speaks much and produces little, makes rapid judgements, treats first impressions as analysis, reduces complex processes to one cause and uses theory as a label rather than an explanatory tool. Because the contradiction has not been correctly identified, conclusions change constantly.

How to struggle against superficiality

- Think before speaking.
- Ask: what is the concrete situation, what is the contradiction and what is its historical meaning?
- No observation, no analysis: use examples, evidence and concrete experience.
- Write as well as read; writing forces ideas to become clearer.
- Ask "why?" repeatedly until the underlying cause is reached.
- Read for understanding, return to what is unclear and admit when something is not understood.

Nobody can know everything, but everyone can begin by learning one subject in depth.

INSTABILITY: DISCONTINUITY IN CONSCIOUSNESS AND A BREAK IN WILL

Instability is being “fire today and ash tomorrow”. It is not treated simply as indecision but as a break in the unity of consciousness, will and action. A person may know what is right but fail to act consistently according to that knowledge.

Instability affects more than the individual: unfinished tasks and unpredictable behaviour weaken the collective and can spread hesitation to others. We therefore need practical disciplines for building continuity.

- Finish what is started; do not abandon even a small task halfway.
- Establish a minimum daily continuity, even if the amount of work is small.
- Do the most difficult task first.
- When boredom appears, continue for a little longer rather than stopping immediately.
- Set a small number of concrete daily tasks and complete them.

Stability is built through knowledge, practice, discipline and above all continuity.

AMBITION: TO ADVANCE THE ORGANISATION

Ambition means setting demanding revolutionary objectives and accepting responsibility for them. Lack of ambition means setting only small goals, producing excuses, avoiding risk and responsibility, and carrying too little of the collective burden.

The damage is said to appear at three levels: the individual stops developing; the organisation's work falls onto a small number of cadres and becomes disorganised; and trust among comrades weakens as criticism and self-criticism lose their function.

A concrete claim should therefore contain a clear objective, a specific task, a time limit and accountability for the result. An ambitious cadre advances the organisation; one who does not advance it becomes ordinary.

СЕРП И МОЛОТ

★ Front Member ★



IV. FRONT MEMBER (CEPHELI): PRACTICAL AND ORGANISATIONAL QUESTIONS

EVERY FRONT MEMBER MUST ORGANISE A REPLACEMENT

A REPLACEMENT IS PREPARATION FOR THE STRUGGLE AND THE CONTINUITY OF THE STRUGGLE

The revolutionary struggle continues without interruption. Where fascism is continuous, resistance is also continuous, and one force can be defeated only by a more advanced force.

To increase our strength, we must organise our alternative - our replacement - and ensure continuity.

Every Front member must organise someone capable of taking their place. Whoever is nearest to us, whether more or less advanced, should be prepared to assume responsibility.

We should teach them what we know. We should make them capable of doing what we do. This means taking responsibility both for their education and for organising daily practice together.

Organising life and carrying out work together accelerates ideological development.

ORGANISING OUR REPLACEMENT MEANS ORGANISING THE FUTURE.

ORGANISING OUR REPLACEMENT MEANS EXPANDING OUR OWN OBJECTIVES.

The needs of the struggle continually increase. Those who advance should be able to leave their previous place to those coming behind them so that the future of the organisation can be built.

Our future is revolution. Organising our replacement means organising the revolution.

A replacement is "someone or something kept in reserve to be used when necessary". The need here is to develop the cadres of the revolution. This is a duty and responsibility of every Front member.

Every ordinary person among the people is a potential sympathiser; every sympathiser is a potential cadre; every cadre is a potential manager.

Therefore, we will not say "there is nobody". We will begin with whoever is closest to us.

Our objective is to teach our alternative what we know so that they become capable of carrying out the work and thinking through the responsibilities themselves.

The principle of socialist education is stated as:

"THOSE WHO KNOW OWE A DEBT TO THOSE WHO DO NOT. IF YOU KNOW, TEACH; IF YOU DO NOT KNOW, LEARN."

Organising a replacement is not simply an organisational procedure; it is a fundamental responsibility of a Front member.

SEARCH - YOU WILL DEFINITELY FIND!

Stalin says that if party cadres could be educated ideologically and strengthened politically from top to bottom, becoming mature Leninists and Marxists capable of finding their way in national and

international situations and governing without serious mistakes, most of the task would already be accomplished.

It then cites another passage in which Stalin recommends that party managers, from cell secretaries upwards, select and prepare comrades genuinely capable of replacing them. To the objection that such people cannot be found, the response is:

"That is not true, comrades. We have tens of thousands of talented and capable people. We need only recognise them and promote them in time so that they do not begin to stagnate by remaining too long in the same place. SEARCH AND YOU WILL CERTAINLY FIND."

Stalin proposed two; we say at least one. Let us train one person to take our place.

We will not say "there are no people". We will look around us, find people and educate them.

What Is To Be Done?

1. Identify the person who can become our replacement.
2. Do not look unnecessarily far away; those who search will find.
3. Educate that person. Our aim is to make them capable of doing what we know and what we do.
4. Make them capable of carrying out the work independently when we are not there.

THE FIGHTER IS SHAPED ACCORDING TO THE NEEDS OF THE STRUGGLE

Victor Serge's Notes for Militants says:

"The great Russian Bolsheviks generally regarded themselves as 'professional revolutionaries'. This description applies to all genuine workers for social change. Professional revolutionaries exclude dilettantism, looseness and amateurism from revolutionary activity. Nor do they understand revolution as a sport or a pose.

Revolutionary activity requires the militant to be deeply involved in the world of labour. There is no room there for posing, trivial entertainment or personal satisfaction gained merely by talking about 'progressive' ideas. The profession of revolution occupies a large part of the lives of those who work for it. They know that revolutionary work is as serious as the struggle for bread, and that the future of social life and of human beings depends upon it."

A fighter is a professional revolutionary conscious of the work and mission being carried out.

Because the future of the people is connected with the struggle, how the fighter acts and how they shape themselves according to changing conditions is decisive.

The opponent also changes methods and renews itself. Therefore, the fighter must recognise changing conditions, analyse developments and renew methods in accordance with new circumstances and the needs arising from them.

If a fighter does not develop according to changing conditions, stagnation begins. Old working methods lose their effectiveness. Instead of directing the struggle, the fighter is dragged behind developments shaped by the opponent.

A person who does not respond to the needs of the struggle cannot meet organisational needs. They risk limiting themselves to a few familiar tasks and turning revolutionary activity into personal satisfaction. Such stagnation destroys dynamism and militancy and creates bureaucratic, ordinary ways of working.

The fighter must therefore be shaped by changing needs. Our own history gives examples of people who, despite limitations or assignments in one field, acted where the struggle required them.

The struggle is compared to a structure under construction. If mortar is required, the fighter becomes mortar; if a brick is required, the fighter becomes a brick. The metaphor expresses the idea that whatever task exists, the fighter should develop the ability and willingness to carry it out.

Conditions change. The opponent develops new technology, surveillance and methods of gathering information. The revolutionary must therefore develop new methods in response.

The fighter shaped in this way is quick to act and think, continually analyses conditions and seeks to remain one step ahead.

At every stage the needs may change. The fighter required today should know how to think politically, recognise a need without waiting passively for orders and keep a mind that continually thinks and produces.

They should see the whole struggle and act with responsibility as though the whole process were also their concern.

The fighter of today must make rapid and correct decisions, overcome hesitation and apply decisions with courage. Errors should not simply be excused through inexperience; people should learn rapidly and become skilled and creative.

A fighter does not remain trapped in old methods. When an old method no longer works, they do not continue it mechanically. They produce new forms capable of developing the work.

Conclusion

A fighter possesses the political intelligence to recognise the needs of the struggle and a creative mind that continually thinks.

The fighter is one who can help direct the struggle, respond to its needs and change rapidly in accordance with them.

METE NEZİHİ ALTINAY:

"No! There are many young fighters here. If I accept resting because of such minor wounds, tomorrow a young fighter will take to bed with a headache. It is not important. These pains will not stop me; I will walk."

ERHAN YILMAZ:

"We should become the staff officers of the struggle. You should aim - we should aim - not merely to be a soldier, or only a fighter or guerrilla, but to become a commander. If we build thick walls between being a fighter and becoming a commander, we are also killing our revolutionism. Without building walls, we should think without limits and aim for great responsibilities."

BECOMING A REVOLUTIONARY IS A WHOLE

Our people have a saying: **"Whatever is in the dervish's mind is also on his tongue."** It expresses the idea that practice reflects thought.

Every positive and negative practice is, in one way or another, a reflection of what we think.

Therefore every revolutionary should ask:

Is my heart and consciousness filled with revolutionary commitment?

Are my practice and my thoughts in harmony?

The answers depend directly on how deeply revolutionary values have been internalised.

Revolutionary life is a whole. Our practice is the expression in life of our heart and consciousness.

A person whose mind is continually occupied by other matters cannot fully devote themselves to the work before them. They make frequent mistakes, fail to complete tasks or progress very slowly.

What fills the mind of a revolutionary in this condition? How is their time spent?

these may be desires inherited from the existing system - residues of bourgeois ideology.

For example, does a person attach excessive importance to clothing, hair or personal appearance? Do they seek attention, difference or personal satisfaction through such things?

We are not against cleanliness or care. We criticise exaggeration and the filling of one's inner world with these concerns rather than substance.

Those who cannot make revolutionary practice a way of life, may retain longings for the established order: a comfortable home, a regular and risk-free life, family or romantic comfort, a life in which nobody interferes or challenges them, or admiration for petty-bourgeois ways of thinking and behaving.

There may also be an admiration for speaking, writing and behaving in an unorganised way associated with such lifestyles.

Longing for an ordinary life and evaluating events only through an ordinary individual viewpoint pull a person away from revolutionary commitment.

Leaving matters to chance, bohemian habits, advising others while exempting oneself, clever manoeuvring and calculating behaviour can create permanent unease in the person and in those around them, preventing healthy and productive collective work.

People who succeed in integrating their thought and their life become stronger. Revolutionary values can be raised by people who reach this unity.

For Marxist-Leninists, theory detached from life has no value. Marx and Engels write in *The German Ideology*:

“*The real intellectual wealth of the individual depends entirely on the wealth of their real relations.*”

No quality disconnected from life and from revolutionary struggle can therefore be treated as a true virtue. Such qualities may give only personal satisfaction.

We speak of “working with love” and recall Yunus Emre's idea that a person who feels love deeply rises to great heights.

Do we feel such enthusiasm in our struggle?

Two factors make it possible to work with love: the heart and consciousness.

When we see, hear and experience suffering, the heart responds. A barefoot or hungry child causes sorrow. People buried under rubble because precautions were not taken cause pain. Poverty, misery and injustice create sadness and anger.

We feel violence against people in poor neighbourhoods as though it were directed against our own bodies and experience profound emotions in response to our martyred comrades.

But there are also positive emotions: the beauty of sharing and friendship among the people, selfless comradeship and the principle **“all for one and one for all”**.

These feelings help move people into action and form part of the emotional basis of revolutionary commitment.

Are feelings alone enough to revolutionise life as a whole?

No.

Political knowledge is also required to understand causes: the causes of poverty and injustice, imperialism, the mechanisms of dependent economies and the social forces that sustain the existing order.

We must learn socialism, free ourselves from intuition, prejudice and unscientific thought and aim to act according to scientific knowledge.

Marxism-Leninism must become concrete in life. Instead of stumbling through darkness, we should move in the light of knowledge.

When knowledge and conscious will bring heart and mind into harmony, there is no reason not to become more enthusiastic and productive.

The aim should therefore be to overcome contradictions between heart, consciousness and practice.

NURETTİN GÜLER:

| *“A revolutionary human being is not helpless. Our weapon is our mind and our heart.”*

A FRONT MEMBER MUST THINK POLITICALLY

1. A Front Member Who Thinks Politically

Moves:

- from appearance to essence;
- from result to cause;
- from part to whole; and
- from today to history.

2. A Front Member Who Thinks Politically

- sees the process, not merely the isolated event;
- investigates the cause, not merely the result; and
- examines relationships, not merely individuals.

3. A Front Member Who Thinks Politically

- examines social relations rather than reducing everything to the individual;
- does not stop at reacting, but consciously searches for direction; and
- understands historical movement rather than looking only at today.

4. A Front Member Who Thinks Politically

We need building and organising People's Committees, People's Assemblies and Committees of Struggle and Defence Against Fascism.

Such committees are important forms through which popular organisation can be developed and people can be brought together under existing conditions.

5. A Front Member Who Thinks Politically

In the area where they work, they must ask and answer questions such as:

What must we do? What is needed? With which people can we solve these problems? How will we do it? Which tools will we use?

Education policy should then be approached through a realistic programme.

We need developing cadres able to take political ideas to the masses, organise and carry out struggle.

Everywhere can be a place of education. No power or rule should prevent or indefinitely postpone education.

6. A Front Member Who Thinks Politically

The programme of **REVOLUTIONARY PEOPLE'S POWER AND SOCIALISM** should be explained to the people.

Struggle will develop through popular participation and under the leadership of Party and Front cadres emerging from among the people.

Cadre development and popular education - making the socialist alternative, socialist way of life and culture understandable to the masses - are major barriers to bourgeois ideology.

Party and people's schools should be used as broadly as possible wherever the masses are present, with the aim of educating children, women, young people, older people and people of every belief and nationality.

DISCIPLINE IS THE LAW OF STRUGGLE

A Front cadre should be an example, a guide and a vanguard wherever they are. The foundation of this is discipline.

Discipline means the careful observance by a community of written and unwritten rules and the maintenance of strict order.

It means organising an action plan or organisational programme through principles and rules closely connected to the strategic objective.

Discipline is the mortar of organisation, and discipline itself as inseparably connected with ideology.

Dayi says:

"Discipline comes through conscious will. Above all, everyone must show that will themselves. We cannot supervise twenty-four hours of a person's life. Everyone has to supervise themselves. This is possible through conscious will."

Militancy means achieving a result from a task. Achieving a result requires using will. Discipline is therefore described as one of our closest companions.

To complete a task on time, discipline is necessary. In concrete terms, discipline means following the programme step by step except where unforeseen circumstances genuinely intervene.

One task must be completed before the next can be taken up.

A clock must work continuously and regularly to show the correct time without losing even a second. In the same way, revolutionary work in a campaign, task or area must proceed regularly and systematically, without unnecessary postponement or loosening, if it is to produce a result.

Discipline is compared to a road. Those who stay on it can reach tomorrow; those who leave it must overcome obstacles they themselves have created.

Che Guevara says:

"Morale and discipline, whatever its composition, are the foundation on which the strength of an army rests."

Lenin says that victory depends not merely on resources or numbers but on centralisation, discipline and the ability to act as one.

Discipline opens the road to victory.

It is a thick line between bourgeois culture and revolutionary culture, and as one of the basic tools for continuity and success.

To achieve results from our activities and answer the needs of the struggle, we must be planned, programmed and disciplined.

When discipline is applied, morale, belief, enthusiasm and productivity follow.

Discipline is one of the foundation stones of class struggle and therefore indispensable to revolutionary life.

It begins with understanding the political meaning and expected result of the work to be done.

Discipline consists of written and unwritten principles and rules.

LET DISCIPLINE BE OUR COMRADE AND OUR WILL.

FIFTEEN QUESTIONS: HOW DO WE MAKE A CONCRETE ANALYSIS OF THE CONCRETE SITUATION?

1. What happened?
2. Why did it happen?
3. What is its material basis?
4. Which classes are affected?
5. Who gains and who loses?
6. What are its historical roots?
7. What are its internal contradictions?
8. Which ideological influences are present?
9. What is the level of consciousness of the masses?
10. Which forces confront one another?

11. Which tendency is gaining strength?
12. In what direction could it develop in the future?
13. What is our task?
14. With which means should we act?
15. Which mistakes must be avoided?

The ability to make a concrete analysis of a concrete situation is one of the most important questions for a revolutionary.

If the first button of a shirt is fastened incorrectly, all the remaining buttons will also be wrong.

Correct analysis of the concrete situation enables us to:

- make correct evaluations;
- take correct decisions;
- determine correct policies; and
- act justly.

If we fail to make a concrete analysis of the concrete situation, we become subjective, make mistakes and experience ideological deviations.

We can begin the concrete analysis of any situation by asking the questions above.

CLASS LOVE AND CLASS ANTAGONISM: “WE WILL DESTROY WITH ANGER AND BUILD WITH LOVE”

Four workers in Osmaniye climbed a high-voltage pylon after saying that they had not received their wages for about a month. They said they had been expelled from the hotel where they were staying and had gone without food for a day.

One worker reportedly said that they were on the electricity pylon because they had worked for a month without receiving what they were owed, their employer had not supported them, they had been expelled from their accommodation and had no food.

This example brings us to the relationship between love and anger.

Love and antagonism, are connected. If one loves the people, one will also oppose those who exploit or harm them. The depth of that opposition is related to the depth of one's solidarity with the people.

Love is defined through loyalty, sacrifice, commitment, friendship and sharing. Love of the people is called the yeast of the struggle.

In a class society, it is impossible to speak of loving everyone without distinction, because society contains exploiters and exploited, oppressors and oppressed.

Mao says that universal human love becomes possible only when antagonistic classes have disappeared.

Love of the people must be joined to an enduring determination to hold oppressors responsible. We reject calls to “forget” injustice when these calls would erase accountability.

Che Guevara says:

| *“Every person who is truly human should feel on their own cheek the blow struck against another.”*

Deeply feeling the suffering of others produces anger as well as compassion. This is not personal revenge but a class-based response to oppression.

This idea is distinct from personal hatred or private vengeance. Emotions without a social or class basis do not advance collective struggle.

When we discuss historical prison deaths and our martyrs, memory becomes an obligation to seek accountability.

Bourgeois society acts according to its class identity; revolutionaries must likewise act according to theirs and direct popular anger into organisation.

The closing slogan is:

WE ARE THE PEOPLE; WE WILL WIN.

GÜLNIHAL YILMAZ:

"I want this energy inside me to remain with me until I am martyred. An enthusiasm that remains even when my physical strength is exhausted... Its source is anger and class antagonism."

Ten Formulations of Class Antagonism

In summary:

1. Class antagonism is "the constitution of a revolutionary".
2. It means refusing reconciliation with an exploitative order.
3. It is a threshold through which a revolutionary becomes a fighter.
4. It is a conscious political antagonism.
5. In the language of historical materialism, it is the reflection in consciousness of the contradiction between capital and labour.
6. It is not only opposition but also the construction of a new morality.
7. It is an honourable commitment to oneself and one's class.
8. It is antagonism towards exploitation.
9. It means rejecting bourgeois values and building proletarian culture.
10. In moments of exhaustion and hopelessness, it is a force of resistance that prevents surrender.

Main Links

1. Class antagonism is neither created magically from nothing nor a plant that grows by itself. It is a process of constructing character and world-view through conscious intervention, discipline and continual confrontation with one's weaknesses.
2. It is a force and energy of transformation.
3. It means building one's own will.
4. It is the construction of consciousness - not only a destructive force but also a constructive will.
5. Its growth is sustained above all by confidence that something better can be built than what is being opposed.

CLASS ANTAGONISM IS THE WILL TO CONTINUALLY STRUGGLE AGAINST THE “INNER ENEMY” OF OLD IDEAS AND HABITS.

A FRONT CADRE: HOW WILL WE MAKE CORRECT DECISIONS?

We should not be cadres who merely play a limited role at a particular place and time. We should be cadres who show a road, open a road and build a road.

Those who impose limits on themselves, resist becoming skilled and remain narrow in outlook cannot advance. They may play a role for a time, but it will remain ordinary.

We need managers and fighters able to open the road for the period ahead and act with a spirit of sacrifice.

Being a cadre does not mean sitting at a desk writing directives.

It means, first, making a correct decision about a problem. But correct decisions cannot be made without taking account of the experience of the masses who feel the consequences directly.

Second, it means organising implementation of the correct decision. This cannot succeed without the direct participation of the masses.

Third, it means organising supervision of implementation. This too cannot be achieved without direct help and participation from the masses.

HOW WILL WE MAKE A CORRECT DECISION?

When dealing with a question, examine:

- form;
- content;
- method; and
- principle.

When beginning a task, determine:

- method;
- means;
- rules;
- principles;
- objective;
- duration; and
- slogan or central message.

Our principle should be:

ALWAYS FORWARD, ALWAYS WITH THE PEOPLE.

What should we do?

- Think correctly in order to make correct decisions for the people, the revolution and the Front.
- Be planned and systematic.
- Fix our attention on achieving the objective.
- Learn the laws and lessons of struggle.
- Learn from defeats in order to become more skilful.
- Resolve problems according to principles and rules.

In conclusion:

OUR INTELLIGENCE IS NOURISHED BY HISTORY AND OUR MARTYRS; OUR METHOD OF REASONING IS DIALECTICAL MATERIALISM.

LANGUAGE, CULTURE AND THE EXPRESSION “AT THE END OF THE DAY”

The expression equivalent to the English phrase “at the end of the day” is not native to traditional Turkish usage in the sense in which it has recently become popular.

The spread of the phrase is an example of European imitation and cultural influence associated with imperialism.

We particularly criticise reformist and opportunist sections of the Turkish left for frequently using the expression and regard the adoption of popularised English-language formulas as part of the corruption and erosion of Turkish.

Taken literally, *günün sonunda* means what occurs at the end of a twenty-four-hour day. In contemporary usage, however, it is generally used to mean “in conclusion”, “ultimately” or “in the final analysis”.

Our objection is not only linguistic but philosophical. No event or situation can be evaluated only by the result of a single day. Everything is interconnected, and events, periods, places and experiences should be examined within a historical process.

This leads to a political criticism of reformist and opportunist left organisations: dependence in political outlook is accompanied by dependence in cultural and linguistic forms.

The struggle against imperialism and fascism is a struggle for the people and the homeland and therefore also as a struggle to protect values created in the country, including language and culture.

Language is called the consciousness of a people.

It is not produced in a laboratory or factory. Language is a living process and a history. It contains the economic, social, political, geographical and cultural history of a people. It changes and renews itself through these dynamics.

Imported formulas such as “at the end of the day” should therefore be examined critically rather than adopted automatically.

Examples include uses of the phrase by figures or organisations such as the DEM Party, TİP MP Sera Kadigil, Sol Gazete, DİSK and Evrensel.

WHAT IS REVOLUTIONARY CONSCIOUSNESS?

History is often told as the story of great individuals:

Kings, commanders, leaders and thinkers.

But the real motor of historical transformations is the people.

No individual can change society alone. For a change to become historical, millions of people must think, feel and transform that consciousness into forms of action.

At this point, “**we**” is not simply the numerical sum of many individuals.

The historical subject is a collective will acting towards a common objective.

When such a historical subject emerges, a new power is born.

People no longer merely experience events passively.

They begin to influence the direction of events.

They cease to be only objects of history.

They become subjects of history.

THIS IS REVOLUTIONARY CONSCIOUSNESS.

WHAT IS PETTY-BOURGEOIS REVOLUTIONISM?

Petty-bourgeois culture places the individual at the centre.

For this reason, a person influenced by it may continually want to be visible within the struggle.

They may want:

- praise;
- approval;
- attention;
- recognition; and
- to see themselves as indispensable.

Over time this tendency can produce self-admiration.

The individual begins to place themselves above the organisation, their own emotions above collective needs and their personal judgements in place of a shared political line.

But revolutionary practice is not individual heroism. It is the collective production of history.

No individual is above the class.

No talent is above the organisation.

No personal emotion is above collective revolutionary principles.

For this reason, petty-bourgeois individualism and collectivism remain in constant conflict.

Conclusion

GENUINE REVOLUTIONARY PRACTICE IS NOT ONLY STRUGGLING AGAINST THE SYSTEM; IT ALSO MEANS BREAKING THE DOMINANCE OF THE INDIVIDUALIST WORLD THAT THE PERSON CARRIES WITHIN THEMSELVES.

OUR INTEREST LIES IN ORGANISING AND LIVING AN ORGANISED LIFE

People sometimes attend an action without knowing its purpose, the meaning of the banner or the content of the statement. Such participation is a “showcase mass”: visible but not politically involved. Lasting organisation is created only when people participate in decisions, discussion and the solution of problems.

Committee-style work is therefore central. Youth, children, women and different occupational groups require forms of organisation suited to their own conditions, and the solutions should be

discussed and implemented together with those involved. Actions also politicise people by bringing them face to face with social realities and with the state.

The underlying lesson is that personal interest does not lie in isolated individual survival but in organised life and collective struggle. Capitalism encourages individualism; revolutionary organisation should make the opposite practical by enabling people to experience collective power.

FEAR IS A POLITICAL WEAPON; IT IS OVERCOME THROUGH ORGANISED PRACTICE

Fear is not only an individual emotion. Ruling classes use fear politically to immobilise people and weaken revolutionary will. Fear grows when a revolutionary becomes isolated from the people and collective life.

The methods are ideological education carried out continuously and systematically, collective work, gradually taking practical risks, building ties with the people and organising them. As the revolutionary organises the people, the people gain confidence; as the people participate, the revolutionary's own sense of isolation is reduced.

Overcoming fear is therefore a class and organisational question, not merely a demand that individuals "be brave".

A FRONT CADRE MUST LIVE BY PRINCIPLES AND RULES

Principles and rules are the accumulated laws of collective work. A Front cadre must apply them in daily life, not only in exceptional moments. Their function is to prevent repeated mistakes, create unity, protect organisational work and make individual decisions part of a common strategy.

We must especially guard against the phrase "nothing will happen just this once". Small exceptions can become habits, and habits can undermine collective security and discipline. The practical standard is therefore to understand why a rule exists and consciously apply it.

APOLITICISM AND COLLECTIVE FUNCTIONING

Apoliticism inside an organisation is often a symptom of the way the organisation functions. When managers assume that they know best, make decisions alone and use others only to carry out tasks, people lose the sense that the organisation is theirs and gradually become passive.

Collective functioning means meetings, mutual supervision, criticism and self-criticism, continuous information flow and real participation in decisions. Defective relations, rather than permanently defective people, must be changed through a properly organised collective life.

Being political means thinking about solutions, producing ideas and connecting each activity to a strategic goal: why are we doing this, how will we do it and what result are we seeking?

A REVOLUTIONARY CADRE IS A NEW HUMAN: CADRE DEVELOPMENT MEANS RESHAPING PEOPLE

Cadre development is an ideological process of transforming habits and ways of thinking inherited from the existing system. We must not postpone the struggle against weaknesses such as individualism, lack of discipline, unaccountability, conformism, timidity and detachment from ideology.

A revolutionary organisation cannot leave the creation of a “new human” until after revolution; the ideological formation of cadres is already a present task. Criticism and self-criticism, collective life, responsibility and struggle with weaknesses are the mechanisms through which this transformation occurs.

We must also guard against a legalistic mentality in clandestine or repressive conditions, especially the tendency to treat organisational rules casually in personal life while avoiding necessary risks in political work. Cadres must be reshaped consciously, not left to spontaneous development.

WHY MUST WE ORGANISE THE PEOPLE? MASS WORK IS ONE-TO-ONE WORK

Mass work means winning people to revolutionary struggle, gaining new relationships, becoming organised and multiplying. It is like knitting: person by person, home by home, neighbourhood by neighbourhood, workplace by workplace, school by school and village by village.

- Mass work requires labour, patience and persistence.
- It is a continuous process of learning and teaching.
- It requires a plan and programme.
- When necessary, it means beginning again from zero.

The practical starting point is to prepare, make a programme, list and group existing relationships and begin with whoever is already available. Persuasion requires avoiding both liberalism and sectarianism and carrying out ideological struggle patiently.

TRAINING REPLACEMENTS IS A CONCRETE PLAN AND PROGRAMME

The replacement principle must become a practical programme. Meetings should include the question of who is being prepared to take responsibility. A manager cannot personally do everything or maintain every relationship, so confidence in the people is essential.

A replacement should be given real work, responsibility and regular time. The programme should have dates and stages - what will be learned in the first weeks, what follows in the next weeks, and which task the person will eventually carry independently. Working together is one of the most effective teaching methods.

The key point is that “replacement” is not an elite category. Everyone can become one because everyone can take responsibility for something.

TEN REVOLUTIONARY QUALITIES DECISIVE IN MASS WORK

The essential qualities for leadership among the people are practical capacities that determine whether relationships can be organised and maintained.

- Modesty: do not place oneself above the people.
- Patience and continuity: relationships grow through persistent labour.
- Reliability: keep one's word and create confidence.
- Self-sacrifice: share the burden rather than watching from outside.
- Simplicity: communicate clearly and live without unnecessary distance.
- Will to labour: give time and sustained effort.

- Power of persuasion: understand people and explain patiently.
- Composure in crises: do not spread panic.
- Unity of word and action: live what one advocates.
- Leadership: bring these qualities together in the service of collective organisation.

Leadership is the highest stage of revolutionary personality when it is expressed as responsibility towards the people rather than status over them.

READY-MADE MENTALITY: A MASS MOVEMENT MUST CREATE ITS OWN MEANS

We reject the expectation that money, people, cadres or other resources will arrive ready-made from somewhere else. Financial problems are part of mass organisation: dues, donations, commercial work and other sources are not only ways of obtaining money but also forms of discipline, responsibility and participation.

A unit that constantly says “there is no money” without going to the people reveals a deeper organisational weakness. The same mentality appears in cadre work when people want trained activists to arrive already prepared instead of educating those around them.

Self-sufficiency must be rooted in mass relations: organise supporters, give people work suited to their abilities, educate them, maintain reports and supervision, and create material resources through broad participation. This is a struggle against “hazırlopçuluk” - dependence on ready-made solutions.

TO DEVELOP THE STRUGGLE, DO YOUR OWN WORK IN THE BEST POSSIBLE WAY

Resultless work is like rowing without a destination. Movement by itself is not progress: a task requires a clear objective, preparation, division of labour, supervision and evaluation.

General explanations and good speeches are insufficient if education does not become organisation and if activity does not produce a result. The task of a responsible person is therefore to turn education into organised practice, calculate possible weaknesses in advance and supervise the work at the right time.

The standard is concrete: know the destination, set the route, row with real effort and evaluate whether the boat is actually moving towards the objective.

HOW DOES THE STRUGGLE DEVELOP?

The continuation of the series asks cadres to connect the overall struggle to the quality of their own daily responsibility. The struggle does not grow through abstract expectation; it grows when every area completes its tasks, develops people, solves problems and creates new organisation.

We must therefore insist on initiative, accountability and persistence. A cadre should not treat difficulties as somebody else's problem but ask what can be done with the people, time and tools available. The development of the whole is built from the disciplined development of each part.

CLAIM, RESPONSIBILITY AND RESULT

A Front member's way of living follows from the way they think. Good intention without a result is not enough. Are tasks actually completed, or merely passed from meeting to meeting and promise to promise?

A serious claim contains four elements: a clear objective, a concrete task, a time limit and accountability. Without these, ambition remains abstract. With them, a person creates a productive pressure on themselves, leaves the comfort zone and increases responsibility.

"Let us neither freeze nor burn out. Let us be ambitious."

POLITICAL CONSCIOUSNESS MEANS CONNECTING EVERY ACTIVITY TO A STRATEGIC GOAL

We must repeatedly return to a practical discipline: ask why an activity is being carried out, how it will be organised and what result is expected. Work detached from a strategic goal easily turns into routine.

Committees are the mechanism through which discussion becomes decision, decision becomes division of labour and division of labour becomes collective practice. Revolutionary democracy is therefore learned through functioning; it is not merely stated as a principle.

CLASS, HISTORY AND ORGANISATION: A PRACTICAL CHAIN OF CONSCIOUSNESS

Historical consciousness gives a movement memory; class consciousness identifies interests and contradictions; organisational consciousness converts that understanding into collective responsibility. A Front member is expected to unite the three in daily work.

This means learning from past struggles, locating present problems within class relations and then organising people and resources around a concrete task. Consciousness becomes real only when it changes practice.

DISCIPLINE, WILL AND COMRADESHIP

Discipline gives continuity, will carries responsibility through difficulty, and comradeship turns individual capacity into collective strength. These qualities are not fixed temperament but products of organised life.

Accounts of comrades who placed concern for others before themselves illustrate "we" over "I". The organisational lesson is that competition for recognition must be replaced by mutual protection, responsibility and confidence in the collective.

