

# LÉGERÏN

N. 03

“Insistence on socialism is insistence on being human”



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# LÊGERÎN

The meaning of Legerin in Kurdish is “Search for freedom”.

For this reason, we adopt that name. If you, like us, are looking for this freedom, feel free to contact us by email:  
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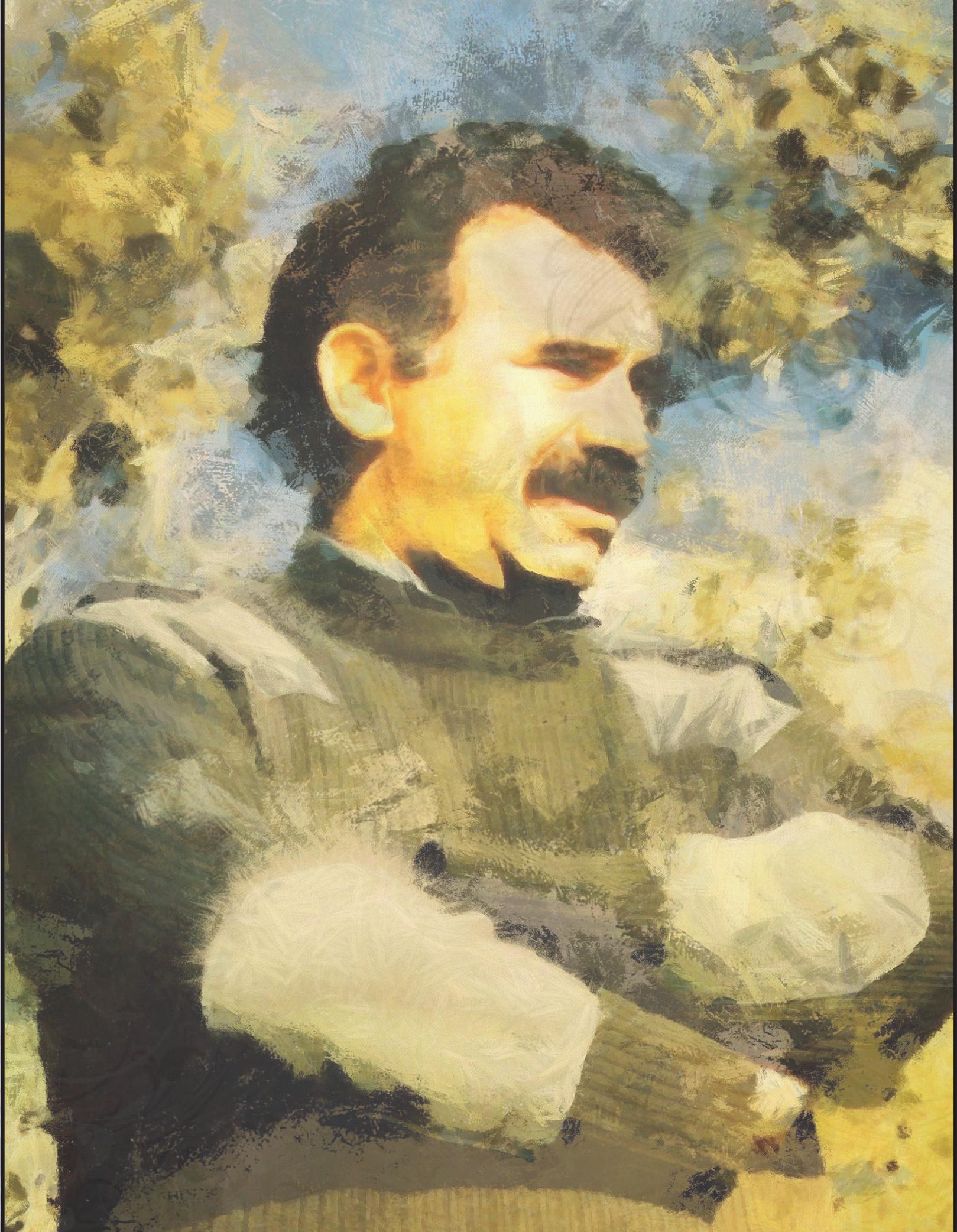
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# A MILITANT BREATHES FOR FREEEEOM



*To live life and to talk about life are two pairs of shoes. Just as it is a huge difference to live the PKK and talk about the PKK. Because in the dialectical understanding of the PKK, there is no difference between theory and practice. You live what you think, you think what you live. But the question you have to ask yourself at the beginning is: "How to live?"*

## **"How to live?"**

**T**he PKK originally started as a group of 3 students: Abdullah Ocalan, Kemal Pîr and Haki Karer; and continued with two simple – yet groundbreaking – words: "Kürdistan sömürge dir" (Turkish for: Kurdistan is a colony). A statement that was extremely radical for its time. Because the fascist Turkish state, in collaboration with the imperial powers, tried to destroy any form of being Kurdish. Kurds were in such a miserable situation that they denied themselves. Nobody dared to say: "I am a Kurd", and if you spoke Kurdish you were called a monster. After the Treaty of Lausan-

ne Kurdistan was divided into 4 parts: Turkey, Syria, Iraq and Iran. And in every part of Kurdistan there were inhumane state mechanisms of oppression and enslavement. So the statement "Kurdistan is a colony" was a statement with a lot of responsibility. This statement had to be followed by actions, something had to happen, because these words were crucial.

The group around Rêber APO got bigger and bigger because it was the first group of revolutionaries who fought resolutely and seriously for the Kurdish question. In 1978, the group became a cadre party in order to lead the revolutionary work in a more organized way. But Rêber APO noted that the main problem was not the National Question and the struggle with the enemy. Most of all, the PKK dealt with internal problems. Just as Kurdistan was a colony, the thoughts and feelings of the Kurds were colonized. But the problem is not a problem that was limited to Kurdistan. It is the capitalist system that had turned life into a golden cage and the people into its slaves. These were insights that led Rêber APO

to search for the answer to “how to live”. To this day, the main concern of the PKK is that every person should find an answer: How to live? What to do? What are my aims? How can I reach them? Who am I? And if we can answer the question “how not to live?” with “in slavery”, then we know that the answer to “how to live?” can be answered with “free”. But how do we get a free life? How can we free ourselves from state mentality and become free?

**“What we analyse is not the moment but the history, it’s not the person but the class and the society.” Abdullah Öcalan**

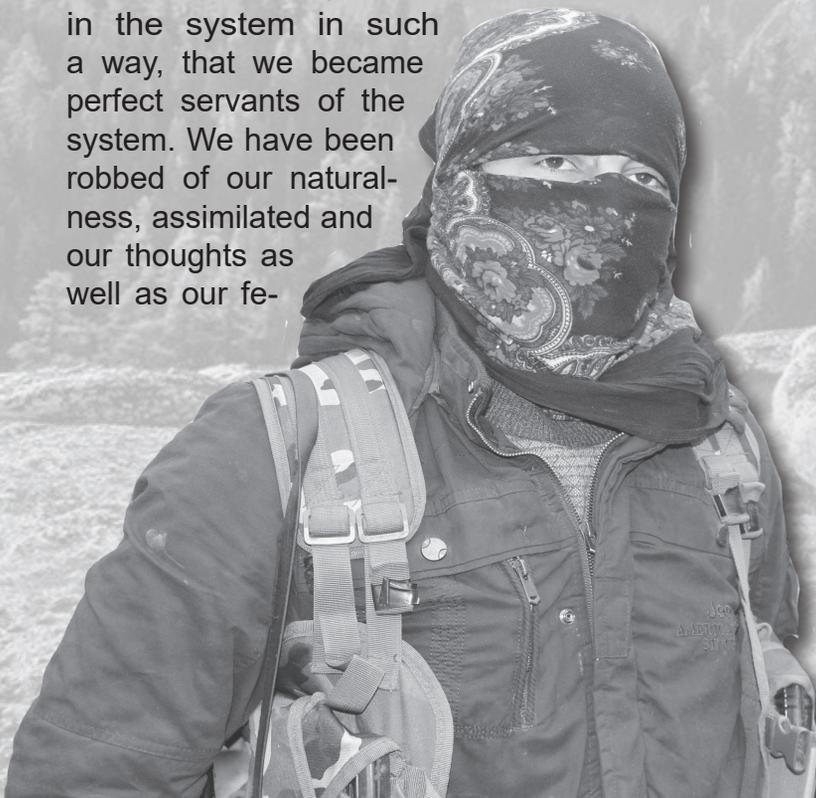
More and more women and men joined the PKK to become part of the freedom struggle. But each individual joined from a different context, from a different socialization. Yet they were all individuals who joined from the patriarchal capitalist system. They joined the party for their freedom, but they themselves were still enslaved by the system. It is obvious that an individual who still is enslaved cannot become a real freedom fighter. A decision is the beginning of the struggle, but not the revolution itself. That is why the question of personality, and above all the struggle against the patriarchal mentality, became an essential question. We are talking about thousands of years of manipulation, domination, oppression and false sensations. Of course, we were formed in the system in such a way, that we became perfect servants of the system. We have been robbed of our naturalness, assimilated and our thoughts as well as our fe-

elings have been massively manipulated. Therefore, we can say that we have personality problems. This problems are a result of the patriarchal mentality, and prevent us from being truly free. This became more and more obvious also in the ranks of the PKK, because dealing with the personality problems and the conflict of mentality became more and more inevitable for freedom. So how should people fight for freedom, fight for people’s freedom, when they themselves are still dominated by a sexist, capitalist mentality? Shouldn’t one then start with oneself, i.e. solve the question of freedom for oneself before solving it for a society, or even the whole world? This theme was of great importance at the third party congress: The personality analyses were introduced. It is these personality analyses that reveal the reality of society in each individual. Thus it became more and more clear: We are products of our parents, of special warfare, of the state, of the patriarchy, of the environment – but we are still not revolutionaries.

Someone who wants to live in freedom must live accordingly. Especially in the life of the PKK – what counts is your efforts, your practice, your behaviour, not just what you say. 99% of the struggle within the PKK is the inner struggle, the struggle with yourself, the influence of the system, your mentality, your habits... Only 1% is the struggle with the “external enemies”. It is important that you can point the gun at your old mentality and make room for free thoughts, for freedom. What is important is to be able to decide: “Yes, I want to be able to breathe again” and to take the right, determined steps.

**“There is no right life in the wrong one.” - Adorno**

A free life needs free seconds, free minutes and free hours... What does it mean to fight for freedom? Is it enough to think and write some texts? Is it enough to develop theories? Is it enough to discuss? Is it enough for freedom? We say that we have to “throw up” the system out of ourselves to be free. Freedom is beyond sexism, egoism, individualism, capitalism and so on. So how can we fight to be free? The biggest answer to this is the life of Rêber APOs. He has read, understood, experienced, processed, practiced, developed, realized – he has done what he thought was right, recognized what is wrong and tries to achieve the right: The



free socialist life. Rêber APO has created a line of freedom – the line of the PKK. It's the disgusting capitalist system that over-sexualizes us women, that destroys the psyche of the people, that dismembers society. It is the system that plays with all moral values and scatters lovelessness and superficiality in the name of love. The system is like a cancer. How will you defeat cancer? With headache pills? That does not work. It is your freedom, but your freedom is also my freedom. And when we have such a well organized enemy in front of us, we can't fight it in an unorganized way. We can not change the world with a little bit of activism. To be a militant of freedom means to dedicate 24 hours to the fight. You live from your connection with freedom, with your utopias, with the love of your comrades. Your belief in victory, your hope and your motivation for life are your nourishment. You do not need pills against the disease, you have to become medicine yourself and nip the disease in the bud.

### No recipe

The PKK's system has changed due to the paradigm shift (from a National liberation Movement to the creators of the Democratic Confederalism), but the line, principles and characteristics of a militant personality remain the same today. Rêber APO stresses some basic principles for the militant personality in his book "Kürdistan'da Kişilik Sorunu" (Personality Problem in Kurdistan). So there are principles as:

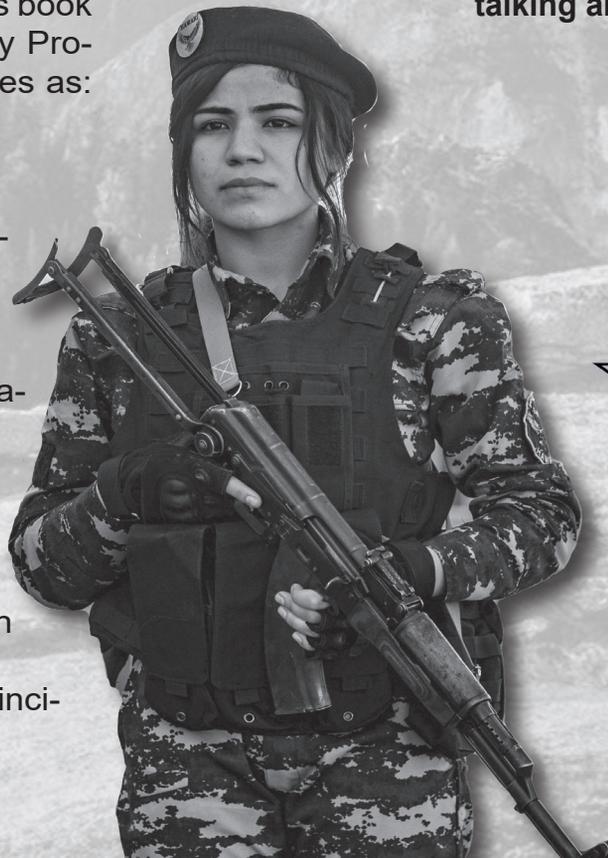
- loving your homeland;
- being democratic;
- fighting for socialism is being an internationalist;
  - loving and respecting you comrades and you people;
  - being representative for the new socialist moral;
  - not being selfish or fearful;
  - being brave and self-sacrificing;
  - not being passiv but daring and aktive;
  - knowing when to be flexible and when to be strict;
  - being attentive, careful and having principles;

- loving to research and observe;
- not being dogmatic, but creative;
- not working randomly but planned

These are important principles for a militant. But there is no recipe, no manual for a militant personality. You have to learn from the life, from your comrades how to be collective, how to be disciplined, how to fight. Your militancy is your passion for the struggle, and your attachment to revolutionary values. Freedom is a kind of self-discovery as a collective process: you are looking for yourself, for your XWEBÛN (selfhood), that is, for your natural values, for your unmanipulated self. It is a search for natural values. You do not create anything new. Neither socialism, nor a free, communal-democratic life are new inventions. The free communal life is hidden in the natural society. The PKK is the place, is the time in which we can find ourselves again: The time before patriarchy made our life to hell, the world a swamp... We don't have anything to lose anymore, but a free world to win. The power is you, the solution is you. The only question is: How do you want life? What will you decide?

**"We don't deal so much with experiences and definitions, we dedicate ourselves to life itself. We try to fill the definitions with content and put them into practice. We find it more valuable to be a good militant [...] instead of just talking about socialism"**

Abdullah  
Öcalan





## Revolutionary's People's War

**W**e will start with the story of the quite chaotic situation in the 90's. There was a process of dissolution (liquidation) within the party (PKK). And a peace process, the party recognized and understood that it doesn't make sense to go on only in the military way. There were inner and outer reasons in change of politics. Turgut Özal, the Turkish President was making progress into develop an peace agreement with the party. He had clear toughs about that there was a need for change and he was assassinated because of it. But also in the movement it became clear that there won't be a military solution to the kurdish question. Neither the army will be ably to push out the guerrilla forces. It's the nature of guerrilla warfare, you can't defeat it actually, you can't come to a situation where the guerrilla vanishes. Maybe in Sri Lanka it was possible, because there wasn't any territory left to stay for them.

It's the same situation in China in the 20's and 30's where guerrilla forces were established and then neither the conventional Chinese National Army nor the Japanese occupation army was able to crash it. Because what are guerrilla forces? A guerrilla force is basically a force

which isn't a simply a military force in its strict sense, but both a social and military force. A conventional army you have a state construct, concentration of power. You have a society and then a state which administrates and rules. Sometimes in a more repressive way sometimes in a more democratic way. But the army is pretty conventional, it's based on strict discipline and hierarchy.

A guerrilla force also adopts forms of discipline but it doesn't rely only on it. Because the core of it isn't obedience and subjugation from above to below. But the strength of guerrilla comes from below. It was Mao in the 20's, who described in his guerrilla method that the strongest power comes from the smallest cell. There are also connections to the nuclear bomb, where the smallest peaces, the nucleus core, where you destroy the natural order of the nucleus through mobilization and the unleashed energy is stronger then any conventional army could ever be. In a destructive way, but also in a way of mobilizing energy, which expressed its social aspect. What Mao said basically said is, if we mobilize the peasant communities in the far West of China, not in the big cities, if we go there, discuss with the people and raise conscious-

ness, they will organize in a way and they will be able to establish a military power and become able to mobilize themselves. So to crush every conventional army, which is what basically happened in China's 20's and 30's in the times of civil war. It's a quite the same situation in Kurdistan. This is why a lot of US-American think-tanks still claim PKK to be a Maoist organization, which it isn't in its strict sense, whereas it carries some similar aspects of course.

So you have a situation of military conflict, which is really affecting society. 4000 villages were burned down by paramilitary forces, 40.000 people killed, huge waves of refugees being forced to migrate to Western Turkish metropolis. It's a very complex situation, in which it becomes clear that the military conflict doesn't solve anything, which is the case for both sides actually. There are forces even on the Turkish side which are acknowledging this, but there are more influential forces which are ideologically very strict claiming Turkish nationalism and unity of the state. This is also the conflict which led to the death of Turgut Özal and produced this contradiction between the state, the movement and the societal components being affected by it. Mao had the thought that in order to achieve victory, regular armies forces coordination of orthodox guerrilla forces in the territory, but I would say that's the reason why the Maoist revolution got really oppressive. He (Mao) started with a very good point. He said, we will try to empower the peasant communities to establish, as it was discussed in the beginning, something like communalism and self-empowerment and -administration. But then he had this strange dogmatic approach of claiming that this is just a tool of establishing a socialist state and dictatorship of proletariat. These were all strange ideological constructs, which are pretty obvious in history.

What happened later in China are many massacres and inner cleansing and so on. We come to it later, when we discuss how ideology or a right idea can also develop to something very dangerous. For example 1905 in the Russian Revolution, there were people claiming to be Anarchist, Democrats, So-

cialist and Humanist together and there were not much contradiction among them as long as they were fighting the regime. Then they didn't overcome the idea of power concentration within in their own structures. So the Bolsheviks established again a dictatorship. They started with the idea of helping ourselves and society, but then it turned into something else.

### **The reality of the situation and the necessity of something new**

So basically we have situation where the military conflict cannot be solved anymore neither by the state nor the movement. Not only because of military reasons but also for inner organizational problems. There were a lot of problems with feudal warlords gaining power in the movement. You have a society where a lot of people get mobilized, many young people join the movement, but you have society which is at least since 1300 years affected by Islamic-feudal thoughts and patriarchal mentality, which gives a very oppressive role to man both in family and the whole society, a very dogmatic society also. Maybe you've talked about it already, how the mentality of society was changed by Islam and later again by rising nationalism in the end of 19th century through nationalist forces. Also the idea of Kurdish nationalism, saying there is a need for a Kurdish state. So you have forces within the party, which are pretty much pushing this idea of a military solution and others who are discussing other solutions are seen as cowards because of it. The approach of dominant masculinity, the problems of gang mentality were rising. Abdullah Öcalan commented on it a lot.

There were people who have been involved in the movement since the 70's who were always working hard to develop a common socialist mindset, but it was always a huge struggle within the movement. Since the mentioned gangs were sometimes militarily effective they developed kind of parallel structures within the movement and the party. So there was this nationalist gang problem to be solved within the party. There was another thing that happened in the 90's. There are actually

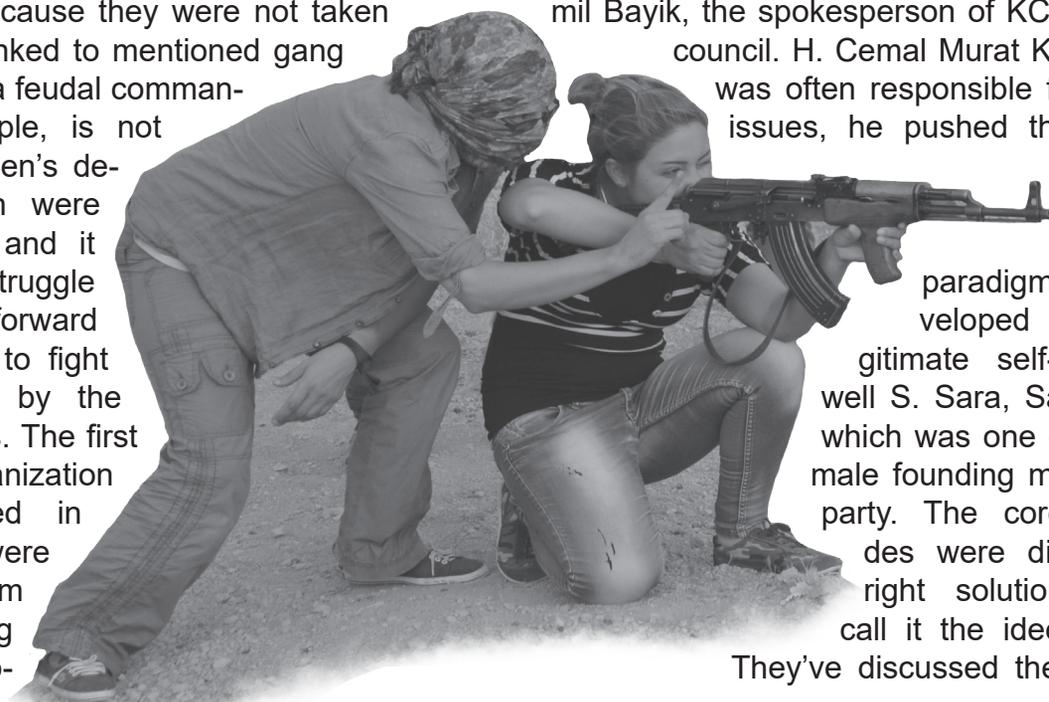
three different lines of problems. There was the gang mentality, with all its consequences. Then there were the uprisings and following very hard militaristic repression by the state regular Army and counter-guerrilla, with all its different tactics of counterinsurgency. So the people of whole villages were forced to leave their homes, and there were a lot of women joining. Before it was mainly men joining, but more and more women were pushed out of the village and many families had no chance to flee, that's why many children went to the mountains. Therefore since the end of 80's, beginning of 90's you have a lot of women joining the party, saying we cannot just run away and wait that our brothers and families are being slaughtered, so we have to join the movement. A kind of natural self-defense, to take up arms and get education and training. This is how thousand of women joint the guerrilla. Which on mid-term changed a lot the discussion and approaches within the movement and the way things got criticized.

**The rising and the creation of the women's movement**

In the beginning it wasn't an autonomous force organized within the movement but for example two women joining a whole guerrilla unit. But at least since 1993 there were more discussions among the female comrades, since more and more were joining. They discussed the need to organize autonomously, because they were not taken serious, also linked to mentioned gang mentality, that a feudal commander, for example, is not accepting women's decision. Women were really fighting and it was a huge struggle to push things forward to be allowed to fight and accepted by the male comrades. The first women's organization got established in 1994/5. They were discussing from the beginning to take the pro-

blem from its roots. To discuss a way how women's will is accepted and how to develop their own ideas. These points were later expressed in the theory of separation. Which says the problem is that we're affected by thousands of years of male dominance, in family and in every part of society. That's why we have to cut off from this reality to get a clear approach for ourselves again. To understand how we want to define and deal with our problems and how we can organize and develop a way of fighting against them. Since the 90's there was a rising part in the party discussing things totally different, not only focusing on the military approach but looking on things more holistically. Addressing the problem that society is basically melting away. You have 4000 villages burned down to the ground. There are even some novels, which tell from the 80's where you'd have villages everywhere, so the link to society was very obvious. But later there were very few villages left or some regions even totally wiped out. That means the discussion was very existential. So this was as mentioned the second main dynamic within the movement.

The third were actually new discussions among the central committee, which isn't called like this, but the ideological core of many comrades which have started in the 70's together. The people who were in the strategical positions and Öcalan himself, including friends of the first founding group of the party of 1978, which were 22 friends. Basically friends which are known today, like H. Cuma, Cemil Bayik, the spokesperson of KCK the highest council. H. Cemal Murat Karayilan, who was often responsible for strategical issues, he pushed the discussion for re-discussing the military paradigm and he developed theory of legitimate self-defense. As well S. Sara, Sakine Cansiz, which was one of the two female founding member of the party. The core of comrades were discussing the right solutions, we can call it the ideological core. They've discussed the whole point



of method, criticizing dogmatic Marxism, criticizing the lack of anti-patriarchal ideas and how they can solve the problem of male dominance within the structures. But also not only the male dominance but the lack of consciousness and confidence among the women and female comrades.

These were the main dynamics. What happened to Turgut Özal and the peace process and the International conspiracy are actually the consequences of all these three things. There were the women's movement and many women joining, which was very dangerous for a state which is trying to control an insurgency. Because it's hard to corrupt it. The gang mentality was mainly a men's mentality. It's not very easy to corrupt a women's movement, especially since they are conscious and organizing autonomously as part of the bigger liberation movement. That's the situation where the discussion about the new paradigm started. It is pretty interesting this process which started in the central party academy in the Bekaa Valley. Because many times it is explained that '99 Öcalan was caught, brought to Turkish prison, read a little Murray Bookchin and became communalist and understood Anarchism. But it's not like this, it is a long procedure of developing ideas and self-criticism, which actually started from the beginning. There have been always discussion in the party academy on how to overcome oppressed and oppressive personality Which derives later to the question of how to create a non-statal and non-oppressive way of self-administration. The start of this discussion, is the discussion on personality.

### **The militant personality**

What is a socialist personality, what is a free mindset? The whole discussion process leads to something, what I would say and we have three days to discuss it, is a very important today for the movement, the question of method. How to approach a situation in which you are to solve it. It might be a pretty complex question, because it puts the question how to evaluate something, how to politically analyses something and you'll have to ask very basic questions. The party started with a classic Marxist-Leninist approach and also

with Maoist guerrilla ideology, but it was pretty clear that it didn't work so easily and can be dangerous for the existing societal context itself. This is why the different parts of the movement began to discuss the question of method. This is what we have to understand, if we ask ourselves how the movement became so strong today. Because there is a long process.

There is a funny joke which a friend told us. When they started in Ankara in 1972 there were first propaganda actions and spreading the ideas with leaflets. Claiming the first idea, which says Kurdistan is a colony. We have to develop a socialist alternative for whole Turkey and Kurdistan, but in international solidarity with the Turkish people. When they spread this the first time in the 70's, the police came and said, you should better give up, because you are only 5-10 people and they kept on and...In 1981-1982 they've said, now we have some thousands of your militants in prison and again you should better give up. But they were growing sympathy every day. And in the middle of 80's you have a military force now, but you will never win and crush the Turkish state, they said...but there were now thousands of armed militants. So you have a pretty funny line of the state pretending to be superior. Even though there was thousand of armed guerrilla, a women's movement and strong ideological self-reflection the state always asked them to finally surrender again, showing off with military technology. So this is really funny.

You can even draw this scheme until today. You have three liberated cantons and an alliance with Arab forces, Turkish left and organized within 4 nation-states and diaspora, but the Turkish state still pretending the Kurdistan liberation movement wouldn't have any chance against them. Which is pretty ridiculous. This opens the question, which was expressed by Rêber Öcalan, who says that if you have the right method it's not a question of force, but a question of strategy, the right approach towards reality and understanding reality itself. For example now, since the liberation of the three cantons, since 2012, you have constantly a situation of threats by different states,

like Turkey who is threatening to invade Rojava every second, you have the IS attacking and Barzanî holding an embargo. You have a lot of Western states which do not recognize the self-administration. But you have a situation where the philosophy and the way of understanding the situation made it possible that the movement becomes always stronger after every attack. So if you see the map it might not be a long time, it's 5 years for Rojava. But anyway you have a process of three cantons, Kobanê once under real risk, but at the same time you have the process of territorial process, with growing level of inner organization and empowerment of military self-defense forces. So it is very interesting to understand the method of thinking, how to understand the situation that made them constantly stronger. This is basically the main topic which we have to understand about the actual situation.

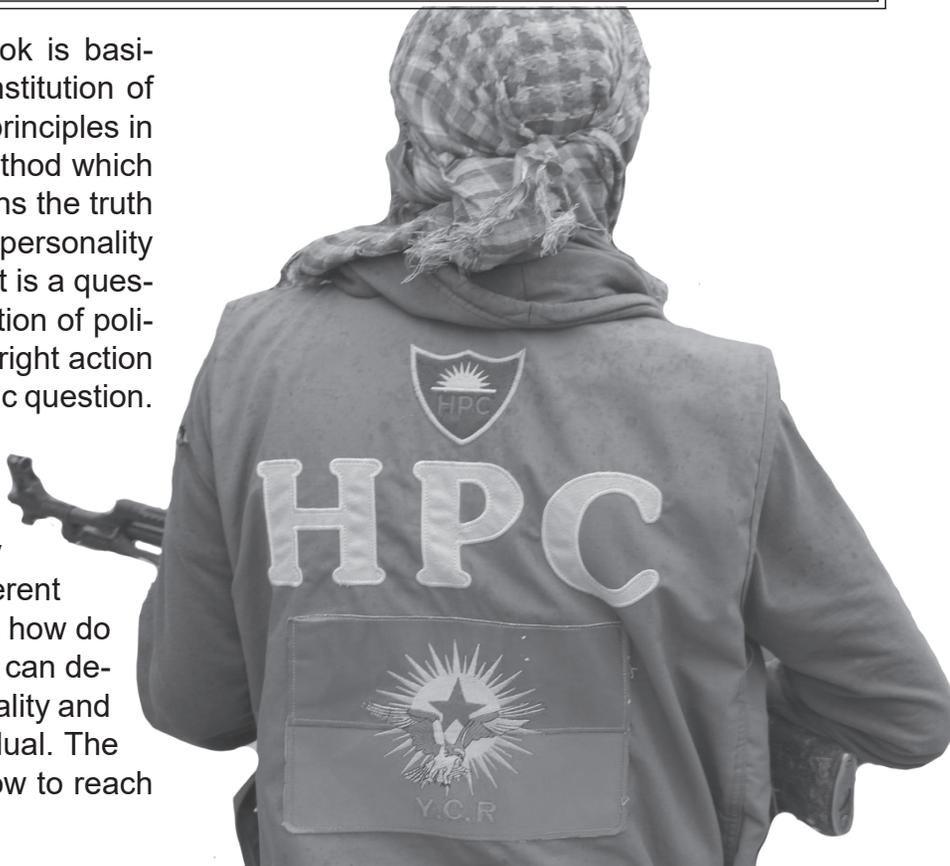
a point where a big complex society can lead itself again. Not linked to centralist party structures, central commands or a abstract priest caste system. It is interesting to see how it is linked to what you can claim is a free consciousness and governmentality, the mentality to govern yourself and society.



There is something in the movement which they call "rastiya rêbertî". What is written also on your

*The societies without self-defense  
are destined to be destroyed*

notebooks "Bê Serok jîyan nabe". Serok is basically the leader and "serokatî" is the institution of leadership. So these are the main two principles in the movement the understanding of method which leads to the "rastiya rêbertî", which means the truth of leadership. It's not so much about the personality but more about the philosophical core. It is a question of how to lead ourselves, in a situation of political, social and ecological crisis, to the right action and sustainable free live. This is the basic question. So it is about the right way of self-guidance. There were a lot of philosophers in the West as well, like Foucault, who have said we have not to discuss simply how to criticize National-Socialism, different uprisings and Jihadism. The question is how do we develop a mode where society itself can develop a own understanding of its own reality and also what means freedom of the individual. The main thing we have to think about is how to reach





## *“The revolutionary struggle of the peoples of Kurdistan and Latin America is the same”*

**N**asrin Abdullah, comandante y portavoz de las Unidades de Protección de las Mujeres (YPJ), Nasrin Abdullah, commander and spokesperson of the Women’s Protection Units (YPJ), the Kurdish self-defense force of Rojava, stressed the need to create a world front of women to combat the current system of oppression that capitalism uses against the people.

During the meeting “Revolution under construction: weaving the future,” Abdullah also referred to the common links between the struggles of the peoples of Kurdistan and Latin America. On these meetings between peoples, the YPJ commander recalled the teachings of the Argentine-Cuban revolutionary Ernesto “Che” Guevara, and brought to mind the Argentinean doctor Alina Sánchez (Legerin Ciya), who died in March 2018 in Rojava while doing community health work.

The meeting was convened by the Network of Women Weaving the Future, the Committees of Solidarity with Kurdistan in Latin America and the Kurdistan Women’s Movement. The activity was part of a series of dialogue rounds as a continuation of the First Conference “Revolution Under Construction” held in Frankfurt, Germany, in 2018, which gave birth to the Network of Women Weaving the Future.

Abudllah began her speech by greeting Latin American women, as “our strug-

gle always beats with your struggle,” adding that “Latin America is a place of revolution.

The commander of the YPJ recalled that both in Kurdistan and in Latin America there are disappearances by the states today, for which she emphasized the promise “that we will continue with the struggle” and that, in the case of Rojava, the disappearances of women by terrorist groups like the Islamic State (ISIS or Daesh) “will be avenged. “To all our comrades who are under oppression, we are going to free them,” she said.

Abdullah reflected that “the revolutionary struggle of the Kurdish people and the peoples of Latin America is not something new. We have been in the same struggle for tens of years. The whole struggle of Che Guevara and of all the revolutionary peoples of Latin America was an example for us. When I was a child, because of these values I decided to enter the struggle and the revolution.

The spokeswoman of the Women’s Protection Units pointed out that there are many important issues for women today, among which the struggles for freedom and autonomy stand out. “When we talk about freedom we have to talk about women,” she said. Freedom and women are universal issues that touch us all. They do not belong to one people, but to all of us. If we see that our problems are global, then the antidote has to be global.



For this reason, she explained, there is a need for “an organization, a worldwide and universal union. For us, this is our strategic struggle: how to get organized on the broadest possible level.

Abdullah pointed out that “the capitalist system has organized itself in a hegemonic way at the global level, so if we want to end it, we have to create our own organization at the same level. “The system of capitalist domination always tries to divide us among ourselves through nationalism, it divides women and our societies, and we have to overcome that,” he said. What the system has also done is that it has organized itself through international institutions under the name of democracy, but we know that what it seeks is not democracy, but it seeks to establish its domination and oppression over all peoples, over women, so that all nations are at its service.

“When women, or a people, protest against this, they directly want to silence them, and with this system of international institutions this objective is developed. Against this, we have to create a long-term union and organization,” reiterated the Kurdish commander.

Abdullah also referred to the Redeva Revolution, which the Kurdish people - together with other national and religious communities - have been leading since 2012 in northern Syria. “In our revolution, we have understood well that the problems that society and women are experiencing are not only ours. If we want to overcome these problems we can not only do

it locally or by ourselves, but we have to be many, we have to be all, together with all the people”.

“We have also seen that our revolution has had an effect far beyond our country. We have understood that it has had an effect on the whole world,” he said. The YPJ commander also referred to the internationalists of the Rojava Revolution, such as the cases of Alina Sánchez or the British Anna Campbell, who was martyred on March 15 during the defense of the Kurdish canton of Afrin against Turkish military attacks. “The participation of internationalist women in our revolution has served to strengthen it and expand its effect throughout the world,” she said.

In turn, Abdullah stressed that the women of Kurdistan “have understood that if we unite on the same front, we will succeed and we can reach victory. It may be that now our revolution and Kurdish women have been a vanguard, but we know that our freedom will not be complete if we do not achieve freedom for all. Because as long as there is slavery and oppression we will not be free.

The YPJ commander reiterated the need to “debate and talk together” on issues such as autonomy and freedom for women and peoples. “There are many common issues that we have to discuss. One of the most important is that of freedom, because it is empty of meaning if we think that freedom is for some women and not for all,” she said.

At the same time, Abdullah said that if we understand these central issues “very well, if we feel them within us and in our soul, we can create a very strong front against fascism. That is why it is important to go beyond the boundaries of borders. We may not speak the same language, but we understand each other, so we have to overcome these boundaries as well.

“We must not limit ourselves to understanding words, but to feeling and understanding each other from the heart,” she reflected, “without having to speak, when we look at each other’s eyes, when we laugh, when we feel our breath, we women understand each other. We don’t need the words, we just need to feel each other. And what we need to strengthen is a front of mentality and thought. For us it is very im-

portant to create academies for the knowledge of women and to transmit and develop it.

Abdullah stressed that there are many women's organizations and platforms in the world, but that it is necessary to create a platform "that is not only for a specific issue", but to give birth to a "common front". "The enemies of freedom are very well organized, they have a multitude of fronts, they are in the law, in the economy, in social policy, but as they see them and not as we want to do it. They have a military front against the people and against women. They have their psychological warfare front, they also have the means, they are very well organized.

Therefore, "thousands and thousands of women have to organize themselves in these fronts to continue our struggle and strengthen it," she said. We need to create a system of self-defense as women. This means not only on the military plane, but on all fronts. We have to create our own system to defend ourselves.

The women's front is much stronger than the men's front," said the Kurdish commander. When we organize our front it is always for peace, for freedom, for the environment, it is a front that has an essence, it is a front of thought. If we organize ourselves on these bases we can have many more victories. Our hope and belief in the struggle, the way we see ourselves responsible for this struggle, has very big objectives, and now those objectives have to reach a new organizational level.

The YPJ spokesperson criticized "the system of capitalist oppression and domination, which always puts us in crisis, and if we want to overcome it we have to look for solutions. In Rojava, Abdullah explained, "we have seen that the culture of democratic society is our best weapon. We have to build connections and democratic links between women, that is the basis of the whole struggle. We have to develop confederal and democratic thinking.

The Kurdish commander also reflected that these days "we have many problems that are common: nationalism, classism, the relationship between oppressor and oppressed, ecological problems, which touch us all. We have to start an internal struggle to solve these problems. In the world we live in we see that when there is a problem in one place it will have an effect on the whole world. When Latin America has a problem, it has an effect on us. When there is a problem that arises in Kurdistan, it also has an effect on Latin America.

Before finishing, Abdullah explained that "women's energy is very big, the problem is that now it is dispersed, so we have to bring that energy together again in a global and universal framework. In Rojava we have experienced this on a small scale, and we have seen that when we women unite this energy no one can turn against us. For example, Daesh was a copy of the system of oppression and world domination, and thanks to the energy of women, of the people, and the support we have received from all over the world, we were able to overcome it. All the

women and peoples of the world have taken their responsibility to support our struggle against Daesh. And now we are ready to support all women and all peoples of the world in these common struggles.

Finally, the YPJ commander said: "We have the hope and belief that we can create a world of peace on the victory of freedom for women, men and all peoples.





**Women!  
Life!  
Freedom!**

**Jin!  
Jiyan!  
Azadî!**





## Mothers with weapons

**S**ummer in Rojava, 15 hours in the afternoon in the center of HPC-Jin on the outskirts of a small town, where everyone knows each other. It's hard to breathe at 47 degrees. It is a strong wind, very hot, that moves and lifts the dry land from the infinite wheat fields, already bare, that draw this flat landscape, with the mountains of Bakur in the background. Between us and the mountains, the border with the other Kurdistan, the one that some that mark the lines in the maps insist on calling Turkey.

I look out the window waiting for the women. I see in the cloud of dust the child on top of the donkey that walks the sheep here in front of us every day. Luckily he has his head covered, I think, although I have known other children who do not cover their heads, working or playing in the sun at any time. But most people wear it. It is characteristic of this place, whether you are Arab, Kurdish or Yezidi, whether you are an atheist, Christian or Muslim, whether you are an internationalist anarchist or a Kurdish revolutionary. It is something that equals all of us who walk in this area and you do not run the risk of cultural appropriation, because its usefulness is unquestionable. It is, at the same

time, necessity and identity, although it is not by chance that in summer it takes more of the target. I myself, who had said before leaving my land, "I can manage with a cap", have a kefiya that saves my ears from the flames. It is a treasure. It was given to me by the comrade of Kongra Star<sup>2</sup>, with whom I spent some time in the surrounding villages, learning at her side, from her revolutionary work, admiring her and all that she represents, which is the struggle of women, of an entire people. It represents the fusion of all forms of self-defense, now materialized in work in society. The one that gave me my second name in memory of a fallen comrade. One thought leads to another. I think of her, of the importance of her house-to-house work, which is the key to keeping the revolution alive, especially in these times of special warfare, when the efforts of the enemies are focused on wearing down society through economic drowning, water and electricity cuts, arson, the introduction of drugs... All of this is aimed at demoralizing people so that they stop believing in this new community organization that has been built without a state, this example to the world. How important it is to keep mo-

rale high, to be with the people, to really believe. To do this, the tool of perwerde (formations)... The word brings me back to the present moment after entering into all these thoughts.

The women I wait for are late for training, as always, and I despair. My analytical, European, calculating mentality, which I insist on naming "realistic", once again plays tricks on me: "If it would be as easy as the driver going out earlier to get them; if we know that the electricity goes out every day at five o'clock, why don't we start a little earlier instead of dying of heat when the fans are turned off; how can this movement be so effective for some things and so little for others? And I get bad European blood... Then I go back to my learning at Rojava: it's not about me, it's about all of us.

Fi-



nally, it's 3 p.m. They are all members of HPC-Jin. They're women in society, most of them mothers who work all day long, especially doing housework, with all that that implies. With an average of 7 to 10 daughters each, they carry the responsibility of cleaning, maintaining their whole family, eating or not eating, etc. They are tired, their knees, back and head hurt. In the time that they do not do this, they do everything that it implies for them to have joined the HPC: formations like this one, coordination assemblies, taking the defense of the demonstrations and the burials and ceremonies in memory of the şehîds (martyrs), presence and control on

the roads in the campaigns against the fire, permanent availability in case of unforeseen events, neighborhood organization in moments of war, etc. The youngest must be about 20 years old and the oldest about 70, although it is impossible to know their ages, as they themselves do not know them. They are Kurds who have grown up without documents because they were not recognized by a Syrian state that forbade them to have their own identity (speak their language, wear their clothes, celebrate their culture ...); besides, they do not usually celebrate birthdays, so of course, they do not keep track. Is it really so important to know the age?

They arrive saying "Yadeeee, germ e, germ e!" (mothereeee, it's so hot!) and, automatically afterwards: "Where is the chay (te)", they ask me. They know that I am always the first one to arrive, and sometimes I have it ready for when they arrive. I tell them again that I have stopped preparing it because they don't like the way I do it. Many internationalist comrades (eşnabî, as we are called here) use the big kettle with boiling water, and the small kettle with the concentrated chay and then mix it so that each one chooses her own proportions and whether she wants sugar or not. Here, in this part of Kurdistan, it is taken already mixed in a single teapot and with significant amounts of sugar. Why would they have to choose different ways of doing it if it is a kind of consensus? They say I don't know how to do it. "Poor eşnabî, he doesn't know", and despite my inefficiency in preparing the tea, they include me, they talk to me, they don't judge my appearance, they offer me tobacco, they make me feel one more. We ask each other: how are you, what is your situation? And we answer something like "God, well, thank you, and you? We answer and repeat the same words every time our gaze meets another, about 15 times because here it is done like this. So we wait to finish the chay, already an hour late, with the room full of smoke. With the same interest they talk about the cream they put on their face as the oil with which they clean the kalash, and some of them boast that they always keep it very clean.

Finally we started the session. Today the theme is Welatparezî, one of the ideological pil-

lars of the theory of women's liberation. A teacher from the city is coming to give the session. After talking about the love of nature, land and society, and the crucial importance of women in defending them, she asks: why did you join the HPC? The answers fill the room with a kind of fresh air, which is not made up of just words. It is also full of emotion, pride and hope. Still with the last Serêkaniyê war in their memories, thoughts, bodies and looks, they respond one by one. They are those that didn't leave when the war (this last war) began. Those that stayed in case they had to defend their house, their street, their neighborhood, their city and country, while news of people arrived, many relatives or acquaintances, fallen, displaced, occupation in all its cruel forms. While many others fled. They speak proudly of their attitude. They have chosen it. Being a member is an unpaid job. The requirement is to want it. Some are relatives of şehîds, starting with the oldest, who lost a daughter killed in Afrin by the Turkish state in 2018. She was killed, like so many others, when she was defending that land of olive trees from the Turkish invasion. Her body has never been recovered. She, the mother, warrior, fighter, has been active since the beginning of the revolution, and is a member of the HPC since its inception.

Her other daughter is one of the guards working at the center, and is currently guarding the entrance gate. She is protecting us.

The answers to the teacher's question are varied, but all exciting: love for the land, respect for those who gave their lives for it, the desire to stay, to fight, not to give up their roots... They don't want to go to Germany, even though many have family there. They have united for the future of their daughters and sons, for their neighbors, for the Revolution... They want to help make the movement stronger, to support from

the local level the comrades who are at the front, to get up after each fall, to build a life in comradeship and equality, they have been inspired by the need, the pride... and what moves everything: xwebawerî (believe in themselves). Belief is the key. Serêkaniyê, like Afrin, has "lost" and this is something that is said with an immense weight and a knot in the stomach, but they continue winning because they have not stopped believing and fighting. These are all their words.

The fresh air molecules, which are heavier, go down, and my negative thoughts from an hour ago go out the window with the hot air molecules that go up. This is where you put everything on the scale



and the strength of these companions and friends begins to weigh you more than the delay, the chay with a lot of sugar at 47 degrees of room temperature, and the fact of knowing that in a while the fans are going to be turned off and we are going to begin to say all of them, each one in its language, "yadeeeeeee", ("ai mareeeeeee" in my case).

I begin to admire their lives, their strength, constancy, determination, dignity. I begin to feel that I am in a class with 16 teachers and one student, which is me. It is part of the idea of formation that the movement has here. Everyone can be a teacher and a student at the same time. My absolute truths, my logics, are in serious doubt.

Then you feel the inevitable silence. The fans have been turned off. We begin to sweat, to give ourselves air with the handkerchiefs that many take off from their heads and others do not. Among women, everything changes. Everything. I think that autonomous spaces allow all kinds of expressions, postures... they are essential. Just as in the rest of the world, here women are not free either. But the revolution is moving slowly, and it's easy to see how much has changed since the beginning. Luckily, in each organization, institution, commune, there are autonomous spaces to support this joint construction that is intended to be free of patriarchy.

And, despite the heat that I would define as hellish, the lesson continues. I was not wrong about "Yadeee", which is now said in a low voice so as not to interrupt the speakers, but I was wrong about everything else. Neither the late hour nor the heat have prevented today's session from being perfect. It's not about me. It's about all of us. One of the great lessons that every internationalist must learn at Rojava.

The training is named after the last şehîd identified in this area. The last day will come when we will invite the mother of this fellow fallen in the mountains to remember the life of

her daughter. Her eyes will be wet with sorrow and emotion when she sees the framed photo we will give her of her young daughter and she will be grateful at the same time. A few days later I will see her again in the cemetery at şehîds, with the photo above another woman's grave şehîd because this time there is no body either. That's what bombs have; sometimes they don't leave anything physical, although it's true that, as is shouted and repeated here permanently, martyrs don't die. They are present everywhere; we carry their names, their images, their strength, their energy, their memory. They are inspiration and example. Respect.

I will greet them. I know her. I was at her house the day she was given the news, watching her scream, cry and fall to the ground in pain. She will take my hand and look at me with the same sad and loving face at the same time, she will invite me and my companions eşnabîs to her home... and who knows, maybe she will join HPC too. Such is this society that lives with death and pain: strong, tireless, welcoming, fighting to the end. This is how these women are. They are an example. There is only one impossible thing here. It is impossible not to fall in love with them and with this Revolution.

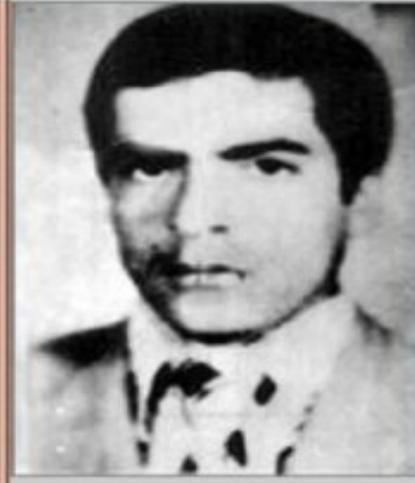




Ferhat KURTAY



Eşref ANYIK



Mahmut ZENGİN



Necmi ÖNER

## THE FIRE THAT WILL BREAK THE DARKNESS

**T**he infamous fascist military coup d'état on September 12, 1980 in Turkey constitutes a major turning point in the history of the country. It launched a period that normalized violence, suppression, censorship, torture and extrajudicial killings, and targeted the revolutionary forces in Turkey and Kurdistan in particular. As result of military coup, 650.000 people were arrested, 1 million 683 thousand were investigated, 7,000 sentenced to death penalty, 517 executed (50 by hanging), 98,400 sentenced for membership in an illegal organization, 388,000 had their passport withdrawn, 30,000 were forced to go into exile, 171 died as a result of torture. 937 films were censored, 14,000 people were stripped off their citizenship, 299 inmates died in prison, and 400 journalists were sentenced to a total of four thousand years in prison.

Prison No.5 was constructed in the Kurdish city of Amed (Diyarbakir) to serve as a concentration camp especially for revolutionary movements. This prison was created and run by high-ranking Turkish generals and largely operated beyond the law. The structure and system were designed to break human willpower, honour and dignity, to alienate persons from their ethnic and political identity and to force them to surrender and accept becoming an in-

formant. In addition to physical violence, psychological torture was used through methods such as false testimonies, evidence falsification, manipulation of news and information. The forced Turkification process in the prison was based on the nationalistic ideology of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk. Prison No. 5 became laboratory of any form of torture experiment.

While many thought that the fight was over, the resistance of PKK members in this prison became a symbol of hope in the revolution. On March 21, 1982, which the Kurds celebrate as the new year's day and a day of resistance – "Newroz"-, one of the founding members of PKK, Mazlum Dogan took the resistance to a new dimension when he set his cell on fire with three matches and sacrificed his life. His last message was "Resistance brings victory, surrender brings betrayal". On May 18th of the same year, four other PKK members, Ferhat Kurtay, Eşref Anyık, Mahmut Zengin and Necmi Öner continued Mazlum Dogan's resistance by putting their arms around each other and setting their bodies on fire. When other comrades tried to stop the fire, the four comrades responded "Do not put out this fire, this is the flame of freedom".

Self-sacrifice is form of action that must be understood as an outcry and plea to end the

injustice of oppression against the Kurds. During the fight against ISIS in Kobane in Rojava, Arîn Mirkan, a commander of the Women's Protection Units YPJ sacrificed her life and became a symbol of resistance and dignity against ISIS fascism. Similarly, self-immolation symbolises the agony of the injustice experienced. Self-immolations as well as 'suicide killings' are not supported as political means by the movement. The fallen ones (Şehîd) are of high ideal value in the movement and are remembered for their selfless idealistic stance in their fight and life for the freedom of their society and for revolutionary ideals.

Below, we publish the letter by the four comrades, Ferhat Kurtay, Eşref Anyik, Mahmut Zengin and Necmi Öner, before their self-immolation action. The light of any fire that is lit will break through the darkness that the enemies knit around us

### **To all our comrades and to humanity!**

In this age, class consciousness and national consciousness are taking on new dimensions. Humanity raises the flag of freedom against captivity and colonialism ever higher. In order to protect oneself and to ensure one's self-defence, the proletariat follows his historical tasks step by step. All over the world the struggles of anti-imperialists, anti-fascists and anti-colonialists are progressing with pain, effort, life, blood and suffering.

It is thanks to such resistance that impe-

rialists no longer exist in many places of the world. It is thanks to these resistances that the existence of the imperialists is threatened. The same fate threatens colonialism. Fascism is also condemned to die a little more every day in the face of the revolutionary steps taken by the people and the proletariat.

Our age is an age in which revolutionaries and anti-revolutionaries find themselves face to face in a fierce struggle. It is an age in which every day the compass swings more towards revolution. An age in which we move closer towards a future which the peoples of the world and the workers are longing for. If the wheel of history continues to turn today, we owe it to the Vietnamese, Cambodians, Cubans, Palestinians, the Kurdish people, the Russian, German and Bulgarian proletariat, who paid for it with their blood and their lives.

The war for the national independence and freedom of the Vietnamese people, crowned by an internal victory, has been a major milestone in the history of world revolution. The invaluable contributions of this revolution became a light for oppressed peoples in their struggle for liberation.

Every step of national liberation struggles comes with great pain and demands great sacrifice. This long-term struggle requires first and foremost that people die for their independence. These are the circumstances in which the national independence and freedom of a people has evolved. To feel and see victory on the horizon, one must believe and trust the struggle.

In order to achieve national independence, one must become one with the people. In order to organise, one must know and understand the people and teach them to believe in liberation. This requires the right vanguard. With such a vanguard, all difficulties will be overcome and all doors opened.

If we look briefly at the history of Kurdistan, we see a lack of organisation that has led to chaos. We see colla-



borators, submissive characters – traitors and class enemies – who, in the name of leadership, have plunged their own people into ruin to further their own interests. The freedom struggle for independence was nipped in the bud by the unscrupulous, invasive, vicious and brutal oppression of the colonising states. Despite all this, our people have left us a legacy of resistance. If such an insurgent people as the people of Kurdistan, who shed so much blood for independence, who buried so many children, had had a vanguard, a leadership that had not become alienated from them, Kurdistan would have gained independence ten times already. It was this people who broke the rule of the Assyrian empire. This people founded the empire of the Medes, which rose like a sun in the Middle East.

This people carried the torch of independence, defending it against the invading armies, the conquering emperors who had come from the East, the West and the South. These people were starving, homeless, but carried on their love of independence in the vast mountains.

This people lived with their language, their culture and produced Mem û Zîn, Ehmedê Xanî and Feqiyê Tayran. It was this people that pitted the love of independence against the colonialism of the Turks, Persians and Arabs with the uprisings of Ubeydullah, Bedirhan, Beydînan, Yezdan Şer, Revanduz, Sason, Agirî, Zîlan, Palo, Genç, Hanî, and Dersîm.

They defeated and were defeated in turn, but they were never cowed by their defeats. This people took Bese as an example, who threw herself from the precipice of a mountain, refusing to surrender and to fall into the hands of the enemy. This people lived on with the memories of countless young, courageous fighters who blossomed like roses from the bloody earth. Through years of being silenced through bloody oppression, for the longing for inde-

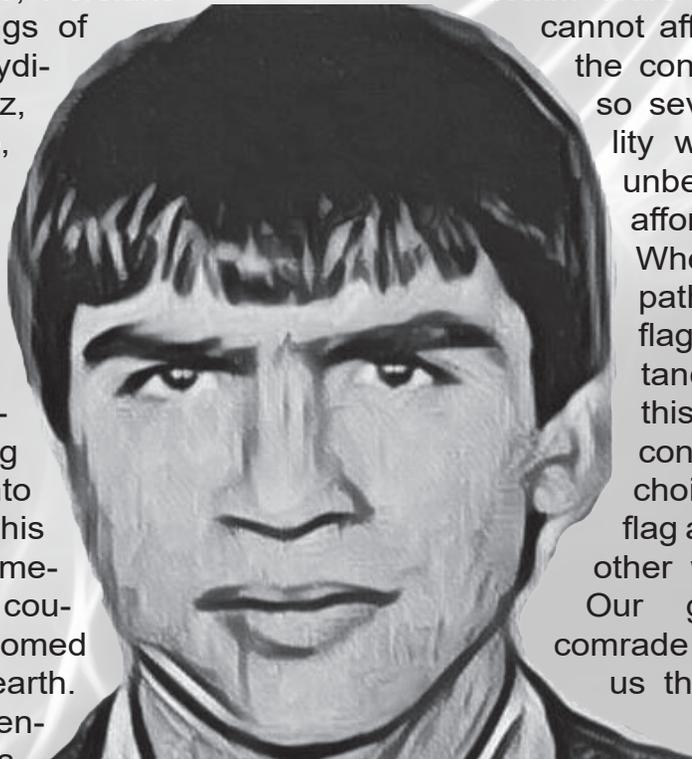
pendence thought to have been destroyed, for the spirit of resistance and the contemporary spirit, the PKK's birth has driven the organisation that it embodies with a new, more enthusiastic, eager and determined spirit.

Upon its foundation on an ideological, political and organisational level, the PKK became the target of the vigorous attacks and conspiracies of Turkish colonialism. One of the founders of the movement, the great communist pioneer and internationalist Haki Karer, became a victim of such a conspiracy. The murder of our comrade Haki showed us the challenges faced by the revolutionary struggle in Kurdistan.

When the first steps of organising the population and people's struggle were taken in Kurdistan, it became imperative to use revolutionary force in order to overcome the difficulties that arose. This was indisputable for the survival of our struggle. In this respect, the physical death of Haki was also a milestone in deepening our struggle. The murder of Haki made us understand that death in the struggle against colonialism must be seen as a part of life.

Today, in Diyarbakir prison, the enemy is trying to smother our unique party, the hope for the salvation of our people, through its attacks on our person. This is a struggle for life and death. Wars can be lost, but we

cannot afford to lose, because the consequences would be so severe. The responsibility would be painful and unbearable. We cannot afford to lose this war. When we entered this path we worked under a flag of immaculate resistance and we must carry this flag in the same clean condition. We have no choice. To live under this flag and raise it, there is no other way than resistance. Our great pioneer and comrade Mazlum has shown us this in the past. As in all times, we are living through a very difficult and pain-



Mazlum Doğan

ful situation in the dungeons of Diyarbakir. In such a situation Comrade Mazlum became a symbol, sacrificing his precious life. Our party leadership [Rêber Apo] has exemplified the standard of responsibility with Comrade Mazlum. Yes, our party expects us to resist. Under these conditions of imprisonment, in which we have no weapons, the party expects us to inflame our lives and our blood.

The light of any fire that is lit will break through the darkness that our enemies knit around us. Each fire kindled will destroy the subjugation and the walls of betrayal, lead us to our people and magnify the hope the people see in us. Every fire that is lit will be connected to the fire that Comrade Mazlum lit with three matches and will augment it. This fire will shatter the torture and the abominable aims of the colonial fascists.

### **Friends!**

The enemy is barbaric, the enemy is ruthless, the enemy is determined to reach his goal. If we do not say "stop" now, we will not only be ashamed of ourselves as revolutionaries, we will even be ashamed of ourselves as human beings. If we do not leave this prison in the name of our party, in the name of our people, with our heads held high, future generations will curse us for it. No excuse will spare us from our people's desire for justice.

We, as well as our people outside, experience

in the dungeons a time of death and survival. The way to overcome this is obvious. The experience and heritage of our party history has left us a great tradition of resistance. This tradition must be maintained. Today, however, it is more crucial, more vital and more necessary to maintain this tradition of resistance in Diyarbakir prison, where the enemy attacks mercilessly in many dangerous ways to destroy us and our people.

No one who organises himself within the party, no person, no honourable Kurdish Welatparêz [patriot], no sympathiser and supporter of the PKK should flee from this responsibility. Everyone can do something. And we must all become aware of what our party and our people expect of us and we must fight with this awareness. With this action we will practically demonstrate the responsibility, trust and conviction we feel towards our party, our people and progressive humanity.

### **Comrades!**

You should know one thing well: from now on the Turkish and Kurdish people will be with you. We are the successors of Haki in Antep, of Xelîl in Curnê Reş [Hilvan], of Besey in Dersîm. We are the successors of Mazlum Doğan in the prisons. We are not afraid, you should not be afraid.







## ENTREVISTA CON UN INTERNACIONALISTA EN SHENGAL

***Merhaba heval esperamos que estas bien. ¿Puedes presentarte en pocas palabras?***

Dembaş hevalno mi nombre es Bager Şervan y soy un internacionalista del movimiento de la libertad. soy de America del Sur pero deje mi vida laboral allí para unirme al movimiento revolucionario en Oriente Medio. Y he estado trabajando con el movimiento desde hace varios años. Tengo 27 años y más o menos eso es lo que te puedo decir

***¿Puede decirnos dónde está ahora y qué estás haciendo con el movimiento?***

Ahora estoy en la región de Shengal en el norte de Irak haciendo trabajo social sobre todo con las organizaciones juveniles. Organizamos comités juveniles como parte del sistema de confederalismo democrático y desarrollamos muchas actividades en torno a este tema. Por ejemplo, deportes, cultura, eventos sociales, etc. También jugamos un gran papel en el fortalecimiento de la autonomía de los jóvenes, proporcionando seminarios y formación o ayudándoles a desarrollar o encontrar actividades económicas.

***¿Hay otros internacionalistas o extranjeros en Shengal?***

Sí. Hay un pelotón internacionalista en las fuerzas de autodefensa y algunos otros amigos trabajando en otras áreas como el trabajo de los medios de comunicación o el movimiento de liberación de las mujeres. También hay otras ONGs, pero yo no las he visto. Escuché de una ONG evangelista que hace trabajo humanitario, pero a los jóvenes yezidis que me hablaron de ellos no les gustaron. Dijeron que eran como Daesh, ya que querían hacerles abrazar el cristianismo. Los yezidis están muy orgullosos de sus particularidades y no les gusta la actitud caritativa de la mayoría de los occidentales que estuvieron aquí. Por otro lado también tengo que decir que parte de los extranjeros aquí son agentes de los servicios de seguridad de estados CIA MIT MOSSAD etc.

***Sobre los agentes y estados extranjeros, ¿puedes decirnos cuál es la situación política actual en Shengal?***

Primero hay contextualizar un poco. En 2014 Daesh llegó a Shengal y perpetró asesinatos en masa y esclavizó a miles de mujeres y niños. Mataron a los hombres hicieron de las mujeres esclavas sexuales y de los niños terroristas suicidas. Los Yezidis consideran este episodio como el 74° genocidio contra su gente y su cultura. Cuando los yihadistas invadieron la región, las fuerzas estatales como el ejército iraquí o el ejército de peshmergas del clan Barzani de la provincia regional del Kurdistán huyeron. Los ejércitos de los estados dejaron a los yezidis solos frente a un destino horrible y horrorosa muerte. Decenas de miles de yezidis tuvieron que dejar sus casas y todo lo que tenían. Con esa situación fue el momento que Los guerrilleros del PKK y algunos desertores peshmerga llegaron a Shengal y ofrecieron una primera resistencia contra los fascistas islámicos. Y luego poco a poco comenzaron a retomar el terreno de la mano de los jihadistas. Ese es el punto de partida de una implementación popular del PKK en la región. Las fuerzas legales de los estados huyeron y no ofrecieron ninguna protección, entonces las guerrillas se convirtieron en práctica en las únicas fuerzas legítimas sobre el terreno. Rápidamente las guerrillas y las estructuras del partido ayudaron a la sociedad Yezidi a desarrollar fuerzas de autodefensa y estructuras democráticas. Cuando los guerrilleros volvieron a las montañas dejaron atrás fuerzas revolucionarias autónomas bien entrenadas y estructuradas, las milicias YBŞ, YJŞ y las semillas de las estructuras democráticas que han ido creciendo hasta hoy.

Con este episodio es fácil entender por qué los Yezidis no confían en el gobierno iraquí o en las instituciones y agentes del KRG. E incluso podría hablar de otro tipo de abusos que los estados hicieron o están haciendo aquí contra los civiles. Raquetas y secuestros en la comuna incluso antes de que llegara Daesh. Tenemos que entender que los Yezidis están siendo perseguidos desde mucho tiempo debido a sus particularidades culturales, pero todavía tienen la voluntad de resistir. Esta voluntad y capacidad de resistencia ha ido creciendo después de la última masacre. El desarrollo de las organizaciones democráticas confederalistas ha sido el fundamento para eso. Con una educación política y una estructura autónoma como la de

los jóvenes y de las mujeres, pero también organizando infraestructuras, la población yezidi se ha vuelto cada vez más auto-eficiente. Cuanto más se desarrolle la estructura democrática, menos poder tendrán los Estados en la región.

### ***¿Por qué y cómo los estados están amenazando la región de Shengal?***

La autodeterminación de las Yezidis es vista como una amenaza por los estados de toda la región. El poder imperialista también está decidido a poner fin a la autonomía de Şengal. Es un proceso materialista histórico que se repite aquí. Como la autonomía de los zapatistas o del pueblo vietnamita se ha visto como una amenaza hoy en día la autonomía de Şengal asusta los poderes hegemónicos. Esto trajo diplomáticos de Irak, Turquía, EE.UU. y KRG para construir un complot contra las estructuras democráticas de Shengal.

La presencia militar se ha reforzado y todas las carreteras principales que llevan a Shengal están cubiertas por docenas de puntos de control. Todos los que viajan a esta región están fuertemente controlados. La frontera con Siria ha sido reforzada, lo que no era el caso durante el período de Daesh. Y se han desplegado muchos agentes en las ciudades y pueblos. El PDK (partido mayoritario dentro el KRG) ha estado desplegando tropas alrededor de las montañas de Gare y Qandil para cortar la vía de comunicación con las guerrillas del PKK. Las fuerzas aéreas turcas están volando constantemente sobre la región y de vez en cuando lanzan bombas sobre los objetivos que han localizado. La mayoría de las veces atacan a civiles. Obviamente dicen haber matado a combatientes del PKK o terroristas pero no es así. Por ejemplo, hace algunas semanas Erdogan afirmó haber matado a miembros



de ISIS en respuesta a los ataques en Francia, de hecho golpearon un coche civil en un pueblo de pastores matando a un hombre e hiriendo a otros dos. Los cuales no pertenecian ni al PKK ni al Estado Islamico. Y cuando los dos heridos fueron llevados al hospital de Mossoul la policia iraquí los arrestó.

Esto demuestra muy bien el complot de los estados contra Shengal. De una mano las fuerzas iraquíes y del KRG despliegan tropas armadas para aislar la región. De la otra mano, los aviones de guerra turcos atacan a los civiles para aterrorizar a la población. El gobierno de Trump provee información de inteligencia, finanzas y armas a los militares iraquíes y del KRG. EE.UU. también juega un papel sucio en la diplomacia internacional usando su influencia para evitar que otras naciones denuncien el complot contra Shengal.

Esos son los primeros pasos antes de una operación de invasión militar. Todo esto tiene como objetivo desplegar una guerra psicológica contra los que se organizan fuera de las estructuras del estado. Quieren enviar un mensaje a la gente de Shengal pero también a todo el mundo, los que rechazan el poder del estado serán perseguidos con armas de guerra modernas y considerados como terroristas.

La guerra psicológica, como en todo el mundo, es la mayor herramienta que los estados usan contra las sociedades. Aquí en Shengal y particularmente ahora esos movimientos son muy obvios. Si miras en los medios turcos o de los Barzanis (nepotistas del KDP), su operación de propagandas es muy fácil de descubrir.

***¿Puede hablarnos de la resistencia de la sociedad contra este complot de los estados?***

La resistencia está organizada en su mayoría por estructuras democráticas autónomas y especialmente por vanguardias como el movimiento de mujeres o el movimiento juvenil. ¿Es una respuesta lógica que surge de los sujetos revolucionarios. Quiero decir que los jóvenes y las mujeres son los que han hecho el mayor avance en el proceso de democratización, por lo que son los que tienen la mayor voluntad de defender esos avances. En la práctica podemos ver esos movimientos llevando a toda la sociedad a las calles para protestar contra los ataques de los aviones de combate turcos o contra la traición del KRG-Iraqi. A diario alzan su voz en la calle, pero también en los medios de comunicación y a nivel diplomático. Cada día hay declaraciones leídas públicamente por uno u otro grupo o manifestación

en una o otra localidad de la región de Shengal. En algunas ocasiones se ha vuelto mas espectacular con la ocupación de los puestos de control del ejército iraquí. Pero la mayor resistencia es el desarrollo de las organizaciones democráticas. Hace unos días un grupo de madres tenía el lema "LA MAYOR VENGANZA CONTRA EL GENOCIDIO DE YEZIDI ES LA ORGANIZACIÓN DE LAS MUJERES".

Para resumir, la columna vertebral de la resistencia es la organización. La auto-organización popular aporta a la sociedad la fuerza, la voluntad y el conocimiento para protestar y defender la democracia.

***¿No temen que se enfrenten a las máquinas de guerra? ¿No temen morir o ser herido?***

Por supuesto que sí. Al menos yo lo tengo. ¿Y



quién no? Pero también estamos preparados para esto. Como revolucionarios sabemos que en un momento u otro tendremos que enfrentarnos a las fuerzas represivas del estado. Llevar la libertad al pueblo significa también quitarle el poder a los estados. Eso significa que somos una amenaza para los estados. Y en un plan a largo plazo siempre intentarán aplastarnos. Sentir miedo no es un problema, es una emoción muy normal frente al peligro. Hasta que este miedo no nos bloquee, es un sentimiento importante que nos da la posibilidad de superar los obstáculos en nuestro camino. O sea hay que ser realista y exigir lo imposible

***¿Puede decirnos por qué está allí como internacionalista y por qué la situación de Shengal es importante para el resto del mundo?***

Como dije, no soy kurdo ni siquiera soy originario de Oriente Medio. Pero como revolucionario, lo que está sucediendo aquí es histórico. Es una lucha por la autodeterminación, por la democracia, por la liberación de la mujer. Es un camino muy importante en la historia de la humanidad. Las problemáticas aquí son muy similar a las problemáticas en muchas partes del mundo y particularmente en Sudamérica. Aquí nos enfrentamos al imperialismo al colonialismo y por supuesto a las raíces de la mentalidad capitalista. Estamos construyendo en la práctica la respuesta a esas problemáticas aquí estamos desarrollando soluciones que son una inspiración para todos los pueblos y clases oprimidas en todo el mundo. Como internacionistas creemos que los pueblos unidos no serán derrotados. Eso es lo que estamos haciendo aquí construyendo la unidad de los pueblos.



Bijî Berxwedana Şengalê!



## “PKK is the people and the people is here”



*Sarya Onur*

**T**his phrase significantly expresses the dialectical relationship between the Kurdistan Liberation Movement and its people. The revolutionary militants join the struggle committed to the liberation of society, and to achieve this liberation, in addition to fighting and resisting the attacks of the enemies, the militants take responsibility for opening paths and accompanying society toward a self-organization that allows them to come closer to freedom.

To understand the revolutionary people's war we must begin by asking ourselves what war is. Sometimes war is made through the use of weapons, but the war that the powers of Capitalist Modernity are waging against women and peoples to impose their political projects of destruction of life, is a constant war that attacks from different places and uses all kinds of methods; from the burning of forests and fields, kidnapping, torture, imprisonment and rape, to the prohibition of one's own language, threats and murder. In the face of this, the people must organize in all areas, not just the military. It is important to develop a deep knowledge of the enemy: who is he and how was the system created? How does he function and work? What is he capable

of doing? How is he present in our daily life? How does he influence our way of thinking, acting and feeling? Knowing the enemy well is a necessary step in preparing to resist and defend oneself against his attacks, developing clear principles of acceptance and rejection that allow people to decide how they want to live and make their own decisions. In this sense, the creation of communes, popular academies, cooperatives and all kinds of social institutions for the organization of life by the people are the greatest self-defense that the people can have. In this way, a people is built that is prepared to fight and resist against the attacks that come, to defend its existence.

In order to establish Democratic Autonomy, if the State does not permit dialogue to be carried out in a consensual manner, the people prepared and with consciousness will rise up and carry out the Revolutionary People's War. A clear example of this is the declaration of autonomy that the Kurdish people made in several cities of Bakur, -Northern Kurdistan- during the year 2016, and the creation of the YPS (Civil Defense Units) and the YPS-Jin (Civil Defense Units-Women) to defend that autonomy. The youth took up arms to defend their neighborhoods from the

fierce attacks of the Turkish army, carrying out a historic resistance in which the cruelest face of the Erdogan government was shown. The important thing is to prepare the people to resist

Age'. When speaking of revolutionary people's war, especially as women, it is important to mention the HPC-Jin, the defense forces of the communes formed by women, usually mothers, who

## The time for demonstrations is over

without lowering their heads and to fight with the hope of winning, always seeking new paths.

As women we must also prepare ourselves for the revolutionary people's war, since the patriarchy attacks us daily and in every possible way. Therefore it is necessary that above all women know the enemy and how he is present in our lives, in our relationships, in our way of thinking, feeling and loving. To what extent have we developed a strong will and to what extent are we tied to the patriarchal system. We must know the history of how patriarchy was created, to see that it did not always exist and that before it women had a major role in creating and defending society, something that is still alive today despite the system's efforts to hide it. Women are the strength of their society, so we can see how, when the enemy wants to destroy a village, he attacks the women of that village first.

The organized strength of women, and their connection to their territory, is the greatest difficulty the system has in imposing itself. We saw this during the resistance in Afrin, where women of all ages took to the streets to defend Afrin from the Turkish army, convinced that they would not abandon their land, in a resistance that lasted 57 days and was known as 'the Resistance of the

are prepared to take up arms and defend their neighborhoods and cities against the attacks of the invader, fighting alongside their daughters and sons with the conviction that 'NO PASARÂN!'

*"For a revolutionary people's war it is not enough for the SDF (Democratic Forces of Syria) to fight and the others to help a little. The time for demonstrations is over. This form of action is not what Rojava needs at the moment. It is time for all Kurdish men and women, young and old, to arm themselves and stand by the armed forces."* Besê Hozat, co-chair of KCK





# Jinwar

## Cómo construimos la Aldea de Mujeres de Jinwar en Rojava

**W**hen walking in the streets where the Rojava/northern Syria women's revolution has been taking place over the past years – a revolution greening on its own sprouts -, history served as our guide. We came across statues of goddesses, names of villages, poems, folkloric stories, traditional fertility tattoos on women's bodies (deq), symbols and signs on the walls of people's homes... We traveled through many villages that carried the names of women: Gundê Selma, Xezalê, Xatunê, Xizne, Hermel, Tuz Ana, Derin Ana, Cirn Ana, Kaya Ana, Kirk Kızlar, Kız Tepesi, Gozeltepe and many others. All of them provided us with the means to imagine our dreams, with their historic fabric and knowledge treasures.

We started our construction period with a group of friends. Apart from a concrete life-form, our project was to constitute an answer to the question of "How to live?". The construction of Jinwar women's village was welcomed, followed, and supported by everybody, who had contributed to the Rojava revolution, with enthusiasm and excitement. Soon, our numbers

increased and so did the richness and diversity of thoughts, ideas and perspectives that created the village. Everyone welcomed our desire to create an ecological women's village, whose economy would be based on farming, agriculture, and women's manual and mental labour.

Instead of using concrete in the village's architecture, we preferred to use mud-bricks for the airy, single-floor houses with large courtyards, as we had sufficient experience and knowledge in this regard. We evaluated settlement models that would enable a communal life, where mothers could comfortably raise their children and where life was generally accessible and functional. Through a long process of discussion, we came to the conclusion that each home should have its own garden, that each resident should be given a designated piece of land to meet their seasonal needs, that agriculture, farming and gardening areas should be made available to meet the self-sustainability of the needs emerging from communal life, and that efforts ought to be made to plant trees in the village. As these discussions

went on, the area where the village was to be built was determined. Thus, the village construction started with the tree-planting process.

### **Jinwar is a free space for women**

Apart from discussions concerning the village's life system and construction, we wanted to come up with projects for children. When discussing the education system, we took care to enhance the children's joy to learn by paying attention to things such as providing large green areas and round classrooms. Special care was taken to assure the existence of playing facilities for children, as well as means for women to engage in social activities and work to enhance their ability to develop their talents and learn new skills. The homes were designed to constitute a circle and to face each other, so that they simultaneously serve as the walls of the village. The centre is the designated playground for the children.

Apart from the 30 homes and the school system, the 'Aşnan' bakery, 'My sister's shop', the 'Şifajin' natural health center and the 'Jinwar Academy' were built. If we also count the animal shelters for our ecological subsistence economy, we can speak of a total of 50 buildings in our village, including homes and institutions.

To find a visual representation of our life, we wanted to decide on a symbol. We began considering different symbols, such as the Shahmaran, the Queen of Snakes, a regional feminine mythological creature that represents fertility, abundance and wisdom, or the Mesopotamian goddess Kubaba with pomegranates in her hands, or the northern Syrian fertility goddess Atargatis, or the historic Ashnan, Mesopotamia's goddess of grain. In the end, we concluded that our symbol should be the hermel plant (Syrian Rue or perganum harmala), which grows on the black-soiled hills and is used by Kurds, Arabs, Syriacs, Assyrians, Armenians, and Chechens in the region as an everyday home remedy. The plant is believed to remove negative thoughts and to be a cure for more than 200 different illnesses. We picked the common wall decoration made from hermel as the symbol of Jinwar.

While everyone was flooding to the empty es-

tate to lay the first foundations of our home, there were many discussions on the name for the village. Soon, we decided it should be Jinwar. Jinwar or Warê Jinan means the "living place of women" or the "habitat of women".

As our research, cost calculations, infrastructural and logistical planning (construction equipment, vehicles, roadworks etc.) went on, we began making mud-bricks. For this, we consulted workers and knowledgeable people. Whoever was curious about our work, dropped by our place. In the spirit of the village, multilingual, multi-cultural groups met and joined efforts for the village's construction. The complimentary harmony between the many languages and cultures that provided helping hands seemed so natural and exciting that we often forgot that we didn't speak the same language! Through a combination of mimics, gestures and collective work, we managed to communicate and understand each other. Sometimes, we had to collectively carry soil to our place from other areas. We made hay, we carried stones on our backs and in our laps.

### **Cooperation and superation**

We overcame our most difficult tasks with the help of all the guests that came to visit us. While our guests from Europe put covers on the mud-bricks to protect them from the rain, Arab women were pushing their stuck cars out of the mud. Some people were very curious about our situation, but too far away, so they tried to support us over the phone. This way, even the hardest tasks became enjoyable. The local administrations did not wait for a call or invitation to bring us materials and tools that we required. Different institutions of Rojava came in groups to ask for ways in which they could support the construction of the village. Women electricians and carpenters from different parts of the world expressed their wish to travel to the village to work. There were plenty of women, who believed that life here would be beautiful, even before the women's village was built. As the project developed and took shape, the society became increasingly more excited. Everybody wanted to participate, even if it meant to only put one stone on another.

Not a single moment passed without action. Even during tea breaks or meals, we tried to come up with solutions to problems we faced. We discussed ways in which we can improve our ability to cooperate. There is a saying in Kurdish: “tekîliyên bi nan û xwêy” – bonds through bread and sweat -



which seems to have been updated with the construction of Jinwar. We really managed to come up with a relationship style that shares and produces everything without self-interest.

The construction of the women’s village started on March 10th, 2017, right after the 8th March international women’s day celebrations, and opened its doors to the residents and workers on November 25th, 2018, the international day against violence against women. Women started applying to live in the village, even while the construction work was going on and moved in as the homes were finishing. They led the opening ceremony of their own, new homes.

The women of Jinwar wanted to run themselves based on democratic principles that respect everyone’s rights and assure everyone’s ability to participate in life as equals. Thus, the Jinwar debates about the women’s council of

the village began. Every woman, who settles in the village can participate in the village council and help plan the village life. Jinwar women can collectively bake their bread in the bakery or cook and eat in the communal kitchen. At the school, the academy, or the health center, as well as in the realms of agriculture, media, and diplomacy, every woman can take up responsibilities based on her own wishes. She can shape social life, welcome visiting delegations, run the shop with her own products according to her own needs. She can get education and join discussions at the academy. She can discuss and share her views on woman and life, free co-life, women and ethics-aesthetics, women and ecology, women and economy, women and history, women and health/natural health. Women can of course arrange for their needs beyond the village as well, they go on family visits or invite and host their loved ones to the village. But men are not allowed to stay in the village overnight.

When the women tell their stories to each other, it becomes obvious that each of them is expecting the beginning of a new journey with their life in the village. In the discussions held in our everyday life, women constantly express their happiness: “How great that we exist, how great that we are together, how great that we are here. Every women’s group can be able to imagine and create such spaces and villages for themselves.”

Jinwar came into being as the collective effort and labour of Kurdish, Arab, Armenian, and Circassian volunteers and working women. Jinwar has been built on the soil of barren farming estates, a stony and dry piece of land, where animals would graze and children would play in the summer. For the first time, this piece of land is experiencing a creation period of such dimensions: its own soil, water, and stones provided the basis for the building of an entire village of women. It constitutes a geography for different communities, cultures and beliefs to blend with each other in the creation of a new life. Every person, stepping on this soil, is filled with the joy of contributing something to this historic undertaking. Today, women in Jinwar re-create themselves from their ashes to develop their own self-determined identity.





## Time for women to rise up against fascism

**H**adiyya Youssef, a member of the Executive Committee of the Democratic Union Party (PYD), said that in Syria and Turkey “a systematic and malicious policy is being implemented on women to restrict their freedom and erase their identity.

“It is time for women to stand up against the policies that are being plotted against them and undermine their freedom,” said the leader of Syria’s main Kurdish party.

According to Youssef, in the recent period there has been an increase in the number of murders of women, who are also victims of violence against them by the dominant regimes and powers in both Syria and Turkey.

The news agency ANHA held a dialogue with the representative of PYD, of which we reproduce the most important fragments:

In general, there is violence against women everywhere in Kurdistan, especially against Kurdish women. But what is the patriarchal system seeking with these policies, and what is the dan-

ger that women represent for the state, so that violence against them increases to this point?

In the natural society, women played a pioneering role in organizing society and developing the foundations of life, since society used to enjoy equality and justice, far from the class and violence established by the male system after a struggle that lasted more than 200,000 years. This struggle was aimed at extracting the power that women had, to allow the emergence of a male society, in which there are many classes and also the ruling authority. This was the system of male mentality that was imposed on society.

This system imposed a mentality on society, so it organized women according to the intentions it had. Despite the policies it applied to women, it feared the power of women, because the organization of society belonged to them. Therefore, the male system was afraid that women would return to their Sumerian-era system of over 5,000 years ago.

The patriarchal system was afraid of this

policy, and by not showing the strength and will of women, it tried by various means to repress and minimize their freedom and to subject their freedom to customs and norms.

Therefore, domestic violence grew in society until women were subordinated to the decisions of authority, and outdated customs and traditions were imposed on women in society, so that they remained within the molds, laws and limits that authority had set for them. In addition, the state system was consolidated on the subjugation of women, because violence is one of the basic methods of the state. We see that all laws issued by states, starting with the most democratic countries, lack legislation to protect women.

We also see in all countries of the world that women are exposed to all kinds of violence and injustice, so we conclude that these policies that are applied are to prevent them from obtaining their rights, and so that they are always subject to men and their mentality.

Women have the highest proportion of rape in Turkey: displacement, rape and murder, especially those who were displaced from Syria and were exploited (slavery with the aim of sexual exploitation), in addition to child marriage. How can this be explained?

Syria is one of the countries where women have been victims of violence, especially in light of the outbreak of the revolution, from 2011 until now. Women have been highly exploited, because society has fallen captive to the concept of mercenary groups that have emerged, whose

mentality is based on extremism and sexual slavery. To establish their kind of society, these extremist groups first attacked the will of women, so thousands of women were killed, raped, stoned and exploited, so that these groups would continue their atrocious acts against society.

The city of Shengal (mostly Yezidi, in northern Iraq) was an important example of this, as we saw with our own eyes what happened to thousands of women. We can conclude that the struggle between women and men lasted 5,000 years, and the rights that women won during the Red Revolution were destined to the will of women.

Syria has not been spared from these violations. On the one hand, there is the revolution for freedom, led by women, with the support of the Women's Protection Units (YPJ), and the construction of a revolution to which thousands of women who are seeking freedom are joining. But the cases of violence and the murder of women are a war against the revolution for women's freedom.

In the same context, women who have been subjected to violence have experienced the ravages of war and have fled from this reality, particularly to Turkey. But we see that here they have been enslaved and exploited like a commodity, as thousands of women reside in the Turkish camps for displaced Syrians and are exposed to violence and all kinds of injustices.

Today we find that women in Syria are exposed to violence and marry at an early age. The issue of women's freedom is an international issue because when women try to free themselves



from slavery, they are exposed to violence and insults in different forms, especially in countries that have experienced the scourges of war.

A clear and systematic malicious policy is applied to women in order to break their freedom and erase their identity so that they do not achieve their goal. Also to destroy the principles of society, breaking, in turn, the will of women. Thus women are in a great and continuous struggle to confront this mentality.

In Turkey, there has been an increase in the number of murders of women committed by their relatives, and the rape of children and young women by police officers; however, these crimes have not been punished, but, on the contrary, the rapist is released and married (to his victim). What is Turkey's intention with these policies?

The Turkish state is an occupying state. We can call it that, because since the Ottoman era and until today, Turkey is known for its occupation of regions of the Middle East. Despite this, Turkey tries to show that it is one of the most democratic countries, and tries to promote its accession to the European Union (EU); but its methods differ from this. During the rule of the Justice and Development Party (AKP), all laws aimed at women's freedom have been violated.

We learned that in Turkey, a Turkish officer raped a girl, waving and holding the flag of fascism in her hand, because Turkey is a country built on the principles and foundations of fascism, and there is no law to prosecute this officer. The reactions of society to this atrocious

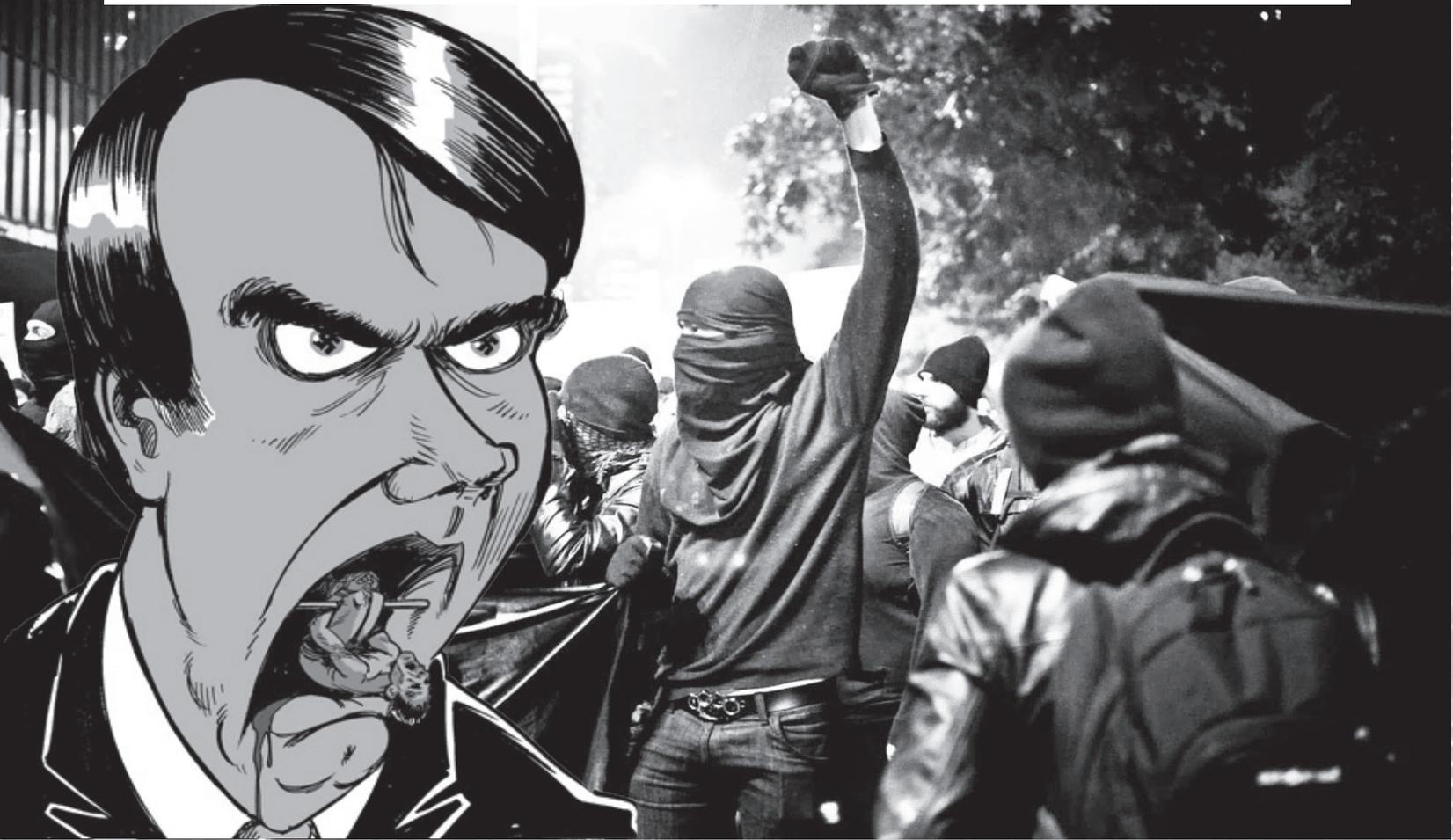
act were strong. But unfortunately there are many similar cases in Kurdistan. Turkish courts are full of cases of violence against women.

We also see thousands of women in Turkish prisons, fighting for freedom and representing the will of the people, who are suffering the most horrible types of torture and violence. We witness, daily, women losing their lives or starting hunger strike campaigns, the last of which was led by lawyer Ebru Timtik, who resisted Turkish fascism for more than 200 days.

Turkey applies its policy to all women who seek freedom and try to build a democratic system, away from power and violence. On all these practices and violations that occur against women, what is the role of international and women's human rights organizations at this time?

Unfortunately, in the face of all these violations, injustices and violence to which women are subjected, we see that international organizations remain silent and do not stand up against these countries that try to curb women's freedom, because they are countries that serve the interests of authoritarian states. For this reason, women must organize their own human rights institutions, develop their independent system and own a growing institution in the face of the patriarchal system and slavery, in order to put an end to this violence.





## A SOCIAL REVOLUTION FOR OUR TIME

*But the universal revolution is the social revolution, it is the simultaneous revolution of the people of the countryside and the cities. This is what must be organized, because without a preparatory organization, the strongest elements are powerless and null.*

Mikhail A. Bakunin

**H**ere in Brazil, the times we live in are very hard, and it is hard to even imagine being able to move things. We grow slowly while the accelerated situation demands from us a capacity for action that we do not have. In the search for a new model of capitalist regulation, the bourgeoisie is leading the oppressed peoples into the abyss of precariousness and the destruction of the earth.

We are at war, a war between humanity and its own survival, a conflict that has dragged on for centuries and today finds one of its greatest

moments as the project of destruction advances, revealing the real weapons of mass destruction of our time: the financial market, the bulldozers, the oil platforms, agro-industry, the structures of cultural domination; a capitalism that finances itself as never before and at the same time is brutally extractive. The rich are proclaiming that they are willing to destroy our ecosystem and our lives so that they do not have to give up an inch of their privileges, it is World War IV. The difference with imperialist conflicts is that it is more important to win popular support than to conquer territories and resources. We cannot win with the “war of positions” proposed by the bureaucracies of the left, nor with a simple “war of movement,” but, as long as we maintain the initiative and prevent the fortified points of the enemy from entering their gaps, it will be the war of an entire people against their oppressors, as Abraham

Guillén said; which will not be resolved immediately and will require perseverance and determination to carry out a prolonged conflict. A war without militarism, which will not be decided by force of arms, but by the basic organization of the oppressed classes in the re-creation of the structures of the new society.

### **Kurdistan and Democratic Confederalism**

The Revolution of Rojava and Democratic Confederalism have three main meanings for us: (1) that revolutions are still possible (2) that the path of libertarian socialism, beyond what is possible, is the right one (3) that despite the different contexts and roots there is much we can learn and adapt, after all if we understand that our struggles are related, meaning that they have the same assumption of practice and project. The search for participation in the structures of bourgeois left domination has led not only to the distancing of the working class, but also to the absence of relations between the political projects of transformation and our territories. If we want to build concrete alternatives, we must begin there, listening not only to Rojava and Chiapas, but in our own Brazil to the indigenous communities, the quilombolas, the peasants and our giant slums and urban peripheries; who live in conditions of daily extermination promoted by the State.

**“Insistence on socialism is insistence on being human”**

Our revolution, whether in the present in Kurdistan or in the future of Brazil, is not interested in the seizure of political power. The break with the patriarchy and capitalism does not pass through the cut, and demands a diffuse action in all spheres (cultural, economic and political); its revolutionary subject is formed through militant work and is not predetermined, it is the oppressed classes in all their amplitude and diversity that form a strong people. That is why we say that our revolution is social, because it acts in society, it subverts and reconstructs its structures, it does not dispute power with the enemy, but it builds its own power without the need for intermediaries. Its program is that of emancipation and self-management at all levels, of bodies and territories.

Ricardo Flores Magón said that it is the people themselves, it is the hungry, it is the disinherited who have to abolish poverty. As attractive as they may seem, we cannot take shortcuts, and the reorganization of society for grassroots democracy without contesting the dominant apparatus of the nation-state presupposes direct attack on the sources of the privilege of wealth and power, as well as domination. patriarchal and colonial. This means breaking with individualism, valuing and stimulating the sense of community, what we can call the collective dimension, understanding ourselves as part of a whole. And it is by organizing this collective force, through instances of debate and decision, that we can advance together

towards our goals. And when we come together collectively, we begin a long process of learning, experimentation, and emancipation. At the end of the day, the struggle is a great school, in it we learn, cultivate and experience the values of the society we want to build, that is, no matter where we start to organize ourselves, the essential thing is that the pro-



cesses of rupture are carried out. carried out through practices consistent with our project of society, because the ends are in the means. To fight effectively against capitalist modernity, we must not forget internationalism, think and act locally on the one hand, think and act globally on the other, weaving networks and joints to share our problems and compact the various resistances against our common enemies, Capital, the Patriarchy, Racism and the State. As combatants and fighters, we know that we are not alone, and that the new world that we carry in our hearts is reflected in the millions of people in all corners of the planet. As the Zapatista communities sing: that we live for our homeland or that we die for freedom, but not for this homeland, but for the universal homeland. Build the struggle for a dignified life, organize the Latin American peoples into militant and autonomous movements, leave our territories to build popular power and little by little consolidate a broad mass movement capable of defeating the sovereignty of the ruling classes and imperialism, pointing to a process of structural transformation of society. This is our joint task, which must not give rise to egos, bourgeois practices of defamation, verbal violence and arrogance that prevent differences from being set aside to build points of union and solidarity.

Something that perhaps the winds of freedom blowing from Syrian Kurdistan can help develop.

The Middle East and Latin America share a brotherhood born of the pain of the looting and destruction of their lands, the denial and genocide of the peoples, the domination imposed on women, the imperialist exploitation of the working class. From this pain today we make hope and strength to unite the dispersed and organize the disorganized, knowing how to be and form that libertarian alternative of "a world where many worlds fit." If we pay attention we will be able to hear, in the noise and silence, the millions of voices that as one shouts from below: up those and those who fight!

**With the oppressed,  
against oppressors  
FOREVER!**

**Brazilian Anarchist Coordination (CAB)**





## WHAT ARE FROM ROJAVA IN OUR STRUGGLES?

*Texto: Teia Dos Povos*

*Artes: Colectivo PingaPinga*

**S**ince 2012, Kurds and Kurds have started a social revolution in northern Syria, in search of their collective autonomy as a people. In Brazil, it has been widely publicized as an inspiring struggle by organizations, movements, and people who identify ideologically with the struggle, mainly libertarians. But solidarity cannot be only in ideology, abstract. It has to make bridges, be real and concrete, see the threats and common destinies that are submitted. The Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK), protagonist of this transformation together with the Union of Kurdistan Communities (KCK), made use of this kind of solidarity, fighting and training guerrillas with Palestinians against the State of Israel in Lebanon in 1982, but also building Democratic Confederalism in Northeastern Syria with Armenians, Assyrians and Arabs of different religions. Thinking of this solidarity with bridges, several foundations of the strug-

gles there are present in the struggles here, the self-determination of indigenous peoples and traditional communities, the struggle of women, the struggles for public transportation, housing, for peripheral territories in the cities and against genocide. It is a perspective of joint struggle that does not know the borders of the nation-state, the alliance between peoples so diverse in the same nation-state, the struggle for territories, for the liberation of women, ecology from below and self-management.

Still relatively little known (or ignored?) outside the most libertarian circles, the political thought of the Kurdish struggle, translated into fundamental texts such as those of Abdullah Öcalan, points to the urgency of a radical critique of the nation-state as the provider of self-determination for minority peoples, following the example of those under pressure from the escalating conflicts in the so-called Middle East, a tragic legacy of the long-standing interests of capital in the region. By calling into question the pillars of the nation-state - nationalism/patriotism, positivist science, sexism and religiosity - the defense of Democratic Confederalism as a "non-state social paradigm" points to the failure of the model of control of the international order currently in force, by its inability to offer peoples effective guarantees of their freedom, and denounces its complic-

ity with the submission of these peoples to the capitalist order and their liberal democracy.

The Turkish state, in its imperialist adventures in the Middle East and colonizers in its own territory, has subjected Kurds and Kurds - besides other ethnic groups - to genocide since its foundation, denying their existence and considering them as "mountain Turks", exterminating any resistance. In a way very similar to the Brazilian state - and worsened in the present bad government here - with the black and indigenous peoples, until today Turkey follows its racist enterprise to kill and erase the existence of Kurds. Like the Belo Monte Hydroelectric Plant, which destroyed a Munduruku cemetery, stole the water from the Xingu's great return, expelled and shackled indigenous and riverside peoples, a Turkish dam destroyed the historic city of 12,000 years, Hasankeyf, expelling the Kurdish population in the region and drowning their memory under water. Like the "day of fire" made by the militias of the latifundium with the consent of the Brazilian state, the Turkish state and, today, together with its militias similar to the Islamic state (DAESH), use fire as a weapon of war, burning popular plazas and the existing ecosystems in north-eastern Syria, against the ecological project of the revolution. As in the Brazilian peripheries where water rationing is a daily occurrence and the control of access to rivers by large enterprises and latifundium in traditional communities, after the Turkish invasion in 2018 and 2019 it became common to limit water in north-eastern Syria - Rojava - at a time of pandemic when it is more necessary than ever. The Kurds and Kurds themselves also understand themselves as indigenous peoples of the mountains.

In a country like Brazil, whose territory has continental dimensions and shelters the secular consequences of a system based on the exploitation of land, the expiation of native peoples and the enslavement of peoples from Africa, Öcalan's provocations make us doubt even more this artifice of a forged nation for the management of capitalist interests, updated and reaffirmed over five hundred and twenty years. Is the National State really the only possible political arrangement to guarantee self-determination for the peoples who live here?

What quality of democracy have we achieved with a federalism still so fragile, hostage to capitalist conglomerates, regional oligarchies, religiously based mandonism and paramilitary groups linked to the extreme right? What quality of self-determination does the Brazilian people carry in this 21st century, marked by record rates of violence against indigenous peoples, blacks and women, besides the destruction of the environment and with it, the way of life of traditional peoples as a whole? What rupture with this exploratory, expiatory, racist and misogynistic order has the Brazilian revolutionary leftists been able to propose? If they cannot, what is the reason for it?

Such questions arise naturally when the principles of Democratic Confederalism are presented to us in practice in this struggle for self-determination of the Kurdish people. A self-determination that not only does not compete, but is also a brotherhood in the struggle of Armenians and Palestinians and so many other minorities that cohabit the region; that presents as conditioning factors for emancipation the guidelines of ecology and the liberation of women and that makes self-defense more than a simple option for armed struggle, but a firm body whose vitality is affirmed in the radical commitment to horizontal decision-making processes, which not only respects the basis of the workers, but creates effective conditions of self-management and self-organization, moving away from bureaucratic vices which, unfortunately, have assumed the character of popular governments in other parts of the world.

On the other hand, the solidarity that builds bridges and inspires should not sacrifice the complexities and contradictions of each struggle in the name of didacticism. Especially in the midst of capital's war against the peoples to save themselves from their economic crises, it is not only open repression, with assassinations to the leadership, bombings, feminicides that are intensifying. The "poison of co-optation" of the nation-state also fragments the peoples and their struggles, opening the way to death. Even in the revolutionary experience that exists in Democratic Confederalism practice in north-eastern Syria and its nearby borders, Turkish pressure against Kurdish revolutionary organi-

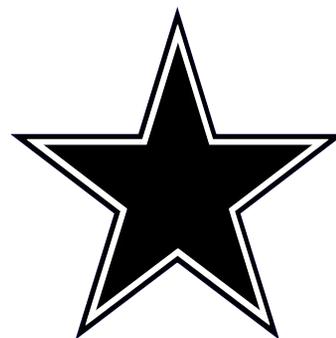
zations has caused the Iraqi Kurdistan to carry out new threats of war against Democratic Confederalism and its institutions. The accusation they are buying from Turkey is the international grammar for imprisoning popular movements: terrorism. Inside, several questions are being asked to put an end to the system of co-presidency between men and women in the institutions of the revolution, as well as to the excessive trust that may have been placed in the organizations of the international system to the detriment of strengthening their collective autonomy in Democratic Confederalism. Certainly, the context of fatigue resulting from the traumas of war makes it difficult and contributes to this. Many of the internal divisions and differences are understandable in the level of resource depletion, mental and social exhaustion that war generates. In other words, the divisions and differences are not only external.

Likewise, in Brazil the co-optation and fragmentation that opens the way to death appears both in the government of Jair Bolsonaro, but also in the federal and state governments supposedly of the left. In addition to those (s) who left the federal government of the Workers' Party (PT) as a result of the 2016 coup, but the government did not leave them, the state governments create divisions in the communities to facilitate the large undertakings they seek to implement. As an example, the government of Maranhão, of Flávio Dino (PCdoB) created a State Commission to Combat Violence in the Countryside and in the City (COECV) with several organizations of society and government representatives, supposedly with the objective of diminishing human rights violations and mediating land conflicts. It was not enough to have sucked several comrades in the struggle into its

secretariats, it still used the council to legitimize evictions from communities, claiming that they had heard them before they were destroyed.

It is the difficulty of dealing with former companions who shared the confrontation side by side and who passed to the enemies' arms, but also to deal with our internal problems and differences. The contradiction and complexity are present in Rojava and the Democratic Confederalism that exists in northeastern Syria, just as they are present here. Looking at them is also part of the exercise of solidarity, because they also exist here.

Even with this, their revolution opened the fence to tell the whole world, and their message has come to us: other worlds are possible and exist, today. With the strength of the drums, maracas, the songs, the building of autonomy in the countryside and in the city, in the struggles for food, water, land, territory, work, transportation and housing, we welcome the Kurdish struggle that creates a new world in Rojava. We fight against the same enemies, from different borders. As the Democratic Confederalism advocated the union of Kurds, Arabs, Assyrians, Armenians of different localities and religions, the revolts in Brazil made alliances black, indigenous and popular. Therefore, our solidarity must also be learning! #Riseup4Rojava, against the Turkish occupation, since the fights in Brazil!



[\*] Munduruku is an indigenous people that the Brazilian state tries to colonize and destroy even today, like many others who live in the border region between the states of Mato Grosso, Pará and Amazonas. The Belo Monte hydroelectric plant, which attacks them, has been planned since the years of the Brazilian dictatorship, but was only built and put into practice by Dilma Rousseff, of the Workers' Party.

Although Jair Bolsonaro is in the presidency, there are a few so-called "left-wing governments" in the state governments that oppose him from within the institutions. But if they fight at the top, against those at the bottom they practice a series of other forms of attacks on workers, traditional communities and peoples. One of them, the governor of the state of Maranhão, Flávio Dino, of the Communist Party of Brazil (PCdoB), besides having sucked several militants into the government, demobilizing the struggle, was condescending or pivotal to several attacks and conflicts with the latifundium and big enterprises in Maranhão.



PELIQUERIA

OFICINA DE  
MUJERES  
POR LA  
DIGNIDAD

Y P J

EZLN  
YA BASTA!

Y P J



## The revolution in Vietnam and the role of peoples war

Under the leadership of the great revolutionary Ho Chi Min and the great commander Giap there was a revolution happening in Vietnam. For the first time in the modern age the imperialist force of the US was defeated and till today they still struggle with this big loss. Even though so many people were burned alive and the people really hat a very difficult time they didn't gave up on the revolution and finally in 1974 the were successfully.

The first uprising takes place in 1931 in Vietnam but unfortunately they get defeated. At this time Ho Chi Min is secretary of the Vietnamese Workers Party and is very effected by the revolution that is developing in China. At this point neither in China nor in Vietnam capitalism is very developed. Most of the people pass their life in villages. Some cities existed and in the cities the state was strong but in the villages the state was not too present. With this situation it is very similar to the one of Kurdistan before the revolution of PKK. The revolutionaries under the leadership of Mao Zedung want to be sucessfull with the strategy of the "long lasting peoples war". They say that they will organize themself first in the villages and on the land because the

state is not very strong there and on the other hand the people in the villages feel a lot more the necesety of the revolution. The farmers work from morning till evening and still have dificulties to make a living. Based on all this they slowly start to build up the gerilla. In the second phase they wantet to make the gerilla grow and get all the villages, lands and the mountains under their control. This will basicly mean that the state has just power and control in the cities. This can be named as the level of balance. In the third or last phase the gerilla goes into the cities and with the support of the people expell the state form there. According to this plan the revolutionary forces in China and Vietnam wanted to be sucessfull.

### The Development of the Vietnamese Revolution

To prepare the revoltion on Viernam the leader of the Vietnamese people Ho Chi Min called up on Giap who at this time was a teacher. Hi sends him together with some comrades to China to get some military education. They return with 34 people and some weapons to Vietnam. At this point Vietnam is colonised by France. But during the second world war (1939 – 1945) Japon, because they are in an alliance with Hitler invates in Viet-

nam. At that time Hitler defeats the French Army and they can't control Vietnam anymore. Ho Chi Min sees the time to rise up and on the 15. August of 1945 they rise up against the Japanese forces. Japan at that time was retreating anyway because Hitler lost the war and they could keep up the fight alone. That way the revolution in Vietnam was successful. Ho Chi Min and his friends liberated their land and started to build up their government and their gerilla forces are transformed into a normal army. But France doesn't accept the Vietnamese independence. After Hitler was defeated and France liberated again from fascism the new government of France decides to colonise again the countries they had under their control before. That's



why they send their soldiers again to Vietnam. Ho Chi Min sees that with their army they can't deal with the French technique and their modern army that's why they decide to again dismantel their army and become a gerilla again. Ho Chi Min together with all his comrades and all the ministers they take up arms and start a gerilla war. For nine long years a intensive war between the French army and the revolutionary forces of Vietnam is going on and with the victory of Dien Bien Phu in 1954 the revolutionary forces of Vietkong win.

**The attack from capitalist modernity against the revolution**

Just three years later close to the US on Cuba under the leadership of Che Guevara and Fidel Castro a revolution takes place and America and the imperialist forces are very scared. But not just in Vietnam and Cuba socialist revolutions win and every day more and more the idea of freedom and equality gets spread within the oppressed people.

After the second world war America finally decided to take the leading role of imperialism also because it compared to the center of Europe where the war was heavy didn't see much damage. Germany, France and Britain's industry and their whole economic system was completely destroyed. America which didn't accept the victory of Vietnam and the other peoples started an offensive. In a lot of countries they developed military coups, killings and undercover forces but for Vietnam they decided to send their own soldiers. They send not less than 600 000 soldiers to destroy the revolution. Because all the Vietnamese revolutionaries went to the north of Vietnam America settled down in the south. There in the south of Vietnam they start to build up an army of traitors to fight against their own people against their own brothers and sisters. Also this army is about the size of 600 000. Against betrayal and collaboration north Vietnam starts an offensive and from 1961 on they punish agents and traitors in south Vietnam. At the same

time with small groups of 10 people they make armed propaganda. Against the American army they dig hundreds of kilometers of tunnels and make a lot of traps (booby traps) for them. Because they despite all their technique and soldiers can't get hold of the guerilla they start with a massacre. With help of planes they drop their Napalm bombs and hundreds of thousands of people burn alive. It doesn't matter if woman, child, civil or gerilla. All the imperialist countries stay silent but the youth of the world with a big anger and rage rise up and under the influence of this massacre we can see the first revolution of the youth.

### In Kurdistan revolutionary peoples war and lessons from the Vietnamese revolution

As we can see there are a lot of similarities between the revolutions in Vietnam and the one in Kurdistan that under the leadership of Rêber APO started. Not just that in both struggles the Workers Party is the leading force of the revolution but also that the date of the 15. August in both revolutions sets the date for the uprising. But nevertheless there are some important differences between these revolutions too. We have to understand that the situation in Kurdistan doesn't resemble any other situation in the world because Kurdistan on the one hand is the center of the neolithic revolution that played a key role for the development of human beings and on the other hand also the center of the third world war. That's why all the imperialist forces fight on the ground in Kurdistan and also for control over Kurdistan. And because our situation here in Kurdistan is that way Rêber APO with the strategy of the "revolutionary peoples war" shows us the way to victory. Rêber APO said because of the circumstances in Kurdistan it's not enough if just the guerilla fights but the guerilla and the people have to become one and that way we will be victorious. There is no other way for Kurdistan. That way the self defense forces or civil protection forces play a key role. At the same time it is of immense importance that especially the youth and women learn to use weapons and tactics of war. In Kurdistan everyone has to know how to use a weapon. The Turkish fascist state and every of their soldier has to be scared with every step they make in Kurdistan like in Nisebine when their psychology got affected with the Nisebine syndrome or like the American soldiers in Vietnam with their psychology that was so bad that a lot of them when they returned back home they made an end to their life. Every Turkish soldier, every gang member has to be in

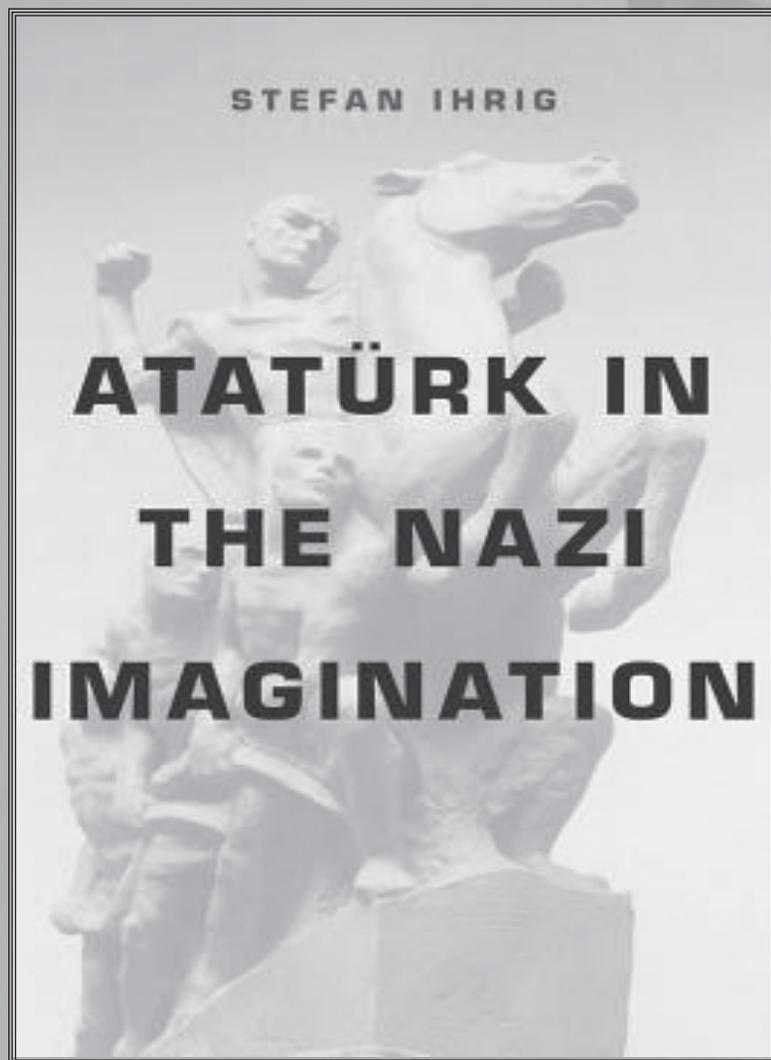
fear every second that behind every door, behind every window is a Kurd waiting for them with a weapon. They have to fear every Kurd. That's the way towards victory. That way it's not possible that the fascist Turkish state is able to stay in Kurdistan. If a small group of young people with some weapons and a bit of ammunition can resist against the second biggest NATO army for more than three months think about how it will be if all people take up arms? Victory is guaranteed. Freedom is guaranteed. That's why all of us young men and women have to understand this strategy the right way. We have to know history very well so that we can play our avanguard role successfully. The people and Rêber APO expect this from us. There is not one single reason why our mood should be bad or why we shouldn't work. For sure the occupation of Efrîn, Serê Kaniyê and Girê Spî is a very big pain and something we will never forget but the blood of all these fallen heroes should give us strength and should make us work even more. Revolution is a long work. As we can learn from Vietnam just because the enemy occupied a region it doesn't mean that we lost everything. The end is what matters and we know with all our belief that as the great commander and symbol of the youth Şehîd Çiyager said it: "Whatever will happen the end will be spectacular." That's the only right approach and that way we should play our role to liberate Rêber APO and Kurdistan.





BOOK RECOMENDATION

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*Atatürk in the  
Nazi Imagination*

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**Autor:** Stefan Ihrig

**Published by:** Belknap Pres;

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Early in his career, Adolf Hitler took inspiration from Benito Mussolini, his senior colleague in fascism—this fact is widely known. But an equally important role model for Hitler and the Nazis has been almost entirely neglected: Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, the founder of modern Turkey. Stefan Ihrig’s compelling presentation of this untold story promises to rewrite our understanding of the roots of Nazi ideology and strategy. Hitler was deeply interested in Turkish affairs after 1919. He not only admired but also sought to imitate Atatürk’s radical construction of a new nation from the ashes of defeat in World War I. Hitler and the Nazis watched closely as Atatürk defied the Western powers to seize government, and they modeled the Munich Putsch to a large degree on Atatürk’s rebellion in Ankara. Hitler later remarked that in the political aftermath of the Great War, Atatürk was his master, he and Mussolini his students.

This was no fading fascination. As the Nazis struggled through the 1920s, Atatürk remained Hitler’s “star in the darkness,” his inspiration for remaking Germany along nationalist, secular, totalitarian, and ethnically exclusive lines. Nor did it escape Hitler’s notice how ruthlessly Turkish governments had dealt with Armenian and Greek minorities, whom influential Nazis directly compared with German Jews. The New Turkey, or at least those aspects of it that the Nazis chose to see, became a model for Hitler’s plans and dreams in the years leading up to the invasion of Poland



# LÊGERÎN

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Lêgerîn magazine will be published every 3 months on our website [www.revistalegerin.com](http://www.revistalegerin.com), and can be downloaded and printed. In addition to the magazine, other author's content and the revolutionary movement will be published on our website!

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***Serkeftin!***

